HOME, HOSPITALITY AND CONFINEMENT: THE VILLAWOOD MIGRANT HOSTEL

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ABSTRACT

The Villawood Migrant Hostel, open from 1949 to the 1980s, was one of the Commonwealth of Australia's longest-running migrant hostels, providing temporary housing for migrants and refugees arriving under various assisted passage schemes. During the 1960s, selected hostels, including Villawood, underwent significant alterations, moving from portable structures inherited from the military to purpose-designed hostels. In 1976, on the same site but separate from the hostel, the federal government constructed detention facilities for deportation. When the migrant hostel ceased operation, some of its buildings were adapted for use in the expanding Villawood Immigration Detention Centre, which held refugees and asylum seekers subject to detention and, subsequently, mandatory detention. Central to the thesis are the spatial and architectural changes on the Villawood site relating to on-arrival accommodation and detention. The thesis asks whether the built forms demonstrate an association between the Commonwealth's resettlement of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers and the framing of national identities in connection to ideals of house and home. Varying degrees of nation-state hospitality underscore this association. Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation is considered as an entry point into Australian citizenship and examined in connection to physical constructions of idealised 'homes' in Australia.

Pivoting on this single case study, the site of the Villawood Migrant Hostel, the thesis investigates the built facilities in relation to the trajectory of immigration policies as they

shifted: from official strategies to increase and organise the nation's population after the Second World War, to the introduction of mandatory detention for refugees and asylum seekers the federal government classified as 'unauthorised' from 1992. The thesis's site exploration ends in 1992, as the introduction of mandatory detention significantly shifted the landscape of immigration detention facilities emerging under the Commonwealth's administration. In considering the parallel development of detention on site, the focus of the thesis is on the architecture of the new migrant hostel apartments constructed during the 1960s, which are examined as a platform to explore dwelling types used for temporary tenures. The buildings' physical, spatial and material fabric are introduced alongside the racialised narratives circling migrant and refugee resettlement. These historical transformations on site reveal the complexities of nation-state hospitality to displaced people and assumptions about house and home as fixed phenomena in a settler-colonial context. Through the lens of architecture, this thesis approaches the history of nation-building in connection to migration and examines how national identities were influenced by and changed due to migrant and refugee arrivals during the period of study.

The thesis's underlying argument is that ideological and physical conceptions of home influence the political and public narratives surrounding historical migrant and refugee arrival and temporary housing options. The notion of home, as a form that is visualised and spatialised as an Australian ideal, has frequently been transitory and discursively marked by cultures of both hospitality and spatial violence. In making this link, the thesis offers a reading of housing as connected to the nation-state to investigate the configuration and influence of housing ideals.

DECLARATION

i. the thesis comprises only original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy except where indicated in the preface.

ii. due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used; and

iii. the thesis is fewer than 100 000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

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PREFACE

The PhD scholarship for 3.5 years was funded by the Australia Research Council project FT140100190, *Temporal cities, provisional citizens: architectures of internment*, led by Prof. Anoma Pieris.

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> Guide 4.78. Assistance from other parties must be limited to editorial intervention in accordance with The Australian Standards for Editing Practice as follows:
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GLOSSARY

Definitions of the different names and purposes associated with migrant on-arrival accommodation are discussed in Chapter 3.

Asylum seeker: A person outside their country of nationality who has applied for refugee protection and is yet to be definitively evaluated by the country providing asylum or an international agency.[1]

Assisted migrants: Assisted migrant passages did exist prior to the Second World War with systems in place for assisted passage to Australia from 1813. For the purposes of this thesis assisted migrants will refer to persons arriving in Australia after the Second World War. In 1947 assisted passages were opened to nationalities outside United Kingdom. (The state of Queensland had previously also assisted subjects from Scandinavian and Germany.) Migrants and refugees, who were often displaced persons from the Second World War originating from across Europe, including the British Isles and Ireland, mostly agreed to work for the Commonwealth Government of Australia for a few years in exchange for passage and assistance on their arrival. Often, this assistance included arriving at one of the Migrant Camps, Reception and Training Centres throughout Australia and then being initially resettled in one of the many migrant hostels. [2]

Permanent residence: "An Australian permanent resident (permanent resident) is a non-citizen who holds an Australian permanent visa or is usually resident in Australia and holds a permanent visa. Generally, permanent residents can live, work and study

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[1] "Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Migrants," Amnesty International, 2023, https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (UNHCR), "Convention and Protocol, Relating to the Status of Refugees," (Geneva: UNHCR Communications and Public Information Service, 1951, 1967).

[2] Jane Persian, "Displaced Persons and the Politics of International Categorisation(s)," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 58, no.4 (2012): 481-496.

with much fewer restrictions than temporary visa holders in Australia. Permanent residents do not have an automatic right of entry to Australia. They must have a permanent visa with a valid travel authority to return to Australia as a permanent resident. They cannot vote unless they were enrolled to vote as a British subject prior to 1984." [3]

Refugee: A person outside their country of nationality who cannot return for well-founded fear of persecution for reasons including ethnicity, religion, nationality, or membership of a social group or political group.[4]

Temporary visas: Temporary residence visas allow people to live and work in Australia for a limited time under stipulated conditions. The type of visas and their requirements and limitations available to refugees and asylum-seekers are constantly shifting. For the purposes of this thesis if clarification of the law at the time in question is needed it will be briefly discussed when this term is used.[5]

Unauthorised arrival: This term and its variations have specific, complex legal definitions that have been consistently amended. As it pertains to this thesis, the term emerges during the 1990s and early 2000s in political and public discourses in relation to the detention of asylum seekers and refugees arriving to Australia. In the early 2000's, according to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission: "Australian law requires the detention of all non-citizens who are in Australia without a valid visa (unlawful non-citizens). This means that immigration officials have no choice but to detain persons who arrive without a visa (unauthorised arrivals), or persons who arrive

[3] "Glossary–Permanent resident," Department of Home Affairs: Immigration and Citizenship, last updated 18 March, 2020, https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/help-support/glossary#permanent-resident

[4] "Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Migrants," Amnesty International, 2023, https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/
UNHCR, "Convention and Protocol, Relating to the Status of Refugees."

[5] "Temporary Work Visa," Department of Home Affairs: Immigration and Citizenship, last updated 6 November 2019, https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/working-in-australia/temporary-work-visas

with a visa and subsequently become unlawful because their visa has expired or been cancelled (authorised arrivals)."[6]

[6] "6. Australia's Immigration Detention Policy and Practice," Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), 13 May 2004, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/projects/6-australias-immigration-detention-policy-and-practice

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Australian Government Departments and Agencies

DLNS	Department of Labour and National Service	1940–1972
DWH	(Commonwealth) Department of Works and Housing	1945–1952
CDP	(Commonwealth) Department of Works	1952–1973
DH	Department of Housing	1963–1973
DC	Department of Housing and Construction	1973–1975
DC	Department of Construction	1975–1978
DI	Department of Immigration	1945–1974
DILI	Department of Labour and Immigration	1974–1975
DIEA	Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	1976–1987
	Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs	1987–1993
DIEA	Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	1993–1996
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs	1996–2001
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs	2001–2006
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs	2006–2007
DIC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship	2007–2013
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection	2013–2017
DHA	Department of Home Affairs	2017–

Immigration Detention Centres

VIDC	Villawood Immigration Detention Centre
MIDC	Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre

PIDC	Perth Immigration Detention Centre
APS	Australian Protective Service
AFP	Australian Federal Police
MIRCP	Manus Island Regional Processing Centre

Archival Organisations and Libraries

AWM	Australian War Memorial
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NLA	National Library of Australia
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
SLV	State Library of Victoria

Other Relevant Organisations

CHL	Commonwealth Hostels Ltd
CACSL	Commonwealth Accommodation and Catering Services Ltd (Includes both Food Services and Migrant Services)
GNC	Good Neighbour Council
AHRC	Australian Human Rights Commission
UNCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Agency
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service

Capital Cities of Australian States and Territories

Adelaide, South Australia (SA)

Brisbane, Queensland, (Qld)

Canberra, Australian National Territory (ACT). Also, the capital of the Commonwealth of Australia.

Darwin, Northern Territory (NT)

Hobart, Tasmania (Tas)

Melbourne, Victoria (Vic)

Perth, Western Australia (WA)

Sydney, New South Wales (NSW)

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Note: Figures and figure references are at the end of the chapter.

1.1 Contextual Background

The currently operative Villawood Immigration Detention Centre, located in Western Sydney, Australia, has arguably been, intermittently, the nation's most notorious immigration detention centre.[7] The centre has rebounded in the national consciousness over the last four decades and detains people classified, under shifting legal definitions, as 'unauthorised' to arrive and live in Australia.[8] However, the site it occupies, which is the Country of the Darug, Bediagal, Cabrogal and Eora Peoples, has a colonial migration history that interconnects complex and multifaceted narratives. From the early 1800s, the site had a typical early British colonial trajectory from pastoralists and subsequent settlers to dog trackers.[9] During the Second World War, a Commonwealth defence

[7] The Villawood Immigration Detention Centre has been the repeated focus of various Human Rights Commission investigations: Australia Human Rights Commission, (AHRC), *The Observance of Human rights at the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre*, August 1983 (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1983); *Review of Immigration Detention Centre: Human Rights Commissioner's 1998–99 Review* (Canberra: Australian Human Rights Commission, 1999); Graeme Innes and AHRC, *Immigration Detention Report 2008: Summary of Observation Following Visits to Australia's Immigration Detention Facilities* (Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2008).

[8] For recent histories of immigration detention in Australia see Michelle Peterie, *Visiting Immigration Detention: Care and Cruelty in Australia's Asylum Seeker Prisons* (Bristol University Press, 2022); Peter Mares, *Borderline: Australia's Response to Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Wake of the Tampa* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002).

[9] Local histories of the site Stephen Gapps, *Cabrogal to Fairfield City: A History of a Multicultural Community* (Wakeley, New South Wales: Fairfield City Council, 2010); George Vance, *Fairfield: A History of the District* (Fairfield, NSW: Council of the City of Fairfield, 1982).

facility, the Leightonfield Explosives Factory, operated on-site; in 1945 was decommissioned and part of the land was acquired by the New South Wales Government's State Housing Commission (see figures 1.1 and 1.2).[10] A large section of the site was retained by the Commonwealth Government and used as part of its plan to rapidly increase its program of on-arrival accommodation for migrants and refugees.[11] At the end of the Second World War, the site became a key location in the Australian Government's recruitment and housing of migrants and refugees, offering an opportunity to investigate how migration histories connect with spatial and architectural histories. From late 1949 to 1984, the site was occupied by one of Australia's longest-running and at times largest Commonwealth migrant hostel—the Villawood Migrant Hostel.[12] Although the hostel officially closed in 1984, selected accommodation remained open on-site into the late 1980s. The site has provided varying forms of on-arrival accommodation as surrounding suburbs in Western Sydney developed to be simultaneously celebrated as exemplars of multicultural living and derided as 'ethnic' and 'working-class' enclaves in popular media.[13] The Villawood site's history of 'hospitality' offers a microcosm that has both foreshadowed and ignited public anxieties around national identity and ethnicity.

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[10] Nina Pollock, Godden Mackay Logan, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility: Archival Recording / Report Prepared for the Department of Immigration and Citizenship* (Redfern, N.S.W: Godden Mackay Logan, 2011), 5–6.
[11] Prime Minister Dept., "Land and property - NSW - Villawood - Commonwealth requirements of land for migrant workers' hostel," 1949, NAA: A462, 796/22/1.
[12] Pollock, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility*, 5–6.
[13] Migration and Western Sydney: Helen Grace, et al. *Home/world: Space, Community, and Marginality in Sydney's West* (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 1997); Jack Collins, Jack and Scott Poynting eds., *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Western Sydney* (Melbourne: Common Ground Publishing, 2000).

The thesis pivots on the single case study, the Villawood Migrant Hostel, which had a section renamed the Westbridge Hostel in 1968, and it examines the site's built history centred on the period from 1960 to 1984, when the hostel officially closed. It contextualises this period with the site's earlier history from the end of the Second World War and then the adjacent development of immigration detention on-site from 1976, ending the analysis in 1992. The spatial and architectural changes on-site concerning migrant and refugee accommodation are central to the study. These historic transformations reveal the complexities of nation-state hospitality to the displaced and assumptions about home as a fixed physical phenomenon connected to emplacement in the Commonwealth of Australia and its settler-colonial context. The site's allocation of temporary accommodation and detention follows the trajectory of immigration agendas and policies in Australia (see Appendix 1 for a timeline of significant policy changes). Policies shifted from official nation-building strategies for population growth and labour after the Second World War to the federal government's heightened preoccupation with border security in relation to people categorised as 'unauthorised,' currently overseen by the Department of Home Affairs.[14] In examining this parallel trajectory on site, the thesis focuses on the design and development of new hostel accommodation blocks during the 1960s to explore dwelling types used for temporary tenures. During the 1960s, selected Commonwealth migrant hostels underwent

[14] Key histories of immigration in Australia see: Andrew Markus, James Jupp and Peter McDonald, *Australia's Immigration Revolution* (Crows Nest, NSW.: Allen & Unwin, 2009); James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: the story of Australian Immigration* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), James Jupp, ed., *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); For analysis on nation-building in Australia see: John Butcher, ed., *Australia Under Construction, Nation-Building: Past, Present and Future* (Canberra, Australia: ANU Press, 2008).

significant alterations, moving from portable structures inherited from the military to permanent, purpose-built hostels designed by prominent local architects and the Commonwealth Department of Public Works[15]

Prior to Villawood's designed redevelopment, the site's first additional dwelling structures were prefabricated ex-military huts that included timber-frame, Quonset (SAAR) and Nissen huts, the latter two famous for their semi-cylindrical forms and the huts were arranged in rows (see figures 1.3 and 1.4).[16] Many early migrant and refugee accommodation sites had material connections to Second World War military facilities, using either decommissioned Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) utilities or surplus supplies imported from the United Kingdom through the British Ministry of Works and from the closed United States of America Army base on Manus Island, Papua New Guinea, when Papua New Guinea was under Australian administration. However, it is unknown exactly where Villawood's provision of accommodation directly came from.[17] When the Villawood Migrant Hostel officially opened in 1949, it was part of a nationwide network of on-arrival accommodation sites for migrants, which

[15] Secretary to Cabinet/Cabinet Secretariat [I], "Construction of new migrant hostels," 1963 – 1967, NAA: A4940, C3833.
[16] Graham Brooks and Associates, Architects and Heritage Consultants, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel: Conservation Management Plan and Social Significance Assessment prepared for the Department of Finance and Administration* (Sydney: Graham Brooks and Associates Pty Ltd, 2001).
[17] Dept. of Immigration, "State Survey of Accommodation for Migrants," NAA: A436, 1948/5/70; Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel,* 18, 22; History of military huts in Australia: Iain Stuart, "Of the hut I bolted: A preliminary account of prefabricated semi-cylindrical huts in Australia," *Historic Environment* 19, no. 1 (2005): 53–54.

accommodated migrants and refugees entering Australia through public assistance, notably displaced persons from the Second World War.[18]

On-arrival accommodation sites initially filtered arriving populations under two classifications, people arriving from the British Isles and Ireland, and the people arriving from outside these territories, and had names that signalled the Commonwealth Government's classification of occupants. The main classifications were: migrant camps or migrant workers hostels (often individual, male identifying migrants employed in nearby labour), reception and training sites, (especially for migrants arriving from outside the British Isles and Ireland) and holding centres (dependents of remote migrant workers).[19] During the 1950s, these differing types of accommodation sites were merged together, and the term 'migrant hostel' became the favoured nomenclature. Accommodation sites were predominately located both at the urban periphery and in remote rural areas where there was a demand for agricultural or industrial labour. Notable rural sites including Bonegilla near Albury-Wodonga in Victoria and at the edge of Bathurst in New South Wales, were set up to satisfy needs for agricultural labour.[20] However, inner-city locations were also used with a notable addition being the

[18] Ann-Mari Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants, Administration, Compliance and Governability Program* (Canberra: Australian National University, Research School of Social Sciences, 1994).
[19] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants, Administration, Compliance and Governability Program*, 7-9; Dept. of Immigration, "Transfer of Migrant Workers Hostels to Immigration Department for Conversion into Holding Centres," 1950, NAA: A434, 1950/3/18708.
[20] Jayne Persian, *Bonegilla: A Failed Narrative, History Australia* 9, no.1, 64–83: ((2012), https://doi.org/10.1080/14490854.2012.11668403; Cabinet Office, "Establishment Operation and Disposal of Migrant Hostels," 1978–1982, NAA Canberra: A10756, LC2221. "A Place for Everyone: Bathurst Migrant Camp 1948–1952," Migration Heritage Centre, accessed October 2022, https://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/aplaceforeveryone/bathurst-migrant-camp/index.html

temporary reception centre set up for British migrants on the former oval north of the Royal Exhibition Building in the Carlton Gardens in central Melbourne.[21]

Directly after the Second World War the federal government instigated an immigration drive that was centred on the development of industry but also driven by a sense of geographic vulnerability generated by the war. Promoted to current citizens under the tag-line 'populate or perish', Australia recruited migrants and refugees from both the British Isles and Ireland but also from Europe, namely from displaced persons camps.[22] Between the years 1945 and 1965 approximately two million immigrants arrived in Australia and set the nation on a trajectory of increased migration in the second half of the 20th century, transforming the pre-war, colonial, Anglo-Celtic derived population.[23] Successive waves of migrants and refugees from Europe and later from South America and Asia peopled the Villawood Migrant Hostel with nationals included from countries such as Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Malta, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom. From the late 1950s onwards, people also arrived from Turkey, Chile and Colombia and then a more significant number of people from Vietnam and Cambodia,

[21] Jack Lack, "A Very British Establishment: The Migrant Reception Centre," in *Victorian Icon: The Royal Exhibition Building, Melbourne*, edited by David Dunstan (Kew, Vic.: The Exhibition Trustees in association with Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1996), 398–406; Simon Reeves and David Wixted, Heritage Alliance, *Conservation Architects and Heritage Consultants, Former Midway and Philip, Maribyrnong Migrant Hostels* (Prepared for The City of Maribyrnong, February 2008), 22–43.
[22] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*; Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of Department of Immigration*, 2017, https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about-us-subsite/files/immigration-history.pdf
[23] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 10–19.

refugees from the Vietnam War (1955–1975).[24] Although many migrants from the British Isles and Ireland passed through the hostel early in the hostel's lifespan, it was initially designated as a hostel for migrants and refugees from outside the British Isles and Ireland. For example, from 1948 to the mid-1950s, in keeping with the broader migration program, Villawood housed many people from Eastern Europe, with people arriving from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, (USSR), including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.[25] Over the course of its lifespan Villawood had twenty to thirty different nationalities residing at any one time and in a property register from 1974, Villawood housed nationals cited but not limited to America, Austria, Britain (UK), Cuba, the Netherlands, Portugal, Scandinavia, Spain, Uruguay, and the former Yugoslavia as well as including a category of 'other' nationality.[26] The designation of 'other' in this official list of nationalities points to the complexity of cultural backgrounds of people arriving in Australia and that many, due to conflict and or persecution, did not identify through nationality by association with an existing sovereign nation-state.[27] From the mid-1970s, many Commonwealth migrant hostels in the Sydney region closed and the populations still in residence were transferred to Villawood.

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[24] Jane Sera Peters, Graham Brooks and Associates, "Interviews with former residents of Villawood Migrant Hostel," 2001, NSWSL: MLOH 467; NAA: Klaus Neumann, *Across the Seas: Australia's Response to Refugees, A History* (Collingwood Vic.: Black Inc., 2015); Klaus Neumann, *Does History Matter? Making and Debating Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Policy in Australia and New Zealand* (Canberra: ANU Press 2009).

[25] Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*, 12.

[26] Dept. of Immigration, "Meeting between Department of Labour and National Service, Department Immigration, and Commonwealth Hostels Limited - to examine migration problems, 1972–1975, NAA: A446, 1975/81280

[27] NAA: A446, 1975/81280; Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*, 12.

Villawood was one of over seventy on-arrival accommodation sites setup up by the Commonwealth throughout Australia during the late 1940s and 1950s. A detailed history of Australia's post-war immigration drive in relation to set up of on-arrival accommodation is discussed in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Border to the Hearth." These migrant hostels were initially conceived by the Australian Government as transitory accommodation and provision for assimilatory practices in preparation for migrants moving into the wider community and arguably house ownership. The implementation of the federal government's immigration program and its perceptions of housing were underscored by political anxieties regarding racialised, cultural differences that surrounded arriving migrants. The legacy of racialised discrimination had been enshrined under various generations of immigration policies, starting with the *Immigration Restriction Act of 1901*—policies that were popularly grouped under the term the White Australia Policy (see Table 1.1 on page 10 as well as Appendix 1 for a timeline of significant changes in the Commonwealth of Australia's immigration and citizenship policy, 1901–2001).[28]

The implementation of the *Immigration Restriction Act of 1901* coincided with the Federation of Australia and a framing of ethnonationalism underwritten by British colonialism. The post Second World War national immigration program instigated a gradual shift in political and public conceptions for a more pluralistic society. In 1948, with the introduction of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948,* an Australian

[28] Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2017), 12.

citizenship was created. However, in the decades following the immediate post-war period, this thesis's main focus, Australian citizenship was still intrinsically aligned with the British Empire and this framing of national identity generated discriminative legislation and administrative practices against people arriving from outside of the British Isles and Ireland.[29]

In the late 1940s the Department of Labour and National Service, the Department of Immigration and the Migrant Workers Accommodation Division oversaw the administration of on-arrival accommodation but in 1951 the federally owned company, Commonwealth Hostels Ltd working with the Department of Immigration took over the operation of all federally run hostels.[30] The company, established in the same year, was responsible for setting accommodation costs deducted from unemployment benefits or from income once residents were employed. The raising of tariffs by Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, in relation to the often poor quality of accommodation provided, was frequently a point of contention for residents.[31] During the 1960s Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, in conjunction with the Department of Immigration and the Department of Labour and National Service, undertook a nationwide program to

[29] James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera;* Michael Klapdor, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, Social Policy and Law and Bills Digest Sections, *Australian Citizenship: A Chronology of Major Developments in Policy and Law*, 2009, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/0910/

[30] Commonwealth Hostels Limited, "Correspondence files [Commonwealth Hostels Limited] [Box 714]," 1960–1971, NAA: C3076, WOB 714; Dept of Immigration, Central Office, "Commonwealth migrant hostels administrative responsibilities between departments," 1968–1976, NAA: A446, 1972/78712.

[31] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants, Administration, Compliance and Governability Program,* 17.

improve migrant resettlement facilities. This program included purpose-built housing designed by trained architects from within the Commonwealth Department of Public Works and prominent Australian firms.[32]

TABLE 1. BRIEF TIMELINE OF THE FORMS OF ACCOMMODATION AND DETENTION AT THE VILLAWOOD SITE WITH RELEVANT IMMIGRATION POLICY CHANGES, 1945–2020.

(For more detail on the site's physical fabric also see in Chapter 3, Table 3.1 Timeline of The Forms of Accommodation and Detention at The Villawood Site, 1945–2017 and Appendix 1: Timeline of Significant Changes in the Commonwealth of Australia's Immigration and Citizenship Policy, 1901-2000 for detail on immigration policies and a list of relevant sources).

Spatial type	Name	Purpose-designed or adapted	Years operative	Notable changes in immigration policy
Factory	Leightonfield Munitions Factory	Adapted (unconclusive).	1941–1945	1901: Immigration Restriction Act 1901. Introduced section of policy that became publicly regarded as the White Australia Policy: "The Act prohibited entry of all those who failed to pass a 'dictation test' of 50 words in a European language. The Act was amended in 1905 so that officers could apply the test in any prescribed language at their discretion, which enhanced the capacity to exclude 'undesirable' applicants."[33]

[32] Migrant Workers' Accommodation Division, Department of Labour and National Service, "Commonwealth Accommodation & Catering Services LTD - Central - Organisation and Administration Policy - New Hostel for Migrants Randwick - Construction and Design," 1964–1966, NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1.

[33] Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2017), 12.

				1901: Pacific Islander Labourers Act 1901. Introduced to limit the "South Sea Islanders working in sugar industries in Queensland and northern New South Wales. After March 1904, South Sea Islanders were prohibited from entering the Commonwealth."[34]
Camp	Villawood Migrant Centre/ Hostel	Adapted	1949–1968	1948: Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948. "This Act created an Australian citizenship and anyone who was an Australian citizen was also a British subject. Citizens of other British Commonwealth countries were recognised as British subjects."[35] 1958: Migration Act 1958. The revised Migration Act 1958 abolished the dictation test and reformed entry processes.[36] During the 1960s immigration restrictions on non-Europeans were further decreased. These changes gradually abolish the policies that constitute the White Australia Policy.

[34] Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia*, (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2017), 12.
[35] Michael Klapdor, Moira Coombs and Catherine Bohm Social Policy and Law and Bills Digest Sections, *Australian Citizenship: A Chronology of Major Developments in Policy and Law*, (Canberra: Parliament of Australia), under Developments in Australian Citizenship Law. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/0910/AustCitizenship
[36] Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia,* 24.

House apartment blocks double storey and single storey residences	**Villawood Migrant Hostel and Westbridge Migrant Hostel**	**Purpose-designed and adapted**	**1968–1984 (Sections of Westbridge Hostel remained open into the late 1980s before being adapted into the VIDC in the early 1990s.)**	**1969: Citizenship Act 1969. "In 1968 a general revision of the legislation was undertaken. The Act changed the status of citizens from being British subjects to Australian citizens."[37]** **1972-73: The White Australia Policy is formally abolished by the Whitlam Government in 1972. "There were several developments under the Whitlam Government aimed at assisting in the settling and integration of migrants such as the establishment of the Settlement Services Branch of the Department of Immigration in 1973 and the Telephone Interpreter Service in 1974."[38]** **1975: The Racial Discrimination Act.** **1978: The Galbally Report is published, a review of services and programs for new migrants.**
Prison	**Villawood Immigration Detention Centre (IDC)**	**Purpose-designed and then adapted**	**1976–present (Thesis: 1976-1992)**	**1992: Migration Amendment Act 1992. Mandatory Detention is introduced for 'unauthorised' arrivals to Australia.[39]**

[37] Klapdor, *Australian citizenship,* under Developments in Australian Citizenship Law.
[38] Klapdor, *Australian citizenship,* under Developments in Australian Citizenship Law.
[39] Janet Phillips and Harriet Spinks, Social Policy Section, *Immigration Detention in Australia,* (Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2013).

The thesis focuses on the design and development of the new hostel housing blocks during the 1960s at Villawood (see figures 1.5 and 1.6). The physical, spatial and material fabric of the dwellings constructed and adapted are investigated alongside the racialised political narratives that have attended accommodation provided by the Commonwealth government for recently arrived migrants and refugees in Australia from 1948 onwards. Australia's first purpose-designed detention facility was built on-site, adjacent but separate and removed from the Villawood hostel buildings in 1976 (see figures 1.7 and 1.8).[40] After the hostel closed in 1984, selected migrant hostel housing blocks were incorporated into the gradual growth of detention systems constructed on-site to accommodate refugees and asylum seekers subject to detention and subsequently mandatory detention from 1992.[41] These two periods belong to two separate trajectories in Australia's immigration and refugee policy and the procedural aims underwriting the physical facilities vary from nation building to securitisation. However, investigation of the shared site and facility use offers an opportunity to explore crossovers between the differing policies and the surrounding divisive public narratives, demonstrating how home ideals influence refugee resettlement in Australia.

The thesis's underlying argument is that ideological and physical conceptions of home influence the political and public narratives surrounding both historic and current

[40] Dept of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, "Immigration Detention Centres, 1974–1981," NAA: A446, 1974/76229.

[41] For overview of immigration detention policy and legal ramifications: Mary Crock, Ben Saul and Azadeh Dastyari, *Future Seekers II: Refugees and Irregular Migration in Australia* (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2006); Mary Crock, Laurie Berg, *Immigration, Refugees and Forced Migration: Law, Policy and Practice in Australia* (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2011).

refugee arrival and temporary settlement options. The Villawood site is significant as it highlights that 'home', as a form that is visualised and spatialised as an Australian ideal, has frequently been transitory and discursively marked by cultures of both hospitality and spatial violence. The thesis proposes that the accommodation types on-site, defined by temporality, demonstrate the ingrained tension between housing ideals and racialised anxiety surrounding the economic utility of migrants and refugees in Australia. In making this link, the thesis offers a different reading of nation and housing to that prevalent in contemporary architectural discourse and more relevant to ongoing social and political concerns.

Directly after the Second World War, the Australian Federal Government embarked on a journey of reconstruction and nation building contributing to economic prosperity that—in reducing a complex economic trajectory for brevity—effectually did not encounter a major roadblock until 'stagflation' in the early 1970s.[42] During this period, there was a political and wider social emphasis on house ownership as a method of economic and cultural securitisation. This notion of house ownership has been culturally mythologised through the hazy phrase the 'Australian Dream,' a phrase whose meaning is constantly mutating and has been a topic of both celebration and

[42] For economic histories see Claire Wright, *Australian Economic History* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2022); Alex Millmow, *A History of Australasian Economic Thought* (London: Routledge, 2017); Michael Pusey, *Economic Rationalism in Canberra: A Nation Building State Changes its Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

derision for cultural commentators since the Second World War.[43] The 'Australian Dream' linked house ownership, often in this period a detached single-family house, to economic stability but it also culturally grounded understandings of home and emplacement in the Commonwealth of Australia in these physical forms.[44] By examining a peripheral, transitory form of housing in this period, the thesis interrogates how ideals around house ownership and framings of house and home became interwoven, expanding the category of house to include previously unexplored spatial types.

The idea of emplacement being tied to the financial security of house ownership in part contributes to histories of domestic architecture focusing on houses that are individually or family-owned, primary residences and centred around the traditional understandings of the nuclear family. Consequently, as suggested by historians such Seamus O'Hanlon, Patrick Troy and Margaret Fletcher, housing histories in Australia have often overlooked individuals and groups and transitory forms of dwelling.[45] Rather than examine the current housing opportunities available to recently admitted

[43] Alastair Grieg, *The Stuff Dreams are Made Of: Housing Provision in Australia 1945–1960* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1995); Sarah Ferber, Chris Healy and Chris McAuliffe, *Beasts of Suburbia* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1994); McAuliffe, *Art and Suburbia* (Roseville East, NSW: Craftsman House, 1996).
[44] See Judith O'Callaghan, ed. *The Australian Dream: Design in the Fifties* (Haymarket, N.S.W.: Powerhouse Publishing, 1993); John Murphy and Belinda Probert, "Anything for the House': Recollections of post war suburban dreaming," *Australian Historical Studies*, 36:124, (2004); 275-293; Grame Davison, Tony Dinge and Seamus O'Hanlon, eds. *The Cream Brick Frontier Histories of Australian Suburbia* (Melbourne: Monash Publications in History, no. 19, 1995).
[45] Patrick Troy, *Accommodating Australians: Commonwealth Government Involvement in Housing*, (Annandale, N.S.W.: Federation Press, 2012); Meredith Fletcher, "Ferals and Their Muddies" *History Australia* 2, no. 1, (2004): 8-1–8-16; Seamus O'Hanlon, "Full Board and Lodging: Hostels for Migrant Workers in Early Postwar Melbourne," *History Australia 2* no. 3 (2005).

refugees as seen in Andrew Beer and Paul Foley's recent research for the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.[46] The thesis focuses on an intensive, experimental site that draws together discussions of migration with particular attention to the first point of entry for economically and or politically disenfranchised migrants and refugees into Australia. The Villawood site was selected, from over seventy on-arrival accommodation sites, as a highly politicised example of this entry point to possible Australian citizenship (the case-study selection process is outlined in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Border to the Hearth" and see Appendix 2: List of Commonwealth Migrant Hostels From 1947 To The 1980s).

The research undertaken is timely and topical, offering a view of Australia's multifaceted immigration history through the lens of architecture. Villawood Immigration Detention Centre has recently gone through a staggered large-scale redevelopment resulting from successive investigations by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission into the quality of facilities and living conditions for detainees.[47] The Villawood Immigration Detention Centre is a key site where Australia's

[46] Andrew Beer and Paul Foley, for the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI), *Housing Need and Provision for Recently Arrived Refugees in Australia* (Melbourne, Victoria: Australian Housing and Urban research Institute, 2003); See Paul Flatau and Jessica Smith, et al, AHURI, *The Housing and Homelessness Journeys of Refugees in Australia* (Melbourne, Victoria: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, 2015); Historical studies: *Migrant Services and Programs: Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (*Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, May, 1978); Pookong Kee, Australia. Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Office of Multicultural Affair, *Home Ownership and Housing Conditions of Immigrants and Australian Born* (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1992).

[47] For earlier examples see footnote no. 1, Graeme Innes and Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Immigration Detention Report 2008: Summary of Observation Following Visits to Australia's Immigration Detention Facilities*.

complex and dark histories in relation to migration and the resettlement of refugees have been made visible. Here, there have been notable past protests by internees who have used both civil disobedience and violence as methods to become visible and gain recognition for their situation (see figures 1.9 and 1.10).[48] Australia's acceptance and resettlement of refugees and asylum seekers is a recurrent issue at the forefront of national politics and arguably has played a decisive role in the direction of campaigns and the results of Federal elections during the 1990s and early 2000s.[49] Villawood's architectural history therefore offers a platform to investigate the entwinement of nation-building, hospitality and national identity as positioned in parallel ideas and preconceptions about the political, social and aesthetic role of housing in Australia. Since the intersection of discourses on border protection and historic housing provision in Australia has been seldom linked in architectural studies, one of the challenges of this research is establishing their relationship as critical to evaluating how shifting conceptions of housing and home in Australia influence the Australian Federal Government's strategies in accepting and resettling migrants and refugees.

[48] Example of media coverage: Debbie Guest, "Guards Retreat as Detainees set Villawood Alight," *The Australian,* April 21, 2011; Nick Ralston "Buildings Set Alight in Villawood Detention Centre Rooftop Protest," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 21, 2011.
[49] See: Robert Manne and David Corlett, "Sending Them Home: Refugees and the New Politics of Indifference," *Quarterly Essay* 13 (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2004).

1.2 Research Questions

There are three main research questions:

1. **What types of accommodation were historically provided for migrants, and refugees on arrival to Australia?**

2. **How did their physical, spatial and material character shape this critical entry point into Australian citizenship?**

3. **How might the design of these transitional environments impact ideas about housing and 'home' in Australia?**

These initial questions guided the thesis's research in that they provided an entry point to anchor the historical research due to the lack of existing scholarship in the field of architecture surrounding this topic, which is discussed in the following section. As the study developed, the focus shifted from a categorical accumulation of what types of accommodation were historically provided for migrants and refugees on arrival to Australia to exploring the tensions between the federal government's framing of hospitality and security that emerged spatially at the Villawood site across the period of the study. The thesis asks can *the historical transformation of one site* allocated for migrant and refugee accommodation and detainment across varied iterations of hostel, house and detention environments contribute to a different understanding of housing

and help to interrogate idealised constructions of home in Australia. By investigating this question, the thesis explores the duality and tension between spatial accommodation and spatial violence and the oscillation between hospitality and criminality that informs the reception of the site's various occupants. Grounded in architectural methodologies that use spatial and material conditions, the thesis explores how various architectural types, such as the camp, motel, house and prison, spatially intersect across different time periods. By analysing the site's built fabric, the research asks how forms of hospitality, confinement and incarceration are reproduced and received across different scales that inform the site. Additionally, the research asks how domestic and punitive spatial ideals were projected into daily lives and how they were experienced or subverted across these various spatial scenarios.

1.3 Significance of Research

This is the first comprehensive study of the spatial and architectural history of the additions of purpose-designed buildings at Commonwealth migrant hostels in Australia. It fills a gap in the current literature by providing a spatial correspondence between migrant hostels and forms of immigration detention focusing on the Villawood site; a site significant for examining how changing Australian national identity was influenced by and changed due to migrant and refugee arrivals during the period of study. The thesis's original contribution is to view national political directives and their cultural impact through the lens of a specific discipline, architecture; and to expand the

discipline's capacity for social relevance by examining the spatial, physical and aesthetic dimensions of marginalised housing histories.

Gaps in Architectural Literature

There is increased interest in former migrant and refugee accommodation sites as exemplifiers of new practices of place-making in connection to contested national memories. Interrogations of this type of placemaking are evident in the work of Australian historians such as Sara Wills, Alexandra Dellios, Glenda Sluga and Pamie Ching Tsz Fung.[50] Whereas their primary focus of these sites has been in connection to social and political histories, this thesis adopts a different approach. Slices from Villawood's architectural history are used to examine how scales of domesticity and incarceration have been employed spatially in transitory, on-arrival accommodation. There are two dimensions to the discourse surrounding the history of facilities on the Villawood site, with the first focusing on architecture and migration and the other on internment. This is due to the regulatory and then by extension carceral nature of the accommodation concerned and the fact that migrant hostels and immigration detention

[50] Examples: Sara Wills, "Between the Hostel and the Detention Centre: Possible Trajectories of Migrant Pain and Shame in Australia," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage* edited by William Logan and Keir Reeves (New York: Routledge, 2009), 263–280; Alexander Dellios, "Migration Parks and Monuments to Multiculturalism: Finding the Challenge to Australian Heritage Discourses through Community Public History Practice," *The Public Historian 42, no.2* (2020): 7–32, https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2020.42.2.7; Dellios, *Histories of Controversy: Bonegilla Migrant Centre* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2017); Pamie Ching Tsz Fung, "A Place 'Midway Between the Old Life and the New: A Case Study of the Migrant Hostel at Maribyrnong" (PhD University of Melbourne, 2013); Glenda Sluga, Bonegilla, 'a place of no hope' (PhD University of Melbourne 1988).

centres served specific administrative and political purposes by either temporarily housing migrants for labour or criminalising refugees and asylum seekers.[51]

In architecture, published research on the migrant house in Australia is an expanding field with the work of Mirjana Lozanovska's and Iris Levin relevant to this thesis.[52] However, their focus is often on houses owned by migrants rather than government subsidised facilities that endorse temporary tenures and conditions of physical transience such as migrant hostels and other forms of public housing. Literature examining the intersection of architecture and migrant and refugee communities includes Stephen Cairns's pivotal compilation *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy*. Following that, Mirjana Lozanovska's edited compilation *Migration and Ethno-architecture,* emphasised the experience and contributions made by culturally and economically marginalised migrant communities.[53] In Australia, notably the work of Mirjana Lozanovska, David Beynon, and Kelum Palipane look at migrant communities including through the domestic sphere and public architecture as well as in relation to transcultural cities and places.[54] In conjunction with this work is a current Australian

[51] Alison Bashford, and Carolyn Strange, "Asylum–Seekers and National Histories of Detention," *Australian Journal of Politics & History 48*, no. 4 (2002): 509–527.
[52] Mirjana Lozanovska, *Migrant Housing: Architecture, Dwelling, Migration* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Lozanovska, Iris Levin, and Maria Victoria Gantala, "Is the Migrant House in Australia an Australian Vernacular Architecture?" *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 24, no. 2 (2013): 65–78.
[53] Stephen Cairns, ed., *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003); Mirjana Lozanovska, Mirjana, ed., *Ethno-Architecture and the Politics of Migration* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).
[54] David Benyon, Brandon Gardiner, Ursula de Jong, Mirjana Lozanovska, Marcello, Flavia, "An Issues Paper: The Roots/Routes of Australian Architecture: Elements of an Alternative Architectural History," in *Translation: 31st Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New*

Research Council Discovery Project, *Architecture and Industry: The Migrant Contribution to Nation-Building*, led by Anoma Pieris and Mirjana Lozanovska.[55]

The second area of scholarship is the work from the architectural disciplines which examines refugee displacement and imprisonment. Anoma Pieris's recently edited compilation *Architecture on the Borderline* examines how nation-state border conditions both act upon and intersect with architecture and urbanism in an international study.[56] The Australian context is the focus of Sean Anderson and Jennifer Ferng's work on detention centres under the Australian Government's jurisdiction and Pieris's contribution to The Handbook of Displacement.[57] Villawood's historical trajectory from camp to housing to prison provides a platform to connect historical migrant and refugee resettlement in Australia to contemporary carceral detention centres. There is extensive literature investigating the historical trajectory of the current acceptance and resettlement of refugees and asylum seekers in Australia from different disciplinary

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Zealand Conference, edited by Chistoph Schnoor (Auckland: SAHANZ and Unitec ePress, 2014), 639-658; Beynon, "Edge of Centre: Australian Cities and the Public Architecture of Recent Immigrant Communities," in *Ethno-Architecture and the Politics of Migration;* Kelum Palipane, "Towards a Multimodal Production of Urban Space : Exploring the Role of Socio-Sensory Knowledge in Design for Urban Renewal" (Parkville, Victoria:: University of Melbourne, 2016); Palipane, "Socio-Sensory Practice and its Potential for Identity, Plurality and Dissonance," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 41, no. 6: (2022), https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2020.1831454;

[55] "Architecture and Industry: The Migrant Contribution to Nation-Building," Melbourne School of Design, last accessed October 2022, https://msd.unimelb.edu.au/research/projects/current/architecture-and-industry-the-migrant-contribution-to-nation-building

[56] Anoma Pieris, ed., *Architecture on the Borderline: Boundary Politics and Built Space* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019).

[57] Sean Anderson and Jennifer Ferng, "No Boat: Christmas Island and the Architecture of Detention," Architecture Theory Review 18, no. 2 (2013): 212–226; "Antipodean Architectures of Displacement," in *The Handbook of Displacement* edited by Peter Adey, et al. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

perspectives, namely from the humanities and law.[58] This includes work as varied as James Jupp's political and statistical analysis work for Commonwealth Government departments to Joseph Pugliese's reading of immigration detention centres as generating and projecting refugee trauma as spectacle.[59] Australian scholars also writing in this area also include Suvendrini Perera, Peter Mares, Claire Loughnan and Michelle Peterie.[60] Despite extensive research on many social and legal aspects of these sites, there is limited focus on the physical, spatial and material composition of migrant hostels and immigration detention sites as the larger context for the human condition. The most notable research in this area is found in the forms of heritage assessment reports.[61] There is considerable work on the spatial organisation of refugee camps including the work of

[58] See: Don McMaster, *Asylum Seekers: Australia's Response to Refugees* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 2001); Ann-Mari Jordens, *Redefining 'Australian citizen' 1945–75 Canberra Administration, Compliance & Governability Program, Research School of Social Sciences* (Australian National University, 1993); Stephen Castles, et.al., *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1988).

[59] Joesph Pugliese, "The Tutelary Architecture of Immigration Detention Prisons and the Spectacle of 'Necessary Suffering,'" *Architecture Theory Review* 13, no. 2 (2008): 206–221; Perera and Pugliese, *Mapping Deathscapes: Digital Geographies of Racial and Border Violence* (Routledge 2022). See "Deathscapes: Mapping Race and Violence in Settler States, (2016-2020), https://www.deathscapes.org/; James Jupp and Kabala, Marie, eds., *The Politics of Australian Immigration* (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1993).

[60] Suvendrini Perera and Joesph Pugliese, "Sexual Violence and the Border: Colonial Genealogies of US and Australian Immigration Detention Regimes," *Social & Legal Studies* 30, no.1 (2018), https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663918767954 Mares, *Borderline: Australia's Response to Refugees*; Claire Loughnan, "The Scene and the Unseen: Neglect and Death in Immigration Detention and Aged Care," *Incarceration 3*, no. 2 (2022): https://doi.org/10.1177/26326661103444; Michelle Peterie, *Visiting Immigration Detention: Care and Cruelty in Australia's Asylum Seeker Prisons.*

[61] There exist heritage evaluations of migrant sites: Nina Pollock, Godden Mackay Logan, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility: Archival Recording / Report prepared for the Department of Immigration and Citizenship* (Redfern, NSW: Godden Mackay Logan, 2011); Stella Barber, *Appendix J: Social Significance Report: Maribyrnong (later Midway and Midway/Philip Migrant) Hostel: Amendment C47 to the Maribyrnong Planning Scheme, Williamson Road, Maidstone* (Victoria: GHD Pty Ltd on behalf of Victoria University); Jozefa Sobski, *Villawood Immigration Detention Centre Redevelopment; Submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Public Works Incorporating a Proposal for a Migration Museum and Ethnographic Park as Part of the Redevelopment in a Heritage Precinct* (Canberra: Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2006).

Irit Katz and its focus on architectural spectacles of migrant hospitality as well as the work of political and cultural geographer Adam Ramadan, philosopher Bulent Diken and anthropologist Michel Agier.[62] Although the refugee camp and the detention centre are sometimes conflated as categories in academic and media discourses because they are sites generated from forced migration and displacement, the ideological and legal apparatuses underwriting the emergence of these types of sites and their function are disparate.

In architecture, the literature on confinement and its design, including the use of military and refugee camps as well as prisons, reveal how spatial violence is formalised. Notable contemporary scholarship that examines how direct and structural violence is reinforced through the built environment includes the work of Andrew Herscher as well as Eyal Weizman in his analysis of the hostile occupation of captured territories.[63] In addition there is expanding work on carceral geographies, where immigration detention is situated as part of the global prison industrial complex. This type of work intersects with key philosophical enquires with a spatial dimension, namely Michel

[62] Irit Katz, "Camps by Design: Architectural Spectacles of Migrant Hospitality," *Incarceration: An International Journal of Imprisonment, Detention and Coercive Confinement* (April 1 2022) https://doi.org/10.1177/2632666322108458; Michel Agier, *On the Margins of the World: The Refugee Experience Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008); Bulent Diken, "Refugee Camps to Gated Communities: Biopolitics and the End of the City," *Citizenship Studies* 8, no. 1 (2004): 83–106, https://doi.org/10.1080/1362102042000178373,

[63] Example: Dominique Moran, *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2015); Andrew Herscher, *Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010); Forensic Architecture, *Forensis: the Architecture of Public Truth / A Project by Forensic Architecture, Centre for Research Architecture, Department of Visual Cultures, Goldsmiths, University of London* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2014); Eyal Weizman, Rafi Segal, eds., *A Civilian Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture* (New York: VERSO, 2003).

Foucault's work regarding prison reform in the modern era and institutional discipline as a method of producing citizens.[64] Relevant to the discussion of refugee camps and spatial violence are Giorgio Agamben's framings of contemporary border conditions that generate fringe camp environments where individuals are forcibly defined by their exclusion from participation in political and economic governing apparatuses and by extension are subjected to highly restricted processes of individuation.[65] Forms of spatial violence seen in prisons and refugee camps are significant for this research, in particular in the emergence of immigration detention facilities onsite. However, the thesis is more concerned with how both structural and systemic violence intersect with housing provision and resettlement policies.[66]

Due to the thesis's focus on how the physical, spatial and material changes on the Villawood site point to immigration histories and trajectories of housing provision in Australia, the research theoretically draws instead from Jacques Derrida's discussions

[64] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).
[65] Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998). Examples of work: Michelle Peterie, *Visiting Immigration Detention: Care and Cruelty in Australia's Asylum Seeker Prisons* (Bristol University Press, 2022); Alison Bashford, Carolyn Strange, eds., *Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Kenzari Bechir ed., *Architecture and Violence* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2011); Nan Ellin, ed. *Architecture of Fear* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997); Architectural histories of Australian prisons: James Kerr, *Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Australia's Places of Confinement, 1788–1988* (Sydney, NSW.: S.H. Ervin Gallery, National Trust of Australia, 1988).
[66] For a discussion of these different forms of violence see Slavoj Zizek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (London: Profile, 2008).

on the limitations of hospitality in forms of nation-state cosmopolitanism.[67] In the early 2000s, scholars like Ghassan Hage, Sneja Gunew and Sara Wills explored the complications and contradictions in the relationship of nation-state hospitality and multiculturalism, both as an official Australian Government policy and as a cultural framework.[68] This interest in the limitations of nation-state hospitality to economically and ethnoculturally marginalised people was prompted by the increased, often draconian Australian border security measures of the 2001 'Tampa Crisis or Incident.' The 'Tampa Crisis' resulted from a Norwegian container ship, the MV Tampa, rescuing 433 refugees and asylum seekers from an Indonesian fishing boat in international waters. The Australian government denied the freighter entry to let the people disembark at Christmas Island, an Australian territory in the Indian Ocean. The subsequent five-day negotiations resulting in Australian military invention, propelled a heightened political and public preoccupation around the securitisation of borders. The incident was a catalyst for the introduction of, what came to be known, as the 'Pacific Solution,' which saw 'unauthorised' refugees and asylum seekers attempting to arrive to Australia by boat denied entry and transferred to offshore processing centres

[67] Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality, Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond*, translated by Rachel Bowlby (Standford University Press, 2000); Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, translated by M. Dooley and R Kearney (London: Routledge, 2001); Judith Still, *Derrida and Hospitality: Theory and Practice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

[68] Recent works Ghassan Hage, *The Diasporic Condition: Ethnographic Explorations of the Lebanese in the World* (The University of Chicago Press, 2021); Sneja Gunew, *Post-multicultural Writers as Neo-cosmopolitan* (Anthem Press, 2017); Sara Wills, "Negotiating Migration, Sentiment, and Insecurity: Encounters with Sadness and Shame in Australia", in *Migration and Insecurity* edited by Niklaus Steiner, Robert Mason and Anna Hayes (New York: Routledge, 2013), 64–82; Key works: Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1998); Sneja Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Wills, "Between the hostel and the detention centre: possible trajectories of migrant pain and shame in Australia."

in neighbouring countries, namely to Nauru and Manus Island in Papua New Guinea, which had been set up in negotiations with local governments.[69] The federal government's handling of the situation received international condemnation for the circumvention of its human rights obligations and the incident was a central and divisive issue in the 2001 federal election, arguably drawing on the entrenched legacies from Australia's history of discriminatory immigration restrictions, namely the policies commonly referred to as the White Australia Policy.[70] The literature underpinning the thesis's theoretical framing is explored in greater detail when the methodology is discussed in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Border to the Hearth."

Contemporary Relevance of Research

The recent policies imposed to secure borders from refugees classified as 'unauthorised' arrivals, along with the neglect and targeted abuse of displaced people in on- and off-shore detention, highlight assimilation and multiculturalism as inextricably linked in government and media discussions of Australian citizenship: discussions where cultural identities centred on ethnicity and cultural practices are reproduced and contested in relation to shifting understandings of nationalism. Contemporary celebratory representations of nation-state multiculturalism overshadow the divisive

[69] Manne, "Sending Them Home;" Janet Phillips, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, Social Policy Section, *The 'Pacific Solution' revisited: a statistical guide to the asylum seeker caseloads on Nauru and Manus Island,* 2012.
[70] Manne, "Sending Them Home;" Mares, *Borderline: Australia's Response to Refugees*.

politics of nation-state hospitality to the economically and culturally disenfranchised and raise questions about refugees and asylum seekers' access to the benefits of citizenship. The assimilatory legacy of cultural acceptability is frequently linked to the economic capability of incoming people to Australia. The precarious housing situations of many refugees and asylum seekers are in sharp contrast to images of multiculturalism as exemplifying nation-state hospitality and prosperity.[71] Examining histories of housing through refugee experiences of housing instability highlights the precariousness of the idealised home and its selective articulation of national belonging. Drawing on more recent interdisciplinary scholarship that interrogates new forms of flexible and global citizenship, the thesis examines the architectural history of the case study site and the framing of Australian citizenship in the period preceding their contemporary changes when the intellectual focus was on government policies of assimilation and later differentiation of migrants by culture, including economic migrants. Subsequent scholarship on new modes of citizenship, positions the economic migrant as a transnational subject, part of the global flows of late (or what is identified as surveillance) capitalism and as inseparable from the unmoored contemporary refugee, who often has limited opportunities to obtain either fixed or flexible citizenship and consequently traditional modes of individual or familial securitisation.[72]

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[71] Beer and Foley, (AHURI), *Housing Need and Provision for Recently Arrived Refugees in Australia.*
[72] Key works: See Saskia Sassen, "Towards Post-National and Denationalized Citizenship," in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies* edited by Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner (London: SAGE, 2002), 268–288; Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Derham: Duke University Press, 1999); Emma Haddad, *The Refugee in International Society* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). See Katja Franko Aas, "'Crimmigrant' Bodies and Bona Fide Travelers: Surveillance, Citizenship and Global Governance," *Theoretical Criminology* 15, no.3 https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480610396643,

In summary, a broader aim of this research is to understand how the accommodation provided to refugees and asylum seekers helps visualise and materialise these broader issues of physical and spatial instability. Despite various debates on the value of formalism occurring within the design disciplines, formal and aesthetic concerns and their spatial organisation provide important frameworks for examining the changing physical, spatial and material make-up of the Villawood site.[73] Although the research uses an interdisciplinary approach, it is grounded in the discipline of architecture and consequently addresses the aesthetic choices and physical manifestations of everyday material and spatial practices related to domesticity as influenced by politics. The thesis offers an alternative history of housing that focuses on the design of housing marked by temporary tenures with the aim of contributing to a broader and perhaps different understanding of constructions of house and home in Australia.

1.4 Chapter Overview

From the commencement of immigration programs directly after the Second World War, political anxieties surrounding arriving migrants were directly linked to housing perceptions. Historian Ann-Mari Jordens argues in *On Accommodating Migrants* that due to a housing shortage stemming from the Great Depression after the war: "the political

[73] To borrow the art critic Nicolas Bourriaud's questions in his preface to his book *The Radicant*: "Why is it that globalization has so often been discussed from the sociological, political, and economic points of view, but almost never from an aesthetic perspective? How does this phenomenon affect the life of form?" Nicolas Bourriaud, *The Radicant* (New York: Lukas & Sternberg, 2009).

acceptability of the immigration program depended upon the ability of the government to prevent migrant home-seekers from competing with Australian born for rented and privately-owned accommodation."[74] Initial strategies for this included housing migrants from the British Isles and Ireland with their sponsors and families but gradually subsidised on-arrival accommodation was set up for all migrants arriving on assisted passage schemes. The need to provide initial accommodation contributed to a connection between immigration policy and housing agendas emerging from the Federal Government from the Second World War onwards.[75] For the Commonwealth Government to implement its nation-building program centred on population growth through migrant recruitment and win public approval for it, it needed to provide alternative accommodation for arriving migrants.

The redevelopment program undertaken by the Department of Immigration and Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, which the Villawood Migrant Hostel was part of in the 1960s is also linked to perceptions of housing both from within Australia but more specifically to perceptions originating from outside Australia. The inter-departmental discourse surrounding the program was grounded in policy that aimed to substantially bolster migrant recruitment from a competitive market in Europe due to its increasing political stability and economic prosperity.[76] Europe's post-war revival placed pressure on Australia to market itself as an advantageous destination and resulted in the

[74] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants,* 2.
[75] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants,* 3–4.
[76] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants.*

Department of Immigration's acquisition of new sites and construction of modern hostels with improved and subsidised accommodation for migrants.[77] Although not the primary motivating factor in improving hostel accommodation, the experiences of residents, including frequent protests about the standard of food and facilities, are equally crucial in understanding the Commonwealth of Australia's manifestation in these sites.[78]

Examined in the following chapters are the wider political narratives and motivations encircling housing in architectural and Commonwealth histories. Chapter 2, "Histories of Temporary Homes in the Commonwealth of Australia," uncovers the colonial underpinning of housing histories and the political and social apparatuses behind the generation of housing ideals. In doing so, it provides analyses of the literature relevant to the thesis. The chapter investigates historical understandings of house and home in Australia as relating to architecture. It provides a framework for considering the construction of the ideal home in the study's period and the category's discursive and physical dynamism to draw attention to the exclusion of more marginalised and contested histories of housing in Australia. The focus is on scholarship that illuminates

[77] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick, New South Wales* (Canberra: Parliament of Commonwealth of Australia 1964–1966), 4–8.
[78] Examples of protests at Villawood: "500 Protest to Menzies Migration," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 9, 1958, 5; "Heating of Villawood Hostel," *The Biz (Fairfield),* May 6, 1959, 15; "Angry Migrants Tied to Camp," *Sunday Mirror,* October 29, 1961; "M.P., Seeks Probe on Migrant Camp," *Sunday Mirror*, November 5, 1961, "Hostel Similar to Concentration Camps," *The Biz* (Fairfield) October 1962, 1.

the frequently polemical juxtaposition of migration and colonial emplacement in Australia and how this informs and is played out in government-sponsored housing.

Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Hearth to the Border," introduces the thesis's methodology and methods. Jacques Derrida's analysis of hospitality as connected to cosmopolitanism is introduced to examine how the term hospitality has been used in disciplines such as Australian History and Cultural Studies to analyse and consider migration histories and the emergence of on-arrival detention practices.[79] The chapter introduces the thesis's theoretical framework by discursively investigating the term and its overlap with the design profession's histories of hospitality. The research utilises architectural methodologies that use spatial and material conditions to examine how various architectural types such as the camp, motel, house and prison spatially intersect across different time periods. This chapter outlines the selection of the site of the former Villawood Migrant Hostel and why it is used as a single case-study. The primary methods used to undertake the thesis are discourse analysis, archival research and fieldwork with existing oral histories providing a complementary social history. Through archival work, the research primarily examines the manifestation of the nation-state in the architecture. Second, it asks how domestic and punitive spatial ideals were

[79] For the Australian context see: Suvendrini Perera, *Australia and the Insular Imagination: Beaches, Borders, Boats, and Bodies* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2009); Perera, Graham Seal and Sue Summers eds., *Enter at own risk? Australia's Population Questions for the 21st Century* (Perth: Black Swan Press, 2010); Perera and Joesph Pugliese, "Sexual Violence and the Border: Colonial Genealogies of US and Australian Immigration Detention Regimes;" Katrina Schlunke, "Sovereign Hospitalities?" *Borderlands e journal* 1, no. 2, (2002); Trove archived online journal, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20030624015143/http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol1no2_2002/schlunke_hospitalities.html

projected into migrant and refugee everyday lives; and finally, how these ideals were experienced and disrupted by residents across the various spatial scenarios.

Chapter 4, "Homes in the Sun: Domestic Framings of Hospitality at Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel," presents the architecture of the case-study. By analysing the new hostel buildings in relation to both architectural discourses of the era and political narratives, this chapter contextualises the specific forms of hospitality offered to migrants against the idealisations of Australian houses in circulation at the time. The chapter analyses the redevelopment and the design of the purpose-built apartments at the Villawood Migrant Hostel in the 1960s. Designed by the Sydney based firm Bunning & Madden, these collective, medium-density housing blocks were part of a nationwide program to improve migrant resettlement facilities to aid the continued migrant intake. Arguably, this redevelopment was a response to residents' demonstrations about previous facilities and to help prevent their non-compliance to tariffs.[80] There was a gradual shift from accommodation associated with military cultures to facilities more resembling domestic dwellings equipped with modern household conveniences, which helped project images of increased government hospitality. This chapter looks at the architecture through drawings and government-sponsored photographic representations and considers this spatial and material

[80] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden* (Sydney: Bunning and Madden, 1970); Bunning & Madden, "Bunning & Madden - papers, 1954–1989," SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: MLMSS 7780.

evidence in relation to architectural framings of the 'Australian Home.'[81] It considers the design professions' changing understandings of Australian residential architecture to the newspaper coverage that emerges around both the facilities and occupants at Villawood, prior and after the redevelopment.[82]

Chapter 5, "From Emergency Reception Centres to Housing Experiments: The Commonwealth's Revitalisation of Migrant Accommodation," situates the Villawood redevelopment in the context of the nationwide program undertaken by Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, in conjunction with the Department of Immigration and the Commonwealth Department of Public Works. It compares three significant Commonwealth hostels to Villawood, including the Endeavour Hostel in Randwick, Sydney and the Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel and the Enterprise Hostel in suburban Melbourne.[83] The Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel provides a robust comparative case study as it was Victoria's longest-running migrant hostel and its redevelopment, designed by the Melbourne firm Montgomery, King and Trengove, features strikingly unusual arrangements for government-sponsored housing.[84] The Endeavour Hostel in Randwick, Sydney and the Enterprise Hostel in Springvale, Melbourne were distinctive in the new generation of on-arrival migrant accommodation. They were not

[81] Walter Bunning, *Homes in the Sun* (Sydney: Nesbit, 1945); Example: Walter Bunning, "The House of the Future," *The Sunday Herald*, 21 Sep 1952, 18.
[82] Examples: "Build Flats for Migrants, MP Tells House," *The Canberra Times,* March 1967, 1; "New Look for Australia's Biggest Migrant Hostel," *Good Neighbour*, February 1, 1969, 4.
[83] Dept. of Immigration, "Randwick Hostel, Sydney, Part 1 [5 plans]," 1962–1966, NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252.
[84] Reeves, Heritage Alliance*, Former Midway and Philip, Maribyrnong Migrant Hostels*.

redevelopments of existing hostels but constructed on newly obtained sites and designed within the Commonwealth Department of Works.[85] Both these hostels were opened in 1970 by the Department of Immigration in conjunction with Commonwealth Hostels Ltd. Accommodating up to a thousand people each, the provision of temporary, collective living was aligned with motels and hotels, and institutional forms of accommodation rather than ex-army facilities. The chapter focuses on the Endeavour Hostel and compares three experimental sites for housing migrant and refugees. Drawing on departmental committee reports and debates about the appropriate forms and standard of facilities, this chapter examines how the design of these hostels relates to the Commonwealth's shifting agendas with accommodating incoming populations during the 1960s and 1970s. By focusing on the deliberations surrounding preliminary designs, the chapter investigates how these broader tensions inform hostel designs in relation to the push for maximum utility in government subsidised housing.

Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining: The Design of Domesticity at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel," explores the spatial practice of dining by examining the absence and alternative manifestations of core planning features associated with the suburban house in migrant hostels. It focuses on the nexus of the kitchen and dining areas in the hostel. In the redevelopment of Villawood, the production of food was still generated in large-scale, industrial kitchens and delivered

[85] Dept. of Works, *Works Review / Commonwealth of Australia Department of Works* (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1969–70): 18–19; Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, "Central - Organisation and Administration Policy - New Hostel for Migrants Randwick - Construction and Design, 1964–1966, NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1.

in the remaining ex-military facilities. Depending on fluxes in population, Villawood had several kitchens working with a choice of various set menus.[86] This chapter examines these kitchen and dining sites as key communal places in the hostel that facilitated important social activities but simultaneously highlights the inscribed limits of hospitality regarding cultural difference that emerge through the policies underwriting institutional design and facility management.[87] Departmental records on the daily issues encountered in migrant hostels are interpreted referring to existing oral histories from former residents in addition to media coverage of the site. Analysing these interpretations of the hostel's physical and material fabric in conjunction with the everyday activities which they facilitate, emphasises the diversity of hostel experiences.

Chapter 7, "New Forms of Border Security: The Establishment of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre," focuses on the construction of the first detention centre on site, as well as its physical and spatial transformations during the 1980s.[88] The development of a detention centre adjacent to the migrant hostel at Villawood highlights two competing but overlapping national narratives about the type of hospitality offered to displaced people arriving in Australia—narratives that confer and

[86] Peters, "Interviews with former residents of Villawood Migrant Hostel," 2001, NSWSL: MLOH 467; Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, "Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, NSW," 1976–1978, NAA: A4340, MR 1/164

[87] See: Nadia Postiglione, "'It was just Horrible': The Food Experience of Immigrants in 1950s Australia," *History Australia* 7, 1 (2010): 9.1-9.16; Dept of Labour and National Service, "Migrant Accommodation-Problems of Families Remaining in Hostels for Long Periods," 1958–1966, NAA: B146, 1965/61.

[88]Immigration Group, Dept. of Labour and Immigration, "Immigration Detention Centre Sydney - Policy - Part 1," 1975–1992, NAA: C322, N1983/100128.

collide. By situating the hostel as a derivation of both the house and the motel/hotel and the detention centre as a derivation of the prison, this chapter explores how hospitality and spatial control become intertwined. By using interdepartmental correspondence, photographs and limited architectural drawings, this chapter delineates the increase in departmental concern for people who were considered 'unauthorised' by the Australian Government and how to detain them.[89] These records, including scouting trips to other similar detention centres in the United States and Europe, indicate the experimental nature of the first detention centre at Villawood, a trial in how immigration detention might physically manifest and consequently be publicly received and represented in the media.[90] The chapter frames the practice of incarcerating non-citizens who have not committed criminal offences as fraught and highly contentious.

Chapter 8, "Conclusion: A Significant Site," draws together the arguments presented in each chapter and reflects on the thesis's contemporary significance. It offers a summary of the main architectural findings, arguing that the types of accommodation along with the detention facilities as they emerged on the Villawood site, all share an experimental character. In doing so, it considers how understandings of housing and home have impacted migrant hostel designs and their public reception. This is evident firstly in establishing camps as housing alternatives to allay public fears of migrants and refugees

[89] Dept. of Immigration, Central Office, "Immigration Detention Centres," 1974–1981, NAA: A446, 1974/76229

[90] Dept. of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, "Analysis and Compliance: Future Directions for Immigration Detention Centres," 1989–1990, NAA: A446, 1989/35253; Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, "Ethnic Affairs: Women in Immigration Detention Centres," 1983–1990, NAA: A446, 83/75815.

competing for house ownership with existing citizens. Second, it emerges through how the 'Australian Dream' was packaged and promoted to new arrivals—notably, this was seen in the planning of modern dwellings that aimed to reconstruct an idealised suburban neighbourhood as both providing an incentive for migrants to come to Australia and as a stage for assimilation processes. This transformation of on-arrival accommodation demonstrates how aesthetic choices and everyday practices as related to domesticity were influenced by ingrained anxieties about ethnocultural heterogeneity. The following chapter introduces the literature relevant to the thesis, establishing a framework to help consider how particular constructions of house and home emerged and gathered momentum in the post-war period.

Figure 1.1 The operation of a detoluator at the Commonwealth Explosives Factory (also known as the Villawood Munitions Factory), Villawood NSW, c. 1944. Source: Australia War Memorial (AWM) Archives: P00784.176.

Figure 1.2 Tree planting ceremony at the Villawood Munitions Factory, NSW, 1944. In the background is a Nissen hut, these were used on the Villawood Migrant Hostel site with additional imported ex-military huts. Source: State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW), Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: Government Printing Office 1 - 39102, Ref. 211139, 5/1944.



Figure 1.3 Aerial view of the Villawood Migrant Hostel, 1951. Source: Dept. of Immigration, National Archives of Australia (NAA): A12111, 1/1951/22/12.



Figure 1.4 Earlier incarnation of the site which on the right features the use of former military Nissen huts, 1957. Source: Don Edwards, Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1957/22A/56.



Figure 1.5 Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, Sydney, Bunning & Madden, 1968-70. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1970/22/25.

Figure 1.6 Sketch of entrance to the Villawood/Westbridge Hostel, Sydney, Bunning & Madden, 1967–70, Source: Bunning & Madden, "Bunning and Madden architectural drawings, chiefly 1960s," SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296.



Figure 1.7 Villawood Immigration Detention Centre (VIDC), opening press conference, 1977. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, NAA: A12111, 2/1977/40A/2.



Figure 1.8 VIDC, 1987. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, NAA: A12111, 2/1987/40A/5.

Figure 1.9 Media representation of protests at the VIDC, April 2011. Source: Dylan Welch and Geesche Jacobsen, "Detainees sent to jail as Swan stands firm," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 23, 2011, https://www.smh.com.au/national/detainees-sent-to-jail-as-swan-stands-firm-20110422-1drhd.html

Figure 1.10 Media representation of protests at the VIDC, April 2011. Source: Debbie Guest, and Lanai Vasek, "Guards retreat as detainees set Villawood alight," *The Australian*, April 21, 2011.

CHAPTER 2. HISTORIES OF TEMPORARY HOMES IN AUSTRALIA

2.1 Introduction: The Immigrant's House?

After the Second World War, the detached suburban house built with climate considerations adapted to local environments gained momentum as an ideal housing type for Australian citizens and its imagery became inscribed in the national imagination.[1] In a range of design-orientated publications aligned to architectural industries and the wider public sphere, this housing type became synonymous with ideas about the 'Australian House' and, by extension, the physical incarnation of home.[2] Suburbia and its predominant housing type emerged as the location for the 'Australian Dream' of house ownership as connected to ideas of home and emplacement. Graeme Davison, in his notable article "Australia: The First Suburban Nation?" discusses the suburban boom in Australian cities in the 1950s and 1960s and the emergence of a property-owning democracy that was spatialised through the suburbs.[3] By

[1] See: Sarah Ferber, Chris Healy and Chris McAuliffe eds., *Beasts of Suburbia* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1994); Alastair Grieg, *The Stuff Dreams are Made Of: Housing Provision in Australia 1945-1960* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1995); Chris McAuliffe, *Art and Suburbia* (Roseville East, NSW: Craftsman House, 1996).

[2] Examples: Walter Bunning, *Homes in the Sun* (Sydney: Nesbit, 1945); F. Oswald Barnett and W.O. Burt, *Housing the Australian Nation* (Melbourne: Research Group of the Left Book Club of Vic, 1942); John D. Moore, *Home Again: Domestic Architecture for the Normal Australian* (Sydney: Ure Smith Pty. Limited 1944).

[3] Graeme Davison, "Australia: The First Suburban Nation," *Journal of Urban History* 22, no. 1 (1995): 40–74; Davison, "The Great Australian Sprawl," *Historic Environment* 13, no. 1, (1997): 10 –17. In addition, many post war migrants tended to settle Australia's larger cities, namely Sydney and Melbourne and is reflected in Sydney and Melbourne's share of the nation's

differentiating the construction and collocation of the terms 'house' and 'home' during this period, the chapter uncovers the colonial underpinning of housing histories and the political and social apparatuses that influence home ideals. It is mainly concerned with the relationship between migrancy and colonial emplacement in Australia and how this informs government-sponsored housing. This chapter provides the literature review relevant to the thesis and in doing so generates a framework to consider perceptions of house and home in Australia, drawing attention to the exclusion of more marginalised and contested histories of housing.

In examining the literature on housing in Australia since colonialism, the term 'immigrant's house' is abstracted and conceptualised to discuss histories of housing and home that pertain to, or are generated entirely or partly, by migrants and refugees. These histories include considering adopted and re-engineered British traditions such as Queen Anne townhouses and the persistent British colonial interpretation of the bungalow as early incarnations of the immigrant's house.[4] In framing Anglo-Celtic derived settler populations as migrants, this chapter emphasises the tenuous link between immigrant realities and claims to ownership that continually underscore nation-state hospitality in settler-colonial nation-states such as Australia.[5] However this

overseas born population rising from 46.5 per cent in 1947 to 52.3 percent in 1991; (Graeme Hugo, Bureau of Immigration Multicultural Population Research, *Understanding Where Immigrants Live* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995, 6.)

[4] Miles Lewis, "The Victorian House," in *The History & Design of the Australian House, edited by* Robert Irving (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[5] For discussions on the colonial dimensions of hospitality see: Sneja Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Sara Wills, various in-

categorisation is complicated, firstly as framing settler-colonial populations as immigrants can dilute the violent collisions, conflicts and ongoing legacies of colonialism for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples.[6] Secondly, in relation to arriving populations after the Second World War this framing can be seen as questionable because of Anglo-Celtic derived populations political recognition with citizenship allegiances to the United Kingdom as well as direct cultural affiliations with the existing settler-colonial culture. Scholars writing on non-Anglophone migrants clearly differentiate them from the descendants of British settlers and post-war British migrants emphasising the disadvantages that linguistic and cultural differences posed for these newcomers. Sneja Gunew has argued that non-Anglophone migrants and in particular southern and eastern European migrants were subordinated to British migrants by an extension of a colonial hierarchy.[7] The term 'migrants' has been increasingly used to differentiate non-Anglophone migrants from descendants of colonial settlers and in the work of architectural scholars such as Mirjana Lozanovska to identify particularly Eastern and Continental Europeans, as forming culturally

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person conversations, 2017–2018; "Possible Spaces of Everyday Hospitality: Hostels, Migration, and Memory, Working Paper," Australian Research Council project: *Hostels, Hosts and Hospitality: A Social and Cultural History of Migrant Temporary Accommodation in Australia since the Second World War;* "When Good Neighbours Become Good Friends: The Australian Embrace of its Millionth Migrant," *Australian Historical Studies* 36, no. 124 (2004): 332–354. See Katrina Sclunke, "Sovereign Hospitalities?" *borderlands e-journal* 1, no. 2 (2002), Trove archived online journal, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20030624015143/http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol1no2_2002/schlunke_hospitalities.html; Julie Matthews & Kwangsook Chung, "Credible Witness: Identity, Refuge and Hospitality," *borderlands e-journal* 7, no. 3, (2008), Trove archived online journal, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20091018023609/http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol7no3_2008/matthewsc_credible.htm

[6] For discussions on settler Colonialism see Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (New York: Cassell, 1999).

[7] Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism*, 48.

distinct communities within Australia. These have been important distinctions for Australia's 1980s-90s multicultural policies. Refugees from the Second World, arriving from Europe were often referred to as 'Displaced Persons' and for a in depth discussion on the various classifications and categorisations often imposed on arriving populations see Chapter 3.[8] But the term 'new migrants' was equally applied to British migrants arriving during the post-war era and who also resided in migrant hostels in the literature of the period.[9] New British migrants were often referred to disparagingly as ten-bob-poms – marking a class distinction within Anglophone identity. However, people arriving from the British Isles and Ireland benefited from the extended cultural patrimony and the hegemonic British presence in Australian society at the time.

Settler environments appear to be graduated by degrees of displacement attached to demographic numbers and majority cultures where house choice, including form and aesthetics, serve to include or exclude culturally distinct minorities. In Australia in the period of this study, this trend manifests sharply in the recurrent exclusions of non-Anglophone migrants and refugees and their cultural and religious practices.[10] In the

[8] See: Mirjana Lozanovska, *Migrant Housing: Architecture, Dwelling, Migration* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

[9] For discussions of this see work of Sara Wills, "Passengers of Memory: Constructions of British Immigrants in Post-Imperial Australia," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 51, no.1 (2005): 94–107; A. James Hammerton and Catharine Coleborne, "Ten-pound poms revisited: Battlers' Tales and British Migration to Australia, 1947–1971," *Journal of Australian Studies* 25, no. 68 (2001): 86–96, https://doi.org/10.1080/14443050109387665; Hammerton and Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms: Australia's Invisible Migrants* (Manchester, UK: Palgrave, 2005).

[10] Key works: Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1998); Gunew, *Haunted Nations*. Recent scholarship on the contemporary manifestation of this include: Hage, *The Diasporic Condition: Ethnographic Explorations of the Lebanese in the World* (The University of Chicago Press, 2021); Gunew, Post-multicultural

early 1970's migrants and refugees begin to arrive from outside of Europe, namely from the Middle East and South America and then later mainland Southeast Asia. The ethnocultural diversity of these new waves of migration– in a predominately British and European society–further complicates understandings of migrancy and highlights the difficulties culturally and linguistically diverse minorities faced in Australia. Australia's history of accepting humanitarian refugees is discussed in both Chapter 6 and 7. Histories of the house, and by extension definitions of home that are tied to physical dwellings, appear to be polemicised around successive generations of immigrant housing types associated with waves and numbers of migrants and their cultural preferences. This chapter's framing of Anglo-Celtic derived settler populations as migrants is therefore particular to the nomenclature of public documents of the periods and draws attention to an internal differentiation of post-war British migrants within and subsequently conflated with a more generalised Anglo-Australian identity. Consequently, the term migrant as used in this thesis is applied to many different cultural groups including the British, but with awareness of the nuances they later acquired through multicultural politics.

The chapter introduces the immigrant's house to examine tensions between settler-colonial affirmations of culture and territory and minority identities in the time period of the study. Then it briefly discusses these versions of the immigrant's house and their

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Writers as Neo-cosmopolitan (Anthem Press, 2017); Adbel-Fattah, Randa, *Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism in Australia* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Martina Boese and Vince Marotta eds., *Critical Reflections on Migration, 'Race' and Multiculturalism: Australia in a Global Context* (London, New York: Routledge, 2017).

overarching claim to the physical and spatial ideas of the 'Australian House' and its relationship to ideas of emplacement, as well as its connection to myths around homogeneous framings and projections of national identity. This analysis focuses on two major strands in the development of the loose term the 'Australian House' in architectural discourse in the second half of the 20th century: First, in the post Second World War emergence of Australian architectural ideals for residential architecture that responds to geography and climate and are sensitised to regional variations; then second in the essentialised, dichotomies between the British colonial and then new immigrant aesthetic traditions that emerge both within the profession and in everyday building traditions.

This introductory framework interrogates scholarship centred around architecture and migration that is built on the assumption that minorities adapt and mark territories within the confines of Australia's geographic locale and existing cultural practices.[11] It instead frames people living in Australia, excepting First Peoples, including during the early colonial period and subsequent settlers, as forming successive waves of incoming migrants, all transnational populations with affiliations to cultural groupings outside Australia. After the Second World War, the ethnically and linguistically differentiated European migrants and then people arriving from South America and Asia are the

[11] Jeffrey Hou ed. *Transcultural Cities Border-Crossing and Place-Making* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013); Stephen Castles, *Migration, Citizenship and Identity: Selected Essays* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, c. 2017). See: James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997): 250–261.

primary focus of the scholarship. How migration waves connect in varying capacities to understandings of house and the physicality of home are discussed by many scholars, forming the core literature that the thesis draws from. The literature review thus provides an ethnographic reading of dwelling in Australia that is considered as both a condition of colonisation and the emergence of the sovereign nation-state in the Commonwealth of Australia from 1901. However, the chapter also highlights how people from diverse minority backgrounds create distinctive spaces for themselves that depart from historical trends and models.

Section 2.2 deliberates on ideas and issues with the vocabulary surrounding domestic design in Australia as it pertains to cultural and national identity definitions. Historical understandings of house design in Australia are raised as a basis to consider the setup of Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation and its subsequent redevelopment. It examines the politics of migration in relation to domestic architecture and the cultural associations and constructions of home outside dominant narratives centred around property ownership. The literature interrogated in this section provides a contextual backdrop for the redevelopment of Commonwealth migrant hostels in the 1960s when the Villawood site transformed from accommodation arrangements associated with military camps and cultures into more domestic visions of hospitality. Section 2.3 provides an overview of housing types afforded by Australian federal and state governments, highlighting the minimal scholarship from the field of architecture and how frequently it neglects social histories that interact and inform government-sponsored housing. The secondary focus here is the relationship between ideal homes

as associated to house ownership in the Australian lexicon and dwellings marked by temporary tenures.

The last section, 2.4, examines work previously undertaken on Commonwealth migrant accommodation sites, originating mainly from the field of Australian history. It discusses this work in relation to prominent institutional camp sites such as prisoner-of-war camps in Australia and the United States of America. In doing so, it both covers the early incarnations of migrant accommodation sites and then picks up this spatial lineage again in looking at the emergence of detention systems for refugees and asylum seekers on the Villawood site. This section provides a spatial trajectory to the varying levels of access to homemaking possibilities as connected to nation-state discourses around hospitality to non-citizens or prospective citizens. All three sections are comprised of relevant sources, gathered from a range of disciplines, that either focus on or are pertinent to spatial research with an emphasis on dwelling in the Australian context. However, it is important to note that they do not all employ spatial analyses as methodological tools. By exploring a transdisciplinary patchwork of material adjacent to on-arrival accommodation sites, this chapter offers a context for the spatial exchange between the camp, the house and to a lesser degree the prison at the Villawood site. It is used to understand the physical, spatial and material as well as imaginative constructions of home as relating to contemporary and historical discourses of migration in Australia.

There has been increased contemporary scholarship in architecture that challenges inherited assumptions about Australian housing ideals and experiences. Earlier relevant works include Patrick Troy's edited compilation *A History of European Housing in Australia,* and the conference and papers convened by Stephan Cairns and Philip Goad, Building Dwelling Drifting: Migrancy and the Limits Of Architecture: Papers from The 3rd 'Other Connections' Conference at the University of Melbourne in 1997.[12] Other recent notable works include David Beynon, Brandon Gardiner, Ursula de Jong, Mirjana Lozanovska, and Flavia Marcello's paper "An Issues Paper: The Roots/Routes of Australian Architecture" and Mirjana Lozanovska, Iris Levin, and Maria Victoria Gantala's article "Is the Migrant House in Australia an Australian Vernacular Architecture?"[13] However, as outlined in the thesis's introduction, significant to the research are three Routledge anthologies exploring architecture's intersection with migrant and refugee communities. From Stephen Cairns, *Drifting: Architecture and*

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[12] Patrick Troy, ed., *A History of European Housing in Australia (*Cambridge; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Stephen Cairns, Philip Goad, eds., "Building Dwelling Drifting: Migrancy and the Limits of Architecture: Papers from the 3rd 'Other Connections' Conference," The Faculty of Architecture, Building & Planning, The University of Melbourne, Australia, (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1997).

[13] David Beynon, Brandon Gardiner, Ursula de Jong, Mirjana Lozanovska, and Flavia Marcello, "An Issues Paper: The Roots/Routes of Australian Architecture: Elements of an Alternative Architectural History" in *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 31, Translation, ed.* Chistoph Schnoor (Auckland: SAHANZ and Unitec ePress; and Gold Coast: SAHANZ, 2014); Lozanovska, Mirjana, Iris Levin, and Maria Victoria Gantala."Is the Migrant House in Australia an Australian Vernacular Architecture?" Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review 24, no. 2 (2013): 65–78. Discursive overviews generated from outside architecture include examples such as Judith O'Callaghan exhibition catalogue *The Australian Dream: Design in the Fifties.* Prominent articles include "Modernism versus Domesticity: The Contest to Shape Melbourne's Home, 1945–1960" by Tony Dingle and Seamus O'Hanlon, and John Murphy and Belinda Probert's oral history analysis in the article "Anything for the House: Recollections of Post-war Suburban Dreaming." See: John Murphy and Judith Smart eds., *The Forgotten Fifties: Aspects of Australian Society And Culture In The 1950s* (Special issue of *Australian Historical Studies*, 28, no. 109, October 1997); John Murphy and Belinda Probert, "'Anything for the House': Recollections of Post-war Suburban Dreaming," *Australian Historical Studies* 36, no. 124 October (2004): 275–293.

Migrancy, Mirjana Lozanovska's *Ethno-architecture and the Politics of Migration* and more recently, *Architecture on the Borderline: Boundary Politics and Built Space* edited by Anoma Pieris.[14] Using architectural and spatial analysis the thesis situates selected social histories of post Second World War immigrant labour in key industrial sites. It is also important to acknowledge that a developing body of scholarship examines the influence immigrant architects had on the development of the profession in Australia, with notable architects including Fredrick Romberg, George Molnar and Zdenko Strizic.[15] The scholarship includes Harriet Edquist's and Caroline Townsend's work along with the current Australian Research Council Discovery Project, *Bauhaus Australia,* led by Philip Goad.[16] Although architects such as Romberg were influential on the Australian architectural scene and possibly influenced the architects working on migrant hostel projects, this thesis does not investigate the influence European migrancy had on the internal development of the profession. Instead, it explores how wider political currents, namely how the legacy of the immigration agenda of assimilation interconnects with ideals about domestic design.

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[14] Stephen Cairns, ed., *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003); Lozanovska, *Migration and Ethno-Architecture* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016); Anoma Peiris, *Architecture on the Borderline: Boundary Politics and Built Space* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 20019).

[15] Harriet Edquist, ed., *Frederick Romberg: The Architecture of Migration 1938-1975* (Melbourne: RMIT University Press, 2000).

[16] Caroline Townsend, "Architects, Exiles, 'New' Australians," in FIRM(ness), *Commodity, DE-light?: Questioning the Canons: Papers from the 15th Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural*, 1998 edited by Julie Willis, Philip Goad and Andrew Hutson.

2.2 House and Home in the Commonwealth of Australia

'Home' is a slippery and expansive term and questions of finding or locating home have launched a myriad of philosophical investigations, which often emphasise that it is not to be taken as a synonym for a physical house.[17] The thesis is primarily interested in how understandings and framings of the house both as a type and an ideal intersect with recent histories of migrancy and spatial politics in the Commonwealth of Australia. During the period of the study, house and home frequently get conflated in literature coming from related design industries revealing the necessity to question how framings of home manifest in relation to physical dwellings in architecture. Thomas Barrie in his *House and Home Cultural Contexts, Ontological Roles* provides a useful history of these terms, using literature and philosophy to pull apart and interrogate the construction and meaning of the terms for the discipline of architecture.[18] Home as a term grounded in physical and spatial understandings but not exclusively contingent on place is explored extensively in scholarship by geographers that is catalogued in Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling's *Home*.[19] By providing a critical geography of home, the book investigates home as both a union of a physical place and as a spatial imaginary, where identities associated with class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality are formulated and

[17] Mary Douglas, "The Idea of Home: A Kind of Space," *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (1991): 287–307; Richard Wesley, "The Idea of a House," *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 34 (Autumn, 1998): 118-127.
[18] Thomas Barrie, *House and Home: Cultural Contexts, Ontological Roles* (London: Routledge, 2017.)
[19] Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home* (New York: Routledge, 2006.); Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezei, eds., *The Domestic Space Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Chris Abel, *Home: Design and Architecture from Prehistory to Today* (Camberwell: Penguin Group Australia, 2006); Witold Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York: Viking, 1986); Daniel Miller, *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (London: UCL Press, 1997).

contested. Its examination of this dialogue through multiple scales, home as a house, home in relation to nation and empire and transnational homes, offers a starting point to interrogate the meanings of home produced through the discipline of architecture.

In 1949, when the Villawood Migrant Hostel opened, the 'Australian' house was emerging as a popular category for architectural discussion and debate, which is in part a result of an extensive housing shortage during the Second World War and immediately afterwards.[20] This included works such as Oswald Barnett's and W.O. Burt's *Housing the Australian Nation*, John Moore's *Home Again: Domestic Architecture for the Normal Australian* and *Homes in the Sun: The Past and Present of Australian Housing* by Walter Bunning.[21] *Homes in the Sun*, along with Bunning's extensive journalism, is pertinent to the research due to Bunning's firm's involvement in the Villawood Migrant Hostel's redevelopment.[22] This scholarship establishes suburban house ownership, which gained currency in the preceding decade, as the ideal mode for housing the nuclear family and for home-making practices. This work focuses intently on the climate informing the formal and programmatic responses and reiterates images of a culturally homogenous population (attached to an Anglo-Celtic Australia with past or present

[20] Although there is a large amount of scholarship written both at this time and from a contemporary perspective on both colonial houses and early 20th century urbanism. The Second War World provides an ideal starting point due to the commencement of population expansion through immigration outside Britain.
[21] Barnett, *Housing the Australian Nation*; John D. Moore, *Home Again: Domestic Architecture for the Normal Australia*.
[22] Bunning, *Homes in the Sun;* See: Walter Bunning, et al. *The Housing Problem in Australia* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1947).

connections to the British Empire, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the Irish Free State, later the Republic of Ireland), that were prevalent at the time.[23]

By the 1960s, when Commonwealth Hostels Ltd began its nationwide upgrade of migrant hostel accommodation, a new wave of architectural discourse was appearing on the 'Australian house' and private residential design. The employment of prominent local firms such as Bunning & Madden to redesign Commonwealth migrant hostel offers an opportunity to connect government-sponsored housing to wider design considerations informing the profession, particularly as they emerged in private residential architecture. A brief consideration of trends in private residential architecture in the second half of the 20th century offers a platform to understand how marginalised housing histories in Australia are framed in these architectural trajectories. The next generation of scholarship focused on discussing responses to various interpretations of late architectural modernism as interpretated in both Europe and the United States of America. This scholarship on Australian domestic architecture was crucial in facilitating both national and global visibility for the innovative private residential work being produced in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s from a professionally diverse range of practitioners. This includes the many works of Robin Boyd, namely his seminal work, *The Australian Ugliness,* and his much earlier 1952 work,

[23] James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Australia's Home: Its Origins Builders and Occupiers.[24] Later examples from the 1970s include Howard Tanner's *Australian Housing in the Seventies* and Jennifer Taylor's polemical book on regional identity, *An Australian Identity: Houses for Sydney* and her follow-up article in *Transitions*, "Looking at the Sydney School."[25] These publications of Taylor and the debates they inspired within the discipline are useful and indicative examples to interrogate the issues in discursively framing and claiming of a distinctly 'Australian' identity in architecture through the regionalism and, by extension, critical regionalism.

Nevertheless, in this generation of scholarship that brackets the Villawood Migrant Hostel redevelopment with earlier incarnations of architectural historiography, the application of the descriptor 'Australian' applied to material artefacts such as buildings appears as a synonym for 'Australian' culture. This is in keeping with the cultural attitudes and public discourse of the time, which sees the emergence of a specific form of national identity and cultural descriptions in definition against, but also in response to, deeply ingrained cultural allegiances to the British Empire. For example, the initial

[24] Robin Boyd, *Australia's Home: Its Origins Builders and Occupiers* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1952); Boyd, *The Australian Ugliness* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1960) (First Edition); *The Great Great Australian Dream* (Rushcutters Bay, N.S.W.: Pergamon Press, 1972). Other prominent examples are Neil Clerehan's work including the edited compilation *Best Australian Houses* and *The New Australian Home* by Kenneth McDonald which embraces Modernism and offers an instructional design template. Kenneth McDonald, *The New Australian Home* (Melbourne: K. McDonald], 1954); Neil Clerehan, ed., *Best Australian Houses* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1961).

[25] Howard Tanner, *Australian Housing in the Seventies* (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1976); Jennifer Taylor, *An Australian Identity: Houses for Sydney* (Sydney: University of Sydney, Dept. of Architecture, 1972); Jennifer Taylor, "Looking at the Sydney School," *Transition* 1, November (1979). For wider architectural histories of the era see Ian MacKay, *Living & Partly Living Housing in Australia* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1971).

population distinctions between migrants from the British Isles and Ireland, and migrants from outside these territories, relates to how citizenship was defined in post-war Australia and how Australian legislators continued to identify with the British Empire throughout the 20th century, even after the *Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1948* (which came into force in 1949).[26] In this historical period, there is a tendency to use terms such as Australian identity or culture as nouns and therefore pointing to a defined and assumed set of properties. Suggesting that in the nation-building era after the Second World War, there was a pronounced need to extract and locate a distinctly 'Australian' sensibility. However, through exploring these constructions of the non-Indigenous, Australian migrant population through the lens of interdisciplinary contemporary discourse, the thesis seeks understandings of cultural identities as processes by which cultural difference is articulated. In doing so, it interrogates the legacy of colonialism both as it relates specifically to policy and who warrants access to citizenship but also its more nebulous cultural legacy.[27]

These ideas between the meaning and the role of cultural processes in relationship to discussing difference are proposed and discussed by anthropologist and cultural theorist Arjun Appadurai in his introduction to *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions*

[26] Michael Klapdor, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, Social Policy and Law and Bills Digest Sections, *Australian Citizenship: A Chronology of Major Developments in Policy and Law*, 2009, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/0910/AustCitizenship

[27] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 12–16.

of Globalisation. Here Appadurai, using an anthropological lens to examine framings of culture as influenced by the debates on globalisation that emerged in the 1990s, discusses the concept of difference as being integral to culture that he grounds as a contrastive approach rather than a substantive one. He suggests culture as a noun "appears to privilege the sort of sharing, agreeing, and bounding that fly in the face of the facts of unequal knowledge and the differential prestige of lifestyles, and to discourage attention to the worldviews and agency of those who are marginalized or dominated." Taking a critical lead from structural linguistics as set forward by Ferdinand Saussure and its foundations in sensitivity to context and contrast he argues:

> …Culture is not usefully regarded as a substance but is better regarded as a dimension of phenomena, a dimension that attends to situated and embodied difference. Stressing the dimensionality of cultures rather than its substantiality permits our thinking of culture less as property of individuals and groups and more as a heuristic device that we can use to talk about difference.[28]

Appadurai introduces his preference for this adjectival framing of culture to explore how culture as a "open-ended archive of differences is consciously shaped" into subsets "of these differences that constitute the diacritics of group identity." He qualifies this proposition with a detailed discussion on what are cultural differences and how they relate to group identity and framings of ethnicity, along with the conscious mobilisation of cultural differences in, for example, migration or secession. This is a crude and brief extraction of the complex trajectory of ideas Appadurai introduces to explore diasporic

[28] Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, 12-13.

public spheres and the emergence of political orders that may move away from the nation-state as a primary organising structure. But these notes on a discursive framing of culture and the complications arising from inscribed usages of culture in relation to group identity and the nation-state are pertinent to the thesis as it offers a contemporary lens to think through the framings of national identities in sovereign-states marked by settler-colonialism, such as Australia. It helps to unravel what is concealed by cultural descriptors, particularly as it relates to diasporic populations, offering a platform to discuss difference in relation to migrancy and housing in Australia.

Mirjana Lozanovska's recent scholarship on migrant housing looks at some of these issues as they relate to European migrants and domestic architecture in Australia. Her book *Migrant Housing: Architecture, Dwelling, Migration*, using cross-disciplinary methods, explores migration and constructs of settlement through houses and housing. Drawing on the work of Peter Collins, she posits the 'house' as a paradigm of modernity in how it frames and influences the values and structures associated with the modern family, highlighting a tension between the discourse on the owner-occupied house and the nation-state's provision of housing in the 20th century.[29] She argues that house and housing are often enmeshed terms rather than separate entities and this framing is reinforced in the Australian context where the federal government as part of its housing

[29] See: Lozanovska, Levin, Gantala, "Is the Migrant House in Australia an Australian Vernacular Architecture?" 65–78; Lozanovska, "Abjection and Architecture: The Migrant House in Multicultural Australia," in *Postcolonial Spaces (S)* edited by Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu and Chong Thai Wong, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997) 101–131.

provision built and provided finance for a large number of detached suburban houses after the Second World War.

Lozanovska argues that architecture's disinterest in the migrant house, alongside the interest in the migrant home in disciplines such as geography and cultural studies but not on the physical imprint of the house, have highlighted valuable connections for future study.[30] This intersection of house and home is revealed as fertile ground to explore how cultural difference manifests in architecture with formal and aesthetic choices and design fashions and tastes. She argues:

> Different to conceptualisations of the migrant home, the house and housing interact with the exterior as well as the interior. Housing interfaces with public spaces and produces the architectural space and aesthetic of the street and neighbourhood, and with architecture's sense of permanent settlement, develops new paradigms.[31]

The emphasis in this work is on owner-occupied houses and although she contends that the prevalence of homeownership in Australia has an assimilatory dimension to it, what this work highlights is that it also allows for recently arrived, ethnoculturally marginalised migrants to cultivate spaces that allow for home-building and community-building practices that were not necessarily available in government sponsored housing.

[30] Lozanovska, *Migrant Housing*, 4.
[31] Lozanovska, *Migrant Housing*, 4.

Also as introduced in the paragraph above, explorations of home in relation to diasporic populations do not necessarily connect to the physicality of the house or housing. Frequently embracing interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary methods, cultural geographies of home with an emphasis on the diasporic home, have discussed the migrant house as a minority space within broader, often racialised, frameworks of nation-state multiculturism. A strong current of this work focuses on forced migration and the mobilisation and formation of cultural identities from the scale of the individual to the group, and then to the national. Nikos Papastergiadis's *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization,* and *Hybridity and Dialogues in the Diasporas: Essays and Conversations on Cultural Identity* are examples of the scholarship exploring unstable homes and diasporas. [32] Frequently, diasporic populations who are violently removed from their homelands experience the destruction of their dwellings and often, by extension, homes, dislocation and displacement and pass-through various forms of temporary dwelling and internment before arriving at Australia's border. A key work that examines the intersection between home and transnational processes (where the consequences of global processes manifest within state boundaries as well at the border), is *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home* by Douglas Porteous and Sandra Smith.[33] This work examines forced displacement and systematic destruction and eradication of the physical locations of settlement and homes, often under the auspices

[32] Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization, and Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Nikos Papastergiadis, *Dialogues in the Diasporas: Essays and Conversations on Cultural Identity* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1998).
[33] Douglas Porteous and Sandra Smith, Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); See: *Architectural Theory Review* (special issue on Spatial Violence edited by Andrew Herscher and Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi), 19:3 (2014); Martin Coward, *Urbicide: The Politics of Urban Destruction* (New York : Routledge, 2009).

of public interest. Scholarship examining migrancy and the entanglement of waiting, belonging and ambivalence include work such as Ghassan Hage's *Waiting* and Deborah Madsen's article "'No Place Like Home:' The ambivalent rhetoric of hospitality in the work of Simone Lazaroo, Arlene Chai, and Hsu-Ming Teo."[34] In relation to Sydney and informed by ethnographic approaches is *Home/world: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West* by Grace, Hage, Johnson, Langsworth and Symonds. [35] This compilation looks at the cultural, religious, linguistic and class diversity in Sydney's western suburbs.

Histories of suburbia are important vehicles for understanding ideas about how the detached suburban house became a prominent housing type and by extension how the nuclear-based unit of the detached house sits comparatively next to collective dwellings; and second, how economic and cultural difference informs and shape neighbourhoods. As discussed in the thesis's introduction, recent work on the intersection of migration with design or planning in city suburbs includes both Kelum Palipane's and Ian Woodcock's work, which look at processes of gentrification and contested spaces

[34] Hage, *The Diasporic Condition: Ethnographic Explorations of the Lebanese in the World* (The University of Chicago Press, 2021); Hage, ed. *Waiting* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Publishing, 2009). See: Iain Chambers, "An Impossible Homecoming," in *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (Routledge, 1994), 1-8; Abbas El-Zein, "Being Elsewhere: On Longing and Belonging," in Ghassan Hage ed. *Arab-Australians Today: Citizenship and Belonging* (Carlton South, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 225-40.

[35] Grace, Helen, et al, *Home/world: space, community and marginality in Sydney's west* (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 1997). See: Jack Collins, Scott Poynting eds. *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Sydney's West* (Haymarket, NSW: Common Ground Publishing, 2000.); Mandy Thomas, 'Hanging Out in Westfield Parramatta', in Melissa Butcher and Mandy Thomas eds. *Ingenious: Emerging Youth Cultures in Urban Australia* (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press 2003), 102-123.

occurring in Melbourne in relation to successive waves of migration.[36] Literature focusing on the spatial and material outlay includes examples such as *The Cream Brick Frontier: Histories of Australian Suburbia* edited by Davison, Dingle and O'Hanlon and Kim Dovey's chapter "Dreams on Display: Suburban Ideology in the Model Home."[37] The complexity of the connection between urban city centres and suburbia is explored in the work of David Nichols in both *Trendyville* and *The Bogan Delusion,* where he examines the cultural and class readings and assumptions that frequently are paired with framings of suburbia. In addition, there are visual and spatial interpretations of suburbia, such as Chris McAuliffe's *Art and Suburbia,* that through modern and contemporary art, surveys the legacy of the Australian suburbs as sites of celebration and derision in the cultural landscape, challenging assumptions about suburbia and the difficulty in culturally demarcating the suburbs.[38]

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[36] Kelum Palipane, "Towards a Sensory Production of Urban Space: Developing a Conceptual Framework of Inquiry based on Socio-sensory Perception" (paper presented at the International Conference, The Struggle to Belong: Dealing with Diversity in 21st Century Urban Settings, Amsterdam, July 7-9, 2011); Ian Woodcock, "Doing Everyday Multiculturalism in Sydney Road, Melbourne," in Lozanovska, *Ethno-Architecture and the Politics of Migration.*

[37] Graeme Davison, Tony Dingle and Seamus O'Hanlon eds., *The Cream Brick Frontier: Histories of Australian Suburbia* (Clayton, Vic.: Monash Publications in History, Dept. of History, Monash University, 1995); Kim Dovey, "Dreams on Display: Suburban Ideology in the Model Home," in *Beasts of Suburbia*, ed. Sarah Ferber, Chris Healy and Chris McAuliffe (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 127–147.

[38] Chris McAuliffe, *Art and Suburbia* (Roseville East, NSW: Craftsman House, 1996).

2.3 Social Housing Design in the Commonwealth of Australia

Pertinent to the thesis is how the architectural and cultural understandings of house and home outlined above interact with histories of transitory housing. Namely, how histories of short-term accommodation or housing intersect and challenge understandings of physical emplacement and home with a particular emphasis on settler-colonial contexts. Here, social housing is discussed as the main category of transitory dwelling and the on-arrival accommodation provided by the Commonwealth of Australia for migrants and refugees can be considered a variant of social housing. 'Social housing' is used instead of 'public housing' as the umbrella term for this literature to be able to include other agencies such as non-profits that have provided affordable types of housing to economically disenfranchised people. However, the emphasis is on housing types sponsored by the Commonwealth and state governments, namely public housing. Although too broad to cover here, other examples of peripheral government housing, including military housing and housing related to industrial sites, are important categories for collective housing on which very little has been written.[39] Commonwealth migrant hostels occupy an in-between or hybrid position of transitory housing between public housing and the arrangements seen in military camps discussed in the next section. This section analyses the literature produced on collective housing types in connection to ideas on housing and home as well as the production of

[39] See Australian Housing Corporation, *Defence Service Homes Scheme: Its Nature, History and Operations* (Canberra: Govt. Printer, 1977); Peter Phibbs and Bronwyn Hanna, AHURI, *Lessons of Defence Housing Australia for Affordable Housing Provision* (Sydney: UNSW-UWS research Centre, 2010).

national identities. In addition, dwellings marked by temporary tenures, are also briefly discussed, such as the hotel and motel in conjunction with other types of boarding. Therefore, this section is divided into two main groupings of transitory dwellings that are relevant to the physical, spatial and material histories of migrant hostels.

The first group is accommodation types marked by temporary tenures that exist in the commercial and private sector, with a focus on prevalent types during the study's period. They include boarding lodges, hotels and motels along with alternative and peripheral forms of dwelling such as squatting. The hotel and motel are framed as commercial sites of hospitality; and Meaghan Morris' seminal essay, albeit coming from cultural studies, "At Henry Parkes Motel," provides an entry point to considering the motel as attached to construction of national identities in Australia.[40] In architecture, the overlooked Australian and New Zealand motel is examined through Sarah Treadwell's essay "The Motel: An Image Elsewhere," Philip Goad's "A Short Stay: The Motel and Australian Architecture," along with Simon Reeves' work in the *Australian Motel Owners' Journal*.[41] These works are useful for connecting the physicality and ephemeral qualities associated with the emergence of the motel as a tourist destination in and of itself in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s.[42] The hotel, due to its ubiquity and prominence

[40] Meaghan Morris, "At Henry Parkes Motel," *Cultural Studies 2*, no. 1 (January 1988): 1–47.
[41] Sarah Treadwell, "The Motel: An Image Elsewhere," *Space and Culture*, 8, 2 (May 2005): 214; Philip Goad, "A Short Stay: The Motel and Australian Architecture," in *Motel: Exhibition Catalogue* edited by Amor Connors (Melbourne: Melbourne School of Design, The University of Melbourne, 2015): 9–18; Simon Reeves, "Australia's First Motels," *The Australian Motel Owners' Journal*, 11:1 (June 2010); 15, 17–18, 20.
[42] Judith O'Callaghan and Paul Hogben Paul ed. *Leisure Space: The Transformation of Sydney, 1945–1970* (New South Publishing, Sydney, 2014), 74.

in Australian country towns and its symbolic currency in colonial, rural storytelling locates it favourably in national mythmaking and consequently gives it more prominence as an architectural type in the national psyche.

Work exploring social housing in the Australian context from the discipline of architecture is limited and consequently, in this section, the literature includes perspectives generated from within other academic disciplines with an emphasis on housing policy that tend to pivot on housing policy or economic and social histories. Although people can and do spend their lives living in various incarnations of social housing in Australia, the administrative aims informing their design, contentiously, emphasise tenants' movement into the private housing sector and therefore for the purposes of this research, social housing is classified as a transitory form of dwelling. The significant migrant accommodation sites investigated in this thesis, including Villawood, are located within Sydney and Melbourne. Therefore, the focus is on scholarship that analyses social housing produced on the east coast of Australia in the nation's two most populous cities at the time. Scholarship that examines the Sydney context includes Mackay's *Living & Partly Living,* Ian Phillip Briggs' PhD thesis from 1972, "Public housing in Sydney: past, present and future" and Ruth Thompson's PhD thesis "Sydney's flats: a social and political history."[43]

[43] MacKay, *Living & Partly Living;* Philip Briggs, "Public housing in Sydney: Past, Present and Future" (Ph.D. University of New South Wales, 1972); Ruth Thompson "Sydney's Flats: A Social and Political History" (PhD Macquarie University, 1986).

Alternatively, the Victorian Housing Commission's projects have generated scholarship with a strong design focus, and this includes an important and generative source for the thesis: Renate Howe' edited book *New Houses for Old: Fifty Years of Public Housing in Victoria 1938-1988*. The book, tracking the establishment of the Victorian Housing Commission from 1938, is an interdisciplinary investigation of a state government department with several chapters informed by architectural research. It not only aligns with the thesis thematically but due to situating design interrogations next to housing policy trajectories and histories of community protest, it informs the methodological approach of the thesis.[44] In addition, Patrick Mills's PhD thesis, "Refabricating the Towers: The Genesis of the Victorian Housing Commission's High-rise Estates to 1969," and William Logan's PhD thesis, "Gentrification in Inner Melbourne Pattern, Process and Meaning. A Political Geography Responding to the Politicization of the Social Sciences," are also relevant. [45]

Housing Policy and Provision

Public housing provision by the federal and state governments is dependent on housing policy and there is extensive published work about it from both the University sector

[44] Renate Howe, ed., *New Houses for Old: Fifty Years of Public Housing in Victoria 1938–1988* (Melbourne: Ministry of Housing and Construction, 1988).
[45] Peter Mills, "Refabricating the Towers: The Genesis of the Victorian Housing Commission's High-Rise Estates to 1969" (PhD Monash University, 2010); William Logan, "Gentrification in Inner Melbourne Pattern, Process and Meaning. A Political Geography Responding to the Politicization of the Social Sciences" (Ph.D. Monash University, 1980).

and through government research.[46] According to Ross Williams in his research paper for the Department of Economics, University of Melbourne, in 1984, government housing policy in the period form the Second World War encompasses the Commonwealth State Housing Agreements (CSHA), additional federal schemes introduced outside of these agreements, taxation policies, and state and local authority relegations relating to land and tenancy. In addition federal government intervention (or lack of intervention) in financial markets plays a role.[47] He also asserts that immigration policy influences the housing industry.[48] It is beyond the scope of the thesis to document the changes in housing policy that impact on public housing in the period under discussion with a particular emphasis on the various CHSAs, which briefly, when initially introduced in 1945, saw "the implementation of a rental housing program funded by the Commonwealth and constructed and administered by the States."[49] However federal and state housing policy is introduced in later chapters where relevant to length of stay at migrant hostels and the subsequent and alternative housing options available to migrants and refugees.

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[46] See: Australia. Dept. of Housing and Construction *Green Paper on Housing in Australia: Problems, Policies and Prospects* (Hawthorn: Dept. of Housing and Construction, 1975); Hal Pawson, Vivienne Milligan and Judith Yates, *Housing Policy in Australia: A Case for System*, (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020); Mike Berry, "Unravelling the Australian Housing Solution: The Post-War Years," *Housing, Theory and Society* 16, no.3 (1999): 106–123, doi: 10.1080/14036099950149974; David Hayward, "The Reluctant Landlords? A history of Public Housing in Australia," *Urban Policy and Research* 14, no. 1 (2008): 5–35, doi: 10.1080/08111149608551610; Chris Paris, "Housing Issues and Policy in Australia," *Built Environment* 11, no. 2 (1985): 97-116; Steven Bourassa, A Model of Housing Tenure Choice In Australia, (Canberra : Urban Research Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1993).

[47] Ross A. Williams, *Housing Policy in Australia* (Research Paper: University of Melbourne. Department of Economics), no. 113.

[48] Williams, *Housing Policy in Australia,* 1.

[49] Patrick Troy, *Accommodating Australians: Commonwealth Government Involvement in Housing* (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2012), 98.

Hal Pawson, Vivienne Milligan and Judith Yates have argued that Australia has had a relatively high owner-occupied rate since the early 1900s, but the growth period was after the Second World War "from 50% in 1947 to a peak of around 70% in 1961."[50] This rapid growth was one of the highest in the industrialised world and they argue that the "aggerate home ownership remained relatively stable at this level until the mid-1980s but has trended down slightly since then."[51] Associating this growth with social modernisation and the expansion of urbanisation and its counterpart suburbanisation, they also argue that the growth is due to direct government involvement in the provision and financing of housing. They argue: "In Australia, Commonwealth and State governments contributed almost one quarter of the total increase in housing stock between 1947 and 1976. They also provided up to 30% of all housing finance."[52] In relation to the Commonwealth emphasis on owner-occupier lead housing policy, Patrick Troy argues that in Australia:

> homeownership is the story of the majority who have been beneficiaries of Commonwealth policy and initiatives directed to those who own their one home or have been encouraged to become homeowners. It is an account of the extent to which housing policy has been constructed to deliver and entrench benefits for the better off.[53]

[50] Hal Pawson, Vivienne Milligan and Judith Yates, *Housing Policy in Australia: A Case for System* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020*),* 138.
[51] Pawson, Milligan, Yates, *Housing Policy in Australia,* 138.
[52] Pawson, Milligan, Yates, *Housing Policy in Australia*, 138.
[53] Troy, *Accommodating Australians: Commonwealth Government Involvement in Housing,* 4.

However, the role of the nation-state in the expansion of homeownership, the level of its orchestration and interferences has been debated by a range of scholars.[54]

Alastair Greig in the chapter "The Growth of Owner Occupation" in his book *The Stuff Dreams Are Made of: Housing Provision in Australia,* offers an overview of theoretically orientated literature examining what prompts this growth in the aftermath of the Second World War, including contesting Kemendy's position that during the post-war era the uptake of owner-occupation as the primary mode of housing was directly orchestrated by the nation-state and capitalistic interest.[55] Greig argues that in Australia, rather than explicitly engendering high levels of owner-occupation, the federal government help facilitate the conditions that allowed for the growth of this housing preference and that the metaphor of an 'accelerator' is more important than that of a 'trigger.'[56] Instead Greig posits that Australia's shift towards, and government endorsement of, a more monotenural society in the 1950s was due to a complex array of social and economic influences that included the inter-war, proliferation of Architectural Modernism in Australia and its effect on house design, interior fashions and household commodities.[57]

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[54] For an overview of these debates see Alastair Greig, *The Stuff Dreams are Made Of: Housing Provision in Australia 1945–1960* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1995).
[55] Jim Kemedy, *The Myth of Homeownership: Private versus Public Choices in Housing Tenure* (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 113; Greig, *The Stuff Dreams are Made Of,* 102.
[56] Greig, *The Stuff Dreams are Made of,* 117–118.
[57] Greig, *The Stuff Dreams are Made of*, 118.

A relevant work that examines housing provision in relation to immigration policy is Kondos and Messina's pivotal 1980 study from the field of sociology, *Migrants and the Australian Dream: A Preliminary Study of Migrant Housing Situations*. Drawing on group discussions, interviews and qualitative analysis, it examines the migrant experiences of housing provision in Australia. It is pertinent to the thesis as it analyses migrant accommodation processes, including forms of on-arrival accommodation such as CHL's migrant hostels. The study, investigating institutional structures and migrants understood in wider class structures, explores the entrenchment of house ownership in Australia and the housing pathways for post Second World War migrants and refugees from outside of the British Isles and Ireland. Messina and Kondos argue that, although Australia had a high rate of owner-occupied among industrial nations at the time of their study, there was limited provision of alternative modes of housing.[58] What is compelling about the study's conclusions, albeit with caveats against generalisations, is that it questions the, at the time, popular conceptions that recently arrived migrants were impelled by their own cultural imperatives to buy a house even before they can afford to do so.[59] They argue that from their group discussions it was evident that:

> not only are migrants expected to make home ownership their choice in terms of the prevailing Australian norms, but they are also structurally 'forced' or complied to make this choice because of the inadequacies and constraints within the rental market… …This is not to say that home ownership is necessarily an alien social value for these migrants. However,

[58] Messina and Alexander Kondos, *Migrants and the Australian Dream: A Preliminary Study of Migrant Housing Situations* (Kensington, NSW: School of Sociology, University of New South Wales, 1980), 3.
[59] Messina and Kondos, *Migrants and the Australian Dream*, 11-12.

> this study suggests that it does not appear to govern their initial housing decisions, at least during the first fifteen years of their stay in Australia.[60]

They conclude that the push into house ownership is due to structural issues in the rental markets, including discrimination in terms of access, quality of accommodation but that it also results from engrained cultural standards and understandings of housing.[61] For example, for many migrants with large families and households, especially for arriving Lebanese and Turkish migrants in the study, the average provision in Australian houses for four to five people was inadequate.[62]

Scholarship that is informed by housing policy but provides stronger analysis of the physicality of housing provision, incorporating the design, construction and household consumption, includes the previously mentioned work of Patrick Troy. His book, *A History of European Housing in Australia*, with contributions by Susan Marsden, Robert Freestone, Graeme Davison and Tony Dingle, offers an overview of housing provision through approaches associated with social histories and frames all types of housing since colonialism as migrant housing but is focused on histories informed by the population majorities with ties to England, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Scotland and Wales.[63] Troy's book is a companion volume to Peter Reed's *Settlement: A History of Indigenous Housing in Australia* which follows the trajectory of the Commonwealth Government's involvement in housing First Peoples since the onset of

[60] Messina and Kondos, *Migrants and the Australian Dream*, 12-13.
[61] Messina and Kondos, *Migrants and the Australian Dream*, 13.
[62] Messina and Kondos, *Migrants and the Australian Dream*, 13.
[63] Troy ed., *A History of European Housing in Australia.*

colonialism.[64] Reed asserts in the introduction that prior to the 1967 referendum (which resulted in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders being officially acknowledged as part of the Australian population): "Aboriginal housing was not an end itself, but secondary to the aims of resocialisation and acculturation. A cottage inhabited by an Aboriginal family was less a shelter than an instrument of management, education and control."[65] Part III contains contributions that focus on constructs of settlement and the complexities of government involvement in the housing of First Peoples and includes a chapter on housing in Redfern, Sydney and how the cultural character of colonialism frames foundational constructs such as the city or urban space.[66] Although beyond the scope of this thesis, the questions this type of scholarship raises around housing provision and processes of assimilation, warrants further investigation in connection to the research aims.

Patrick Troy's later, *Accommodating Australians: Commonwealth Government Involvement in Housing* offers a detailed trajectory of successive federal governments involvement in public housing provision in Australia.[67] It is focused on policy trajectories and the emergence of national housing policy after the Second World War in relation to physical provision of accommodation and influences on town planning. Albeit not the focus,

[64] Peter Read, (ed.) *Settlement: A History of Australian Indigenous Housing* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2000).
[65] Read, *Settlement: A History of Australian Indigenous Housing*, ix.
[66] Kay Anderson, "Savagery and Urbanity: Struggles over Aboriginal Housing," in *Settlement: A History of Australian Indigenous Housing* edited by Peter Read, 130-143.
[67] Patrick Troy, *Accommodating Australians: Commonwealth Government Involvement in Housing* (Annandale, N.S.W.: Federation Press, 2012.

there is little examination of how immigration policy influences and intersects with housing policy and the impacts immigration had on government housing provision, namely in Australia's larger cities. *Homes for the People: Public Housing in New South Wales, 1940-1990* by David Pettigrew looks at public housing policy in New South Wales (NSW) with a focus on the organisation of the NSW Government and Housing Commission and incorporates analysis of the various types of dwellings from single-story individual houses to high-rise flat development.[68] The recent book by Peter Mares, *No Place like Home: Repairing Australia's Housing Crisis,* offers a journalistic account of current housing issues which touches upon design types in housing by using historical analysis of the rise and fall of the 'Australian Dream' and individual and family securitisation thorough house ownership.[69]

Two recent academic additions in the field of housing policy provide a robust understanding of issues around contemporary housing policy in Australia. They are *Housing in 21st Century Australia: People, Practices and Policies* edited by Rae Dufy-Jones and Dallas Rogers and *Housing Policy in Australia: A Case for System Reform* by Hal Pawson, Vivienne Milligan and Judith Yates.[70] The second contains chapters that explore the evolution and legacy of policy in relation to social housing and alternatively

[68] David Pettigrew, *Homes for the People: Public Housing in New South Wales, 1940–1990* (Wembley, W.A.: D.J. Pettigrew, 2005).
[69] Peter Mares, *No Place like Home: Repairing Australia's Housing Crisis* (Melbourne, Victoria: The Text Publishing Company, 2018).
[70] Rae Dufty-Jones, "A Historical Geography of Housing Crisis in Australia," Australian Geographer, 49:1, (2018): 5-23, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2017.1336968; Pawson, *Housing Policy in Australia: A Case for System*.

examine the role of government in relation to owner-occupier housing and how the societal aspiration to own a home extends beyond political ideology. Approaches that focus on housing policy histories include David Hayward's article "The reluctant landlords? A history of public housing in Australia," which gives a condensed overview informed by quantitative approaches with valuable statistics. Specific to the NSW context is the book chapter, "Castles of Insecurities: The New South Wales Housing Commission and Home Ownership 1941-61," by Carolyn Alport also gives an overview of the NSW Housing Commission's trajectory in the relevant time period to the thesis.[71] Community-orientated histories documenting experiences of social housing in Sydney include, *Shelter from the Storm: Bryan Brown, Samoan chieftains and the little matter of a roof over our heads,* edited by the oral historian Siobhán McHugh.[72] Notable in this category is the study, *"Just homework and housework": a study of the needs of young migrant women resident in the Villawood Housing Estate* prepared by Pauline Sui. The study focused on the experiences of migrant women residing in the Villawood Housing Estate, a medium-density housing arrangement that was constructed in 1981 and located in a different area to the Villawood Migrant Hostel. The estate was demolished in the mid-1990s.

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[71] Troy, *Accommodating Australians: Commonwealth Government Involvement in Housing*; David Hayward, "The Reluctant Landlords? A History of Public Housing in Australia." *Urban Policy and Research 14*, no. 1, (2008): 5–35 Carolyn Alport, "Castles of Insecurities: The New South Wales Housing Commission and Home Ownership 1941–61," in *Sydney: City of Suburbs* edited by Max Kelly, (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press in association with the Sydney History Group, 1987), 95–124.

[72] Siobhán McHugh, ed. *Shelter from the Storm: Bryan Brown, Samoan Chieftains and the Little Matter of a Roof over our Heads* (St Leonards, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin in conjunction with the NSW Federation of Housing Associations, 1999); Jon Christley and Mary Lane, eds., *In this Place: Stories of Villawood* (Castle Hill, NSW: Christley Lane Publications, 1996), Note: This is about Villawood the suburb and not the hostel.

There is increased interest in social housing globally and it is worth mentioning the seminal works in this area coming from architecture that examine social housing outside Australia.[73] They include Lawrence Vale's history of the provision of institutional housing, *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbours,* and the more recent *Public Housing Myths: Perception, Reality, and Social Policy* edited in conjunction with Nicholas Dagen Bloom and Fritz Umbach.[74] Miles Glenninding's work examining the design of social housing in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, with an emphasis on the post Second World War housing of the welfare state is particularly relevant. An analysis of social housing coming from these regions is significant as, due to Australia's British colonial history, strong, reciprocal professional relationships were formed with particularly English architects during this period.[75] In addition to these key architecture works are creative works centred around experiences and artistic interpretations of housing, including *High Rise Stories* edited by Audrey Petty, which documents contemporary experiences of living in Chicago's public housing using

[73] More recent international works in this area: Architects for Social Housing, *Inequality Capital: A Power Walk by Architects for Social Housing* (2019); Architects for Social Housing, *The Costs of Estate Regeneration: A Report by Architects for Social Housing* (2018); Paul Watt, *Estate Regeneration and its Discontents: Public Housing, Place and Inequality in London*, (Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2021); Anitra Nelson and François Schneider, *Housing for Degrowth: Principles, Models, Challenges and Opportunities* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2019); Paul Karakusevic, Abigail Batchelor, *Social Housing Definitions and Design Exemplars* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Riba Publishing, 2017); David J. Madden and Peter Marcuse, *In Defence of Housing* (London: Verso, 2016); Alexander Vasudevan, *The Autonomous City: A History of Squatting (*London: Verso 2017); Rana Dasgupta, et.al, *Housing after the Neoliberal Turn: International Case Studies* (Berlin: Wohungsfrage, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, 2015).

[74] Lawrence Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Nicholas Bloom, Dagen, Fritz Umbach, and Lawrence J. Vale, eds., *Public Housing Myths: Perception, Reality, and Social Policy* (Cornell University Press, 2015).

[75] Miles Glendining and Stefan Muthesius, *Tower Block: Modern Public Housing in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1994.

interviews, along with the *Estate: Fugitive Images* that uses photographic essays, personal accounts and accompanying critical essays to examine public housing in the United Kingdom in the 20th century as a "form of archaeology of the recent past."[76]

2.4 Camps: From the Tent to Detention

Camps are represented in spatial research through temporary structures, military histories, colonisation, mining, leisure and humanitarian relief. There is considerable research into the heritage of the tent's use in Australia, from pre-colonial First Peoples construction to colonial ridge tents and how this connection collides in the use of transient and informal shelters as a protest method for First Peoples to claim political visibility.[77] Bill Garner's *Born in a Tent: How Camping Makes us Australian* looks at the act of camping in Australia in all its historical incarnations from its uses to claim colonial sovereignty to a ritualised holiday activity.[78] Other relevant scholarship includes Gregory Cowan's "Tent Embassies: Collapsing, Australia and Architecture" and William Taylor's discussion of Australian colonial prefabricated buildings.[79] The camp

[76] Audrey Petty, ed., *High Rise Stories: Voices from Chicago Public Housing* (San Francisco: Voice of Witness; McSweeney's, 2013).
[77] See Gary Foley, Andrew Schaap and Edwina Howell, eds., *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014).
[78] Bill Garner, *Born in a Tent: How Camping Makes us Australian* (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2013); See: Mark Gillem, *America Town* (Minnesota, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Abigail Van Slyke, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960* (Minnesota, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Charlie Hailey *Camps: A Guide to 21st Century Space* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009).
[79] William Taylor, "Wrack and Ruin, Rust and Rot: Sketch for an Alternative Account of 'Character' and the Australian Colonial Prefabricated Building" in *Fabulation: Myth, Nature,*

as a spatial type is predominately researched through the literature on prisoner-of-war camps and refugee camps. In the Australian context, this categorisation includes the scholarship that addresses the Second World War on-arrival accommodation sites including migrant camps, reception and training centres, holding centres, migrant workers hostels and migrant hostels scattered throughout Australia both in the major cities and rural areas. Frequently these sites were adapted from former military camps set up during the Second World War.[80] These accommodation categories, their evolution, and the purpose they each signified are discussed in detail when the history of the Australian Government's migrant recruitment program is outlined in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from The Border to The Hearth."

Since the thesis considers accommodation transformations at the Villawood site through the lens of housing, where the emphasis is on how the nation-state interferes with, and regulates domesticity, there is limited necessity to extensively examine prisons and their colonial heritage as they relate to an Australian context.[81] However, a spatial register of

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Heritage, 29th Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia & New Zealand (Launceston, Tasmania: Society of Architectural Historians Australia & New Zealand, 2012): 1098–1112; Gregory Cowan, "Tent Embassies: Collapsing, Australia and Architecture," in Anthony Kiendl, ed. *Informal Architectures: Space and Contemporary Culture* (London: Black Dog, 2008): 56–65. See: Gregory Cowan, "Collapsing Australian Architecture: The Aboriginal Tent Embassy," *Journal of Australian Studies*, 25, no. 67, (2001): 30–36.

[80] Dept of Immigration, "Migrant Workers' hostel - Bradfield Park," 1949–1971, NAA: A446, 1967/71794.

[81] For an interesting history of incarceration and quarantine see: Bashford, Alison and Carolyn, *Strange ed. Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2003). See: Adrian Myers, Gabriel Moshenska, *Archaeologies of Internment* (New York; London: Springer, 2011); James Kerr, *Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Australia's Places of Confinement, 1788–1988* (Sydney, NSW.: S.H. Ervin Gallery, National Trust of Australia, 1988); Iona Spens, ed. *Architecture of Incarceration* (London: Academy Editions, 1994).

prisons and institutional design in Australia enables a more thorough reading of both the hostel and emerging detention centre architecture. The work of James Kerr, notably, *Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Australia's Places of Confinement, 1788-1988,* is used to provide an overview of historic Australian prison design.[82] Instead, confinement and internment as it relates to spatial organisation is predominantly addressed through examining camp environments, namely prisoner-of-war camps in the United States of America and Australia during the Second World War.[83] Scholarship coming from North America includes literature on the Farm Security Administration's (FSA) farm labour camps designed by California architects.[84] During the Second World War the FSA took over management of the Japanese evacuation and relocation camps initially constructed by US military. Scholarship that investigates Japanese-American relocation sites includes the work of Anoma Pieris, Lynne Horiuchi and the overview provided in *Confinement and Ethnicity* by Jeffery Burton.[85] Pieris's work on the spatial histories of POW camps in the Pacific including Australia is used as an example of how to generate frameworks to

[82]James Kerr, *Out of Sight, Out of Mind.*

[83] Anoma Pieris and Lynne Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

[84] Marc Treib, *Garrett Eckbo: Modern Landscapes for Living* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Greg Hise "From Roadside Camps to Garden Homes: Housing and Community Planning for California's Migrant Work Force, 1935–1941," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 5, (1995): 243–258, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3514258

[85] Jeffery F. Burton, et al. *Confinement and ethnicity: an overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). See**:** Lynne Horuchi, "Inventing Homelands in Japanese American Concentration Camps," in: David Gobel and Dave Rossell, eds. *Commemoration in America: Essays on Monuments, Memorialization, and Memory* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013); Horuchi, "Contesting Traditions in Japanese American Concentration Camps," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series, The International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments* (2008–2009); Horuchi, "Object Lessons in Homebuilding: Racialized Real Estate Marketing in San Francisco," D. Harris, ed. "Race and Landscape," themed issue, *Landscape Journal* 26, no.1 (2007): 61-82; Horuchi, "Dislocations: The Built Environments of Japanese American Internment" in: Mike Mackey, ed. *Guilt by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment and Relocation* (Powell, Wyoming: Western History Publications, 2000): 255–276.

analyse camps. This includes publications such as "Architectures of the Pacific Carceral Archipelago: Second World War Internment and Prisoner of War Camps" and the book chapter "Displacement, Labor and Incarceration: A Mid-twentieth Century Genealogy of Camps."[86]

Recent literature on refugee camps, particularly in regard to humanitarian discourses on camp conditions, positions the camp as an embryonic form of urbanisation where ideas of transience and emplacement can be interwoven. Andrew Herscher's *Displacements Architecture and Refugee,* pulls apart the paradoxes in the European humanitarian tradition of providing shelter for refugees in relationship to architecture.[87] Literature that focuses on the spatial organisation of refugee camps as played out in daily life and in relation to social hierarchies include James Kennedy's dissertation, "Structures for the Displaced: Service and Identity in Refugee Settlements," Manuel Herz's edited compilation, *From Camp to City: Refugee Camps of the Western Sahara* and the work of Bulent Diken, who examines the camp spatially from the perspective of sociology.[88] Design-based research on shelters for refugees includes Elena Giunta and

[86] Anoma Pieris, "Architectures of the Pacific Carceral Archipelago: Second World War Internment and Prisoner of War Camps" *Fabrications* 26, no. 3 (2016): 1–31, https://doi.org/10.1080/10331867.2016.1229170

[87] Andrew Herscher, *Displacements Architecture and Refugee (*Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2017). See: Andrew Herscher, *Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict (*Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010).

[88] James Kennedy, "Structures for the Displaced: Service and Identity in Refugee Settlements," (Dissertation, International Forum of Urbanism, Delft University of Technology, 2008); Manuel Herz ed. *From Camp to City: Refugee Camps of the Western Sahara* (ETH Studio Basel, Zurich: Lars Mūller Publishers, 2012); Bulent Diken, "Refugee Camps to Gated Communities: Biopolitics and the end of the City," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 8, No. 1, (2004): 83–106; Bulent Diken and Carsten Laustsen, *The Culture of Exception: Sociology Facing the Camp* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire;

Agnese Rebaglio's *Design Research on Temporary Homes*.[89] Notably in this field is the workof Irit Katz whose recent publications crosses over with some of the issues informing this thesis.[90]

Borders, mobility and displaced persons are increasingly the focus of scholarship within the fields of human and cultural geography and politics. The scholarship investigates how unstable geographical borders impact the continually deferred resettlement of persons who are economically and politically disenfranchised. Frequently it focuses on the spatial conditions of the borderlands at the nation-state's periphery and in doing so draws from or interprets with varying degrees of relevance and success, Agamben's key philosophical work of the post 9/11 era, *State of Exception*.[91] Key sources that examine an intersection between contemporary global processes and borders from a distinctly architectural perspective are the previously mentioned *Architecture on the Borderline: Boundary Politics and Built Space* edited by Pieris, *Design in the Borderlands*, edited by

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New York: Routledge, 2005). See: Romola Sanyal, "Squatting in Camps: Building and Insurgency in Spaces of Refuge," *Urban Studies* Vol 48, No. 5 (2011): 877–890; Adam Ramadan, "Spatialising the refugee camp," *Transactions* Vol. 38, No. 1, (2013): 65–77; Sarah Lischer, *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005); Koichi Koizumi *Urban Refugees: Challenges in Protection, Services and Policy* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2015).

[89] Elena Giunta, and Agnese Rebaglio, *Design Research on Temporary Homes* (Baunach, Germany: Spurbuchverlag, 2014).

[90] Katz, Irit, "Camps by Design: Architectural Spectacles of Migrant Hospitality," *Incarceration: An International Journal of Imprisonment, Detention and Coercive Confinement* (April 1, 2022), https://doi.org/10.1177/26326663221084 58;"From spaces of Thanatopolitics to spaces of Natality: A Commentary on 'geographies of the camp," *Political Geography*, 49 (2015): 84–86; "Spreading and Concentrating: The Camp as the Space of the Frontier," *City* 19, no. 5, (2015): 722–¬735.

[91] Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* trans. by Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

Bandyopadhyay and Guillermo as well the 2020, *Handbook of Displacement*.[92] The thesis, conversely, explores how border practices of exclusion continue to infiltrate and are reproduced in daily life in Australian cities and how current practices of securing borders against refugees are simultaneously internalised and emerge through the housing types and home-making possibilities available to admitted refugees. This discourse is examined more thoroughly in the Chapter 3, where the thesis's theoretical framework is set out. However, a key source to mention here, focused on border conditions is Suvendrini Perera's *Australia and the Insular Imagination*, which looks at how geographical enclosure is registered through colonial histories and affects cultural renderings of the nation and her work is discussed further in the following chapter.[93] Marginal places that exist within nation-state boundaries (in England and Canada) are also discussed in relation to social and economic hierarchies seen in Rob Shield's major work, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity,* which was a guiding and inspiring source for this thesis.[94]

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[92] Other Examples: Dominique Moran, *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2015); Forensic Architecture, *Forensis: The Architecture of Public Truth /A Project by Forensic Architecture, Centre for Research Architecture, Department of Visual Cultures, Goldsmiths, University of London* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2014); Eyal Weizman, Rafi Segal, eds. *A Civilian Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture* (New York: VERSO, 2003).

[93] Suvendrini Perera, *Australia and the Insular Imagination: Beaches, Borders, Boats, and Bodies (*New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2009).

[94] Rob Shields, *Places on The Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity (*London; New York: Routledge, 1991).

Commonwealth On-Arrival Migrant Accommodation

Two seldom explored questions are how the set-up of Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation for migrant and refugees borrowed from the spatial histories of military camps or how these forms of transitory housing are positioned in relation to other types housing prevalent at the time. However, there is substantial published work on the formative era of Commonwealth migrant accommodation focusing on residents' experiences, documenting the period from late 1940s into the 1950s. This work originates from Australian history as well as heritage and museum studies and positions former migrant hostels as sites of contested memories and exemplifiers for place making. Notable, is Sara Wills's work on British migrants in the post Second World War period as well as her work discussing the construction and claiming of national identities. Her article, "Between the hostel and the detention centre: possible trajectories of migrant pain and shame in Australia," is particularly significant for the thesis as it offers a cultural context for thinking about Commonwealth migrant hostels next to immigration detention histories. [95] Memory and place making remain important focuses for scholarship on Bonegilla Migrant Hostel, including Glenda Sluga' s PhD thesis and her article "Bonegilla and Migrant Dreaming," and Hamilton and Penny's "Remembering Bonegilla: The Construction of a Public Memory Place at Block 19" and

[95] Sara Wills, "Between the Hostel and the Detention Centre: Possible Trajectories of Migrant Pain and Shame in Australia," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage* edited by William Logan and Keir Reeves (New York: Routledge, 2009), 263–280. See**:** Wills**,** "Unstitching the Lips of a Migrant Nation," *Australian Historical Studies*, no. 118, (2002): 71–89 and Wills, "Losing the Right to Country: The Memory of Loss and the Loss of Memory in Claiming the Nation as Space," *New Formations*, no. 51 (Winter 2003–4).

Alexandra Dellilos's recent book *Histories of Controversy: Bonegilla Migrant Centre*.[96] Dellios's more recent edited book *Migrant, Multicultural and Diasporic Heritage: Beyond and Between Borders* is also useful its discussion of migration as it pertains to the heritage industry.[97]

Select Commonwealth Migrant Hostels were used to hold refugees arriving in Australia from mainland Southeast Asia in the aftermath of the Vietnam War. Villawood is particularly significant in this history as it initially held many who arrived by boat and there were stringent regulations and restrictions placed around their daily life at hostels, as outlined in Chapter 7, "New Forms of Border Security." There is very little scholarship examining the experiences people arriving from mainland Southeast Asia had of Commonwealth accommodation. The main example is Pamie Ching Tsz Fung's PhD thesis, "A place 'midway' between the old life and the new: a case study of the migrant hostel at Maribyrnong," which offers a detailed investigation of the Maribyrnong Hostel in western Melbourne and is additionally relevant as it is also

[96] Glenda Sluga, "Bonegilla, 'a place of no hope,'" (PhD University of Melbourne, 1988); Sluga, "Bonegilla and Migrant Dreaming," in *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia* edited by Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994); Bruce Penny' "Remembering Bonegilla: The Construction of a Public Memory Place at Block 19,"*Public History Review* 16 (2009): 43–63; Alexander Delllos, *Histories of Controversy: Bonegilla Migrant Centre* and "Bonegilla Heritage Park: Contesting and Coordinating a Public History Site," *Public History Review* 19 (2012): 21–42. See: Wanda Skowronska, *To Bonegilla from Somewhere* (Ballarat, VIC: Connor Court, 2013).

[97] Alexandra Dellios and Eureka Henrich, *Migrant, Multicultural and Diasporic Heritage Beyond and Between Borders* (Routledge, 2020); Dellios, "Migration Parks and Monuments to Multiculturalism: Finding the Challenge to Australian Heritage Discourses through Community Public History Practice," *The Public Historian* 42, no.2 (2020): 7–32, https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2020.42.2.7

based on a single case study approach.[98] From the time period of the study there exist federally and state government-sponsored research on the housing experiences of people arriving from mainland Southeast Asia; one example of this which comes from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, "*Please Listen to What I am Not Saying": A Report on the Survey of Settlement Experiences of Indochinese Refugees 1978-1980*.

Although explicit forms of spatial violence including forms of incarceration are significant for this research, the primary concern is with other more implicit forms of systemic and institutional violence that are spatialised, for example, through housing provision and resettlement policies. That said, scholarship exploring immigration detention is relevant due to the emergence of immigration detention facilities on-site, parallel to the migrant hostel and this is further explored in Chapter 7, "New Forms of Border Security." The chapter, due to limited access to architectural drawings for the early incarnations of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre (VIDC), takes a more discursive approach drawing on literature that explores practices of refugee interdiction as a form on nation-state management. Therefore, presented here is only a brief synopsis.

[98] Fung, Pamie Ching Tsz, "A Place 'Midway Between the Old Life and the New: A Case Study of the Migrant Hostel at Maribyrnong," (PhD. University of Melbourne, 2013); Australia. Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, "*Please Listen to What I'm Not Saying": A Report on The Survey of Settlement Experiences of Indochinese Refugees 1978–80* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1982).

Immigration Detention in Australia

The emergence of immigration detention practices as an area for enquiry has gained momentum in recent decades following the Syrian civil war beginning in 2011 and the influx of refugees into Europe along with the fact that immigration detention has become an established arm of what is described as the global prison industrial complex. Consequently, there has been an explosion of scholarship that looks at the ramifications of immigration detention practices both from the disciplines of sociology with a focus on the experiences of refugees detained and from geography highlighting isolated island detention facilities as forming carceral archipelagos.[99] As outlined in the thesis's introduction, Sean Anderson and Jennifer Feng focus on immigration detention centres under the Australian Government's jurisdiction, examining how nation-state border conditions both enact upon and intersect with architecture and incarceration.[100]

In the Australian context, there is a robust academic discourse on immigration detention with a particularly strong focus from legal and political perspectives as well as interpretations originating from cultural studies.[101] There three key books have proven

[99] For an overview: Amy Nethery and Stephanie J. Silverman, *Immigration Detention* (London: Routledge, 2015).
[100] Emma Russell, "Carceral Atmospheres on Manus Island: Listening to How are you Today," *Law Text Culture*, 24, (2020): 117–137, https://ro.uow.edu.au/ltc/vol24/iss1/5; Maria Giannacopoulos and Claire Loughnan, "'Closure' at Manus Island and carceral expansion in the open air prison," *Globalizations* 17, no. 7 (2019): 1118–1135, https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2019.1679549;
[101] Mary Crock, Ben Saul and Azadeh Dastyari, *Future Seekers II: Refugees and Irregular Migration in Australia* (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2006); Mary Crock, Laurie Berg, *Immigration,*

useful for the thesis. James Jupp's *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* offers a thorough overview of immigration policies in the second half of the 20tth century. Peter Mares's *Borderline: Australia's Treatment of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Wake of the Tampa* gives a complementary contemporary context with its close inspection of recent policies around border management.[102] The third is Clare Higgins's *Asylum by Boat: Origins of Australia's Refugee Policy*, which is particularly pertinent to the thesis as it considers the lead-up to the introduction of the policy of mandatory detention and covers the period of the study by looking at the 1970s and 1980s.[103]

The academic discourses itemised in this literature review offer an overview of the breadth of literature the thesis draws on to understand the spatial histories and housing context of Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation for migrants and refugees in Australia. The following chapter explores the theoretical framework, discussing hospitality as connected to nation-state cosmopolitanism, drawing out its use in scholarship emerging from the humanities in Australia in the early 2000s. Interrogations of the limits of hospitality and the complications of hospitality in a settler colonial context are prevalent in the academic discourse emerging from this era due in part to

Refugees and Forced Migration: Law, Policy and Practice in Australia (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2011).

[102] James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*; Peter Mares, *Borderline: Australia's Response to Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Wake of the Tampa* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002). See the more recent, Michelle Peterie, *Visiting Immigration Detention: Care and Cruelty in Australia's Asylum Seeker Prisons* (Bristol University Press, 2022).

[103] Clare Higgins, *Asylum by Boat* (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2017).

immigration detention and border security being at the forefront of the public imagination. Namely, the 2001 Tampa Affair and the executive-led changes in refugee interdiction policy it engendered, along with the aftermath of the September 11 attacks in New York in 2001, which arguably influenced the Australian federal election of that year.[104] This theoretical discussion is used to introduce the thesis's interdisciplinary methodology and its focus on a single case study method.

In a concluding note, the arguments advanced in the following chapters have also been heavily influenced by works classified as fiction. Judah Waten's *Alien Son,* one of Australia's earliest European migrant narratives and illuminates the difficulties faced by migrants arriving in a society hostile to different religions and cultural customs.[105] Alternative perspectives on migrant hostels are gained from *Silver City,* an 1984 Australian-produced film focusing on experiences of European migrants in a post-war hostel and an unpublished manuscript from 1950 by Vance Marshall, "Sanctuary Down Under: An account of life at the Commonwealth Government's Hostel for European migrants, Villawood, N.S.W., 1949–1950." Marshall was apparently an officer of Commonwealth Hostels Ltd. Also useful are recent fictional works that explore migration, borders, belonging and home including Teo Hsu-Ming's *Behind the Moo*n and

[104] Tampa Affair: Robert Manne, Corlett, David, "Sending Them Home: Refugees and the New Politics of Indifference," *Quarterly Essay 13* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2004).
[105] Judah Waten, *Alien Son* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1952.)

Le Nam's short story collection *The Boat*.[106] These creative works offer a nuanced discussion of how the political apparatus of the nation-state can emerge in the everyday.

[106] Teo, Hsu-Ming, *Behind the Moon* (Crow's Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005); Nam, Le, *The Boat* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2008); Simone Lazaroo, *The World Waiting to be Made* (South Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1994); Sharon Rundle and Meenakshi Bharat eds., *Alien Shores: Tales of Refugees and Asylum Seekers from Australia and the Indian Subcontinent* (Melbourne: Brass Monkey Books, 2012). Also, there is an unpublished manuscript based on Villawood around the time it opened in 1948: Vance Marshall, "Sanctuary down under: an account of life at the Commonwealth Government's Hostel for European migrants, Villawood, N.S.W., 1949-1950," Unpublished manuscript Written for the Commonwealth Literary competition. 1949-1950, (J. V. Marshall was an officer of Commonwealth Hostels Ltd.), SLNSW: Manuscript, Oral History and Pictures Collection.

CHAPTER 3. HOSPITALITY FROM THE BORDER TO THE HEARTH

Note: Figures and figure references are at the end of the chapter.

3.1 Introduction: A Single Case Study Approach

The thesis investigates the types and forms of accommodation and detention on the site of the former Villawood Migrant Hostel using a single case study approach. It focuses on the addition of purpose-built hostel blocks in the late 1960s and ends with the introduction of mandatory detention in 1992 through changes in immigration policies (for a timeline of significant changes in the Commonwealth of Australia's immigration and citizenship policy, see Appendix 1, 1948–1992). Mandatory detention for people classified by the federal government as 'unauthorised' significantly changes the role of Australia's immigration detention facilities and increases the number of people detained in the purpose-built centre at Villawood originally constructed in 1976.[1] Chapter 7, "New Forms of Border Security," discusses this in detail. By positioning the architecture at the forefront of the investigation, the thesis asks: What do the different design strategies implemented across the site's history indicate about federal

[1] Mandatory Detention: Janet Phillips and Harriet Spinks, Parliament of Australia Research Publications Social Policy Section, *Immigration Detention in Australia*, 2013, https://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/bn/2012-2013/detention, Also see: Peter Mares, *Borderline: Australia's Response to Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Wake of the Tampa* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002); Robert Manne and David Corlett, *Quarterly Essay 13: Sending Them Home: Refugees and the New Politics of Indifference* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2004).

government hospitality towards migrants and refugees entering Australia during the period of the study? How can changes to immigration policy and cultural attitudes be read through changes in the facilities and how these changes were represented in the media?

Villawood Migrant Hostel opened in December 1949 and was initially administered by the Migrant Workers' Accommodation Division before Commonwealth Hostels Ltd (CHL) took over management in 1952. Villawood was conceived as a hostel for migrants arriving from outside the British Isles and Ireland but by 1952, when the nearby Wallgrove hostel closed, large numbers of British migrants were residing on site.[2] When the former Leightonfield Munitions Factory closed in 1945, the entire site was originally going to be transferred over to the New South Wales Housing Commission for a housing scheme but the federal government, under the prime ministership of Ben Chifley, retained a large portion of the site to construct migrant accommodation.[3] Initially spread across 68 acres in the suburb now known as Chester Hill, the Villawood Migrant Hostel was originally divided into six accommodation areas, known as units, which consisted of imported rows of huts (often in threes), with each unit containing toilet blocks, a linen store and a kitchen (see figure 3.1). Sleeping quarters were in ex-military supplies, mostly Nissen huts but included Hawksley and Quonset (SAAR) huts arranged in rows.

[2] Graham Brooks and Associates, Architects and Heritage Consultants, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel: Conservation Management Plan and Social Significance Assessment prepared for the Department of Finance and Administration* (Sydney: Graham Brooks and Associates Pty Ltd, 2001), 20.

[3] Dept of Prime Minister, "Land and property - NSW - Villawood - Commonwealth requirements of land for migrant workers' hostel," 1949, NAA: A462, 796/22/1.

The Nissen huts were timber framed and weatherboard clad with corrugated iron roofs huts and accommodated two or more families.[4] They were partitioned into individual or family sleeping quarters, with each hut being segmented into six to eight rooms with a varying number of doors and windows. According to *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel: Conservation Management Plan and Social Significance Assessment*, select former residents remember partitions that went either to the ceiling or only part of the way and that the spaces inside were extremely small, partly due to the curving half-cyclical form of the Nissen hut (see figure 3.2 for a general example of how Nissen huts were divided).[5] In October 1950, Villawood had a total, in-flux, occupancy of 1010 people including staff living on site.[6]

Several of these buildings from the 1950s remained on site up until the early 2000s and were the focus of heritage significance assessments, prior to the most recent redevelopment of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre.[7] Similar to larger, earlier migrant camps such as Bathurst in New South Wales and Bonegilla in Victoria, the Villawood Migrant Hostel was the first place of arrival for thousands of post-war migrants. The lead-up to and the redevelopment of Villawood Migrant Hostel as part of the Department of Immigration and CHL's nation-wide program drives the

[4] Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*, 20–28.
[5] Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel.*
[6] Dept. of Labour and National Service, "Migrant Workers' Accommodation Hostels - general - hostel occupancy and capacity - March 1950 to June 1951," NAA: MP579/1, 264/1/31.
[7] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Provision of Facilities for Villawood Immigration Detention Centre Addition Accommodation and Related Works, Villawood, NSW* (Canberra: Parliament of Commonwealth of Australia, 2009).

subsequent chapters. The thesis in part aims to bring attention to the motivations, directives and aspirations of the various federal government departments involved in the Villawood Migrant Hostel, namely the Department of Immigration and Commonwealth Hostels Limited. The processes of design and construction of the built facilities and their subsequent management reflect anxieties around the forms of hospitality offered to incoming populations by the Commonwealth government. An overview of the site's built history from the Second World War onward, and its main architectural types, is outlined in the table below.

TABLE 3.1 TIMELINE OF THE FORMS OF ACCOMMODATION AND DETENTION AT THE VILLAWOOD SITE, 1945–2020.

Spatial type	Name	Purpose-designed or adapted	Years operative	Notes
Factory	Leightonfield Munitions Factory	Adapted (unconclusive).	1941–1945	Limited accommodation provided for employees on site. According to a preliminary Heritage significance assessment that in line with other factories Leightonfield would have had a predominantly female workforce and in 1943 had a peak of 2325 construction staff. This same report notes: "The use of the site between the time of its closure as a munitions factory in 1945 and its redevelopment as a migrant hostel (opening in 1949) has not been investigated. This period may have been devoted to

				site clean-up and demolition. On other similar sites, temporary housing was often provided to help those unable to find accommodation during the acute housing shortage that occurred immediately after the war."(Golden Mackay Logan, *Villawood Immigration Centre Preliminary Heritage Significance Assessment*, prepared for the Carson Group Pty Ltd, March 2001.
Camp	Villawood Migrant Centre/ Hostel	Adapted	1949–1968	Accommodation was ex-military supplies, predominantly Nissen and Quonset but also timber framed arranged in rows. Some huts were larger than others and most were usually partitioned and segmented into individual or family sleeping quarters.
House apartment blocks double storey and single storey residences	**Villawood Migrant Hostel and Westbridge Migrant Hostel**	**Purpose-designed and adapted**	**1968–1984 (Sections of Westbridge Hostel remained open into the late 1980s before being adapted into the VIDC in the early 1990s.)**	**The site was divided into two hostels, Villawood and Westbridge. The Westbridge Hostel consisted of new brick migrant apartment buildings designed in three stages. Stage 1 included five single-storey residencies constructed for staff and two-storey apartment buildings, which were connected by covered walkways. The section named the Villawood Hostel retained the army huts plus the additional apartment buildings were erected (Stage 3).**

Prison	**Villawood Immigration Detention Centre (IDC)**	**Purpose-designed and then adapted**	**1976–present**	**A purpose-designed IDC was built on site in 1976 adjacent to but removed from the hostel. Later, when the hostel ceased operation, it adapted 12 of the housing blocks constructed in 1968 from Stage 1 and an administration building constructed in 1979. The VIDC has had several renovations. Recently it underwent a significant redevelopment with extensive renovations and additions (approx. 2015–2020.)**
Heritage Site	Villawood Heritage Precinct	Purpose-designed with use of migrant hostel Nissen huts	Completed in 2016–2017.	The redevelopment includes an adjacent heritage precinct due to the heritage value of the ex-military buildings of the Villawood Hostel's early incarnations.

This chapter introduces the thesis's methodology and methods, providing the theoretical framework used to analyse the site's built history. The case study of the Villawood site is investigated as an example that exposes how on-arrival accommodation provided for migrants and refugees was transformed over time. The thesis is grounded in architectural methodologies that emphasise spatial and material conditions to examine how various architectural types, such as the camp, hostel, house and prison, spatially intersect on the site across different time periods. It analyses the design strategies that influence these types to investigate ideas about what constitutes physical understandings and framings of house and home, and equally notions of

unsettlement. Through archival work, it primarily examines the manifestation of the nation-state in the architecture by asking what Commonwealth government archives, focused on the built facilities, indicate about shifts in immigration policy and housing provision. Across the four subsequent chapters, based on detailed archival work, the focus is on the transition of the architecture from a model of spatial organisation based on military camps to the hostel. This is followed by how the Villawood Migrant Hostel compares with other key purpose-built designs of Commonwealth migrant hostels and then a focus on key spaces within hostels, mainly the collective kitchen and dining spaces. Finally, it examines how the facilities on site increasingly become more punitive with the introduction of immigration detention.

To investigate the intersection between architecture and hospitality, the research draws on interdisciplinary methodologies to provide an infrastructure for enquiry. These include primarily historical study and spatial analysis and are complemented by methodologies borrowed from ethnographic work. Spatial ethnography, a method based on socio-spatial mapping, and interviews introduced by architectural scholars such as Arijit Sen and Lisa Silverman, are relevant to the thesis.[8] These ethnographic approaches are design orientated as they use site analysis and visual interpretation. The methodologies can be accordingly divided into the categories: primarily, historical study of archival materials and discourse analysis of relevant literature; spatial and

[8] More examples are discussed in the methods section later in this chapter: Arijit Sen and Lisa Silverman, ed., *Making Place: Space and Embodiment in the City* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014); David Beynon, "Hybrid Representations: The Public Architecture of Migrant Communities in Melbourne" (Ph.D. University of Melbourne, 2002).

visual analysis; and additional ethnographic readings of the site and associated material. The thesis is framed as a historical study focusing on transitions between the types of accommodation and detention provided on site that is analysed and interpreted against historical and contemporary debates about migrant and refugee resettlement and interdiction in Australia. These frequently divisive public debates are filtered through interdisciplinary scholarship that examines how degrees of hospitality collide with the packaging of multicultural national identities.[9]

The spatial approach adopted in this thesis relies on spatial, architectural, and visual data to a far greater extent than the ethnographic or discourse analysis methods used by many prominent anthropologists and historians writing on migrant experiences. Nevertheless, its theoretical framing is informed by theoretical literature that draws from the interdisciplinary work of three primary authors: Sneja Gunew, Suvendrini Perera and Ghassan Hage.[10] These authors raise issues of how identities and cultural specificity have been recognised within the national discourse in the Commonwealth of Australia. Sneja Gunew observes the continuation of colonial schemas around land

[9] A selection: Randa Adbel-Fattah, *Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism in Australia* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Martina Boese and Vince Marotta, eds, *Critical Reflections on Migration, 'race' and Multiculturalism: Australia in a Global Context* (London, New York: Routledge, 2017); Don McMaster, *Asylum seekers: Australia's Response to Refugees* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 2001); James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Klaus Neumann, *Across the Seas: Australia's Response to Refugees, A History* (Collingwood Vic : Black Inc., 2015).
[10] Examples: Ghassan Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society* (Annandale, Vic: Pluto Press, 2003); Sneja Gunew, *Framing Marginality: Multicultural Literary Studies* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994); Gunew, Sneja. "Multicultural Sites: Practices of Un/Homeliness," in *Complex Entanglements: Art, Globalisation and Cultural Difference* edited by Nikos Papastergiadis (London: Oram Press, 2003).

tenure in fantasies and realities about multicultural Australia and outlines the colonial dimensions to hospitality as a precursor to discussing the emergence of renewed interest in border security and access to citizenship.[11] Suvendrini Perera describes the insular imagination of nationalism as being connected to senses of geographical enclosure and the legacy of colonial framings of geographic understandings.[12] Cultural identity emerges as a highly debated category in this literature, which looks at several categories of Australian subjecthood as tied to ethnicity, including whiteness, biculturalism and multiculturalism. These issues are also discussed in direct relation to culturally diverse communities in western Sydney, in the previously mentioned *Home/world: Space Community and Marginality in Sydney's West,* with contributions by Helen Grace and

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[11] Australia's recent obsession with strengthening borders against so-called 'unauthorised' arrivals can be contextualised through discourses of post-nationalism and denationalisation that emerged in sociology in the late 1990s early 2000s. Saskia Sassen argued that various systems of globalisation and the emergence of digital networks altered the relationship between the individual and the polity embodied by the nation-state. Due to increased deregulation in financial systems and the adoption of international human rights, the alignment between the institution of citizenship and the nation-state was being reconfigured. She suggested that there are two possible trajectories for the future structure of formal citizenships. The first is commonly described as post-national where "citizenship is located partly outside the confines of the national" and gains validity from "collective identities and solidarities" that are not restricted to territorial states. The second direction defined as denationalisation is the transformation of the institutional organisation of the nation-state and could undermine the position the nation-state has on regulating citizenship. These discourses have been reconfigured after 9/11 and with the rise of the new right in Europe, the United States of America and Australia. However, the increase in flexible and unstable borders both physically, economically and culturally is shaping national subjectivities and constitutive spaces. It can be argued that components of new agendas of national unification, both in real terms and symbolically, is a method to secure historic identities and established political alliances against the onslaught of global processes that render state lines invisible. Saskia Sassen, Saskia. "Towards Post-National and Denationalized Citizenship," in *Handbook of citizenship studies*, eds. Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner (London: SAGE, 2002), 268–288. See also, Christian Joppke, *Citizenship and Immigration* (Cambridge: Maiden, MA: Polity, 2010); Kim Rubenstein, *Australian Citizenship Law in Context* (Pymount N.S.W: Lawbook, 2002); Kim Rubenstein, Daniel Alder, "International Citizenship: The Future of Nationality in a Globalized World," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal studies*7, no. 2 (2000): 519–548, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20644739

[12] Suvendrini Perera, *Australia and the Insular Imagination: Beaches, Borders, Boats, and Bodies* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2009).

Ghassan Hage.[13] How this scholarship addresses the complexities of multiculturalism as both a federal government policy and a cultural framework, is pertinent for the thesis as it establishes a platform to investigate the tensions and contradictions around accommodation offered to displaced people, evident in the architecture of migrant hostel redevelopments in the late 1960s. The first official national multicultural policies are not introduced until 1978 and multiculturalism as an avenue for national identity effectively does not gain momentum until the 1980s. However, the forms of hospitality offered to the migrants passing through hostel sites can be examined as a precursor for the complexities and tensions inherent in later, official forms of multiculturalism.[14]

Understandings of nation-state hospitality derive from Jacques Derrida's writings and conversations on hospitality connected to cosmopolitanism and the interpretation of his work in the settler-colonial contexts, mainly through work coming from Australian history and cultural studies.[15] Section 3.2 discusses the role of hospitality from the nation

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[13] Grace, Helen, et al, *Home/world: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*; See: Jack Collins, Scott Poynting eds, *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Sydney's West* (Haymarket, NSW: Common Ground Publishing, 2000.); Mandy Thomas, 'Hanging Out in Westfield Parramatta', in *Ingenious: Emerging Youth Cultures in Urban Australia* edited by Melissa Butcher and Mandy Thomas (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press 2003): 102–123.

[14] Jatinder Mann, *The Search for a New National Identity: The Rise of Multiculturalism in Canada and Australia, 1890s-1970s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2016); Klaus Neumann, Gwenda Tavan, eds., *Does history Matter?: Making and Debating Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Policy in Australia and New Zealand* (Acton: ANU E Press, 2009).

[15] Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond,* translated by Rachel Bowlby (Standford: Standford University Press, 2000); Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, translated by M. Dooley and R Kearney (London: Routledge, 2001); Suvendrini Perera, Graham Seal and Sue Summers eds. *Enter at own risk? Australia's population questions for the 21st century* (Perth: Black Swan Press, 2010); Katrina Schlunke, "Sovereign Hospitalities?" *Borderlands e journal* 1, no. 2, (2002); Trove archived online journal, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20030624015143/http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol1no2_2002/schlunke_hospitalities.html

in the demarcation of sovereignty to how cultural diversity was accommodated both spatially and culturally in the everyday. The everyday is represented by the physical, spatial and material character of the Villawood site at various temporal periods and how this was experienced by people passing through it. Section 3.3 introduces the post-war migration programs to highlight how the population of Australia's demographics fundamentally shifts during this period. The section provides a historical overview of the initial set up of Commonwealth migrant accommodation sites and their early planning. In addition, it clarifies and investigates the history and use of terms such as migrants, displaced persons, refugees, and asylum seekers as relevant to the thesis's arguments. The methodological framing and the specific methods used in the thesis are explained in section 3.4. They include discourse analysis, archival research and fieldwork with extensive existing oral histories providing a complementary social history. The chapter concludes with a brief outline of the thesis's limitations, explaining some of the issues encountered in accessing archival material.

3.2 Hospitality and Border Security: Access to Australian Citizenship

The thesis seeks to understand the intertwinement of hospitality and spatial violence which manifests in and through the accommodation afforded to migrants and refugees arriving in Australia after the Second World War. Hospitality is conceived as an extension of conceptions of the nation-state and access to citizenship, while the theme

of spatial violence is connected to border conditions and physical confinement experienced in detention facilities. Definitions of hospitality include statements such as "the friendly and generous reception and entertainment of guests, visitors, or strangers" and "the custom of accommodating strangers in need of shelter, food and protection."[16] Franziska Bollerey defines hospitality as "the custom of accommodating strangers in need of shelter, food and protection." She argues that it "either took the form of hospitableness–it was mentioned as early as in Homer's Odyssey–or professionally handled accommodation (commercialisation of hospitality)."[17] Offering food to a guest was a central facet of hospitality in its emergence as a method of building friendship as well as political favour and allegiances in ancient Greece and Rome. The word's etymology informs the spatial dimensions of hospitality and as evidence for practices of hospitality that emerge in both Greco-Roman mythology and Judeo-Christian religious traditions. In Homer's *Odyssey*, it is evident in its portrayal of *xenia*, which signified the rituals for the host-guest dynamic. Odysseus's perpetual procrastination on his return to his family and home offers insight into the political relationships of the elites of ancient Greece and a culture where hospitality to strangers is located in the *oiko*,

[16] Muhlmann, W.E, "Hospitality," In: ERA Seligman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1932); Judy Pearsall and Patricia Hanks, ed., *The New Oxford dictionary of English (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, 2001); Lashley and Morrison, eds, *In Search of Hospitality-Theoretical Perspectives and Debates* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 2000); C. Reece, *The Strangers Welcome: Oral Theory and the Aesthetics of the Homeric Hospitality Scene* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1993).

[17] Fransika Bollerey, "Beyond the Lobby Setting the stage for modernity-the cosmos of the hotel," in *Hotel Lobbies and Lounges: The Architecture of Professional Hospitality* edited by Anne Massey and Tom Avermaete (New York: Routledge, 2012), 3. See: Hayner, Norman S, *Hotel Life* (Chapel Hill, 1936); Firebarugh, W.C. *The Inns of Greece and Rome and the History of Hospitality from the Dawn of Time to the Middle Ages* (New York: 1972).

which refers to the home or household.[18] Evident from the words used in ancient cultures and these types of definitions is a strong spatial component attached to hospitality's linguistic meaning and as a contemporary architectural category it emerges most prominently in tourism-related designs.[19] The tourist industry centres on the commercial potential of hospitality linked to the symbolic capital of experiences of escape and personal renewal in replicated environments. In addition, projections of hospitality utilised by the tourism industry draw from domestic ideals of comfort, reception and contentment.[20] However, the thesis is not specifically looking at the design methods used by the hospitality industry but instead uses hospitality as a conceptual tool to discuss framings of house and home in relation to the federal government's post-war immigration drive.

The politics and ethics of hospitality, as it pertains to the nation-state, are explored by Jacques Derrida in one aspect of his work. Specifically, the appearance of unconditional hospitality in relation to the conditions that limit hospitality to culturally different groups in purportedly cosmopolitan nation-states.[21] Jacques Derrida's work is frequently included in a bracket of key-thinkers emerging out of France in in the 1960s,

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[18] Kevin D. O'Gorman, "Dimensions of Hospitality: Exploring Ancient and Classical Origins," in *Hospitality: A Social Lens* edited by Conrad Lashley, Paul Lynch, Alison Morrison (Amsterdam; Boston, MA: Elsevier, 2006), 20–24.
[19] See Monste Borras, *Hotel Spaces* (Mass: Rockport, 2008); Donald Albrecht, *New Hotels for Global Nomads* (London: Merrell Publishers, 2002); Conrad Lashley, Paul Lynch, Alison Morrison, eds., *Hospitality: A Social Lens* (Amsterdam; Boston: Elsevier, 2007).
[20] Anne Massey and Tom Avermaete, eds., *Hotel lobbies and Lounges: The Architecture of Professional Hospitality.*
[21] Derrida, *Of Hospitality*; Judith Still, *Derrida and Hospitality: Theory and Practice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Tariq Jazeel, *Scared Modernity: Nature, Environment and Postcolonial Geographies of Sri Lankan Nationhood* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

that are loosely connected under the often-contested term of post-structuralism. Beyond the disciplines of Philosophy and Linguistics, he is most widely noted for the philosophical approach of 'deconstruction.'[22] His early major works examine deconstruction as it relates to the production and relationship of language and knowledge systems and as a challenge to, and to direct an awareness to the slippages between binary modes of thinking and dualities when generating meaning. Key works that explore this philosophy of linguistics include *Of Grammatology* (1967), *Speech and Phenomena* (1967) and *Writing and Difference* (1967).[23] In architecture his work is most readily associated with predominantly speculative architectural works influenced by post-modernism discourses emerging from the United States of America in the latter half of the 20th century (even though there is debate that the translation of these ideas into formal experiments has little to do with the philosophical underpinnings of the term and the concepts it evokes as outlined by Derrida.)[24] An enjoyable but notoriously dense and knotted writer, his discussion of ideas associated with hospitality has been approached through interviews and talks.[25]

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[22] Barry Stocker, *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Derrida on Deconstruction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006).

[23] Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena, and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs* translated, with an introduction by David B. Allison, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973); Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, translated with an introduction and additional notes, by Alan Bass, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

[24] Mary McLeod, "Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism", *Assemblage* no.8 (February 1989): 22–59; Mark Wigley, *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida's Haunt* (Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1993).

[25] Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*; Derrida, "The Principle of Hospitality," *Parallax* 11, no. 1, (2005): 6–9, doi: 10.1080/1353464052000321056; Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, translated by George Collins (London; New York: Verso, 1997).

Derrida in conversation with Anne Dufourmantelle in *Of Hospitality* examines the ethics of hospitality in relation to cosmopolitanism and how notions of nation-state hospitality are informed by conditional politics and practices.[26] The focus is on the nexus of the host-guest relationship and the ethical dimensions of this encounter as informed by both framings of sovereignty and the voluntary and obligatory mobilities that increasingly impact nation-states with global waves of displacement. Conceptions of hospitality as tied to cosmopolitanism have been applied by various scholars to explore the politics of internal and external mobilities impacting on political units. For example, Valene Smith, in her edited book *Hosts and Guests*, explores how the politics of difference informs and is promoted through the tourist industry, drawing attention to often asymmetrical economic relationships.[27] Hospitality as tied to framings of citizenship that are undergirded by colonialism have been explored in the work of Anoma Pieris and Gary Murray, and Katrina Schlunke.[28] Pieris and Murray argue that the Australian nation-state's legacy "of colonial foundation have subverted traditional host-guest relations" and Schlunke considers how successive immigration and refugee policies emphasise the limits of 'sovereign hospitalities,' which is discussed further in the following section.[29] However, the theoretical framework informing the thesis is not derived from a close reading of Derrida's late philosophical preoccupations but the legacy of his ideas in how

[26] Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*. See: Jennie Germnann Molz and Sarah Gibson, eds., *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
[27] Valene Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).
[28] Anoma Pieris and Gary Murray, "A Treaty needs a house: Emplacing First Peoples' priori rights in Wurundjeri Country, metropolitan Melbourne," in *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture* edited by Elizabeth Grant, Kelly Greenop, Albert L. Refiti, Daniel J. Glenn (Singapore: Springer, 2018), 551–579; Katrina Schlunke, "Sovereign Hospitalities?"
[29] Katrina Schlunke, "Sovereign Hospitalities?"

they have been disseminated through the humanities. In particular, how many Australian-based scholars working at the intersection of history and cultural studies utilised understandings and framings of hospitality to consider the emergence of nation-state systems of detention and the subsequent facilities these systems engendered in the 1990s and early 2000s. Scholars like Katrina Schlunke, Ghassan Hage, Sneja Gunew and Sara Wills explored the complications and contradictions in the relationship of nation-state hospitality and multiculturalism, both as an official Australian Government policy and as a cultural framework.[30]

Often using Derrida's propositions and contentions as a departure point, scholarship originating in the humanities looks at hospitality through tensions between population majorities and minorities in connection to framings of host and guest relationships as they are played out within cosmopolitan nation-states. Their focus, in particular, is on how varying degrees of hospitality inform the reception of refugees and how encounters with unfamiliar cultures are positioned in relation to ideas about tolerance and aversion, often linked to shifts in economic stability and increased precarity.[31] For example, Judith Still argues:

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[30] Sneja Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Sara Wills, "Between the Hostel and the Detention Centre: Possible Trajectories of Migrant Pain and Shame in Australia," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage* edited by William Logan and Keir Reeves (New York: Routledge, 2009), 263–280; Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1998.).

[31] Hospitality and Australian nationalism: Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*; Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism's*; Sara Wills "Between the Hostel and the Detention Centre: Possible Trajectories of Migrant Pain and Shame in Australia." See: Roland Bleiker, David Campbell and

> There is a historical tendency for the language and practice of hospitality to turn against the guest — the focus on the generosity of the host becomes a focus on the duties of the guest and notably the construction of the figure of the guest who not only fails to fulfil his duties (the parasite) but even betrays the host (the terrorist.) [32]

The inscribed limits of hospitality to disenfranchised or marginalised populations within sovereign states, such as Australia, is used in this thesis to examine the complications and contradictions inherent in the framing of national identities that were influenced by and changed due to migrant and refugee arrivals during the period of study. The Villawood's sites various incarnations offers an opportunity to connect these discussions of nation-state hospitality, that in Australian-based scholarship has predominately focused on nation-state political apparatuses such as policy frameworks, with how these ideas might physically manifest in the design of accommodation and detention facilities.

Perversions of hospitality directed to arriving populations are explicitly visible in Australia's mandatory detention policies, including prolonged detainment in onshore and offshore facilities that legitimise forms of direct, punitive (including through negligence and confinement) violence towards refugees (see figure 3.3). But they also

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Emma Hutchison, "Visual Cultures of Inhospitality," *Peace Review*, 26, 2, (2014): 192–200; Taylor, Luke, "Designated Inhospitality: The Treatment of Asylum Seekers who Arrive by Boat in Canada and Australia," *Mcgill Law Journal*, 60 2, (2015): 333–379.

[32] Judith Still, *Derrida and Hospitality: Theory and Practice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

emerge through structural and systemic discrimination, namely through earlier federal government polices of assimilation and through the provision of housing. Historically in Australia this was also explicit in assimilatory practices, for example, in the instructional, everyday living pamphlets dispersed amongst people arriving at migrant hostels.[33] However it is important to consider these political and cultural anxieties surrounding hospitality to non-British migrants and refugees in the Commonwealth of Australia's wider colonial-settler histories. Scholars such as Sneja Gunew have highlighted that Australia's violent history of colonialism and its continuation in the denial of unceded sovereignty from First Peoples informs and complicates the Commonwealth of Australia's acceptance and resettlement of migrants and refugees. The continuation of colonialism through cultural and institutional frameworks undercuts and highlights the hypocritical framing of the host-guest relationship as projected by the Commonwealth of Australia in its framing of accepting particularly refugees. In examining the separation and lack of spatial integration of migrant hostels such as Villawood from its immediate surrounding, this thesis explores the two spatial forms that the site prefigures and suggests the home and the prison as extreme manifestations of nation-state hospitality and openness. The consistent contradictory messages of welcome, humanitarian protection and punitive detention that circle the political discourses related to immigration, both in the present and historically, suggest the salience of this conceptual approach, convincingly demonstrated in the spatial and

[33] Dept. of Labour and National Service, "Department of Immigration pamphlets - Migrant Centres, Hostels in Australia, Migrant Hostels in Australia - Revision of - 1966 to 1970," NAA: B146, 1966/1000.

architectural transformations of Commonwealth migrant hostel facilities as discussed in subsequent chapters.

3.3 Nation and Housing: Post Second World War Migration Programs and On-Arrival Accommodation

James Jupp argues that unlike other nation-states emerging from British settler colonialism, such as the United States of America and Canada, Australia's non-Indigenous population has been a product "of consciousness social engineering to create a particular type of society."[34] In Australia, the trajectory of social engineering occurs through the parameters placed on migration by successive federal governments and, as Jupp argues, to generate particular models "using migration and the introduction of overseas capital and technology."[35] After the Second World War, this trajectory centred on political understandings of citizenship tied to the United Kingdom and by ideas of 'whiteness' began to significantly shift. As outlined in the thesis's introduction, a specific Australian citizenship was not introduced until 1948, and in the post-war years, it was still culturally framed as an extension of the British Empire. The federal government's mass recruitment and resettlement of refugees from Europe gradually widened the demographics of Australia's relatively small colonial-settler population that was previously predominately culturally connected to England,

[34] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 6.
[35] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 6.

Scotland, Ireland and Wales (at this time First Peoples were not politically acknowledged as part of the Commonwealth of Australia's population).[36] Although immigration levels were low between 1890 and 1947, it is important to note that, outside migrants from the British Isles and Ireland, Greek, Italian and Yugoslav migrants also arrived in Australia in the first half of the 20th century.[37] There were also small sectors of the population originating from outside Europe, who had been in Australian prior to the simultaneous occurrence of Federation and the introduction of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* (See Appendix 1: Timeline Of Significant Changes in the Commonwealth Of Australia's Immigration And Citizenship Policy, 1901–2001, 1901–1958). According to Andrew Markus, Peter F. McDonald, and James Jupp, "at Federation in 1901, less than 5 percent of the Australian population had its origins outside Australia and the British Isles."[38] Although, the Immigration Restriction Act did not explicitly specify ethnicity, it included compulsory dictation tests that were used to exclude non-Europeans and any arriving populations denoted by the federal government as 'undesirable.'[39]

Towards the end of the Second World War, after engaging in conflict with Japan in the Asia-Pacific region, the federal government began to be concerned with population

[36] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera.*
[37] Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of Department of Immigration*, 2017, https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about-us-subsite/files/immigration-history.pdf
[38] Andrew Markus, James Jupp, Peter McDonald, *Australia's Immigration Revolution* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 54.
[39] *A History of Department of Immigration*, https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about-us-subsite/files/immigration-history.pdf

shortages if Australia should need to defend its territories in future wars. However, arguably more importantly, it becomes concerned with labour shortages as Australia embarked on a push for increased modernisation, encapsulated in a range of large-scale, nation-building projects such as the Snowy Mountains Scheme for hydroelectricity and irrigation in southern New South Wales. Jointly these concerns became summarised in the popular slogan 'populate or perish,' which was originally used by the federal government in 1937 but was promoted again after the war to persuade Australia's existing population about the need to increase migration.[40] To increase economic development through labour recruitment, Australia instigated a migration program that was largely centred on providing assisted passages to encourage people to relocate across the globe. Different types of assisted migration existed prior to the Second World War, but the post war migration program was significant due to its large-scale and substantial migration from outside the British Isles and Ireland.[41]

In 1945, the first federal immigration portfolio was set up to implement and oversee the program, under the name the Department of Immigration with Arthur Calwell as the first Minister of Immigration. Initially, Calwell aimed to recruit migrants from the British Isles and Ireland and the department tried to bring British migrants both from the British Isles and Ireland as well as from India but encountered obstacles in obtaining

[40] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera.*
[41] Assisted migrant passages did exist prior to the Second World War with systems in place for assisted passage to Australia from 1813. *A History of Department of Immigration*, https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about-us-subsite/files/immigration-history.pdf

adequate shipping.[42] In 1947 assisted passages were opened to nationalities outside the United Kingdom, (which had included people migrating from the Irish Free State, that became the Republic of Ireland in 1949). On a side note, the state of Queensland had previously also assisted subjects from Scandinavian and Germany.[43] In the late 1940s, the federal government invested in a recruitment drive, including publicity, to attract migrants from eastern Europe, often displaced persons in refugee camps in the British and American zones in Germany, with an initial emphasis on people from the Baltic states. However, recruitment quickly expanded to include populations from greater eastern Europe and then later southern Europe. Klaus Neumann in his chapter 'Wartime Refugee and New Australians' provides a detailed history of the immediate post-war recruitment and selection process that incorporates and is influenced by departmental objectives, the International Refugee Organisation, economic and transport considerations such as access to shipping as well as the perceived public reception of thousands of displaced persons arriving in the colonial-settler, predominantly Anglo-Celtic population at the time.[44]

In the decades following the Second World War there was an array of assisted passages offered. In brief, an assisted passage meant that migrants and refugees agreed to work for the Commonwealth government for a set time, often a few years, in exchange for

[42] Klaus Neumann, *Across the Seas: Australia's' Response to Refugees: A History* (Collingwood Vic: Black Inc., 2015).
[43] Neumann, *Across the Seas*, 101–107; *A History of Department of Immigration*, https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about-us-subsite/files/immigration-history.pdf;
[44] Neumann, *Across the Seas*, 69–134.

passage and assistance on their arrival. Often, this assistance included arriving at one of the many reception and training centres located throughout rural Australia, such as Bonegilla, and then when allocated work, being accommodated in one of the many migrant hostels. The major aim of the migration program was to bolster Australia's population and, as Jupp states, "between 1947 and 1971 the Australia population rose from 7.5 million to 12.7 million, the larger part due to immigration."[45] According to a Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs report, in 2001: "As a result of the post-war government's new focus, the proportion of the Australian population born overseas rapidly increased from 9.8 per cent in 1947 to around 20 per cent in 1971."[46] Initially, there was an emphasis on attracting citizens to relocate from the British Isles and Ireland, but this quickly expand to include recruiting wider populations displaced or economically affected from the Second World War, predominantly people from the refugee camps in Europe and then later people from southern Europe.[47] Between 1947 and 1952, approximately 170 000 refugees, often referred to as displaced persons arrived from Europe. The slippages between how incoming populations were classified and the legal and administrative reasoning behind select terms as well as the justification of the terms selected for this thesis is discussed in the following sections. The recruitment of displaced persons and southern Europeans, as many historians such as Jupp have argued, is a significant point in Australia's trajectory as a nation.[48] The post-war

[45] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 14.
[46] Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, *Immigration–Federation to Century's End, Canberra, 2001, Timeline 1969 to 2001, and Country of Birth, Top Ten Countries of Birth, Net Overseas Migration, Settler Arrivals since the Second World War, Sex Ratios and Median Age*, 16. http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/federation/
[47] Neumann, *Across the Seas*, 69–134.
[48] Markus, Jupp, McDonald, *Australia's Immigration Revolution.*

migration program significantly shifted the ethnocultural demographics of the population and was a precedent for increased migration from across the globe in the second half of the 20th century, resulting in a move away from framing Australian citizenship as politically and culturally linked to the United Kingdom.

Administration and Construction of On-arrival Accommodation

Ann-Mari Jordens, in her working paper *On Accommodating Migrants* for the Administration Compliance & Governability Program, Research School of Social Sciences, offers a succinct overview of the temporary accommodation provided for migrants sponsored by the federal government and outlines the early histories of the site trajectories marked by the distinction between 'British' and 'non-British' residents. In 1946 the state governments agreed to take on the responsibility of housing assisted migrants from the British Isles and Ireland in state-run hostels that were funded in part by the Department of Immigration and in 1949, a Commonwealth scheme to construct hostels for British migrants was discussed.[49] An influx of migrants from the British Isles arrived in the first years of the 1950s and the federal government erected migrant hostels across the nation, initially anticipated solely for this demographic group. Jordens argues by 1953 a total of 185,198 had migrated, of whom 27,635 were Commonwealth-sponsored with the others being sponsored by families or groups.

[49] Ann-Mari Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants* (Canberra: Administration, Compliance & Governability Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1994).

When the federal government expanded its migration program to recruit and accept populations from outside of the British Isles and Ireland, the Department of Immigration's Migrant Accommodation Centres division set up reception and training centres. These sites briefly accommodated mainly displaced persons from the Second World War, before they were assigned employment by the relevant agencies and departments. According to Jordens: "By 1949 the capacity of reception camps had expanded and they could hold approximately 15 000 refugees at any one time."[50] After leaving the reception and training centres, arriving populations were divided into different federal government accommodation pathways, with families often initially separated. Male workers, who had to complete their two years of labour obligations, were directed to workers hostels which were located near emerging industries such as coal, steel, agricultural and large public works projects such as the Snowy Mountains Scheme. Individual women often were under contract to work and reside in private households or institutions, and women who had children were directed to holding centers, frequently located in former Australian Army or Air force camps such as the one in Cowra, New South Wales. Jordens argues that the Department of Immigration acknowledged that these camps and centres were inferior to the accommodation provided for families from the British Isles at the hostels.[51] Similar to Villawood, all initial sites were operated by the Migrant Workers' Accommodation Division of the Department of Labour and National Service.[52] This division worked in close contact with the Commonwealth Employment Service, operated by the same department,

[50] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants,* 7.
[51] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants,* 8.
[52] Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited NSW," 1976-1978, NAA: A4340, MR 1/164.

emphasising that employment and accommodation were closely linked. Even after CHL took over operations, the Commonwealth Employment Service continued to decide hostel admissions.[53] When CHL took over the management of hostel accommodation in 1952, there were forty-four hostels which were accommodating 30,000 persons and the company envisioned the sites to run as temporary boarding houses before residents could find their own homes in the wider Australian community.[54]

During the early 1950s, there was a gradual closure of these tiered facilities and all migrants and refugees, regardless of what country they had arrived from were accommodated jointly at existing or new migrant hostels. Many early on-arrival sites either mimicked existing arrangements, inherited from their former use as army barracks, or replicated military-style row arrangements if the accommodation was new on site (see figure 3.4 for an example of another prominent Western Sydney hostel, Cabramatta Migrant Hostel from 1953). Similar to Villawood the first additional accommodation on many of these early accommodation sites were prefabricated army huts, usually a mixture of timber huts, cut cylinder Nissen huts and the larger Quonset huts and, early on, occasionally tents. In a Works Immigration Committee meeting held in Melbourne in 1949, there is a discussion within the bureaucracy about the need to install fixed partitions between cubicle and corridors in hostels and suggested the use

[53] In 1951–1952 the Department of Works and Housing invested approximately 7 million Australian pounds in migrant accommodation. CHL was set as a non-profit agency and migrant accommodation sites were financially supported by the concessional tariffs the residents paid and additional funds from the federal government.
[54] NAA: A4340, MR 1/164.

of burlap or sisalcraft or similar materials and also of using prefabricated door frames and doors.[55] In the family-orientated hostels, each family had an allocation of linen per person and allocated a fixed amount of electricity, which varied according to the season. Where possible, car parking spaces were provided on site (see Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining," for a discussion of the spatial practices of dining and the food services provided).[56]

The early categorical, descriptive titles, which identified the purposes of providing housing for both labour forces and the assimilatory practices undergirding the provision of accommodation, were often used interchangeably, along with terms such as 'migrant camp' or 'migrant centre.' Pamie Fung suggests that this slippage between these two terms, highlights that hostel sites such as Maribyrnong initially were not perceived as fixed structures.[57] She argues that the sites were viewed as emergency accommodation for incoming populations: "Maribyrnong was in many ways a typical hostel of the immediate post war period, developing in a somewhat ad-hoc fashion in response to local conditions and the demands of the broader program."[58] It was not until the introduction of designed apartment blocks that the site's purpose becomes physically defined, even if its wider cultural aims relating to assimilation were under

[55] Dept. of the Interior, "Inter-departmental Committee for Accommodation at Reception, Holding and Training Centres & Hostels," 1949, NAA: A434, 1949/3/18017.
[56] Commonwealth Hostels Limited, "Correspondence files [Commonwealth Hostels Limited] [Box 714]," 1960–1971 NAA: C3076, WOB 714.
[57] Pamie Ching Tsz Fung, "A Place 'Midway Between the Old Life and the New: A Case Study of the Migrant Hostel at Maribyrnong," (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2013), 49-50.
[58] Fung, "A place 'Midway'," 49.

constant negotiation at a policy level from within the departments and agencies involved in on-arrival accommodation but also significantly with the people moving through the site.

The renaming of the new buildings at the Villawood's Migrant Hostel's to Westridge Migrant Hostel attempted to reaffirm the department's objective of a new era of improved housing options and domestic facilities for assisted migrants and refugees. Other new titles included Maribyrnong's name change to both the Midway Hostel and the Philip Centre.[59] Such naming strategies, by providing intense extracts of information that signaled, wider themes or contexts, functioned to a degree like improvised quotations of places, people and events related to Australia's connection to British colonialism. The departmental confusion surrounding accommodation sites' nomenclature and description points to the uncertainty around how these sites were formed physically and spatially to receive migrants and also what their continuing purpose should be during the second half of the 20th century. Name changes at these sites indicates the confusion regarding the reception and representation of their physical formations and the public packaging of the redesigns. The new, architecturally designed buildings, awash with new amenities, were billeted to entice migrants to choose Australia. Simultaneously, the government publicity aimed to placate public fears about

[59] Pollock, Nina, Godden Mackay Logan, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility: Archival Recording, Report Prepared for the Department of Immigration and Citizenship* (Redfern, N.S.W: Godden Mackay Logan, 2011). See Reeves, Simon and David Wixted, *Heritage Alliance: Conservation Architects and Heritage Consultants. Former Midway and Philip (Maribyrnong Migrant Hostels)* (Prepared for The City of Maribyrnong, February 2008), 5–6.

the collusion between housing competition and the assimilation of migrants from outside of the British Isles and Ireland, ingrained in the political discourse from policies under the umbrella term of the White Australia Policy.

Terminology: Displaced Persons, Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers

In the decades following the Second World War, the inconsistencies and experiments surrounding how to filter, classify and house large numbers of people coming to Australia demonstrates degrees of national ambivalence and hostility towards embracing new modes of nationhood away from affiliations with the British Isles and Ireland and acceptance of a broader global interpretation of migrancy.[60] Although refugees often shared economic circumstances with existing citizens residing in forms of public housing, often their religious and cultural practices were visibly different from the majority population at the time. There are both historic and contemporary slippages of terms between migrants, displaced persons, refugees and asylum seekers with contemporary debates around which term is preferred and which is more open to numerous forms of ownership for the people classified by these terms. Both Roger Zetter and Jayne Persian argue that the processes of classification, as well as the wider public uptake of certain terms, are equally important.[61]

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[60] Wills, "Between the hostel and the detention centre," 267.

[61] Jane Persian, "Displaced persons and the politics of international categorisation(s)," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 58, no.4 (2012): 481–496; Roger Zetter, "Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4, no. 1 (1991): 44; Sara Ahmed, et.al., *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration* (New York: Berg Publishers, 2003).

It is important to note there are legal definitions that accompany these classifications of arriving populations. In this thesis the coupling together of the terms migrants and refugees is used for former Villawood residents (at the time of residence) of Commonwealth migrant hostels. This is because the term migrant or refugee can be applied to all former residents of the Villawood Migrant Hostel. Internationally the terms migrant and refugee are often used interchangeably, notably in select discourses in Europe and the United States of America. However, because Australia as a political entity is a settler-colonial, migrant nation-state, excluding unceded sovereignty by First Peoples, in the scholarship relevant to the thesis the use of 'migrant' tends to denote people who have more choice and flexibility available in wanting to move to another country. Reasons for uprooting could include employment, education, and family issues but also increased daily difficulties including "poverty, political unrest, gang violence and natural disasters."[62] 'Refugee' on the other hand has a distinct legal definition as someone who has been recognised under the UNHCR's *1951 Convention relating to the status of refugee* and is defined in part as any person who:

> …owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former

[62] Contemporary definitions: "Refugees, Asylum-seekers and Migrants," Amnesty International, Last accessed October 2022, https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/
"Refugee and Migrants," United Nations, Last accessed October 2022, https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/

habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it…[63]

However, as Amnesty International's definition of these terms suggests, "lots of people don't fit the legal definition of a refugee but could nevertheless be in danger if they went home."[64]

The contemporary terms 'migrant' and 'refugee' are jointly used as the main terms for residents of Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation as they apply to the entire period of Villawood Migrant Hostel's operation from 1949–1984. During this period, as discussed earlier, residents' nations of departure shift, as do government classifications of people. However, in relation to the initial establishment of Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation, refugees arriving from the Second World War were categorised under the umbrella term displaced persons (DPs). The term entered the global vocabulary via General Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1944 in relation to those displaced by the war and "became the generic name for those groups of people resettled by the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) following the Second World War."[65] Jayne Persian, in her paper "Displaced persons and the politics of international categorisations" offers a detailed examination of the immediate post Second World War context in Australia and the complications surrounding the federal government's designation of 'displaced

[63] UNHCR, *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, Text of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, Article I, 14, https://www.unhcr.org/en-au/3b66c2aa10
[64] "Refugees, Asylum-seekers and Migrants," Amnesty International, Last accessed October 2022, https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/
[65] Persian, "Displaced persons and the politics of international categorisation(s)," 2.

persons' to 'non-British' European arrivals to Australia.[66] Her article investigates the origins of the term, its complicated use in relation to Second World War refugees both from Central Europe and then from the former Soviet Union. From the onset the federal government also used terms such as 'migrant workers' and then 'New Australians' to promote the migration recruitment scheme to the wider Australian-born public through a nation building and assimilatory lens.

Although both the Villawood Migrant Hostel and the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre held arrivals technically classified as asylum seekers in the 1980s, detainees in this early period for the most part in the period of the study were people residing in Australia who had outstayed their visa. For clarity, the thesis only includes the legal term 'asylum seeker' when including discussions of contemporary discourses on immigration detention after the introduction of mandatory detention. The reasoning behind avoiding the use of this term is because it is difficult to determine the legal status of either former residents of Villawood Migrant Hostel or detainees of the first incarnations of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre. However, it is important to note that 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' have distinct legal definitions in Australia's immigration policies. According to an Australian Parliamentary Library Background Note, "An asylum seeker is someone who is seeking international protection but whose

[66] Persian, "Displaced persons and the politics of international categorisation(s)."

claim for refugee status has not yet been determined" in relation to the above definition of a refugee.[67]

3.4 Methods and Selection of Case Study

The Villawood site is investigated as an example that exposes how the accommodation and detention of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers has been transformed over time. The primary methods used to undertake the investigation are archival research, discourse analysis, fieldwork, including site visits, and existing oral histories providing a complementary social history.

Historical Study: Archival Research and Discourse Analysis

The historical context is documented by drawing on diverse literature from Australian history and politics, focusing on immigration policy in relation to post Second World War nation building and then the more recent ruminations on transnationalism and

[67] Janet Phillips, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, Social Policy Section, *Asylum Seekers and Refugees: What are the Facts?*, 2011, 2. https://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/asylumfacts.pdf
Contemporary definitions: "Refugee and Migrants," United Nations, Last accessed October 2022, https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/; "Refugees, Asylum-seekers and Migrants," *Amnesty International*, Last accessed October 2022, https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/

political configurations outside the organising structure of the nation-state as previously discussed. These locally orientated discourses intersect with global discourses on immigration, refugee resettlement and citizenship. This historical enquiry is largely dependent on archival research and discourse analysis. The strategies for framing historical research can be divided into two categories: the construction of national identities in the Commonwealth of Australia and diaspora politics. In the first category, research indicative of the type of methodologies the thesis employs can be seen in three examples. First, scholarship such as *The Australian Century: Political Struggle in the Building of a Nation,* edited by Robert Manne, uses archives and discourse analysis to give an overview of key political movements in the 20th century and the exchange between political agendas and governance.[68] Second, James Jupp's *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* uses historical research to highlight how regurgitated political agendas and subjugated knowledges influence contemporary policies of mandatory detention.[69] Finally, Ghassan Hage uses both historical research, psychological readings and interviews in *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society* to examine the reproduction of national identities as linked to the inconsistencies in the framings of multiculturalism through both a political and cultural lens.[70] These studies that focus on multiculturalism are directly linked to diaspora politics in the work of Suvendrini Perera and Sneja Gunew, who raise issues of how

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[68] Robert Manne, ed. *The Australian Century: Political Struggle in the Building of a Nation* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1999); Manne, and David Corlett, *Quarterly Essay 13: Sending Them Home: Refugees and the New Politics of Indifference* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2004).
[69] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*; McMaster, *Asylum Seekers: Australia's Response to Refugees*; Klaus Neumann, *Across the Seas*; William Maley, et.al. *Refugees and the Myth of the Borderless World* (Canberra: Department of International Relations, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2002).
[70] Example: Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism.*

identity and cultural specificity are recognized within the national discourse.[71] Cultural identity emerges as a highly debated category in this literature, as in John Docker and Gerhard Fischer's edited anthology *Race, Colour and Identity in Australia and New Zealand* which looks at several categories of Australian subjecthood as tied to ethnicity, including whiteness, biculturalism and multiculturalism. These issues are also discussed in direct relation to migrant communities in Western Sydney in works such as *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Western Sydney* edited by Jock Collins and Scott Poynting, and *Home/world: Space Community and Marginality in Sydney's West* with contributions by Helen Grace and Ghassan Hage.[72]

The archival records used in each of the subsequent four chapters are specified in each chapter's footnotes.[73] A general overview of the major archives is listed in the table below:

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[71] Seminal works: Gunew, *Haunted Nations*; Perera, *Australia and the Insular Imagination*; Perera, "What is a Camp?" *Borderlands E-Journal: New Spaces in The Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2002), Trove archived online journal, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20080720062205/http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/perera_camp.html

[72] Jock Collins and Scott Poynting, eds., *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Western Sydney* (Haymarket NSW: Common Ground Publishing, 2000); Grace, Helen, et al., *Home/world: space, community and marginality in Sydney's west.* Also see: *Migration: Benefiting Australia: Conference Proceedings, Sydney 7-8 May 2002* prepared by The Reference Section, Migration Branch, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2002).

[73] For aarchival methods in architecture see Aggregate Architectural History Collaborative, *Writing Architectural History: Evidence and Narrative in the Twenty-First Century* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021); Alice Yaeger Kaplan, "Working in the Archives," *Yale French Studies* no. 77 (1990): 103–116; Karen Burns, "Archive Stories/Symptomatic Histories: The Commemoration of Australian Frontier Space at Purrumbete, 1840–1902, *Architectural Theory Review, 18* no. 1 (2013): 83–104, https://doi.org/10.1080/13264826.2013.788048

TABLE 3.2 ARCHIVES

Institution and location	Archive and description
Australian Government Parliament of Australia Records, Online and Canberra **Department of Home Affairs, Online.** ***(This is current manifestation of Dept. of Immigration's portfolio. Historical incarnations of this portfolio are catalogued under the National Archives of Australia collections below.)*** **Australia Border Force, Online**	• Parliament of Australia Records, Background Papers, Chronologies, and Current Issues Briefs • Standing Committee Reports • Independent Reviews/Royal Commissions • Statistics • Annual Reports
National Archives of Australia (NAA), Online, Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney Office	• Destination Australia: Sharing our Post War Migrant Stories • Records of management and administration of migrant accommodation. Following are the departments and agencies that generated the archives: Commonwealth Hostels Limited (CHL), Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Department of Immigration, Department of Labor and Immigration, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs [I], Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, Central Office, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs [II], Department of Labour and National Service, Department of Public Works, Central Office, Commonwealth Public Works Records • Dept. of Immigration Photograph Collections
National Library of Australia, Canberra, ACT	• Copies of CHL's in-house journal and annual reports. • Good Neighbour Council Records • Oral History Collections • Walter Bunning Archives
Migration Museum South Australia, Online and Adelaide, SA	• Photographic Collections • Artefact Collections

Museum of Victoria (Immigration Museum), Online and Melbourne, VIC	• Photograph Collections • Artefact Collections
State Library of NSW, Sydney, NSW **Fairfield City Libraries: Whitlam Library Cabramatta NSW** **City of Parramatta Library, NSW**	• Oral History Collections • Local Newspaper Collections • Bunning & Madden Architectural archives • Local, State and Federal Government Reports • Non-Governmental Heritage Reports • Artefact Collections and Exhibition Research

Spatial Analysis: Archival Research and Fieldwork

The spatial analysis draws on architectural methodologies including site analysis and visual interpretation which are used along with discourse analysis. This spatial orientated approach is used in the three Routledge edited books exploring the intersection between migration and architecture introduced previously. They are, Anoma Pieris's, *Architecture on the Borderline,* Mirjana Lozanovska's *Ethno-Architecture and the Politics of Migration* and Stephen Cairns's, *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy*. Additional key sources that use this combination of methodologies to examine the intersection between architecture and politics in relation to spatial violence and institutional frameworks are *Architecture and Violence* edited by Bechir Kenzar, and *Forensis: the Architecture of Public Truth* by Forensic Architecture as well as the work of Andrew Herscher.[74] Strategies employed in the thesis can also be seen in *Community:*

[74] Anoma Pieris, *Architecture on the Borderline: Boundary Politics and Built Space* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019); Mirjana Lozanovska, ed., *Ethno-Architecture and the Politics of Migration* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016); Stephen Cairns ed., *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003); Bechir

Building Modern Australia edited by Hannah Lewi and David Nichols, namely how visual interpretation along with social histories are employed to examine peripheral architectural types, namely community-centred public buildings such as council libraries, swimming pools and community halls. Another approach that provides a useful framework is George Tibbit's detailed analysis of construction innovations to provide a community history of public housing in Melbourne in his book chapter, "The Enemy Within Our Gates: Slum Clearance and the High Rise Flats."[75] Anoma Pieris's article "Encampments: Spatial Taxonomies of Sri Lanka's Civil War" uses visual interpretation along with methodologies from social histories and spatial ethnographies to analyse the spatial ramifications of civil war both domestically and in the public sphere. Mirjana Lozanovska in her book *Migrant Housing: Architecture, Dwelling, Migration,* along with her earlier article with Iris Levin, and Maria Victoria Gantala use similar methodological combinations in their article "Is the Migrant House in Australia an Australian Vernacular Architecture?" to understand primarily the materiality of migrant owner-occupied houses.[76]

Kenzari ed., *Architecture and Violence* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2011); Forensic Architecture, *Forensis: The Architecture of Public Truth: A Project by Forensic Architecture, Centre for Research Architecture (*Department of Visual Cultures, Goldsmiths, University of London. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2014); Andrew Herscher, *Displacements Architecture and Refugee* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2017); Herscher, *Violence taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010).

[75] Hannah Lewi and David Nichols, ed., *Community: Building Modern Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2010); George Tibbits, "The Enemy Within Our Gates: Slum Clearance and High-Rise Flats," in *New Houses for Old: Fifty Years of Public Housing in Victoria 1938–1988*, edited by Renate Howe (Melbourne: Ministry of Housing and Construction, 1988), 123–162.

[76] Lozanovska, *Migrant Housing: Architecture, Dwelling, Migration* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2019); Lozanovska, "Abjection and Architecture: Migrant House in Multicultural Australia," In *Postcolonial Space(s)* edited by Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu and Wong Chong Thai (New York: Princeton University Press, 1997); Pieris, "Encampments: Spatial Taxonomies of Sri Lanka's Civil War," *Architectural Theory Review*, Vol 19, No. 3 (2015): 393–413; https://doi.org/10.1080/13264826.2014.1041679, Lozanovska, Levin, Gantala "Is the Migrant

Spatial research for the thesis has included fieldwork, site analysis, data collection, interpretation of architectural drawings and photographs along with interviews with related professionals. A range of sites in Sydney's western suburbs were visited including community centres and galleries where discussions were held with curators and librarians. Two key exhibitions inform the research: *Journeys in Fairfield: Migrant Hostels*, at the Fairfield City Council Open Libraries, Whitlam Library, Cabramatta in 2017 and *A Place to Call Home? Migrant Hostel Memories*, a National Archives of Australia (NAA), travelling exhibition at the Liverpool, City Library, New South Wales in 2016. In addition, visits to *Bonegilla Migrant Experience* in Victoria were undertaken for contextual information.[77] Also used to get an understanding of Walter Bunning's professional career were existing interviews with him from 1976 in the National Library of Australia's collection.[78]

Key sources for the research are photographs produced internally by Commonwealth Hostels Ltd (CHL), and Department of Immigration and its successive incarnations, as well as photographs donated by former residents to the Whitlam Library, Cabramatta, Sydney. Photographs have been used to illustrate analysis but also as a substantive research tool. They have been helpful for understanding the built design but also how

House in Australia an Australian Vernacular Architecture?" *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 24, no. 2 (2013): 65–78, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41945724

[77] "Bonegilla Migrant Experience," last accessed October 2022, https://www.bonegilla.org.au/; For a discussion of the site's history from the field of architecture see Anoma Pieris, "The Remembered Village between Europe and Asia-Minor Nea Magnisia at Bonegilla," in *Architecture on the Borderline: Boundary Politics and Built Space* edited by Pieris (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019).

[78] Walter Bunning interviewed by Hazel de Berg, 6 December 1976, NLA: 1481141.

the federal government via the Department of Immigration aimed to frame the redevelopment of Commonwealth migrant hostels. The visual analysis of this material draws on interdisciplinary methods as well as existing skills and expertise gained through my previous training in architecture and contemporary art.[79] Photography based methodologies that intersect with ethnographic work and visual sociology are discussed in *Image-Based Research* edited by Jon Prosser.[80] The political dimensions of photography, including its use in propaganda and the legitimacy of the image is explored in David Levi Strauss's *Between the Eyes: Essay on Photography and Politics*.[81]

Ethnography: Oral Histories and Discourse Analysis

As mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 2, "Histories of Temporary Homes in the Commonwealth of Australia," an emerging field of architectural scholarship in Australia examines neighborhoods with prominent immigrant histories including the work of David Beynon, Kelum Palipane and Ian Woodcock, exploring processes of gentrification and contested spaces occurring in Melbourne.[82] This scholarship is often

[79] I have previous training in both Architecture and Contemporary Art, completing a Bachelor of Fine Arts with an Honours year, at the Victorian School of Fine Art, University of Melbourne, prior to completing a Master of Architecture at the University of Melbourne. This training has equipped me with a robust skill set in relation to visual analysis and extensive theoretical frameworks on the production, reproduction and curation that underscores visual imagery and its uses.

[80] Jon Prosser, ed. *Image-based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers* (London; Bristol, PA: Falmer Press, 1998).

[81] David Levi Strauss, *Between the Eyes: Essays on Photography and Politics* (New York: Aperture, 2003).

[82] Beynon, "Hybrid representations; Beynon, "Edge of Centre: Australian Cities and the Public Architecture of Recent Immigrant Communities," in *Ethno-Architecture and the Politics of Migration;* Kelum Palipane, "Towards a Multimodal Production of Urban Space: Exploring the Role of Socio-Sensory Knowledge in Design for Urban Renewal" (Parkville, Victoria:

dependent on diaspora studies and social histories and is generally based on site analysis and mapping, as well as interviews and participant observation. A key precedent that used spatial ethnographic methodologies is the anthology *Cities of Difference,* edited by Ruth Fincher and Jane Jacobs.[83] The collection uses discourse analysis from a range of academic traditions, participant observation and interviews to present an investigation of cities that circumvents singular positions with the aim to highlight conflicting experiences of urban spaces. Spatial ethnography, as defined by Arijit Sen and Lisa Silverman is research "that incorporates both material and abstract perspectives in the study of people and place and encourages consideration of the various levels–from the personal to the planetary–at which spatial change occurs."[84] In their edited book *Making Place: Space and Embodiment in the City* these practices are evident. Similar methodologies are at play in *Transcultural Cities: Border-Crossing and Place-making,* edited by Jeffery Hou which provides a framework to consider how ethnoculturally diverse urban environments do not evolve in isolation to be subsumed

University of Melbourne, 2016); Palipane, "Socio-Sensory Practice and its Potential for Identity, Plurality and Dissonance," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 41, no. 6: (2022), https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2020.1831454; Ian Woodcock, "Multicultural Sense of Place: The Case of Sydney Road, Melbourne" (Parkville, Victoria: University of Melbourne, 2016).

[83] Ruth Fincher and Jane Jacobs, *Cities of Difference* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998).

[84]Sen and Silverman, *Making Place* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), 8. Also see the work of Sarah Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Los Angeles; London: SAGE, 2009); Pink, Dylan Tutt, and Andrew Dainty, eds., *Ethnographic Research in the Construction Industry* (Routledge, 2012); Pink, "Mobilising Visual Ethnography: Making Routes, Making Place and Making Images," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 9, no. 3 (2008), https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-9.3.1166; Ray Lucas, "Chapter 12: Ethnographic Research" in *Research Methods for Architecture* by Ray Lucas, 164–174 (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2016).

by a city's established spatial traditions but radically influence and transform urban spaces through mutual exchanges.[85]

An initial aim was to interview former residents and employees of migrant hostels who were identified through heritage societies and community organisations, including refugee and religious organisations, local to western Sydney. An extensive ethics application was submitted and approved by the University of Melbourne's Human Research Ethics Committee to interview former residents of the Villawood Migrant Hostel. However, the extended process it took to undertake the highly fragmented federal government archival work, including waiting for permissions from the NAA and the Australian Parliament meant that it was beyond the scope of the study's period to conduct extensive interviews to record a slice of the varied experiences of the thousands of people who moved through the Villawood site during its operation. A large amount of federal government material on migrant on-arrival accommodation at the NAA was not open access and needed to be examined by NAA officers, a process which took up to three months for each item requested. Additionally waiting on archival access included obtaining permission from the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate to grant open access to Class A Parliamentary files of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works. More significantly, the two-year hiatus of interstate travel in Australia caused by the global

[85] Jeffery Hou, *Transcultural Cities: Border-Crossing and Placemaking* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

pandemic made the ethnographic work of the kind envisioned unfeasible within the limitation of a PhD timeframe. These factors influenced the parameters of the project and the approach to be predominately archival and based on the interpretation of visual and textual records and early physical data on site, and discourse analysis of substantial reports from both the federal government and independent statutory organisations as well as associated media.

Consequently, the thesis was designed to focus more intently on the built histories on the former Villawood Migrant Hostel site, with an emphasis on how the Commonwealth's policy directives and housing ideals manifested in the accommodation and detention facilities. Future trajectories for the research are discussed in the thesis's conclusion. However, there exist archived oral histories based on interviews with former residents and CHL employees drawn from existing archives. These oral histories, along with contemporary and historical discourse analysis, supplement the primary historical study and spatial analysis with the aim to provide perspectives from outside the Commonwealth's records.[86] Oral histories in relation to the broader post Second World War migration programs include the archives of the historian Ann-Marie Jordens in the National Library of Australia and Joanna Penglase's interviews for the "Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants" collection.[87] In

[86] Using oral histories in architectural research: Janina Gosseye, Naomi Stead, and Deborah van der Plaat, eds, *Speaking of Buildings: Oral History in Architectural Research* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2019); Naomi Stead, "Architectural Affections," *Fabrications*, 24, no.2 (2014): 156–177, https://doi.org/10.1080/10331867.2014.961230

[87] Simin Farzan interviewed by Ann-Mari Jordens, 14 August 2007, NLA: ORAL TRC 5846;

addition, contained in the Whitlam Library, Cabramatta as part of Fairfield City Council Libraries archives, are an extensive collection of oral histories.[88] The research also draws from exhibitions and local histories that have centred on the experiences of former residents of the Villawood Migrant Hostel, specifically, the *Fairfield City Council Oral History Project,* which documents experiences of people in living in the Fairfield City Council region, western Sydney and the previously mentioned exhibition, *Journeys in Fairfield: Migrant Hostels* at the Whitlam Library, Cabramatta, Sydney in 2017

The primary oral histories pertaining to Villawood Migrant Hostel are from a project undertaken by Sera Jane Peters for Graham Brooks and Associates on behalf of the Commonwealth Department of Finance and Administration (1997–2007).[89] The interviews are part of a 2001 Conservation Management Plan and Assessment of Social Significance of the former Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel to assess the heritage and social value before the VIDC's recent redevelopment to improve the facilities—a lengthy process that began in the early 2000s. This heritage report is significant as it provides comprehensive documentation of the site, including maps of the former Villawood Migrant Hostel with an emphasis on its early ex-military incarnations. The

June Hill interviewed by Joanna Penglase in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project, 5 December 2011. NLA: ORAL TRC 6200/112; Annaliese Jones interviewed by Peter Parkhill for the Voices from the Illawarra collection, January 1995, NLA: ORAL TRC 3223/1.

[88] Archives: "Migrant hostels: Fairfield area, (Local Studies Information File)," Whitlam Library Cabramatta: Heritage LSIF; Refugees: Fairfield area, (Local Studies Information File)," Whitlam Library Cabramatta: Heritage; Ethnic communities: Fairfield area, (Local Studies Information File, Part 1-Part 3) Whitlam Library Cabramatta: Heritage.

[89] Jane Peters, Graham Brooks and Associates, "Interviews with former residents of Villawood Migrant Hostel, 2001," SLNSW: MLOH 467.

report provided a catalogue of the site's built environment including Bunning & Madden's additions and broad strokes of the larger policy agendas of the federal government that intersect with Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation. Although it gives a robust introduction to the hostel's physical imprint, it provides only a descriptive overview of facilities. This thesis, by establishing a relevant theoretical framework drawing on contemporary understandings of hospitality from Australian history and diaspora studies, significantly differs from this heritage report. By using extensive archival work and spatially orientated ethnographic methods, the thesis explores how the site's history as a migrant hostel sits in CHL's more expansive program of improving accommodation and additionally how the Villawood Migrant Hostel connects and overlaps with the site's current use for immigration detention.

Selection of Case Study

The case study was chosen due to its defining characteristics after a rigorous process of elimination. These characteristics include the site's longevity as a place for on-arrival accommodation, being located within urban boundaries, being substantial in its capacity in relation to its counterparts and having undergone several significant redevelopments during its evolution. A single case study was a useful way of focusing the intersecting issues that are explored in the thesis. During the initial survey of Commonwealth-run on-arrival accommodation it became apparent that many sites used to house people arriving to Australia under the various assisted passage schemes

had been previously associated with military activities, whether it was prisoner-of-war camps, military barracks, munitions factories or housing for factory employees. Many early hostel sites adapted existing structures such as woolsheds and ex-military huts and initially for the thesis a site with a military history was a fundamental criterion for the selection of a case-study. However, as the research progressed the focus shifted to the later histories of on-arrival accommodation sites and the introduction of purpose-designed housing.

The two tables below outline the major Commonwealth migrant hostels and immigration detention facilities (IDF) taken into consideration when selecting the primary case study. An early driver for the research was to investigate whether the Australian Government's contemporary preoccupations with border security, which manifested physically in the emergence and rise of IDFs, could be connected to earlier histories, namely the post Second World War migration program. Consequently, sites that had connections to both Commonwealth migrant accommodation and immigration detention trajectories would be particularly relevant.

1. Purpose-designed

A central requirement was to look at accommodation that was, to an extent, purposely designed and constructed for housing migrants and refugees. Increasingly more studies into the housing opportunities available to recently admitted refugees in Australia are

being published, one notable study being *Housing Need and Provision for Recently Arrived Refugees in Australia*, authored by Andrew Beer and Paul Foley for the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.[90] This report presents quantitative data on the experiences of refugees, asylum seekers and temporary protection visa holders in Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane and draws from methodologies prevalent in housing policy and planning. Although the thesis touches upon issues raised in this type of report such as discrimination in housing pathways, its grounding in the discipline of architecture means its focus is more on how the spatial, material and aesthetic languages used in the construction of accommodation facilities relates to the wider political and cultural histories that encircle the built history. Therefore, it was important to locate potential case studies that had been purpose-designed to reinforce an architectural focus.

2. Location: Located within the boundaries of a state or territory capital city

An initial aim was to explore how border practices of exclusion infiltrate and are reproduced in Australian cities. This is because many social histories examining migrant

[90]*Andrew* Beer and Paul Foley, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI), *Housing Need and Provision for Recently Arrived Refugees in Australia* (Melbourne, Victoria: Australian Housing and Urban research Institute, 2003); Paul Flatau and Jessica Smith, et al, AHURI, *The Housing and Homelessness Journeys of Refugees in Australia* (Melbourne, Victoria: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, 2015); Historical studies: *Migrant Services and Programs: Report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (*Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, May, 1978); Pookong Kee, Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Office of Multicultural Affair, *Home Ownership and Housing Conditions of Immigrants and Australian Born* (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1992); "*Please listen to what I'm not saying": a report on the survey of settlement experiences of Indochinese refugees 1978-80,* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1982); *Temporary Entrants (*Canberra: Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, 1998–2000).

hostel sites focus on rural epicentres and contested place making histories in relation to heritage sites.[91] Therefore, it was important to select accommodation facilities that were located within the boundaries of a state or territory capital city. In addition, the relationship between on-arrival accommodation and other forms of temporary lodging, such as public housing, is most pronounced in the major Australian cities.

3. Time frame: Migrant hostels or immigration detention centres with a substantial lifespan

The research questions needed to be explored over a substantial time frame to understand the historical precedents and possible connections to contemporary perspectives on refugee resettlement and border securitisation. It was important to select a site that was dated from the implementation of the post Second World War migration programs and that then had been part of CHL's redevelopment program in order to be able to observe the physical, spatial and material transformations of facilities.

[91] Examples: Jayne Persian, "Bonegilla: A Failed Narrative, *History Australia* 9, no.1 (2016): 64–83, https://doi.org/10.1080/14490854.2012.11668403, Alexandra Dellios, "Commemorating Migrant Camps: Vernacular Memories in Official Spaces," *Journal of Australian Studies* 39, no. 2 (2015): 252–271, https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2015.1018922; Alexandra Dellios, "Displaced Persons, Family Separation, and the Work Contract in Post–war Australia," *Journal of Australian Studies* 40, no. 4 (2016): 418–432, https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2016.1224913; Glenda Sluga, Bonegilla, 'a place of no hope,' (Parkville, Victoria: History Department, University of Melbourne. 1988).

TABLES RELATING TO THE SELECTION OF CASE STUDY

TABLE 3.3 SIGNIFICANT COMMONWEALTH MIGRANT ON-ARRIVAL ACCOMMODATION SITES, 1945–1984.

Note: This is not an exhaustive list, there were hundreds of on-arrival accommodation sites across Australia run by both the Commonwealth and state governments and industry. Instead, the table below lists the significant accommodation sites from each of Australia's major states. ***For a list of all the Commonwealth run hostels*** *see* ***Appendix 2: List of Commonwealth Migrant Hostels from 1947 to the 1980s.***

COLOUR CODE

LIGHT GREY: Location: Located within the boundaries of a state or territory capital city.
GREY: Time frame: Operating from late 1940s into at least the 1970s.
DARK GREY*:* Satisfying both the grey and blue criteria.

Name	Location	Opened	Closed	Managed By	Notes
Altona (later Wiltona)	Altona, Melbourne, VIC	1949	1984–1986	Federal Government, from 1952 Commonwealth Hostels Limited (CHL)	One of the first hostels in Victoria to accommodate both English and non-English speaking residents. Underwent redevelopment in 1968 with new residential blocks designed by Reg Grouse.
Bathurst	Limekilns Road at Kelso near Bathurst, NSW	1948	1952	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Located on an ex-military site, Bathurst was one of the first Migrant and Reception Training Centres for migrants originating from Europe outside of the British Isles and Ireland. It is estimated that around 100,000 migrants passed through the

					centre between 1948 and 1952.
Bonegilla	Albury-Wodonga, NSW, VIC	1947–49	1971	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	One of the first designated migrant accommodation sites in Australia that is now a significant place for national narratives surrounding migrant memories. Bonegilla was an ex-military site that reverted back into an army base when the migrant hostel ceased to operate.
Bradfield Park	Bradfield, (now West Lindfield), Sydney, NSW	1949	1971	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Huts previously associated with one of Australia's largest RAAF bases were used to accommodate migrants mostly from the British Isles and Ireland. but also from South America in the 1970s. Adjacent to the migrant camp was a housing commission temporary settlement that housed displaced residents from the Redfern slum clearance program of the early 1950s.

Broadmeadows	Possibly 1956	Unknown	Early 1970s	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Established on the grounds of an ex-army base. The site today operates as a military base, known as Magyar Barracks.
Cabramatta	Cabramatta Sydney, NSW	Unknown, but at least 1959 but probably earlier.	1990s	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	This hostel accommodated many refugees from the Vietnam War who subsequently settled in the area once leaving the hostel.
Carlton Gardens	Carlton, Melbourne VIC	1949	1961-62	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Situated on the oval north of the Royal Exhibition Building in the Carlton Gardens, the centre consisted of purpose-built timber huts.
East Hills / Heathcote	East Hiils, Sydney, NSw	1954	Date unknown.	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Originally the hostel housed predominantly British migrants.
Elder Park	Elder Park, Adelaide SA	1947	1969	SA State Government, from 1952 CHL	Located in central Adelaide.
Finsbury/ Pennington	Pennington, Adelaide, SA	Finsbury 1949–1966. renamed Penning-ton 1966	Penning-ton closes during the mid-1990s	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Finsbury / Pennington was the longest-running South Australian migrant hostel
Glenelg	Between Warren Avenue and Tapleys Hill Road, SA	1949	1971	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Long running hostel. In 1967 Glenelg was awarded Commonwealth Government 'Hostel of the Year'.

Graylands	Perth, WA	1947	1987	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	One of the first migrant hostels in Perth to house displaced persons from Europe. Underwent redevelopment in the 1960s. Upgraded to brick apartment-style accommodation. Site was previously an army camp. The hostel was named the Graylands Immigration Training and Reception Centre.
Maribyrnong/ Midway/Philip Centre	**Maribyrnong (now Maidstone), Melbourne, VIC**	**1949**	**1989**	**Federal Government, from 1952 CHL**	***See overview of case studies***
Nunawading (later Eastbridge)	Nunawading, Melbourne, VIC	1952	c. 1980s	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Originally consisted of Nissen huts that were lined painted in pastel colours. Was part of the CHL redevelopment scheme. Later the hostel had an onsite school.
Preston	Preston, Melbourne VIC	1952	1971	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	The Department of Immigration leased the site from the Housing Commission.
The Endeavour	Randwick, Sydney NSw	1970	1985	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	One of the two new purpose-built hostels on a site previously unused for accommodating

					migrants. Project began in the early 1960s but not built until 1970.
The Enterprise	Springvale, Melbourne VIC	1970	c. 1980s	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	One of the two new purpose-built hostels on a site previously unused for accommodating migrants. Project began in the early 1960s but not built until 1970.
Villawood/Westbridge	**Villawood, Sydney, NSW**	**1948**	**c. 1980s (Select buildings used in the IDC)**	**Federal Government, from 1952 CHL**	***See overview of case studies***
Woodside	Woodside, Adelaide Hills, at the Woodside Army Base	1949	1963	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	Long-running hostel, 26,000 displaced persons and assisted migrants passed through the site during its lifetime.
Wacol	Brisbane, QLD	1949	1987	Federal Government, from 1952 CHL	The site was both an ex-United States of America and Australian army base. Original name was Wacol East Dependents Holding Camp for displaced persons.

TABLE 3.4 DEPORTATION AND IMMIGRATION DETENTION FACILITIES ADMINISTERED BY THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA, 1966–2020.

Note: This is not a complete list but covers most of the major Immigration Detention Facilities (IDF), there are a few Immigration Residential Housing (IRH) and Immigration Transit Accommodation (ITA), not listed. Although outside the parameters of this study, during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021, many refugees and alyssum seekers were detained in hotel accommodation in Melbourne. They were predominantly brought from off-shore detention to Australia to receive medical treatment.

COLOUR CODE

DARK GREY: Sites where the IDFs overlap with Commonwealth migrant hostel trajectories.

Name	Type of detention	Location	Opened	Closed
Adelaide (capacity 25)	Immigration Transit Accommodation (ITA)	Kilburn, Adelaide, SA	2011	Open as of October 2022
Baxter (capacity 600–880)	Immigration Reception and Processing Centre (IRPC)	Cultana, SA	2002	2007
Blaydin Point	Alternative Place of Detention (APOD)	Blaydin, Darwin, NT	Unknown	2015
Brisbane	ITA	Pinkenba, Brisbane, QLD (Near Brisbane Airport)	2007	Open as of October 2022
Christmas Island (capacity 800)	Immigration Detention Centre (IDC)	Christmas Island, WA	2001	Open as of October 2022
Cocos Island	Contingency Reception Centre	West Island, Cocos (Keeling) Islands	2001	2001
Construction Camp (2008 purpose-built facility capacity 1956)	APOD	Christmas Island, WA Note: IDFs on Christmas Island were reactivated by 16 February 2019 with provision of 'Basic Services', including access to medical services, accommodation, food, and garrison services for up to 250 detainees.	2001, 2008, 2019	Unknown

Curtin (capacity 1500)	IRPC	RAAF Curtin, WA	2010	2014
Darwin (capacity 610)	APOD	Asti Motel APOD and then Darwin Airport Lodge, Northern Territory	Unsure	2011, Some facilities may have still been open as of 2018
Inverbrackie (capacity 400)	APOD	Woodside, South Australia	2010	2014
Leonora (capacity 210)	APOD	Leonora, Western Australia	2010	2014
Maribyrnong (capacity 75)	**Immigration Detention Centre (IDC)**	**Maidstone, Melbourne, VIC**	**1966, 1983 (The purpose-built centre opened in 1983.)**	**2018**
Melbourne (capacity 144)	ITA	Broadmeadows, Melbourne, VIC	2008	Open as of October 2022
Northern (Berrimah) (capacity 536)	APOD	Eaton, Darwin, Northern Territory	2001	Closed sometime 2021-2022
Perth (capacity 55)	IDC	Redcliffe, Perth, WA	1981	Open as of October 2022
Perth (capacity 17)	Immigration Residential Housing (IRH)	Redcliffe, Perth, WA	2007	2019
Phosphate Hill (capacity approx. 150)	Alternative Place of Detention (APOD)	Christmas Island, WA	2001, 2019	2015, unknown if currently still in operation
Pontville (initial capacity 140)	IDC	Brighton Army Camp, Pontville, Tasmania	2011, 2012	2012, 2013
Port Hedland (capacity over 800)	IRPC	Port Hedland, Western Australia	1991	2004
Sydney (capacity 35)	**IRH**	**Villawood, Sydney, NSW (Adjacent to Villawood IDC)**	**2006**	**2015–2016 (This date is unconfirmed)**
Scherger (capacity 300 males)	IDC	RAAF Scherger, Queensland	2010	2014
Villawood (current capacity 500)	**IDC**	**Villawood, Sydney, NSW**	**1976**	**Open as of October 2022 (Recently redeveloped and select old**

				facilities were closed in 2019.)
Wickham Point (capacity 1500)	IDC and APOD	Wickham Point, Darwin, NT	2011	2019
Woomera (capacity 2000)	IDC	Woomera, South Australia	1999	2003
Yongah Hill (capacity of 600)	IDC	Northam, WA	2012	Open as of October 2022

OPERATIONAL IMMIGRATION DETENTION FACILITIES OUTSIDE THE NATION

Manus Island Regional Processing Centre	IDC	Manus Island, Papua New Guinea	2001, reopened in 2012	2008, 2017 (Officially closed in 2017, however refugees remained in the facilities)
Nauru Detention Centre	IDC	Republic of Nauru	2001, reopened in 2012	2008, 2019(Officially closed in 2017, however refugees remained in the facilities)

Selected Candidates

Two sites emerged out of this preliminary canvassing that had potential to be case studies: the former Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel in Melbourne, and Villawood Migrant Hostel in Sydney. Both had substantial connections to recent histories of immigration

detention. In June and July 2015, a pilot study was undertaken looking at the former Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel located in Melbourne's western suburbs. The hostel officially opened in 1949 and was the first migrant hostel in Victoria set up for family units. As in many other hostels throughout Australia ex-military huts, including prefabricated Nissen huts, were used for dwellings. When the hostel closed in 1989 it was sold to Victoria University and used for student accommodation which has since closed. Maribyrnong underwent redevelopment between 1966 and 1970 in stages, producing two new apartment complexes known as the Midway Hostel and the Philip Centre, designed by the Melbourne firm of Montgomery, King and Trengrove, which had previously specialised in private residential architecture.[92] The architecture of these two complexes is discussed in Chapter 5, "From Emergency Reception Centres to Design Experiments."

When official migration programs were winding down, some of the Midway Hostel buildings were used to house refugees arriving from mainland Southeast Asia and there is little scholarship examining their experience of resettlement. For example, Pamie Ching Tsz Fung's PhD thesis, "A place 'midway between the old life and the new: a case study of the migrant hostel at Maribyrnong," offers a detailed investigation of the Indochinese, experience at the Midway Hostel (she uses the term Indochinese in part as many of the refugees arriving from mainland Southeast Asia did not necessarily identify

[92] For overview of the hostel's history see Reeves and Wixted, *Heritage Alliance: Conservation Architects and Heritage Consultants. Former Midway and Philip*.

as Vietnamese).[93] The Maribyrnong IDC originally opened in 1966 with the purpose-built facilities for the IDC erected on site in 1983, set apart from the existing hostel buildings. Situated adjacent to the former hostel, this purpose built immigration detention centre closed in December 2018.[94] It was relatively small when compared to other detention centres within Australia and offshore.

Rather than a comparative study between Maribyrnong and Villawood Migrant Hostel, this thesis's focus is instead a longitudinal study of the Villawood site as it pertains to accommodation or detainment of migrants and refugees, cutting across the selected time frame. This decision was due to two major factors: first, a longitudinal study would enable a more in-depth investigation to be carried out in the thesis's limited time frame and second, the Villawood site was undergoing a significant redevelopment that included a heritage precinct when the research began. Additionally, the Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre is relatively small in terms of occupancy and Villawood has been prominent in the media and public imagination due to several significant

[93] There is minimal scholarship examining the experience of on-arrival accommodation from people arriving from mainland southeast Asia, the main example is Fung, "A Place 'Midway Between the Old Life and the New"; Another example that gives a broader overview; Nancy Viviani, *The Long Journey: Vietnamese Migration and Settlement in Australia* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1984).

[94] "Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre," Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, Last Modified 21 Oct 2015, (Trove archived website), https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20151021110002/https://www.border.gov.au/Busi/Comp/Immigration-detention/facilities/maribyrnong-immigration-detention-centre; Helen Davidson, "Government shuts Maribyrnong immigration detention centre, citing fall in numbers, *The Guardian*, 2 January 2019; Alan Trudge MP, "Closure of Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre, Home Affairs, Australian Government, Modified 02 January 2019, https://minister.homeaffairs.gov.au/alantudge/Pages/Closure-of-Maribyrnong-Immigration-Detention-Centre.aspx

protests undertaken by detainees. Consequently, the site history of Villawood would provide a better opportunity to connect contemporary discourses to historical research. A driving force behind the decision was to see whether one pivotal site could be used to map some of the issues and embedded anxieties surrounding the historic and current resettlement of refugees in Australia.

Comparative Sites: The Endeavour, Randwick, New South Wales and the Enterprise, Springvale, Victoria.

The Endeavour and the Enterprise are two comparative hostels that do not fit all the initial selection criteria but are nonetheless important sites in relation to CHL's programs of accommodation redevelopment and improvement. The Commonwealth Department of Works in conjunction with CHL, oversaw the design and construction of these two migrant hostels during the late 1960s, which were both named after British colonial navy vessels, the Endeavour and the Enterprise. The Endeavour Hostel, which opened in Randwick, Sydney in 1970, was an open but self-sufficient complex that included housing, dining, entertainment, and childcare facilities in separate buildings spread out over a portion of a former Commonwealth rifle range. Located in a heavy industrialised area in Sydney's south east, the Endeavour was designed to accommodate 1000 new migrants in radial, planned, brick-faced housing blocks that

were connected by walkways to sports fields and landscaped gardens.[95] The Endeavour had an architectural equivalent in Melbourne, which also recognised another colonial relic in its name, a Tasmanian ship which carried early colonists to Melbourne—the Enterprise, located in Springvale in western Melbourne, which opened later, in October 1970.[96] Originally projects designed within the Commonwealth Department of Public Works, these hostels were unique within the department's vision for future generations of migrant accommodation in that they were not redevelopments of existing hostel sites populated with adapted ex-military huts. Although the Enterprise did at one point accommodate women and children subject to detention when the Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre was at capacity, neither site was readapted into an immigration detention centre or had such a centre built in it. The architecture of these two hostels is discussed in detail in Chapter 5, "From Emergency Reception Centres to Design Experiments."

3.5 Statement of Limitations

Numerous federal government departments and agencies were involved in the initial set up of Commonwealth on-arrival migrant accommodation. Consequently, the built

[95]Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick, New South Wales* (Canberra: Parliament of Commonwealth of Australia 1964–1966); *Proposed Migrant Hostel at Randwick, Sydney N.S.W. Evidence to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works by the Department of Labour and National Service* as found in Dept. of Immigration, "Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Randwick, NSW, Part 2," 1966–1971, NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354.

[96] CHL, *Company Tidings* 9, no. 6, December (1970): 5; For information on the Enterprise see: *A Worthwhile Enterprise: The Migrant Hostel in Springvale* (Melbourne: Immigration Museum 2008).

environment records that were relevant, such as drawings, reports on facilities and residents, are not consolidated and are spread throughout a range of NAA items. An additional reason why the Villawood Migrant Hostel was selected as the primary case study was because the NSW State Library contains Bunning & Madden's archives, which document their major architectural projects and enabled an architectural analysis of the Villawood Migrant Hostel. However, for many of CHL's other hostels, there isn't a complete set of architectural or final construction drawings. Therefore, the spatial analysis is pieced together from architectural drawings and local, state, and national newspaper articles as well as departmental records. From the outset there were many departments involved in the outlay of facilities, including but not limited to Department of Post War Reconstruction, Department of Labour and National Service, Department of Immigration as well as the Migrant Workers' Accommodation Division and Commonwealth Hostels Limited. Although the management of migrant accommodation sites is consolidated under CHL when the redevelopment to improve facilities takes place, the range of initial stakeholders and extensive consultation between various federal departments and state government departments means the records are dispersed across various agencies.

The archives relating to both the later years of the Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation program and the early detention facilities in relation to discretionary deportation practices are equally fragmented due to successive changes in federal government and party leadership during the 1970s. The resulting changes in portfolios exacerbate the fragmented collection of the records pertaining to the built environments

of both migrant hostels in government archives. An extremely brief outline of Australia's political leadership as relevant to the thesis's timespan begins with Ben Chifley's Australian Labor Party government from 1945 to 1949.[97] Chifley was succeeded by Robert Menzies, who a led a Liberal Party of Australia Government from 1949 to 1966. In the later 1960s, the conservative parties, the Liberal Party of Australia, and the Australian Country Party (now known as the National Party of Australia) remained in power, but there were successive changes in leadership. Harold Holt led the party from 1966 to until his eerily famous death in 1967, he had previously held the portfolios of Labour and National Service and Immigration in the 1950s. John Gorton held office from 1968 to 1971, followed by William McMahon, who held office from 1971 to 1972.

In 1972 Gough Whitlam led the Australia Labor Party to victory for the first time since the Second World War and was Prime Minister from 1972. Although instigated under early governments, particularly the Holt Government, under Whitlam, the policies that constitute the White Australia Policy finally ended through policy amendments and modes of nationhood based on global migrancy and multiculturalism emerged.[98] The thesis's conclusion discusses the legacy of multiculturalism both as a federal policy and

[97] Information in this paragraph from Australian political histories of the 20th century: Robin Brown and Richard Appleton, ed. *Milestones in Australian History: 1788 to the Present* (Sydney: Collins, 1986); Robert Manne ed. *The Australian Century: Political Struggle in the Building of a Nation* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1999).
[98] Discussions of the 'White Australia Policy,' and citizenship: Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, Neumann, *Across the Seas*; Mark Anderson, *Australian History and Citizenship* (South Yarra, Vic.: Macmillan Education, 2000).

a cultural framework as it pertains to the Villawood Migrant Hostel. In one of Australia's most controversial political incidents, Whitlam was dismissed by the Governor General, Sir John Kerr, in 1975. Malcolm Fraser of the Liberal Party of Australia was appointed caretaker Prime Minister in 1975 and won in a landslide at the election a month later remaining in power until 1983. His government was succeeded by Bob Hawke's Labor Government (1983–1991) and then by Paul Keating (1991–1996).

The thesis ends in 1992 when the policy of mandatory detention in relation to the government's classification of 'unauthorised' people arriving was introduced with bipartisan support. This announced a distinctly new era of immigration policies and border securitisation in Australia (the introduction of mandatory detention is explained in Chapter 7, "New Forms of Border Security.") The decision to end the study here was also propelled by the time limits on access to federal government records, focused on immigration detention centres, under the Archive Act.[99] When this study began, the time before open access was thirty years. However, this limit is now transitioning from thirty years to twenty years. Additionally, select historical records on the facilities of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centres, which are part of the NAA collections, had been returned to the federal government, (possibly due to the recent redevelopment), and a request for public access to this material was still ongoing at submission of this

[99] For an overview see "Access to records under the Archives Act," NAA, last accessed October 2022, https://www.naa.gov.au/help-your-research/using-collection/access-records-under-archives-act#:~:text=The%20Archives%20Act%201983%20governs,in%20the%20open%20access%20period.

thesis. However, in considering the parallel development of detention on site, the focus of the thesis is on the architecture of the new migrant hostel apartments constructed during the 1960s, which are examined in detail in the following chapter.

Figure 3.1 Villawood Migrant Hostel Site Layout, Commonwealth Hostels Ltd (CHL), 1953. Image courtesy of the Whitlam Library, Cabramatta and Fairfield City Museum Gallery.

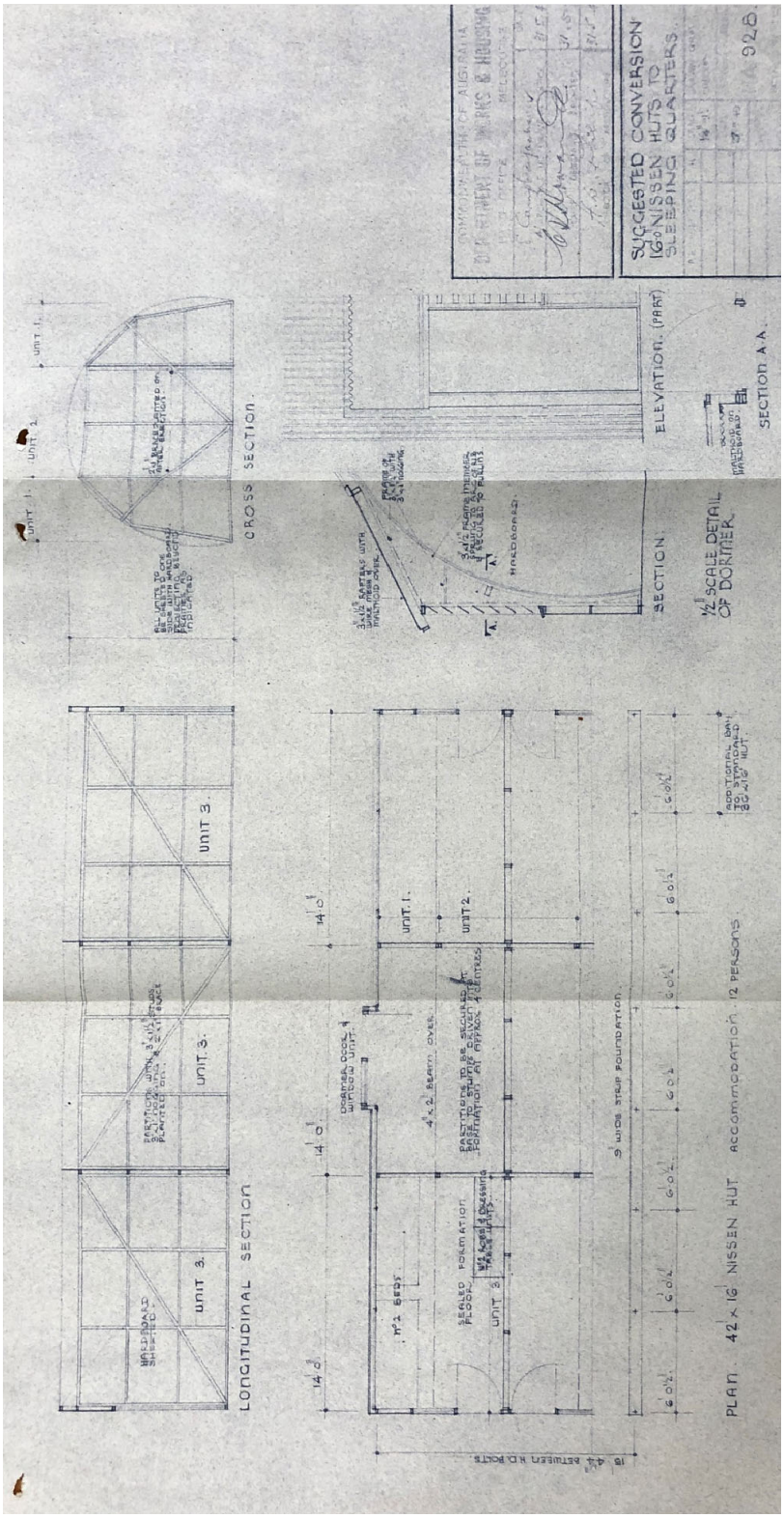


Figure 3.2 Suggested conversion of Nissen huts to sleeping quarters, produced by Dept. of Works & Housing, Head Office, Melbourne, 1949. Source: "Inter-departmental Committee for Accommodation at Reception, Holding and Training Centres & Hostels," NAA: A434, 1949/3/18017.



Figure 3.3 Graphic material for a campaign as part of operation sovereign borders launched by the Department for Immigration and Border Protection and the Australian Defence Force, 2013-2014. Source: "Advertising material created to dissuade offshore people smuggling (or asylum seekers), since 2013,"Department of Home Affairs, https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2019/fa-190801764-document-released-p4.PDF

Figure 3.4 Cabramatta Migrant Hostel Site Plan, CHL, 1953. Image courtesy of the Whitlam Library, Cabramatta and Fairfield City Museum Gallery.

CHAPTER 4. HOMES IN THE SUN: DOMESTIC FRAMINGS OF HOSPITALITY AT THE VILLAWOOD/WESTBRIDGE MIGRANT HOSTEL

Note: Figure and figure references are at the end of the chapter

4.1 Introduction

In a 1964 edition of *The Bulletin*, the prominent Sydney-based magazine, an article, "A hostel is not a home," deliberated on the role of Commonwealth migrant hostels through interviews with the Villawood Migrant Hostel's residents and staff.[1] Authored by the renowned journalist Charles Higham, famed for his later biographies of Hollywood film stars, the article reports on the living conditions and protests at the Villawood Migrant Hostel in the 1960s.[2] In a sensational style and bristling with gender and ethnocultural stereotypes, the article reports on the living conditions and protests at Villawood before the site's redevelopment in the late 1960s. Higham reflects on expectations and realities for migrants arriving from differing nations including the Britain (UK), Germany, Greece, Italy and the Netherlands. Understandings of Australian identity are presented as fixed and softly mocked with a focus on the quest for house ownership through championing practicality. Reporting on migrants from

[1] Charles Higham, "A Hostel is Not a Home," *The Bulletin* 86, January 1964, 12–15.
[2] Examples: Charles Higham ed. *Australian Writing Today* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968); Later biographies: Charles Higham, *Kate: The life of Katharine Hepburn* (New York: Norton, 1975); Higham, Charles, *Errol Flynn: The Untold Story* (London: Granada, 1980).

Britain, he states: "The strictly sensible and practical migrant will know that a hostel is not and never can be a home and will think only of getting out to the block of land and the dwelling which will make him part of Australia; but many are not so sensible or so practical and they frequently blame the hostel for not being what it never set out to be."[3] A focused study of the built history of the Villawood Migrant Hostel offers insights into the intersection between the types of hospitality offered to incoming people with ideals about the Australian house and home that were circulating within the Commonwealth of Australia at the time.

This chapter investigates the role of domestic design concerning nation-state hospitality exercised in the Villawood Migrant Hostel. Recurrent racialised hierarchies and tropes surrounding the types of hospitality offered to incoming populations emphasise the highly constructed and exclusionary rhetoric around national identities. The addition of the purpose-built apartments at Villawood constructed between 1968 and 1970 is the chapter's focus (see figures 4.1 and 4.2).[4] Designed by the Sydney-based firm Bunning & Madden, the new housing blocks sat within the broader nationwide program of improving resettlement facilities to aid continued migrant recruitment (see figures 4.3 and 4.4).[5] How the Villawood Migrant Hostel was framed by the Australian federal

[3] Higham, "A Hostel is Not a Home," 12–13.
[4] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden* (Sydney: Bunning and Madden, 1970); 68–71.
[5] Villawood, along with Nunawading and Maribyrnong in Melbourne, was one of the first migrant hostels in Australia to be upgraded. Dept. of Immigration, Central Office, "Migrants Workers' Hostel, Villawood, NSW, Part 1 [15 plans]," 1948–1961, NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343.

government is discussed together with the architectural discourse on the 'Australian' house from this period. Beginning with approaches in circulation when migrant hostels first opened after the Second World War, including Walter Bunning's seminal 1945 publication, *Homes in the Sun: The Past, Present and Future of Australian Housing*, there is an architectural emphasis on designs responding explicitly to geography and climate.[6] However, the construction of Bunning & Madden's housing blocks at Villawood sit within an emerging generation of domestic design sensitised to regional materialities and climate variations.[7] The chapter provides an in-depth analysis of Bunning & Madden's housing blocks, considering the architecture alongside these emerging architectural trends. This analysis of the new hostel buildings is discussed in relation to media depictions and departmental discourse exploring how differing forms of nation-state identity are tied to assertions of hospitality.

Heritage reports, property registers and drawings from the Bunning & Madden archives suggest that the new hostel buildings for residents were designed in three stages, with Stage 2 never being constructed (see figures 4.5 and 4.6).[8] Stage 1 consisted

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[6] Walter Bunning, *Homes in the Sun* (Sydney: Nesbit, 1945); Walter Bunning, et al. *The Housing Problem in Australia* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1947). Additionally, a range of his newspaper articles in Walter Bunning, "Papers of Walter Bunning, 1929–1976," NLA: MS 7332.
[7] Catherine Lassen and Julie Willis, "The Sydney School," in *Sydney School: Formative Moments in Architecture, Design and Planning at the University of Sydney* edited by Lee Stickells and Andrew Leach (Melbourne: Uro Publications, 2018), 103–120. For suburban trends see architect-design Project Houses: Judith O'Callaghan and Charles Pickett, *Designer Suburbs: Architects and Affordable Homes in Australia* (Sydney: New South Publishing; University of NSW Ltd, 2012).
[8] Graham Brooks and Associates, Architects and Heritage Consultants, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel: Conservation Management Plan and Social Significance Assessment prepared for the Department of Finance and Administration* (Sydney: Gram Brooks and Associates Pty Ltd, 2001):

of double-storey housing blocks, divided into four and planned to form rectangular grass courtyards. Each block contained differing numbers of individual apartments from eight to sixteen and a selection of the grass courtyards included children's play areas on circular concrete slabs as well as laundries. In the archives of Bunning & Madden, there is a detailed landscape plan, but it is inconclusive whether this was implemented on-site. The new hostel blocks of Stage 1 were arranged in modular units consisting of two apartments on each floor divided by external staircases. Each apartment consisted of a lobby, a lounge room or bed-sitting room, one to two bedrooms and, in a marked change from the previous generation of accommodation, each had a private bathroom. However, absent from the apartments were cooking facilities; and covered walkways connected the new buildings to the industrial kitchens and communal dining areas, which remained in the ex-military accommodation—the internally renovated Quonset huts. These communal areas are studied in Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining: The Design of Domesticity at The Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel." The new hostel buildings replaced much of the ex-military accommodation on site, and arriving families were given priority for the new accommodation. Stage 1 of Bunning & Madden's new additions had a total capacity of approximately a thousand people and the new hostel buildings were rebranded as Westbridge Hostel. The renaming attempted to change the hostel's reputation and signal the new era of on-arrival accommodation. It occurred at various refurbished

24; Dept. of Immigration, "Westbridge Migrant Workers' Hostel Villawood NSW Part 2," 1971–1973, NAA: MP1760/1, 1971/78068; "Bunning and Madden architectural drawings, chiefly 1960s" NSWSL: ONCY 74, ON 296. (Note: From Bunning's & Maddens' drawings and then the property registers records from 1971–1973, there appears some confusion over the naming of stages. It appears stage one and stage two were designed in separate stages but constructed together, then stage three was constructed later).

hostels nationwide as outlined in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Border to the Hearth." However, the ex-military accommodation continued to be used on-site during the 1970s and 1980s with Nissen huts housing predominantly male residents.

Bunning & Madden's design for collective housing at the Villawood Migrant Hostel is considered in the context of broader architectural trends and discourses informing residential architecture during this period. There are two main areas to this housing discourse that are relevant to the Villawood Migrant Hostel: the first is the forms of government-sponsored housing, namely the Housing Commission of New South Wales's public housing in Sydney.[9] The second is discourses that emerged on residential architecture sensitised to regional contexts and climates that predominantly focused on houses for affluent clients and suburban project houses, often overlooking collective types of housing and tenures outside of the owner-occupied domain.[10] For migrants and

[9] There is little scholarship in this field coming from architecture, key works include: Phillip James Briggs, "Public Housing in Sydney: Past, Present, and Future" (Ph.D. University of New South Wales, 1972); Ian MacKay, *Living & partly living housing in Australia* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, Australia, 1971); Howard, Tanner. *Australian Housing in the Seventies* (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1976). For the NSW Housing Commission as well as planning and social histories see: Carolyn Allport, "Castles of Security: The New South Wales Housing Commission and Home Ownership 1941–61,"in *Sydney: City of Suburbs* edited by Max Kelly (Kensington: New South Wales University Press in association with the Sydney History Group, 1987), 95–124; Harry Margalit, "Reasoning to Believe: Aspects of Modernity in Sydney Architecture and Planning 1900-1960" (Ph.D. University of Sydney, 1997); Patrick Troy, *Accommodating Australians: Commonwealth Government Involvement in Housing* (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2012); David James Pettigrew, *Homes for the People: Public Housing in New South Wales, 1940–1990* (Wembley, W.A.: D.J. Pettigrew, 2005); Stuart Macintyre, "Owners and Tenants: The Commonwealth Housing Commission and Post-War Housing, 1943–1949," *Australian Economic History Review*, (8 Nov 2018): 265–282, https://doi.org/10.1111/aehr.12160

[10] For an overview of suburban project houses: O'Callaghan, *Designer Suburbs.* The second is discourses surround architectural trends in individually design houses of the era for example: Jennifer Taylor, *An Australian Identity: Houses for Sydney 1953–63* (Sydney: University of

refugees residing at Commonwealth migrant hostels, the accommodation provided was an entry point into Australia's housing provision. The employment of prominent private firms to redesign these sites, combined with the government's use of images of the improved accommodation to promote Australia as a desired destination in migrant recruitment, offers an opportunity to discuss how Commonwealth housing provision relates to the ideals in circulation about 'Australian' houses.

Walter Bunning (1912–1977) in his professional capacity as an architect influenced the Australian federal government's housing and town planning provision. During the Second World War, he was an executive officer on the newly appointed Commonwealth Housing Commission, (1943–1944) and significantly contributed to its reports of 1944.[11] The Commission was established to address the future housing crisis, including shortages and the diminishing quality of Australia's housing stock, which emerged as a government concern during the Second World War.[12] Shaped in part from the downturn of the building industry during the war, housing gathered momentum as a national issue and became central to immediate post-war reconstruction. Bunning established a practice in 1945 designing private houses, and from 1946 the firm practised as a

Sydney, Dept. of Architecture, 1972). Both these discourses are explored later in the chapter with additional citations.

[11] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*; Bunning, "Papers of Walter Bunning, 1929-1976," NLA: MS 7332.

[12] For histories of the CHC see: Troy, *Accommodating Australians*; Patrick Troy and Clem Lloyd, "The Commonwealth Housing Commission and a National Housing Policy: A Working draft" (Canberra: Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1981); Mike Berry, "Unravelling the "Australian Housing Solution:" The Post-War Years," *Housing, Theory and Society* 16, no.3 (1999): 106–123, https://doi.org/10.1080/14036099950149974

partnership between Walter Bunning and Charles Madden. The firm completed collective housing for the Housing Commission of New South Wales. Notable projects in Sydney include the six-storey Elanora Flats (1961) and Phyllis Burke Court (1968), which with its two interlocking concrete blocks is evocative of British welfare state housing schemes such as the Smithson's unbuilt Golden Lane Project (1952).[13] Additionally, prior to the design for Villawood Migrant Hostel, the firm had completed university residential accommodation with their design for Bruce Hall (1961), accommodating 210 students at the Australian National University. Here, similar to Villawood, two-storey housing blocks were planned around a quadrangle.[14]

The new Villawood hostel additions were attributed to Bunning & Madden, although after Charles Madden's death in 1960, the firm changed its name to Bunning Smith Porter & Madden to reflect the names of the two other associates, Kevin Smith and Noel Potter.[15] The firm is mainly recognised for the National Library of Australia (1968) in Canberra, with its abstracted, Greco-Roman Classicism and vast, warm interiors, along with the earlier, critically acclaimed Liner House (1961) in Sydney.[16] Several available sources on the hostel design can be found in the Bunning & Madden archives in the

[13] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*, 54–57 and 64–67. Golden Lane Project and New Brutalism: Reyner Banham, "Park Hill Housing, Sheffield," *Architectural Review* (3 December 1961): 403–410; Reyner Banham; *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic*? (London: Architectural Press,1966); Eric Mumford, "CIAM urbanism after the Athens charter," *Planning Perspectives* 7, no. 4 (1992): 391–417, https://doi.org/10.1080/02665439208725757

[14] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*, 50–51; Bunning & Madden, *On campus Terrace Housing, Bruce Hall Precinct: The Australian National University* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1975).

[15] Harry Margalit, "Bunning and Madden" in *The Encyclopaedia of Australian Architecture*, ed. Philip Goad, Julie Willis (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 123.

[16] Harry Margalit "Bunning and Madden," 123.

State Library of New South Wales along with records from the Department of Immigration (1945–1974), the Department of Labour and National Service (1940–1972) and Commonwealth Hostels Ltd's staff journal *Company Tidings*.[17] Heritage reports from the early 2010s on the Villawood site (in provision for the demolition of former hostel buildings used as part of the Immigration Detention Centre from the late 1980s) offer a detailed understanding of the site.[18] This archival material is considered alongside photographs documenting migrant hostels from the 1960s onwards, which were produced mostly by the Department of Immigration (1945–1974.)[19]

The architecture of the new housing blocks at Villawood is used here to introduce the nationwide program to improve hostel accommodation by the Department of Immigration and CHL.[20] Section 4.2, Villawood Migrant Hostel and Housing in New

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[17] Bunning & Madden, "Bunning and Madden architectural drawings, chiefly 1960's," SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296; CHL, and then later Commonwealth Accommodation and Catering Services, *Company Tidings: Staff Journal of Commonwealth Hostels Limited* (North Sydney: The Firm), 1966–1973; "Annual report/Commonwealth Hostels Limited/Commonwealth Accommodation and Catering Services," 1963–1980, NLA: Nq 332.0994 COM.

[18] Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*; Nina Pollock, Godden Mackay Logan, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility: Archival Recording, Report Prepared for the Department of Immigration and Citizenship* (Redfern, N.S.W: Godden Mackay Logan, 2011); Australian Heritage Database, "Villawood Immigration Centre, Miowera Rd, Villawood, NSW, Australia," last modified July 7, 2011, http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;search=place_name%3DVillawood%2520Immigration%2520Centre%3Bkeyword_PD%3Don%3Bkeyword_SS%3Don%3Bkeyword_PH%3Don%3Blatitude_1dir%3DS%3Blongitude_1dir%3DE%3Blongitude_2dir%3DE%3Blatitude_2dir%3DS%3Bin_region%3Dpart;place_id=102671

[19] Example: Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (Dept. of Immigration) "Hostels, holding centres and state reception centres -Westbridge/Villawood Migrant Hostel," 1973, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/198–229.

[20] Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited NSW," 1976–1978, NAA: A4340, MR 1/164.

South Wales, offers an overview of wider housing contexts in the lead up to Villawood's redevelopment. Beginning with the argument put forward by historian Ann-Marie Jordens and supported by the Department of Immigration's records, the need to improve hostel accommodation was given increasing importance due to a desire to promote resettlement in Australia among prospective European migrants.[21] This was due to intensified competitiveness with other countries in recruiting migrants for Australia's long-term growth, along with increasing political stability and economic prosperity in Europe.[22] However, the inadequacies of the existing military-style huts also received attention due to internal complaints, protests and noncompliance with tariffs by hostel occupants. Section 4.3 focuses on these early protests. Through these demonstrations and disputes, the living conditions at hostel sites increasingly attracted the interest to local and national media outlets. The advancing reputation of Villawood's old military-style barracks as austere and inadequate, along with media claims that it was a swamp of dysentery, needed to be addressed. Section 4.4 presents a close reading of the new designs at Villawood and considers the redevelopment in the context of both residential trends circulating in the architectural profession at the time but also understandings of the 'Australian' house.

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[21] Ann-Mari Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants, Administration, Compliance and Governability Program* (Canberra: Australian National University, Research School of Social Sciences, 1994), 20-21; Dept. of Immigration, "Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Randwick, NSW, Part 2," 1966–1971, NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354.

[22] NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354; CHL, Central Office, "New Hostel for Migrants Randwick - Construction and Design [Box 683]," 1964–1966, NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1; Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*, 20–27. "Making Life Happier for Migrants," *Daily Telegraph*, November 1963; "Report Hits at Hostels," *Melbourne Herald*, November 16, 1965.

4.2 Villawood Migrant Hostel and Housing in New South Wales

Walter Bunning's *Homes in the Sun*, first published in 1945, was based on research undertaken by the Commonwealth Housing Commission into residential architecture.[23] The book emphasised climate-responsive design that would optimise human comfort based on physiological understandings at the time.[24] Ambitious in its aims, *Homes in the Sun* introduced a history of Australia from British colonial invasion and occupation onwards and then covered a catalogue of residential examples from the single dwellings and iterations of Bunning's 'suntrap' houses to apartments. Following this were sections focused on planning and community needs as well as outlining the qualities required of good furniture and—in a progressive addition for the time—interior storage. In aligning with the prevailing political attitudes of the time, in these templates for future houses there is a continuation of colonial informed attitudes to land tenure and national

[23] Also See: Walter Bunning, et al. *The Housing Problem in Australia* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1947); F. Oswald Barnett and W.O. Burt, *Housing the Australian Nation*, (Melbourne: Research Group of the Left Book Club of Vic, 1942); John D. Moore, *Home Again: Domestic Architecture for the Normal Australian* (Sydney: Ure Smith Pty. Limited 1944). It is important to note there is scholarship written at this time on both colonial houses and early 20th century urbanism, with some of this scholarship applicable to this project. However, the Second War World provides an ideal starting point due to the commencement of population expansion through migration from outside the British Isles and Ireland.

[24] Bunning, *Homes in the Sun*; Stuart King "Climate and Architecture," in Goad, Willis, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*; 156–157; London, Goad and Hamann, *An Unfinished Experiment in Living: Australian Houses 1950–65* (Crawley, Western Australia: UWA Publishing, 2017); Daniel J. Ryan, "Thermal Nationalism: The Climate and House Design Program in Australia (1944-1960)," *ABE Journal 18* (2021), https://doi.org/10.4000/abe.9848;
T. J. Williamson, "Designing Houses for the Australian Climate: The Early Research," *Architectural Science Review* 56, no.3 (2013): 197–207, https://doi.org/10.1080/00038628.2013.807218; Also see: Terence Williamson, "Building and Construction Research" in Philip Goad, Julie Willis, (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, 164–165.

identity as both connected simultaneously to the British Empire and constrained by a heightened sense of geographical enclosure and distance from Europe.[25]

Homes in the Sun provides a backdrop to the residential design discourse when the Australian federal government's migrant on-arrival program commenced after the Second World War in the late 1940s. These presentations of houses in Australia sit in comparison to the initial, military-based organisation of accommodation sites, and even after the redevelopment in the 1960s, these planning configurations in part remained. Second, *Homes in the Sun* was a forerunner for a climate sensitive discourse that developed in innovation and complexity through the 1960s and into the 1970s, and within which the new housing blocks at Villawood sat.[26] Initially, migrant hostel sites aimed to promote assimilation through both English language programs and by "absorbing the British outlook," which often contained an underlying assumption of rejection of previous customs or allegiances to other countries or cultural groupings.[27] Historian Sara Wills suggests that hostels can be viewed as the "frontiers of assimilation, of the policies, procedures and practices that directed the cultural and national re-education of non-British migrants, and helped to delimit what it meant to become a new

[25] For discussions these colonial understandings of national identity and their persistence in contemporary Australia; Colonial Legacy: Sneja Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Geographic Enclosure: Suvendrini, Perera, *Australia and the Insular Imagination: Beaches, Borders, Boats, and Bodies* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2009); Framings of national identity: Ghassan Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society (*Annandale, Vic: Pluto Press, 2003).

[26] Lassen and Willis, "The Sydney School;" Taylor, *An Australian Identity*; Jennifer Taylor, "Looking at the Sydney School," *Transitions* 1, no.2 (November 1979): 4–8.

[27] Dept. of Immigration, "Citizenship Convention 1951 (Jubilee) General," NAA: A445 146/2/1, as quoted in Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*, 10.

Australian."[28] Disciplined planning of residences and control over everyday practices such as eating were influenced by anxieties about ethnocultural heterogeneity and neighbourhood assimilation once migrants left these hostel sites. Examining how the federal government's assimilation agendas shaped sites such as Villawood offers insight into how national communities were imagined and enacted. For earlier physical and spatial incarnations of the Villawood hostel site see Chapter 3, which provides an overview of the Commonwealth's early on-arrival accommodation, namely the early migrant camps (also see figures 4.7 and 4.8 in this chapter).

Lengths of stay at the Villawood hostel were complex and varied. In 1954, an Australia-wide study found that over 60% of families had been in hostels for more than two years.[29] Until the 1960s, it was not specified how long residents could stay at the hostel and evictions were considered a last resort.[30] In 1968, the average length of stay at Villawood was six months with approximately 10 per cent of families staying in the hostel between one and four years.[31] The reliance on hostel accommodation in part depended on the broader processes of housing both private and public. In a Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works report (1966) for the erection of a new hostel in Randwick, Sydney, the position of hostels in Australia's public housing

[28] Sara Wills, "Between the Hostel and the Detention Centre: Possible Trajectories of Migrant Pain and Shame in Australia," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage*, eds. William Logan and Keir Reeves (New York: Routledge, 2009), 268.
[29] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants,* 13–16.
[30] Department of Labour and National Service "Migrant Accommodation: Problem of Families Remaining in Hostels for Long Periods," NAA: B146, 1956/2273.
[31] Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*.

is outlined in the preface. Elaborating on the difficulties faced by recently arrived migrants in competing for other forms of social housing, the report noted: "It is difficult to foresee the rate of home construction in the future providing dwellings for migrants on arrival. It is equally unlikely that migrants will receive priority for housing over other members of the community."[32] During the late 1960s, about one-third of people arriving on the various assisted passages were entitled to hostel accommodation. The ratio roughly amounted to about one-fifth of the total migrant intake in 1964–1965.[33] The remaining people stayed in accommodation arranged by relatives, friends or sponsors such as church groups and employers. Settlement options also depended on different cultural practices. For example, often for Mediterranean cultures, boarding house accommodation for single women was perceived as inappropriate.[34] Once leaving Commonwealth migrant on-arrival accommodation, the options for housing were varied depending on family and community connections and employment.[35]

Many migrants faced discrimination in access to housing both in the private market and in competing for scarce public housing, possibly contributing to the need for many residents to stay in the hostel system longer than first anticipated. In the late 1940s, the

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[32] Standing Committee Report on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Prosed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick, New South Wales, (*1964-65-66 Version, contains handwritten notes) in Australian Property Group, State Office, NSW, "South Coogee - Randwick - Endeavour Migrant Hostel - Review of use (PN 1055)," 1988, NAA: C424, PRO1976/523.
[33] Standing Committee Report on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Prosed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick, New South Wales.*
[34] Context Heritage Consultants, *Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage: Volume 2, Thematic History*, prepared for Heritage Victoria, 2011, 31.
[35] Alexander Kondos and A Messina, *Migrants and the Australian Dream: A Preliminary Study of Migrant Housing Situations* (Kensington, NSW: School of Sociology, University of NSW, 1980).

Housing Commission of New South Wales, following the national trend, divided migrants into two main categories, British and non-British. British migrants were at a disadvantage in comparison to Australian-born residents in that they were not allowed into housing ballots until they had been a resident in the state for twelve months. According to a statement by the acting federal Minister for Immigration Howard Beale in 1953, they were not entitled to enter the ballot if they lived in a Commonwealth migrant hostel.[36] Non-British migrants were not allowed to apply for public housing at all.[37] A 1953 Citizenship Convention followed up by an Industry Assistance Commission's committee meeting in 1954 drew attention to the housing status of migrants resulting in a change of policy.[38] Non-British migrants could apply for housing in country areas without restriction after twelve months of residence in Australia. Still, applications in metropolitan areas were only permissible for married couples where one family member was born in Australia.[39] In the preceding decade, incremental policy adjustments improved the application process for non-British migrants, and by the late 1960s non-Australian born migrants had the same access to public housing as Australian born residents across all states. However, this continued post-war discrimination increased wider social stigmas surrounding public housing and many migrants and refugees chose to rent or purchase homes privately, often at

[36] Dept. of Immigration, NSW Branch, "Immigration - Migrant Accommodation NSW Political Statements [box 36]," 1953, NAA: C3939, N1955/25/75533.
[37] NAA: C3939, N1955/25/75533.
[38] Citizenship Conventions were annual meetings organised by the Department Immigration from 1950 and attended by different community organisations, for example the Good Neighbour Association. Its original focus included monitoring of assimilation in hostels of non-British migrants and refugees. Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*, 10, 32; "Better deal on N.S.W. housing," *Good Neighbour*, December 1, 1956, 1.
[39] Eather Warwick, "We Only Build Houses: The Commission 1945-1960," in Renate Howe, ed. *New Houses for Old*, 80.

great cost.[40] Jordens argues that "no legislative protection was available to aliens against exploitation by unscrupulous landlords" and "those who sought to avoid these problems by acquiring their own homes face legal and administrative obstacles."[41]

At the time, housing discrimination, both in the private sector and reaffirmed by the various state housing commissions against non-British migrants and refugees, possibly contributed to the need for many residents to stay in the hostel system longer than first anticipated.[42] Concerning the Victorian context, which had a similar public housing policy trajectory to New South Wales, Warwick Eather argues: "These restrictions and the acute housing shortage placed undue burdens on many migrant families, compelling many to remain in hostel accommodation."[43] Although always framed by the federal government as temporary accommodation, a stopping-off place on a longer housing journey, the length of stay was often unforeseen for many migrants and refugees arriving in Australia. In the 1950s and 1960s at Villawood, in this context of families residing for longer periods, there was an increase in resident protests and complaints regarding both the facilities and services. The impact of this unrest, in particular its recognition in the media, concerned the government in its implications for the migration drive. As one newspaper article summed up the matter neatly:

[40] Kondos and Messina, *Migrants and the Australian Dream: A Preliminary Study of Migrant Housing Situations*.
[41] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants, 27.*
[42] For discussions on residents having issues leaving hostels see NAA: B146, 1956/2273.
[43] Warwick, "We Only Build Houses: The Commission 1945–1960," 80.

> Admittedly, the hostels are meant to provide temporary accommodation. But so long as they give rise to serious complaints by occupants, they will have a very discouraging effect upon future migration. And that is something the Commonwealth Government simply cannot afford.[44]

4.3 Media Representations of the Ex-Military Accommodation

Local and national newspapers frequently covered issues involving hostel facilities, such as disease outbreaks, and protests and petitions by residents on matters ranging from food quality to accommodation tariffs that did not consider broader economic variances.[45] Tariffs deducted from wages or unemployment benefits were a constant source of conflict between residents and hostel management.[46] The Department of Immigration closely monitored the media coverage of migrant hostels and how the narratives about the housing of incoming populations would affect the voting majority and the international reputation of hostels.[47] This media coverage often provoked government responses and intervention in defence of the provisions, and at opportune times, amplification of colonial nationalist tropes.. On 23 January 1957 the tabloid paper *The Sun* published an article titled "They Expected Freedom—Migrants Say It's Prison,"

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[44] "Clean-up at Villawood, *Daily Mirror*, November 6, 1961.
[45] Examples: "Migrants Protest at Policy and Housing," *Telegraph*, June 9, 1958; Angry Migrants Tied to Camp," *Daily Mirror,* October 10, 1961; "I dropped in on camp of discontent," *The Sun*, November 9, 1961.
[45] NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343.
[46] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants,* 13–20.
[47] NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343.

which reported on inadequate accommodation conditions as well as controls on activities allowed in private living quarters.[48] The claims about the facilities and atmosphere of Villawood Migrant Hostel were then refuted in detail by CHL's chairman of directors in an extensive letter to the publisher. This rebuttal was then represented in a follow-up article by the same journalist in an equally sensationalist-style indicative of tabloid journalism.[49] The embedded tensions and opposing stances seen above, highlight the contested narratives surrounding Villawood and also how its perception was framed and propelled through the media.

Commonwealth migrant hostels were beginning to attract negative reputations invoking concerns around the future desirability of Australia for European migrants (see figure 4.9).[50] An increasingly notorious reputation led to several inspections by both local politicians and political representatives from countries which had nationals living in hostels.[51] During the late 1950s and 1960s several petitions from residents of Villawood were submitted via CHL to the Department of Immigration and the Prime Minister's office.[52] They addressed issues such as the cleanliness of accommodation, the quality of food received, overcrowding and excessively high tariffs. These petitions and protests through non-compliance with tariffs gained recognition in the press and drew

[48] Oliver Hodge, "They Expected Freedom- Migrants say it's Prison," *The Sun*, January 23, 1957.
[49] NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343; Oliver Hodge, "Have a Second look, Mr Funnell," *The Sun*, February 8, 1957.
[50] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*, 20–21; Dept. of Immigration, Central Office, "Randwick Hostel, Sydney, Part 1 [5 plans]," 1962–1966, NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252.
[51] NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343.
[52] NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343.

interest from local and national politicians. For example, in 1958 a meeting of hostel residents took place and resulted in writing a telegram to Prime Minister Robert Menzies raising items such as a lack of heating facilities and the lack of employment that had been promised when entering the country.[53] Villawood continued to resurface in print media in the early 1960s with reported outbreaks of dysentery and hepatitis.[54] This reportage reveals that there were often conflicting interpretations and agendas in the media coverage of the Villawood site. On the one hand, the coverage increased the visibility of different experiences of these sites, which pressured the government into the need to consider the larger national and international reputations of hostel sites. Equally, there was a tendency to question the viability and dismiss the claims put forward by the residents, along with emphasising Australia's hospitality in offering any form of accommodation.[55] Moreover, in the print media often the complaints voiced by residents were taken out of the immediate context and employed in broader political debates. For example, one article linked the complaints to the Australian Communist Party's agenda to curtail levels of immigration at this time (see figure 4.10).[56]

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[53] Examples: "500 Protest to Menzies Migration," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 9, 1958, 5; "Heating of Villawood Hostel," *The Biz (Fairfield),* May 6, 1959, 15; "Angry Migrants Tied to Camp," *Sunday Mirror,* October 29, 1961; "M.P., Seeks Probe on Migrant Camp*," Sunday Mirror*, November 5, 1961, "Hostel Similar to Concentration Camps," *The Biz* (Fairfield) October 1962, 1.

[54] "Fight to Contain New Flare-Up of Hepatitis: Migrants Taken to Hospital," *The Bankstown-Canterbury Torch*, March 16, 1966, (Cover Story) 1; "Hostel Residents Hit Out," *The Biz* (Fairfield), April 6, 1966, 1; "Major Outbreak of Hepatitis at Hostel," *The Bankstown-Canterbury Torch*, November 30, 1966, 3.

[55] Examples: "Are Migrant Hostel Protests Genuine?" *The Bankstown-Canterbury Torch*, February 15, 1967, 3.

[56] Zelie McLeod, "Sinister Factor in Hostel Trouble," *Daily Telegraph and Daily News*, November 6, 1961.

Media portrayal of Villawood's deteriorating facilities in the 1950s and 1960s and departmental discussions around these depictions highlight the tensions around increased migration to Australia during the nation-building period from 1945 to the early 1970s. This frequently extended to how ethnicity, identity and cultural specificity were being recognised within the national discourse.[57] The public discourse surrounding the ex-military accommodation of the late 1950s at Villawood in the lead-up to the site's redevelopment reveals the continued anxieties around Australia's changing population. In the 1960s, various prominent ministers unveiled plans for the national program to improve hostel accommodation seizing photo opportunities that featured them wearing hard hats amidst construction debris: a heavy-handed signal to nation-building. In 1968, the Minister for Labour and National Service, Mr Leslie Bury, opened Stage 1, in which the new housing blocks were equipped with modern amenities that provided individual apartments for families, offering more privacy than the partitioned Nissen huts.[58] However, the constant pulse of national tensions surrounding migration and ethnicity continued into this new era of accommodation at the Villawood site. Tensions emerged through the ways in which the then embedded 'Australian Dream' was packaged and promoted to migrants due to departmental objectives to provide better accommodation as an incentive for migrants to come to Australia.

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[57] See: James Jupp, ed., *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, It's People and their Origins,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism;* Sara Wills, "Between the Hostel and the Detention Centre: Possible Trajectories of Migrant Pain and Shame in Australia."

[58] "Mr Bury Opens Westbridge," *Company Tidings* 7, no. 5, (October 1968): 3.

4.4 The Design of the Westbridge Hostel, 1968–1970

According to the Australian Heritage Database, the Villawood Migrant Hostel's new residential buildings, renamed the Westbridge Hostel, were examples of architecture associated with the 'Sydney School.'[59] This heavily debated descriptor for primarily private residential work influenced by late modernism, produced in Sydney in the 1960s to the 1970s, drew on British Brutalism and Scandinavian humanistic approaches.[60] Whether it is possible to link the new hostel buildings to the 'Sydney School' group is highly debatable, due to the fact that the architectural features composing this post-built classification are tenuous and open to interpretation and have been the subject of many disputes within the discipline.[61] The term 'Sydney School' is attributed to an article published by Milo Dunphy in 1962 and similarities in regional styles in Australia had been articulated previously through the writing of Robin Boyd.[62] However, as Catherine Lassen and Julie Willis argue, the 'Sydney School' as a classification does not gain traction until it is used by prominent architectural historian Jennifer Taylor, even

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[59] Australian Heritage Database, "Villawood Immigration Centre, Miowera Rd, Villawood, NSW, Australia," last modified July 7, 2011, http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;search=place_name%3DVillawood%2520Immigration%2520Centre%3Bkeyword_PD%3Don%3Bkeyword_SS%3Don%3Bkeyword_PH%3Don%3Blatitude_1dir%3DS%3Blongitude_1dir%3DE%3Blongitude_2dir%3DE%3Blatitude_2dir%3DS%3Bin_region%3Dpart;place_id=102671

[60] The emergence and evolution of the term 'Sydney School' is outlined in Lassen and Willis, "The Sydney School," 103–120.

[61] For discussions on the label see: Stanislaus Fung, "The 'Sydney School'?" *Transitions* 4, no.3 (July 1985): 38–43; Milo Dunphy, "The Growth of an Australian architecture," *Hemisphere: An Asian Australian Magazine*, (Aug. 1962): 19-20; David Saunders, "Sydney" *Architect* (Melbourne) 3, no.4 (September-October 1969); Winsome Callister "Dealing with the 'Sydney School': Perspectives on Australian Architecture in the 1950s and 1960s," *Transitions*, 21 (Sept. 1987): 6–12.

[62] Milo Dunphy, "The Growth of an Australian architecture;" Robin Boyd, "A New Eclecticism?" *The Architectural Review Magazine* CX, no. 657 (Sep 1951).

though she does not explicitly define it.[63] In the discourse about what the architecture profession was identifying as the 'Sydney School,' there was an effort to establish an idealised Australian version of modernism based on region and climate, achievable through designed suburban housing provision for affluent clients. It is through Jennifer Taylor's polemical 1972 book on regional identity, *An Australian Identity: Houses for Sydney 1953–1963*, that a debatable east-coast regional style is connected to a framing of a national style in residential architecture.[64]

Nevertheless, the redevelopment of the Villawood Migrant Hostel sits in a wider context of residential architecture that includes the climatic-responsive, architect-designed, suburban project houses produced by Pettit + Sevitt in Sydney and forms of institutional housing, including projects Bunning & Madden's design for the Housing Commission of New South Wales, including the two inter-locking blocks of flats at Phyllis Burke Court in 1968. As well as student accommodation with International House, a residential college at the University of Sydney (1967) and the previously mentioned housing at the Australian National University (1961).[65] Whether Bunning & Madden's hostel additions share direct stylistic and formal aims with the distinguished private residential architecture from the era is highly questionable when considered in this wider housing context. However, the Department of Immigration and CHL's

[63] Lassen and Willis, "The Sydney School," 103–120.
[64] Taylor, *An Australian Identity.*
[65] For Project Houses see O'Callaghan, *Designer Suburbs*; Judith O'Callaghan, "'Individuality' and the Standardised House: The Display Home Interiors of Australian Builder Pettit & Sevitt, 1961–1978," *Interiors: Design, Architecture, Culture* 8, no. 3 (2017): 141–158; Bunning & Madden, *On Campus Terrace Housing.*

employment of nationally recognised architectural firms to improve migrant hostels offers a connection to how the Commonwealth government's approach to housing was mediated by the profession of architecture. The merging and layering of spatial types on the Villawood site, from military camps to more cordial interpretations of domestic space, prompts questions about how the political apparatuses of the nation-state frames hospitality through housing and how these questions relate to private and institutional residential architecture.

Although the common architectural features that identify Villawood with the 'Sydney School' are few, the fact that a distinctive, domestic architectural style was emerging in Sydney at that time is helpful for highlighting the concurrent development of a domestic vocabulary in which the architectural profession, including prominent Sydney architects, was invested. In short, during the same period as Bunning & Madden's design for Villawood, a national style embedded in the detached house that was emerging from Sydney was being discussed. Material sensibilities at the new Westbridge Migrant Hostel could be linked with wider trends of private residential design, including the use of oatmeal face-brick walls and tiled skillion roofs with manganese coloured terracotta tiles.[66] Arguably, though these material palettes were evident in housing trends nationwide, Bunning & Madden selected this colour scheme to give the project "a quiet and restful atmosphere."[67] The larger housing blocks of Stage 1 were stepped to respond to existing land contours and the modular planning and

[66] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden,* 68–71.
[67] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*, 68–71.

materiality aligned with the broader residential trends of a regionally informed post-war modernism. The housing blocks of Stage 3 were similar in material and form to those of Stage 1 and consisted of stepped-back modules arranged in long formations of up to eight modules per building, with each module containing four individual apartments, two on each floor.[68] It is difficult to ascertain the exact dimensions of each apartment off the plans but according to the Graham Brooks and Associates heritage report of 2001 they were "characteristically small in dimension, with relatively low ceilings and narrow passages."[69] In Stage 3, flat roofs provided a varied aesthetic and due to the need for quick construction of both stages, structurally the blocks had brick walls, concrete floors and traditional timber roof frames (see figure 4.11 for Stage 3 plan). The exposed timber, both internally and externally, was left in its natural colour and there was a use of exposed circulation with external stairwells. It is conceivable that these design decisions were equally determined by cost reduction. The use of a muted and earthy material palette with possible links to features of the Australian landscape, demonstrates an aesthetic template with similarities to broader architectural considerations emerging in Sydney residential practice in the 1960s (see figures 4.12 and 4.13). This residential work included the suburban architect-designed Project Houses that surged in popularity in Sydney during the 1960s and 1970s, with their modernist designs responding directly to site conditions and which frequently featured skillion or flat roofs.[70] Building on display-home marketing strategies of the earlier Lendlease programs, the firm of Pettit + Sevitt became the leading practitioners of architect-

[68] Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*, 48.
[69] Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*, 46.
[70] O'Callaghan, *Designer Suburbs*, 98–129.

designed Project Houses. Responding to the increasing demand for owner-occupied housing and the pursuit of the 'Australian Dream' updated with a modernist sensibility and appliances, Pettit + Sevitt produced modular, modernist templates for new suburbs in northern Sydney.[71]

The materiality and colour scheme of Bunning & Madden's new blocks aligns with trends informing other types of residential housing in the period of construction, including individually designed houses for affluent clients and the modular templates for the project houses. However, Villawood Migrant Hostel is a type of institutional housing marked by collective residence and government involvement and planning similarities can also been seen in other forms of institutional accommodation, namely public housing. There is minimal scholarship addressing the architecture of the Housing Commission of New South Wales's public housing projects in Sydney and it was beyond the scope of the project to thoroughly investigate these design trajectories through in-depth archival work.[72] However, during the 1960s the Commission began testing out new housing forms, including the medium-density, three-storey, walk-up flats (apartments) seen in South Coogee in the late 1960s.[73] Additionally, aspects of the planning seen in the Villawood Migrant Hostel's redevelopment intersect with planning

[71] O'Callaghan, *Designer Suburbs,* 103–116.
[72] Key works include Briggs, "Public Housing in Sydney;" Allport, "Castles of Security: The New South Wales Housing Commission and Home Ownership 1941–61;" Margalit "Reasoning to Believe: Aspects of Modernity in Sydney Architecture and Planning 1900–1960;" Troy, *Accommodating Australians;* Pettigrew, *Homes for the People: Public Housing in New South Wales, 1940–1990*.
[73] Phillip James Briggs, "Public Housing in Sydney," 155–157.

considerations in immediate post-war, low-density housing estates (often detached houses), which adopted 'neighbourhood' planning principles.

Phillip James Briggs's 1972 PhD dissertation, "Public Housing in Sydney, Past, Present and Future," which offers a thorough investigation of the intersection of housing policy with planning and architecture, suggests that there was no mention of a definite design policy in the Housing Commission of New South Wales reports from its early years of operations (approx. 1942 to 1950).[74] However, there were planning considerations stipulated in the early schemes and Briggs argues that on site where the Commission acquired land and where there was no existing planning scheme, approximately 10% of the site was set aside for playgrounds, landscaped areas and sites for public facilities. He argues that these estate planning arrangements often followed Radburn models:

> In both the large and small estate, consideration was given to the provision of schools, 'community centres', shopping facilities, baby health clinics and other essential community services, and the location of these services in order that they might best serve the needs of tenants.[75]

Commonwealth migrant hostels often included community facilities akin to local neighbourhood centres. At Villawood there was a general store, and in 1979, a dedicated child care and education centre was built on site.[76] Along with provision for child care, in the 1970s additional services including health, and dedicated housing officers who

[74] Phillip James Briggs, "Public Housing in Sydney."
[75] Phillip James Briggs, "Public Housing in Sydney," 146.
[76] Graham Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*, 50.

helped residents with housing opportunities once they left Villawood were introduced in Commonwealth Migrant hostels. These facilities and services are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining." As outlined earlier in the chapter, Bunning & Madden had completed work for the Housing Commission of New South Wales during the 1960s as well as student accommodation for the higher education sector that experimented with courtyard planning arrangements on a mass housing scale, which may have influenced the design and siting of the new buildings at Villawood.

The redevelopment of selected areas of the Villawood Migrant Hostel highlights a tension on-site between institutional forms of accommodation, explicitly visible in the use of ex-military huts as well as the provision of food, and forms of domestic accommodation that aim to convey comfort and individual privacy for families. By looking at Bunning & Madden's drawings for part of Stage 1, the planning in part is generated from the existing site arrangements.[77] Using the existing huts as a basis, the design evolution from sketch design to diagramming to site layout indicates a possible grouping and extraction of the individual huts into double-storey apartment blocks (see figures 4.14 and 4.16).[78] Part of Stage 1, which consisted of twelve two-story blocks planned around courtyards, was repurposed into part of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre during the late 1980s when the hostel ceased operating (see figures 4.17 and 4.18). According to the firm's project statement for the Villawood/Westbridge

[77] NSWSL: ONCY 74, ON 296.
[78] NSWSL: ONCY 74, ON 296.

Hostel in their catalogue of works, the new blocks would generate a residential neighbourhood of communal living:

> In contrast to the old barrack type hut accommodation the new buildings have been grouped in self-contained neighbourhoods to create a pleasant quiet environment. This has been achieved by arranging residential buildings in two-storey blocks to enclose spacious landscaped courtyards […]. [79]

In keeping with the nationwide program's broader aims to improve hostel sites, the new additions aimed to foster a distinction between temporary hostel living and housing as well as aiming to avoid an institutional appearance.[80] A less utilitarian look was encouraged through landscaping and played an important part in managing refurbished hostels throughout Australia. However, at Villawood, select Nissen, SPAAR, and Quonset huts remained in use for individual persons until 1984, and this type of accommodation retained the title of Villawood Migrant Hostel title (see figures 4.20 and 4.21).

At Villawood, the surrounding grounds were vast, and landscaping drew on impressions associated with Australian regional sensibilities including a heavy use of lawned courtyards lined with Eucalyptus trees. Although difficult to confirm whether in fact implemented, in the Bunning &Madden archives there is a tree planting schedule with native and exotic plant variants (see figure 4.19). Hostel grounds were maintained

[79] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*, 68–69.
[80] "Migrant Hostels too like Intuitions in Design," *The Canberra Times*, September 21, 1966.

by CHL employed gardeners and both the gardens and the gardeners sporadically featured in CHL's in-house staff magazine *Company's Tidings*. In addition, the company ran an annual gardening competition between hostels.[81] Covered walkways framed small, shaded courtyards and surrounding the blocks were spreading lawns and trees along with designated play areas for children.[82] The entire grounds were, possibly at one time, gated with a waist-high fence. In the new hostel apartments, individual kitchen facilities were absent, and the new blocks were connected to communal dining and laundry areas by covered walkways. Meals were generated in the existing kitchens in the Quonset huts renovated with updated industrial appliances and delivered in cafeteria-style arrangements. Depending on the number of residents, the entire Villawood complex had several kitchens working with a choice of various set menus.[83] These spaces warrant their own investigation and are discussed in detail in Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining."

[81] Example: *Company Tidings* featured Miachael Gorenko, landscaper at the Maribyrnong Hostel, Vic: CHL, *Company Tidings* 6, no. 2 (April 1967), and 13 no. 3, (June 1974).
[82] Photographs: Dept. Immigration, "Westbridge/Villawood Migrant Hostel,"1973, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/198-229.
[83] Dept. of the Interior, "Inter-departmental Committee for Accommodation at Reception, Holding and Training Centres & Hostels," 1949, NAA: A434, 1949/3/18017; Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited NSW," 1976-1978, NAA: A4340, MR 1/164 22; Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel.*

The new Westbridge Hostel featured in *Company Tidings,* the bi-monthly, in-house magazine for CHL. This publication continued when CHL changed its name in 1978 to Commonwealth Accommodation & Catering Services.[84] Throughout *Company Tidings'* publication history, Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel was regularly featured as it was one of Australia's largest hostels and contained the central kitchen preparation for all hostels in the Sydney area, including a butchery and a bakery.[85] In addition, it contained the works depot for the Sydney area, storing building supplies for minor repairs and additional industrial laundries. The in-house magazine reported on the nationwide program to improve on-arrival accommodation and amenities, offering updates on the design, construction and reception of renovations across hostel sites. These updates consistently refer to the 'New-Look' or the 'Modern-Style' of new hostels, signifying the importance of the company's effort to improve accommodation standards (see figure 4.22).[86] In October 1967, the magazine reported on the new accommodation at Nunawading in Victoria:

> The new look in migrant hostels, which we first talked about in *Company Tidings* a year ago, is now well under way. In July this year another group of attractive modern buildings to house 200 migrants was opened at

[84] "Mr Bury Opens Westbridge," 3; CHL, *Company Tidings: Staff Journal of Commonwealth Hostels Limited* (North Sydney: The firm), 1966–1973.
[85] Example: "Villawood Visited," in *Company Tidings* 3, no.2 (October 1964): 6.
[86] Examples: "The New look in Commonwealth Hostels," *Company Tidings* 5, no. 3, (June 1966): 10; "Migrant Hostels, Modern Style," *Company Tidings* 5, no. 5, (October 1966): 3; "The Winds of Change," *Company Tidings* 6, no. 6, (December 1967): 7; "'New Look' for hostels," *Company Tidings* 7, no. 1, (February 1968): 6-7; "The 'New Look' in Hostels" *Company Tidings* 7, no. 4, (August 1968): 5.

> Nunawading and the first residents have expressed themselves more than happy with their comfortable surroundings.[87]

Interestingly, the new housing blocks geared for families also featured in the self-published catalogue of Bunnings & Madden's work, indicating that the commission was considered reasonably significant by the firm.

The new buildings increased domestic privacy for families with units consisting of one main lounge or bed-sitting room and one or two additional bedrooms.[88] All rooms had windows, heating, in-built furniture, and an outlet from the main TV antenna as well as storage in shared lobbies/corridors. Private bathrooms with hot water in family apartments marked a change from the previous communal shower blocks and ushered in a new modern convenience (see figures 4.23 and 4.24).[89] These images are indicative of the representation of the new interior hostel spaces, highlighting the addition of new, fashionable furnishings but also aiming to convey how particularly families with young children had opportunities to personalise these spaces. The new facilities offered significantly improved domestic designs when compared with the former unlined huts with flimsy partitions, in which residents' sweated during the summer months and then froze in winter and which were often overpopulated. However, in keeping with formal considerations informing the profession, the architecture also helped promote

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[87] "Plans for New Migrant Accommodation Forge Ahead" *Company Tidings* 6, no.5 (October 1967): 3.
[88] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*, 68–69; "Plans for New Migrant Accommodation Forge Ahead," *Company Tidings* 6, no.5, (October 1967): 3.
[89] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*, 68–69; Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel.*

improved federal government hospitality towards migrants and refugees by providing a fresh modern image for migrant hostels. The new Westbridge Hostel featured in the promotional material and on-arrival booklets for incoming people to Australia that the Department of Immigration produced.[90]

The Department of Immigration and CHL produced considerable photographic documentation of hostel redevelopments that attempted to capture daily life experiences, but it was clearly created for public relations purposes.[91] This contrasts with the almost negligible photographic records of previous physical incarnations of Commonwealth migrant hostels. This abundant image collection showcases children playing on outdoor equipment, families sitting on the grass back-lit by the new brick blocks along with emphasising the new industrial-grade facilities in the laundry and kitchen areas (see figures 4.25 and 4.26). Later series document the experiences of people arriving from mainland Southeast Asia living in hostels and learning English in classrooms.[92] In addition to the reportage and documentation of the new facilities by CHL and the Department of Immigration, local and national newspapers covered the government's unveiling of the latest additions in 1968 (see figure 4.27). [93] Often the

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[90] Dept. of Labour and National Service "Dept. of Immigration Pamphlets," 1966–1970, NAA: B146, 1966/1000.

[91] Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affair (Dept. of Immigration), "Immigration–Hostels, holding centres and state reception centres–Westbridge/Villawood Migrant Hostel," 1973, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/198-229.

[92] Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affair (Dept. of Immigration), "Immigration: Hostels, holding centres and state reception centres," NAA: A12111, 2/1984/22A/319-560.

[93] "New Flats at Migrant Hostel" *Bankstown-Canterbury Torch*. August 28, 1968, 5; "Minister Opens New-look Migrant Accommodation," *The Biz*, August 29, 1968, front page; "New Look for Australia's Biggest Migrant Hostel," *Good Neighbor ACT,* February 1, 1969, 4.

coverage positioned Villawood as the flagship for the nationwide program of improving living standards in hostels for migrants and refugees. Although CHL, in association with the Department of Immigration and Labour and National Service, had completed redevelopments of other hostels such as Altona and Nunawading in Melbourne, Villawood was particularly significant. This was due in part to its scale but also because of the consistently unfavourable press coverage that the site had previously received.

4.5 Conclusion

The redevelopment of Commonwealth migrant hostels, of which Bunning & Madden's additions were part, was driven primarily by cost and often, in addition, the need to be quickly constructed. However, exploring the architectural and by extension, the aesthetic languages adopted in hostel design offers an opportunity to reflect on the varieties of meaning these programmatic and formal considerations may engender. The federal government's attempt to pursue a distinctly regional character in the hostels context produces a layering of complex and contradictory meanings due to the multiple nationalities and cultural affiliations that the people living in the hostel brought with them and continued to carry. Arguably, in the redevelopment of hostel sites a singular aesthetic was assumed; one based on prevailing architectural tastes, which at that time prioritised a regionalist approach and underlined an assumed homogeneity which often promoted the idealised suburban house aesthetic that architects pursued at the time. These implications circling the new hostel additions are heightened by the institutional

and instructional framework the hostels occupied. Villawood Migrant Hostel was separated from the local neighbourhood context due to direct Australian federal government supervision in the evolution of its construction over a relatively short period. Bunning & Madden's design for the Westbridge Migrant Hostel signals an emerging development where architects were involved in the redesign of Commonwealth migrant hostels. The employment of nationally recognised architects, combined with the promotion of their new designs through various media outlets, including newspapers and television news coverage, emphasises that Commonwealth on-arrival accommodation had entered the public sphere as a category of government-sponsored housing. The introduction of purpose-designed facilities on the Villawood site is a marked change from the ephemeral military encampments of the earlier eras and presages the design of migrant hostels design as total environments that emerge in the erection of two new hostels, the Endeavour Hostel, in Randwick, Sydney and the Enterprise Hostel in Springvale, Melbourne. These are discussed in the following chapter.

The redevelopment of Commonwealth migrant hostels intersects with shifting attitudes to ethnocultural heterogeneity in national debates and the final demise of immigration restrictions grouped under the White Australia Policy.[94] In conjunction with various

[94] James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Michael Klapdor, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, Social Policy and Law and Bills Digest Sections, *Australian Citizenship: A Chronology of Major Developments in Policy and Law* (Canberra: Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2009),

educational paraphernalia, the evocation of Australian suburban neighbourhoods, resplendent with green lawns and gums, in the late 1960s redevelopments, suggests that these sites' provision for assimilatory practices were still active but coded in new frameworks (see figure 4.28). The federal government's aim to produce better accommodation to promote the new possibilities of living in Australia, while simultaneously endorsing framings of Australian culture that were informed by British colonialism reveals the complexities many migrants and refugees faced on arrival. It is important to stress that many former residents actively welcomed and found the government's provision of food, childminding facilities and language education very useful. The complications of attributing fixed experiences of hostel sites are explored further in Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining." However, the media discourse consistently surrounding the Villawood Migrant Hostel indicates that public tensions existed about recently arrived migrants and refugees entering wider communities and their future house ownership and participation in the hazily defined 'Australian Dream.' The concurrent evocation of a neighbourhood and dislocation from the local context seen in migrant hostels, such as Villawood, show how both national policy and public discourse influenced everyday domesticity. Additionally, the dislocation from local context and circumstances and immediate connection to the Australian federal government also offered architects a site to experiment with collective dwelling forms that were rarely pursued elsewhere. In the following chapter, these ideas are explored by analysing two other significant Commonwealth migrant hostels.

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https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/0910/AustCitizenship



Figure 4.1 Covered walkways connecting hostel blocks at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, Sydney, Bunning & Madden, 1968–70. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1969/22/26.

Figure 4.2 Diagrammatic layout of Stage 1, which consisted of 128 residential units, Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, Sydney, Bunning & Madden, 1968–70. Source: Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden* (Sydney: Bunning and Madden, 1970).



Figure 4.3 Aerial view of Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, Stage 1, 1970. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1970/22A/3.

Figure 4.4 Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1968. Source: Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*.



Figure 4.5 Westbridge Migrant Hostel property register, 1971–1973. Stages 1 and 3 are all visible in this plan. (See Figure 4.17 to see the remaining Nissen hut accommodation that still existed on site). Source: "Westbridge Migrant Workers' Hostel Villawood NSW Part 2 [includes 12 large format plans] [Westbridge Property Register, #047, 22.5.72]," NAA: MP1760/1, 1971/78068.



Figure 4.6 Villawood Migrant Hostel property register, 1971–1973. Visible here is Stage 3 of the site redevelopment and the remaining accommodation from the previous hostel incarnation, including Nissen huts. Source: NAA: MP1760/1, 1971/78068.



Figure 4.7 Children's play centre and play equipment at the Villawood Migrant Hostel, 1957. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1957/22A/61.



Figure 4.8 Visit to Villawood Migrant Hostel (there is a possibility this is the Cabramatta Migrant Hostel), by the then Governor-General Sir William Slim, 1957. Source: Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, Central Office, NAA: C5102, 2/5.


SUNDAY MIRROR - 29/10/61

NGRY MIGRANTS TIED TO CAMP

Sunday Mirror PHOTONEWS

Today the Sunday Mirror exposes conditions at the Villawood migrants' hostel that will appal all Australians. The shocking lot of families living there could spark off another Bonegilla riot and seriously impede the nation's migration program.

Families in debt and workless

Story by C. J. McKenzie
Pictures by Warwick Lawson

Men, women and children crowded five to a tiny bedroom beside stinking drains . . . jobless, hopeless families heavily in debt . . . sick, undernourished children, two of them with hepatitis . . . plagues of cockroaches, rats and mice.

This is how I found 1600 migrants living at the Villawood Hostel this week.

Gloria Gamage, 15, holds a week's supply of sugar for one man's lunch.

Evening meal for a child at the hostel is two scoops of boiled potato and two scrapings of butter.

"Get out"

Help

"Terrible"

Blow-flies

William Bacon, 13, left, and his brother Frederick, 15, both hepatitis victims. Their father believes they caught the disease from the drain (at left).

GEORGE WHITLAM

The shame of Australia: Page 23

SUNDAY MIRROR, OCTOBER 29, 1961

Figure 4.9 "Angry Migrants tied to Camp," *Daily Mirror*, October 10, 1961. Original article found in "Migrants Workers' Hostel, Villawood, NSW, Part 1 [15 plans]," 1948–1961, NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343.



10 MONDAY DAILY TELEGRAPH NOVEMBER 6, 1961

Sinister factor in hostel trouble

by ZELIE McLEOD

COMMONWEALTH Immigration authorities believe the Australian Communist Party is fomenting trouble in migrant hostels to embarrass the Government and to force home the Communist line of a cut in immigration.

During the last few weeks the Communist Press has carried several "stories" alleging discontent in migrant camps.

These stories have forecast trouble in migrant hostels. Sure enough, trouble followed.

On October 17 a representative of the Communist weekly newspaper, *Tribune*, was on hand to interview 14 women from Ainslie Hostel, Canberra, immediately after these women had visited the Department of Immigration to protest, mainly about hostel food.

The deputation was led by a member of the Union of Australian Women, one of those curious "fringe" organisations which surround the Communist movement.

Among the deputation's complaints were that potatoes were rationed at Ainslie Hostel when prices were high, and that tomatoes were also rationed unless a medical certificate could be produced.

Next day the *Tribune* carried a report of the deputation's activities, and also forecast trouble at Villawood Hostel, Sydney.

This is not the first time the Communist Party has signalled its punches in its war against Australia's immigration policy.

Eleven days later, in October 29, the trouble which the *Tribune* forecast came out into the open, triggered by a Sydney newspaper feature article in which a handful of Villawood migrants alleged their children suffered from malnutrition and starvation.

Last Wednesday week the *Tribune* published reports that the Government has agreed to spend £13,000 on Ainslie Hostel.

The *Tribune* does not report that this money had already been allocated to Ainslie Hostel some time ago in a normal orderly departmental procedure.

But the *Tribune* does forecast trouble at Wallgrove Hostel, Sydney, soon if certain demands are not met, including a separate bathroom and lavatory for each family.

FACTS

Here are a few facts on the general hostel situation before we go on to examine individual complaints of starvation and malnutrition at Villawood Hostel.

There are now 30 migrant hostels operating in Australia; 15 in N.S.W., nine in Victoria, three in South Australia, one in Queensland, one in Western Australia, one in the Australian Capital Territory.

These hostels can accommodate about 24,000, and at present approximately 22,000 migrants are being provided with full board and lodging.

Of the 22,000 migrants, about 12,500 are British, more than 2300 Germans, roughly 2000 Dutch. About 13 other nationalities are also represented.

The tariff migrants pay covers about two-thirds of the cost of accommodating them in hostels.

Australian taxpayers, through the Commonwealth Government, foot the rest of the bill—about £1,300,000 a year.

Since 1948, when the Federal Labor Government under the late Mr. Chifley began its post-war immigration policy, 250,000 migrants have passed through these hostels.

In that time the Commonwealth Government has spent more than £20 million on building, equipping and improving hostels throughout Australia.

In the last 10 years the Government has spent £200,000 on improvements at Villawood alone, excluding outside painting.

Since May, 1952, there have been two increases in hostel tariff charges. The rate for adult males has risen 10/ a week to £4/17/6; adult female workers by 9/ to £4/6/; and adult female dependants by 5/ to £3/3/.

In the same nine-year period, the basic wage has risen £3 a week.

Of the 15,118 British people who have been through Villawood hostel, this year, 730 or 4.8 per cent returned to the United Kingdom.

This brings me to the human rather than the statistical aspect of hostels.

Last week I visited Villawood Hostel to talk to those who claimed their children suffered malnutrition, starvation and disease because of food and conditions in the hostel.

Not one of the families said they wanted to go back to England.

I toured the kitchens of the three community dining rooms, watched luncheon being served, had some myself, and afternoon tea later, went through the bakery and storerooms, visited the child-minding centre, and walked over a good deal of the total hostel area talking to as many people as I could.

I found the families which had complained situated in one area of the hostel.

I called first on Mr. Geoffrey Best, railway fireman, formerly of London, who has 10 children and has been in Australia since May, this year.

Mrs. Best, who is expecting another child, had complained to a Sydney newspaper that food served to her children was unpalatable.

BIRDS

Mr. Best, who is working night-shift, was at home watching television.

Mr. Best lives in a double hut consisting of six rooms.

In these rooms as well as his wife and 10 children there are two double bird cages containing a large number of finches, another large cage with birds in it, a cage with two large lizards, and two cages with a parrot in each.

He showed me two of his children who had sores on their faces. Mr. Best said these were the result of improper food.

Mr. Best said in London he was a busman earning between £22 and £27 a week. In Australia he was earning only a flat rate of £16/8/- a week which, with overtime, worked out at £19/12/ a week.

But Mr. Best said he didn't want to return to England.

Several people crowded around me while I was talking to Mr. Best. Children were sent to other people living nearby to tell them I was going to interview them.

This started a flurry of brushing and sweeping in several huts. Water was sloshed around hut entrances. Several nude children were taken into a hut and clothed.

JOINT

Mrs. Best complained that when roast joint was served in the hostel dining-room, there were no roast potatoes.

"I don't call that a roast dinner," she said.

Mr. Best thrust at me a plate containing a scoop of potato and some gravy.

"What sort of a meal is that for a young child. It's all they are allowed to have," he said.

(I have a copy of a typical hostel menu which lists daily special foods for babies, including chopped beef, steak, brains, liver, creamed fish, sieved or creamed vegetables, Oslo plates and other foods. All migrants' meals are planned by a dietitian.)

Mr. A. Gamage, a former boiler attendant of Crewe, England, lives next door to the Best's.

A husky young man, Mr Gamage has nine children. He said he earned from £28 to £33 a week in England.

In Sydney he earns £18/2/ as a cleaner.

"The food here is not fit to eat," he said.

He doesn't think Australia is any good because "you have to get a ticket" for any sort of job.

Mrs. Gamage said she was not allowed to use a primus stove in her hut or even an electric jug or a toaster.

(Hostel regulations forbid open flame cooking apparatus in huts on account of fire risk, but electric jugs, toasters and immersion heaters are allowed.)

The Gamage family also doesn't want to return to England.

Mrs. Anne Smyth, of Lancashire, whose husband is a builder's laborer, has a boy, 13, and a girl, 15.

"The family have been here five months, and eat bread and jam from the dining room because they say they can't eat hostel meals.

"We're hungry, but we can't eat," she said.

"The children have lost weight. One has a nasty cough."

HEPATITIS

Mrs. E. Sutton, mother of four children who lives in a nearby hut, also said her family had lost weight.

Her husband, a former mine deputy, now works in an electrical firm.

Mrs. Bishop, who also lives nearby, has eight children, including two young boys who, she said, got hepatitis from handling stones in a stormwater drain close by.

I saw one of these lads who had a large sore on his face similar to the sores on the Best children.

Mrs. Bishop said the sores were the result of hepatitis.

Hostel authorities told me all drains were cleaned and inspected weekly.

As a result of complaints this special drain might have to be cleaned daily. Hostel dwellers would also have to be prevented from emptying bedroom utensils down the drain.

Recently, investigating a blowfly infestation in one hut, hostel officials found one such utensil unemptied for several days.

Some distance away from the huts occupied by the people I had already interviewed I talked to two Englishwomen, Mrs. A. L. Blakemore and Mrs. Bistowe.

Cleanly and neatly dressed, these women took a rather different view of hostel life. "It's what you make it," they said.

Mrs. Blakemore has eight children aged from six to 17 years. Her husband is a railway worker earning a flat rate of £16/8/ a week, which with overtime averages around £19/16/ a week.

Both these women thought hostel food could be improved.

"It's too rich," said Mrs. Blakemore.

"People get too much to eat. That's why they throw it away," said Mrs Bistowe.

Mrs. Blakemore said her two youngest children didn't like the food.

"It's too greasy."

She said her other children ate up well, and rushed to the dining-room as soon as meals were due.

"You can't please everyone."

Both women thought children should have more fresh fruit instead of puddings, which they didn't like.

Both women also said all animals should be barred from the hostel because they bred disease.

They both said the toilet facilities were in a disgusting condition, although hostel employees cleaned them twice a day.

"People are filthy," said Mrs. Blakemore.

The child-minding centre at the hostel takes up to 60 children a day from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. if parents wish.

Run on typical kindergarten standard which I have seen scores of times in Sydney, the children looked neat, clean, healthy and happy, just like other kindergarten children.

There were the same lines of individual face-washers, towels, and beds with their own sheets and blankets that are standard equipment in such places.

There were the same small-sized toilets and hand-basins. None of the children had visible sores. There were no apparent signs of starvation or even malnutrition to my lay eye.

I understand that members of the staff whose duty is to look after hostel children were upset to tears over newspaper allegations of malnutrition among the children.

I cannot use the notes I took of conversations I had with these women. I undertook not to quote them. They are all members of government departments and, as such, have no authority to make public statements.

DENIAL

I interviewed Mrs. Margaret Crossland, who was reported in a Sydney paper as being aggrieved over treatment from hostel officials after the recent death of her husband.

She denies saying hostel authorities threatened her with eviction if she did not pay tariff to the hostel out of a subscription which the hostel tenants took up for her.

"The manager and house manager were both more than kind to me," she said.

What does all this conflicting material suggest?

That people living in hostels under tension and anxiety, starting a new life in a new country, sometimes tend to blow up small irritations into major calamities.

No one imagines that hostel-living is desirable or free from imperfections. No kind of temporary dwelling conditions are even the most expensive hotel.

But against this we could list the widespread vandalism in hostels. At Villawood the monthly bill for broken, stolen, or strayed crockery alone is £200.

At least Australia is trying to do *something* for its immigrants . . . the only country in the world with such a scheme.

The sinister factor is that a handful of discontented people could fall into the trap of being the dupes of an organisation with the self-confessed aim of destroying the sort of life those migrants come to Australia to enjoy.

SLEEPING children in the child-minding centre at Villawood Migrant Hostel. Some of the migrants claim their children are suffering from starvation.

LUNCHEON is served at the canteen at Villawood Migrant Hostel.

THE "L.B." CROSSWORD

ACROSS

1. **Top sister reorganised these who win or lose with most grace; protest is to be made by them, though (9).**
6. **Measure something young with it (5).**
9. **How a German might speak of any other milk supplier (5).**
10. **Exposes the villainy of hide-out weights (9).**
12. **What was Wenceslas, and in what do you most commonly hear of him? (4, 5).**
14. **Reversing trotting horse gives some attention to a car (5).**
15. **Where to swim back in a ship (5).**
16. **Poor fellow of a Federal electorate in Victoria? (8).**
19. **Successful service vehicle in the middle of part of the pack which is turned up (4, 4).**
21. **I am in a tin lizzy all of which is sound (5).**
25. **More lacustrine English bowler (5).**
26. **Two kinds of tea added to French corn can be instructed (9).**

Solut on to Saturday's "L.B." Crossword

SOLUTION TOMORROW

27 This gives my chum tea—dyspepsia is inevitable (4-4)
28 Have about fifty to reduce (5).
29 One of King Alfred's folk, bowling against the wind (5).
30 Enact that some joint isn't on schedule. (9)

DOWN

1 Deprecation of an American Finn in a steamer. (6)
2 A book of rules in "Rinaide." (7)
3 Screenings held by this sailor. (3)
4 They finish. (6)
5 Snarling taste associated with fish. (8)
7 Grab Ivy Cleveland with this vehicle. (7)
8 Drunks show another drunk upset over liquor. (8)
11 Britain afflicted by an Irish disturbance becomes somewhat White Russian. (9)
13 Queensland town keeps 150 on course. (9)
17 A forte apartment's given us inspiration. (8)
18 Poor colt. (8)
20 Ecka aid for a cook. (4-3)
22 It's measly to have friction with a girl. (7)
23 Better offering a six-note musical theme. (3, 3)
24 Ordained before an American horseman. (6)
28 Possesses ha-ha. (3)

Figure 4.10 Zelie McLeod, "Sinister Factor in Hostel Trouble," *Daily Telegraph*, November 6, 1961. Original article found in NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343.

Figure 4.11 Revised scheme for site layout for Stage 3 of the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel. This section of the site also had remaining accommodation of Nissan huts nearby. Source: SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296.



Figure 4.12 Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/206.



Figure 4.13 Exposed stairwells, Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/201.

Figure 4.14 Early design sketch for site planning for Stage 1 of Bunning & Madden's Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, date unknown. Source: Bunning & Madden, "Bunning and Madden architectural drawings, chiefly 1960s," SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296.

Figure 4.15 Site diagram for Stage 1 of Bunning & Madden's Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, date unknown. Source: SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296.

Figure 4.16 Site plan with layout for Stage 1 of Bunning & Madden's Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, date unknown. Source: SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296.

Figure 4.17 Sketch plans for Stage 1 of the Bunning & Madden's Westbridge Migrant Hostel, date unknown, 1967—1969. Source: SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296.

Figure 4.18 Preliminary plan and furniture layout for a three-bedroom (including sitting/lounge room), unit for most likely Stage 1 of Bunning & Madden's redevelopment of the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, date unknown. Source: SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296.

Figure 4.19 Tree planting layout for Stage 3 of Bunning & Madden's redevelopment of the Villawood Migrant Hostel, 1971. Source: SLNSW, Manuscripts, Oral History and Pictures Collection: ONCY 74, ON 296.

Figure 4.20 Remaining ex-military accommodation that continued to be used for communal activities. Turkish migrants at the Villawood Migrant Hostel in 1968. Photographer, Ern McQuillan. Source: NLA: 5983212.



Figure 4.21 Remaining ex-military accommodation that continued to be used for communal activities. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1984/22A/331.

"New Look" for hostels

THE new accommodation buildings now in use at Nunawading (Vic.) and Ross Smith (N.T.) hostels have been warmly praised by occupants and visitors. Everybody in our Company who has seen them must feel happy in the knowledge that our vigorous rebuilding programme is now under way, and that the results are beginning to show.

Naturally they ask: "What's next?" Here is a list, in alphabetical order, to bring you up to date on the work now being done on migrant hostels:

ALTONA — A group of three new buildings containing a total of 50 beds will be almost complete (or may even be partly occupied) by the time this is printed. The buildings are of a similar design to the ones recently erected at this hostel, with the important difference that each of the new units will have its own shower and toilet facilities.

EAST HILLS — Work has now begun on nine two-storey buildings, each having 10 rooms. They will be linked by covered ways and will accommodate 150 persons. The site is in Unit 5 of the hostel to the south of the kitchen and behind the managerial cottages. To make way for the new buildings, 11 of the old nissens and three toilet and ablution blocks were removed.

GRAYLANDS — Extensions to the dining room are complete and tenders have been invited for the erection of new accommodation blocks containing a total of 100 beds. When they are complete a total of 397 beds will have been added to Graylands Hostel since the reconstruction programme began.

Perspective sketch of new buildings at Villawood by the architects, Messrs. Bunning and Madden.

Aerial impression of new block at East Hills: architects, Messrs. Stafford, Moor and Farrington.

MARIBYRNONG — New accommodation, on which work will begin shortly, will add 500 beds to the hostel.

VILLAWOOD — Construction has just started on 13 new buildings which, when completed, will contain 500 beds.

WACOL — A good start has been made with the construction of 10 new buildings, accommodating 150 persons.

The new living units at all these hostels will have their own shower, toilets and wash-basins, with hot and cold water. Another innovation will be hallways on to which every room, including bathrooms and toilets, will open.

Most of the new accommodation blocks will be of two storeys and all are most attractively planned. The furniture, some of it built-in, is of good design and quality.

In addition to the rebuilding programme at existing hostels, plans are well advanced for the construction of the two entirely new hostels at Randwick (N.S.W.) and Springvale (Vic.).

Apart from migrant hostels, by far the biggest project now under way is the 560-room Macquarie Guest House at Canberra. This will compare in size with Gowrie, our Company's familiar twin-towered landmark in Northbourne Avenue, but it will be of quite a different design.

It will be a three-storeyed hexagonal building, and it is now rapidly taking shape on an extensive site opposite Brassey House in Barton.

It is expected that Macquarie will give employment to between 60 and 70 persons when our Company takes over.

Figure 4.22 Commonwealth Hostels Limited, (CHL), in their company staff journal frequently showcased the new designs for migrant hostels. Source: "'New Look' for hostels," *Company Tidings: Staff Journal of Commonwealth Hostels Limited* 7, no. 1 (February 1968): 6–7.



Figure 4.23 Living room in a family unit at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1969. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1969/22/29.



Figure 4.24 Furniture layout in family unit at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1969. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1969/22/18.



Figure 4.25 Family sitting in grounds at the Villawood/ Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1969 Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1969/22/19.



Figure 4.26 Children's play equipment and grounds at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/202.

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Minister opens new-look migrant accommodation

A new concept in migrant accommodation was opened at Villawood Hostel last week by Minister for Labour and National Service, Mr. Bury.

The modern section, to be known as Westbridge, is part of a programme to replace Nissen-type huts with well-designed home units.

Only last year, migrants living at the hostel protested strongly about the sub-standard accommodation.

However, the opening ceremony last week was held in a friendly atmosphere as migrants saw the start of a new era in hostel design.

In his speech, Mr. Bury outlined Commonwealth Government plans for building works which will cope with the expected high influx of migrants.

"Since its beginning in 1965 the Commonwealth Government's rebuilding programme has gathered momentum," he said.

"In 1965, we spent $30,000, the year after $350,000 and last year $2,850,000.

"This financial year, we will be spending $5 million in addition to the $8 million earmarked for the construction of two completely new 1000-bed hostels, in Sydney and Melbourne.

"The accommodation you see here is of a high standard, comparable with that of a moderately priced hotel or motel accommodation.

Modern units

"Since 1952, half-a-million migrants have been accommodated in hostels.

"This represents 12 per cent of the total Australian population increase since 1952, and 28 per cent of all the migrants to enter Australia in that time.

"Villawood migrant hostel is Australia's largest.

It has a capacity to accommodate 2400 people and now has 33 different nationalities under its roof.

"The new block of buildings now to be opened will be known as Westbridge.

"This indicates the purpose of the hostel — to bridge the transitional period between a migrant's arrival in Australia and the time when he finds permanent accommodation and settles down."

Mr. Bury said Australia has to make itself a more attractive country to live in to get more migrants to settle here.

"We must make sure every family has work and suitable accommodation and that they are accepted without reservation or prejudice into our society," he said.

"The immediate future in this respect looks highly promising.

"Applications from Britons leaped by more than 50 per cent in the first half of this year on last year's figures.

"We must make sure the vast majority of these migrants remain with us permanently.

"We must not jeopardise the hard work that has gone into encouraging these people to make Australia their home.

"There are many ways in which we can help to achieve this objective.

"Apart from this programme of replacement accommodation, we have other migrant housing schemes well on the way throughout Australia.

"These include the provision of transitory furnished flats in city areas and a scheme for subsidised private accommodation in country areas.

"We will shortly have an expert team of people comprising representatives of government, employer organisations and trade unions, going abroad to study trade training methods in Europe.

"We hope to ensure that skilled tradesmen who come out here are not denied recognition of their talents.

"I cannot emphasise too strongly the need to ensure migrants who do not speak English are found jobs as quickly as possible.



● RIGHT: Labour and National Service Minister, Mr. Bury, pins a badge to the lapel of Trevor Brown, 11, at Villawood Hostel last week. Trevor and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Brown (pictured), received the first key to new migrant accommodation.

COUNCILS WILL CO-OPERATE

A conference of councils at Liverpool last week sowed the seeds of future co-operation between Fairfield and its surrounding neighbours.

At the conference were council representatives from Fairfield, Liverpool, Campbelltown and Camden.

Chairman was Mayor of Liverpool, Ald. G. Peciullo, and Fairfield was represented by Mayor, Ald. H. Schofield, Ald. Powell and Ald. G. Hall.

Delegates were invited from Penrith Council, but they were unable to attend.

Opening the conference, Ald. Peciullo said it was one of the most representative and important local government gatherings ever held in Liverpool.

"Despite the fact that our councils are neighbours and have something in common, we have never come to know each other well, he said.

Ald. Peciullo said the possibility of natural co-operation had never before been looked into, and there was little contact between councils.

He said there was very wide scope for consultation, and, in certain fields, for practical co-operation.

Some of the matters on which councils could confer jointly were:

- A rail link between all councils.
- Garbage disposal.
- Dog pound.
- River and Creek pollution.
- Economies in the use and exchange of plant.
- Greater uniformity of ordinances.
- Exchange of ideas on the problems of temporary dwellings.

There was a great possibility of discussing a common approach to the Government over railway extensions to serve outlying districts of each council, Ald. Peciullo said.

Total population of the conference area was 260,000 spread over a total 509 square miles.

"This is an important part of Sydney now, but it will become more important in the future," he said.

The outer western suburbs would absorb the bulk of population increases in the years ahead.

"In any case, apart from these aspects, all could benefit by development of a spirit of co-operation," he said.

Speaking for Fairfield, Ald Schofield congratulated Liverpool Council for its conference plans.

"But I cannot express the importance of good relations, and my council will be right behind this," he said.

Ald. Schofield said Fairfield was the biggest district of the four represented, with a population of 107,000.

Further, Fairfield Council had the second largest plant collection outside the City of Sydney.

The conference quickly agreed to hold further co-operative conferences.

They will be held once every four months, in February, June and October, at different venues.

Mayor of the host council will be chairman of the conference, and the town clerk of each council will be appointed secretary for one year.

Students attend lectures

Two students from Fairfield High School, whose work has been described as "brilliant", this week attended lectures at the Summer School of Physics at Sydney University.

They are Kenneth Fraser and Bernhard Hengst, pictured below.

With students from Australia, Britain and the United States, they will hear lectures by prominent scientists, including Professor Julius Sumner Miller.

Kenneth, 17, lives at Essex Street, Guildford, and Bernhard, 18, at Dalton Street, Wetherill Park.

Principal of Fairfield High School, Mr. Robert Dowd, said the boys are both "particularly bright students".

They had performed "remarkably well" in their school careers, he added.

The lecture course, which began on Monday, ends on September 6.



Growers need to improve

Fairfield vegetable growers have been told they must make every effort to improve and maintain the quality and presentation of their produce.

The call for improvement came via an editorial in "The Vegetable Grower", official newspaper of the Vegetable and Flowergrowers' Association.

"It is obvious something must be done to prevent a repetition of the gluts which caused hardship to growers in recent months,' the newspaper said.

The editorial said there appeared to be a willingness in the industry to go ahead with the association's plans for sales promotion despite difficulties.

"It is apparent a real effort is being made by many in the fresh fruit and vegetable industries to try to make sales promotion work," it said.

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Figure 4.27 *The Biz* was tabloid newspaper published in Fairfield, NSW and reporting on Sydney's western suburbs. "Minister Opens new-look migrant accommodation," *The Biz*, August 29, 1968.



Figure 4.28 The accommodation blocks at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1984. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1984/22A/515.

CHAPTER 5. FROM EMERGENCY RECEPTION CENTRES TO DESIGN EXPERIMENTS: THE COMMONWEALTH'S REVITALISATION OF MIGRANT ACCOMMODATION

Note: Figures and figure references are at the end of the chapter.

5.1 Introduction

The addition of Bunning & Madden's purpose-designed buildings at the Villawood Migrant Hostel was part of the nationwide program undertaken by the Department of Immigration and Commonwealth Hostels Ltd (CHL), as introduced in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Border to the Hearth." By focusing on two additional migrant hostel redevelopments, this chapter offers an understanding of the program's broader context.[1] The chapter's central focus is the Endeavour Migrant Hostel, located in Randwick (now South Coogee), Sydney. It was opened by the Minister for Labour and National Service in March 1970 and can be viewed as an experimental site for approaches to housing historically used for migrants and refugees (see figures 5.1 and 5.2). Discussed in tandem is the redevelopment of the existing Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel in Melbourne designed by the private firm of Montgomery, King and Trengove (see figures 5.3 and 5.4). These hostels both exhibit novel planning arrangements rarely used in other medium-density public housing or private apartments in Australia during

[1] Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited NSW," 1976–1978, NAA: A4340, MR 1/164 22.

the thesis's study period. The Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel redevelopment, constructed in stages between 1966 and 1970, produced two new complexes, separately renamed the Midway Hostel and the Philip Centre.[2] The Philip Centre featured a strikingly unusual doughnut shaped planning arrangement. On the other hand, the Endeavour Migrant Hostel in Sydney utilised clusters of radial planned apartment wings that make an imposing impression from aerial photographs (see figures 5.5 and 5.6).[3] The emergence of Commonwealth migrant hostels as sites for design experimentation in housing is explored through both the built facilities and the aspirations for the new designs as described and circulated by the Australian Government through publications for differing demographics.

The Endeavour was distinct in the new generation of on-arrival migrant accommodation as it was designed within the Commonwealth Department of Works in conjunction with CHL rather than tendered out to a private firm. Additionally, it was constructed on a new site that had not been used for on-arrival accommodation previously.[4] Accommodating up to approximately a thousand people, the design's

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[2] Simon Reeves and David Wixted, (Heritage Alliance), *Former Midway and Philip (Maribyrnong Migrant Hostels): Supplementary Assessment of Heritage Significance* (Prepared for the City of Maribyrnong, February 2008).

[3] Dept. of Immigration, Central Office, "Randwick Hostel, Sydney, Part 1 [5 plans]," 1956–1966, NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252; Dept. of Immigration, "Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Randwick, NSW, Part 2," 1966–1971, NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354; CHL, "New Hostel for Migrants Randwick - Construction and Design [Box 683], 1964-1966, NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1; Dir. of Construction, New South Wales, "Randwick Migrant Hostel Accommodation, 1861–1981," NAA: C4177, HA64/0344/B– NAA: C4177, HA64/0348/B; NAA: C4177, HA64/0390; NAA: C4177, HA64/0415/C.

[4] Cabinet Office (Eighth Menzies Ministry), "Proposals for New Migrant Hostels, Decision 441," 1964–1964, NAA: A5827, VOLUME 12/AGENDUM 387. In a Cabinet submission in 1964,

provision for temporary, collective living was aligned with dwelling arrangements seen in medium-density apartments rather than the ex-army facilities indicative of earlier hostel incarnations. The Endeavour had a Melbourne counterpart, the Enterprise Migrant Hostel, which opened later in the 1970. It was located in Springvale, which at the time was on the fringe of suburbia and near industries in south eastern Melbourne (see figures 5.7 and 5.8).[5] The Endeavour and the Enterprise share an almost identical design and the Endeavour appears to be the architectural model. Consequently, the Endeavour at Randwick is the focus of this chapter's exploration as the departmental records of its inception are more comprehensive.

During the nation-building era of the 1950s and 1960s, the domestic realm as produced through public housing was a site for innovation in construction technologies and programmatic arrangements, exemplified best by the urban renewal schemes undertaken by the Housing Commission of New South Wales (HCNSW) and, notably, the Housing Commission of Victoria's (HCV). The HCV's schemes were centred on debates around 'slum' reclamation and subsequent high-rise flat construction, which adopted the British welfare system of the mixed estate.[6] The design construction for HCV tower blocks experimented with prefabricated concrete panels and industrialised

at the schematic design stage, the estimated budget for the Endeavour including carparking, roads and site landscaping was approximately AUD £ 1,7 million.

[5] Dept. of Immigration, "Enterprise Migrant Hostel, Springvale Victoria,"1956–1966, NAA: MP1760/1, 67/72502.

[6] Peter Mills, "Refabricating the towers: the genesis of the Victorian Housing Commission's high-rise estates to 1969" (Ph.D. Monash University, 2010), 1–27.

constructed methods.[7] Arguably, government-sponsored domestic design experimentations can tie in with broader social agendas and consequently social engineering.[8] Indeed, how political aspirations influenced the design in the push for maximum utility in Commonwealth Migrant Hostels is a driving question for this chapter.

By exploring additional design strategies used to accommodate migrants and refugees entering the country, the chapter raises questions about the overlap between design and social experimentation in housing.[9] The trajectories of Commonwealth migrant hostel sites are defined by constant experimentation with housing, from provisional practices to testing out new models for collective living. In this process of renewal—from emergency reception centres to a type of federal institution—the designs drew on diverse spatial models, from military barracks to hotels and motels and, contentiously, prisons. In the aftermath of the Second World War, initial on-arrival accommodation experimented with methods for 'warehousing' large groups of people who would provide a crucial workforce for Australia's developing industries.[10] However, the

[7] George Tibbits, "'The Enemy Within Our Gates': Slum Clearance and High-Rise Flats" in *New Houses for Old: Fifty Years of Public Housing in Victoria 1938–1988*, edited by Renate Howe (Melbourne: Ministry of Housing and Construction, 1988), 123–162.
[8] For histories of urban space as a laboratory for projects of social engineering see key work: Paul Rabinow, *French Modern* (Chicago, IL.: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated from the French by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
[9] CHL, "New Hostel for Migrants Randwick - Construction and Design [Box 683]," 1964–1966, NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1.
[10] Examples of early post-war histories: Alexandra Dellios "Displaced Persons, Family Separation, and the Work Contract in Post–war Australia," *Journal of Australian Studies* 40, no. 4 (2016): 418–432, https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2016.1224913; Glenda, Sluga, *Bonegilla, 'a place of no hope'* (Parkville, Victoria: History Department, University of Melbourne, 1988).

Endeavour's completion and ensuing occupation coincided with the decline in the Commonwealth Government's recruitment drive to bolster its population and the beginning of resettlement services for refugees from non-European backgrounds. During the late 1960s and 1970s the Australian Government's objectives and policies regarding immigration and refugee resettlement were changing, in part due both the economic unrest beginning in the early 1970s and Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War (1955–1975).[11] The Endeavour's construction and operation is wedged between these shifting and overlapping immigration agendas.

Similar to the accommodation upgrades seen at the Villawood Migrant Hostel, the interdepartmental discourse surrounding the Endeavour's brief development was grounded in the aim to bolster migrant recruitment from a competitive market in Europe. In turn, this placed pressure on Australia to market itself as an advantageous destination and resulted in the Department of Immigration's acquisition of new sites and the construction of modern hostels through the Department of Works.[12] During the late 1960s and 1970s, successive Commonwealth Governments debated the number of refugees arriving from non-European countries that Australia should resettle. Included in these debates were people leaving Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile and people

[11] For overviews see Neumann, *Across the Seas: Australia's Response to Refugees: A History* (Collingwood Vic: Black Inc, 2015), 189-245; Claire Higgins, *Asylum by Boat* (Sydney, NSW: New South Publishing, 2017).
[12] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick, New South Wales* (Canberra: Parliament of Commonwealth of Australia 1964–1966), 4–8.

arriving from mainland Southeast Asia during and after the Vietnam War.[13] As it pertains to the closure of Commonwealth migrant hostels, the political background to these changes is discussed in more detail in the following chapter. Although the impetus of the Endeavour's construction belongs to the earlier era of migrant recruitment, it is important to acknowledge that the hostel provided transitory accommodation for migrant and refugee families arriving from European nations as well as from Turkey and South America, and subsequently housed a small number of refugees from mainland Southeast Asia, along with evacuees from East Timor in the mid-1970s.[14]

Sources for the chapter, including fragmented Commonwealth Government archives of architectural drawings, Public Works Committee reports and interdepartmental communication records, reveal the design strategies employed for the Endeavour and the redevelopment of the Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel.[15] Comparison of both hostels reveals how government agendas regarding immigration recruitment and resettlement impacted the process around brief development. Section 5.2 begins with an exploration

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[13] Neumann, *Across the Seas*, 189-245; Histories of refugees displaced from the Vietnam War and Commonwealth policy: Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs and Defence, *Indochinese Refugee Resettlement: Australia's Involvement, Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1982); Robert Manne, "Indochinese Refugees and Australia Political Culture," *Migration Actio*n 3 (Spring 1976/Autumn 1978): 10-14; Lesleyanne Hawthorne, *Refugee: The Vietnamese Experience* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982).

[14] Dept. of Immigration Central (From 12 Jun 1974, Immigration Group, Department of Labor and Immigration, Central Office), "Working party on migrant hostels - Part 1," NAA: A446, 1975/80775.

[15] The Endeavour was a design template for the Enterprise, the Melbourne counterpart. The Enterprise was also purposely designed on a newly obtained site located in Springvale on the western suburban fringes of Melbourne and opened later in 1970, after the Endeavour (see figure 5.5 and 5.6). Consequently, the departmental records are more comprehensive surrounding the original discussions and designs of the Endeavour; NAA: MP1760/1, 67/72502.

of early generative models for migrant housing. The lineage of proposed and built on-arrival housing experimentations starts with research undertaken by the Department of Works and Housing's Commonwealth Experimental Building Station (CEBS).[16] The CEBS investigated prototypes to maximise efficiency in accommodating male migrant workers in the 1940s. The following section, 5.3, analyses the Endeavour and discusses how it was represented in the Department of Commonwealth Public Works annual report *Works Review*.

Section 5.4 demonstrates how in the new migrant hostels, such as the Endeavor and the upgrades at Maribyrnong, the formal and material language as well as the programmatic layout of individual units has similarities with temporary lodging associated with hotels and motels. This merging of spatial qualities related to the house—as inscribed by the apartment, the hotel and motel and more institution-based accommodation—relays a tension between ideas of permeance and transience that arguably reflects anxieties around the forms of hospitality offered to incoming populations. Section 5.5 offers a brief formal analysis of the new Midway Hostel and the Philip Centre to demonstrate the use of hostel sites for design experimentation. A discussion of both the Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel and the Endeavour demonstrates the appropriation and amalgamation of design languages lifted from various dwelling types, particularly in the Endeavour, where they converge into an institutional form that

[16] Commonwealth Experimental Building Station (CEBS), *Office Record/Dept. of Works and Housing, Commonwealth Experimental Housing Station* (Sydney: The Station, no. 76-100, 1949): Office record no. 95/File no. GE/827.

additionally is reminiscent of prison deigns.[17] In concluding, the chapter discusses how the Commonwealth Government used these new hostels with their innovative, collective living designs to promote Australia as a sought-after destination for resettlement to prospective migrants—offering hospitality through interpretations of late modernist architecture.

5.2 The Department of Works and Housing's Commonwealth Building Experimental Station

After the Second World War, the Department of Works and Housing's Commonwealth Experimental Building Station (CEBS) experimented with the design of housing incoming migrant populations. The station was set up in 1944 and was initially under the jurisdiction of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction (1942–1950) and then moved shortly after to the Department of Works and Housing (1945–1952) and relocated its base to North Ryde, Sydney.[18] Fundamental to its inception was the housing shortage that occurred during the Second World War and continued into the 1950s. In an early Cabinet proposition for a building station the impetus for housing construction research was outlined:

[17] For design histories of prisons in Australia: James Semple Kerr, *Out of sight, Out of Mind: Australia's Places of Confinement, 1788–1988* (Sydney, NSW.: S.H. Ervin Gallery, National Trust of Australia, 1988).
[18] Terence Williamson, "Building and Construction Research" in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, edited by Philip Goad and Julie Willis (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 115-116.

> The Commonwealth Housing Commission has indicated to this department that to build houses more economically than before the war, new methods of construction will have to be developed and existing methods rationalised. This will require research and experimentation with both existing and new construction methods. Much of the investigation cannot be undertaken without facilities for constructing experimental buildings which can be subjected to weather conditions and other practical tests. For this purpose, there is a need for an experimental building station.[19]

After the war effort contributed to a shortage of traditional materials such as bricks and timber, the earlier incarnation of the CEBS aimed to develop technologies directly connected to housing, such as prefabricated mechanical equipment for low-cost concrete housing. The station was conceived and practiced with the cooperation of industry, the professions and a collaborative partnership with the then Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, which later became the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation or CSIRO.[20]

In CEBS records there is a selection of diagrams that show a variation on emergency accommodation for individual migrants (see figure 5.9). The aims of this research

[19] Parliament of Australia, Cabinet Agendum No. 565(b), November 1943, Appendix 1, Experimental Building Station, in *The End was to Build Well: A Half-Century of Australian Government Building Research* by Geoff Bock (North Ryde, N.S.W.: CSIRO Australia, Division of Building, Construction and Engineering, 1995), 6–7.
[20] Geoff Bock, *The End was to Build Well*, 11.

conducted in early 1949 was outlined as follows: "Attached are sketches showing how the basic shells of permanent houses could be used economically to serve as hostels for single-male immigrants, and subsequently completed as permanent houses of normal standard."[21] At this early stage of the post-war drive to populate, there was a recruitment emphasis on young men to generate a workforce for infrastructure projects and satisfy the emerging need for industrial labour. As outlined in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Border to the Hearth," in the early migrant camp sites, genders were frequently segregated, and men were often separated from accompanying partners and children. The CEBS plan for this adaptive reuse of housing advocated six basic house shells situated together with four being occupied as dormitories, one consisting of part dormitories, part laundry, and the sixth as the dining hall and ablutions block. In this grouping of six shells the plan was for 38 people. A notable feature of this adaptive plan was the efficiency in materials: most materials were to be reused in the second housing incarnation with the only foreseeable waste being the plywood screens between sleeping areas. This dwelling strategy was not conceived as a replacement for the emerging camps and hostels that were being erected throughout Australia towards the end of the 1940s, as the project report states:

> It is not suggested that this type of development is suitable for the housing of all immigrants, but it is suggested that it is a practicable and economical way of providing for single men in areas where permanent housing will in due course be required, i.e. adjacent to larges factories, mines. etc.[22]

[21] CBES, *Office Record/Dept. of Works and Housing*, no. 95.
[22] CBES, *Office Record/Dept. of Works and Housing*, no. 95.

The programmatic divisions in this arrangement were also evident in the early built camps and hostels, which exhibited clearly defined divisions between dormitories and eating blocks that resembled, in planning, army barracks and that were frequently assembled from leftover army supplies and materials.

The CEBS project was advocated on the economic platform that "completing the house shells at a later date for permanent occupation should not be greater than if carried out originally."[23] This housing model generated a simple and innovative approach to adaptive housing solutions for large incoming populations and is a historical example of the adaptive housing discourse prevalent today in Australia.[24] Unfortunately, CEBS records do not provide background information about this migrant housing prototype; rather, all that is provided is basically a construction schedule. However, in the early 1950s, the Department of Works and Housing and the Immigration Planning Council in consultation with Jack Cheesman, the then president of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA) developed an adaptive house model for potential use at migrant workers' hostels.[25] The design is possibly a development on the CEBS protype and the search for a cost-effective housing model was in part due to future shortages of the Nissen huts if incoming migrant numbers increased.

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[23] CBES, *Office Record/Dept. of Works and Housing*, no. 95.
[24] Avi Friedman, *The Adaptable Home: Designing and Building for Choice and Change* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002); Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, *Flexible Housing* (Amsterdam: Architectural Press/Elsevier, 2007).
[25] Fifth Menzies Ministry, Cabinet Submissions, "Building standards for migrant workers' hostels - decision 14," 1951, NAA: A4905, 11.

This preliminary investigation by the Department of Housing and Works sought a model that was to be suitable for prefabrication abroad and include "immediate and residual value for money expended" and, like the earlier CEBS model, could subsequently "contribute to the pool of normal housing." Two models were drawn up, one for decentralised accommodation, a self-contained house that included a kitchen and bathroom along with the bedrooms. Described as a "half-house," the second model was planned for accommodating migrants in existing hostels where the kitchen, dining and bathroom facilities were centralised and communal (see figure 5.10). In 1951, Cabinet approved a submission based on these prefabricated housing models to improve standards for migrant workers' hostels. Still, the emphasis was on improving the workers' hostels, conditions by any cost-effective method attainable.[26] The difficulty of locating contextual information, on either the earlier CEBS prototypes or their later development, makes it hard to assess if these prototypes were constructed at any migrant workers' hostels.

The CEBS was set up to investigate new methods of construction and to simplify existing processes along with developing substitute materials. However, when understood in the context of the Australian Governments' post-war immigration program, this research to maximise the efficiency of migrant accommodation can be linked to wider political motivations. CEBS's prototype research was initiated at a time when a housing shortage crisis preoccupied government both at a state and national

[26] NAA: A4905, 11.

level and housing featured heavily in the nation's reconstruction after the war.[27] This is emphasised through the establishment of the Commonwealth Housing Commission (CHC), and in particular the CHC's final report, Part IV in, which outlined the need for the federal government to participate in housing, partly as a continuance of wartime control.[28] Connections between migrant and refugee accommodation provisions and the wider housing contexts in Australia has been outlined in the Chapters 1 and Chapter 4 and is again relevant here. In the first phases of the immediate post-war, European migrant recruitment, there was a political need to reassure voters that incoming migrants would not compete with Australian-born citizens for housing.[29] The CBES's and then the Department of Works and Housing experimentation with housing models that could adapt to family use after the immediate influx of the temporary workforce dissipated indicate processes of multi-use with the suburban home as the end point. In the later housing incarnations of migrant hostels, such as the Endeavour, these concerns about reassuring the existing Australian-born population about housing competition decreases in intensity, due in part to a general acceptance of the migration program and arguably an increase in housing options for the general population in the 1950s and 1960s.[30]

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[27] Rae Dufty-Jones, "A Historical Geography of Housing Crisis in Australia," *Australian Geographer* 49, no.1 (2018): 5–23, https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2017.1336968; For post-war reconstruction see: Stuart Macintyre, *Australia's Boldest Experiment: War and Reconstruction in the 1940s* (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2015).

[28] *Commonwealth Housing Commission, Final report, 25th August 1944* (Sydney: Ministry of Post-war Reconstruction, 1944), 23–25; Thomas Reginald Appleyard, *Low-Cost Housing and the Migrant Population* (Canberra: Committee for Economic Development of Australia, special monograph studies, 1963), 7–10.

[29] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*, 1–3.

[30] Appleyard, *Low-Cost Housing*, 1963, 7–10.

5.3 The Endeavour Migrant Hostel: Design Experimentation in Transitory Accommodation

The Endeavour, referencing the British colonial investigative ship, is commonly recognised as a street name replicated in cities and rural towns across Australia. This name selection deliberately flagged the British colonial and by extension settler populations to incoming migrant and refugee populations during the 1970s and 1980s, when the Endeavour Hostel was in operation. Applying this administrative formula of selecting colonial objects and personalities to name infrastructure also signals that migrant on-arrival accommodation had, by this point, become a type of federal institution. The hostel was located on a portion of the former Commonwealth Rifle Range. When it closed in 1985 the land was returned to the Australian Army, which used the hostel as a training site for new recruits.[31] The institutional arrangement of dormitory-style accommodation with central amenities both in shared bathrooms and dining facilities lent itself to military interpretations of university college accommodation.

Prior to the Endeavour's erection, the main hostel that serviced Sydney's industrial southeast was the Bunnerong Hostel on land owned by the New South Wales

[31] Australian Property Group, State Office, New South Wales, "South Coogee - Randwick - Endeavour Migrant Hostel - Review of use," NAA: C424, PRO1976/523, 1976–1988; "Migrants to lose Coogee Hostel," *Daily Telegraph*, October 3, 1985.

Government and the Commonwealth needed to vacate the land by 1967. When the Endeavour closed, the remaining migrants were transferred to the Villawood/Westbridge hostel. By then only 93 people of its approximate 750–1000 occupancy potential. Its closure saw the Commonwealth Government shift to using self-contained units for resettlement services for accepted refugees.[32] Discussed in the following chapter is the Migrant Transitory Flat Scheme, which became the Department of Immigration's (and its successor, the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs) focus for refugee resettlement.[33]

The Endeavour Migrant Hostel was an open but self-sufficient complex that included housing, dining, entertainment and childcare facilities. New migrants were accommodated in radial planned, brick-faced housing blocks surrounded by sports fields, two basketball courts and landscaped gardens. There were three accommodation complexes consisting of six radial housing blocks and a separate entrance building for the industrial kitchen and communal dining areas, childcare centre, recreation hall and and an adjoining carpark. This central amenity block also included a post office, a small kiosk, and offices for administrative staff. Meals, like other hostels, were provided in a large, centralised dining hall. These frequently contested communal spaces are examined in more detail in the following chapter. The Commonwealth Government

[32] The Migrant Transitory Flat Scheme is further explored in Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining." CHL, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited - Central - Organisation and Administration Policy - Migrant Transitory Flats," NAA: C3076, 1/1/508 PART 1, 1976–1978.
[33] Note: The Department of Immigration was renamed the Department of Labour and Immigration which was in effect from December 1972 to December 1975 and then the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs from December 1975 to March 1987.

regarded the hostel as a self-sufficient community requiring the appropriate amenities of the kind described as having been developed in the larger existing hostels such as Villawood. However, the Endeavour, like all other significant hostels, was not closed and residents were free to come and go as they pleased and used wider neighbourhood facilities such as schools and shops.

Slated to costs AUD£ 1.9 million, initially and increasing to AUD£ 4.25 million, at the time of the Endeavour's construction, Randwick was in a heavy industrialised area of Sydney's southeast.[34] Commonwealth-sponsored migrant accommodation in Sydney, such as this hostel in Randwick, was strategically located next to developing hubs of industry. In August 1963 Cabinet, approved in principle, that the migrant hostels known respectively as Bunnerong and Bradfield Park in Sydney and Brooklyn and Holmesglen in Melbourne should be replaced with three new hostels.[35] Locating suitable replacement sites for these hostels included considering other sites in country New South Wales, namely outside the town of Orange.[36] The new hostel in Randwick, in its initial operational requirements, aimed to provide lodging and related services for approximately 250 migrant families at any one time.[37] Prior to the Endeavour's erection, the main hostel that serviced Sydney's industrial southeast was the Bunnerong Hostel

[34] "£1.9 M. Migrant Hostel Planned for Randwick." *Daily Telegraph*, October 28, 1965. NAA: A5827, VOLUME 12/AGENDUM 387.
[35] NAA: A5827, VOLUME 12/AGENDUM 387.
[36] "New Migrant hostel Planned for Randwick," *Herald*, June 21, 1968; Formal Design for Migrant Centre, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 26, 1970; NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354; NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252.
[37] NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354; NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252.

on land owned by the New South Wales Government and the Commonwealth needed to vacate the land by 1967 (For a map of Sydney's Commonwealth migrant hostels in the 1960s see Appendix 3*)*.[38]

Tabled in the *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick*, the Endeavour was proposed on the grounds as a replacement for both the Bunnerong Hostel and Bradfield Park Hostel in West Lindfield, Sydney:

> 19. Hostels need to be dispersed so that the workers they accommodate can enter a wide range of industries over a wide geographic area. Bunnerong and Matraville serve the highly industrialised areas generally south of the Sydney city area. There are also commitments for Bunnerong to provide transitory accommodation for migrant tradesmen recruited by The Qantas Empire Airways Limited and by the Department of the Navy for the shipyards of Garden Island and without the Bunnerong hostel the flow of migrant workers to industries in these areas would be reduced and industry vital to defence and growth would be adversely affected. The proposed Randwick hostel is planned to make good the unavoidable loss of Bunnerong in June 1967 and its location will ensure that the surrounding industrial areas will be continued to be serviced.[39]

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[38] Various iterations of Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick, New South Wales* (Canberra: Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1964-65-66), in NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252 and NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354.
[39] NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252.

The design, construction and costs were consistently communicated, debated and adjusted by the major actors in the design process. These included the Department of Immigration, the Department of Labour and National Service, the Commonwealth Department of Works and to a lesser degree CHL. Intermingled with the departmental records, including letters and minutes, is media coverage of the proposed erection of the hostel in Randwick and descriptions of local council meetings, which demonstrate a concern about the broader reception of the new hostels. Among these transcripts of departmental communication are alternative sketch designs for the new hostel at Randwick. In these alternative propositions, the accommodation blocks are not planned in the radial arrangement. There is little contextual information about these additional sketch designs or why the radial plan was eventually selected (see figures 5.11 and 5.12).[40] However ideas about retrofitting the facilities foreshadow the gradual winding down of the migrant recruitment program and associated CHL accommodation in the 1970s, and it is possible that institutional design of these two new hostels could readily be repurposed for accommodation in connection with educational, social services, or similar purposes.[41]

The Endeavour and its Melbourne counterpart, the Enterprise, both feature in the Commonwealth Department of Works annual publication, *Works Review*, which reported on the department's major projects both underway and complete (see figure

[40] NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1.
[41] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*, 25-29; Economic context of period: Alex Millmow, "Hardly the Age of Aquarius," in *A History of Australasian Economic Thought* by Alex Millmow (London: Routledge, 2017), 175–203.

5.13). Set up after Federation, the department went through successive name changes and in 1945, it became the Department of Works and Housing, partly in response to the need to address the housing shortage. Then in 1952, it took on the title of the Department of Works and by the early 1970s, it had been spilt into four departments.[42] *Works Review* had a publication life from approximately 1956 to 1973, reflecting the emphasis on nation-building through infrastructure development.[43] The periodical showcased through photographic documentation the building achievements in industry, education and large-scale municipal buildings in Australia and through its governmental mandate in Papua New Guinea prior to independence.[44] The inclusion of hostels in this documentation of nation-building reinforces that the accommodation and resettlement of migrants had become another division of public infrastructure in Australia—rather than only provisional barracks for a workforce.

These two new hostels are always referred to with the prefix 'modern' and stood alongside airports, major post-offices and judicial buildings in a building catalogue of Australia's new infrastructure as part of nation-building programs. Presented as representative of a new era in hostel accommodation, the Endeavour aimed to provide improved forms of domesticity:

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[42] Julie Willis "Commonwealth Department of Works," in The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture, eds. Philip Goad and Julie Willis (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 164–165.
[43] Dept. of Works, *Works Review* (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1956–1973).
[44] Dept. of Works, *Works Review*, 19769–1970, 35-39.

> The new hostel at Randwick, opened in March 1970, represents a completely new concept for Australia's new settlers. It is the first large-scale centre entirely designed for migrants and replaces the system of draughty huts with modern brick buildings offering self-contained units and a 'home' atmosphere to migrant families.[45]

During the 1960s and 1970s, Sydney was projecting itself as a modern, global-orientated city, one that was artistically and culturally informed and, in part through its architecture, a coveted destination.[46] In *Works Review,* there was an emphasis on the new international airport in Sydney constructed over marine mud and billeted to bring "world-class air travel facilities" to the region.[47] Sydney's emergence as a global destination coincided with changing policies to welfare services offered to incoming migrants and refugees, along with bipartisan political criticism for assimilation-based immigration policies. Framing Australia, via Sydney, as a progressive nation striding towards a cosmopolitan future gains momentum in the 1970s after the construction of the Endeavour. As built, it provides a useful example for considering how the new hostels were presented in Commonwealth Government publications such as *Works Review* and whether they had a perceived role in advancing new conceptions of national identity. In examining the narratives that bracketed and contextualised hostel design in

[45] Dept. of Works, *Works Review*, 1969–1970, 18.
[46] Michael Symonds, "Outside the spaces of modernity: Western Sydney and the logic of the European city," in Helen Grace, et al., *Home/world: space, community and marginality in Sydney's west* (Annandale, N.S.W.: Pluto Press, 1997), 67; Paul Hogben and Judith O'Callaghan, *Leisure Space: The Transformation of Sydney*, 1945–1970 (New South Publishing, Sydney, 2014); Jill Roe, *Twentieth Century Sydney: Studies in Urban and Social history* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger in association with the Sydney History Group, 1980).
[47] Dept. of Works, *Works Review*, 1969–1970, 3.

publications such as *Works Review*, it is possible to consider how hostel architecture was used to promote Australia as a destination built anew.

From Housing Shortages to Better Accommodation Standards

Paralleling the overhaul of existing hostel sites such as Villawood, the construction of the Endeavour was also fuelled by concerns emerging within the government about Australia's ability to recruit European migrants.[48] The drafting process and publication of reports produced by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works in relation to the construction of the two new hostels in Randwick, Sydney and in Springvale, Melbourne, outline the reasons for the need for an improved accommodation standard.[49] On the evidence of experiences in the recruitment of migrants from the competitive conditions in Europe, the reports assert that the quality of accommodation available to migrants on arrival in Australia was, with acceleration, vital to the success of its long-term population growth.[50]

[48] See Chapter 4, "Homes in the Sun."
[49] The Enterprise hostel built at Springvale had minor variations but was almost identical in the design to the Endeavour: Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Springvale Victoria* (Canberra: Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1964-65-66); Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick, New South Wales*; NAA: MP1760/1, 67/72502.
[50] Public Works, *Report Relating to Migrant Hostel at Springvale* (1966), 5–7; Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*, 20.

The Springvale report stated: "Growing prosperity, rising social standards and a high level of employment existed in most of the main European countries that migrants were being recruited from."[51] This was in contrast to the political and economic conditions which stimulated migration immediately after the Second World War. It is suggested repeatedly in the drafting surrounding these committee reports that if Australia was to continue to attract and retain migrants in light of these global economic developments, the standard of transitory accommodation must be progressively improved.[52] And this was notwithstanding the fact that the already completed redevelopment of select hostels nationwide, including Villawood, had strategies in place to progressively improve the appearance and grounds of many hostels by "programmes of landscaping, garden planning and provision of outdoor amenities" (such as playing equipment for children and sports areas).[53] In addition, in the late 1960s, wherever there was enough demand, child-minding centres were provided at select hostels. However, many hostels still resembled military camps and were notorious for terrible accommodation. Brooklyn, which the hostel at Springvale would replace, was one of these described in parliamentary reports as follows:

> Despite what has been done to improve hostel conditions and to make hostel surroundings as attractive as possible, a number of hostels retain the character of accommodation provided to meet the emergency of the

[51] Public Works, *Report Relating to Migrant Hostel at Springvale* (1966), 6.
[52] NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252, 1962-1966; NAA: MP1760/1, 67/72502.
[53] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Minutes of Evidence in Relation to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Springvale Victoria* (Canberra: Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1964-66), 3.

> immediate post-war period and must create a poor impression on migrants.[54]

The repeated publicity around poor facilities was also raised as an issue and equally counteracted with the need to reassure government benevolence:

> The proposed new hostel in Springvale to replace Brooklyn and eventually Holmesglen will remove a continual source of criticism which, in stressing the physical appearance of the establishment, more than neutralises the strong attempts that are made to care for the welfare of the migrant resident. And the more urgently this can be achieved the greater the potential benefits.[55]

On the need to improve hostels, it was outlined in these reports that it was difficult to foresee the rate of house construction in the future that would provide adequate dwellings for migrants and refugees on arrival.

During the mid-1960s the conclusion was reached that even though housing construction affected the volume of transitory accommodation required, if the migrant intake was to increase beyond the present level without a marked increase in the rate of home construction, the long term requirement for hostel accommodation would

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[54] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Minutes of Evidence Relation to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Springvale Victoria,* 3–4.

[55]Minutes of evidence relating to the proposed erection of a migrant hostel at Springvale draft copies in NAA: MP1760/1, 67/72502. Both new hostels where publicised by the government and reported on in news articles: "New hostel for migrants," *The Canberra Times*, June 21, 1968, 10; "Migrant Accommodation Standards Improved, *The Canberra Times*, September 8, 1969; "New migrant Hostel for Randwick," Herald June 21, 1968; "$8m on Hostels," *The Australian*, September 1 1969; "New Hostel to House 1,000," Messenger, March 16, 1970.

exceed the current capacity of existing hostels.[56] The need to construct new hostels in order to improve the reputation of CHL accommodation, along with the wider context of Australia's housing market, were justifications offered to help bolster public support. Communications between the Department of Immigration and the Department of Labour and National Service outlined concerns raised about the erection of a new hostel from both the Springvale Council and residents of southeast Melbourne. The council initially placed formal reservations and then withdrew these concerns, which ranged from landscaping and building design to the number of occupants. In relation to the proposal for a hostel at Randwick, some residents felt that the "hostel was not in keeping with a heavily developed residential areas and claimed its development would be a burden on rate-payers."[57] This archival material relating to Randwick's development contains complaints ranging from concerns around capacity related to depletion of resources at local schools to examples of explicit discrimination regarding non-European migrants moving into the surrounding suburbs.[58]

Similar to the new hostel buildings at Villawood, there was an emphasis that the new dwellings at both Randwick and Springvale be convenient and comfortable to help project Australia as modern, open and flush with possibility. However, equally stressed is the essentially temporary nature of the accommodation. The *Report Relating*

[56] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick*, 6.
[57] Journalism on the presentation of Parliament Public Works Committees: "Hostel protests pushed down,' *Herald*, 23 March 1966.
[58] There were also concerns in relation to allocation of education resources to teachers in surrounding local schools.

to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Springvale states: "The prime objective is to provide reasonably comfortable surroundings which, however, must not be seen as a substitute for long-term accommodation."[59] Under item nine, the aims of transitory accommodation in migrant hostels are outlined and accentuate temporariness:

> (c) not to discourage families from moving into the general community as soon as circumstances and resources permit;
>
> (d) permit the most intensive use of capital invested by encouraging families to move out into the community. Flexibility is needed in the transitory accommodation so that it is adaptable to families of varying sizes and varying period;
>
> (e) to provide opportunities for persons of a wide range of financial sources to develop the ability to make a move; and
>
> (f) allow for the vagaries of the economic climate.[60]

The report for Randwick expresses similar sentiments albeit worded slightly differently. Both reports also offered an overview of the architectural brief that suggests a negotiation between ideas of modern domesticity that related a sense of comfort and modernity against ensuring the hostel was not considered a long-term dwelling option. The report's recommendations suggest a confusion about what physically and spatially constitutes home and unsettlement. This messy duality can be seen in the architecture which exhibits design strategies that draw from domestic models defined by temporary tenures such as the hotel and motel and contentiously prison design histories.

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[59] Public Works, *Report Relating to Migrant Hostel at Springvale*, 5.
[60] Public Works, *Report Relating to Migrant Hostel at Springvale*, 5.

5.4 Models for Temporary, Collective Living

On 22 January 1965, *the Australian* published an article titled, "A New Home, Motel Style," that reported on the two new hostels, the Endeavour and the Enterprise to be built in Melbourne and Sydney. The article outlines the announcement by Mr Bruce Brown, General Manager of CHL, that the preliminary design in discussion was of blocks of two, three and four-bedroom family units with shared, modern bathroom and laundry facilities in each block (see figure 5.14 and 5.15). These images are representative of the photographic documentation of hostels as produced by the Department of Immigration and associated agencies in that they position the new designs as backdrops for daily life activities, often frequently emphasising how the updated facilities offer spaces orientated towards families. The newspaper article hints at the architectural templates bracketing the new designs that this section investigates, at interplay between motels, hotels and the house as inscribed in the apartment type along with more restrictive forms of institutional dwellings.[61] This spatial exchange was consistently renegotiated through changes in administrative directives and facility management. The Australian Government aimed to package Commonwealth migrant hostels as a short stay in a migrant's journey to home ownership. In the discussions for the brief for the Endeavour, there are debates about the inclusion or exclusion of certain domestic features, namely bathrooms.[62] In these departmental deliberations, there are suggestions that bathrooms and increased residential convenience and comfort within

[61] "A New Home, Motel Style," *The Australian*, January 22, 1965.
[62] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report relating to Migrant Hostel at Randwick*, 9–10; NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1.

the family units would help attract 'desirable' migrants. In the early years of the migrant recruitment drive, explicit racialised hierarchies informed the Australian Government's attitude on the selection of migrants. However, equally, there is an emphasis on not providing bathrooms to deter long-term stayers, demonstrating the established perceptions of what specific spatial arrangements that may signal a place of permanent residency. The absence of the suburban house's core planning features, such as private bathrooms and kitchen and dining spaces, reveal how domesticity was spatially defined and are discussed further in the following chapter. By extension, it shows how the suburban house was the ideal model for domesticity during this period in Australia and arguably still is in the national consciousness.

Sarah Treadwell, in her article, "The Motel: An Image of Elsewhere," writes of the motel:

> Away from the architecture of the metropolis, situated in suburbs and wastelands where hotels will never be sited, constructing both the margins and the marginal, the motel is a transit form that mediates between a fixed address and vagrancy, between home and the car.[63]

The Endeavour, like most city-based migrant hostels, was situated at the suburban periphery and although South Coogee is an affluent suburb today, the Randwick area has a strong industrial past. As outlined previously, migrant camps and hostels frequently occupied Commonwealth land that was left over from the war effort. Contemporary images of the motel picked up from film history tend to evoke

[63] Sarah Treadwell, "The Motel: An Image Elsewhere," *Space and Culture* 8, no. 2 (May 2005): 214.

domesticity that is frequently seedy and physical shells that are often rundown and decrepit. However, as Philip Goad suggests in his article, "A Short Stay: The Motel and Australian Architecture," the motel in Australia in the 1950s and early 60s was a new type of building that offered domestic privacy in relation to its counterpart the hotel and its often-shared corridors and bathrooms.[64] The motel's connection to car travel offered it the allure of modern forms of privacy, as argued by Graeme Davison: "the motel carried the privacy of travel established by the motor car into an essentially self-contained cellular form accommodation."[65]

An aim behind both the Endeavour's and the Enterprise's design was to increase privacy for families. Initial planning for the Endeavour stipulated that the design cater only for family units of four or more, indicating a demographic shift in the type of migrants the department wanted to recruit away from an emphasis on single male workers to families. In evidence to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, the supporting documentation asserts: "The living accommodation is so planned as to provide the greatest flexibility in the use of the available space, and simultaneously to enable families to live in as normal a family setting as is practicable

[64] Philip Goad, "A Short Stay: The Motel and Australian Architecture," in *Motel: Exhibition Catalogue* edited by Amor Connors (Melbourne: Melbourne School of Design, The University of Melbourne, 2015), 9–18.
[65] Graeme Davison, Sheryl Yelland, *Car Wars: How the Car Won our Hearts and Conquered our Cities* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2004), 99, as quoted in *Leisure Space: The transformation of Sydney 1945–1970* by Paul Hogben and Judith O'Callaghan (New South Publishing, Sydney, 2014), 74.

within a hostel system."[66] This quote encapsulates the two pivotal design agendas: one, to maximise space for increased capacity and two, to provide standards of accommodation akin to self-sufficient apartments to foster an environment conducive to homemaking practices. In 1966, Mr Buchanan, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Public Works Committee, according to a newspaper article of the time, told the House that the units should be more self-contained. He felt that migrants should be able to expect reasonable accommodation in Australia and that although it was not possible to provide permanent units, the hostels should have their own toilets and showers.[67] In the following years, as the brief was amended and debated, these questions of what is deemed adequate on-arrival accommodation for migrants consistently resurface and are often centred on the provision of bathrooms and kitchens. [68]

The three accommodation blocks of the Endeavour's final design were replicas of each other, with minor adjustments, and were striking in scale and form for a hostel housing development, mainly due to their radial planning of six accommodation wings (see figures 5.16 and 5.17.)[69] In the core, connecting the six wings, were the shared gendered bathrooms along with a shared telephone booth and laundry drying rooms. The arrangement of units in each extruding wing from the core was planned with flexibility

[66] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report Relating to the Proposed Erection of a Migrant Hostel at Randwick,* 7.
[67] "Migrant hostels too like intuitions in design," *The Canberra Times*, September 21, 1966.
[68] NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72252; NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1, 1964–1966.
[69] Architectural drawings and documentation in Dir. of Construction, New South Wales, "Randwick Migrant Hostel Accommodation, 1861–1981," NAA: C4177, HA64/0344/B¬– NAA: C4177, HA64/0348/B; NAA: C4177, HA64/0390; NAA: C4177, HA64/0415/C.

by using inter-communicating doors to cater for shifts in the number and the ages of children in each family (see figures 5.18 and 5.19). In the initial planning stages, each unit consisted of at least two bedrooms, and the main bedroom could be occupied by the parents but also used as a family living room.[70] It was equipped with a divan bed which could be converted into a compact settee for seating when the program of the room shifted to a living room and the secondary bedrooms were joined to the main bedroom. Select family units also contained toilets and hand basins. However, bathrooms were predominantly communal. On each floor of the accommodation blocks internal corridors linked all bedrooms with services such as toilets, ablution facilities, cubicles for public telephones, main stairways and secondary stairways and drying rooms. Acknowledgement of the ubiquity of the car in Australian cities is mainly absent from this design, unlike that of roadside motels, which pivot on the transition from car to room. The entrance to each family's unit came off the internal corridors. Indeed, the corridor of the hotel still lingers in its need to be navigated to get to the shower or to use the phone.

A key aim of the new hostel design, which was consistently reiterated in the departmental records and reports, was that the design was to be less institutional in appearance, to move away from the perpetual criticisms of the military-style barracks of the earlier migrant camps in statements such as: "Design was required to preserve

[70] Architectural drawings and documentation in Dir. Construction, New South Wales, "Randwick Migrant Hostel Accommodation Blocks," 1861–1981, NAA: C4177, HA66/1093/C1; NAA: C4177, HA66/1096/C1; NAA: C4177, HA66/1148/C; NAA: C4177, HA67/0064B; NAA: C4177, HA67/0065/B; NAA: C4177, HA67/0068/B.

privacy and recognise the emphasis on family living. There was also the requirement that the buildings should avoid having an institutional appearance."[71] However, the use of the radial plan suggests a different architectural heritage that of the 18th and 19th century prisons and asylums built as part of institutional reform.[72] From the aerial photography of the hostel, the clusters of radial wings around an open core make an imposing impression. Sitting in stark contrast to the surrounding suburban houses, architecturally speaking, it is hard not to think of incarceration and confinement (see earlier figure 5.3).[73]

The Enterprise in Springvale, Melbourne, which adopted a similar arrangement of this radial planning, was used for detention in 1988 when three women and their children were transferred from the Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre. These new detainees shared facilities with other residents but were restricted from leaving the grounds.[74] The use of the accommodation for detention was due to the lack of facilities for women and children at the Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre and a provisional understanding of the role of the new immigration detention centres emerging in Australia in the late 1980s.[75] However, the radial plans' historical lineage

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[71] Public Works, *Report Relating to Migrant Hostel at Randwick,* 7; "Migrant hostels too like intuitions in design," *The Canberra Times*, September 21, 1966.
[72] For theory see: Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*; Erving Goffman, *Asylums, Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, (Chicago: Aldine, 1962, 1961).
[73] In the Australian context, this design precedents can be seen in the design of Parramatta Goal, Sydney: James Semple Kerr, "Designing a colonial goal," in *Significant Sites: History and Public Works in New South Wales*, ed. Lenore Coltheart (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1989), 40–51; James Kerr, *Out of Sight, Out of Mind*.
[74] *A Worthwhile Enterprise: The Migrant Hostel in Springvale* (Melbourne: Immigration Museum, 2008), 18.
[75] See Chapter 7, "New Forms of Border Security," for a discussion of this content.

points to planning that inherently lends itself to supervision and spatial control. Although migrants and refugees, who were not detained, were free to leave and return to the hostel as they pleased and there were no explicit formal restrictions or security embedded in the design, the radial plan of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon prison already formalised at Darlinghurst Gaol in Sydney (constructed between 1822–1885), with the implied eye of those in control, suggests a complicated layering of spatial ideals at migrant hostels. Considering this was the planning arrangement of choice for purpose-built designs for the resettlement of new migrants, after clearly testing the viability of other planning variants of housing blocks, it suggests conflicts around the type of accommodation and its inscribed agendas that should be offered migrants and refugees. Read in combination with hostility in the wider community to erecting both the Endeavour and the Enterprise, these imposing wings, architecturally ripe for monitoring behaviour, foreshadow the tensions that emerge in the governmental discourse on how to treat refugees seeking asylum in Australia in the following decades.[76]

The planning similarities to spatial histories associated with the radially planned prison type are strikingly evident. However, in conjunction with this association, the internal layout of the rooms, their furnishings and the disjuncture between sleeping quarters and communal everyday living such as eating or laundry, also suggest other forms of transitory accommodation that can be used for permanent dwellings such as hotels and

[76] This is explored in detail in Chapter 7, "New Forms of Border Security."

motels. In Australia, the motel proliferated in the 1950s and 1960s and was viewed as a wholesome family destination, particularly on a long regional drive along the river, away from the city. It represented the benefits of an economically prosperous, modern Australia awash with American convenience that resulted in the ability to undertake independent, family travel by car.[77] Arguably any similarity between motels and the Endeavour's hostel accommodation was to use stripped back, frequently utilitarian domestic models to maximise space. Still, the wider cultural suggestions of a modern Australia were encapsulated in the packaging and presentation of the new hostels to attract migrants to Australia.

5.5 Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel

The new hostel buildings at Melbourne's Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel built during the late 1960s, although produced by a private firm, are equally formally striking in CHL's wider redevelopment program, particularly in their use of novel planning arrangements with the use of both a donut plan and a scattered grid plan in two separate hostels. Maribyrnong was initially, like Villawood, a mixture of prefabricated Nissen huts and Quonset huts (see figure 5.20). The upgrade to purpose-designed buildings presents a strange tableau of innovative collective dwellings with undercurrents of Australian post-war suburbia. When the former Maribyrnong Hostel closed in 1989 it was sold to Victoria University and the late 1960s hostel apartments were used for student

[77] Goad, *A Short Stay: The Motel and Australian Architecture*, 9–18.

accommodation. Melbourne inner-western suburbs surrounding the site have recently undergone piecemeal redevelopment with waterfront apartment complexes along the Maribyrnong River marketed as a more cordial, gentrified extension of metropolitan planning celebrated for its multicultural roots. When the hostel underwent redevelopment in several stages during 1966–70, it contributed to the area's transformation from industrial wastelands to desirable residential allotments.

The hostel redevelopment produced two new housing block complexes which were renamed the Midway Hostel and the Philip Centre (see figure 5.21).[78] The new hostel additions were designed by the Melbourne firm of Montgomery, King and Trengove, formed in 1953, which initially specialised in private residential architecture. Neil Clerehan, in Montgomery's obituary, states the firm "quickly gained a reputation for excellence in the emerging contemporary style: white, hard-edge cubistic forms, elevated with Mondrian-inspired fenestration and a multiplicity of materials."[79] Maribyrnong was the firm's first large-scale housing project, marking a shift in direction from the residential to educational and institutional projects it would undertake in the 1970s.[80] Montgomery worked in England in the early 1950s but it is unclear if he had any contact with British welfare state housing projects or the emerging practitioners and

[78] Architectural drawings and documentation in CHL, "Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel Location map– Midway Stage 3–Commonwealth Hostels Ltd– Montgomery, King and Associates Architects [540/47]," 1969, NAA: B6726, 7–28; Reeves, *Former Midway and Philip (Maribyrnong Migrant Hostels*;" A new-look hostel, *The Age,* February 9, 1968; "Migrant blocks will house 500," *The Sun*, 9 February 1968.
[79] Neil Clerehan, "Obituary: Neil Thomas Edward Montgomery,' *Architect (Vic),* November-December (1995): 16.
[80] Reeves, *Supplementary Assessment of Heritage Significance*, 12.

cultural attitudes associated with New Brutalism.[81] An expressive use of exposed materials is evident in both complexes with the use of concrete blocks with polished concrete spandrels and low-pitched tiled roofs.[82] The Philip Centre, which housed mostly single migrants, was a series of apartment blocks, unusually planned in a donut around a small courtyard and was the only migrant hostel to be arranged in this atypical residential formation for Australia (see figure 5.22).[83] Although configured differently, with a scattered grid plan, the adjacent Midway Hostel included thirteen detached, two-storey blocks that contained family units with improved living conditions by the inclusion of central heating and new laundry facilities (see figure 5.23).[84] The blocks were connected by a maze of covered, unadorned steel walkways.

In an interview conducted with Simon Reeves, David Morgan, who worked for the firm and documented the project, states: "Brutalism was like a whisper from the northern hemisphere—the UK, and some of the stuff that was happening in America. But it had the effect eventually of making it ok to do what had been crass detailing and crass materials. Hence the grey concrete block—what had been considered as milking shed details."[85] The clear articulation of covered walkways between blocks, semi-exposed stairwells and laundry taps on the exterior walls demonstrate an interpretation of the

[81] Reeves, *Former Midway and Philip Migrant Hostel*s, 7.
[82] Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, Montgomery, King and Associates Architects, "Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel, Type A block plans, elevations, sections, New hostel accommodation Maribyrnong," NAA B6726, 7 [508/5], 1967.
[83] Reeves, *Former Midway and Philip Migrant Hostel*s, 17.
[84] "A new-look hostel," *Age*, Feb 9, 1968.
[85] Reeves, *Former Midway and Philip Migrant Hostel*s, 20.

Brutalist style (see figures 5.24 and 5.25). Again, in these images, the new design affordances are used as a backdrop to position 'staged' activities of everyday life that showcase the new amenities of the redeveloped hostels. The previous quote also curiously draws connections to material sensibilities seen in colonially informed, Australian rural life, which is frequently misquoted or distilled into clichés in national mythmaking.[86] Simon Reeves argues

> that the complex at Maribyrnong can be considered as a representative and intact example of a building from the late 1960s that exhibits the emerging influence of Brutalism, but they can hardly be considered as an outstanding manifestation of the mature style.[87]

It is difficult to draw a direct connection between Maribyrnong and the articulation of New Brutalism ideology in the relatively late and minimal built projects for the British welfare state by architects like Alison and Peter Smithson.[88] However, there are planning and formal crossovers between medium-density council houses throughout the United Kingdom from the 1950s and migrant hostels in Australia, including the use of exposed materials and 'honest' expression of function that became synonymous with a Brutalist style rather than its 'ethical' roots as outlined by Reyner Banham. However, this stylistic appropriation in Australia could arguably be linked to a wider range of

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[86] See the work of Glen Murcutt, Marie Short Farmhouse, Crescent Head NSW, 1974–1975, and his use of the shearing/milking shed for contemporary interpretations of rural villas for an elite clientele.

[87] Reeves, *Former Midway and Philip Migrant Hostel*s, 20.

[88] For New Brutalism and its stylistic legacy see: "The New Brutalism," *The Architectural Review*, (April 1954): 274–75, Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," *The Architectural Review*, (December 1955): 355–62; Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: Architectural Press, 1966); Anthony Vidler, "Brutalism: Aesthetic or Ethic?" *Clog: Brutalism*, (2013): 16–17; Alison and Peter Smithson Works: Soho House, 1953, Golden Lane Estate, 1952 (unbuilt), Smithdon High School, Hunstanton 1954, Robin Hood Gardens, London, 1972.

housing projects, including the high-rise tower blocks that emerged throughout the United Kingdom and Europe after the Second World War to satisfy housing shortages. Maribyrnong Hostel's redevelopment and the siting of the two new accommodation complexes highlights an interesting dichotomy between the site planning and the internal layout and furnishing of individual units. This dichotomy is also visible in other Commonwealth migrant hostel upgrades, such as at the Villawood Migrant Hostel. The aerial photographs indicate that the overall planning establishes collective accommodation that is institutional in its arrangement and containment on-site and not intended to replicate the pattern of suburbia and its implied idea of house ownership. In the site's planning, including the landscaping, there appears to be an implication of containment accentuated by the inclusion of general stores and child care on site, which is discussed in more detail in the following chapter. On the other hand, the interiors appear to mimic qualities associated with project housing of the period or the limited stay of the tasteful motel or student hall of residence at universities. These spatial and aesthetic inconsistencies constitute an important contradiction in these experimental schemes, pointing to the confused agendas regarding what the Australian federal government wanted the design to achieve in its built form and significantly its future representation.

5.6 Conclusion

The new and improved Commonwealth migrant hostels were featured in government publications and promotional material, highlighting how hostel refurbishment was orchestrated to bolster migrant recruitment. The promotional drive also included reports on CHL's improved hostels on the national news on broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Commission, which featured a report on the new accommodation at Nunawading in Melbourne.[89] The novel collective living arrangements, surrounded by the expansive grounds seen at both the Endeavour and Maribyrnong hostels, provided increased privacy for individual families and included amenity updates such as telephones and, at Midway, individual bathrooms. However, equally, the innovative designs also looked modern in brochures (see figures 5.26 to 5.29). These images are framed to emphasise both the addition of improved, modern-like interior furnishings as well as type of services offered to newly arrived populations highlighting how the new hostels were pitched to prospective migrants as a springboard for modern life in Australia. Both hostels discussed in this chapter were described textually and displayed in images in pamphlets dispersed to prospective migrants both in Europe and on arrival in Australia. The new types of on-arrival accommodation showcase the better, more hospitable living arrangements that the Australian Government now provided to incoming populations. The use of the modern buildings to promote Australia is seen in

[89] Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), "Scheyville Migrant Hostel," 1964, NAA: C475, 1084031; ABC, "New Migrant Hostel," 1967, NAA: B6154, 1546246.

the *Australia Information for You* booklet series for incoming assisted migrants and refugees published by the Department of Immigration from 1967 to the late 1970s.[90]

The booklets in the series were thematically divided around information deemed necessary for recently arrived people. In 1967 the collection included: *Facts about Australia, Assisted Passage to Australia, Preparing for Your Journey, Migrant Hostels in Australia, Getting to Know Australians, Employment in Australia, Housing in Australia, Health and Social Services in Australia,* and *Education in Australia* and *Women's Angle on Australia.*[91] Outside the publications produced through various departments for a professional and company audience such as *Works Review* and *Company Tidings*, promotional material was also published to recruit migrants to Australia. Up until the 1970s, the Department of Immigration produced the booklet, *Migrant Hostels in Australia,* which was distributed in a package with other pamphlets in England and prospective countries in Europe (see figure 5.30). There were publication officers based in London and the Hague, the booklets were divided into two categories, (a British edition and a European edition), and in 1969 were printed in 17 languages. The corresponding editions had minor differences but were basically structured the same. The booklets were consistently revised and, in the period between 1966 and 1970,

[90] Dept. of Labour and National Service, "Department of Immigration pamphlets – 'Migrant Centres,' 'Hostels in Australia,' 'Migrant Hostels in Australia,'"1966–1970, NAA: B146, 1966/1000.

[91] Full suite of the pamphlets from 1967 held in the NLA special collections, search by individual pamphlet, Dept. of Immigration, Information Office, *Migrant Hostels in Australia,* (London: Information Office, Australian Dept. of Immigration, 1967), NLA: RIL 2425.

revisions happened approximately bi-monthly, marking minor changes to the text and predominantly updating the list of running hostels and tariff charges.[92]

There was debate about how to best represent hostel architecture and facilities between the Department of Labour and National Services, the Department of Immigration and CHL before amended publications.[93] Debate centred on how to display an accurate image of the diverse standards across Australia while emphasising the modern springboard offered at the Endeavour, notably:

> Immigration believes that a fair balance ought to be maintained between pictures of both old and new accommodation. I agree with this, but we also need to be selective in the use of photographs of the Nissen type of accommodation. The pictures of the dining room and servery are not truly indicative of the general standards provided. I suggest that, when future photographs are required, the company might first be consulted on the hostels to be used, the timing of the shooting of the picture and on the angle from which the picture is to be taken.[94]

This emphasis on the necessity for curated photographic portrayal reflected the attitude articulated in the occupying texts. In the version produced in 1968 the newly furnished, private apartments for families were showcased on the front cover. Later, the Endeavour and its Melbourne replica, the Enterprise, were used to define current migrant hostel facilities and presented as the height of decades of experimentation:

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[92] NAA: B146, 1966/1000.
[93] NAA: B146, 1966/1000.
[94] Dept. of Labour and National Service "Minutes between department members in the Department of National Labour and Service," in NAA: B146, 1966/1000.

> What are migrant hostels? They could be described as large boarding establishments, varying in capacity from 250 to 1500. Some are former armed service establishments which were vacated after the war and converted for migrant accommodation. Others were built in the early 1950s especially for the purpose of receiving migrants. Experienced gained over the years has resulted in great improvements in the planning and design of hostels. Two new hostels have been built, Endeavour at Randwick, Sydney and Enterprise at Springvale, Melbourne. These new hostels incorporate features designed to provide for all reasonable requirements of migrants.[95]

Towards the end, this passage tentatively hints that there were implied notions about how the new dwellings equipped with modern amenities should be used and received by incoming migrants.[96] These travel destination, brochure-type publications highlight how hostel architecture and associated framings of daily hostel life were used by the federal government as propaganda in relation to immigration recruitment.

The following chapter, Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining," explores the complexity of residents' experiences of Commonwealth migrant hostels, namely Villawood. It looks at how the Australian Government framed key communal spaces and how these spaces were received by residents, demonstrating the diverse experiences of everyday hostel life and bringing to attention how people moving

[95] "Revision copy for April British edition," in NAA: B146, 1966/1000.
[96] Discussion of migrants with Turkish heritage in NAA: B146, 1966/1000.

through the site frequently rearranged the directives implicitly encouraged by both the Department of Immigration and CHL. The Endeavour's completion contributed to a network of hostels across Sydney that began to decrease in operative scale during the 1970s. However, select hostels like the Endeavour remained open and were used to house refugees displaced from the Vietnam War. The Endeavour's completion emphasised a significant intersection of political attitudes to migrants and refugees, materialising the necessity for better, more livable accommodation for economically disenfranchised populations. On the other hand, tensions around ethnicity and integration that emerged in both Australian Government discussions and in the broader community about the hostel's locale, foreshadow the central and divisive position that the resettlement of refugees arriving from outside Europe would hold in the national discourse in the following decades.

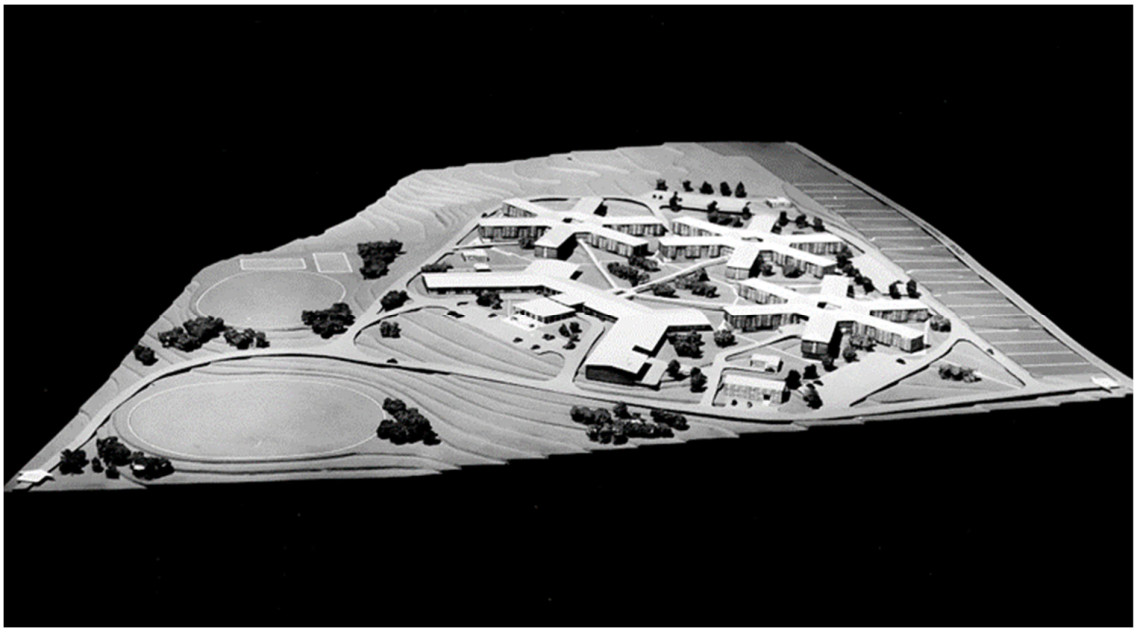


Figure 5.1 Site model of Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Randwick, Sydney, model produced between 1966 and 1969. Source: Dept. of Immigration, "Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Randwick, NSW, Part 2," 1966–71, NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354.

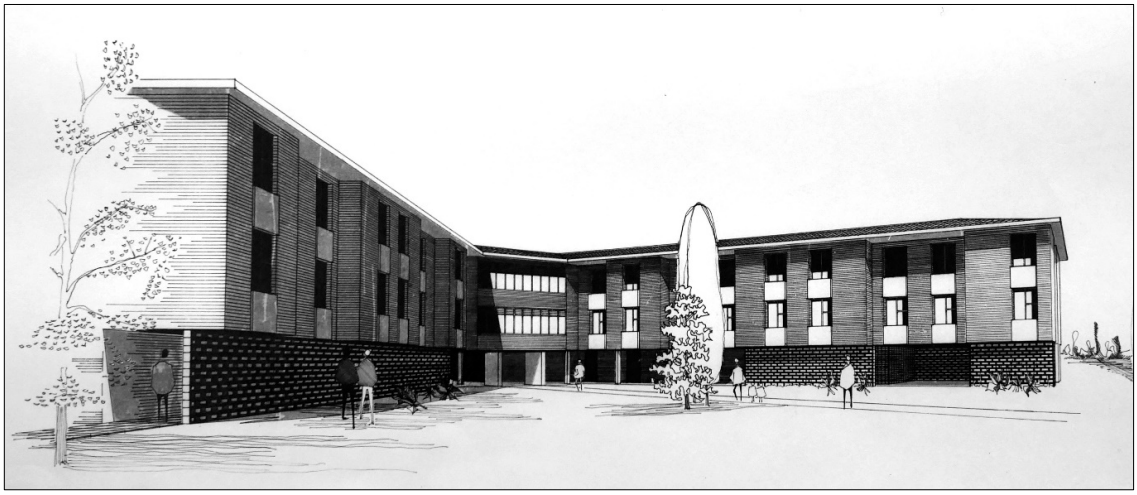


Figure 5.2 View between two wings of the accommodation blocks, Endeavour Migrant Hostel, drawing produced between 1966 and 1969. Source: Dept. of Immigration, "Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Randwick, NSW, Part 2," 1966–1971, NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354.





Figures 5.3 and 5.4 Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel and surrounding grounds, 1973. Source: John McKinnon, Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/45 and 105.



Figure 5.5 Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Randwick (now South Coogee), Sydney, 1977. Source: Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, Central Office, NAA: C5102, 15/64.

Figure 5.6 Inside living quarters at the Endeavour Migrant Hostel, 1984. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, NAA: A12111, 2/1984/22A/432.



Figure 5.7 Enterprise Migrant Hostel, Springvale, Melbourne, 1971. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs which at the time the photograph would have been commissioned was titled the Dept. of Immigration, NAA: 12111, 2/1971/22A/56.



Figure 5.8 Recreation hall at Enterprise Migrant Hostel, 1971. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1971/22/5.

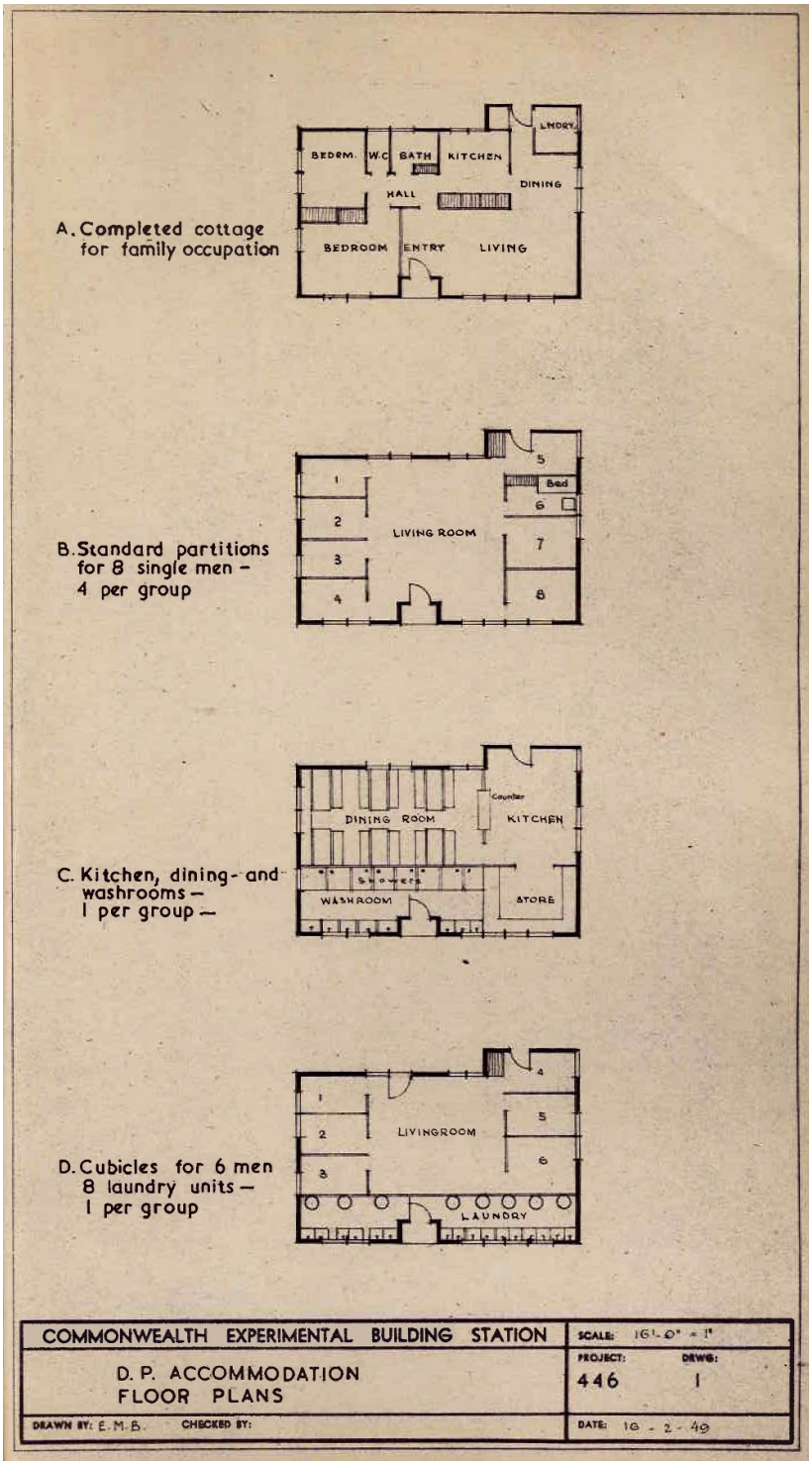


Figure 5.9 Flexible plans for emergency migrant accommodation. Source: Commonwealth Experimental Building Station, *Office Record/Dept. of Works and Housing, Commonwealth Experimental Housing Station*, Sydney: The Station, no. 76–100, 1949. (Office record no. 95/File no. GE/827).

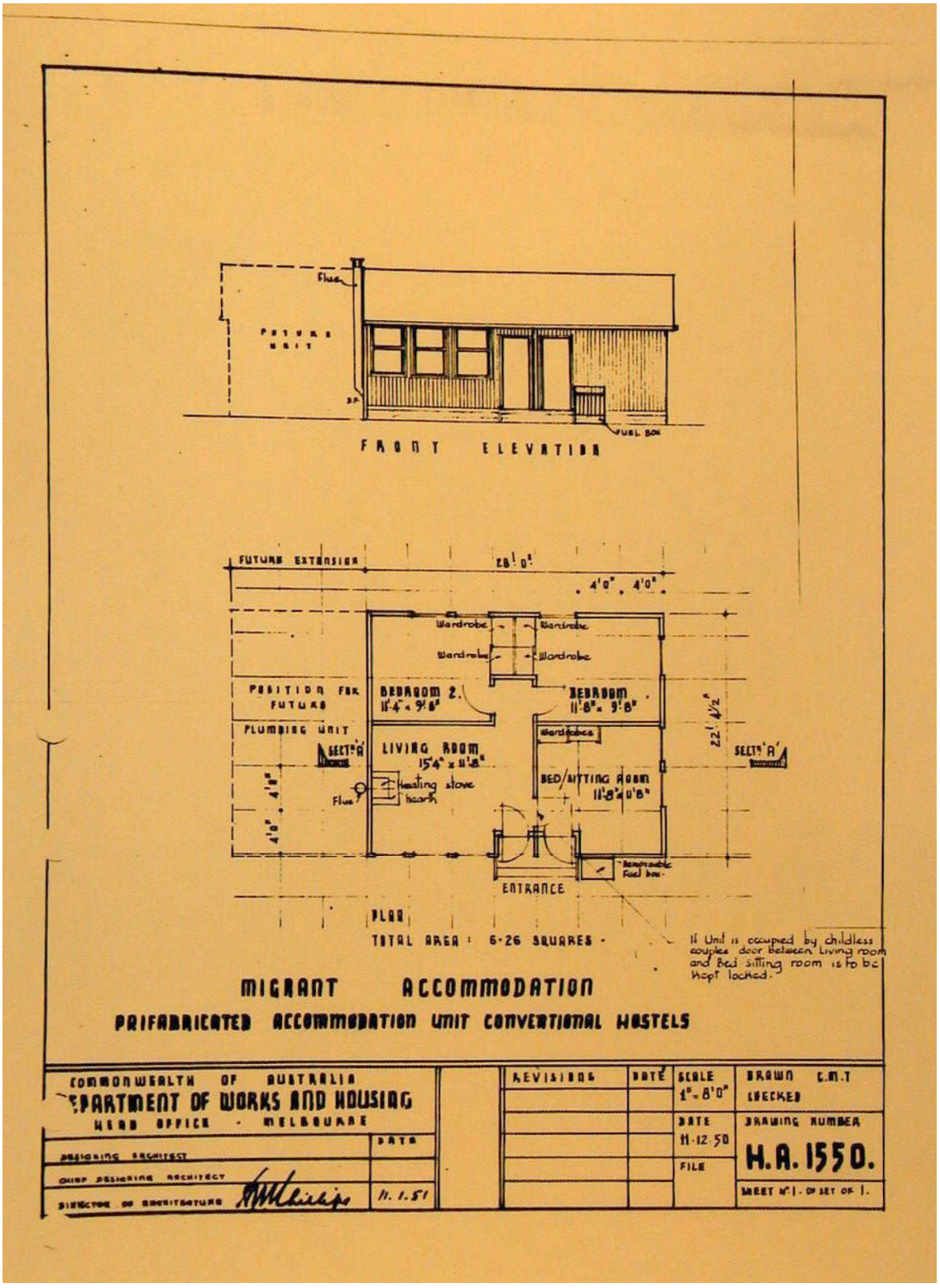


Figure 5.10 Design model for prefabricated accommodation unit without individual bathrooms or kitchens, 1950. Source: Fifth Menzies Ministry, Cabinet Submissions, "Building standards for migrant workers' hostels–decision 14," 1951, NAA: A4905, 11.

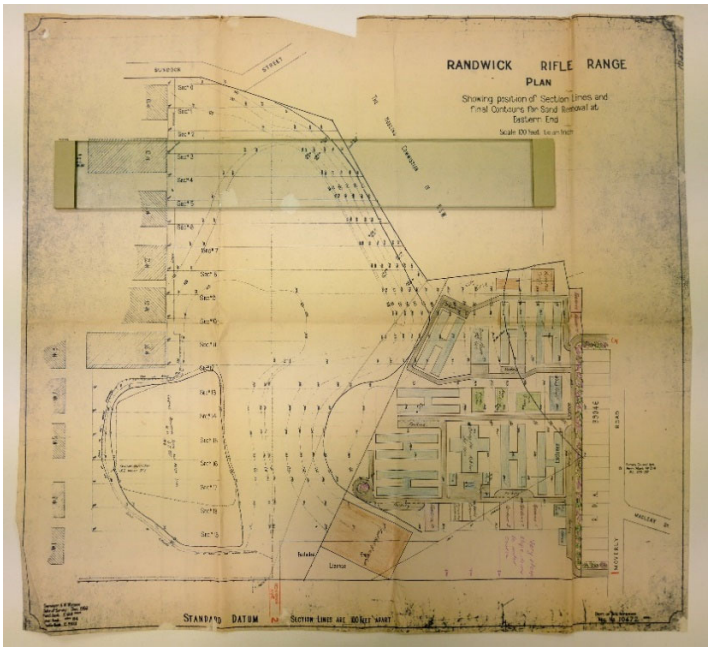


Figure 5.11 An earlier design iteration of the hostel at Randwick, Sydney. Site Survey 1956 with sketch design added, 1964–1966. Source: Commonwealth Hostel Ltd, Central Office, "New Hostel for Migrants Randwick - Construction and Design [Box 683]," 1964–1966, NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1.

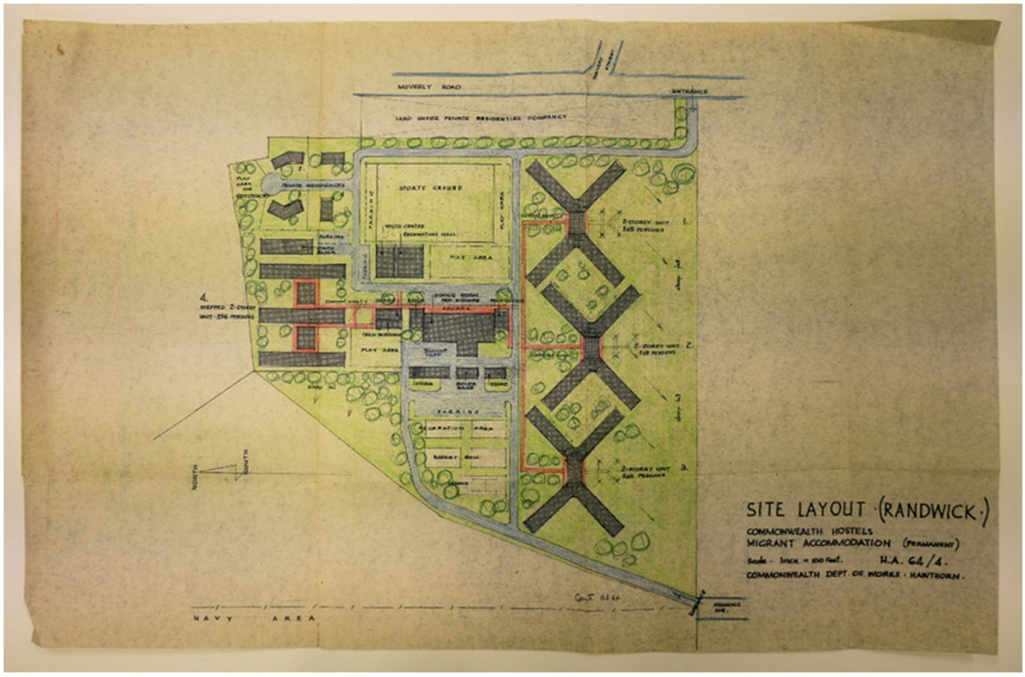


Figure 5.12 Alternative site plan for the hostel at Randwick, 1964. Source: Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, Central Office, "Organisation and Administration Policy–New Hostel for Migrants Randwick–Construction and Design [Box 83]," 1964–1966, NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 Part 1.

VICTORIA

TASMANIA



Mr. K. J. Rodda, Director of Works, Victoria/Tasmania.

Migrant Hostel, Springvale

The new migrant hostel "Enterprise" at Springvale follows the design principles established for a sister hostel "Endeavour" at Randwick, N.S.W., in providing a non-institutional atmosphere with privacy for individual families.

The complex of buildings provides accommodation for about 1,000 migrants in three separate accommodation blocks. Each block is of two storeys, and has six bedroom wings radiating outwards from a central core containing communal showers and bathroom facilities. Each core also contains public telephones, garbage disposal, laundries and drying and ironing rooms.

The bedroom wings contain family units of two, three or four bedrooms, each unit having a toilet, hand basin with hot and cold water, and built-in furniture.

Covered ways link the accommodation blocks to the central amenities building which contains dining and recreation facilities. The dining room has seating for approximately 700 people and is served by a fully-equipped kitchen, designed to the standard of a first class hotel kitchen.

Recreation facilities include a hall capable of seating 500 persons and fitted with film projection equipment, and a youth centre equipped as a gymnasium. The amenities building also contains a

Aerial view of Springvale migrant hostel, showing three "star" shaped accommodation blocks, amenities building and office.



Figure 5.13 Enterprise Migrant Hostel featured in *Works Review.* The Randwick hostel was featured in the previous year. Source: Dept. of Works, *Works Review / Commonwealth of Australia Department of Works,* Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1969–1970 and 1970–1971.



Figure 5.14 View of the Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Randwick, Sydney, 1971. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1971/22/28.



Figure 5.15 Laundry facilities at the Endeavour Migrant Hostel, 1971. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1971/22/20.

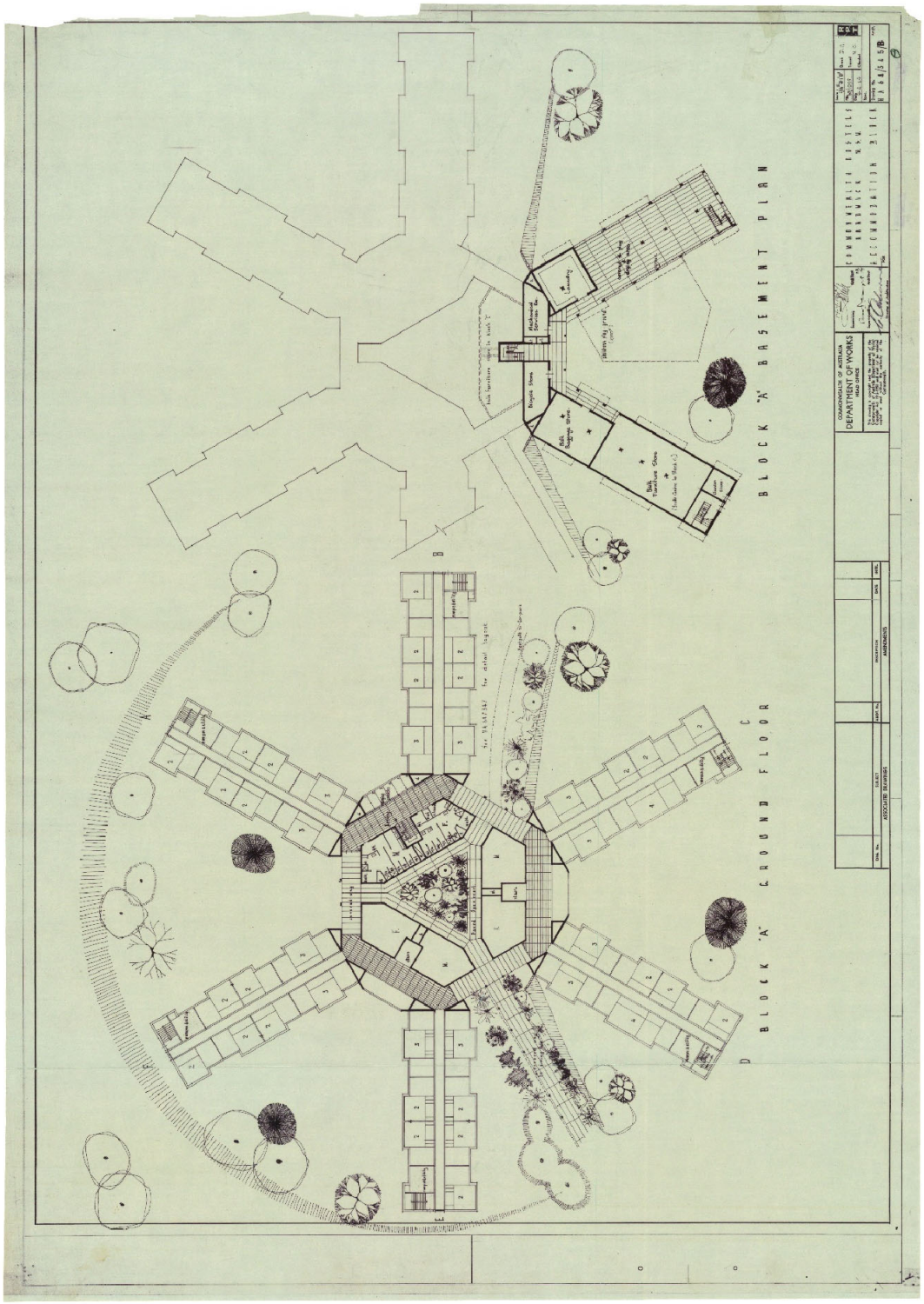


Figure 5.16 Accomodation Block Plan, Endeavour Migrant Hostel, 1964. Source: Director of Construction, New South Wales, "Randwick Commonwealth Hostels Accomodation Block," 1961–1981, NAA: C4177, HA64/0345/B.

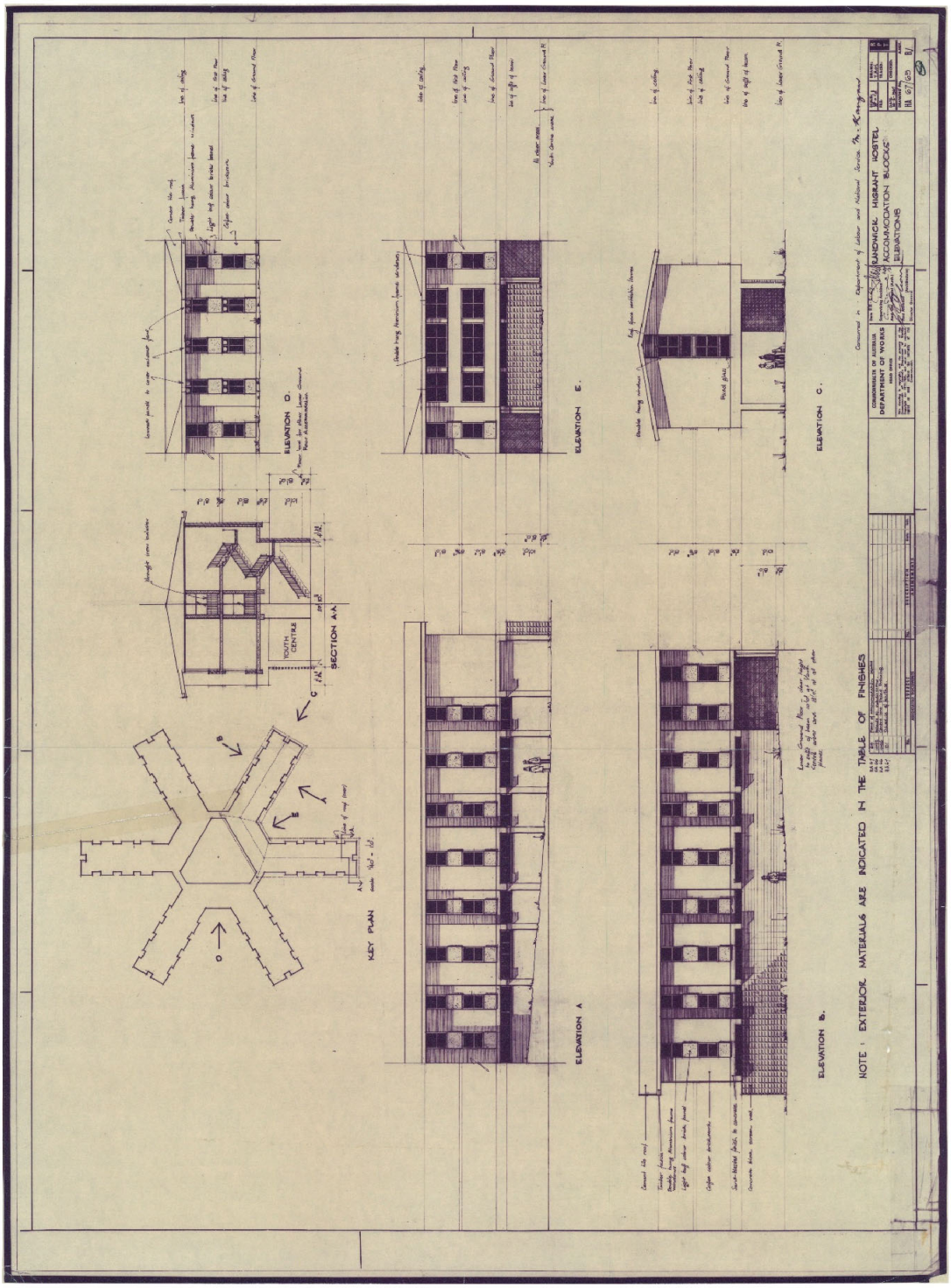


Figure 5.17 Accomodation Blocks Elevation, Endeavour Migrant Hostel, 1967. Source: Director of Construction, New South Wales, "Randwick Migrant Hostel Accomodation Block elevations, 1861–1981," NAA: C4177, HA67/0065/B.

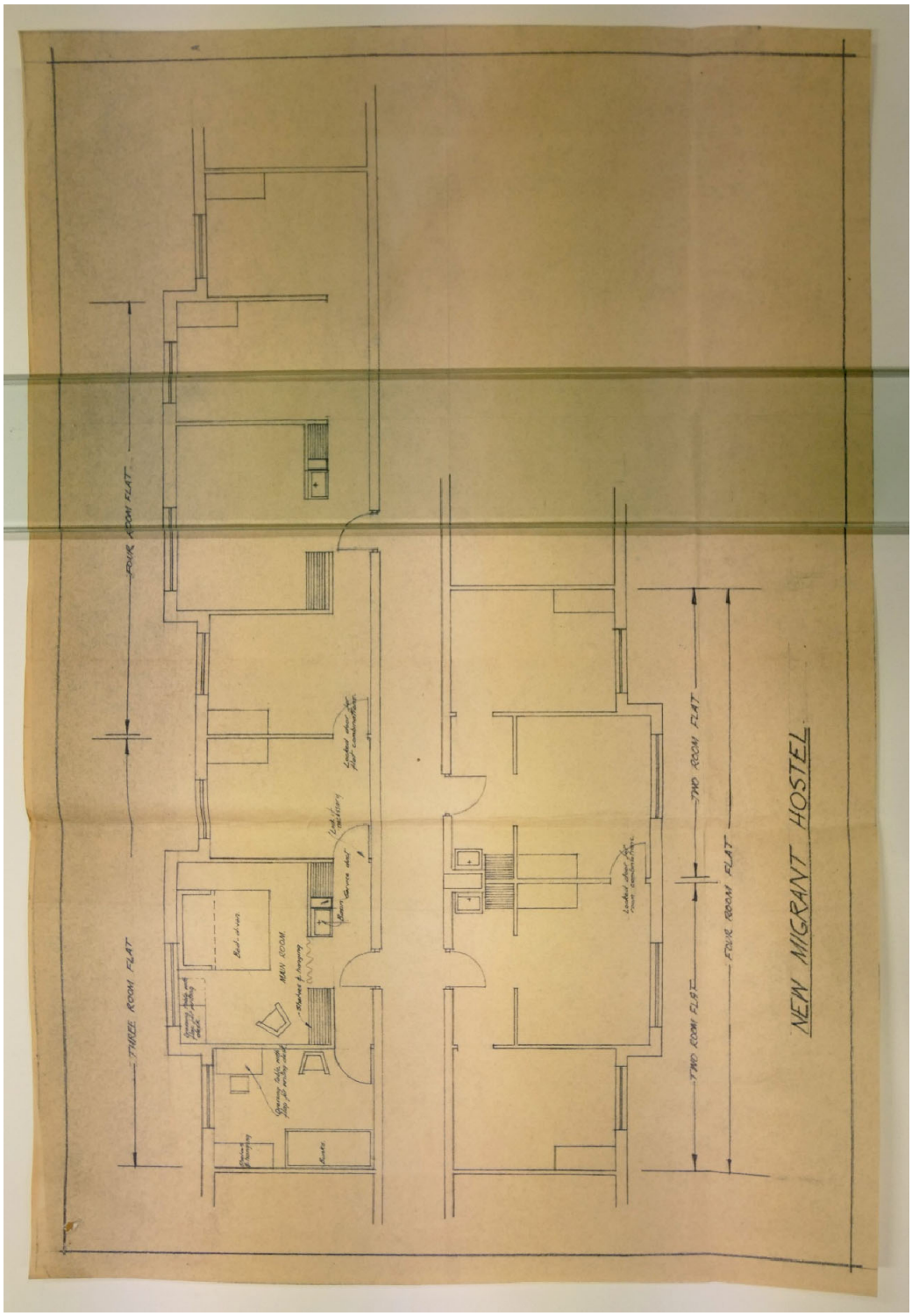


Figure 5.18 Sketch design for unit arrangements at the Endeavour Migrant Hostel, Source: Direcro of Construction New South Wales, "CHL, Central Office, New Hostel for Migrants Randwick–Construction and Design [Box 683], 1964–1966, NAA: C3076, 1/1/46 PART 1.

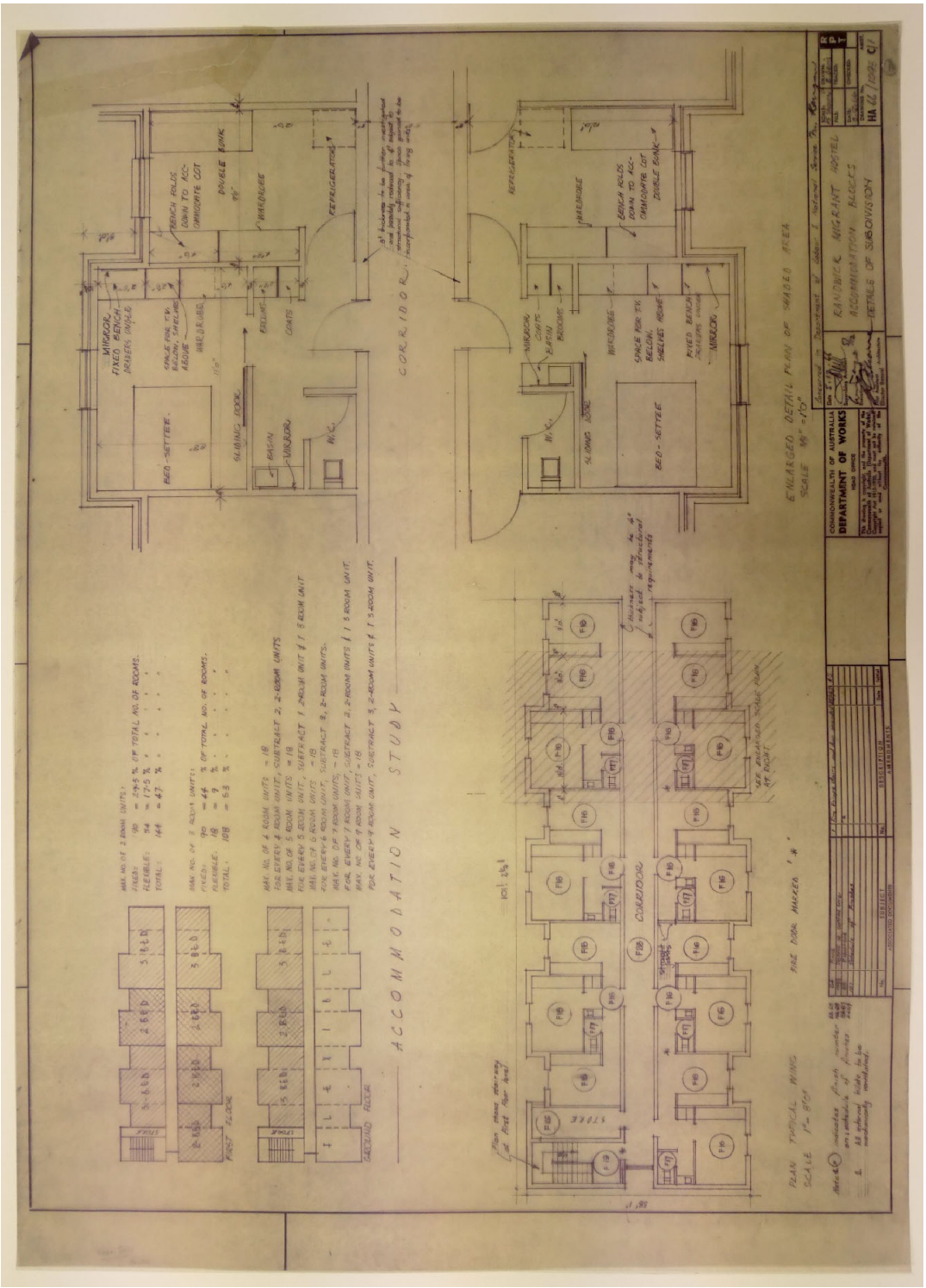


Figure 5.19 Details of Accommodation divisions, Endeavour Migrant Hostel, 1966. Source: Director of Construction New South Wales, "Randwick Migrant Hostel accommodation blocks detail of subdivision," 1961–1981, NAA: C4177, HA66/1093/C1.



Figure 5.20 Altered Nissen Huts, Maribyrnong, Victoria, 1965. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1965/22/25, 19.



Figure 5.21 Midway hostel under construction as part of publicity material produced when Billy Snedden then Minister for Immigration visited the Maribyrnong hostel in 1968. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, (Dept. of Immigration), NAA: A12111, 1/1968/22/3.

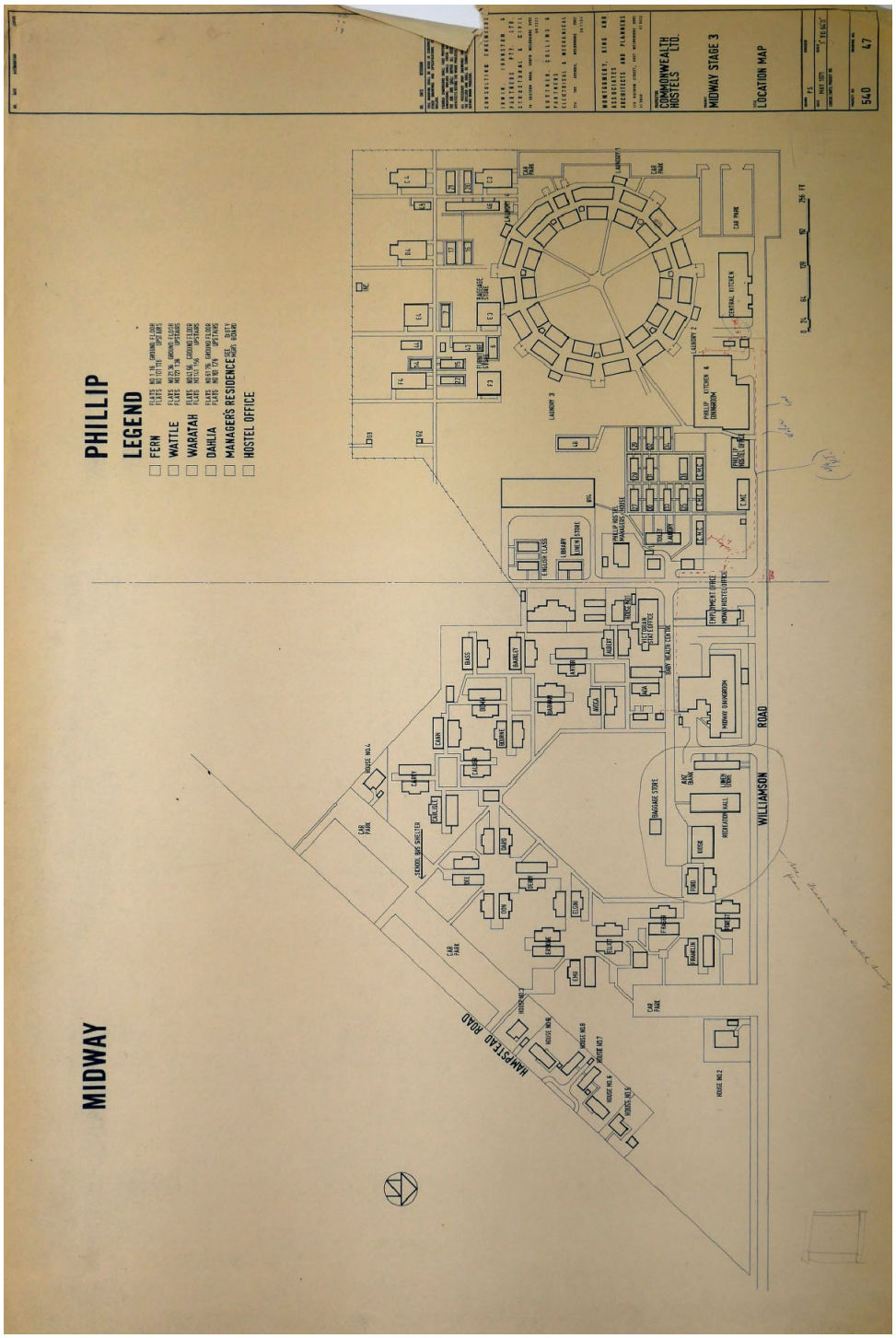


Figure 5.22 Maribyrnong Hostel site plan with both Midway Hostel and the Philip Centre, 1969. Source: Commonwealth Hostels Ltd,"Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel Location map– Midway Stage 3–Commonwealth Hostels Ltd– Montgomery, King and Associates Architects [540/47]," NAA: B6726, 14.

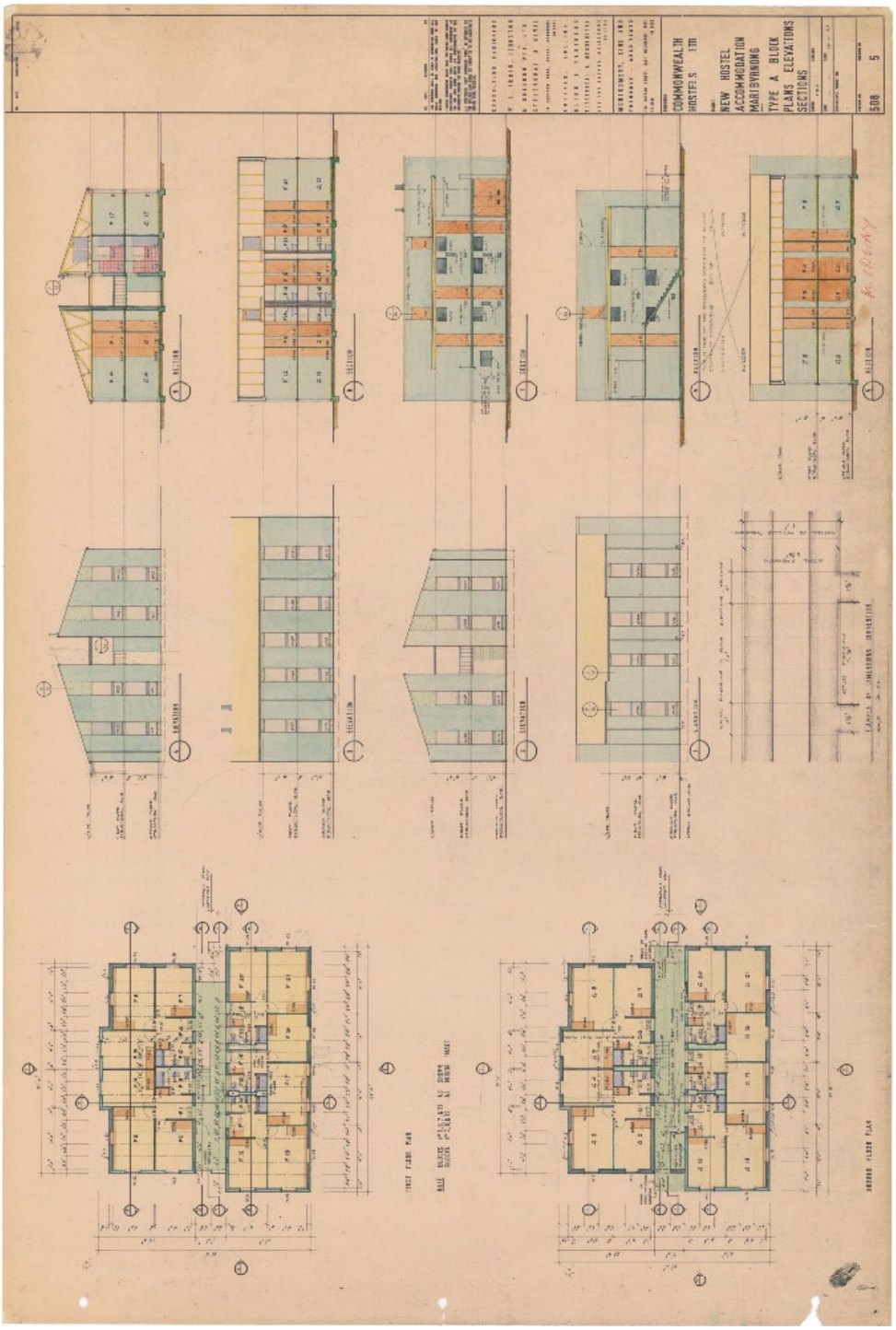


Figure 5.23 Type A block plans, elevations, and sections for Midway Hostel, 1967. Source: Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, "Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel: Type A block plans, elevations, sections–New hostel accommodation Maribyrnong–Commonwealth Hostels Ltd–Montgomery, King and Associates Architects," NAA: B6726, 15.



Figure 5.24 Covered walkways at Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel, 1971. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1971/22/12.



Figure, 5.25 Communal clothesline, Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/63.



Figure 5.26 Inside an unoccupied apartment at Midway Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/234.



Figure 5.27 Bathroom at Midway Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/235.



Figure 5.28 Lounge room in a Midway Migrant Hostel larger unit, 1973. Source: John McKinnon, Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/57.



Figure 5.29 English language classes, Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/70**.**



Figure 5.30 Pictured is the May 1967 version of two booklets in the *Australia Information for You* series for incoming migrants. The Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel features on the front cover. In the later versions both the Endeavour and Enterprise are discussed. Dept. of Immigration. *Australia, information for you*, nos.2 and no. 3. London: Information Office, Australia. Dept. of Immigration, 1967, Source: NLA Special Collections.

CHAPTER 6. BAIN-MARIES AND COMMUNAL DINING: THE DESIGN OF DOMESTICITY AT THE VILLAWOOD/WESTBRIDGE MIGRANT HOSTEL

Note: Figures and figure references are at the end of the chapter.

6.1 Introduction

Villawood Migrant Hostel's kitchen and dining areas were key communal places that facilitated important social activities and communal interaction but simultaneously highlighted the inscribed limits of nation-state hospitality to residents regarding cultural differences, which emerged through the administrative procedures underwriting accommodation design and management. This connection is made explicit in the prominent placement of a photograph of Queen Elizabeth and the Australian and British flags above the servery of dining halls (see figure 6.1). The nexus of food allocation with the kitchen and dining spaces at the Villawood Migrant Hostel offers a platform to investigate the tensions between spaces that facilitated sociability and the institutional design frameworks that governed their arrangement. It considers the design heritages and the discussions around the provision of kitchen and dining facilities in the redevelopment of on-arrival accommodation by the Department of Immigration and Commonwealth Hostels Ltd (CHL). By focusing on the communal eating facilities at Villawood, the chapter examines the spatial dimensions associated with nation-state hospitality and its limitations regarding emerging cosmopolitanism.

Rather than providing a detailed ethnographic study of these pivotal spaces in the migrant hostel, the chapter instead uses archived oral histories and visual materials to explore how aspects of daily domestic life are spatially institutionalised in the Villawood Migrant Hostel's physical evolution.[1] It examines how through these spaces the Commonwealth government interferes and complicates food production and consumption.

Bunning & Madden's two-storey hostel blocks at Villawood included private bathrooms that were a marked change from the previous communal shower blocks. The bathrooms had hot water and consisted of a hand basin, a shower, a toilet, and possibly a bath in some units and finished with mosaic tile surfacing popular during the 1960s and 1970s (see figure 6.2).[2] However, in the 'new-look' hostel apartments, individual kitchen and dining spaces were absent. The hostel blocks were connected to communal laundry and kitchen/dining areas by covered walkways with the kitchen/dining areas remaining in the existing buildings (see figures 6.3 and 6.4). These spaces instead remained located in the basic adapted military Quonset huts extending their wartime legacy (see figures 6.5 and 6.6).[3] In the departmental records corresponding to

[1] The constraints that inhibited a detailed ethnographic study are discussed in Chapter 3.
[2] Bunning & Madden, *The Work of Bunning & Madden*, (Sydney: Bunning and Madden, 1970), 68–69; Graham Brooks and Associates, Architects and Heritage Consultants, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel: Conservation Management Plan and Social Significance Assessment prepared for the Department of Finance and Administration* (Sydney: Graham Brooks and Associates Pty Ltd, 2001).
[3] Dept. of Immigration, "Survey of existing migrant hostels - to determine effective life and economics of expenditure and maintenance and improvements," 1963–1975, NAA: A446, 1975/81394. Dept. of Immigration, "Inter-departmental Committee for Accommodation at Reception, Holding and Training Centres & Hostels," NAA: A434, 1949/3/18017.

Villawood, there is no suggestion to introduce cooking or refrigeration facilities into the individual units for families. CHL managed meals generated in the existing kitchens, which were renovated with updated industrial appliances and delivered in the dining halls with seating sometimes arranged in rows—similar arrangements to those in mess halls. Residents were given time brackets to receive their meals, with consideration for people working nightshifts, but there were rules about not taking food back to the living quarters, which seemed to be enforced in individual hostels with a certain flexibility. Depending on fluxes in population, Villawood had two to five working kitchens, appearing as the most substantial spaces in the site plan of the complex, with a choice of various set menus (see figure 6.7).[4] The provision of meals was advertised as part of the accommodation at hostel sites for arriving populations.[5] The economic imperatives for cooking for a large population in constant flux suggest the continuing preference to opt for industrial-scale catering. However, this daily domestic routine also suggests tensions around new cultural customs and that assimilatory undercurrents remained in the new residential era.

Sources—including Commonwealth Hostels Limited and the Department of Immigration's responses to internal praises, complaints and protests over the production and consumption of food along with discussions about families remaining

[4] Submission to the Review Group Examining Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants in "Commonwealth Hostels Limited NSW," NAA: A4340, MR 1/164; Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel.*

[5] Dept. of Immigration, "Information Office, Migrant Hostels in Australia," London: Information Office, Dept. of Immigration, 1967: NLA: RIL 2425.

in hostels for prolonged periods—demonstrate how the nation-state manifests in the everyday.[6] This archival material is contextualised through two main categories of scholarship as they pertain to the design of these key domestic areas of the Villawood site. The first is the well-trodden nexus of migrancy, food and national identities as explored in the Australian setting by scholars such as Ghassan Hage, as this scholarship offers an understanding of the complex and often contradictory narratives that surround migration, food and home-building practices as well as how food histories can be amplified and or equally diminished in their packaging by cosmopolitan nation-states for the tourist market.[7] The second is institutional design pivoting on food that is emerging from human geography, often focused on prisons or prison camps, aged care or health institutions: this scholarship presents spatial investigations of the large-scale production and dispersal of food and how this is negotiated by occupants.[8] Existing oral histories of migrant and refugee experiences at accommodation sites are used to both

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[6] Examples: Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, (CHL) and then later Commonwealth Accommodation and Catering Services, *Company Tidings: Staff Journal of Commonwealth Hostels Limited*, (North Sydney: The Firm), 1966–1973, NLA; Dept. of Labour and National Service "Migrant Accommodation - Problem of Families Remaining in Hostels for Long Periods," 1955–1958, NAA: B146, 1956/2273; Dept. Immigration, Central Office, "Migrants Workers' Hostel, Villawood, NSW, Part 1 [15 plans]," 1948-1961, NAA: MP1760/1, M1967/72343.

[7] Key examples: Ghassan Hage "at home in the entrails of the west," in *Home/world: Space, Community, and Marginality in Sydney's West* by Helen Grace, et al. (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 1997); Hage, "The Spatial Imaginary of National Practices: Dwelling–Domesticating/Being–Exterminating," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14 (1996): 463–85; Amada Wise, "Moving Food: Gustatory Commensality and Disjuncture in Everyday Multiculturalism," *New Formations* 74, doi: https://doi.org/10.3898/NewF.74.05.2011; Mary Douglas, *Food in the Social Order: Studies in Three American Communities*, (London, Routledge, 2002).

[8] Key examples: Debolina Chatterjee and Suhita Chopra Chatterjee, "Food in Captivity: Experiences of Women in Indian Prisons," *The Prison Journal* 98, no. 1 (2017), https://doi.org/10.1177/0032885517743444, Jane Dusselier, "Does Food Make Place? Food Protests in Japanese American Concentration Camps," *Food and Foodways* 10, no.3, (2002): 137–165, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710213923, Knut Oyangen, "The Gastrodynamics of Displacement: Place-Making and Gustatory Identity in the Immigrants' Midwest," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 39, no. 3 (2009): 323–48, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20143876

contextualise and offer perspectives from outside the federal government as the archival evidence such as architectural drawings and photographs predominantly orientate from CHL and relevant government departments, namely the Department of Immigration.

The oral histories pertaining to Villawood Migrant Hostel are from a project undertaken by Sera Jane Peters for Graham Brooks and Associates on behalf of the Commonwealth Department of Finance and Administration, 1997–2007.[9] The interviews are part of a 2001 Conservation Management Plan and Assessment of Social Significance of the former Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel that assessed the heritage and social value before the site's recent redevelopment to improve the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre—a lengthy process that began in the early 2000s. The oral histories archived as part of this assessment of the site's wider cultural significance consists of twenty-one interviews with people ranging in age from forty to eighty, with a mixture of genders classified as either male or female, and all having lived or worked at Villawood Migrant hostel for varying lengths of time. At the time of interview in 2001, many interviewees still lived in the Sydney area and as listed in the interview transcripts, the nation of origin were as follows, alphabetically: Australia, Bolivia, Croatia, German, England, Czechoslovakia, Columbia, Chilean Italy, Italy/Egypt Malta, Malta/England, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia/Poland, Uruguay, and Wales. Interviewees received photographs of the remaining hostel buildings as well as site

[9] Jane Peters, Graham Brooks and Associates, "Interviews with former residents of Villawood Migrant Hostel, 2001," SLNSW: MLOH 467.

maps and plans and the framework for conducting the interviews was outlined as follows: "During the interview and conversations, interviewees were asked about the circumstances of their migration or work, their experience of the hostel, their memories of what they did while there, the day-to-day functioning of the hostel and if they felt the site had significance/importance/value to them."[10]

Although these interviews do focus intently on the site's physical arrangement and fabric, providing spatial analysis as part of the discussions on the everyday hostel life, what is missing is enquires into the relationship between the new apartment developments on site and the remaining former military accommodation and if the differences in accommodation type reflected social groupings or distinctions in the hostel. In addition, none of the former residents interviewed had arrived at the hostel from mainland Southeast Asia, highlighting the need to investigate and reflect on these experiences of the Villawood site in its later years of operation during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The report acknowledges this constraint in the research and outlines that approaches to various communities was made.[11] The later dispersal of migrants throughout Sydney and the surrounding region makes it harder to identify and trace individual migrant histories connected to Villawood, especially with generational changes and integration with economic migrants. On discussing the issues associated with the interviewing process, the report concludes "in attempting to assess the values held by the interviewees, a workshop approach may have resulted in quite different

[10] Graham Brooks and Associates, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*, 57.
[11] Graham Brooks and Associates, V*illawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*, 58.

findings, particularly in relation to women migrants."[12] This is a valuable insight from this previous research in that it highlights possible issues as well as methods of mitigation for future research on former migrant hostel sites.

In addition, this chapter draws from exhibitions and local histories centring on the experiences of former residents of the Villawood Migrant Hostel. Specifically, the exhibition *Journeys in Fairfield: Migrant Hostels* at the Whitlam Library, Cabramatta, Sydney in 2017 and the Fairfield City Council Oral History Project, which documents the experiences of people living in the Fairfield City Council region, Western Sydney.[13] This ongoing oral history archive focuses on the experiences and histories of people living in western Sydney and does not exclusively focus on former Villawood or Cabramatta migrant hostel residents. Consequently, unlike the previous set of oral histories discussed, this archive does not focus on the spatialisation of the former Villawood Migrant Hostel and instead provides a broader contextual understanding of populations living in western Sydney. The archive includes interviews with people from diverse cultural backgrounds including Assyrian, Lao, Italian, Polish, Spanish and Vietnamese.

[12] Graham Brooks and Associates, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel,* 57.
[13] Archives: "Migrant hostels: Fairfield area, (Local Studies Information File)," Whitlam Library Cabramatta: Heritage LSIF; "Refugees: Fairfield area, (Local Studies Information File)," Whitlam Library Cabramatta: Heritage; "Ethnic Communities: Fairfield area, (Local Studies Information File, Part 1-Part 3)," Whitlam Library Cabramatta: Heritage.

Analysing the hostel's physical and material fabric in conjunction with the everyday activities they facilitate, emphasises how diverse and complex encounters with migrant hostel sites were and the problems in arranging linear historical narratives. Thousands of people passed through the Villawood site during its lifespan, all having individual responses to the site. The small percentage of documented experiences range from critical through to positive, formative experiences and memories of hostel daily life. However, the media reportage and the generation of broader public discussions surrounding the Villawood Migrant Hostel indicate that for the Australian Government on-arrival accommodation sites were embedded with political utility during their entire operating lifespan. Section 6.2 looks at how early on-arrival accommodation sites including Villawood were marked by protests around food, its quality, and the choices available to residents as well as the lack of agency around food production. The following section, 6.3, uses scholarship that interrogates the connection between institutional design and food as a platform to discuss how the politicisation of ethnocultural difference impacts the types, the allocation and arguably the forms of housing provided by the Commonwealth of Australia. It examines the military design arrangements undergirding hostel design but also draws attention to the importance of communal areas as a space to socialise and that the provision of food was welcomed by many residents. Focusing on the end period of the operation of Commonwealth Migrant Hostels, section 6.4, investigates the transition away from hostel accommodation to self-sufficient apartments with kitchens under the Migrant Transitory Flat Scheme.

The ubiquitous presence of the suburban house as the primary mode of housing in Australian capital cities from the 1940s to the 1960s, when migrant hostel accommodation was being reinvigorated, offers a counterpoint in examining how on-arrival accommodation sits in the wider housing histories of the era.[14] Focusing on the kitchen and dining areas in migrant hostels offers a comparison of institutional arrangements in the context of domestic ideals of time, namely the core planning features associated with the suburban house. Suburbia as the site for the 'Australian Dream' of house ownership as connected to the ideas of home and emplacement has motivated considerable academic scholarship that is spatially orientated.[15] However, it is beyond this thesis's scope to interrogate the cultural discourse that has emerged around the suburbs in the second half of the 20th century, namely how spatialised and aesthetic perceptions associated with class demographics often pervade these discussions.[16] In the 1950s and 1960s, the semi-detached, suburban house proliferates as

[14] Early Examples: Walter Bunning, *Homes in the Sun* (Sydney: Nesbit, 1945). See: Walter Bunning, et al., *The Housing problem in Australia* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1947); F. Oswald Barnett and W.O. Burt, *Housing the Australian Nation*, (Melbourne: Research Group of the Left Book Club of Victoria, 1942); John D. Moore, *Home Again: Domestic Architecture for the Normal Australian* (Sydney: Ure Smith Pty. Limited 1944); Later Examples: Robin Boyd, *Australia's Home: Its Origins Builders and Occupiers* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1952); *Robin Boyd, The Australian Ugliness* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1960) (First Edition); *The Great Great Australian Dream* (Rushcutters Bay, N.S.W.: Pergamon Press, 1972); Kenneth McDonald, *The New Australian Home* (Melbourne: K. McDonald], 1954); Neil Clerehan, ed., *Best Australian Houses* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1961).

[15] Notable work that examines the intersection between the emergence of this mode of urban planning and is siting of a spatial type to social and cultural histories is the work of Judith O'Callaghan, John Murphy, Belinda Probert, Tony Dingle and Seamus O'Hanlon all discussed in previous chapters. In addition, many post war migrants tended to settle in Australia's larger cities, namely Sydney and Melbourne and this reflected in Sydney and Melbourne's share of the nation's overseas born population rising from 46.5 per cent in 1947 to 52.3 per cent in 1991. Graeme Hugo, *Bureau of Immigration Multicultural Population Research, Understanding where Immigrants Live* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995, 6).

[16] The garage, a space separate, would accompany the house but intrinsically linked to the typology through the planning set around the car. For a recent design overview of the Garage, Olivia Erlanger and Luis Ortega Govela, *Garage* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States: MIT Press, 2018).

a spatial type. Although to reduce the vast and multifaceted design interpretations of the suburban house to a type is slightly contentious, most share core planning tenets. The model would usually include rooms or spaces assigned as bedrooms, bathrooms, a lounge or a sitting room and kitchen and dining areas that increasingly merged into a shared space in the subsequent decades.

6.2 Histories of Protests and Food at Migrant Hostels

At Villawood, as introduced in Chapter 4, "Homes in The Sun," during the 1950s and 1960s there were significant protests by residents directed both at the centre manager and petitions written to the Prime Minister's office. These protests often included frustration at the production and quality of food, the lack of residents' agency in producing their own food, along with questions about the quality of the meals being served. Many of the written complaints centred around the restricted menu choices and how long the food had been sitting in the bain-maries as a health concern.[17] In addition, the dining areas and the provision of food became an area in which protests could be staged. In August 1950, residents boycotted the meals provided as an act of protest for the introduction of a new scale of accommodation tariffs and many residents opted to cook meals on kerosene stoves in their shared accommodation, stating that they could

[17] "Migrants Boycott Camp Dining Room," *Daily Telegraph*, August 7, 1950; "Holt defends camp charges," *Daily Telegraph*, August 8, 1950; "Unionist says migrants overcharged," *Argus*, August 4, 1950.

save more money by buying their own food and preparing it themselves.[18] Similar protests were held in other hostels on the increases in accommodation charges.[19] Although these protests were not the main impetus for the Commonwealth Hostels Ltd nationwide program, the department kept a record of the publicity these protests received in national and international media outlets.[20]

Prior to the nationwide program of hostel redevelopment, protests often centred around the quality of the accommodation and the food, and documenting these protests has been the focus of much work from Australian history (for examples of other early hostels' dining and communal areas indicative of the adaption of extant physical facilities without alteration see figures 6.8 and 6.9).[21] Nadia Postoiglione in her article "'It was Just Horrible,', The Food Experience of Immigrants in 1950s Australia," investigates the food experiences of British and Italian migrants living in accommodation centres in predominantly South Australia as well as unassisted migrants arriving from Southern Italy, who were not entitled to hostel accommodation.[22] This research not only brings attention to the differences between the

[18] Migrants Boycott Camp Dining Room," Daily Telegraph, August 7, 1950.
[19] Nadia Postiglione, "It Was Just Horrible,'" *History Australia*, 7, no. 1, (2010) 09.1–09.16, doi: https://doi.org/10.2104/ha100009
[20] Dept. of Immigration, "Migrant Hostels and Centres - Accommodation charges, 1949–1950," NAA: A445, 220/5/1.
[21] Postiglione, "It Was Just Horrible;'" Nonja Peters, *Milk and Honey but No Gold: Postwar Migration to Western Australia*, 1945–1964, (Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 2001); Catherine Panich, *Sanctuary? Remembering Post-war Immigration*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988); Victor Turner and Frederick Sharon, Frederick, *Tin Huts and Memories. We Got Our Ten Pounds Worth: The Story of Gepps Cross Hostel*, (Norwood, South Australia: Peacock Publication, 2006).
[22] Postiglione, "It Was Just Horrible.'"

housing pathways encountered by assisted and unassisted migrants but the degrees of agency these different types offered in the key domestic spaces, often centred around food production and consumption. Postoiglione delineates complex migration trajectories and a range of food experiences in early years of the post-war migrant program and argues that "the accounts of British immigrants and assisted and unassisted Italians in South Australia demonstrate the crucial role that foodways played in the immigrants' mediation with the new environment and in the reorganisation of their cultural and material values."[23] The article emphasises that the Italian experiences of migrating to Australia was not a uniform and coherent phenomenon, concluding that "the institutional indifference to new arrivals' material needs triggered a range of responses."[24] Postiglione draws on scholarship that focuses on the experience and dynamics of British and European migrants arriving to Australia in the post-war period. This scholarship, which frequently investigates protests centred on food, as well as cultural adjustments and tensions, places a particular emphasis on the immediate post-war period of immigration in the 1950s.[25] Although this historical scholarship introduces the accommodation types seen in hostels, namely shared dormitories with a lack of private kitchens and bathrooms, as well as emphasising the complicated bureaucratic systems that administered the accommodation sites, the focus is not on hostel design or the spatial types and heritages that inform these sites. Villawood Migrant Hostel offers a useful opportunity to examine the design histories for the type

[23] Postiglione, "It Was Just Horrible,'" 9.11.
[24] Postiglione, "It Was Just Horrible,'" 9.11.
[25] Peters, *Milk and Honey but No Gold*, Glenda Sluga, "Bonegilla: 'A Place of No Hope,' (Parkville, Victoria: History Department, The University of Melbourne, 1988). Turner, *Tin Huts and Memories. We Got Our Ten Pounds Worth: The Story of Gepps Cross Hostel*.

of institutional food practices seen in Commonwealth hostels, not only because of the site's longevity, but also due to its extended scale of operation in the greater Sydney region.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Villawood Migrant Hostel was the largest hostel remaining in Sydney and contained the central kitchen preparation for all Sydney hostels, including a butcher and a bakery, which oversaw supplies for five other hostels with fresh meat, cakes and small goods.[26] This outsourcing of meals, along with Villawood's own large population, contributed to the kitchen amenities being upgraded with modern industrial appliances that could serve the numerical increases (see figures 6.10 and 6.11). So, although the kitchen and dining areas remained in the ex-military huts with dining arrangements in rows of tables, the kitchen facilities and dining utilities were improved. CHL hosted yearly training conferences at Villawood for the management and staff responsible for catering at hostels Australia wide. Although, in many CHL–run hostels current and ex-residents were employed to work in the kitchens, the Department of Immigration and CHL offered very little agency to residents around the production or consumption of food and menus were often set on a national level and typically reflected food choices traditionally associated with the Anglo-British. Their daily fare included, as set-out in three menus from 1948 to 1978, roast or grilled meats, baked or mashed potatoes, peas, puddings and fruit for example (see figures 6.12–6.14). It is also important to note that in the 1950s many British migrants took issue

[26] CHL, *Company Tidings* 3, no. 21, October 1964, 7–8.

with the food choices and the quality of meals available and had requested the provision of kitchenettes so residents could produce their own meals, which resulted in the South Australian Housing Trust agreeing to provide kitchenettes in a new hostel for British workers at Gepps's Cross run by the state government.[27] In Commonwealth run migrant hostels kitchen staff could make recipe suggestions and individual hostel managers could approve new items to be included in the menu. In the early 1970s, CHL provided twenty-one meals per week based on a four-weekly cycle of menus.[28] Many of the larger hostels, including Villawood, also had on site a general store or a small supermarket, but it is unclear, who ran these, whether it was CHL or whether they were leased out to a private business (see figures 6.15–6.18).

Food production and the kitchen staff at Villawood, often current and ex-hostel residents, were featured in publicity images for the Department of Immigration and in *Company Tidings*, the staff journal for Commonwealth Hostels Limited as a large proportion of CHL staff would have worked in the catering sector of the company (see figures 6.19 and 6.20). Front cover photographs were frequently of food being prepared in various hostel kitchens.[29] Early residents' protests over the types and quality of foods available and the accompanying national and international publicity meant that food

[27] Ann-Mari Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*, Administration, Compliance and Governability Program (Canberra: Australian National University, Research School of Social Sciences, 1994), 17–18.
[28] Review Group Examining Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164; page 4.
[29] Examples: CHL, *Company Tidings* 3, no.21, October 1964; CHL, *Company Tidings* 10, no.1, October 1971; CHL, *Company Tidings* 10, no.3, October 1971; Commonwealth Accommodation and Catering Services Ltd, *Company Tidings* 25, no.1, October 1986.

production was frequently a preoccupation for CHL and the Department of Immigration. There was a sustained interest and concern around food and how its production and consumption informed narratives and reputations about the Commonwealth of Australia and the quality of its provisions for hostel residents, particularly as these pertained to the recruitment of migrants in Europe. Interestingly, this type of food fixation remerges in contemporary discussions of Australia as a cosmopolitan nation-state and in the marketability of Australian cities as global destinations for their restaurant cultures.[30]

During Villawood's lifespan, there were divisions in residing populations that often aligned with cultural communities, often informed by sovereign state or cultural allegiances prior to residents arriving in Australia.[31] Postiglione highlights in her article that in the South Australian hostels, the lack of individual agency in food production resulted in tensions and racial vilification around the nationality of kitchen staff as well as the different nationalities residing in the hostel wanting representation in the kitchen staff:

> The complaints about the quality of food belonged not merely to the sphere of likes and dislikes; they derived from cultural discrimination, fear of unfamiliar habits and culture and, in some cases race … The handling of food by 'continental' immigrants employed in hostel kitchens caused

[30] Ghassan Hage "at home in the entrails of the west," *in Home/world: Space, Community, and Marginality in Sydney's West* by Helen Grace, et al. (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 1997).
[31] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants*; Peters, "Interviews," SLNSW: MLOH 467.

> British residents' discomfort and promoted their frequent complaints about unorthodox cooking. In 1951 at Finsbury, British immigrants asked that 'new Australians' be replaced with British cooks, as 'new Australian' cuisine was not suitable for British people. The British residents, considered the most desirable of all the immigrants, became the sharpest critics of the reception system and vehement opponents of the catering service.[32]

An ethnographically informed reading of how residents formed various communities and connections between different ethnocultural groupings and how this impacted on perceptions and receptions of the hostel accommodation is relevant, but these are substantial questions beyond this project's scope. However, when analysing the spatial histories of these core daily life areas, interdisciplinary research informed by ethnographic methods around food consumption, provides a theoretical framework to consider these spaces beyond their direct function. This scholarship includes work focused on the allocation of food in the early on-arrival migrant accommodation sites, as previously discussed, as well as the expansion and development of western Sydney and the depictions and framings of multiculturism in Australia.[33] Contemporary interrogations of 'cosmo-multiculturism' as connected to migrant food and home-building practices seen in the work of scholars such as bell hooks, Sneja Gunew, can be

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[32] Postiglione, "It Was Just Horrible,'" 9.4.

[33] Hage "at home in the entrails of the west;" Hage, "The Spatial Imaginary of National Practices: Dwelling–Domesticating/Being–Exterminating," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14 (1996): 463–85; Amada Wise, Moving Food: Gustatory Commensality and Disjuncture in Everyday Multiculturalism," *New Formations* 74, doi: https://doi.org/10.3898/NewF.74.05.2011; Mary Douglas, *Food in the Social Order: Studies in Three American Communities* (London, Routledge, 2002).

linked to post-Second World War on-arrival accommodation and how the act of eating informs cultural formations of nation-state identities.[34]

Ghassan Hage, in his chapter "at home in the entrails of the west: multiculturism, ethnic food and migrant home building," asserts that:

> In some of the early academic writings in Australia multiculturalism there is often a critique of those multicultural perspectives that trivialise ethnic cultures by reducing them to matters of food, dance and other 'superficial' culture elements. Though pertinent at one level this critique leads indirectly to devaluing the importance of the production and consumption of food as the locus of practices with which migrants try to make themselves feel at home in Australia.[35]

Hage, drawing on the work on Emile Benveniste, interrogates the relationship between understandings of home and the "equivalent house-building or domestic space building," emphasising that they are not always linked.[36] He instead investigates home as an affective construct and does so by identifying four key feelings: security, familiarity, community and a sense of possibility. He investigates the social and spatial connections these feelings engender with a focus on the domestic attributes, both material and ephemeral, that allow the development of these features in relation to

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[34] Sneja Gunew, "Introduction: Multicultural Translations of Food, Bodies, Language', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 21, 3, (2000); bell hooks, "Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance," in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* by bell hooks, (Boston, South End Press 21 1992), 21–40.
[35] Hage "at home in the entrails of the west," 101.
[36] Hage "at home in the entrails of the west," 102; Emile Benveniste, *Indo-Europen Language and Society* (Faber & Faber, London, 1973).

home-building as he defines it as "the building of the feeling of being at home."[37] One pathway for future research deriving from federally sponsored on-arrival accommodation would be to understand the evolution and dynamism of the spaces of food consumption and production as part of an ongoing accommodation trajectory. This might entail analysing housing pathways once migrants left the hotel site and a comparison between how the different types, such as shared accommodation with family or friends, private rental and house ownership, fostered different relationships to the production and consumption of food and how this impacted on migrants and refugees to pursue home-building practices and contributed to a sense of security. This raises key questions around the importance of house ownership for many migrants and refugees for the spatial freedoms it possibly offered as opposed to other accommodation types. In studies examining the post-war period, the economic lengths to which many migrants and refugees went to obtain house-ownership may have been in part as it offered the ability for increased agency and control in the setup and use of domestic space and allowed for specific orientations towards diverse cultural and by extension home-making practices.[38]

However, by pursuing these very relevant questions, the focus moves away from the aims of the thesis and its objective to trace the physical and spatial imprints of hostels as connected to the nation-state and towards ethnographic work seen in the disciplines

[37] Hage "at home in the entrails of the west," 102.
[38] Difficulties in financing house ownership see Alexander Kondos, *Migrants and the Australian Dream: A Preliminary Study of Migrant Housing Situations*, (Kensington, NSW: School of Sociology, University of New South Wales, 1980).

such as anthropology, sociology and culture studies. At the same time, an approach informed by scholarship derived from these disciplinary approaches that interrogates migrancy and food is important as it helps to clarify how linguistic and cultural difference and its politicisation impacts the types, the allocation and arguably the forms of public housing provided by the Commonwealth of Australia. Scholarship that focuses on the context of western Sydney provides an entry point to discussing communal eating spaces that both resists overplaying these spaces as generative spaces for community but also equally avoids underplaying the significance food plays in daily life and cultural practices. This balanced approach complements both staff and residents' experiences of Villawood Migrant Hostel.

6.3 Industrial Kitchens and Communal Tables: Military Leftovers in the Distribution of Institutional Food

At the Villawood Migrant Hostel, the kitchen and dining areas, along with the remaining shower blocks for single occupants, indicate that the military heritage of migrant hostels informs the spatial framings of domesticity. Postiglione and Sluga have both pointed out the military's presence in the earlier history of on-arrival accommodation sites in the bureaucratic organisation of daily life and the coordination of the reception of immigrants.[39] Design approaches informed by the military camp

[39] Postiglione, "It Was Just Horrible,'" 9.8; Glenda Sluga, "Bonegilla: 'A Place of No Hope,' (Parkville, Victoria: History Department, The University of Melbourne, 1988).

were present in both the hostel's arrangement and provision of amenities over its entire operating lifespan and, arguably, the administrative arrangements of everyday life were influenced by military cultures. As outlined in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Border to the Hearth," prior to opening as a migrant hostel in 1949, the site had housed the Leightonfield Munitions Factory and limited accommodation provided for employees on site. According to the report *Villawood Immigration Centre: Preliminary Heritage Significance Assessment:*

> the use of the site between the time of its closure as a munitions factory in 1945 and its redevelopment as a migrant hostel (opening in 1949) has not been investigated. This period may have been devoted to site-clean up and demolition. On other similar sites, temporary housing was often provided to help those unable to find accommodation during the acute housing shortage that occurred immediately after the war.[40]

The first configuration of the hostel, was originally divided into six accommodation areas, known as units, which consisted of imported rows of huts, (often in threes), with each unit containing toilet blocks, a linen store, and a kitchen. Sleeping quarters were in ex-military supplies, including Hawksley and Quonset (SAAR) huts but mostly Nissen huts arranged in rows. Arranging the accommodation in this configuration shadowed other accommodation sites throughout Australia that often were adapted ex-military accommodation seen in the other larger hostels in New South Wales such as Bathurst, Cowra, and Bradfield Park.

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[40] Golden Mackay Logan, *Villawood Immigration Centre Preliminary Heritage Significance Assessment*, prepared for the Carson Group Pty Ltd, March 2001.

Food as a conduit for disciplining or training subjects as well as punitive practices is centred in much of scholarship around the food processes in State-sponsored institutions. Debolina Chatterjee and Suhita Chopra Chatterjee argue that in the prison system:

> … a primary means for exercising power over inmates is through the control and access of food. Food in prison operates with the institutional paradigm of punishment. The index of concerns and constraints around food, as Coveny (2000) would say, is controlled by the state, which has the power to control the lives of the imprisoned population, as well as exercise the limits of choice and access to food.[41]

At the same time much of the scholarship in this field examines how institutional frameworks are challenged or subverted by inmates or occupants, or alternatively that sites of food production or consumption enable a collective reckoning against punitive practices.[42] Although migrant hostels were open sites, in that residents could come and go as they pleased, there were timetables around the eating of meals which structured daily life. The spaces set aside for the allocation as well as the type of meals provided by CHL offer insight into how the federal government framed these sites and their role. Spatial heritages from the military informed the planning arrangements at the Villawood Migrant Hostel across its entire lifespan in the continuation of the separation of sleeping areas from the kitchens and dining areas and in the materiality and form of the Quonset hut, which immediately and distinctly evoked military histories in the

[41] Chatterjee and Chatterjee, "Food in Captivity: Experiences of Women in Indian Prisons," 41.
[42] See Dusselier, "Does Food Make Place? Food Protests in Japanese American Concentration Camps."

Asia–Pacific region. These formal and spatial traces of the military were exaggerated by the bureaucratic frameworks that governed hostels and set meal timetables and behavioural rules that institutionalised daily domestic life. Residents frequently pushed against having to pay higher rates for accommodation by challenging these institutional structures in the form of protest around the quality of facilities and forms of civil disobedience in refusing to eat the food provided and hence causing economic waste for hostel managers and CHL. However, equally, what the oral histories from ex-residents of Villawood and wider hostel sites show is that experiences of daily life in hostels was wide-ranging and the uses and meanings of the provision of food and the communal dining spaces for residents were incredibly varied and not necessarily contingent on their design or the design heritage inherent in the spatial arrangements.

The existing oral histories, which contain largely experiences from people who were children and teenagers living in the Villawood Hostel in the late 1960s and 1970s, indicate how diverse experiences of the everyday living facilities and provision of food were and that even individual recollections of living experiences often hold simultaneously varying positions. In addition, as one of Australia's largest hostels, the occupants of Villawood, often refugees or from challenging economic contexts, arrived with very little material security and from a diverse range of countries from Europe, South America, and Southeast Asia, all carrying with them distinct cultural histories. In addition, it was a population in constant flux, with people coming and going quite regularly and at different intervals, with many residents staying only for short periods.

The oral histories highlight how import it is to not to overplay the impact the spatial arrangement and the inherited histories of these communal spaces had on daily lives, and that it was the activities and the meeting of people that were often consequential. Some of the ex-residents interviewed really appreciated the provision of food, particularly the provision of lunches to take to work, and enjoyed the communal eating aspects of meeting people, making friends and feeling a sense of connection.[43] Also noted was the provision of child care and meals in relation to gendered roles in family dynamics. Although beyond the parameters of this current research, the provision of and role of child care in most hostels by Commonwealth Hostels Ltd, at heavily reduced charges and why the government provided it, is worth exploring further.[44]

Although the existing oral histories focus on the built facilities at Villawood as part of documenting the site's heritage significance, one future avenue to take the research is to conduct interviews with ex-residents and staff in particular refugees from mainland Southeast Asia, who stayed at Villawood in the 1970s and 1980s. However, what the existing oral histories highlight is questions about how to do justice to often contested, contrasting and equally unique responses and publishing or exhibiting interviews with former residents may exist outside of traditional academic scholarship. The existing oral histories of experiences of Villawood Migrant Hostel raise significant questions about how oral histories are framed, extracted, and re-presented in scholarship, stressing that

[43] Peters, "Interviews," SLNSW: MLOH 467.
[44] Peters, "Interviews," SLNSW: MLOH 467; Review Group Examining Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164.

what is left out may be equally important as what is included.[45] Villawood is a site that had thousands of people pass through it and how to give equal space to the individuality of the voices and memories, and how to layer the different significances of communal spaces and their manifestation at hostels are pertinent questions the research has brought forward that warrant further examination.

From the scholarship and existing oral histories of both Villawood and other hostel sites, the kitchen and cafeteria were key communal places in the hostel that facilitated important social activities. Their design heritages, however, offer an understanding about how the Commonwealth government considered these sites and their uses, highlighting the legacy of assimilationist policies on the administration of the hostels and the lack of agency given to residents in organising their everyday life in the hostel. It is important to stress that decisions around design programs and facility uses were dependent on economic and political perceptions often tied to public impressions of spending. However, the institutional arrangements modelled on military leftovers both in the spatial configurations and the daily domestic routines imposed on migrants also suggest tensions around new everyday cultural customs, particularly in relation to food

[45] Discussion on the use of oral history: Sherna Berger Gluck, Daphne Patai, eds., *Women's Words The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Arlene, Oak, "Particularizing the Past: Persuasion and Value in Oral History Interviews and Design Critiques," *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 4 (2006): 345-356, https://www.jstor.org/stable/412301, Examples of interesting presentations of oral histories can be seen in the voice of witness series, including, Audrey Petty, ed., *New Voice of Witness Book High Rise Stories: Voices from Chicago Public Housing* (San Francisco: McSweeney's, 2013); Corinne Goria, ed., *Invisible Hands: Voices from The Global Economy* (San Francisco: McSweeney's, 2014).

and its production. Regardless of the economic imperatives of using existing Commonwealth-owned infrastructure, the inherited military spatial configurations implicitly infer the disciplining of occupants. In the hostel setting the federal government's assimilatory aims were to frame the mechanics of Australian citizenship to its political and cultural allegiances to the United Kingdom, and this framing continued into the 1960s and 1970s. However, at the same time hostels began to widen their services expanding on existing language classes. Many hostels began to offer child care, welfare and youth services and an accommodation advisory service that signalled an increased awareness of cultural and linguistically diverse needs of residents.[46] In 1965 a welfare service commenced and by 1969 there was a welfare officer in every hostel, with many of the officers bilingual or multilingual. A Submission to the Review Group Examining Post-Arrival Programmes and Services to Migrants (from 1977–1978), outlines the aims:

> In this way the Welfare Officers are not seen by the residents as being part of the disciplinary arm of the hostel administration and, therefore social and domestic problems of residents are separated from the day-to-day operational matters of the hostel management.[47]

Increasingly, in the late 1970s, the welfare officers and interpreters often worked with recently arrived refugees from Southeast Asia to connect them with various government and non-government local agencies.

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[46] Review of Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164; Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*.
[47] Review of Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164, p.6.

Villawood Migrant Hostel, like other Commonwealth-run hostels introduced an accommodation advisory service for residents in June 1966.[48] This was due to various contextual reasons, including that the average length of stay in migrant hostels in the mid-sixties was 47 weeks, the planned immigration program was still substantial, and the government was considering housing options including building additional hostels.[49] The Department of Labour and National service took notice of families staying for extended periods in the hostels and indicated both concern for pressures on the hostel system to accommodate longer-term residents as well as conflicting tensions surrounding the ongoing purpose and the types of services hostel sites should provide.[50] The factors that impacted the setup of the accommodation advisory service are hard to determine from the records. The accommodation advisory service employed people experienced in real estate or associated sectors. The responsibility of these officers was to offer advice across a range of housing options once residents left the hostels, including rental, house purchases and sources around financing select families residing in hostels that might be eligible for the Migrant Transitory Flat scheme, which was an alternative to hostel accommodation and is discussed in the following section of this chapter. The Submission to the Review Group Examining Post-Arrival Programmes and services to Migrants' outlined the successes of the program: "The success of the service can be judged by the fact that the average length of stay was reduced from 47 weeks in June 1966 to a low of 15 weeks in July 1970, and it has consistently averaged

[48] Review of Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164, p. 8.
[49] Review of Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164, p. 3.
[50] Dept. of Labour and National Service, "Migrant Accommodation - Problems of Families Remaining in Hostels for Long Periods," 1958–1966, NAA: B146, 1965/61.

approximately 22 weeks over the last 2/3 years (possibly 1975–77)."[51] Although the set-up in the late sixties of the accommodation advisory service was in reaction to anticipated pressure on the hostel system, in fact changes in Australia's economy impacted immigration policy and meant that by the mid to late 1970s and 1980s many Commonwealth hostels closed or drastically reduced their scale of operation. This was largely due to shifts in the post war assisted migrant programs and there was therefore interest in other forms of on-arrival accommodation outside the hostel format.

6.4 Migrant Transitory Flats: Incorporating the Kitchen in Alternatives to Hostel Accommodation

By 1978, CHL had only eight migrant hostels in operation across the nation and accommodated about 7,625 persons with two hostels remaining in Sydney, Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel and the Endeavour.[52] The number of migrant families living in the new accommodation blocks was dwindling and a newspaper article on Villawood in 1974 for the *Sydney Morning Herald* suggests that a large number of the modern units at the Westbridge Hostel had been vacant for more than a year.[53] The article reports that single men were still residing in the ex-military huts while the

[51] Review of Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164, page 9.
[52] Appendix A in Review of Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164.
[53] "Modern Govt flats left unused," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 18, 1974, 1, 9; "Govts plan study into hostel use," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 19, 1974, (Front Page); "Vancant Flats," *The Canberra Times*, February 19, 1974, 3; "Modern Govt flats left unused," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 18, 1974, 1, 9.

new hostel buildings were unoccupied, emphasising that the external shared shower blocks were still in use for single occupants. Additionally, the article raises a point of contention that emerges in the political discourse accompanying the end period of Commonwealth migrant hostel accommodation. Due to the widespread vacancies, it was argued that hostel accommodation should be made available to the wider Australian populations, including low-income residents and the houseless. A version of this type of occupancy did occur at the Bradfield Migrant Hostel in Sydney, that was adapted from a former RAAF training depot in 1947.[54] A section of the site, run by the NSW Housing Commission, provided self-sufficient, emergency housing for Australian-born citizens when the NSW Housing Commission had housing shortages. Additionally, it accommodated internally displaced people from the 1950s Redfern slum clearance program.[55] According to the "Submission to the Review Group Examining Post-Arrival Programmes and Services to Migrants," 1976–78 accommodation surpluses in hostels nationwide were made available on a short-term basis to the wider Australian population, including apprentices, members of the defence forces and cultural, religious and sporting organisations.[56]

During the latter half of the 1970s, select Commonwealth hostels, including Villawood, Maribyrnong, Endeavour (Randwick) and Enterprise (Springvale), were used to house

[54] Dept of Immigration, "Migrant Workers' hostel - Bradfield Park," 1949-1971, NAA: A446, 1967/71794.
[55] Gary Maddox, "Bradfield Park, a forgotten part of Sydney's urban history," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 28, 2018.
[56] Review of Post Arrival Programs in NAA: A4340, MR 1/164, page 3.

many people arriving from mainland Southeast Asia. Refugees from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, who were displaced due to the Vietnam War and the Khmer Rouge regime, began arriving in Australia from approximately 1975–76 onwards. The Villawood Migrant Hostel's residents' countries of origins shift in the 1970s from Europe, incorporating the United Kingdom, to residents from South America, including Chile and Columbia and people from mainland Southeast Asia (see figures 6.21–6.23).[57] During the 1970s the Commonwealth through the Department of Immigration and its subsequently the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, implemented myriad changes that shifted immigration policy around recruitment and resettlement (See Appendix 1 for an overview of significant immigration policy changes). Underlying these changes are several influential contributing factors, including changes in the national economy, new understandings of national identities relating to multiculturalism and global responsibilities regarding perceptions of humanitarianism towards displaced people.

The global recession in the early 1970s, which had a significant impact on the Australian economy by contributing to 'stagflation' and high unemployment, signals the end of relatively unhindered economic prosperity and growth from the previous decades after the Second World War.[58] As these political economic histories impacted on the populations at migrant hostels the economic instability contributed to the cessation of

[57] Brooks, *Villawood/Westridge Migrant Hostel*.
[58] Overview of Australian economic history: Claire Wright, *Australian Economic History* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2022); Alex Millmow, "Hardly the Age of Aquarius," in *A History of Australasian Economic Thought* by Millmow (London: Routledge, 2019).

the mass recruitment of migrants seen in the earlier Australia Assisted Programmes and the emergence of new criteria and methods of selecting migrants. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, rather than the previous large scale programs, migrant recruitment targeted desired skill areas and labour shortages.[59] In conjunction with the economic instability of the 1970s, multiculturism surfaced as a new mode of articulating national identity both through policy and wider nationally informed cultural practices resulting in part from the gradual removal of the White Australia Policy (See Appendix 1 for overview of significant immigration policy changes.).[60] The pathway of multiculturism's introduction as an approach to national identity and the inherent complications that informed on-arrival accommodation sites are discussed further in the in conclusion in Chapter 8. However, its introduction contributed to a cultural framework that is interlinked to changes around the acceptance of refugees from outside Europe and the establishment of a targeted humanitarian program relevant to this chapter.

Although resettling displaced people after the Second World War was part of a range of assisted passage schemes, these schemes sat within a wider policy of population expansion through the recruitment of migrants. It was not until 1977 that a specific refugee policy and a planned humanitarian program that examined the protection

[59] Harriet Spinks, *Australia's Migration Program,* Parliament of Australia Background Note, Social Policy Section, 2010, 1–3, https://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/austmigration.pdf

[60] Elsa Koleth, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, Social Policy Sections, *Multiculturalism: A Review of Australia Policy Statements and Recent Debates in Australia and Overseas*, Research Paper no. 6, 2010–2011, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06

claims of people seeking refuge was introduced.[61] However, this official program emerges from policy shifts in response to international situations and allegiances during the early 1970s, including the arrival of people fleeing the Vietnam War by boat combined with Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War as an ally of the United States and the South Vietnamese Government.[62] The Villawood Migrant Hostel's use to house many refugees fleeing the war on boat and their arrival in relation to the emergence of specific detention policies is discussed in the following chapter. Also influencing this trajectory were local and international perceptions about Australia's commitment to human rights from the Commonwealth governments led by Gough Whitlam (1972–75) and Malcom Fraser (1975–1983).[63] Again, it is beyond the scope of this research to outline this complex political and policy trajectory during a very tumultuous time in Australia's political history. However, a distinction between how arriving populations were classified begins to emerge in this period, defined by two distinct programs, the skilled and family migrants program and the humanitarian program. The narratives that surround these two programs would become distorted and manipulated by actors on all sides of the political spectrum in relation to border securitisation in the late 20th century and had a direct impact on the expansion and continuation of immigration detention facilities on the Villawood site. Again, this area

[61] Janet Phillips, *Australia's Humanitarian Program: a quick guide to the statistics since 1947*, Parliament of Australia Background Note, Social Policy Section, 2017. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/HumanitarianProg

[62] For detailed examinations of the evolution of refugee policy during this pivotal time see the work of Klaus Neumann; *Across the Seas: Australia's' Response to Refugees: A History* (Collingwood Vic: Black Inc., 2015); See Clare Higgins, *Asylum by Boat* (Sydney, NSW: New South Publishing, 2017).

[63] Clare Higgins, *Asylum by Boat.*

is explored in the following chapter. Shifts in the acceptance of refugees entering on humanitarian visas saw people arriving during the 1970s and early 1980s from Chile, Czech Republic, West Papua, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos as well as Lebanon, East Timor and later from the former Yugoslavia, with a large portion of people identifying as Serbian.[64]

Commonwealth migrant hostels gradually closed during the 1970s and 1980s due to the winding down of the large-scale population recruitment programs and changes in the acceptance and selection of migrants and refugees. By the 1980s, the remaining hostels only accommodated refugees and humanitarian program entrants. The Migrant Transitory Flat Scheme, first introduced in 1967, are the preferred form of on-arrival accommodation and the future trajectory of housing refugees arriving as part of the humanitarian program and in need of housing provision.[65] Part of the justification behind this shift in the type of on-arrival accommodation was that completely self-contained apartments allowed for a wider geographical distribution of migrants and the future existence of migrant hostels, particularly in country areas, was increasingly economically untenable.[66] Migrant Transitory Flats, separate to the CHL managed migrant hostels, provided self-contained flats with kitchen and bathroom facilities for families. The Commonwealth Government piloted these alternatives to migrant hostels as part of the wider program to improve the general standard of on-arrival

[64] Neumann, *Across the Seas*, 135–291.
[65] CHL, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited - Central - Organisation and Administration Policy - Migrant Transitory Flats [Box 717], 1976-1978, NAA: C3076, 1/1/508 PART 1.
[66] Secretary to Cabinet, "Construction of new migrant hostels," 1963–1967, NAA: A4940, C3833.

accommodation for migrants and refugees in the late 1960s and 1970s.[67] Initially, the Department of Environment, Housing and Community was responsible for the provision, management, and maintenance of the Migrant Transitory Flats. However, regarding policy matters and changes, the department would consult with the Department of Immigration of Ethnic Affairs.

The flats were intended to provide an alternative to the institutional style of living in the hostels and were provided exclusively for families and in 1976 their operation was transferred to CHL. On implementation, it was regarded as an experimental scheme that offered a potential financial advantage over the significant costs of running hostels, in particular the costs associated with providing meals. By 1974 there were 396 fully furnished flats located in mainland capital cities and it is notable that unlike early migrant camps and hostels, flat locations were restricted to cities.[68] Families were selected to reside in flats rather than hostels if they were considered most likely to establish themselves in private accommodation, with initial priority going to English¬-speaking families in employment categories that showed labour shortages. Families would sign a six-month lease on induction and a bond was required, but occupants could end the lease on short notice without penalty. The average length of stay in the 1970s was approximately 23 to 24 weeks and rents were collected weekly by departmental officers.[69] In the mid-1970s, the flats were a better economic proposition

[67] NAA: A4940, C3833.
[68] Immigration Group, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited and migrant flats - briefs and notes," 1975–76, NAA: A446, 1975/81349.
[69] NAA: A446, 1975/81349.

for the Commonwealth Government than hostels but were not considered a viable replacement option at that time.[70]

Broadly comparable in size and standard to flats provided by the various state housing authorities, two-thirds of the migrant transitory flats were built under the supervision of state housing authorities, with the remaining being purchased from the private real estate market.[71] From the few photographs available, the transitory flats were medium density, two to three story apartment blocks, often brick-faced (see figures 6.24 and 6.25). In New South Wales in 1976 there were 116 residences spread across Sydney and the Department of Immigration stipulated that the units be fully furnished, with the standard to be comfortable but modest.[72] The flats' locations were selected to provide convenient access to shops, schools and transport services and reasonable proximity to centres of employment. According to a report there was a deliberate policy to avoid concentration of migrants as the department saw that this would assist in migrant integration into the community.[73] Generally, they were not located close to existing migrant hostels and instead were scattered in metropolitan areas and in 1980 the average stay was five months.[74] Although beyond the scope of this research, a preoccupation with the groupings of various migrant communities, particularly

[70] NAA: A446, 1975/81349.
[71] NAA: A446, 1975/81349.
[72] Migrant Workers' Accommodation Division, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited - Central - Organisation and Administration Policy - Migrant Transitory Flats," 1976–1978, NAA: C3076, 1/1/508 PART 2.
[73] NAA: A446, 1975/81349.
[74] NAA: A446 1981/76637.

recently arrived and linguistically and culturally diverse groups and perceived anxieties around high concentrations of migrants living in specific areas, would become a recurrent thread in the national discourse. Narratives around 'ghettoization' and 'enclaves' would encircle the Vietnamese Australian communities and other communities from mainland Southeast Asia, including but not limited to Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong and Chinese, particularly in western Sydney during the 1990s.[75]

6.5 Conclusion

The dining and kitchen spaces held meanings inscribed and subverted from various actors both in the daily function and use of these spaces, including the Department of Immigration, CHL, hostel management, employees, and residents. It is also conceivable that the kitchen and dining areas were equally inconsequential to many people moving through the site and the significance of these areas did not necessarily transcend the provision of basic needs, either for eating or as a place of work. It is important to note how communal eating practices can get conflated with meanings about community building or expansive placemaking across a shared table. Framings of hospitality and commensality were inflated and entangled in the production of national identities in relation to the marketability of Australia as a desired destination for migrants from the British Isles and Ireland, and western and central Europe. What makes these spaces

[75] For an interesting overview see the series: Jacob Hickey, series dir., Lim, Bernadine, series producer, *Once Upon a Time in Cabramatta*, Neutral Bay, N.S.W.: SBS; Screen Australia; Madman Entertainment, 2012, (originally screened on SBS1 on the 8 January 2012).

interesting in the migrant hostels' history is that they are robust examples of the complications and contradictions in analysing and attributing fixed accounts to contested spaces. Arguably, even in the era of the 'new-look' hostels, food allocation was part of successive Australian Governments' assimilationist agendas with on-arrival accommodation. In addition, the kitchen and dining spaces highlight tensions amongst residents aligning with different cultural or national groups. However, these areas were equally sites of formative relationships and memories for residents. From the accounts given by former residents and employees, the spaces allowed for establishing connections and friendship that helped foster home-building practices for linguistically and culturally diverse people, who had recently arrived in Australia.

A distinct space to eat was a core tenet of modern domestic dwellings, as evident in the post-Second World War suburban house, but in the redevelopments to improve the domestic comfort of Commonwealth migrant hostels, the inclusion of kitchens and private bathrooms was contentious. In line with most major decisions regarding hostel accommodation, economic considerations undergirded the continued use of ex-military buildings and communal eating arrangements. However, the design histories these spatial types are informed by, specifically histories of spatial control as an approach to organise and discipline subjects, suggest that punitive dimensions informed nation-state hospitality to incoming populations. At migrant hostel sites the Commonwealth of Australia inserted its presence in daily domestic rituals, presenting residents with anticipated constructions of citizenship. However, the residents' diverse experiences of the site and how they navigated the aspirations and directives filtered down from the

Department of Immigration show how daily living practices shifted and rearranged the institutional frameworks seen in migrant hostels.



Figure 6.1 Communal dining areas, Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, Sydney, NSW, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/220.



Figure 6.2 New bathrooms in the family units at Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1969. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1969/22/21.



Figure 6.3 New laundry facilities at Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1969. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1969/22/28.

Figure 6.4 Migrants from Turkey eating in the dining hall of the Villawood Migrant Hostel, October, 1968. Source: Mike McQuillan, NLA: 5983214

Figure 6.5 Entry to a kitchen and dining area, that remained on the Villawood site after the hostel closed. Photograph approx. 2000s. Image courtesy of the Whitlam Library Cabramatta and Fairfield City Museum Gallery.

Figure 6.6 Dining area in Quonset hut that remained on the Villawood site after the hostel closed. Photograph approx. 2000s. Image courtesy of the Whitlam Library Cabramatta and Fairfield City Museum Gallery.



Figure 6.7 Westbridge Migrant Hostel property register, 1971-1973. The remaining ex-military hut accommodation still existed on site in the centre of this plan. Marked on this plan in blue are the kitchen in intermittent use during the 1960s and 1970s. Source: "Westbridge Migrant Workers' Hostel Villawood NSW Part 2 [includes 12 large format plans]," NAA: MP1760/1, 1971/78068.

Figure 6.8 Dining/ Mess Hall, Bonegilla Migrant Reception Centre, VIC, 1950. Collections of Museums Victoria.

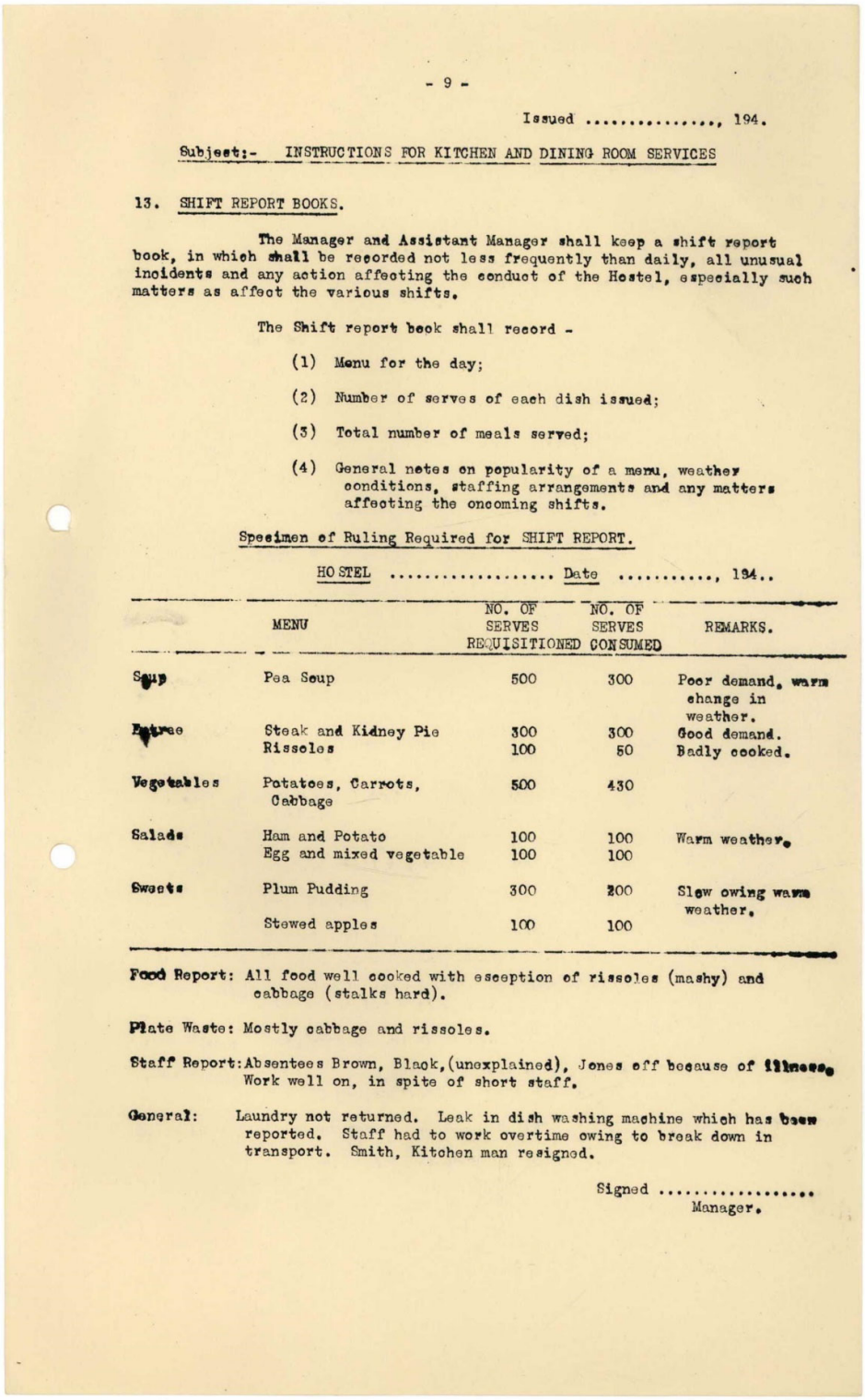
Figure 6.9 Inside an altered Quonset Hut, Glenelg Hostel, SA, early 1960s. Collections of the Migration Museum, South Australia.



Figure 6.10 Dining and kitchen areas, Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/224.



Figure 6.11 New industrial kitchens, Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1973. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/22A/215



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Issued ....., 194.

Subject:- INSTRUCTIONS FOR KITCHEN AND DINING ROOM SERVICES

13. SHIFT REPORT BOOKS.

The Manager and Assistant Manager shall keep a shift report book, in which shall be recorded not less frequently than daily, all unusual incidents and any action affecting the conduct of the Hostel, especially such matters as affect the various shifts.

The Shift report book shall record -

(1) Menu for the day;

(2) Number of serves of each dish issued;

(3) Total number of meals served;

(4) General notes on popularity of a menu, weather conditions, staffing arrangements and any matters affecting the oncoming shifts.

Specimen of Ruling Required for SHIFT REPORT.

HOSTEL ..... Date ....., 194..

	MENU	NO. OF SERVES REQUISITIONED	NO. OF SERVES CONSUMED	REMARKS.
Soup	Pea Soup	500	300	Poor demand, warm change in weather.
Entree	Steak and Kidney Pie	300	300	Good demand.
	Rissoles	100	50	Badly cooked.
Vegetables	Potatoes, Carrots, Cabbage	500	430	
Salads	Ham and Potato	100	100	Warm weather.
	Egg and mixed vegetable	100	100	
Sweets	Plum Pudding	300	200	Slow owing warm weather.
	Stewed apples	100	100	

Food Report: All food well cooked with exception of rissoles (mashy) and cabbage (stalks hard).

Plate Waste: Mostly cabbage and rissoles.

Staff Report: Absentees Brown, Black,(unexplained), Jones off because of illness. Work well on, in spite of short staff.

General: Laundry not returned. Leak in dish washing machine which has been reported. Staff had to work overtime owing to break down in transport. Smith, Kitchen man resigned.

Signed .....
Manager.

Figure 6.12 An example of an early migrant accommodation site menu in 1948. Featured an exmple of a shift report booklet which kitchen staff were expected to use to keep track of the delivery and reception of meals delivered. Source: Dept. of Labour and National Service, Central Office, "Draft manual of instructions for the operation of the food section of migrant hostels – Migrant Workers' Accommodation Division," 1948, NAA: MP414/1, 1.

Figure 6.13 The menu for Christmas lunch at Villawood in the 1970s. Source: Image from Fairfield City Museum Gallery and featured in archived website: "Objects through time, 1950 Fairfield Commonwealth Hostel Ltd. Recipe Book No. 32 and No. 66," Migration Heritage Centre NSW, https://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/hostels-recipe-book/

	BREAKFAST		
FRIDAY	Boiled or Fried Egg Grilled Devon Potato Puffs DIETS AS SPECIFIED DAILY CHILDREN Soft Boiled Egg Daily Bread (White or Wholemeal)	Thick Vegetable Soup 1. Smoked Cod & Parsley Sauce Creamed Potatoes 2. Assorted Salads Fresh Fruit Milk Pudding DIETS AS SPECIFIED SHIFT WORKERS: Fish and Chips CHILDREN: Minced Chicken and Vegs. Bread (White or Wholemeal) Butter, Jam, Honey	Puree of Pea Soup and Sippets Fried Crumbed or Poached Fish, Lemon Wedges Spanish Lamb Chipped or Creamed Potatoes, B.B. Peas, Bee Assorted Salads Cream of Sago DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: Poached Fish, Cocoa Bread (White or Wholemeal) Jam, Honey
SATURDAY	Grilled Kippers Vegetable Croquettes Baked Beans Boiled or Fried Egg DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN Soft Boiled Egg Bread (White or Wholemeal)	Cream of Celery Soup Corned Silverside, Onion Sauce Mutton Casserole Boiled or Creamed Potatoes Cabbage, Carrots Assorted Salads Orange Blancmange DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: Minced Beef and Vegs Bread (White or Wholemeal)	Rice Broth Sausage Rolls Spaghetti Milanaise Creamed Potatoes Assorted Salads Rhubarb and Custard DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: As above - Cocoa Bread (White or Wholemeal) Butter, Jam, Honey
SUNDAY	Stewed Fruit Fried Egg Grilled Bacon Grilled Tomatoes DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: Soft Boiled Egg Bread (White or Wholemeal)	Tomato Soup Roast Pork and Apple Sauce Braised Steak Roast or Creamed Potatoes Pumpkin, Fresh Peas Assorted Salads Fruit Flummery DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: Creamed Chicken and Vegs Bread (White or Wholemeal)	Lentil Soup Braised Oxtail (Steakettes and Onions) O.F.D.K. Creamed Potatoes Assorted Salads Ice Cream and Fruit Salad DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: As above - Cocoa Bread (White or Wholemeal) Jam, Butter, Honey
MONDAY	Grilled Sausages Savoury Veg. Patties Pancakes and Honey Fried or Boiled Egg. DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: Soft Boiled Egg Bread (White or Wholemeal)	Brown Windsor Soup 1. Beef Olives 2. Creamed Potatoes Old English Bread Pudding Assorted Salads DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: Beef Fingers and Vegs Bread (White or Wholemeal) Butter, Jam, Honey	Minestrone Soup Braised Chops and Celery Mince Slice Carrots, Haricot Beans Creamed Potatoes Assorted Salads Cream of Rice DIETS AS SPECIFIED CHILDREN: Oslo Plate, Cocoa Bread (White or Wholemeal) Jam, Honey

Figure 6.14 A later example of CHL's menus, approximately 1976-78, which was part of a submission to review post-arrival programs and services to migrants. Source: Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited NSW," 1976-78, NAA: A4340, MR 1/164.

Figure 6.15 The grocery store at Gepps Crossing Migrant Hostel, South Australia, 1952. Collections of Migration Museum, South Australia.



Figure 6.16 Tene Bar from Amsterdam, checks the price of an electric iron in the general store at Villawood Migrant Hostel, 1957. Source: Don Edwards, Dept. Immigration. NAA: A12111, 1/1957/22/36.



Figure 6.17 Hostel shop at Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1968. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1968/22A/78.



Figure 6.18 The general store at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1984. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, NAA: A12111, 2/1984/22A/514.



Figure 6.19 Examples of publicity images. Karl Lehmann, an ex-Berlin baker and night baking staff at Villawood Migrant Hostel, shows 13-year-old Brunhilde a cake recipe from a German cookbook, 1960. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1960/22/10.



Figure 6.20 Examples of publicity images. Kitchen assistant prepares salads, Villawood Migrant Hostel, 1957. Source: Don Edwards, Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1957/22/30.



Figure 6.21 Dining areas in the remaining ex-military facilities at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1984. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, NAA: A12111, 2/1984/22A/328

Figure 6.22 Families celebrating Christmas at the Villawood Migrant Hostel, exact year unknown, (1980s). Courtesy of the Fairfield Library Collections.



Figure 6.23 English language classes, Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel, 1984. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, NAA: A12111, 2/1984/22A/519.



Figure 6.24 Burwood migrant flats, Victoria. Minister for Immigration Phillip Lynch inspects hostels around Melbourne, 1970. Source: Dept. of Immigration, NAA: A12111, 1/1970/25/26.



Figure 6.25 Commonwealth Migrant Flats, Adelaide, SA, 1973. Source: John McKinnon, Dept. Immigration, NAA: A12111, 2/1973/21A/A.

CHAPTER 7. NEW FORMS OF BORDER SECURITY: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE VILLAWOOD IMMIGRATION DETENTION CENTRE

Note: Figures and figure references are at the end of the chapter.

7.1 Introduction

In 1976, an article in *The Australian,* titled "Homely Touch for Illegal Immigrants" reported on the opening of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre (VIDC) in terms that illustrate its linkage to and evolution from the earlier models of hostel accommodation extant on the site.[1] The author emphasises what they see as hospitable features of the new facilities: "the single-storeyed brick and timber building, set in a landscaped garden at the top of an avenue of gums, looks like a dream home from a colour brochure."[2] This euphemistic description of the external envelope to what was intended as a punitive facility jarringly exposes how narratives on immigration detention centres (IDCs) and refugee interdiction that emerged over the following decades were being framed from the outset. Future media discourse around their function and representation was additionally peppered with a continuation of racialised, discriminatory tropes.[3] Paired with these racialised narratives are economic readings of the people detained and of how they contribute [or not] to the nation-state.

[1] Lyndall Crisp, "Homely Touch for Illegal Immigrants," *The Australian*, November 6, 1976, 22.
[2] "Homely Touch for Illegal Immigrants," 22
[3] For analysis on media representation: "Discussions of Framings in Media: Jumping the Queue? The Queue-Jumping Metaphor in Australian Press Discourse on Asylum Seekers," *Journal of Sociology* 57, no.2 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783320905657

As suggested in the article: "The truth is your average deportee probably never had it so good—he can't be made to work during his internment."[4]

The VIDC's opening signals emergent political and public anxieties about nation-state hospitality and the reception and treatment of refugees and asylum seekers subject to detention in Australia.[5] This theme, which was explored through the allocation and reception of food in migrant hostels in the previous chapter, is extended in this chapter through a different focus on the introduction of an IDC alongside the migrant hostel on the Villawood site in 1976. Built on the same Commonwealth-owned land, the VIDC was Australia's first purposely designed IDC (see figures 7.1 and 7.2).[6] The VIDC's placement within the vicinity of the Villawood Migrant Hostel offers the opportunity to analyse each facility's distinct physical and spatial history as parallel to each other and as interlinked. On opening, the VIDC held non-citizens already residing in Australia, who had outstayed their visa and had arbitrarily been detained in anticipation for deportation, where detention was considered necessary to prevent deportees from absconding. This administrative function is significant, as the VIDC is arguably now inscribed in the public imagination for its later function of detaining people classified

[4] "Homely Touch for Illegal Immigrants."
[5] Examples of recent histories of onshore immigration detention in Australia see Michelle Peterie, *Visiting Immigration Detention: Care and Cruelty in Australia's Asylum Seeker Prisons* (Bristol University Press, 2022); Peter Mares, *Borderline: Australia's Response to Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Wake of the Tampa* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002); Suvendrini Perera and Joesph Pugliese, "Sexual Violence and the Border: Colonial Genealogies of US and Australian Immigration Detention Regimes," *Social & Legal Studies* 30, no.1, (2018), https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663918767954
[6] Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, "Immigration Detention Centres, 1974–1981," NAA: A446, 1974/76229; "Homely Touch for Illegal Immigrants."

as 'unauthorised' by the federal government, particularly people seeking asylum who arrived via boat. However, detaining 'unauthorised' arrivals was not the driving aim for its initial construction. In 1976, Australia did not have designated detention policies and most people held in the VIDC were short-term compliance cases.

This first incarnation of the VIDC was separate to the Villawood Migrant Hostel both physically and administratively but shared operational functions with the hostel. For example, detainees' meals were prepared in the hostel kitchens, emphasising the significance of Villawood's industrial kitchens for Commonwealth Hostel Ltd's production capacities. Although there had been various restrictions on people's daily lives in the migrant hostels (of which one example is regulated meals) it is important to stress that the emergence of IDCs relates to a range of immigration policy agendas and trajectories, which further restricted the lives and daily practices of those detained under them (For an outline of the shifts in policy in the later decades of the 20th century see Appendix 1: Timeline of Significant Changes in the Commonwealth of Australia's Immigration and Citizenship Policy, 1901–2000, 1989–2001). Accordingly, the Villawood site offers witness to the physical and spatial infancy of Australia's immigration detention's spatial trajectory. This co-dependence of the Villawood Migrant Hostel and VIDC manifested across the history of the facilities. When the hostel closed in 1984, select apartment buildings were gradually adapted to be used as part of the detention centre (see figure 7.4). By extending this thesis' focus on constructions and understandings of home and hospitality to this more troubling program of punitive detention, additional questions of the migrant hostel's significance for contemporary

discourses on nation-state securitisation can be raised. Although Australia's detention environments are not this thesis' main focus, making this connection is important as it demonstrates a link between an ongoing, if shifting, racialised public imagination around refuge and the construction of facilities to enact it.

Situating the purposively designed VIDC in the context of the site's history, this chapter examines how the introduction of detention facilities would become pivotal in national narratives on border management and securitisation in the following decades. The examination of the VIDC's spatial history, alongside shifts in agendas and policies around refugee interdiction and resettlement, offers insight into how these national systems of management manifested. Drawing attention to spatial histories of confinement and violence, frequently underscored by racialised narratives, the VIDC exposes a fissure in national identity construction resulting from post Second World War migration policies and programs, which were congratulatory about the emergence of multiculturism, both as a national policy and as a cultural framework. Designed within the Department of Construction (1975–1978), which had a comparable portfolio to the earlier Department of Works (1952–1973), the VIDC of 1976 cost AUD$ 755,000.[7] Initial discussions in the early 1970s about a possible new IDC stipulated that the centre should be designed so as to blend with the new type of hostel buildings in the Westbridge/Villawood complex.[8] In photographs from 1987, the modern timber and

[7] "Homely Touch for Illegal Immigrants," 22.
[8] Letter from the Commonwealth Director of Migration to the Secretary of the Department of Immigration, 28th October 1970 in Dept. of Immigration, "Detention Centre - North Head NSW Part 3," 1970–1971, NAA: A446, 1970/76467.

brick construction with skillion roofs aligns with the envelope design and materiality of the later additions to the Villawood Migrant Hostel (see figures 7.5 and 7.6).[9] The centre had a two-story administration block and a single storey accommodation block that had an initial capacity of forty-six detainees and consisted of open-dormitory accommodation with rooms secured by externally locked doors (see figure 7.7).[10] Surrounded by a fence and equipped with surveillance cameras, the centre's architecture was heavily fortified; the windows had concealed bars, the ceilings were lined with steel mesh, and the lighting arrangements were designed to enhance vigilance.[11] There were two sick bays and detainees had access to a bitumen exercise area and two recreational rooms with minimal amenities beyond colour televisions (see figure 7.8).

Upon opening the facility, the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1976–1987) stressed that the VIDC was not a prison and that, as a result of design consultation, the centre aimed to generate a more convivial atmosphere. However, the subsequent management of detainees emphasises that its internal organisation was similar to a prison: for example visitors could only be seen in individual booths behind glass

[9] Dept of Immigration, "Immigration - Detention centres - Villawood Detention Centre," 1987–1987, NAA: A12111, 2/1987/40A/1–8.
[10] Cabinet Office, "Submission No 2396 Immigration Detention Centres - Decision 5969(Ad Hoc)," NAA: A12909, 2396. Australia, Human Rights Commission, (AHRC), *The Observance of Human Rights at the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre*, August 1983 (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1983); Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Immigration Detention Centres Inspection Report, August 1998*, (Canberra: Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1998).
[11] AHRC, *The Observance of Human Rights at the Villawood Immigration*.

panels.[12] Detainees had to adhere to a strict daily schedule and procedures in receiving visitors, which included possible searches afterwards.[13] In addition, there were offices and amenities for the Commonwealth Police (known as Australian Federal Police since 1979) and examination rooms. Initially designed to accommodate only male detainees, the design's provision for females, children and families became a constant issue of contention.[14] The VIDC's design confusion and the coalescence of design programs, including constant physical amendments, highlights the uncertainty around the role of immigration detention infrastructure and the contentious and tenuous nature of detaining people categorised as 'unauthorised' by the federal government. By analysing the ambiguity around both the VIDC's function and design, the detention centre is treated as a variant of prison, but one where legal and public transparency is brutally diminished due to the provisional nature of the aims undergirding the facilities.

The VIDC's design and building adaptions uncover shifting Commonwealth Government agendas regarding select populations entering Australia during this time. The chapter begins with a brief explanation of mandatory detention and the relevance of looking at the VIDC's history in light of this more contemporary policy. Section 7.2 explores conceptions of spatial violence as they pertain to the expansion of immigration detention to consider how the Commonwealth of Australia managed its population through deportation and on-arrival detention. The following section, 7.3, offers a history

[12] AHRC, *The Observance of Human Rights at the Villawood Immigration.*
[13] "New Deal for Illegal Immigrants," Daily Mirror, November 2, 1976.
[14] Dept. of Immigration, "Ethnic Affairs: Women in Immigration Detention Centres," 1983–1995, NAA: A446, 83/75814; AHRC, *The Observance of Human Rights at the Villawood Immigration.*

of immigration deportation facilities prior to the VIDC's erection and discusses the considerations leading up to the construction of a purpose-built detention centre. Section 7.4 focuses on the programmatic and security arrangements of the VIDC of 1976 and facility changes during the 1980s, ending the analysis in 1992 when mandatory detention was introduced. As in the Villawood Migrant Hostel's initial built trajectory, successive building additions and adaptations mark the VIDC's spatial history. Although the first VIDC was purpose-designed, there has been continuous hesitancy and fluctuation around its function and design in relation to the aims that guide its administration. For example, during the 1980s, suggestions to close the VIDC had been debated through the relevant departments and agencies.[15]

Due to the lack of architectural drawings available at the time of writing, the VIDC is analysed through departmentally produced photographs, Human Rights Commission reports and media coverage.[16] At the time of undertaking the archival work for the thesis a thirty-year public embargo on Australian Government records and the sensitive political and personal nature of the archives in question meant much material was unavailable or had inaccessible sections. Consequently, this chapter takes a more discursive approach and is grounded in a theoretical discussion on spatial violence as

[15] Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, "Immigration Detention Centre Sydney - Policy - Part 1 [Box 1," 1983–1988, NAA: C322, N1983/100128.
[16] Examples: Gordon Brick, Gordon, (reporter, producer), *The Outsiders Within*, (Sydney: A Lee Gordon film in conjunction with Channel 0/28, SBS, 1983); AHRC, *2008 Immigration Detention Report: Summary of Observations following the Inspection of Mainland Immigration Detention Facilities,* Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008. http://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/2008-immigration-detention-report-summary-observations-following-inspection-mainland

explored in the discipline of architecture. The discussion uses interdepartmental correspondence to highlight the federal government's increasing concern about people considered 'unauthorised' and the physical measures and ways of detaining them. These records, especially when examined alongside selected information regarding similar immigration detention facilities in the United States of America and Europe, indicate the experimental nature of the evolution of the VIDC—a trial in how immigration detention might physically manifest in the buildings and consequently be publicly received through media representation.[17] The VIDC was managed by the Department of Immigration and the Commonwealth Police and then later by the Australian Protective Service (APS). However, initial discussions about privatising the management and recruitment of security personnel for immigration detention emerged during the period of this study, foreshadowing the increasing importance of immigration detention to the global prison-industrial complex, a topic of current scholarly interest.[18]

Unlike the Villawood Migrant Hostel, there exists extensive interdisciplinary scholarship on immigration detention and its connection to border securitisation and

[17] Dept. of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, "Analysis and Compliance: Future Directions for Immigration Detention Centres," 1989–1990, NAA: A446, 1989/35253.
[18] The Australian Protective Service was established in October 1984 to take over the protective service component of the Australian Federal Police. Cabinet Office, "Reports 1 to 3 to Cabinet Memorandum 4826 - Report 1: Efficiency scrutiny: Guarding Services - Report 2: Efficiency scrutiny - Australian Survey Office - Report 3: Review of Immigration detention facilities," NAA: A11116, CA2448 PART 1 ATTACHMENT 4.

the production of national identities.[19] This scholarship gains momentum after the introduction of mandatory detention in 1992, when immigration control becomes a consistent and divisive trope in the Australian political discourse. Journalists and academics, from legal theorists to historians, have argued that the nation-state's classification and punitive management of displaced persons who arrive without an appropriate visa and are deemed as 'unauthorised' constitutes a form of structural violence and has intermittently endorsed subjective violence on detainees.[20] During its lifetime, the VIDC has been repeatedly investigated with a focus on the degrading treatment of detainees, including physical and verbal abuse and racialised profiling.[21] Rather than examining detention experiences, the focus of the research is on the VIDC's built history in order to understand the evolving history and strategies towards migrant and refugee interdiction in the Commonwealth of Australia.

[19] Examples: Joesph Pugliese, "The Tutelary Architecture of Immigration Detention Prisons and the Spectacle of 'Necessary Suffering,'" *Architecture Theory Review* 13, no. 2, (2008): 206–221; Perera and Pugliese, *Mapping Deathscapes: Digital Geographies of Racial and Border Violence* (Routledge 2022). Also see "Deathscapes: Mapping Race and Violence in Settler States, (2016–2020), https://www.deathscapes.org/; Jupp, James, Kabala, Marie, eds., *The Politics of Australian Immigration*, (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1993).
[20] Peterie, *Visiting Immigration Detention: Care and Cruelty in Australia's Asylum Seeker Prisons*; Mares, *Borderline: Australia's Response to Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Wake of the Tampa*.
[21] Examples from period: Brick, *The Outsiders Within*; Peter White, "Violence against detainees alleged," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, October 28, 1987, 6; Later accounts: Safdar Ahmed, *Notes from Australia's Immigration Detention System*, (Twelve Press Panels, 2022).

Refugee Interdiction and Mandatory Detention

The VIDC's expansion during the late 1980s and early 1990s to incorporate ex-hostel buildings is usefully considered in the context of the future network of detention centres across Australia and neighbouring countries, which would gain significant public attention from the 1990s onwards. The policy of mandatory detention introduced in 1992 shapes Australia's detention landscape today and was introduced, at least in part, in response to refugees arriving by boat from Southeast Asia. Mandatory detention allows for the detention of all (adults and children), who are in Australia without a valid visa (unlawful non-citizens).[22] Introduced with bipartisan support through the *Migration Amendment Act 1992,* under the federal government's stated necessity to control and manage Australia's borders, the policy allowed for detention of so-called 'unauthorised' arrivals for up to nine months.[23] The time limit for detention was subsequently removed and the long-term detention of many asylum seekers and refugees, without indications of when they would be released, heightened the legal and ethical problems associated with mandatory detention. According to a Parliament of Australia research paper from 2013: "By 2005, 31 per cent of detainees had been held for

[22] For overview of immigration detention policy and legal ramifications: Mary Crock, Ben Saul and Azadeh Dastyari, *Future Seekers II: Refugees and Irregular Migration in Australia* (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2006); Mary Crock, Laurie Berg, *Immigration, Refugees and Forced Migration: Law, Policy and Practice in Australia* (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2011).
[23] Janet Phillips and Harriet Spinks, Parliament of Australia Research Publications Social Policy Section, *Immigration Detention in Australia*, 2013, https://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/bn/2012-2013/detention,

one year or more and in 2007 there were 367 people who had been in detention for two years or more."[24]

Mandatory detention engendered a range of detention facilities within Australia's borders as well as offshore facilities over the following decades (see Table in Chapter 3 for an overview of detention facilities). Alongside Villawood, infamous sites within Australia's geographic locale include Woomera and Baxter, both in South Australia. Offshore detention, where Australia sends its refugees to another country for processing, also included notable regional processing centres on Nauru and Manus Island, Papua New Guinea (PNG), which were in operation from 2001 to 2008 and reopened in 2012 (this context is discussed further in the following chapter).[25] It is beyond the scope of this study to look at the legal nuances of the successive changes, mapped in policies changes after the introduction of mandatory detention in 1992 (*Migration Amendment Act 1992*), that have historically and continue to administer the VIDC (See Appendix 1 for an overview of significant immigration policies, 1989–2001). Instead, only the significant changes in refugee interdiction policy are introduced as they related to changes in the facilities.

[24] Phillips, *Immigration Detention in Australia.*
[25] For histories and interrogations of Australia's facilities at Manus Island see Maria Giannacopoulos and Claire Loughnan, "'Closure' at Manus Island and Carceral Expansion in the Open Air Prison," *Globalizations* 17, no. 7, (2019): 1118–1135, https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2019.1679549; Jon Fraenkel, "Australia's Detention Centres on Manus Island and Nauru: An End of Constructive Pacific Engagement?" *The Journal of Pacific History*, 51, no. 3, (2022): 278–285, https://doi.org/10.1080/00223344.2016.1233802

The Villawood Migrant Hostel is similarly entangled in the trajectory of restrictive asylum polices of the late 1980s in the evolution towards the controversial policy of mandatory detention. The hostel accommodated the initial wave of refugees from the aftermath of the Vietnam War, most of whom were arriving in Australia from mainland Southeast Asia by boat. According to an Australian Parliament research paper from 2013, the Villawood Migrant Hostel accommodated two waves of refugees from the Vietnam War (1955–1975).[26] Throughout the first wave, boats began arriving in Northern Australia in April 1976, with the last in August 1981, and refugees were initially held in what has been described (unfenced) detention in the Westbridge Hostel as part of the Villawood Migrant Hostel. According to a Parliament of Australia, Current Issues Brief, many of the people arriving "were detained in an unfenced area but were not permitted to leave the Centre and had to report daily to the Australian Protective Service. A number of these boat people illegally left the Centre. According to the Immigration Department, about 60 boat people escaped in the period 1991 to 1993."[27]

The Villawood Migrant Hostel officially closed in 1984, however it appears it may have continued being used into the late 1980s and accommodated a second wave of refugees consisting of Cambodian, Vietnamese and Chinese nationals arriving by boat but who were not processed for permanent residence by the federal government as quickly.[28]

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[26] Phillips, *Immigration Detention in Australia*.
[27] Adrienne Millbank, Parliament of Australia, Current Issues Brief 8, *The Detention of Boat People*, 2001, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/CIB/cib0001/01CIB08
[28] Clare Higgins, *Asylum by Boat. Sydney* (NSW: New South Publishing, 2017).

Some of these refugees remained in custody at the Villawood Migrant Hostel for four years. From the available records, it is unclear whether if by 1989 the hostel buildings holding this new wave of refugees were already under VIDC administrative jurisdiction. But by 1991 select hostel buildings were beginning to be adapted for the VIDC and absent on direct confirmation, it is likely they held refugees arriving by boat. Adrienne Millbank, in a report for the Australian Parliamentary Library, *The Detention of Boat People,* states that a number of the refugees left the centre illegally and, according to the Immigration Department, about 60 refugees escaped in the period 1991to 1993.[29] However, it is important to stress that initially in 1976 the VIDC did not hold refugees from mainland Southeast Asia arriving by boat; as previously mentioned, it only detained people classified as 'unauthorised' but already living in Australia that were to be deported. Nevertheless, the fact that the refugees from the aftermath of Vietnam War were subject to heightened forms of regulation at the Villawood Migrant Hostel, and by extension a type of detention, complicates the Commonwealth of Australia's narratives about the Villawood Migrant Hostel's hospitality to recently arrived populations. Direct punitive measures were also at play in the hostel during its lifespan.

'Refugee interdiction' is a term sourced from legal framings on the authority of nation-states to prohibit people from entering their sovereign territories and has been further conceptualised in work that looks at the crossroads of migration and spatial disciplines.

[29] Millbank, *The Detention of Boat People.* https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/CIB/cib0001/01CIB08

Robert Davidson, in a special issue of *Diacritics: New Coordinates: Spatial Mappings and National Trajectories*, outlines the use of pre-emptive interdiction practices such as placing immigration officers in foreign airports for detection purposes and intercepting marine vessels in international or territorial waters.[30] Pre-emptive practices implemented by the federal government include advertising campaigns warning of the possibility of detention on arrival if individuals are lacking the correct visas. Davidson argues that: "These varied interdiction practices illustrate the junction between policy and a surprisingly flexible real, physical space: the national environment, both natural and built."[31] He explores how the practices of interdiction highlight the nation-state's renderings of it borders and authority:

> By employing apparatuses to extend itself extraterritorially, the state expands its influence so as to effect anticipatory penetrative action against potential refugee claimants or migrants. Conversely, the excision of territory or the creation of special zones demonstrates that the state is capable also of contracting its influence and extension. This contraction can occur within fixed and recognized borders.[32]

By managing its borders through processes of detainment, the Commonwealth of Australia frames its physical and territorial boundaries. The VIDC is in a suburban area in Australia's most populous city geographically, unequivocally inside the nation's borders. The VIDC's violent history ruptures the construction of national identities in relation to migration that emphasise tolerance, hospitality and prosperity.

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[30] Robert A. Davidson, "Introduction: Spaces of Immigration 'Prevention': Interdiction and the Nonplace," *Diacritics* 33, no. 3/4, (Fall–Winter 2003): 3-18, https://muse.jhu.edu/issue/10426
[31] Davidson, "Introduction: Spaces of Immigration,"5.
[32] Davidson, "Introduction: Spaces of Immigration," 6.

7.2 Immigration Detention and Spatial Violence

Literature on the architecture of confinement and the design and use of military camps, prisons and institutional facilities reveals how spatial violence is formalised.[33] This work includes scholarship examining how structural violence is reinforced through the built environment and through the hostile occupation of captured territories. Although explicit forms of spatial violence over contested borders are relevant, more implicit forms of structural violence are inscribed by institutions such as immigration detention centres. Violence entwined with architecture does not just originate from external sources but can be exclusively transmitted from the architecture itself.[34] Bechir Kenzari suggests:

> Architectural 'violence' is not simply what happens to architecture (enacted on it from the outside), but rather it is directly related to the meeting of the two realms—the built environment and its other: the architectural and the violable world around it, be it ideological, political, religious, socio-economic or ethic.[35]

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[33] Military architectural histories: Anoma Pieris, *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War* (Cambridge, United: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Pieris "Antipodean Architectures of Displacement," in *The Handbook of Displacement*, edited by Peter Adey, et al. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020); Prison architecture: Norman Johnston, *Forms of Constraint: A History of Prison Architecture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000). See Bashford, Alison and Carolyn Strange eds., *Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[34]Bechir Kenzari, *Architecture and Violence* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2011). See: Dominique Moran, *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT, USA : Ashgate, 2015); Forensic Architecture, *Forensis: The Architecture of Public Truth /A Project by Forensic Architecture*, Centre for Research Architecture, Department of Visual Cultures, Goldsmiths, University of London (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2014); Eyal Weizman, Rafi Segal, eds., *A Civilian Occupation: The Politics of Israeli Architecture* (New York: VERSO, 2003).

[35] Kenzari, *Architecture and Violence*, 17.

This very generalised account of spatial violence is relevant, as the first built VIDC, with a small footprint, physically takes up little space and is inconsequential stylistically to the profession in its formalism or structural design. However, the discursive elements that encircle and cut through the VIDC are pivotal to Australia's history in the later decades of the 20th century.

Deirde Conlon, Nancy Hiemstra and Alison Mountz suggest that the work on the contemporary proliferation of detention practices from the discipline of geography frames detention through the use of space as a means of control rather than purely an administrative sanction.[36] The emphasis on spatial control underpins much of the interdisciplinary literature on borders and new understandings of sovereign states as also explored in Timothy Brennan's work on cosmopolitanism which situates nation-states as being imagined communities but also "fundamentally, manageable communities."[37] Examining the design of the VIDC offers a mode of thinking about immigration detention as a method of nation-state management, outside perspectives grounded in discourses that prioritise policy. A form of management, which coincides with a shift in how Australia engineers its population from the mass recruitment of migrants to the beginning of a new era of immigration administration that develops a deep divide between the categories of 'skilled' and 'unskilled' migrants, was introduced

[36] Deirdre Conlon, Nancy Hiemstra, and Alison Mountz, "Chapter 8: Geographical Perspectives on Detention: Spatial Control and its Contestation," in *Challenging Immigration Detention,* edited by Michael J. Flynn and Matthew B. Flynn (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017).
[37] Timothy Brennan, *At Home in the World: Cosmopolitanism Now* (Cambridge, MA: HarvardUP, 1997), 46-47 as quoted in Davidson, "Introduction: Spaces of Immigration," 4.

in the previous chapter. The VIDC is erected at a time marked economically by the end of a period of nation-building and prosperity, when Australia begins to experience economic instability and the adoption of neo-liberal policies that arguably inform refugee resettlement policy.[38] In the 1970s, as Australia experienced 'stagflation' under both the Whitlam and Fraser governments, unemployment grew significantly and the economic growth rate slowed so that by 1974 Australia was in an economic recession. As the Keynesian consensus in economics failed to address these issues, Australia saw the deregulation of the financial sector in the early to mid-1980s under prime ministers Hawke and Keating. The floating of the dollar in 1983 and the deregulation of specific trading markets saw increases in the privatisation of public sector services. As discussed in detail in the previous chapter, during the 1970s and 1980s, and resulting from a range of international and domestic conflicts and tensions, people arrived from Chile, the Czech Republic, West Papua, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, as well as Lebanon, East Timor and later from the former Yugoslavia. Unravelling the economic factors informing the enmeshment of the public and political readiness to accept and resettle of refugees and asylum seekers is beyond the scope of this discussion. However, it is crucial to link the national and international economic background to the trajectory and proliferation of IDCs in Australian territories or neighbouring countries from the late 1980s to the 2010s.

[38] By 'neo-liberal' I refer to policies that have included privatisation, deregulation, globalisation, free trade and movement of goods (but not of people), austerity and reductions in government spending in order to increase the role of the private sector, as noted in various works by scholars such as Thomas Palley, Andrew Vincent, Peter Bloom and Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy.

Brennan argues that cultural theory's preoccupation with the formation of national identities, "polysemic ambiguities of political myth," and representations "underestimates practical issues of management at stake in making nations."[39] From the Australian Government archival material, this has great relevance. At the forefront of the concerns raised in these records are the bureaucratic systems that oversee the development and management of IDCs including financing, location and land acquisition, as well as departmental and agency responsibility. However, drawing on the established body of work in Australian cultural studies, such as work by Suvendrini Perera and Joseph Pugliese, that investigates the intersection between immigration detention and the construction of national identities, it is evident that racialised hierarchies, even if not explicitly rendered in the departmental records, inform the management and framing of the IDC sites.[40] There is an extension of cultural politics into the management of the nation-state. The published experiences of people detained in IDCs and the discursive interpretations of these sites' histories indicate that the spatial violence accompanying the Commonwealth government's management of population through border control has been, and remains, heavily informed by racialised narratives and preoccupations that undergird cultural understanding of Australia's colonially informed identities.

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[39] Brennan, 46-47, as quoted in Davidson, "Introduction: Spaces of Immigration," 4.
[40] Joesph Pugliese, "The Tutelary Architecture of Immigration Detention Prisons and the Spectacle of 'Necessary Suffering,'" *Architecture Theory Review* 13, no. 2 (2008): 206–221; Suvendrini Perera and Joesph Pugliese, "Sexual Violence and the Border: Colonial Genealogies of US and Australian Immigration Detention Regimes" *Social & Legal Studies* 30, no.1, (2018), https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663918767954, Perera and Pugliese, *Mapping Deathscapes: Digital Geographies of Racial and Border Violence* (Routledge 2022). Also see "Deathscapes: Mapping Race and Violence in Settler States, (2016–2020), https://www.deathscapes.org/

The management and control of borders visible through immigration detention facilities in Australia from the late 1970s to 1990s was an iterative process that used and drew spatial precedents from quarantine stations, prisons, and securitised domestic settings. The VIDC adopted spatial organisation and practices seen in prisons but the detention centre is not exactly a prison replica, as Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange argue:

> Detainees in detention centres are non-criminal (despite rhetoric to the contrary) and non-citizens. Detention centres are prison-*like* in their administration, architecture and high-security features but they more closely resemble quarantine and enemy internment: the detention of groups, most often non-citizens who were incarcerated on grounds other than having committed criminal offences.[41]

The evolution and various forms of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre's design does not exclusively replicate prison planning or form. Instead, the constant layering and reordering of security measures, along with the introduction of spatial segregation into the ex-hostel apartment blocks, produces a vigilant but improvised version of confinement that sits uncomfortably between the prison and housing as a spatial prototype. The haphazard layering of spatial reorganisation and security measures highlights the multiple bureaucratic preoccupations informing IDCs due to both shifting national imaginings and changes in the political party leading the Australian Government.

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[41] Alison Bashford, and Carolyn Strange, "Asylum–Seekers and National Histories of Detention," *Australian Journal of Politics & History 48*, no. 4 (2002): 511.

7.3 Quarantine Station, Prisons and Airports: Immigration Detention Facilities Prior to the VIDC's Construction

Prior to the VIDC's construction, people who had overstayed their visa or been denied entry into the country were held in airports, quarantine stations and occasionally (and controversially) in prisons. Facilities adapted for the purpose of detention of people who had overstayed their visa and 'unauthorised' arrivals had existed in Sydney and Perth since 1959 and in Melbourne since 1964.[42] People detained by the federal government in New South Wales were held in the Manly Detention Centre, in a building that had been used as a mess-hut during the First World War and was located in the North Head Quarantine Station, Sydney.[43] The setup of these detention facilities was due to "the desirability of segregating in custody non-criminal prohibited immigrants and deportees from hardened criminals."[44] They were conceived initially as minimum security establishments, but by the 1970s, coinciding also with a period of new arrivals, the centres in each of these three capital cities were no longer regarded as suitable for the requirements of immigration detention. At this time, each centre had a different but relatively small capacity—for example, the building at North Head held up to twenty-two people, Maribyrnong twenty-six and the Perth centre, located in a quarantine station at Woodman's Point, held twelve.[45]

[42] NAA: A446, 1974/76229.
[43] Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs [I], "Detention Centre - North Head NSW Part 3," 1970–1971, NAA: A446, 1970/76467; Commonwealth Police Force, "Escape of five Detainees Manly Detention Centre 7/4/74 IMM," 1963–1978, NAA: C1070, N74/1360.
[44] NAA: A446, 1974/76229.
[45] NAA: A446, 1974/76229.

The VIDC's geographic location in an industrial and residential area was on the outskirts of Sydney when constructed. Locating the new IDC next to the Villawood Migrant Hostel had an economic imperative as the federal government already owned the land and had the capacity to share meal production with the hostel. However, all three of the first purpose-built IDCs of the 1970s and 1980s had connections to migrant hostels, either being constructed in their vicinity or part of proposals. The original Melbourne Detention Centre in operation from 1964, was located near, but separate from, the Maribyrnong Hostel and was a modified 1936 ex-munitions store that had been part of the Defence Explosive Factory at Maribyrnong.[46] Shortly after the erection of the VIDC, the federal government built a designed IDC on the Maribyrnong site. In Perth, a purpose-built IDC was part of an Commonwealth Police (AFP) complex that contained a police station in the Perth airport, replacing an existing detention facility from 1959, that had been part of the quarantine station at Woodman's Point.[47] However, in the lead-up to construction, the site of the Graylands Migrant Hostel was considered but thought not large enough for the new IDC to be suitably isolated from either the hostel or other suburban buildings in the vicinity.[48] In a memorandum from the Department of Services and Property to the Department of Housing And Construction in 1975, four main migrant hostels were examined as possible sites for the erection of immigration detention facilities: Villawood Migrant Hostel (NSW), Midway/Phillip Migrant Hostel (also known together as Maribyrnong, Vic), Wacol Migrant Hostel (Qld)

[46] NAA: A446, 1973/76929.
[47] Dept. of Immigration, "Detention centre WA - Proposed new location - Part 1," 1971–1980, NAA: A446, 1973/76929.
[48] NAA: A446, 1973/76929.

and Graylands Migrant Hostel (WA).[49] The adaptation of existing buildings or the construction of IDCs within the vicinity of prominent migrant hostels suggests that the legacy of assimilation—as a cultural idea informing policy historically introduced and prevalent at migrant hostel sites—would possibly persist in the history of IDCs.

The North Head facility, sometimes named The Sydney Centre, was established in May 1959 in a building owned by the Commonwealth Department of Health.[50] The facilities consisted of two dormitories, one holding eleven and the other nine or ten. During the mid-1970s the average stay was twelve days before deportation (see figures 7.9 and 7.10). Visitors to the centre had to obtain special passes and leave their vehicles at the entrance to the quarantine area and take official transport to the centre itself.[51] In 1964, following a change of departmental policy regarding ships' deserters, the number of detainees increased, and the centre became consistently occupied.[52] Although intended originally for no more than three detainees at any one time, extensions enabled the accommodation of nineteen.

By the 1970s, the centre was frequently filled, with an overflow of non-criminal deportees being held in custody at Long Bay Prison, Sydney.[53] The Department of Health did not permit any external changes to quarantine station buildings, and this contributed to alternative sites being selected and new IDCs being built. The quarantine

[49] NAA: A446, 1973/76929.
[50] NAA: A446, 1970/76467.
[51] NAA: A446, 1970/76467.
[52] NAA: A446, 1970/76467.
[53] NAA: A446, 1970/76467.

station was seen as "an antiquated building with extremely poor facilities." [54] Additionally, in 1966 a suspected case of smallpox caused the centre to be evacuated for eleven days; and then in 1970, six ship's deserters escaped and incapacitated the guards.[55] These incidents called into question the viability of the continuation the North Head Centre:

> The department maintains three centres for the detention of non-criminals deportees—one each in Sydney, Melbourne and Fremantle. It cannot be said that any one of them is satisfactory, but the Sydney centre has such major disadvantages that I believe that consideration should be given to the question of replacing it.[56]

Ideally, the department wanted to locate a new NSW-based IDC close to shipping and air terminals. Discussion around the need to expand airport detention continued through the 1970s and in conjunction with a new NSW IDC at Villawood; this included proposals to set up detention facilities at international airports to hold people arriving in Australia.[57] The discussion centred around upgrades to major airports in Australia scheduled for the late 1970s and early 1980s that the Commonwealth Department of Works was undertaking.[58] It was suggested that immigration holding facilities be incorporated into future plans to construct police stations at major airports.[59] The decisions around location of the IDCs were largely dependent on economic factors,

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[54] Letter from the Commonwealth Director of Migration to the Secretary of the Dept. of Immigration., 28 October 1970, NAA: A446, 1970/76467.
[55] NAA: C1070, N74/1360.
[56] NAA: A446, 1970/76467.
[57] Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, "Detention facilities at airports," 1977–1981, NAA: A446, 1981/95572.
[58] Dept. of Works, *Works Review / Commonwealth of Australia Department of Works*, (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service).
[59] NAA: A446, 1981/95572.

namely, that setup would be cost effective, and the centres would have long-term financial viability. Consequentially, the construction of facilities was on land already owned by the Commonwealth. Economic considerations often dictated facilities' management and design when managing arriving populations and this emphasis is equally seen in migrant on-arrival accommodation. Hostels were frequently located on Commonwealth-owned land and in areas where there was a demand for labour.

The Department of Interior suggested that Commonwealth-owned land as part of Villawood Migrant Hostel would be well suited for an IDC as the acquisition for alternative sites in the Sydney would not be economically justified (see figure 7.11). The Commonwealth owned about 26 hectares of land at Villawood with The Villawood /Westbridge Hostel utilising only about 24 hectares of the total area. In addition, due to the issues encountered at the quarantine station, servicing of the centre became a priority and location next to a hostel seemed appropriate. A concurrent proposal on Commonwealth land in Ryde was perceived as being too close in proximity to an existing migrant hostel in that area, making Villawood the optimal site. There were fears at the time that opposition might come from local house owners in the surrounding suburbs. However, it was counter-argued in the department with the following reasons "a) local residents have learnt to live with two busy hostels as neighbours and b) the new centre would be virtually surrounded by large buffer areas of Commonwealth land and private industrial land."[60] The VIDC was to be separated from the nearest hostel

[60] NAA: A446, 1970/76467.

buildings through landscaping to avoid objections on the grounds of proximity (see figure 7.12). The proposed Villawood IDC was part of plans to upgrade detention facilities across Australia as evident in the statement by the Migrant Accommodation Section in the Department of Immigration: "Now that the situation in Sydney is to be rectified by the construction of a new and properly designed detention centre we consider that we should put forward our requirements for the construction of a centre in Brisbane and new centres in Melbourne and Perth."[61] What these discussions reveal is an early preoccupation with public perceptions about the costs of detention, which would increasingly become a focus in public debates about the validity of immigration detention. The cost of erecting and running IDCs is used in the case against punitive detention provisions but equally it is used in the justification of IDCs in that these initial costs prevent a nebulous, unquantifiable, greater 'public' cost in the future.

7.4 Villawood Immigration Detention Centre

Generated within the Department of Construction, the new security systems installed in the VIDC were proclaimed as one of a kind in the Southern Hemisphere (see figures 7.13 and 7.14).[62] Initially, within the federal government, the design was celebrated as a new security model (see figure 7.15). Over the next two decades, both the physical facilities and management came under constant critique from refugee advocates and the Human Rights Commission, namely for violations and abuses of human rights as

[61] NAA: A446, 1974/76229.
[62] "Homely Touch for Illegal Immigrants."

defined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.[63] When the VIDC opened, females were held at Silverwater Prison, Sydney and were gradually moved into the IDC.[64] The initial design provided facilities for women and children that inadequately catered to different needs, highlighting the provisional nature of the facilities.

During the early 1980s the average stay was two weeks with some people detained for several months and in 1983 the first Human Rights Commission report on the VIDC was published.[65] This was the first of many reports on the facilities resulting from complaints from detainees and refugee advocate groups. A consistent theme of VIDC critiques in the 1980s is the constant confusion around the responsibilities between the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and the Australian Federal Police and later Australian Protective Service.[66] The VIDC condoned extreme punitive practices and infringements of privacy and, rather than a secure holding centre, was effectively a prison in its spatial organisation and management of detainees.[67] Domestic services, including the provision of food, were provided by the adjacent migrant hostel under a

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[63] Gordon, *The Outsiders Within; Australia, Human Rights Commission, The Observance of Human rights at the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre, August 1983 (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1983);* Australia, Human Rights Commission, *The Observance of Human rights at the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre,* August 1983 (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1983); Dept. of Immigration, "Ethnic Affairs: Women in Immigration Detention Centres," 1983–1995, NAA: A446, 83/75814.

[64] NAA: A446, 83/75814.

[65] NAA: A446, 83/75814; AHRC, *Observance of Human Rights at the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre*

[66] AHRC, *Observance of Human Rights at the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre*. There were also criticisms of this report as being too lenient on the government's provision of facilities: Jack Waterford, "Rights denied migrants in detention," *The Canberra Times*, September 12, 1983.

[67] "Rights denied migrants in detention;" Brick, *The Outsiders Within.*

contractual arrangement, similar to the one existing between the Maribyrnong IDC and Midway (Maribyrnong) Migrant Hostel. Initially, VIDC had open-plan lavatories and showers that included closed-circuit television camera to monitor detainees—an excessive and violent form of control on the detainee's subjectivity through surveillance in the most intimate settings. Detainees were removed from their dormitories at 7 a.m. and the dormitories were locked by staff at 10 p.m. The only relaxation areas during the day were seats bolted to the floor in front of the television. Consequently, there were no areas for privacy during the day. Initially, pregnant and sick persons also had to adhere to these rules. These arbitrary detention and punishment practices included the inability of detainees to retain personal items such as watches, rings, idols, pens, and cosmetics. The AHRC's 1983 report findings concluded that the centre was predicated on the worse-case situations and behaviour and showed an excessive response to security risk.

In early discussions about the provision of accommodation for females at the Villawood IDC, suggestions were to provide for four females to be accommodated in two sick bays, each of which was self-contained with a toilet and shower.[68] The sick bays could be locked and isolated at night from the men's area by locking other doors. It was suggested that during the day women should be able to mix with the men in the supervised lounges or, if required, be isolated in the second TV room and where supervision would be assisted by policewomen at all times.[69] Around 1983 a new women's wing was to be erected to accommodate 20 people in one dormitory. Prior to

[68] NAA: A446, 1981/95572.
[69] NAA: A446, 1981/95572.

this 1980s addition, men and women were subjected to complete segregation even when couples or family members were detained together. According to detainees, members of the same gender classification were seldom allowed to keep each other's company for long periods and had their conversations interrupted.[70] There was an absence of areas where detainees could pray or observe their religion and constant reprimands by custodial staff, including alleged physical abuse, for speaking in languages other than English.[71] These excessively punitive protocols governing daily life at the VIDC reveal that the people detained, even if not officially classified as criminal, were treated under the proactive assumptions of criminality. Additionally, these management protocols highlight how the federal government's management of its population enacted gendered and racialised violence.

Responding to the 1983 report, the federal government outlined changes it had already implemented and proposed new adjustments, including the new female wing and the appointment of extra AFP staff, and announced it would aim to provide culturally relevant recreational aids and increased privacy for detainees.[72] These first amendments set a pattern that emerged over the following three decades. What followed was a constant negotiation about facilities, use and standards between successive Australian governments and the Human Rights Commission as well as independent critiques

[70] AHRC, *The Observance of Human Rights at the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre.*
[71] Brick, *The Outsiders Within*.
[72] "Changes to Migrant Detention Centre," *The Canberra Times*, April 4, 1983, 3; Commonwealth, *Human Rights: Villawood Immigration Detention Centre Report and Ministerial Statement*, House of Representatives, September 21, 1983.

including media reportage on the facilities and experiences of detainees. Procedural improvements and building upgrades were recurrent offerings made by consecutive federal governments to appease these public debates over human right violations. The modifications can be viewed as a diversion to the underlying ethical and ideological problems with Australia's program of arbitrary immigration detention, particularly evident after the introduction of mandatory detention. Improving the facilities is a necessity to provide a better standard of everyday life for detainees. However, this provision should not shadow the underlying issues associated with the policy. By providing amenable, more institutional accommodation at IDCs, the punitive practice of on-arrival detention was also embedded into the national psyche as a permanent feature of Australia's institutions and infrastructure (this is discussed further in the conclusion with more recent site redevelopments).

During the 1980s there was increased debate around the type and longevity of IDCs and their administrative function in Australia. In a 1987 Review of Immigration Detention Centres, although the scrutiny accepts the government' s position on the need to detain, it recommends that due to the costs associated with running IDC's one option is to close the VIDC.[73] In July/August of 1989, the Department of Labour and Immigration considered potential alternatives to immigration detention.[74] An international trip to explore such alternatives included many countries but concentrated on the United States of America, as its Immigration and Naturalization Service had arranged viewings

[73] NAA: C322, N1983/100128.
[74] NAA: A446, 1989/35253.

to centres. Processing centres visited included one in El Paso, Texas and more importantly the Denver Contract Facility, which was the first contract facility between the INS and the Wackenhut Corrections Corporation. According to the trip report, the centre housed "non-criminal and criminal aliens and is totally managed and maintained by Wackenhut who are responsible for the safety, privacy and the basic human rights of the detainees."[75] Also included in the trip was a visit to the Reception Centre for Asylum Seekers in the Netherlands, where although there were guards present, the persons staying at these centres were not under guard and reported to local police once a week (see figure 7.16). This trip was part of a new investigation into the future direction of immigration detention and Cabinet dedicated AUD $100,000 to a 1988 consultancy project, which included the Australian Institute of Criminology.[76] As a result of these investigations it was suggested that facilities such as Villawood, as well as new IDCs in Queensland and the Northern Territory, should be expanded and upgraded. During the 1970s and 1980s, because IDC facilities had not been directly reflected in the *Migration Act 1958*, it was suggested that holding alternatives to detention centres be made explicit in new legislation, stating that both migrant hostels and hospitals may be used. In addition, the recommendations suggested continued use of prisons to hold illegal entrants that were considered criminal.[77]

[75] NAA: A446, 1989/35253.
[76] NAA: A446, 1989/35253.
[77] NAA: A446, 1989/35253.

A significant proposal from these investigations was to encourage privatisation and seek tenders for the design, construction and management of IDCs.[78] A move to low-security, private prisons in Queensland and New South Wales was cited as a precedent that also signalled there was an emergent industry in Australia that would be capable of running IDCs. In addition, the cost of detaining a person was stated as being drastically cheaper in the United States of America through privatisation compared to the cost of maintaining IDCs in Australia.[79] The cost of running the three detention centres was AUD$ 2.88 million, at an estimated AUD$ 129 per day per person in 1985/1986. These departmental investigations signal the end of the archival material available but in in the 1996/1997 Budget, it was announced that guarding services for IDCs would be put to competitive tender and in November 1997 immigration detention services were outsourced to Australasian Correctional Services (ACS).[80] This transfer from public to the private sector warrants further investigation as the possible consideration and introduction of privatised IDCs in Australia based on the US prototypes is an early example of an increasingly lucrative, global phenomenon of outsourcing migrant and refugee interdiction and border control to specialised companies.[81]

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[78] Executive Consideration of Future Directions of IDCS, Source: NAA: A446, 1989/35253

[79] Analysis and Compliance Branch, "Future Directions for Immigration Detention Centres, 18 September 1989," in NAA: A446, 1989/35253.

[80] "ACS provided these services through its operational arm, Australasian Correctional Management (ACM). ACS/ACM is now known as GEO Australia Pty Ltd (GEO)" in "Chapter 7: Outsourcing of Management of Immigration Centres," Parliament of Australia, Complete Inquires, 2007, https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Legal_and_Constitutional_Affairs/Completed%20inquiries/2004-07/migration/report/c07

[81] Sara Dehm, "Outsourcing, Responsibility and Refugee Claim-Making in Australia's Offshore Detention Regime," in *Profit and Protest in the Asylum Industry*, edited by Siobhan McGuirk and Adrienne Pine (PM Press, 2020).

Detention at Villawood in the 1990s and early 2000s

In 1991, twelve of the two-storey previous hostel buildings, designed by Bunning and Madden, were adapted for immigration detention centre purposes. Initially, several ex-army huts were used for the dining, school, and entry building in the VIDC.[82] An on-site school provided education for children aged between six and fifteen and classes for adults in an English as a Second Language program. A large Nissen hut remained in use up to the 2000s for administration purposes. By 1998 there were 244 people in detention at the VIDC with detainees classified between 'overstayers' and 'unauthorised' arrivals. By the 2000s, when Villawood was at peak visibility in the public imagination, the VIDC had three major compounds and during 2004 7,500 detainees passed through the facility.[83] All had oppressive high wire fences, little outdoor space or sheltered areas and no freely accessible indoor areas outside the accommodation blocks. This strategy aligned with the design of the new migrant hostel blocks and their absence of communal spaces. The adapted hostel buildings were used in Hughes, also known as Stage 2, generally for compliance cases and asylum seekers who had arrived by plane, and Fowler, formerly Stage 3, which was generally used for asylum seekers who had arrived by boat (see figures 7.17 and 7.18). A small compound

[82] Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Immigration Detention Centres Inspection Report*, (Canberra: The Parliament of Australia, August 1998), 13.

[83] Joint Submission Dept of Finance and Administration and Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, *Villawood Immigration Detention Centre Redevelopment: Statement of Evidence to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works (*Canberra: Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2006); Australian Human Rights Commission, *Immigration detention at Villawood: Summary of observations from visit to immigration detention facilities at Villawood*, Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011. http://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/2011-immigration-detention-villawood

named Banksia Compound, which sat within the Hughes centre, was for women only. The third compound, named Blaxland, previously known as Stage 1, opened in 2008 and used the purpose-built detention centre of 1976. It was the highest-security compound, fortified by razor wire and surveillance cameras (see figures 7.19 and 7.20). According to the Australia Humans Rights Commission in 2008, Blaxland was one of the most restrictive and prison-like areas in Australia's detention network and detainees in this compound had limited privacy and access to outdoor space (see figures 7.21 and 7.22).

By the 2000s there were two types of holding centres on the larger Villawood site, each defined by the classification of the person held and degrees of securitisation. Scaled levels of perceived domesticity were used to classify inhabitants—the lower the perceived threat the more autonomy granted in the detainment facilities and the more residential the design. The first was the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre with its three compounds and then there was the smaller Sydney Immigration Residential Housing (IRH) complex with an operational capacity of approximately thirty-four persons and facilities consisting of four duplex houses with shared kitchens and gardens (see figures 7.23 and 7.24).[84] According to federal government definitions, "the benefit of this domestic style of accommodation is that detainees are able to cook their own food and control many aspects of their household."[85] In 2008, the Human Rights Commission

[84] AHRC, *Immigration Detention at Villawood*, 4–5.
[85] Parliament of Australia, joint submission by the Department of Finance and Deregulation and Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility*

argued that the Sydney IRH should be used as an alternative model for detaining people at the VIDC. Here, the use of carefully curated domestic spaces reveals how hospitality, as interpreted through varying degrees of domestic comfort, becomes connected to criminality. The range of detainee classification at Villawood can be perceived spatially in the facilities as they shift from collective dwellings through increased lack of homeliness to a high-security prison. From 2011, the VIDC has undergone a complete redevelopment aimed to upgrade detainee amenities, processing areas and visitor meeting spaces, in part to respond to multiple recent investigations by the Australian Human Rights Commission into the alarming living conditions and facility depletion observed.[86] This redevelopment includes a heritage precinct for the migrant hostel. The implications of a heritage site, presenting the site's history from migrant hostel to Australia's largest onshore immigration detention centre, is discussed in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

Redevelopment Villawood, New South Wales, Statement of evidence to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works (Version 3), (Canberra: Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 2009) and "Immigration Detention Facilities," Department of Immigration and Border Protection, last accessed February 21 2016, http://www.border.gov.au/Busi/Comp/Immigration-detention/facilities

[86] The main example these investigations mentioned as a reason behind the need for the redevelopment in the Dept. of Finance and Deregulation *Villawood Immigration Detention* is Graeme Innes and Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Immigration Detention Report 2008: Summary of Observation Following Visits to Australia's Immigration Detention Facilities* (Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2008).

7.5 Conclusion

The construction of an externally rather nondescript building in 1976 began a trajectory of confinement and spatial violence at this site which amplified in subsequent decades as the VIDC became central to the history of refugee interdiction in Australia. The VIDC's physical and spatial development and its administrative and conceptual background reveal how immigration detention as a system of nation-state management commenced and how this type of infrastructure has constantly been in flux. The VIDC's initial 1976 programmatic anticipation of relatively low numbers of detainees, , presages later realities that frequently get muddled in the narratives produced to justify immigration detention practices. [87] The real numbers of 'unauthorised' people attempting to stay or enter the country from the 2000s to today, a period marked by heightened preoccupations about border securitisation, has been strikingly disproportionate to the parliamentary and public discourse on the perceived threat to resources to existing communities.[88] Linking the VIDC to the site history of on-arrival facilities for migrants and refugees highlights that the construction of a small IDC sits in contrast to the initial roll-out of migrant accommodation on-site after the Second World War. By October 1950, the hostel accommodated approximately 1000 people at any given time, with this number increasing through the 1950s.[89] From January 1952 to

[87] NAA: A446, 1974/76229; "New Deal for Illegal Immigrants," *Daily Mirror,* November 2, 1976, 63.
[88] Janet Phillips, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, Social Policy Section. *Asylum Seekers and Refugees: What are the Facts?* 2011, https://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/asylumfacts.pdf
[89] Dept. of Labour and National Service, "Migrant Workers' Accommodation Hostels - general - hostel occupancy and capacity," 1950–1951," NAA: MP579/1, 264/1/31.

September 1969, the total number of migrants in CHL hostels nationwide was 550 000.[90] Although the accommodation at migrant camps and hostels was initially provisional, the administrative program they belonged to was a large-scale directive for population growth and expansion of a labour force for agriculture and industry.[91]

Early immigration detention practices at the VIDC highlight the confused management and provision of facilities that would become part of a trajectory of notorious conditions for the people held in detention. In 1992, the mandatory detention policy introduced a radically different era of internment practices. However, due to its significance, the prior existence and histories of immigration detention tend to be overshadowed within academic scholarship. The increase of detention centres across Australia during the 1990s and 2000s was, as Perera amongst many academics have argued, intrinsically paired with racialised narratives around the acceptance of refugees into the country.[92] The racialisation concerning incoming people seeking refuge was additionally concerned with their economic utility and this aspect is prevalent in the emergence of offshore detention facilities in 2001 in Nauru and Manus Island, that were part of the Pacific Solution. However, these dimensions to the narratives around the people effectively incarcerated were present in the earlier histories of sites such as Villawood,

[90] CHL Central Office, "Commonwealth Hostels Limited - Central - Organisation and Administration Policy - Tours of Inspection," 1969–1971, NAA: C3076, 1/1/21 PART 2.
[91] Initially, the government's intention was to "increase the population by 1 per cent per annum through immigration to achieve an annual growth rate of 2 per cent overall, including natural increase," Harriet Spinks, "Australia's' Migration Program, Parliament of Australia Background Note, Social Policy Section, 2010, 1-3. https://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/austmigration.pdf
[92] Suvendrini Perera, Graham Seal and Sue Summers eds., *Enter at own risk? Australia's population questions for the 21st Century* (Perth: Black Swan Press, 2010); *Australia and the Insular Imagination: Beaches, Borders, Boats, and Bodies* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2009).

prior to the introduction of mandatory detention. The exploration presented here is an introductory and a discursive assessment of the VIDC and, as more records of the site's history become available over the following decades, a more robust understanding of the site's role in the history of immigration detention will become clearer.

The punitive spatial and managerial measures initially installed in deportation centres, and then increasingly amplified as the VIDC expanded, demonstrates the artifice in the construction of national identities in the Commonwealth of Australia as tied to hospitality of arriving populations—hospitality that is frequently limited to select incoming populations. The provision or disavowal of nation-state hospitality that discursively informs the VIDC reveals connections to the site's earlier function of migrant on-arrival accommodation and its frequent assimilatory aspirations. The conditions experienced by the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre's detainees, highlighted by the protests in conjunction with the centre's recurrent pivotal position in refugee interdiction discourses, disrupt national fantasies of national unity through framings of national identity based on multiculturalism. These are framings of multiculturalism that Ghassan Hage, Perera and others have argued implicitly centres the British colonial political legacy and Anglo-Celtic ethnocultural background.[93] There is a history of protests at the VIDC, arising from both deaths occurring in detainment and as a vehicle for detainees to gain recognition for collective and individual situations,

[93] Ghassan Hage, *The Diasporic Condition: Ethnographic Explorations of the Lebanese in the World* (The University of Chicago Press, 2021); Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1998).

including the longevity and uncertainty around the periods of incarceration along with the conditions of the facilities and treatment by staff. A notable more recent protest that made national headlines and exemplified divisive media representations is the protest that occurred on the night of 20 April 2011 where several buildings were set alight by detained asylum seekers (see figures 7.25 and 7.26).[94] The VIDC is a pivotal site where the racialised undercurrents around immigration control intersect with the criminalisation of people arriving in Australia and seeking refuge.

Acts of protests at IDCs, directed at and damaging facilities as a method of recourse often become criminalised, as Bashford and Strange argue: "in the act of resisting detention, or the conditions of detention, non-criminal detainees become criminal, escapees end up in goal, rioters are charged with property damage to property."[95] For example, in the 2011 protests, VIDC detainees were charged with criminal offences relating to property damage. In response to these protests, the federal government at the time wanted to change the law so if detainees were found guilty of a crime, they would fail the character requirements permits in the application for a permanent visa.[96] However, this chapter has argued that the criminalisation of detainees is also apparent in the less overt mechanisms in the VIDC's early history. The early confusion around the management and functions, along with the buildings, physical and spatial

[94]-Examples: Debbie Guest, "Guards retreat as detainees set Villawood alight," *The Australian*, April 21, 2011; Nick Ralston "Buildings set alight in Villawood detention centre rooftop protest," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 21, 2011.
[95] Bashford and Strange, "Asylum-Seekers," 516.
[96] "Australia to toughen asylum law after riots," BBC News, April 26, 2011, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-13192911

securitisation and invasive surveillance, meant that the treatment of detainees was from the onset punitive in its approach. The VIDC's early history signals the beginning of a network of IDC facilities that emerge in the later decades of the 20th century. This punitive, and legally and culturally fraught incarceration trajectory adds another version of provisional prisons in a substantial penal history from the first British colonies to their extension in the Commonwealth of Australia.



Figure 7.1 Villawood Immigration Detention Centre (VIDC), Sydney, NSW, 1987. Source: Department of Immigration Ethnic Affairs (DIEA), NAA: A12111, 2/1987/40A/1



Figure 7.2 VIDC, 1987. Source: DIEA, NAA: A12111, 2/1987/40A/2.

Figure 7.3 VIDC, date unknown, photographed prior to its recent staggered redevelopment, 2015-2019. Photographer: Torsten Blackwood, AFP/Getty.

Figure 7.4 Asylum seekers protesting on the roof of the VIDC, April, 2011. Photographer: Adam. J.W.C. Source: "Asylum seekers on the roof of Villawood Immigration Detention Centre," Wikimedia Commons, April 22, 2011, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Asylum_seekers_on_the_roof_of_Villawood_Immigration_Detention_Centre.JPG



Figure 7.5 VIDC, 1987. Source: DIEA, NAA: A12111, 2/1987/40A/4.



Figure 7.6 Road entry to VIDC, 1987. Source: DIEA, NAA: A12111, 2/1987/40A/8.



Figure 7.7 Sleeping quarters, VIDC, 1987. Source: DIEA, NAA: A12111, 2/1987/40A/3.



Figure 7.8 Communal Areas, VIDC, 1987. Source: DIEA, NAA: A12111, 2/1987/40A/7.



Figure 7.9 Manly Detention Centre, North Head Quarantine Station, Sydney, 1974. Source: Commonwealth Investigation Service, New South Wales, "Escape of five Detainees Manly Detention Centre 7/4/74 IMM [Immigration]," 1963–1978, NAA: C1070, N74/1360.



Figure 7.10 Manly Detention Centre, North Head Quarantine Station, 1974. Source: Commonwealth Investigation Service, New South Wales, "Escape of five Detainees Manly Detention Centre 7/4/74 IMM [Immigration]," 1963-1978, NAA: C1070, N74/1360.



Figure 7.11 VIDC sketch site plan in relation to Villawood Migrant Hostel, date approx. 1976. Source: Australian Property Group, State Office, NSW, "Settlement - Survey matters - Villawood Migrant Detention Centre," 1974-1985, NAA: C424, 1974/500. (Proposed IDC marked in red)

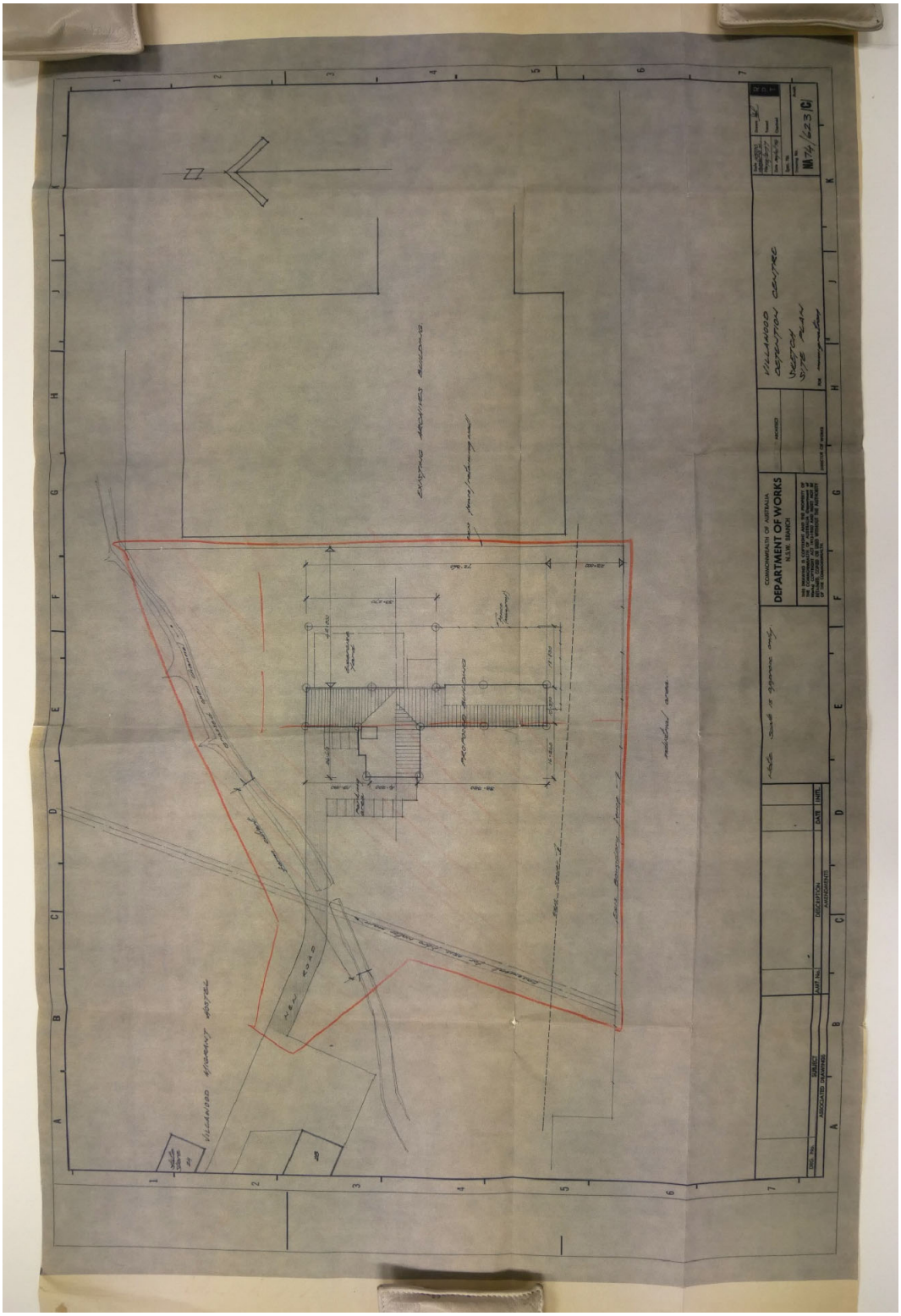


Figure 7.12 VIDC sketch site plan, 1974. Source: Australian Property Group, State Office, NSW, "Settlement - Survey matters - Villawood Migrant Detention Centre," 1974-1985, NAA: C424, 1974/500.



Figure 7.13 VIDC, opening press conference, featuring security measures 1977. Source: DIEA, Central Office, "'Villawood' a new detention centre in Sydney," NAA: A12111, 2/1977/40A/4.



Figure 7.14 VIDC, opening press conference, 1977. Source: DIEA, Central Office, "'Villawood' a new detention centre in Sydney," NAA: A12111, 2/1977/40A/3.



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DEPORTATION CENTRE FOR MIGRANTS OPENS

Illegal immigrants awaiting deportation will be held in a new $755,000 detention centre only a stone's throw from accommodation for new arrivals to Australia at the Villawood Migrant Hostel.

But the only thing the deportees will share with their "neighbors" will be the same food, served in the centre's own modern kitchen and dining room which already bears a shattered window.

On Friday, the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr J. Mackellar, officially inspected the little-publicised centre, now the largest and most modern in the southern hemisphere.

The minister said although the number of illegal immigrants in Australia was continually fluctuating the estimated figure was between 30,000 — 35,000 a year, the majority of which represented deserting seamen and overstaying visitors.

The reason for the drastic drop in the number of immigrants deported this financial year is credited to the three months' amnesty given to illegal residents from January to April 13.

Last year, 527 people were deported but this year the figure was a low 87.

Of the 8614 people who applied, 7043 illegal migrants have so far been granted amnesty.

To date, deportees have been held in old barracks style premises overlooking South Head at the Department of Health's quarantine station.

The standard of accommodation was considered poor and the premises could only cater for a maximum of 22 people.

People representing the "overflow" were sent to the remand section of Long Bay Gaol, but these migrants will now be accommodated at the new centre which can house 48 detainees.

This year 251 detainees were held at the barracks with an average stay of 12 days before deportation.

The minister emphasized that all cases of illegal migrants were dealt with individually and not all deportees were sent to a detention centre.

He said illegal women migrants were held at the Silverwater Prison's remand section and that there were no plans to build a separate centre to accommodate them as there wasn't the need.

"This year we only had four women detainees," he said.

While there is a strong accent on security enforcement at the new centre, the government does not consider it a prison and a reasonable standard of comfort and amenities has been incorporated into the design.

From the exterior, the modern brick and timber building set on five acres, which will be later landscaped, shows no signs of being a strict security building.

Commonwealth Police will staff the centre.

The building's hub is a sophisticated security panel allowing staff to instantly peer in any room of the centre with a flick of a switch and monitor the area on a bank of miniature television screens.

The panel also controls the centre's public address system, fire control unit, telephone and a special radio telephonic link with the Commonwealth Police headquarters.

In the spacious foyer, with skylights and feature timber beams, stand timber grain effect viewing cubicles where friends and relatives can talk to deportees from behind a glass panel.

The centre has two interviewing rooms for the use of lawyers, ministers and official interviews by police.

The centre is airconditioned throughout and walls are painted in a neutral cream.

Sleeping accommodation is on an open dormitory basis, with three double bunks occupying each small bay.

There are two separate sick bays.

As the detainees do not work, the centre has built in recreational facilities to help pass the time.

There is a large open air reading yard, surrounded by a high wall, a smaller outdoor enclosed area, two large reading and table tennis rooms and two television rooms equipped with color TV.

A number of male police officers [illegible] rooms for difficult to handle detainees.

There are two separate double beds returning bays and a grey padded room.

Inspector-in-charge of the uniform branch NSW district, Inspector K. Strickland, told the Torch the rooms were for violent deportees.

The padded cell may only be used for two hours once a year, but we have the responsibility to protect the detainees from each other and themselves," he said.

Mr Mackellar felt the centre was remarkably functional.

"The centre is a controlled area and detaining people while they are awaiting deportation.

"We have made it reasonably comfortable while keeping in mind our responsibility," he said.

Prisoner makes his point felt

Bass Hill police had some needling moments on Friday morning when they had to bring in a dangerous escapee wearing built-in poisonous spurs — a spiky echidna!

The echidna was found by the law resting on the roadway under a Give Way sign at the corner of Chester Hill Road and Proctor Parade.

But bringing the traveller to justice proved a handful as the cunning little creature kept raising its spikes to resist arrest.

But the long arm of the law was not to be deterred and with the help of some thick cloth the police soon had the echidna resting in the can — an office garbage can!

The echidna will go to a new home at the Waratah National Park. Pictured holding his prisoner is Sen. Const. R. McMahon.

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Figure 7.15 "Deportation Centre for Migrants Opens," *The Bankstown-Canterbury Torch*, November 3, 1976, 1-2. Source: Fairfield Libraries Newspaper Archives.

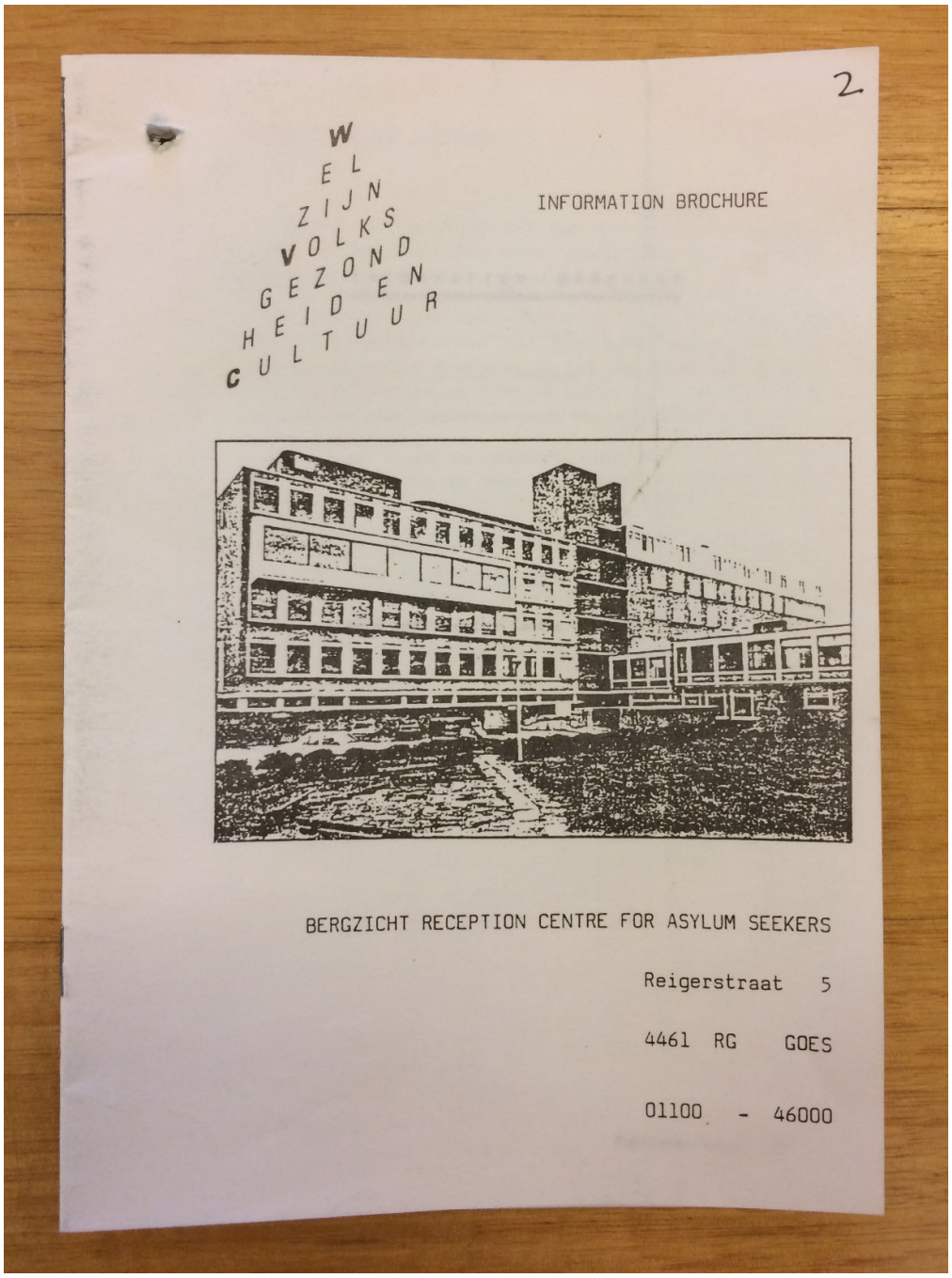


Figure 7.16 Material collected on a departmental scouting trip of similar migrant holding centres in selected countries. Source: Dept. of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, "Analysis and Compliance: Future Directions for Immigration Detention Centres," 1989–1990, NAA: A446, 1989/35253.

Figure 7.17 Former migrant hostel accommodation building in use in the Fowler Compound, VIDC, 2011. The Australian Human Rights Commission visited Villawood Immigration Detention Centre and Sydney Immigration Residential Housing in February 2011 and key observations were part of a 2011 report. The photographs are from this visit and can be found on their website. Source: "Photos: 2011 Immigration detention at Villawood," Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/photos-2011-immigration-detention-villawood

Figure 7.18 Dining room in the Hughes Compound, VIDC, 2011. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/photos-2011-immigration-detention-villawood

Figure 7.19 External fences, VIDC, 2011. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/photos-2011-immigration-detention-villawood

Figure 7.20 Visitor's area, Blaxland Compound, VIDC, 2011. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/photos-2011-immigration-detention-villawood

Figure 7.21 Enclosed courtyard, Blaxland Compound, VIDC, 2011. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/photos-2011-immigration-detention-villawood

Figure 7.22 Dormitory Blaxland Compound, VIDC, 2011. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/photos-2011-immigration-detention-villawood

Figure 7.23 Sydney Immigration Residential Housing (IRH), 2011. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/photos-2011-immigration-detention-villawood

Figure 7.24 Sydney IRH, 2011. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/photos-2011-immigration-detention-villawood

Figure 7.25 Media representation of protests at the VIDC, April 2011. Source: Nick Ralston, "Buildings set alight in Villawood detention centre rooftop protest," *The Australian.* April 21, 2011, https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/buildings-set-alight-in-villawood-detention-centre-rooftop-protest-20110421-1dp62.html

Figure 7.26 Media representation of protests at the VIDC, April 2011. Source: Debbie Guest and Lanai Vasek, "Guards retreat as detainees set Villawood alight," *The Australian*, April 21, 2011.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION: A SIGNIFICANT SITE

Note: Figures and figure references are at the end of the chapter.

8.1 Introduction

Drawing together the research presented in the preceding chapters and highlighting how the Villawood site is pivotal to the Commonwealth of Australia's immigration history, this concluding chapter reflects on the significance of this thesis for linking the discipline of architecture to broader public debates. Two main contemporary issues prompted this larger historical investigation: firstly, current national and international anxieties in relation to the detention of people categorised as unauthorised by successive Commonwealth governments;[1] and secondly, ongoing debates and concerns surrounding transitory tenure vs house ownership in Australia, influenced by the effect of neoliberal economic policies on housing markets. .[2] Through the lens of architecture, this thesis has considered the historical context of these contemporary situations and their tensions.

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[1] Examples: Jon Stratton, "Uncertain Lives: Migration, the Border and Neoliberalism in Australia," *Social Identities* 15, no. 5 (2009): 677-692, https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630903205324; Peter Mares, *Borderline: Australia's Response to Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Wake of the Tampa* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002); Suvendrini Perera, "What is a Camp?" *Borderlands E–Journal: New Spaces in the Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2002), Trove archived online journal, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20080720062205/http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/perera_camp.html

[2] Examples: Judith Yates, "Australia's Housing Affordability Crisis," *Australian Economic Review*, 41 (2008): 200-214, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8462.2008.00502.x; Peter Mares, *No Place Like Home: Repairing Australia's Housing Crisis* (Melbourne, Victoria: The Text Publishing Company, 2018).

Firstly, the thesis brought into focus marginalised histories of housing to widen the vocabulary surrounding ideals of domestic design and physical conceptions of home as tied to housing in Australia. In doing so, it revealed the architect led experimentation in domestic housing through migrant hostel design. Secondly, it examined the emergence of successive federal governments preoccupation with border security and the parallel reassertion of xenophobic political narratives within the nation that have historically influenced the resettlement options available to displaced people arriving in the country. The various incarnations of these racialised narratives surrounding the architectural changes in the types of on-arrival accommodation offered to migrants and refugees visualise and materialise broader issues of physical and economic instability, which are tied to changing national and global economic contexts in the second half of the 20th century.[3] However, in approaching the empirical material, the aim was not to exclusively foreshadow discussions of contemporary immigration detention practices. As historian Klaus Neumann points out, current refugee resettlement policies are not necessarily derivative or connected to policies introduced after the Second World War.[4] It was important to avoid shepherding the empirical material into a framing of the Villawood site that positioned its complex history as instrumental to the present nation-state sanctioned imprisonment and violence seen in off-shore detention sites such as

[3] For general history of neoliberalism see David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Specific to Australia: Claire Wright, *Australian Economic History* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2022); Mark Western, et al., "Neoliberalism, Inequality and Politics: The Changing Face of Australia," *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 42 (2007): 401-418.
[4] Klaus Neumann, *Across the Seas: Australia's Response to Refugees, A History* (Collingwood, Melbourne: Black Inc. 2015), 1-5.

Manus Island.[5] Nevertheless, in the following concluding sections, wider contemporary considerations are integrated with reflections on the site's history.

This chapter links the arguments explored in previous chapters to reinforce how the physical, spatial and material transformations on the Villawood site reveal the complexities of host-nation hospitality to displaced persons. Section 8.2, gives a condensed summary of the key architectural findings, arguing that all types of accommodation and detention facilities that emerged on the Villawood site share an intensive, experimental character. Villawood's generational changes from spartan army huts to more family-oriented hostels to detention facilities expose how insular political traditions centred on racialised cultural exclusion fused with class structures and were manifested through various housing modes afforded to migrants and refugees. This section also highlights how the people moving through the Villawood site negotiated and subverted the nation-state's presence in everyday domesticity. This overview prefigures the next two sections, which explore the wider discursive and political ramifications of the site's architectural excavation.

[5] For histories of Australia's facilities at Manus Island see Maria Giannacopoulos and Claire Loughnan, "'Closure' at Manus Island and carceral expansion in the open air prison," *Globalizations* 17, no. 7 (2019): 1118-1135, https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2019.1679549; Jon Fraenkel, "Australia's Detention Centres on Manus Island and Nauru: An End of Constructive Pacific Engagement?" *The Journal of Pacific History*, 51, no. 3 (2022): 278–285, https://doi.org/10.1080/00223344.2016.1233802

Section 8.3 uses the recent redevelopment of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre (VIDC), which includes a heritage precinct, to examine the legacy and longevity of assimilation policies. These policies undergirded the set-up of on-arrival migrant accommodation and persisted in the new era of accommodation, as argued in Chapter 4, "Homes in the Sun." Compressing the research on Villawood Migrant Hostel's design, domesticity is situated both intentionally and notionally as part of federal government frameworks for cultural assimilation into the drift of cultural accumulation from British colonial settlement. Situating the domestic as a method of cultural assimilation runs parallel to the ideal home as a place to assimilate people into various class, gender and familial values and roles that has been explored in architectural based research.[6] The accommodation types at the Villawood Migrant Hostel sit within a period of fundamental changes to immigration and resettlement policies from actions based successively on assimilation to integration and then multiculturalism from the 1950s to 1970s. Migrant hostel design draws attention to the inherent complications and contradictions that inform these policy changes and can be seen in critiques of multiculturalism seen in the work of Sneja Gunew and Ghassan Hage.[7] The focus is on

[6] Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity* (London: Routledge, 2007). See Clare Cooper, "The House as Symbol of the Self" In *Environmental Psychology*, by Harold Proshansky, Williams Ittelson and Leanne Rivlin (New York: Hart, Reinhart, and Winston, 1976); Coontz, Stephanie, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York, NY, BasicBooks, 2000); David Harvey, *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1984); Valerie Lehr, *Queer Family Values: Debunking the Myth of the Nuclear Family* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); Maria Shéhérazade Giudici, Pier Vittorio Aureli, "Familiar Horror: Toward a Critique Of Domestic Space" *Log* 38,(2016), https://researchonline.rca.ac.uk/2464/1/AureliGiudici_Log38_1011.pdf;

[7] Recent works Ghassan Hage, *The Diasporic Condition: Ethnographic Explorations of the Lebanese in the World* (The University of Chicago Press, 2021); Sneja Gunew, *Post-multicultural Writers as Neo-Cosmopolitan* (Anthem Press, 2017); Key works: Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*, (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1998); Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism*, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

how the Villawood Migrant Hostel shapes this critical entry point into Australian citizenship and in doing so denotes the explicit and implicit parameters that delimit citizenship access.

The final section, 8.4, reflects on how the site's history impacts understandings of house and home, underlining how assimilation and transience emerged in tandem in on-arrival accommodation. It highlights how the design and experience of transitional environments at Villawood complicate national narratives about access to housing and concludes by considering the way in which assimilatory modalities of citizenship are connected to housing provision in Australia. One of the challenges of the thesis was establishing a connection between border protection and access to housing as critical to evaluating how shifting conceptions of house and home in Australia influence government strategies to resettle migrants and refugees.

8.2 Migrant Hostel Design

This thesis has provided an intensive excavation of the Villawood's site built history, with an emphasis on the Villawood Migrant Hostel to provide a robust understanding of the accommodation historically provided to migrants and refugees on arrival in Australia in the post Second World War period into the 1980s. This excavation has revealed the multifaceted built histories that former migrant accommodation sites such

as Villawood hold and the difficulties in producing linear narratives from these histories. They include histories that show how the site was experienced by residents but also the complexities and consistent changes in how the federal government and its various departments and agencies envisioned and were involved in the design and construction of on-arrival migrant accommodation. From the thesis's research, three main considerations emerge that tie the site's accommodation types to the discipline and profession of architecture.

Firstly, the thesis has underscored how the Australian Government used the site to contain and filter sectors of the population with directives for both labour and assimilation. This question of how to accommodate and categorise large incoming populations in migrant camps, and then in the purpose-built hostels, was the driving impetus behind the site's physical and spatial evolution. Additionally, the concern about how to hold and detain people subject to possible removal from the nation undergirded the spatial considerations around the first immigration detention centre on site. Chapter 4 traced the Villawood Migrant Hostel's physical evolution and explored the connections between domestic design and aesthetics in relation to the nation-state's framing of hospitality in migrant hostels. Villawood's unique parameters offer a platform to see how the Commonwealth government introduces housing across different physical and spatial scenarios.

The Australian Government's recruitment and 'warehousing' of migrants and refugees after the Second World War from across Europe, including the British Isles and Ireland, bolstered its population growth, but it is the other aim of providing labour for growth industries, such as agriculture and construction, that was intrinsically linked to hostel location and development. This is evident in the strategic mapping of hostel locations and the departmental debates about the location of new hostels such as the Endeavour in Randwick, along with an emphasis on attracting young, healthy migrants and migrant families. The federal government's population orchestration and management was directly linked to the national economy and its understandings of the economic utility of people arriving underscores the categorisation and acceptance of migrants and refugees entering Australia; and continues in contemporary border management and refugee interdiction.[8] This crucial dimension warrants further future research that focuses on the role of migrant and refugee labour in agriculture and industry and the framings and use of what is referred to as 'unskilled labour' in access to citizenship as a contribution or debt to nation-state hospitality. The labour provided by incoming populations directly benefited Australia's construction industries through the nation-building era from 1945 to the 1980s and consequently the architectural profession.

The second consideration is that migrant hostel sites offered architects a professional opportunity to pursue novel arrangements with mass housing projects. Chapter 5,

[8] See: Stratton, "Uncertain Lives: Migration, the Border and Neoliberalism in Australia;" Natascha Klocker, "Community Antagonism Towards Asylum Seekers in Port Augusta, South Australia," *Australian Geographical Studies* 42, no. 1 (2008): 1–17, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8470.2004.00239.x

"From Emergency Reception Centres to Design Experiments: The Commonwealth's Revitalisation of Migrant Accommodation," argues that hostel sites such as Villawood's were defined by constant experimentation with housing forms, from provisional practices to testing out new models for collective living. At the time of Commonwealth Hostels Ltd's (CHL) redevelopment of migrant hostels sites, there were limited private and public vehicles to test out local interpretations and developments on the post Second World War housing experiments seen in the United Kingdom and Europe that were in professional circulation. Hostel sites along with emerging urban renewal projects in major cities such as Melbourne and Sydney provided opportunities for architects to experiment with medium- and high-density housing.

The third consideration is the use of architecture and its incorporation of aesthetic understandings as part of assimilation processes under federal government directives and discourses framing these sites as training and reception sites for non-British incoming populations. This consideration directly connects the site's built history to the wider political and social histories that encircle and move through the site's various physical incarnations. The Villawood Migrant Hostel demonstrates how dwelling design and control over everyday practices such as eating were influenced by the collusion of ingrained anxieties about cultural heterogeneity and neighbourhood assimilation once residents left hostel sites. The tensions that undergird the narratives surrounding hostel sites were explored in Chapter 6, "Bain-Maries and Communal Dining: The Design of Domesticity at the Villawood/Westbridge Migrant Hostel," which examined the hostel's collective, social spaces and CHL's provision of food. What

converges in these processes of assimilation encouraged by the nation-state are the connections between economic and racialised marginalisation. Renderings of national identities that inform the Villawood site emphasise the importance of interrogating the formal and aesthetic dimensions connected to the curation of national identities. Although it seems an obvious point to make, the research has revealed that the architecture built on migrant hostels sites is informed and informs the nation-state's understandings of migration that are anchored in Australia's colonial histories. The architecture, decoration and ephemera visible at migrant hostel sites, such as the naming of sites, the portraits of British royalty and the instructional pamphlets, linked Australian national identity to its British colonial heritage. Appropriations from and quotations of architectural trends originating from the United Kingdom and wider cultural trends filtered through the Australian locale were part of the hostel's purpose-designed redevelopment. One aim of the nation-state was to use hostel sites for introducing and rehearsing a colonially informed, 'Australian' sensibility and arguably, part of that was introducing understandings about ideal forms of housing with an emphasis on aspiring to house ownership. In the post Second World War period, the detached suburban house gained momentum in the political and cultural vernacular as the ideal type of owner-occupied housing.[9] This ideal gathers, and braces embedded

[9] Alastair Greig, *The Stuff Dreams are Made of: Housing Provision in Australia 1945-1960* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1995); Ruth Balint and Julie Kalman, "The Idea of Home in Post-war Australia," *History Australia* 11, no. 1 (2014); 6–12, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14490854.2013.11668497
Rae Dufty-Jones, "A Historical Geography of Housing Crisis in Australia," *Australian Geographer*, 49, no. 1 (2018): 5-23, https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2017.1336968; For post-war reconstruction see: Stuart Macintyre, *Australia's Boldest Experiment: War and Reconstruction in the 1940s* (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2015).

attitudes to the suburban house's role regarding domestic life which newly arrived people to the country were expected to assimilate into.

Nevertheless, while under the Commonwealth Government's direct jurisdiction, the Villawood Migrant Hostel could not wholly predetermine people's engagement with the site, and there was a constant movement of people within the site who experienced and interacted with it in their own way, if not always on their own terms. As discussed in Chapter 3, "Hospitality from the Border to the Hearth," the thesis limits itself to concentrating on the built form and designed landscapes of migrant accommodation sites in relation to the apparatuses and administration of the nation-state. However, it is important to continually acknowledge and foreground that housing is activated by daily practice and the personal histories of migrants and refugees passing through these types of sites were varied and complex. This realisation challenges not only assumptions about understandings of sovereignty but also profoundly ingrained understandings of home as tied to house ownership in the Commonwealth of Australia.

Drawing on existing oral histories was crucial in informing the architectural history and for perspectives outside departmental records.[10] However, the study is not predicated upon them, as it is not directly a social history. A detailed examination of former residents' experiences falls outside the scope of the study's architectural-based

[10] Sera Jane Peters, Graham Brooks and Associates, "Interviews with former residents of Villawood Migrant Hostel, 2001," SLNSW: MLOH 467.

parameters. Ethnographic research was not possible due to the ongoing global pandemic that in Australia severely constrained interstate travel during the past three years. However, existing oral histories show that encounters with sites such as Villawood were diverse and highlight the difficulty of grouping varied individual responses into a narrative or an argument. Increased interest in former migrant camps and hostels from the heritage industry suggests that the aims of reinvigorating these sites marked by contested memories and histories needs to be further investigated.[11] Although outside the scope of the thesis at this time, a nuanced and imaginative approach to documenting oral histories that encompasses design histories, an approach that is not shepherded by argument and may lie outside traditional academic scholarship, may be considered the next important step in furthering this research. This approach could include the people involved in a professional capacity on these sites and the people from Southeast Asia who resided at Villawood in the latter half of its lifespan to document a robust understanding of the encounters with migrant accommodation sites.[12]

[11] Example: Alexandra Dellios, *Histories of Controversy: Bonegilla Migrant Centre, (*Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2017); See Chapter 2 for a more detailed overview.
[12] Example: Pamie Ching Tsz Fung, "A Place 'Midway' between the Old Life and the New: A Case Study of the Migrant Hostel at Maribyrnong" (PhD., University of Melbourne, 2013).

8.3 Assimilation and the Limits of Nation-State Hospitality

The Villawood Immigration Detention Centre, has recently undergone a significant redevelopment, undertaken in various stages between 2009 and 2020. The Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007–2013) and the Department of Finance and Deregulation oversaw the wider plan's design process.[13] However, the facility's maintenance and daily function continue to be tendered out to private security contractors and the cost of these contracts recurrently surfaces in the national discourse (the centre has been renamed Villawood Immigration Detention Facility, to avoid confusion, the term Villawood Immigration Detention Centre, will be continued to be used in this chapter). In 2002, unused buildings on site were demolished and the federal government sold a significant portion of the site to a private developer, who constructed a gated housing community in 2016.[14] This updated packaging of the Australian suburban dream borders the new, AUD$ 186.3 million (2009), redevelopment of the VIDC.[15]

[13] Dept. of Finance and Deregulation and Dept. of Immigration and Citizenship, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility Redevelopment Villawood, New South Wales*, Statement of evidence to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works (Version 3) (Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2009).
[14] Dept. of Finance and Deregulation, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility Redevelopment Villawood*, 8.
[15] Site visit in 2016; "2009 Media Release: Redevelopment of Villawood should be for detention as last resort," Australian Human Rights Commission, 12 May 2009, https://humanrights.gov.au/about/news/media-releases/2009-media-release-redevelopment-villawood-should-be-detention-last

The large scale VIDC redevelopment project involved removing and relocating early migrant hostel buildings, including Nissen huts, as well as demolishing buildings from the late 1960s. Heritage reports conducted on the site's historical significance resulted in the redevelopment that included an adjacent heritage precinct displaying the site's former use as one of Australia's longest running Commonwealth migrant Hostels.[16] From the small amount of information available online, the refurbished precinct offers a tableau of nation-building memories in the form of remaining buildings and collected memorabilia. However, the heritage site is located on the periphery, of the currently operative VIDC that signposts recent histories of onshore and offshore repositories for the economically and politically disenfranchised. This collision of competing and contested narratives highlights a fluctuating exchange between Australia's migrant and refugee resettlement and the production of national identities concerning migration.

In various Standing Committee Reports on the need to improve the facilities at the VIDC, one notable requirement was future-proofing the design, so accommodation options could respond to changes in policy.[17] In 2009 a process to consolidate

[16] Diane Beamer, Minister for Juvenile Justice, Minister for Western Sydney, "News Release: Nissen Huts set to be Heritage listed, " New South Wales State Government, 2 July 2003; Nina Pollock, Godden Mackay Logan, *Villawood Immigration Detention Facility: Archival Recording, Report Prepared for the Department of Immigration and Citizenship* (Redfern, N.S.W: Godden Mackay Logan, 2011); Australian Human Rights Commission, *Immigration Detention at Villawood: Summary of Observations from Visit to Immigration Detention Facilities at Villawood* (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011); 4-5; Site visits, 2016-2017.

[17] Standing Committee on Public Works, *Provision of Facilities for Villawood Immigration Detention Centre Addition Accommodation and Related Works*, Villawood, NSW (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2009); Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Immigration Detention in Australia: Community-Based Alternatives to Detention: Second Report of The Inquiry Into Immigration Detention In Australia* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2009).

immigration detention facilities onshore begins with Villawood functioning as the principal high-security facility on the Australian mainland.[18] Representative images on an archived website for the project include basketball courts and outdoor cafeteria eating areas, which emphasises another shift in image for the detention facilities.[19] The spatial and material associations, derived from the ad hoc prison materials such as barbed wire and fortified windows seen in the adapted former migrant hostel building, shift to designs projecting a permanent, purpose-designed institution.

In publicity stills from archived websites, markedly devoid of people, the new VIDC shares institutional formal arrangements and aesthetic templates seen in contemporary hospitals and prison design (see figures 8.1 to 8.4).[20] These images are strikingly different from the journalistic news images of offshore detention sites, the most recent form of detention practices prior to Covid-19. These sites include, for example, the facilities at Manus Island Regional Processing Centre (MIRPC), on the naval base, Lombrum, on the Los Negros Island in Manus Province, Papua New Guinea, during the period from 2012 to 2018 (see figures 8.5 to 8.8).[21] On the one hand the design of the new VIDC signals

[18] Public Works, *Provision of Facilities for Villawood Immigration Detention Centre*, 7-8.
[19] Sports Precinct, VIDC, 2014. Source: "The story so far: Villawood Redevelopment Project," Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, trove archived website, last modified August 02, 2014, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20140802065139/http://www.villawoodredevelopment.immi.gov.au/the-story-so-far/
[20] Example: Sports Precinct, VIDC, 2014. Source: "The story so far: Villawood Redevelopment Project," Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, trove archived website, last modified August 02, 2014.
[21] "Manus Island Inquiry Needed into Abuse of Asylum Seekers: Refugee Action Coalition," *ABC News*, August 10, 2016, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-10/manus-island-abuse-claims-by-asylum-seeker/7712826?nw=0

that immigration detention has become an entrenched policy of successive federal governments regardless of the political orientation of the party in leadership. Comparing the new VIDC with offshore detention camps does not suggest that the new VIDC offers a more humane version of a highly fraught policy in the Australian context. In fact, the multi-million-dollar redevelopment helps to cement the policies regarding immigration detention as a permanent fixture in the Australian government's treatment of refugees and asylum seekers as well as obfuscating, under a veneer of palatable institutionalism, the indefinite time periods people are held in detention waiting for the outcome of applications for visas or residency.

From the minimal publicly available information, it appears that this redevelopment of Villawood was in part a reaction to continued protests by detainees and human rights commission investigations. However, the federal investment in Villawood revitalisation seems an anomaly as many detention centres within the geographic location of Australia have closed during the 2010s, suggesting the nation is entering a new phase in its immigration detention policies and procedures (see Table 3.4 in Chapter 3). Although it is important to note that in 2019 the immigration detention facility on Christmas Island was reopened.[22] The redevelopment of the VIDC could be due to the time needed to design and approve large-scale, federally funded public works projects and that on completion, policies and approaches to on-arrival immigration detention

[22] Australian Human Rights Commission, *Inspections of Australia's Immigration Detention Facilities 2019 Report*, 3 December, 2020, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/asylum-seekers-and-refugees/publications/inspections-australias-immigration-detention

had shifted. Looking at the new VIDC's public relation images in relation to the investigative journalism and experiences of detainees on Manus Island reinforced the arguments put forward in Chapter 7, "New Forms of Border Security: The Establishment of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre," that immigration detention facilities as a type of government infrastructure were constantly in flux. Public perceptions of border security as linked to federal elections combined with the perceived economic utility of refugees have underscored the role, function and design of immigration detention centres since the initial erection of the VIDC in 1976.

The heritage precinct nestled between the detention centre and the site's boundary features two relocated heritage listed Nissen huts and a Quonset hut and original boilers that were to possibly be accompanied by an interpretive wall (see figures 8.9 and 8.10). Although the heritage precinct is not currently accessible by the public, by emphasising the experiences associated with the first wave of migrants and the earliest physical incarnations on the site, the precinct distances itself from more recent, contentious detainment practices that occurred adjacent. The need to acknowledge and capture the site's heritage to proceed with the VIDC redevelopment results in a strange merging of overly restored architectural remnants of migrant camps and the current evolution of Australia's ongoing detention practices. The heritage precinct has the potential to interrogate the complex and frequently violent histories of the site. It could bring attention to the diverse forms of contact, including the positive, ambiguous and painful resettlement experiences refugees have had historically and continue to have.

However, the proposed site dichotomy highlights a contentious framing of national narratives that tends to mythologise post Second World War migration as a golden era of Commonwealth hospitality that set the foundation for national identities based on multiculturalism. Sara Wills, in her discussion of migrant hostel sites that were transformed into detention centres suggests that "the layering of these cultural landscapes of migrancy on and in these sites in Australia should only be explored in a way that does not return us to national pride."[23] Whether eventually open to the public or not, the site and its contentious siting points to the broader difficulties faced when repurposing former migrant hostel sites for the heritage industry and how to attempt to represent varying and unfixed experiences of living in migrant hostels. However, the physical siting also highlights the recurrent division of diasporic populations between populations assimilated into nation-state cultures and marginal 'others,' reinforcing refugees and asylum seekers' vilification on racialised and economic terms.

Hospitality and Multiculturalism

The research presented in this thesis provides a historical platform to consider how contemporary, frequently celebratory representations of nation-state multiculturalism overshadow the divisive politics of hospitality to people who are economically disenfranchised and ethnoculturally marginalised. The inscribed limits of hospitality

[23] Sara Wills, "Between the hostel and the detention centre: possible trajectories of migrant pain and shame in Australia," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage* edited by William Logan and Keir Reeves (New York: Routledge, 2009), 273.

regarding cultural difference to disenfranchised persons were used to examine the framing of the host's, in this setting the Commonwealth government's, responsibilities that emerge through spatial and architectural changes on the Villawood site. This is visible in the site's two main trajectories discussed in the thesis—in its history as a migrant hostel and then in the ongoing development of immigration detention. Here, concentration on accommodation highlights the forms of hospitality offered to the migrants and refugees passing through the Villawood Migrant Hostel. Due mainly to its longevity and operating scale, the Villawood Migrant Hostel is pivotal to an architectural understanding of how ethnicity as linked to the Commonwealth government's framing of national identity underwent reconfiguration. The hostel's various incarnations, along with how the site facilities and occupants were represented in the media, offers an insight into calculated and inferred assimilation processes and can be examined as a precursor for the complexities inherent in later official forms of multiculturalism.

The first official national multicultural policies were not introduced until 1978 and multiculturalism as an avenue for national identities effectively does not gain momentum until the late 1980s.[24] However, during the period of changes at Villawood that is the focus of Chapter 4 and Chapter 6, new methods of articulating national

[24] Elsa Koleth, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, Social Policy Sections, *Multiculturalism: A Review of Australia Policy Statements and Recent Debates in Australia and Overseas,* Research Paper no. 6 2010–2011, Part 1, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06

identity regarding Australia's emerging diversity were beginning. Around this time, the first significant research and studies into housing issues for migrants and refugees were commissioned. Notable examples include the commission and then cancellation of sociologist Jean Martin's study on the resettlement needs and daily experiences of Indochinese refugees in the mid-1970s.[25] This was followed by the wider, significant and criticised Galbally Report in 1978, which was accused of being a political manoeuvre.[26] This report helped to shift attitudes around multiculturalism from ideas based on integration to asserting that individuals and groups have a right to maintain their cultural and/or religious distinctiveness, approaches and practices.[27] Although the contemporary criticisms of inherent biases in multiculturalism as both a policy and cultural framework is crucial to understanding the manifestations of national identities, it is also important to stress that the introduction of multiculturalism fundamentally shifts how the Commonwealth of Australia considers its national identity from a nation fundamentally linked to the British Empire to one more marked by global migrancy.

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[25] Neumann, *Across the Seas*, 247–248.

[26] Frank Galbally, Australia. Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, *Galbally Information kit: the Galbally report* (Canberra, A.C.T.: Dept. of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1979-1981); Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, *Migrant Services and Program: Report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants*, May 1978 (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1978); Dept. of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Prime Minister's Office - Senior Adviser, "Personal Papers of Prime Minister Fraser: Frank] Galbally [relates to report of the Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants," 1 Jan 1977-31 Dec 1980, NAA: A13075, 5186; For criticisms see: Barbara Fitzgerald, *The Galbally Report.1: The Same Old Hypocrisy* (Richmond, Vic.: Clearing House on Migration Issues, 1978); Tom Zubrycki, *The Galbally Report. 2: A Public Relations Gesture* (Melbourne: Clearing House on Migrant Issues, 1978).

[27] Other reports: Scott, W.D.& Co, Australian Sales Research Bureau, *Survey into the Information Needs of Migrants in Australia: Final Report*, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1980); Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, *Evaluation of Post-arrival Programs and Services/Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs,* (Melbourne: The Institute, 1982); Sommerlad, John Australia. Office of Multicultural Affairs, Ethnic Communities' Council of N.S.W., *Housing Policy for a multicultural Australia,* (Canberra: Office of Multicultural Affairs Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1988).

For example, the funding of language education programs other than English and the establishment of radio and TV stations dedicated to presenting in various languages and cultural perspectives fundamentally begins an ongoing process of shifting and opening space for diverse understandings of Australian citizenship.

Sara Wills has argued that Commonwealth accommodation sites for migrants and refugees provide spaces to rethink understandings and framings of hospitality relating to contemporary border control, and also contended that understanding the complexity of hospitality both as a practice and ethic is central for a migrant nation.[28] Wills links the hospitality informing these sites of accommodation to assimilation, both its early explicitly exclusionary aims and its legacy and influence on migrant hostel sites. This thesis has considered the connection between hospitality and assimilation through the physical and spatial dimensions of these sites. This linkage is evident, in the establishment of migrant on-arrival accommodation, such as reception and training centres, and camps as housing alternatives to allay public fears of migrants competing for house ownership against Australian-born citizens. However, in Villawood's second physical incarnation, assimilatory processes remain, implicitly folded into the site and

[28] Sara Wills, various in-person conversations, 2017–2018; "Possible Spaces of Everyday Hospitality: Hostels, Migration, and Memory, Working Paper," Australian Research Council project: *Hostels, Hosts and Hospitality: A Social and Cultural History of Migrant Temporary Accommodation in Australia since the Second World War.* For similar thematic renderings "When Good Neighbours Become Good Friends: The Australian Embrace of its Millionth Migrant," *Australian Historical Studies* 36, no. 124 (2004): 332–354; Sara Wills, Negotiating Migration, Sentiment, and Insecurity: Encounters with Sadness and Shame in Australia, in *Migration and Insecurity* edited by Niklaus Steiner, Robert Mason and Anna Hayes, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 64–82.

the procedural aims surrounding its function. Tensions emerge around how the 'Australian Dream' of securitisation through house ownership was packaged and promoted to migrants through the redevelopment of sites such as Villawood, due to departmental objectives to provide better accommodation as an incentive for migrants to come to Australia. The simulation of Australian suburban values, in conjunction with re-education programs, emphasises the hostel site's continued provision for assimilatory practices.

For both Commonwealth and state governments, the Villawood Migrant Hostel possessed political utility during the hostel's entire operating lifespan. The concurrent simulation of a neighbourhood and dislocation from the local context seen in migrant hostels such as Villawood show how national policy and public discourse influenced everyday domesticity. The redevelopment of hostels intersects with shifting attitudes to population heterogeneity in national debates with the final demise of a series of policies, publicly grouped together as the White Australia Policy, which were gradually eroded from the late 1950s to being officially renounced in 1973.[29] However, the governmental aim to produce better accommodation for migrants that encapsulated the new possibilities of living in a modern Australia, while simultaneously promoting fixed cultural framings that drew from British colonial patrimony, reveals the complexities and limitations of citizenship attribution at this time. The recurrent anxieties and racialised discourses surrounding nation-state hospitality to displaced people arriving

[29] Koleth, Parliament of Australia Research Publications, *Multiculturalism: A Review of Australia Policy Statements.*

in Australia are fraught, as Sneja Gunew has pointed out, due to the Commonwealth of Australia's continued colonial denial of First Peoples unceded sovereignty.[30] Further complicating the host and guest dichotomy is the post Second World War recruitment of migrants from countries outside the British Isles and Ireland to contribute significantly to nation-building projects.

8.4 Transient Housing in the Commonwealth of Australia

Positioning architecture at the forefront of an inquiry into Commonwealth migrant hostels has offered a unique lens for thinking through the framing of immigration policies and migrant resettlement in relation to the construction of national identities. This thesis has offered an interpretation of public housing design that not only connects the architecture delivered by different departments of government to relevant political and social histories but, by focusing on the overlapping use of design types such as camp, house, hostel/motel and prison at a specific site, also develops insights into how hospitality to incoming populations has intersected with understandings of house and

[30] Sneja Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalism*, (New York: Routledge, 2003); Katrina Sclunke, "Sovereign Hospitalities?" *borderlands e-journal* 1, no. 2 (2002), Trove archived online journal, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20030624015143/http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol1no2_2002/schlunke_hospitalities.html; Julie Matthews & Kwangsook Chung, "Credible Witness: Identity, Refuge and Hospitality," *borderlands e-journal* 7, no. 3, (2008), Trove archived online journal, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20091018023609/http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol7no3_2008/matthewsc_credible.htm

home on a national scale. The types and forms of public housing and who gets priority to access, are intrinsically linked to the then government's social engineering and population control measures that were introduced after the Second World War and persists in subsequent governments' preoccupation with border control and refugee interdiction into the 21st century.

There is a current resurgence and proliferation of housing studies in Australia, often lumped together under the nebulous and contested term 'affordable housing.' Arguably, the rise of this housing discourse, particularly in the architectural profession, is because sectors of the population (that in a generalisation for this contention can be grouped as the middle-class), who traditionally had access to house ownership in the second half of the 20th century, are increasingly priced out of housing markets in the major cities. Research for this thesis has indicated that, in the post-war period of nation-building marked by relative economic prosperity up to the 1980s, large sections of the Australian population were introduced to transient housing options and often found innovative and resourceful ways to navigate discrimination in the housing sphere. An examination of the site at Villawood, however, reveals how economically marginalised persons are frequently beholden to Commonwealth and individual state government directives in housing, stripped of agency either through paternalistic practices and approaches or excluded from access.

In Australia, current refugee settlement processes are often continuing journeys through transitory accommodation—a shuffling through locations marked by both displacement and emplacement, sometimes resulting in physical houselessness. The report *Housing Need and Provision for Recently Arrived Refugees in Australia*, produced for the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute in 2003, emphasises refugee movement through multifaceted housing pathways along with the scarcity of literature investigating these experiences.[31] This survey-based report concludes by contending that "discrimination appears to be a major impediment to successful movement through the housing market and this prejudice comes from neighbours, landlords, real estate and the general community."[32] Again, in looking at the history of on-arrival accommodation, the aim was not to superficially juxtapose historical and contemporary periods of immigration policies and refugee resettlement. Instead, the thesis provides a thorough context for the purpose-built housing and then detention facilities for incoming populations from 1960 to 1992, before policies of mandatory detention were introduced that signified an emerging shift in Australia's management and resettlement of refugees.

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[31] Andrew Beer and Paul Foley, Australian Housing and Urban research Institute, *Housing Need and Provision for Recently Arrived Refugees in Australia* (Melbourne, Victoria: Australian Housing and Urban research Institute, 2003). For similar findings see Paul Flatau, and Jessica Smith, et al, for the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute at the University of Western Australia (AHURI), *The Housing and Homelessness Journeys of Refugees in Australia, Melbourne* (Victoria: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, 2015).

[32] AHURI, *The Housing and Homelessness Journeys,* 27.

This period is often overlooked in the scholarship on refugee resettlement in the Commonwealth of Australia, as discussed in Chapter 2, "Histories of Temporary Homes in the Commonwealth of Australia." This is due to this period being positioned between the nation-building push of the 1950s, often mythologised in histories as the era that gave birth to a modern and cosmopolitan nation, and the distinct violence of more recent immigration detention histories, characterised by offshore repositories of people waiting for indefinite periods to enter the country and possibly gain citizenship.[33] By focusing on the redevelopment of the Villawood Migrant Hostel in the 1960s and *how the architecture in tandem with housing policy encoded transience,* this thesis establishes a platform for future research on the connections between migrant hostels and other government-sponsored housing for economically marginalised people. By looking at the types and forms of housing migrants and refugees passed through, this thesis opens an avenue for future studies to test whether current structural paradigms of collective housing and containment have emerged elsewhere in comparable incarnations.

Once leaving the migrant camp or hostel sites, non-British migrants were subject to systemic discrimination when applying for public housing, exacerbated by general

[33] For accounts of being detained in the East Lorengau Refugee Transit Centre on Manus Island, Papua New Guinea see Behrouz Boochani, *No Friend But the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison*, (Sydney, New South Wales: Pan Macmillan Australia, 2018); Boochani, "An Island off Manus," *The Saturday Paper* (online), May 6–12, 2017, https://www.thesaturdaypaper.com.au/2017/05/06/island-manus/14939928004582#hrd

housing shortages in the 1940s and 1950s.[34] As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, in the early 1950s non-British migrants were not eligible for New South Wales Government housing. British migrants were not admitted into housing ballots until they had resided in the state for at least 12 months and a general policy was that if they had resided in a Commonwealth migrant hostel, they were not eligible for the ballot.[35] This is partly due to the need to appease the wider public about migrants competing for housing in a depleted wider market. In the proceeding decades, incremental policy adjustments improved the application process for both British and non-British migrants. These early discriminatory housing journeys affirm that the preoccupation with migrant assimilation extended beyond the hostel sites, informing both the purpose of these sites for the nation-state, and housing attribution.

Another avenue of future research would be to explore the connections between housing policies under the Commonwealth Housing Agreement with the design of select NSW Housing Commission projects from the 1960s, namely medium to high-density estates in western Sydney.[36] From the late 1970s onwards many refugees originating from mainland Southeast Asia transitioned from Commonwealth Migrant Hostels into the western Sydney area. The establishment and use of these public housing

[34] Jordens, *On Accommodating Migrants, Administration, Compliance and Governability Program* (Canberra: Australian National University, Research School of Social Sciences, 1994), 27.
[35] Dept. of Immigration, New South Wales Branch "Immigration - Migrant Accommodation New South Wales Political Statements,"1953, NAA: C3939, N1955/25/75533.
[36] See: James Briggs, "Public Housing in Sydney: Past, Present, and Future," (Ph.D. University of New South Wales, 1972); Ian MacKay, Ian, *Living & Partly Living, Housing in Australia*, (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, Australia, 1971).

sites is investigated through the context of the NSW Housing Commission's encouragement of house ownership through various subsidisation programs as well as cultural attitudes, which gained momentum after the Second World War, that associated owner-occupied detached housing with social stability and citizenship commitments. In the 1960s, the commission still advocated that its main purpose was to provide tenants with the opportunity for house ownership.[37] Housing pathways beyond the hostel and the encountering of discrimination indicate that there is a case to be made for comparing the hostel architecture with other forms of multistorey and communal public housing. The discussion could be a prelude to focusing on the architecture and asking whether Australian housing ideals can be linked not only to British colonial heritages but also to the British welfare state's housing agendas for people who are economically marginalised. How were these ideals in conjunction with assimilation programs navigated by refugees from various cultural backgrounds, passing through public housing in all its incarnations from suburban houses to the estate tower blocks?

There are both historic and contemporary slippages of terms between migrants, displaced persons and refugees, with debates continuing as to which terms are more accurate or preferred by the people who are labelled by these terms.[38] Residents of

[37] For an overview of the history of the NSW Housing Commission see Carolyn Allport, "Castles of Security: The New South Wales Housing Commission and Home Ownership 1941–61,"in Sydney: *City of Suburbs*, edited by Max Kelly (Kensington: New South Wales University Press in association with the Sydney History Group, 1987), 95–124.
[38] See Chapter 3.3 for the historical discussion of this terms. Contemporary definitions: "Refugee and Migrants," United Nations, Last accessed October 2022, https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/; "Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants," *Amnesty*

migrant hostels were classified by the federal government as 'aliens,' 'migrant workers,' 'displaced persons,' 'New Australians,' 'migrants' and 'refugees' with an influential early division between the British and non-British migrants. The use of such bureaucratic labelling has often evolved into forms of punitive violence fostered against individuals through modes of classification and by extension social exclusion. In the decades following the Second World War, the inconsistencies and experiments surrounding how to name, filter, classify and house large numbers of people coming into Australia demonstrates national ambivalence at the least, and often outright hostility, to embracing new modes of hospitable nationhood. This thesis has demonstrated how the redevelopment of migrant hostel sites with purpose-designed accommodation, such as Villawood, *encoded* this confusion, ambivalence and at times hostility in built form. This encoding can be seen in the architecture and in the documentation that demonstrates conflicting departmental objectives: to provide better, more domestic accommodation to attract new migrants and simultaneously to reinforce a transience that would deter long-term stayers.

Examining histories of public housing in Australia through migrant and refugee experiences of housing instability, therefore, stresses the precariousness of myths of home and homeliness in a nation that has had very selective processes of providing and

International, Last accessed October 2022, https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/
Also for an interesting examination discussed through the novels of Viet Thanh Nguyen see Joyce Carol Oates, "Refugees in America," *The New Yorker*, February 13 & 20 (2017), https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/02/13/refugees-in-america

articulating hospitality. This thesis has drawn attention to the history of the Villawood Migrant Hostel in a way that underlines how notions of house and home in Australia have been transitory and discursively marked by cultures of both hospitality and spatial violence. In making this link, the thesis has offered a reading of nation and housing relevant to ongoing political and social concerns.

Figure 8.1 Ariel view of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre, (VIDC), Sydney, NSW, taken between the years 2017-2020. Source: Sharon Labi, "Aussie taxpayers funding multi-billion-dollar detention centre bill," *Channel 9 News*, July 27, 2020, https://www.9news.com.au/national/australia-detention-taxpayer-costs-serco-parliamentary-inquiry-figures-politics-news/c90d7552-0a83-4ad4-84c6-4ce6fd1366be

Figure 8.2 Sports precinct, VIDC, 2014. Source: Archived website, "The story so far: Villawood Redevelopment Project," Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, Trove archived website, last modified on August 02, 2014, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20140802065139/http://www.villawoodredevelopment.immi.gov.au/the-story-so-far/

Figure 8.3 Visitors reception, VIDC, 2014. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, Trove archived website, last modified on August 02, 2014,, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20140802065139/http://www.villawoodredevelopment.immi.gov.au/the-story-so-far/

Figure 8.4 Covered outdoor area for visitors and detainees, VIDC, 2014. Source: Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, Trove archived website, last modified on August 02, 2014,, https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20140802065139/http://www.villawoodredevelopment.immi.gov.au/the-story-so-far/

Figure 8.5 Facilities at the Manus Island Regional Processing Centre (MIRPC), Manus Island, Paupa New Guinea, 2012. Source: Melissa Davey and Helen Davisdon, "Former Manus Island detention cenre worker sues over alleged unsafe work," *The Guardain*, December 20, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/dec/20/former-manus-island-detention-centre-worker-sues-over-alleged-unsafe-work

Figure 8.6 Inside a detention compound, MIRPC, 2016. Source: Ian Rintoul. Source: 'Manus Island inquiry needed into abuse of asylum seekers: Refugee Action Coalition," *ABC News*, August 10, 2016, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-10/manus-island-abuse-claims-by-asylum-seeker/7712826?nw=0

Figure 8.7 Bathrooms in a detention compound, MIRPC, 2016. Source: Ian Rintoul. Source: 'Manus Island inquiry needed into abuse of asylum seekers: Refugee Action Coalition," *ABC News*, August 10, 2016, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-10/manus-island-abuse-claims-by-asylum-seeker/7712826?nw=0

Figure 8.8 Delta detention compound, MIRPC, 2016. Source: Ian Rintoul. Source: 'Manus Island inquiry needed into abuse of asylum seekers: Refugee Action Coalition," *ABC News*, August 10, 2016, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-10/manus-island-abuse-claims-by-asylum-seeker/7712826?nw=0



Figure 8.9 VIDC, Heritage Precinct under development, 2016. Source: Renee Miller-Yeaman

Figure 8.10 VIDC, Heritage Precinct, 2017. Source: "Villawood Detention Centre Heritage Precinct," Project Coordination, accessed October 2022, https://projectcoordination.com.au/project-portfolio/villawood-detention-centre-heritage-precinct/

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA'S IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP POLICY, 1901–2000

Year	Significant Policy Changes
1901	**Immigration Restriction Act 1901.** Introduced section of policy that became publicly regarded as the White Australia Policy. "The Act prohibited entry of all those who failed to pass a 'dictation test' of 50 words in a European language. The Act was amended in 1905 so that officers could apply the test in any prescribed language at their discretion, which enhanced the capacity to exclude 'undesirable' applicants."[1]
1901	**Pacific Islander Labourers Act 1901.** "This Act sought to reduce the numbers of South Sea Islanders working in sugar industries in Queensland and northern New South Wales. After March 1904, South Sea Islanders were prohibited from entering the Commonwealth and their forcible repatriation was organised from December 1906 onwards. Between 1904 and 1914, 7,262 South Sea Islanders were deported."[2]
1903	**Naturalisation Act 1903.** "Under section 51(xix) (naturalisation and aliens) of the Constitution, the Commonwealth enacted the Naturalisation Act 1903. The Commonwealth was then invested with the exclusive right to issue certificates of naturalisation instead of the colonies as previously. Persons who were naturalised previously and given State and colonial naturalisations were deemed to be naturalised. The Act introduced the conditions under which aliens could acquire the rights and privileges of British subjects. A standard was established which a person was required to meet before they could obtain letters of naturalisation. Persons from Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands were precluded from applying for naturalisation. Persons were required to be resident in the Commonwealth for two years prior to their application. A person with a United Kingdom certificate of naturalisation

[1] Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia*, (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2017), 12.
[2] Dept. of Immigration and Border Protection, *A History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia*, 12.

	or letters of naturalisation could also apply to the Governor–General for a certificate of naturalisation."[3]
1948	**Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948.** "This Act created an Australian citizenship and anyone who was an Australian citizen was also a British subject. Citizens of other British Commonwealth countries were recognised as British subjects. This Act implemented a principle contained in the United Kingdom Nationality Act 1948 that people of self–governing countries within the British Commonwealth had a particular status as a citizen of their country as well as having the wider status of a British subject."[4]
1951	Australia is a signatory to the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. However Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children continued to be removed from their parents which under Article 2 (e) is a form of genocide.
1954	Australia is a signatory to the 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* and incorporated elements into domestic legislation in the Migration Act 1958.
1955	**Nationality and Citizenship Act 1955.** "This Act removed many difficulties in obtaining citizenship. It was no longer compulsory to make a Declaration of Intention to apply for naturalisation two years before the final application for naturalisation was lodged with the Department of Immigration. The new procedure allowed new settlers to make applications for naturalisation six months before their residence qualification was complete (five years). The Minister was given discretionary powers to waive the residence requirement or shorten the period for husbands and wives of Australians. This Act made it no longer necessary for intending applicants for naturalisation to advertise in the newspaper their intention to apply for naturalisation."[5]
1958	**Migration Act 1958.** The revised Migration Act 1958 abolished the dictation test and reformed entry processes. During the 1960s immigration restrictions on non–Europeans were further decreased. These changes gradually abolish the policies that constitute the White Australia Policy.

[3] Michael Klapdor, Moira Coombs and Catherine Bohm Social Policy and Law and Bills Digest Sections, *Australian Citizenship: A Chronology of Major Developments in Policy and Law*, (Canberra: Parliament of Australia), under Developments in Australian citizenship law. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/0910/AustCitizenship

[4] Klapdor, *Australian Citizenship*, under Developments in Australian citizenship law.

[5] Klapdor, *Australian Citizenship,* under Developments in Australian citizenship law.

1965	Australia is a signatory to the *International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination.*
1969	**Citizenship Act 1969.** "In 1968 a general revision of the legislation was undertaken. The Act changed the status of citizens from being British subjects to Australian citizens 'having the status of a British subject' (aliens were defined until 1987 as those not having the status of a British subject and who were not an Irish citizen or protected person). The Act gave primacy to the term 'Australian citizen'. People with permanent residence who were citizens of other Commonwealth countries and who had lived in Australia for five years could have a simplified means of acquiring Australian citizenship. The residency requirement was changed to two years for aliens who could read and write English proficiently and speak and understand it."[6]
1972– 1973	The White Australia Policy is formally abolished by the Whitlam Government in 1972. There were a number of developments under the Whitlam Government aimed at assisting in the settling and integration of migrants such as the establishment of the Settlement Services Branch of the Department of Immigration in 1973 and the Telephone Interpreter Service in 1974. Australian Citizenship Act 1973: "The title of the Act was changed from the Citizenship Act 1948 to the Australian Citizenship Act 1948. The same requirements in relation to residence, good character, knowledge of the language and rights and duties of citizenship and intention to live in Australia permanently were applied equally to everyone. The residence requirement was three years. The oath or affirmation was to be taken by all. Everyone still had the status of a British subject."[7]
1973	Australia is a signatory to the 1967 *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*.
1975	**The Racial Discrimination Act.** "The Racial Discrimination Act 1975 promotes equality before the law for all people regardless of race, colour or national or ethnic origin. It is unlawful to discrimination against people on the basis of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin."[8]
1978	The Galbally Report is published, a review of services and programs for new migrants, the Government cuts funding to the Good Neighbour Movement leaving the task of assisting new migrants to the Department of Immigration and local community groups.

[6] Klapdor, *Australian citizenship,* under Developments in Australian citizenship law.
[7] Klapdor, *Australian citizenship*, under Developments in Australian citizenship law.
[8] "Legislation," *Australian Human Rights Commission*, https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/legal/legislation

1984	**Australian Citizenship Amendment Act 1984.** "The aim of the legislation was to remove discrimination between persons on the basis of their sex, marital status and present or previous nationality. The residence requirement was reduced from three to two years for citizenship by grant. Applicants were required to have a basic knowledge of English (previously adequate), recognising the difficulty many older persons have in learning a new language. Applicants over 50 were exempt from the "basic English" requirement. The definition of the status of British subject was repealed to accord with the Government's aim that the Act reflects the national identity of all Australians. The Act also allowed for appeals to the Administrative Appeals Tribunal on a number of grounds where a person was denied or deprived of their citizenship under the Act."[9]
1989	**Migration Legislation Amendment Bill 1989.** This amendment aimed to expunge nearly all avenues for the exercise of ministerial discretion in immigration matters: "The Bill removed ministerial discretion by creating legally binding statutory rules for visa categories and by shifting any residual exercise of discretionary power to the Secretary of the Department. The Bill sought to radically reform immigration policy, introducing legislation and accompanying regulations governing entry to, and stay within, Australia according to specific criteria. The Bill also created a two-tier system of review of immigration decisions, the first tier being the now defunct Migration Internal Review Office (MIRO) and the second tier being the Immigration Review Tribunal (IRT), now the Migration Review Tribunal (MRT)"[10]
1992	**Migration Amendment Act 1992.** Mandatory Detention is introduced. "It was in 1992 that the policy of mandatory detention was introduced by the Keating Government (with bipartisan support) through the enactment of the *Migration Amendment Act 1992*. Mandatory detention was initially envisaged as a temporary and 'exceptional' measure to deal with a particular cohort of 'designated persons'—Indochinese unauthorised boat arrivals."[11]
1994	Legislative amendments introduce that expand the application of mandatory detention to all persons arriving without a visa, or those in Australia on an expired or cancelled visa and removal of the 273-day limit,

[9] Klapdor, *Australian citizenship*, under Developments in Australian citizenship law.
[10] Dr Kerry Carrington, Social Policy Group, Contemporary Policy Issues in Historical Context: Current Issues Brief no. 3 2003-04, Ministerial Discretion in Migration Matters: Contemporary Policy Issues in Historical Context, ((Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2003), https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/CIB/cib0304
[11] Phillips, Janet and Harriet Spinks, Social Policy Section. "Immigration Detention in Australia," (Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2013).

	and provisions that 'unlawful non citizens' can only be released from detention on granting visa, or on removal or deportation from Australia, introduction of bridging visas.
1999	**Border Protection Legislation Amendment Act.**
2001	**Migration Amendment (Excision from Migration Zone) Act 2001).** Introduction of what becomes known as the 'Pacific Solution.' "On 13 August 2012, the Expert Panel on Asylum Seekers released its report containing a suite of measures and recommendations to the Government on how best to deal with asylum seeker issues in the short, medium and long term. One of the short–term measures recommended was a proposal to re–establish offshore processing facilities in Nauru and Papua New Guinea in order to provide a 'circuit breaker to the current surge in irregular migration to Australia.' The practice of transferring asylum seekers intercepted at sea to third countries in the Pacific for processing was first introduced by the Howard Government in 2001—this policy became known as the "Pacific Solution."[12]

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[12] Janet Phillips and Social Policy Section, *The 'Pacific Solution' revisited: a statistical guide to the asylum seeker caseloads on Nauru and Manus Island,* (Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2012) under Introduction, https://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/bn/2012–2013/pacificsolution

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APPENDIX 2: LIST OF COMMONWEALTH MIGRANT HOSTELS FROM 1947 TO THE 1980s. (INCLUDES LIST OF HOSTELS AS PART OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM AND ARCHITECTS WHERE KNOWN)

The Australian federal government's provision of on–arrival accommodation for migrants and refugees, including displaced persons (DPS), arriving in Australia was initially administered and managed by the Department of Labour and National Service. In 1948, the Migrant Workers Accommodation Division was established within the Department to take over control of the facilities nationwide. The Division was organised into three regional offices, located in Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide. Commonwealth Hostels Limited, a Commonwealth owned company registered in Victoria took over management of migrant hostel sites from January 1952, overseeing administration in conjunction with the Department of Immigration. In 1978 the company changed its name to Commonwealth Accommodation and Catering Services Ltd and continued to administer the remaining migrant hostels as well as other types of government–sponsored, short–term accommodation, for example accommodation for federal government employees in Canberra. It is important to note that individual state governments also managed migrant hostels, (on a smaller scale and predominately setup for British assisted migrants), and these are not included in the list below. *(Note this list is compiled through the projects archival research, predominately at the NAA. See the Bibliography for details.)*

Commonwealth Migrant Reception and Training Centres, Workers Hostels, Holding Centres and Migrant Hostels and Centres, 1947–1980s

News South Wales

Adamstown (dates unknown), Newcastle.
Balgownie (later Fairy Meadows) Mirant Hostel, (1950–1976), Wollongong.
Bankstown (dates unknown), Sydney.
Bathurst Migrant Camp (1948–1952), Bathurst.
Berkeley (1951–1967), Wollongong.
Bradfield Park (1951–1971), Sydney.
Bunnerong (dates unknown), Sydney.

Burwood (dates unknown), Sydney.
Cabramatta (dates unknown), Sydney.
Cronulla (dates unknown), Sydney.
Cowra Camp, (1949–1955), Cowra.
Dundas (dates unknown), Sydney.
East Hills and Heathcote Hostels (1954–date unknown), Sydney.
Ermington (dates unknown), Sydney.
Goulburn (dates unknown), Goulburn.
Greta Reception and Processing Camp, (1949–1960), Greta.
Katoomba (dates unknown), Katoomba.
Kingsgrove (dates unknown), South Sydney.
Kyeemagh (dates unknown), South Sydney.
Leeton (dates unknown), Leeton.
Lithgow (dates unknown), Lithgow
Mascot (dates unknown), Sydney
Matraville (dates unknown), Sydney
Mayfield (dates unknown), Mayfield
Meadowbank (dates unknown), Sydney
Nelson Bay (dates unknown), Sydney
North Head (dates unknown), Sydney
Parkes Holding Centre and Camp (1948–1952), Parkes.
Port Stephens (dates unknown), Port Stephens.
Randwick (The Endeavor) Hostel, (1970–mid 1980s)Sydney
St Marys (dates unknown), Sydney.
Scheyville Hostel, (1949–1964), Sydney.
Schofields (dates unknown), Sydney.
Unanderra (1950–1971), Wollongong
Villawood/Westbridge Hostel (1949–late 1980s), Sydney
Wallerawang (dates unknown), Blue Mountains.
Wallgrove (dates unknown), Sydney.

Victoria

Altona (later Wiltona) Migrant Hostel (1949–1970s and 1978–1986), Altona, Melbourne
Benalla (1949–1967), Benalla.
Bonegilla (1947–1971), Bonegilla.
Broadmeadows Migrant Hostel (Opened Unknown –1970s), Broadmeadows, Melbourne.
Brooklyn Migrant Hostel (1949–1967), Brooklyn Melbourne.
Fisherman"s Bend Migrant Hostel (Unknown–1972), Melbourne.
Homesglen Migrant Hostel (1952–1970), Melbourne.
The Royal Exhibition Building and Carlton Gardens, Reception Centre (1949–1962), Melbourne.
Mildura Holding Centre (1952–1957), Mildura.
Norlane (1951–1975), Geelong.
Nunawading (later Eastridge) Migrant Hostel (1952–mid 1980s), Melbourne.
Preston Migrant Hostel (1952–1971), Melbourne.

Rushworth Holding Centre (1949–1953), Rushworth.
Springvale (The Enterprise) Hostel (1970–1990s), Melbourne.
Somers Holding Centre (1950s–1958), Somers.
West Sale Holding Centre (1949–1953), West Sale.

Queensland

Wacol East Displaced Persons Holding Camp, Wacol Migrant Centre, Wacol Hostel, (1949–1987), Wacol, Outskirts of Brisbane.
Stuart (1951–53), Townsville.
Enoggera (dates unknown), Enoggera.
Cairns (dates unknown), Cairns.

South Australia

Elder Park (1947–1969), Elder Park, Adelaide.
Finsbury/Pennington (Finsbury 1949–1966) Pennington (1966 to mid-1990s), Finsbury, Adelaide.
Gepps Cross (1951–65), Gepps Cross, Adelaide.
Glenelg (1949–1971), Glenelg, Adelaide.
Mallala (1950–1951), Mallala.
Milpara (1949–1977), Adelaide.
Peterborough Hostel (1948–1972), Peterborough.
Rosewater (1950–1953), Adelaide.
Semaphore (1949–1956), Adelaide.
Smithfield (1949–1971), Smithfield, Adelaide.
Willaston (1949–1952 and 1955–1956), Willaston.
Woodside Reception and Training Centre, Migrant Camp and Hostel (1949–1963), Woodside.

Western Australia

Point Walter Migrant Reception Centre (1947–72), Point Walter, Perth.
Graylands Reception and Training Centre (1947–51), Claremont, Perth.
Graylands Hostel (1951–86), Claremont, Perth.
Swanbourne Reception and Training Centre (1947–49), Swanbourne, Perth.
Holden Holding Centre, Northam (1949–57and 1962–68), Northam.
Northam Accommodation Centre (1949–51), Northam
Cunderdin Reception and Training Centre (1949–52), Cunderdin.
Noalimba Migrant Centre, Brentwood (1968–84), Brentwood, Perth.
Kelmscott Hostel (1950–1962), Kelmscott, Perth.

Purpose–Designed Commonwealth Migrant Hostels, 1960s–1970s

Notes: Dates here specify the period of reconstruction or building.

Altona, renamed Wiltona, Melbourne, Vic. Architect: Reg Grouse, 1968. The design of double story blocks in brown tinted concrete brick, with gabled roofs clad in matching cement tiles, were nominated for a Victorian Architecture Award in 1970.

Cabramatta, Sydney, NSW. There are records of a new design produced for Cabramatta in the NAA by the firm Geoffrey Twibill & Associates Architects & Planners, 1970, but the hostel was never redeveloped.

East Hills, Sydney, NSW. Architect: Unknown from the records examined, late 1960s to 1970. Then a new Education Centre was erected in 1978. Housing blocks containing units between four and ten and blocks were individually named are Australian rivers, mountains or early colonial figures include poets.

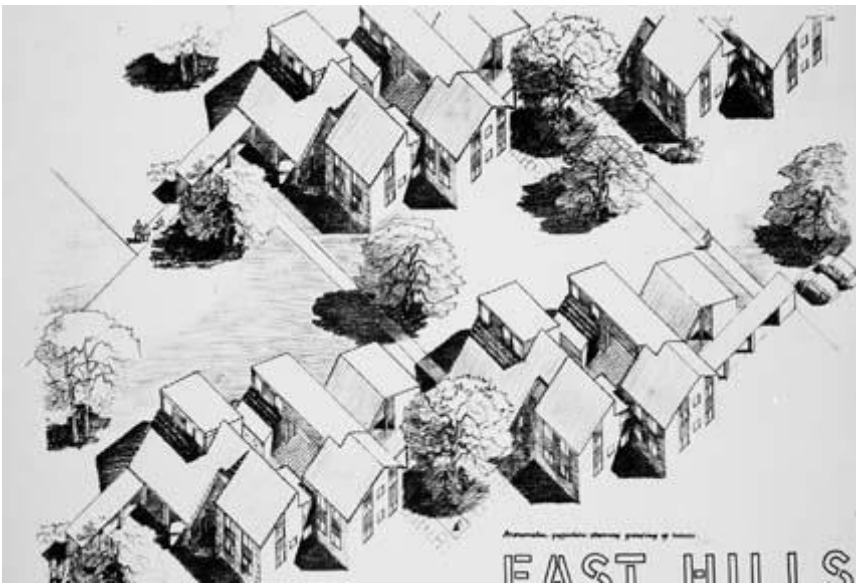


Figure A.1: East Hills redevelopment. Source: NAA: A12111, 1/1970/22/5.

Endeavour Hostel, Randwick, Sydney NSW. Architect: Commonwealth Department of Public Works, 1970.

The Enterprise Hostel, Springvale, Melbourne Vic. Architect: Commonwealth Department of Public Works, 1970.

Graylands, Perth, WA. Architect: unknown from the records examined, 1967, Individual flat blocks of two–to–three–bedroom flats were renamed after WA regions, Yilgran, Kimberley, Ord, Gascoyne, Hamersley and Eucla.

Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel renamed Midway and the Philip Centre, Melbourne, Vic. Architect: Montgomery, King & Trengove, 1966–1970.

Nunawading, renamed Eastbridge, Melbourne, Vic. Architect, Reg Grouse, 1967. The materiality of the units at Nunawading were similar to Grouse's units at Altona However, they were planned instead as single, detached single–storey units, each

containing two, three or four bedrooms and arranged in blocks of eight, the new units accommodated around 200 people. Their design included a strikingly shallow pyramid roofs that curved upwards.

Villawood Migrant Hostel, part of the site renamed Westbridge Migrant Hostel, Sydney, NSW. Architect: Bunning & Madden, 1968–1970.

Wacol, Brisbane, Qld. Architect: unknown from the records examined, 1968. The apartment style blocks were built in brick.

Commonwealth Migrant Hostels Operating into the 1980s

East Hills, Sydney, NSW, 1954–date unknown but possibly still operational into the 1990s.

Graylands Reception and Training Centre; Graylands Migrant Hostel, Perth, WA, 1947–1987.

Finsbury/Pennington Adelaide, SA; Finsbury, 1949–1966; Pennington, 1966–mid–1990s.

Maribyrnong Migrant Hostel; Midway Hostel; Philip Centre, Melbourne, Vic, 1949–1988.

Villawood Migrant Hostel; Westbridge Hostel, Sydney, NSW, 1948–to late 1980s. Buildings associated with the Villawood Migrant Hostel closed in 1984. Buildings associated with the Westbridge Hostel remained open into the late 1980s with selected buildings used as part of the Villawood Immigration Detention Centre in the early 1990s.

Wacol Migrant Hostel, Brisbane, Qld, 1949–1987.

APPENDIX 3: MAP OF MIGRANT HOSTELS IN SYDNEY IN THE 1960S

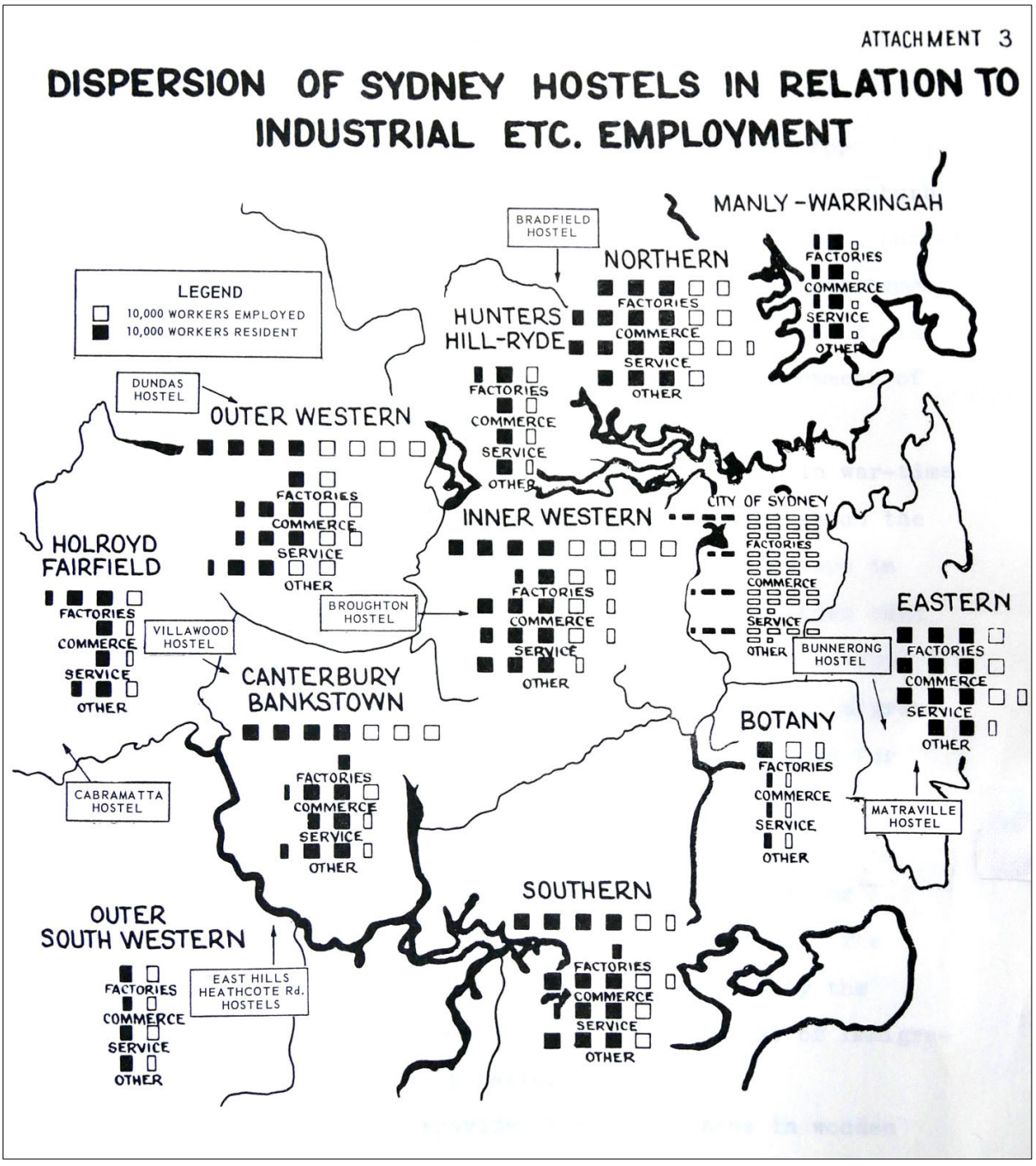


Diagram of migrant hostels in the greater Sydney region in the late 1960s. Produced by the Department of Labour and National Service, Australia. Source: Parliament, *Proposed Migrant Hostel at Randwick, Sydney N.S.W.: Evidence to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works by the Department of Labour and National Service* (Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service), 1964–66. NAA: MP1760/1, M1966/46354.

APPENDIX 4: POPULATION STATISTICS OF GREATER WESTERN SYDNEY

Summary

The following summary of Greater Western Sydney's population is quoted from the Regional Centre of Expertise, Greater Western Sydney. ("About Greater Western Sydney," Regional Centre of Expertise, Greater Western Sydney using information sourced using Australian Bureau of Statistics Census Data 2016, site accessed October 2022.
https://www.westernsydney.edu.au/rcegws/rcegws/About/about_greater_western_sydney.)

"Greater Western Sydney (GWS) is located in the western part of the Sydney metropolitan area, Australia, and is a growing region of economic opportunity, community aspiration and environmental diversity. The Greater Western Sydney region runs from Windsor in the north to Campbelltown in the south, and from Parramatta in the east to Penrith and the Blue Mountains in the west, comprising of 14 local government areas… …GWS is home to 2.5 million people – 35% of whom were born overseas. Its population is projected to reach 3 million by 2036 and to absorb two thirds of the population growth in the Sydney region – making the region one of the largest growing urban populations in Australia. GWS residents come from more than 170 countries and speak over 100 different languages. The majority of new immigrants (60%) that come to Australia settle in GWS and over the past decade 50% of these arrivals were from Iraq and Sudan. Around 12% of GWS residents do not speak English well. GWS also has more Indigenous residents than either South Australia or Victoria and is the largest single Indigenous community in the country. GWS has a high proportion of low–income families who are dependent on childcare as both parents work. Staff shortages are a major issue for the region's early childhood centres. Overall the proportion of students completing year 12 or equivalent was lower in GWS (54.1%) compared to the Rest of Sydney (65.1%). In the 2016 census twice as many people in GWS aged 15 or older had not attended school at all compared to the rest of Sydney and NSW. Further, 9.9% of 15- to 24-year-olds in GWS were disengaged with employment

and education, compared to 7.6% in Greater Sydney. The rate of engagement, particularly in the younger people, can be affected by access to strong employment and education markets and is a measure of socio–economic status and the level of welfare dependency in an area."

See links for contemporary statistical information:

A: Western Sydney (LGA), Ancestry, Western Sydney University

https://profile.id.com.au/cws/about

B: Western Sydney District Data Profile, NSW Government

https://facs–web.squiz.cloud/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/725857/Western–Sydney–District–Data–Profile.pdf

C: Sydney – Southwest, Australian Bureau of Statistics

https://www.abs.gov.au/census/find–census–data/quickstats/2016/127