PROMOTING MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA IN FRANCE IN THE 1960S

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Introduction

Like several other European countries immediately after World War 2, France was targeted by the newly created Australian Department of Immigration as a potential source of migrants. Although France was not considered to have the same potential as other migrant-providing countries such as Germany, Holland, Italy and Greece, a migration movement from France was seen as a means to supplement British and Northern European migration, while adding to the diversity of the European inflow.

The archival documents examined in this article reveal that there was notable interest in Australia from the French public during the 30 years following the war. However, by and large, Canberra did not believe that a large migration movement could be generated from France. Such a conviction was based on the fact that the French governments in this period were running their own immigration programme to help service an expanding post-war economy. Consequently, French officials were reluctant to facilitate the migration abroad of French citizens at a time when domestic manpower was precious. Still, the Australians were keen to have a French element in their immigration mix, as was expressed by the Minister for Immigration, Alexander Downer, while visiting Paris in 1959. Despite the limitations imposed by the French on the promotion of the Australian migration programme throughout the period known as the Trente Glorieuses, in 1971 the Australian Government believed that a target of 10,000 assisted departures from France would be an achievable outcome in the medium term.3

This article examines how the Australian authorities endeavoured to promote their migration programme in a French context not conducive to emigration. The study focuses particularly on the 1960s, a period when the Australian promotional efforts were the most active and when immigration from France was at its highest level. It draws from archival sources, including diplomatic and classified correspondence emanating from the Department of Immigration, recently released by the National Archives of Australia, as well as from information published in the French press. The study draws conclusions regarding the degree of success of the Australian migration activities in France during this period. To the author’s knowledge, no study has been carried out on the subject of the promotion of migration to Australia in the French context.2

The 1945 Australian exhibition in Paris

The first instance of publicity in France to promote migration to Australia is likely to have taken place immediately after the war, in the shape of an exhibition entitled Australia in Peace and War, organised in Paris to take place between 20 June and the end of August 1945, to showcase the Australian war effort as well as the potentialities of a country mostly unknown to the French.3 The exhibition, ‘of modest scale’,4 was organised by the London News and Information Bureau and was modelled on an exhibition that had toured the United Kingdom in the previous months.5 It was officially opened by Mr Duff-Cooper, the British Ambassador to France, in the presence of French, British and Australian officials.6 Among the exhibits displayed was a cross-section of a fighter plane and photographs that focused on the war. In addition to war memorabilia, the exhibition also showcased aspects of Australian life and industry.7 According to the press, the French officials who visited the display were particularly impressed by an aerial shot of the statue of Joan of Arc that features outside the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne.8

The Australian exhibition proved to be quite popular among Parisians, and was visited by as many as a quarter of a million people. It was reported that 20,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled ‘Know Australia’ were distributed during the exhibition.9 Although the official aim of the exhibition was to promote Australia’s contribution to the war, it is quite clear from the correspondence between the Department of Information and the Department of External Affairs that the event had also been staged to promote Australia as a migrant destination to the French.10 It was also reported in the Australian press publicising the event that the exhibition featured a special map that was used ‘as the basis for talks […] to prospective migrants and those wishing to open up trade with Australia’.11

In a country destabilised by the war and morally depressed, the prospect of migrating to Australia prompted around 8,000 queries from French people at the recently opened Australian Legation in Paris between the end of June and the end of September 1945.12 Queries were reported to originate from people

Bouvet, E.J., 2009. Promoting migration to Australia in France in the 1960s. Explorations, 45, 30-45. Copyright 2009 Author. Published version of the paper reproduced here with permission from the author.
‘anxious to migrate to Australia’, who did not require financial assistance and were ready to become Australian citizens. The sudden interest in Australia was not directly prompted by the Australian exhibition itself; rather, the exhibition had given rise to speculations, rumours and exaggerations in the press. It was reported, for example, that the Australian Government provided free trips to Australia, and that free land was granted to migrants willing to take up farming. These prospects prompted many would-be migrants to inquire at the Australian Legation.

The effect of the Australian exhibition in Paris was important because it aroused the interest of thousands of French people who may have been contemplating the idea of migrating overseas. It also prompted the Australian authorities to consider France as a potential migrant source country. In the aftermath of the Paris exhibition, the Australian Legation strongly argued for the implementation of a migration programme in France; nevertheless the French would have to wait until the early 1960s for such a scheme to be made available to them.

Sporadic mention of Australia in the 1950s French press

In the 1950s, due to the absence of any Australian migrant scheme available to the French public, French migration into Australia was low. In October 1954, there was a change in the immigration regulations relative to the entry into Australia of French nationals as the personal nomination system was introduced; following this change, a ‘notable increase’ in the number of applications for immigration was recorded by the Australian Embassy in Paris. However, in a memorandum to the Department of Immigration in Canberra, the Embassy reported that its migration section was unable to provide any printed matter to prospective migrants. It requested that funds be allocated to acquire copies in French of Australia in Brief (Un aperçu de l’Australie), an information booklet produced in London by the News and Information Bureau. The 1956 French edition (consulted by the author) was a small size 33-page booklet that presented Australia’s climate, fauna, history, resources, population, social structures and sports. While acknowledging a serious housing shortage and high rental costs, the booklet also argued that Australia had one of the highest standards of living in the world.

In this period, references to Australia were made sporadically in the French press. In July 1952, for example, a seven-part series of articles written by James de Coquet was published under the general heading of ‘Un homme au kilomètre carré’ (‘One man every square kilometre’) in Le Figaro, one of France’s most widely read national daily newspapers. The articles were comprehensive and dealt with all aspects of Australian society. Part 5 of the series dealt specifically with immigration and the situation of the French in Australia. Although the scope and scale of the Australian immigration programme was acknowledged in the write-up, one of the featured articles was strongly affected by negative perceptions of living and working in Australia and by the disillusionment of the French migrants interviewed. Another example of negative publicity occurred in an article by Jacques Chégaray entitled ‘La vie n’est pas rose en Australie pour l’émigrant français’ (‘For the French emigrant, life isn’t rosy in Australia’), published in 1952 in Témoignage Chrétien, a Catholic weekly of high intellectual standard. This article also told of the disappointments of French migrants who had settled in Australia. Chégaray stated that ‘[in] spite of many promises from the Australian Embassy in Paris, French migrants [were] very badly treated’, and went on to provide a list of French migrants who had had to take up employment for which they were over-qualified because their French qualifications had not been recognised in Australia. Not all write-ups in the 1950s about Australia were negative. A book entitled Où et comment émigrer (Where and how to migrate) by Camille Ferri-Pisani, published in 1954, featured a thirteen-page section devoted to Australia. It described Australia as a ‘worker’s paradise’, as a country with doors wide open to migration, where a worker’s standard of living was twice the French one, and where four-week ‘holidays worthy of millionaires’ were standard. Although general information about the natural characteristics of Australia, its economy and social conditions were outlined, the author did not really provide any practical advice in relation to the migration process.

The General Assisted Passage Scheme

In 1959, negotiations between France and Australia to extend the General Assisted Passage Scheme (or G.A.P.S.) to France took place. The scheme was intended to draw skilled and semi-skilled workers by providing assistance with travel, accommodation and employment. During a visit to Paris, Alexander Bouvet, E.J., 2009. Promoting migration to Australia in France in the 1960s. Explorations, 45, 30-45. Copyright 2009 Author. Published version of the paper reproduced here with permission from the author.
Bouvet, E.J., 2009. Promoting migration to Australia in France in the 1960s. Explorations, 45, 30-45. Copyright 2009 Author. Published version of the paper reproduced here with permission from the author.

Promoting Australia in the 1960s

In September 1963, *France-Vie,* a monthly French life-style magazine, published the first in a long series of emigration dossiers that included a substantial section on Australia. Although the write-up looked like an informational piece, it is possible that the News and Information Bureau (via the Australian Embassy) provided some if not all the text in the article on Australia. This was an important step taken by the Australian Embassy to advertise its programme. The article, however, did not make any direct call for migration, given that the French government had forbidden such calls in 1959, as a condition of the extension of the G.A.P.S. to France and, later in 1962, as a condition for the establishment of the Paris Migration Office. However, the write-up subtly promoted Australia as a land of great opportunities, making migration a very attractive prospect indeed.

Another important promotional landmark was the publication in 1965 of *Australie,* a practical guide to migrating to Australia, published by Presses Lafayette, the publisher of *France-Vie.* This ninety-six-page book gave useful information on the geographical characteristics of Australia, its industries, labour market, tax and social security systems, cost of living, real estate, etc. It also featured a chapter on the process of migrating to Australia. The authors of the guide were not acknowledged in the volume. However, it is possible that the volume was an elaboration on materials already released in *France-Vie* and, consequently, had some input from the Australian Embassy. The book was reprinted in 1967. The new edition featured updated information including costs and prices in the newly created Australian dollar.

From 1967, as the number of assisted migrants increased, promotional features started to appear regularly in the French press. *France-Vie,* which at that time had a subscription readership of around 45,000, was the first of several magazines to be used regularly to promote the opportunities Australia had to offer. The Australian Embassy called on a range of publicity materials to appeal to the public, such as full-page poster-type advertisements, economic, social and cultural reports and migrants’ success stories. Many of these write-ups tended to draw on themes that French women and men in their 20s and
30s would have found appealing: Australia as a young and vibrant migrant-friendly nation with a rapid rate of economic expansion, high principles of justice, a modern education system, many outdoor opportunities, and where hard-working migrants were rewarded.

Most issues of France-Vie (renamed France-Carrières and then Migrations in 1968) between 1967 and 1972 featured full-page advertisements, and a number of migrants’ success stories that may be considered ‘soft’ advertising for migration, unlikely to attract criticism from the French government because they did not promote migration directly. Success stories were based on seemingly genuine migrant cases. They started to appear in Migrations in 1969, at the height of the French migration into Australia. They varied in content but not in their structure (although some were longer than others). They appear to have been elaborated from a formula that focused on the very rapid success of migrants.

Typically, the success story presented the achievements of a young male migrant who arrived in Australia with very few possessions but who, through hard work and perseverance, became successful. The story of André, a 31 year old French chef in Sydney, is a good example of success stories: ‘He arrived in Australia with very little money and no English. Two years later he owned his own restaurant and business [was] going very well’. The use of direct speech combined with third person narration made the stories lively and dramatic. In the same article André stated ‘I can’t really believe what has happened to me, […] two years ago I had nothing and now I have a good business and my future is guaranteed’. Moreover, success stories allowed the Australian authorities to target categories of potential migrants, the Algerian French, for example (‘[Sydney’s] climate is very similar to that of Algeria, not too hot and not too cold’). Success stories were also used to warn unscrupulous people who might have seen assisted migration as a cheap way of financing extended holidays: ‘André thinks that the French who migrate to Australia and who are ready to work hard will succeed. But if you only wish to laze around all day, you are better off staying in Europe’. Success stories also aimed to promote group migration as is suggested by André’s remark that he ‘would like to have all my relatives come to Australia […] I would like all of them to come and judge by themselves. I know they would be very happy’.

Full-page advertisements published in the press also contributed to showcasing Australia through indirect advertising, in which no direct appeal to prospective migrants was made. The first full-page advertisement was published in France-Vie in 1967. A memo from the Australian Embassy in Paris to the Immigration Department stated that the text and lay-out were borrowed from a promotional text already used in Belgium. According to the memo, the Embassy believed that ‘commencing with France-View [sic] would be a useful exploratory gambit and would assist [them] to gather experience for future activities’.

Unlike subsequent versions, the advertisement was plain-looking and did not feature any pictures. Its heading read:

L’Australie vous offre
— un bon avenir— de nombreuses opportunités
du soleil— de l’espace.

The main text described Australia as a rapidly expanding nation where over two million migrants had settled and where new opportunities existed for people with initiative. The text concluded with a subtle call for migrants by stating, ‘Australia always needs people able to contribute to its development, and it is currently relatively easy to go there’. Following the text was a detachable coupon to be sent to the Australian Embassy in order to obtain free information about Australia.

Subsequent versions of the poster featured a stylised sun that not only drew the reader’s attention to the advertisement but also perhaps served as a symbol for the young, friendly and dynamic country it advertised. In February 1970, the poster’s design changed dramatically as it featured photos of happy and successful French migrants at home and at work. The text had been substantially altered to eliminate any mention of migrants or migration. Indeed, in the late 1960s, following the departure overseas of thousands of French people, the French government had become very critical of the content of some of the promotional material published on behalf of migration-destination countries.

The promotion of migration to Australia was not exclusively limited to France-Vie/Migrations. Another periodical promoting migration to Australia that appeared in the late 1960s was Sciences et Voyages, a monthly magazine, in which appeared an article by Raymond Vanker entitled, ‘Où et comment réussir à l’étranger: Australie et Afrique du Sud sont les deux pays qui offrent le plus de chance’. In his article, Vanker argued that because of unstable economic
conditions present in France in 1969, it was quite legitimate for French people to think about expatriation ‘to achieve what seemed to be impossible to do at home’. Focusing on success stories of French expatriates from around the globe, Vanker presented the characteristics of several migration-destination countries. Australia featured prominently in the article with a succinct description of the emigration procedures, a list of salaries across diverse sectors of activity, and an idyllic success story in the form of extracts of letters from a young French expatriate who settled in Sydney in early 1969.

Australia was restricted in its promotional effort not only by the French authorities; it also had to compete with other migrant destinations such as Canada, which was also engaged in advertising campaigns and was somewhat less observant than Australia of the French ban on direct appeal to migrants. The Canadian migration authorities appeared to have an advertising budget larger than Australia’s, judging by the frequency of advertising or informational material relating to Canada that appeared in *Migrations*. The Canadian promotional material included a large number of success stories and was generally more to the point than the Australian material in its appeal to migrants. It featured assertive headlines such as: ‘Thousands of privileged French people will leave for Canada this year’. Importantly, the Canadian migration promotion relied on the fact that adaptation to life in Canada was easy since, in the late 1960s, six million Canadians spoke French. For French people considering migration, Canada was very appealing and often the first choice destination.

The travel agents’ incentive scheme

By 1969, the Australian Embassy had implemented a travel agents’ incentive scheme that rewarded travel agents for acting as migration agents and sending applicants to the Embassy. Some agents specialised in overseas migration. ‘Europe Outre-mer’, an agent based in Bordeaux, placed several advertisements in *Migrations*. It claimed to help clients interested in migrating to Canada, Australia or South Africa to obtain official documentation, fill out applications and forward them to the Embassy, as well as to assist clients in finding work and accommodation in the destination country. Evidence of promotional activity on the part of travel agents is found in an interview with a French migrant who arrived in Adelaide in 1969, conducted for an unpublished study carried out by the author. The informant stated: ‘I was told that Australia was a country with a great future, so I applied to go to Australia. By chance I went to the travel agent in Toulon and I asked to go overseas. They told me that if I wanted to go and work as a baker, I had to go to Australia’.

Some individuals may have taken advantage of the travel agents’ incentive scheme, as attested by a case documented by the Australian Embassy. In 1969, Mme Roumens posed as a representative of the Australian Embassy to attract migrants to the Nice area. It was alleged by the Embassy that she provided inaccurate, over-optimistic information about Australia, charged too much for her services, and also claimed the commission paid to the travel agent by the Embassy. To make matters worse, Mme Roumens also printed her own ‘official’ application forms. The Australian Embassy had to publish a series of disclaimers in the local press to curb Mme Roumens’ activities.

As a result of the sustained advertising campaign started in 1967, in late 1969 the Australian Embassy was involved in a variety of promotional activities. It advertised in eight magazines; it published migrant success stories regularly in the French press; it distributed a comprehensive information booklet (*Australie: faits et chiffres*) to prospective migrants; it ran a poster project in French schools; it held monthly film information evenings in Paris and in regional centres; and it had implemented a travel agents’ incentive scheme.

At the end of the 1960s, the Australian Embassy had substantially increased the number of approved candidates for migration, allowing over 3,400 assisted migrants from France to migrate. However, it claimed to be limited in its recruitment effort by lack of staff and lack of funding from Canberra. A public relations report relating to immigration from Britain and Europe including an analysis of Australian promotional activities in France, released in January 1970, stressed the need for increasing publicity campaigns promoting migration to Australia. The report acknowledged that there was in France a growing awareness of Australia as well as an increase in the number of inquiries about migrating to Australia. However, despite the potential for expansion of migration from France, the report claimed that the effort of the Commonwealth to promote Australia in France had been insufficient and that the Australian migration programme was mostly promoted by word-of-mouth. It recommended, among other things, that a full-time Information Officer be appointed in Paris to increase media coverage of Australian promotional
material. It also recommended that the frequency of advertising be extended and increased. According to the report, if publicity in France could be encouraged, the prospects of migration from France would improve further. At this stage, the author has not found evidence that the report’s recommendations were ever implemented.

**Conclusion**

The assisted programme years of the late 1960s and early 1970s were the most favourable years in terms of French migration into Australia. Interest from the French in migrating to Australia was substantial throughout the period. The promotion of migration to Australia in France was supported by soft advertising campaigns, appearing predominantly in printed media outlets, and orchestrated by the Australian Embassy in Paris. However, despite the growing number of French migrants settling in Australia and a sustained demand for migration from the French general population, the target of 10,000 immigrants from France per year set by the immigration authorities was never reached, far from it. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that at the end of the 1960s the Australian Embassy had substantially increased the number of approved candidates for migration, allowing over 3,400 assisted migrants from France to migrate in the 1969–1970 financial year.

It can be argued, on the basis of the archival evidence examined in the context of this study, that the Australian immigration officials based in Paris made a sustained attempt to develop migration from France through promotional activities. But their efforts were hampered by the persistent lack of funding and human resources and hindered by the ban on direct advertising for migration, imposed by the French as a condition of the establishment and maintenance of the Migration Office in Paris. As a result, Australia could only invest moderately in promoting migration to Australia in France. In such a context, any substantial and sustained migration flow from France was simply impossible to generate. This being said, one could wonder if more funding from Canberra to enhance the promotional efforts of the Australian Embassy would have increased the volume of French migrants coming to Australia. It could be argued that had an adequately funded (soft) promotional campaign started as early as 1960, when assisted migration became available in France, more interest from the French, and consequently better recruitment prospects throughout the 1960s, may have resulted. As it happened, the campaign, which only gathered momentum well into the second half of the decade to reach its peak in 1969–1970, came too late. If 1969–1970 was a high point in terms of French migration to Australia (as it was for migration to Australia in general), by the early 1970s, migration from Northern and Western European source countries (including the United Kingdom) was already starting to decline as Europe had become more prosperous. As a result, Australia had to look for new source countries outside of Europe to compensate for the diminishing number of European arrivals. In our opinion, more funding to support the Australian migration programme in France at that late stage, as advocated by the 1970 public relations report mentioned in this article, would not have made a substantial difference to the numbers of French migrants reaching Australia in the first half of the 1970s.

This study has relied almost exclusively on archival data collected in Australia, as well as on information published in the French press, in order to sketch the story of how migration to Australia was publicised in France in the 1960s. The present study will be further elaborated by a case study analysis that the author is currently undertaking.

**Notes**

‘I feel it is desirable that Australia tell her story in Paris particularly in view of the desirability of educating and interesting the French with regard to the war in the Pacific.' Cablegram from S. M. Bruce, Australia’s High Commissioner in London, to the Prime Minister’s Department and the Department of External Affairs, 28 March 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.

Letter from F. Stuart to the Acting Minister for External Affairs, 28 September 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.

Memorandum from E.G. Bonney, Director General, Department of Information to the Acting Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 21 February 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.


Memorandum from the French ministry of Foreign Affairs, signed DIPLOFRANCE, 22 June 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.


‘We agree that it is desirable that the proposed exhibition in Paris should await the establishment of the Australian Legation in that centre. At the same time, if the establishment of the Legation is to be long delayed, an opportunity might be lost for making an early impact on the French public in relation to Australian publicity that might have long-term effects upon trade, tourism, migration and other inter-relationship with the French people.’ Memorandum from E.G. Bonney, Director General, Department of Information, to the Acting Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 21 February 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.


H.E. Holland, France: Migration to Australia, 28 September 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.

H.E. Holland, France: Migration to Australia, 28 September 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.

‘[The idea of offering attractive contracts] even found its way to the press on September 15th, when the Paris newspaper Franc-Tireur published a paragraph stating baldly that all interested could apply to ‘the Australian Consulate’ for assistance to migrating to Australia forthwith.’ Letter from F. Stuart to the Acting Minister for External Affairs, 28 September 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.

H.E. Holland, France: Migration to Australia, 28 September 1945, NAA, A1066, E45/13/39, Migration to Australia.

See Bouvet, ‘French Migration to Australia’, for more details on this point.

With the exception of the 1950–1952 period.


Un aperçu de l’Australie is available for consultation at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (reference 16-P2B-263).

Part one was unavailable for consultation at the time the author researched this topic at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Part Two was entitled: ‘Toute l’économie australienne repose sur 125 millions de moutons’ (‘The whole Australian economy rests on 125 million sheep’). Part Three was entitled: ‘Il faut aller en Australie pour chercher la sécurité et non la fortune’ (‘One must go to Australia to seek security and not fortune’). Part Four was unavailable for consultation. Part 5 was entitled: ‘Il était mieux à Gisors!’ dit l’assistant venu faire fortune en Australie’ (‘I was better off in Gisors’ said the fitter who came to Australia to seek his fortune). Part Six was entitled: ‘Peut-on peupler l’Australie avec des bébés-épouvantouilles?’ (‘Can Australia be populated with test tube babies?’). Part Seven was entitled: ‘Le travailleur australien a obtenu le maximum de loisirs au prix du maximum d’inconfort et d’ennui’ (‘The Australian worker has obtained maximum leisure at the price of maximum discomfort and boredom’).

The issue of non-recognition of professional qualifications not only affected the French but also all non-British immigrants.

Éditions la Nef de Paris.


Cablegram from Australian Embassy in Paris to the Department of Foreign Affairs, 7 June 1962, NAA, A1838, France: relations with Australia, Immigration, 25/1/3/10 PART 1.

Author’s translation. ‘C’est mon plus grand bonheur. J’emporterai beaucoup de livres et j’apprendrai l’anglais. Et puisqu’il [y] a peu de femmes en Australie, je peux supposer que les maris sont fidèles.’ Quoted in Léon Gilliaux, L’Écho
26 Memorandum from the Australian Embassy in Paris to the Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra, 27 June 1962, NAA, A1838, 25/13/10, France: Relations with Australia, Immigration, PART I.

27 In the financial year 1962–1963 only 293 France-born arrivals in Australia were recorded. See Bouvet, French Migration to Australia.

28 France-Vie, published by Éditions Lafayette, Paris, was briefly renamed France-Carrières in 1968 to reflect the content of its issues. It subsequently became Migrations.

29 The collection also featured guides to migrating to Canada and Argentina.

30 Another periodical in which a write-up on migration to Australia appeared in the late 1960s was Sciences et Voyages, a monthly magazine that was published until 1970 (see Sciences et Voyages, Nouvelle Série, La Vie des Hommes, n° 20, November 1969, pp. 6-12).

31 The author has been able to verify the truth of two Adelaide-based success stories that were published in Migrations. The author is currently collecting data relating to success stories as published in the French press. This will be the subject of a future research paper.


34 Cablegram from the Australian Embassy in Paris to the Department of Immigration, 13 October 1967, NAA, A1838, 25/13/10, France: Relations with Australia, Immigration, PART I.

35 ‘Australia offers you—a good future—many opportunities—sunshine—and space’ (the author’s translation).

36 ‘Where and how to succeed abroad: Australia and South Africa are the countries that offer the most opportunity’. Sciences et Voyages, Nouvelle Série, La Vie des Hommes, n° 20, November 1969, pp. 6-12.

37 Author’s translation of ‘[...] pour entreprendre ce qui paraît impossible chez soi’, p. 6.


39 The attractiveness of Canada as a migrant destination for the French was attested by interviews carried out by the author with French migrants who left France for Australia during the 1969–70 period.

40 See Migrations, n° 74, February 1969, p. 4, for example.

41 Interview with ‘David’, French migrant living in Adelaide who arrived in Australia in 1969 (February 2007).