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PART I



LIVING ON THE LAND

CHAPTER 1

The Natural Environment of Australia

by John Fien

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内容提要:

澳大利亚作为一个大陆占据了若干个世界之最: 面积最小、气候最为干燥、地势最为平坦。

澳大利亚是地球上最大的岛国, 也是世界上唯一占据了一整个大陆的国家。澳大利亚的自然环境为其经济发展打下了坚实的基础。广袤的土地与气候的多样性促进了农业、畜牧业的蓬勃发展; 得天独厚的地质资源保障了采矿业和能源工业的原材料供应。由于其特殊的地理位置, 这里生活和生长着世界其他地方无法看到的动物和植物, 构成了澳大利亚最具多样性的生态系统。这里有着闻名遐迩的大堡礁、蜿蜒千里的海滨、茂密的森林、纵横的湿地、绵延的山脉和令人叹为观止的戈壁沙漠, 所有这些都已成为澳大利亚吸引世界各地游客的重要景点。丰富的自然资源孕育了澳大利亚的农业、矿业和旅游业, 这三个产业也因此成为了澳大利亚国民经济的三大支柱。

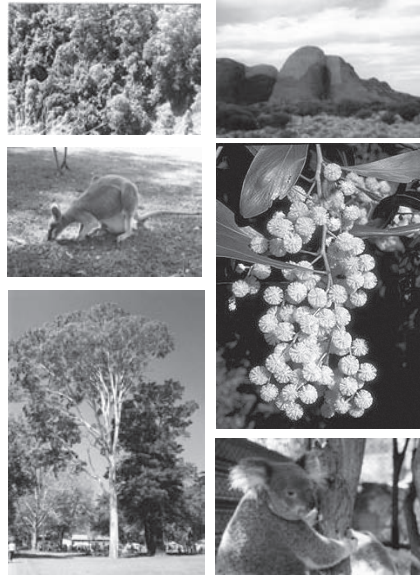
不过, 澳大利亚经济对自然资源的依赖性极大地制约了制造业的发展。长期以来, 澳大利亚在世界经济中扮演了原材料输出国的角色, 与此同时一直进口其他国家加工生产的成品或半成品, 从而成为一个净进口国, 也因此面临着国际收支不平衡的严峻考验。虽然海外游客的蜂拥而至带来了大量的国际资本, 但这仍然未能从根本上改变澳大利亚经济严重依赖自然资源的现状。

Introduction

The landscape in Australia shows something that Australians are very proud of: Australia's spectacular, beautiful and unique natural environments. Australia's geological history and latitude have made for a wide range of landscapes, climate, plants and animals found nowhere else on earth. The rainforests of north-eastern Australia contain the world's most ancient flowering plants and are among the world's most bio-diverse ecosystems. The Great Barrier Reef^①, which runs parallel to the coast for 2,300 kilometres, is the world's largest reef formation. The coastline is made up of over 30,000 kilometres of sandy beaches, sand dunes, sweeping bays and spectacular cliffs. Moving inland from the eastern coast, the forested mountains, hills, valleys and gorges gradually give way to grassy plains and then to deserts that cover two-thirds of the total area of Australia. In each of these ecosystems—forest, grassland, reef, coastal plain and deserts—live plants and animals that have adapted to the climate. Cut off from all other

Australia's landscape varies from tropical rainforest (top left) to dry interior (top right). With its special geographic location, Australia has many fauna and flora of its own. The golden wattle (middle right), koala (bottom right) and kangaroo (middle left) are all Australian national emblems. The eucalyptus tree (bottom left) is a commonly seen plant on the continent.

Courtesy of Dai Ning and Xia Yuhe. The photo of wattle is cited from the website www.anbg.gov.au



^① Great Barrier Reef: 又称大堡礁，是澳大利亚世界自然遗产保护地之一，位于澳大利亚东北部昆士兰省的沿海珊瑚海（Coral Sea），是世界上最大的珊瑚礁生态体系。现已成为多种生物栖息的地方，保存了完好的生物多样性。但在 20 世纪 70 年代以前，石油勘探和矿产勘探的租约覆盖了大堡礁五分之四的面积，直到 20 世纪 90 年代这些租约才被取消。



land, eucalyptus trees, koalas, echidnas, kangaroos, wallabies, kookaburras and frilly lizards have evolved to be unlike the plants, animals, birds and reptiles of any other country.

As varied, interesting and beautiful as it is, the natural environment of Australia can also be hard and inhospitable. The lack of rain in the soul-destroying droughts interspersed with spectacular floods. In central Australia, rivers that have been dry for five or more years suddenly run 20 kilometres wide and flood tens of thousands of square kilometres of land. Tropical cyclones^① and bushfires (fires in areas of natural forest and shrubland, known as ‘the bush’^②), the seeming uniformity of plainlands and eucalypt forests and the lack of human inhabitants are seen by some as signs of the mix of monotony and danger that distinguishes the Australian environment.

Commenting on the contrasting faces of the Australian environment, Aboriginal educator Professor Eric Willmot (1987) noted:

Australia is the flattest, driest, ugliest place on earth. Only those who can be possessed by her can know what secret beauty she holds.

Australia is a singularity of nature. Her barren, stony surface expresses the history of half this planet’s existence and genesis [or beginning] of life itself. And yet she is bewilderingly hostile.

Australia has no great mountain ranges to carry snow to water her vast flat surface. Her rivers, for the most part, flow upside down—if indeed water runs at all. She carries a population of plants, animals and human beings and their societies, yet she remains the emptiest inhabitable place on earth. Seventy-five percent of the continent has a human population of less than one person per 10 square kilometres. This is my native land and I have often wondered why the way she is.

Of course, the rivers do not really ‘flow upside down’. But because of the large amounts of soil they carry, in some areas they have a brown appearance and Australians like to joke that they flow upside down.

^① cyclone: 在澳大利亚, 强烈的热带风暴一般被称为 cyclone。美国人一般用 hurricane, 而中国一般会根据强度的不同用“热带风暴”(tropical storm) 或“台风”(typhoon) 来表述。

^② Bush 这个词在澳大利亚有着特殊的意义。就如文中的解释, bush 指澳大利亚的原始森林和灌木林; 同时, bush 有着十分深刻的文化内涵, 这个词将在后面章节中频繁出现。

Resources from the Environment

Australia's natural environment provides for three of the four types of resources upon which the economic development of the country depends. These are:

1. *a large land area* that stretches from the northern hot tropics to the cool temperate climates of the south. This allows for the rich agricultural production for which Australia is so famous—sugar cane in the north-east coastal areas of the state of Queensland, dairy cattle, wheat and rice in the south and east, and then moving inland, sheep (for wool and meat) and beef cattle in the less fertile, semi-arid lands of the interior;
2. *a richly diverse geology* which provides a wide range of minerals (gold, diamonds, copper, bauxite for aluminium, iron, limestone, lead, zinc, silica, tin, etc.) and energy supplies (coal, oil and natural gas); and
3. *a wide range of spectacular natural features* (reef, beaches, forests, wetlands, mountains, deserts, etc.) and a generally warm and comfortable climate, both of which are very attractive to overseas tourists.

Thus the agricultural, mining and tourist industries upon which Australia depends for economic development rely very heavily upon the natural environment. The fourth resource that Australia depends upon is its human population, which is well educated, politically mature and stable, and generally very hard working. Some commentators argue that the strength of character of most Australian people comes, in part, from the natural environment. This was seen in the close bond with the land described above in the quotation by Professor Willmot.

The purpose of this descriptive introduction has been to provide an insight into the importance of the natural environment to most Australian people, and to show how the spirit of the land—whether it is seen as spectacular and beautiful or haunting and hostile—has infused the national character of Australian people just as the natural resources of the land have provided for natural economic development. This cultural identification with the land in Australia has its origins in the land ethic of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. However, it is a part of the national character of many Australians,



whatever their ancestry.^① This is a very important point to remember as you read this chapter, as sometimes the ‘dry facts’ in descriptions of the natural environment of Australia—its geology, botany, climate, and so on—might lead readers to miss the integrity and spirit of the environment as an integrated whole.

Aspects of the Australian Environment

Nevertheless, it is important that some of the “dry facts” about the natural environment be understood. They provide a background to the demographic, social, cultural, economic and political patterns and processes explored in other chapters of this book. The following sections of this chapter give an overview of three aspects of the natural environment of Australia, in particular its geographic location, its landforms and rivers, and its climate.

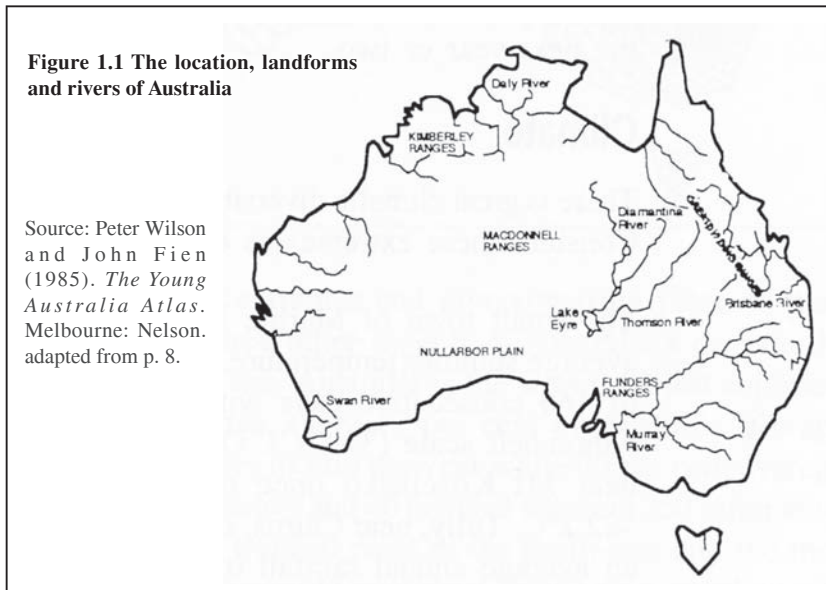
Geographic Location

Australia is the world’s largest island and its smallest continent. It is the only continent inhabited by one nation. Additionally, Australia includes the much smaller island of Tasmania, which lies just to the south of the main continent, and some more distant island territories and dependencies in both the Pacific Ocean (e.g. Norfolk Island) and the Indian Ocean (Christmas, Cocos and Keeling Islands). Australia is the world’s sixth largest country in land area. Its area of 7, 686, 848 square kilometres makes it just a little smaller than Russia, the United States, Canada, China and Brazil.

Figure 1.1 shows that Australia is located in the Southern Hemisphere to the south and east of Asia. The most northerly point—Cape York—lies at 10°S, while the southern tip of Tasmania is 43°S. Nearly 39 percent of Australia is north of the Tropic of Capricorn. This large north-south extent makes for the wide range of climates and ecosystems described in the first part of this chapter.

^① 澳大利亚原住民和欧洲裔殖民者对土地的认识存在着很大的差异。原住民把人当成了与土地不可分割的组成部分，也就是说人是自然的一部分，土地是他们精神寄托之所在。而欧洲裔殖民者则把澳洲大陆当成了“无人居住之地” (terra nullius)，土地是其征服的对象和财富积累的源泉。所以，从18世纪欧洲人登陆澳洲到今天，这个大陆的土地归属权依然是当今澳大利亚人必须面对且未能有效解决的棘手问题。详情参阅第六章的相关内容。

Australia has not always occupied this location. According to the theory of continental drift, all the continents were joined together 300 million years ago. Then, very gradually, a great land mass called Gondwana drifted apart due to tectonic forces inside the earth. Fifty million years ago, Australia was located well to the south, attached to Antarctica. It has gradually drifted north and is still doing so at the rate of 10 centimetres per year. This continental drift means Australia is getting progressively warmer (if temperatures were



taken over millions of years). The cycle of ice ages and warm periods over this time makes accurate measurement impossible. However, environmental scientists have identified these climatic changes through the fossil record, geological formations, pollen analysis of deep soil cores and remnant vegetation patterns. For example, the deep harbour of Sydney is an old river valley that was ‘drowned’ when the sea level rose with the melting of the polar ice caps after the last ice age.

Landforms and Rivers

The large area, geological history and diverse and changing climates of Australia mean that the country displays a wide range of landforms. Because Australia is so old, geologically speaking, it no longer has the active



volcanoes and folding that create mountains. Instead, the forces of erosion—chiefly wind and water—are slowly wearing away the land. Thus Australia has the lowest mountain ranges in the world. Mt Kosciusko, which is located in the Snowy Mountains south of Canberra, is the highest mountain—but is only 2,228 metres high. Nevertheless, these south-east ranges are high enough—and cold enough—in winter to have extensive areas of snowfields.

Australia has few large rivers. Apart from the short, fast-flowing rivers that flow from the eastern and south-east ranges to the eastern coast, and some of the streams in the Murray-Darling Basin in central south-east Australia, most of Australia's rivers flow erratically. Those of the central interior lowlands and the western two-thirds of Australia flow only intermittently. Lake Eyre, Australia's largest lake, is empty most of the time. Sometimes for many years in a row, it is just a large salt-covered depression. Then, when floods occur in north and eastern Australia, water flows down the Georgina Diamantina and Thompson Rivers for over 2,000 kilometres to fill Lake Eyre for the next year or two.

Climate

There is great climatic diversity in a country as large as Australia. Consider these extremes as examples.

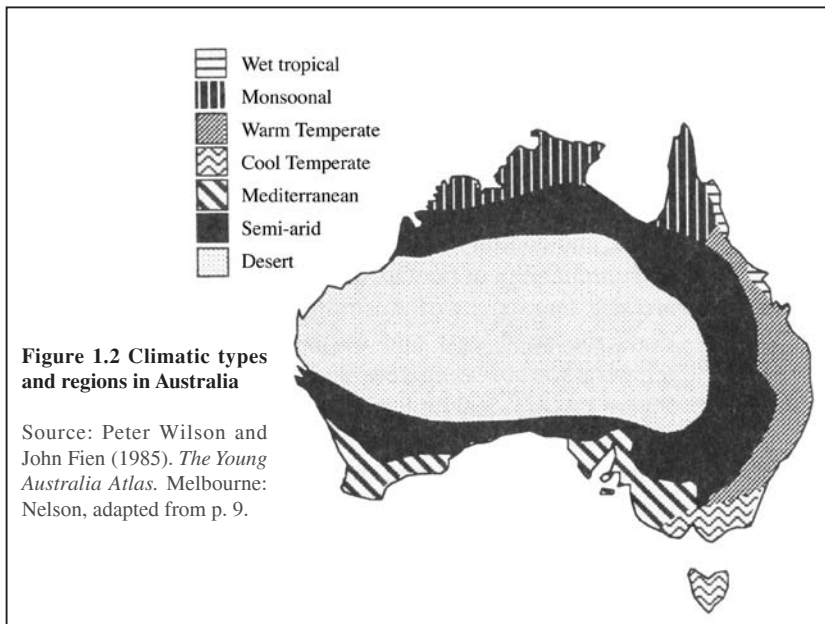
The small town of Marble Bar in Western Australia has an average summer temperature of 41^o, and set the world record of 160 consecutive days with a temperature of 100^o on the Fahrenheit scale (37.8^o). On the other hand, Charlotte Pass near Mt Kosciusko once recorded temperature as low as -22.2^o. Tully, near Cairns, is Australia's wettest place and has an average annual rainfall of 4,546 millimetres. However, the interior and western two-thirds of Australia can go without any rainfall at all for years on end.

The broad variety of climatic types and regions in Australia is shown in Figure 1.2. On this map, you will see that the northern third of Australia is tropical, with summer rainfall. The eastern coastlands, from Mackay north to Cairns and Cooktown, are very wet indeed. This is where the rainforests are found, and some people refer to this climate as 'equatorial'. Moving south along the eastern coast, the climate becomes subtropical and temperate and the rainfall season gradually loses its summer dominance. In the south, in Victoria and Tasmania and around Adelaide and Perth, the dominant rainfall

season is winter. The majority of the rest of Australia, as you can see in Figure 1.2, is 'arid'. This means that the rainfall is very low and, in most areas, more moisture is evaporated by the hot sun than actually falls as new rain each year.

These patterns of extremes and diversity from place to place are matched by three other aspects of Australia's climate that should be noted. First, Australia is the world's driest continent, excluding Antarctica. Only 13 percent of Australia averages over 750 millimetres of rain per year while 60 percent averages less than 400 millimetres and 40 percent less than 250 millimetres. Even if the heavy tropical rains of the north-east and the more reliable rains of the south-east were distributed evenly across the continent, the average rainfall would be only 400 millimetres per year. This contrast with a high for the other continents of 1,350 millimetres for South America and 610 millimetres for Europe and Asia. In addition to low average totals, it must be remembered that Australia's rainfall is very irregular. Even the tropical north can miss its rain for several years. For example, Tully's 4,546 millimetre average has been calculated from annual rainfall totals of only 2,670 millimetres in 1943 to a record high of 7,700 millimetres in 1950. Thus 'average' rainfall is a deceptive measure.

Second, rainfall seasonality is very important. The northern half of





Australia receives almost all of its rainfall in summer, between December and March.^① This is caused by the movement of the tropical low pressure systems southwards during the northern hemisphere winter. Tropical cyclones come at this time of the year—generally between five and ten per season spread around the northern coastline. The southern half of Australia receives most of its rainfall in winter from moist air and cold frosts from the Southern Ocean^②. However, averages again can be deceptive, and the key features of variability and unreliability in rainfall patterns should always be noted.

Third, and contrary to the negative picture of climatic extremes and unreliability to rainfall, the size of Australia means that there are still large areas of Australia with a very pleasant climate. Thus the south-east and south-west coastal areas of warm temperate, cool temperate and Mediterranean climates (see Figure 1.2) are ideal for human settlement and agriculture. Indeed, it is in these areas that over 80 percent of Australians live. And it should not be forgotten that the seasonality of rainfall in northern half of Australia means that the tropical rainforests of northern Queensland, the Great Barrier Reef, the Kakadu wetlands^③ and the Gold Coast beaches are warm to hot—and generally rain-free—from April to October each year. This, of course, is the holiday season upon which much of Australia's tourist industry is based.

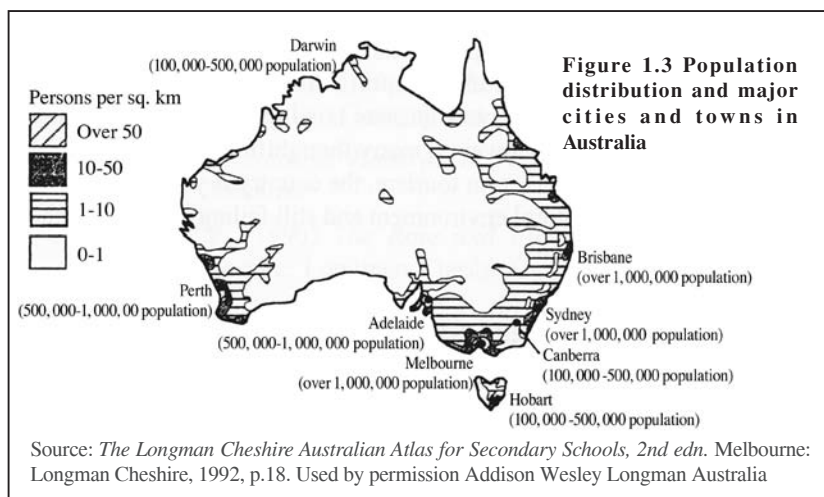
Conclusion

The geographic location of Australia and its patterns of landforms, rivers and climate from the natural environment upon which the patterns of natural vegetation are based, and upon which the patterns of agriculture, tourism and urban settlement have developed. Thus the population distribution map of Australia in Figure 1.3 closely resembles the map of climate regions in Figure 1.2. The only exceptions are the mining towns and export ports in the remote north and west. Towns such as Mt Isa, Dampier and Port Hedland have developed to service the mining industries in these areas. Mining companies have to pay very high salaries to attract workers to live there.

^① 澳洲大陆位于南半球，所以，其季节与北半球正好相反。虽然有春夏秋冬的季节更替，但这些季节所在的月份就与北半球不一样了。

^② 由于其南半球的地理位置，澳洲大陆各地区的气候也与北半球相反。北部地区接近赤道，所以炎热、潮湿；而南部地区靠近南极，所以气温较低，凉爽一些。在澳洲，朝北的房子阳光充足，是冬天居住之首选。

^③ Kakadu wetlands: 卡卡杜湿地，详见第六章的有关注释。



Although Australia appears to be a large underpopulated continent, in fact most of the areas where few people live are deserts or virtually uninhabitable in the ways in which Western people like to live.^① Where the climate and environment allow it, Australia is densely populated. The big cities suffer congestion, pollution and contamination of waterways, just as they do in many Asian countries—an issue of Chapter 2.

Thus the patterns of landforms and climate in the natural environment in Australia are closely related to the pattern of human activities. The early European agricultural and pastoral activities were in the hospitable south-east corner of the continent. This was where the first minerals and coal were found, the first towns and cities established and the early manufacturing industries developed. Indeed, in the 1870s and 1880s, the industries of Sydney and Melbourne made Australia one of the leading exporters of manufactured goods in the world. However, this industry was based upon the processing of products from the natural environment. As settlers moved further north up the Queensland coast and inland for sheep, beef and mineral production, the huge wealth from these primary industries, which were also based upon the richness of the natural

^① 澳大利亚这个国家可以用“地大物博”或“地广人稀”来形容。但从其地理特征来看,澳大利亚许多地方不适合人类居住。虽然澳大利亚只有2千万人口,但大多数都居住在适宜人类居住的东南沿海地区,也因此造成了这些地区环境的恶化。



environment, swamped the early manufacturing industries, at least in scale and economic importance.^①

So while Australia has been a 'lucky country' because of the diversity and richness of its natural environment, it may be this very richness that makes Australia vulnerable in the modern world economy. Governments and companies did not value manufacturing industries because they thought the wealth was in the land. For this reason, manufacturing did not keep up with natural resource industries. Indeed, Australia re-imports its exports of wool, cotton and steel as clothing, cars and machines. Thus today, when manufacturing is so important for economic strength, Australia is a net importer of manufactured goods and has a serious balance of payments problem, even when the Australian economy is performing strongly on other indicators. The value of the exported natural resources is far less than the cost of manufactured imports. This is why the inflow of funds with international tourists is so important to Australia (see Chapter 14). However, many thoughtful Australians are now wondering whether, in tourism, the country is yet again relying upon its rich natural environment and still failing to address other fundamental needs.

► Questions for Discussion

1. How is the natural environment of Australia different from that of Asian countries? Why are there such differences? Are there any similarities?
2. Find some descriptions of Australia in newspapers, magazines and holiday brochures. How is Australia described? How do these descriptions relate to the natural environment? What else about Australia do these descriptions tell you?
3. Compare the maps of Australia's landforms (Figure 1.1) and climate (Figure 1.2) with the map of population distribution (Figure 1.3). What are their similarities? How could this be explained?
4. What aspects of Australia's location, landforms and climate have aided the development of tourism in Australia?
5. What advice would you give to Australian people and governments about their reliance on the country's natural resources for economic development?

^① 有关澳大利亚地理环境和自然资源与经济的关系，参阅第十四章的内容。

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CHAPTER 2

Conflicts and Controversy in the Australian Environment

by John Fien

作者简介:

约翰·费恩 (John Fien): 参见第一章中的作者简介。

内容提要:

澳大利亚幅员辽阔,物产丰富,以其美丽的自然景观和得天独厚的自然遗产吸引着世界各地的游客。但对在这片土地上求生存谋发展的澳大利亚人来说,澳洲大陆不仅仅有着美丽的自然风光,它还在不同的历史时期为澳大利亚的发展提供了机会,丰富的物产资源就为今天澳大利亚人的高生活水平提供了物质基础。因此,环境问题,即人与自然环境的关系问题,成为当今澳大利亚社会的一个热门话题。

保护自然环境和发 展国民经济之间的关系是争论的焦点之一。总体来说,澳大利亚社会对这一问题的认识可以归纳为五种看法:

原住民认为土地是神圣的,它不仅为生命的繁衍提供了食物等资源,而它本身即是生命。土地和所有在这片土地上生存的生命都是一体的。从这种认识出发,原住民虽然利用了自然环境,但是他们的生存活动对自然环境产生的影响却是很小的。

早期欧洲殖民者面临着在新大陆的艰苦环境中生存的压力,认为应该改造自然,使其像英国的田野一样适于农业耕作。在征服自然的过程中,他们掠夺自然资源,砍伐森林以发展农业和畜牧业。

当生存的压力得到了缓解,在 19 世纪后半叶和 20 世纪初期,为进一步发展国民经济,适应海外市场的需要,澳大利亚大力发展了采矿业,经历了淘金热、煤矿和铁矿业的发展和煤炭钢铁工业的

建立。尽管这一时期，“丛林”和“丛林文化”成为澳大利亚的骄傲，但铁路的修建和城市的发展等国民经济发展中的必要环节不可逆转地改变了澳大利亚的自然环境。

第二次世界大战以后，随着物质生活水平的提高和生活方式的改变，对自然资源的过度消耗成为人们关心的问题。但澳大利亚社会的基本共识仍是要发展经济，满足人们的物质生活需求。因此，如何管理自然环境，使之不被过度开发，成为政府制定政策的指导方针。

近年来，澳大利亚出现了一种新的生态意识，它认为人和生态环境是一体的。对环境的认识不应是如何利用自然资源为经济发展服务，而应是保护自然环境及其生态、美学、科学、精神和经济价值。毋庸置疑，这五种认识相互传承，相互影响，相互交替，构成了澳大利亚对环境的认识及其政策战略中的矛盾和冲突。

今天，澳大利亚的环境保护既有全球观念，同时也制定了符合澳大利亚实际的国家战略。它积极参与了联合国制定的全球性可持续发展行动纲要《21世纪议程》，同时也制定了本国的《国家可持续发展战略》。

Television and newspaper reports of environmental problems and controversies are quite common in Australia. Australia's wide variety of natural ecosystems and rich natural resources, such as minerals, forests and beautiful scenery, were described in Chapter 1. It is these resources that have provided the basis of the high standard of living enjoyed by most Australians.

However, many controversies have arisen over how these resources should be used. On the one hand, some people want to use the natural environment as a 'bank' from which they can withdraw all the resources they need to promote economic growth. On the other hand, some people believe that the earth and its resources should be preserved because of the problems caused by rapid economic growth. And, of course, there are many people who stand in between these two extreme views.

As a result, the development of Australia's resources has not been a rational or planned process and many problems have resulted. For example, since European settlement in 1788, half of Australia's soil has been eroded



away, two-thirds of the original forests have been removed, and there is hardly a lake or river that has not been adversely affected by human action. Soils covering nearly one-half of Australia are in need of restoration and there has been a drastic reduction in Australia's genetic resource base. This is because many species of plants, animals and birds have been lost from clearing too much natural vegetation: Australia has lost 75 percent of its rainforests and about 40 percent of its total area of forest. Water and air pollution from industrial development are increasing, and urban sprawl and traffic congestion from urban growth now cause billions of dollars in environmental damage and lost production time each year. These problems are seen by many as so severe that they may threaten climate patterns and the long-term viability of agricultural productivity and human health in Australia.

Controversies over Using the Environment

While environmental problems in Australia—especially in cities—may not seem as severe as in other countries, a wide range of serious environmental problems do exist. Largely, these are the unplanned side-effects of past development projects that have not taken environmental concerns seriously. As a result, many environmentally aware Australians are very dedicated to preventing economic activities that they believe might threaten valuable and increasingly rare coastal, riverine, mountain or forest environments.

Thus, there have been many cases in recent years in which Australians have seemingly almost been at war with each other over different proposals for using the environment. Over the last few decades thousands of people have rallied and marched in city streets to protect the Great Barrier Reef from oil drilling, and World Heritage^① listed rainforests (along many parts of the eastern coastline from Queensland to Tasmania) from timber-cutting and dam and road construction. As well, many people have campaigned to prevent beaches and islands from being mined for mineral sands and have

^① 联合国教科文组织 (UNESCO) 对世界各地的自然和人类文明产物进行评估, 对其中具有重大价值的列入该组织的保护范围名录, 即世界自然遗产名录和世界文化遗产名录。

protested against the mining of uranium deposits^①. Others have fought to protect sacred Aboriginal sites from mining activities^② and to preserve historic buildings in the face of high-rise urban development. Recently, it was estimated that 500, 000 people were members of environmental groups in Australia. See Bulter and Butler^③ (1992) for case studies of environmental conflict in Australia, and as examination of how decisions were made to resolve or manage them.

Visions of the Environment

Understanding the reasons for the high level of controversy in the Australian environment and the particular management strategies that are used to resolve this conflict requires an appreciation of the historical interactions between Australians and the environment. The major event in Australian environmental history was the arrival of human settlers. The first settlers were the Aborigines who came from South-East Asia at least 40, 000 years ago.^④ In the years following 1788, European settlers came. The Australian continent now supports forty or fifty times as many people as it did before 1788; so it is easy to appreciate how the human impact on the natural environment has accelerated since then. However, the scale and severity of this human impact is not so much a matter of human numbers as of the different human values and technologies that have dominated at different points in time. Australia's environmental history reveals a pattern of changing, contrasting and often conflicting environmental values and visions, all of which are still influential in Australia to varying degrees.

The Australian environment of today reflects the impact of five major visions of the environment. They are:

- the Aboriginal vision;

^① 从这一段的内容可以看出，澳大利亚的矿产资源十分丰富，因此也造就了繁荣兴旺的采矿业。但是，这种经济的繁荣是以破坏环境为代价的。在国民环保意识日益增强的今天，采矿业的扩张引起了环保人士和普通民众的反对和抵制。

^② 由于澳大利亚法律规定，采矿、放牧等租约可与原住民对土地的权利并存，许多原住民文化中的圣地都受到了采矿业的破坏。

^③ 见本章末参考书目。

^④ 对原住民到达澳洲大陆的时间有不同说法，也有学者认为他们是在 60, 000 年前到达澳洲的。



- the pioneering vision;
- the national development vision;
- the management vision;
- the ecology vision (Heathcote 1972; Department of Arts, Heritage and Environment 1986).

These five visions do not occupy discrete time periods although different ones have dominated at different points in Australia's history. However, some elements of all can be identified in each of the five phases of Australia's environmental history. Today, all are competing to be the vision that determines how Australia's environment should be managed.

The Aboriginal Vision

The Aboriginal vision for the land represents the world's longest surviving culture. It dominated for all but the last two hundred or so years of human settlement in Australia. To Aborigines, the land is sacred. The land not only provides resources of food, clothing and shelter to sustain life, it *is* life. In the Aboriginal view of the world, the land was created by ancestral beings, many of whom had supernatural powers. These ancestors still live in the environment in spiritual form, continually generating life. Therefore, Aborigines believe that there is a oneness between the land and all the creatures, including humans, that inhabit it because all life comes from the land.^① People and animals are all part of the same ongoing life forces, with the earth as the 'other' or source of life.

As might be expected, this sensitive vision of the environment produced only slight impacts on the environment. Yet it should not be assumed that the Aborigines lived in a static or passive relationship with the land during the many thousands of years, prior to 1788, when the Aboriginal vision predominated. Aborigines had very clear goals for their use of the Australian environment—as evidenced, for example, in their use of fire to burn off old grass and generate new grass growth which would attract game, like

^① 原住民认为土地本身即是生命。他们认为土地是由他们远古的祖先创造的，他们的祖先有着超自然的力量，他们的灵魂仍然生存在周围的环境中，继续创造生命。因此，原住民认为土地和所有生活在土地上的生物，也包括人类，是一体的，因为所有生命都来源于土地。

kangaroos. As a result, the vegetation composition of some areas changed greatly. Open eucalypt forests evolved as a response to these frequent fires, producing the park-like forests that were often commented upon by early European explorers.

The Pioneering Vision

The writings of the early European explorers, such as William Dampier^①, Captain James Cook^②, Joseph Banks^③ and some early European settlers revealed great interest in the botanical diversity of Australia and created considerable scientific interest in the Australian environment. However, the challenge to survive in a land that was often harsh and unyielding to European farming methods led many European settlers in the early nineteenth century to abandon any sympathetic views of the land. A pioneering vision evolved which was marked by indifference to the scientific value and romantic aura of the landscape. The environment was seen as attractive only when it was ‘improved’ by European settlers and their works, often to look like English countryside. The land was only considered valuable when it was productive.

This vision led most European settlers throughout the nineteenth century to disregard the environment. Historical records show them pushing further and further inland with little thought for the environmental destruction they caused or the people they dispossessed. Judith Wright^④, a famous Australian poet and writer, described this process in her book, *The Cry for the Dead* (Wright 1981):

^① William Dampier: 威廉·丹皮尔 (1651-1715), 英国探险家, 是世界上第一个环绕地球航行三次的航海家, 也是第一个看到澳洲大陆的英国人。

^② Captain James Cook: 詹姆斯·库克船长 (1728-1779) 被称为库克船长, 英国探险家、航海家, 是第一个到达澳洲大陆东海岸的欧洲人。

^③ Joseph Banks: 约瑟夫·班克斯 (1743-1820), 植物学家, 与库克船长一起在南太平洋进行科学考察, 收集、记录植物样本。

^④ Judith Wright: 朱迪斯·赖特 (1915-2000), 澳大利亚著名诗人、环保主义者、澳大利亚原住民土地所有权的支持者。《The Cry for the Dead》发表于1981年, 在此书中, Judith Wright对19世纪40年代到20世纪20年代期间, 澳大利亚白人定居者对原住民的迫害和对昆士兰省中部的环境的破坏进行了描述和批判。



As time went on, the Aborigines retreated or were driven out of whole territories into the inhospitable foothills... The land itself was now disfigured and desecrated, studded with huts, crossed by tracks and fences, eaten thin by strange animals, dirtied and spoiled... The all embracing art of life and spirit which held all things together was in tatters.

The pioneering vision was informed by value systems and environmental perceptions of Europe, where people had been clearing land for agriculture for over a thousand years and where an agrarian-industrial culture had developed. As a result, many mistakes were made as the European pioneers tried to ‘conquer’ the unpredictable climate and generally infertile soils. Whole forests were cleared in the mistaken belief that the tall trees were a sign that the soil must be very fertile. Trees were felled to provide construction timbers for mine shafts and the growing towns and cities. While agriculture expanded in the well-watered coastal areas—and even in the far northeast and southwest of the continent—pastoralism spread far out to the uncertain fringes of the arid interior. These actions laid the foundations for an attitude of environmental disregard and the ‘development means progress’^① ethos that are still common in some quarters in Australia today.

The National Development Vision

The national development vision emerged in the second-half of the nineteenth century and predominated until World War II. It grew out of, and was informed by, the pioneering vision. The emphasis was still on opening up the land and exploiting available resources. However, now it was for overseas markets rather than family survival. This, for example, was the period of the gold rushes^② in many parts of Australia, including Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria, Gympie and Palmer River in Queensland, and Kalgoorlie in Western Australia. This was the period that saw the development of coal and iron ore mines and the beginnings of an iron and

^① ‘development means progress’: 发展就是进步。这种思想认为经济和技术等的发展就等于社会进步，因此在发展经济的过程对环境造成的破坏是不可避免的。

^② gold rush: 淘金热，开始于 19 世纪 50 年代初。1851 年首先在新南威尔士发现了金矿，半年后在维多利亚也发现了金矿，随后当时澳大利亚的其他殖民地也都发现了金矿。淘金热使澳大利亚的人口迅速增加，也促进了各殖民地基础设施的建设，煤矿和铁矿石的开采也有了发展。

steel industry in Australia. It was also the period of the great slaughter of Australia's wildlife for the export fur trade, before conservation measures were introduced. For example in 1927, in the month of August alone, over one million possums^① and half-a-million koalas were slain for the overseas fur trade in Queensland.

Pride in the Australian landscape and a 'bush' culture also developed during this period with the bush becoming 'the synonym for Australia from the 1880s onwards'^② (Heathcote 1972). The emerging sense of national identity from the land was accompanied by an unbounded faith in national development. The settlement of the north sugar and beef lands, road and railway expansion, the replacement of farm huts with brick and stone homesteads, the redevelopment of shopping precincts and the erection of fine government buildings in State capitals, along with many schemes for intensified land development, are evidence of the national development vision and its impact on the environment.

Acceleration of Economic Growth and the Need for a New Vision

Following World War II, Australia entered a period of rapid economic growth that, despite periodic cycles of 'boom and bust'^③, has continued to the present day. This economic growth was based upon the development vision—the exploitation of natural resources such as forests, minerals, water and soil nutrients. The period since 1945 has also been one of rapid social change in Australia, with perhaps no area of life more transformed than the growth in the material standard of living and consumer-oriented lifestyles of most Australians. Of course, the exploitation of natural resources and these social changes were related. The environment was (and often still is) perceived by many as a cornucopia that could supply all local demands as well as an excess for export to pay for all Australia's additional needs and

^① possum: 袋貂，与负鼠相似，是澳大利亚和新西兰特有而常见的动物。

^② 丛林文化被看作是澳大利亚的民族文化。19世纪80年代后，澳大利亚民族主义兴起，澳大利亚的自然景观和地貌成为澳大利亚民族身份的象征。

^③ 'boom and bust': 指经济在繁荣与衰退之间周期性的发展。



wants from overseas.^①

The exploitation of the natural environment in the pursuit of economic growth was accelerated by overseas export orders and investments which funded the application of large-scale technologies. These technologies transformed the nature of extractive industries. Clearfelling, or cutting down all the trees in the forest, to produce woodchips for export entered the forestry industry and the rate of timber extraction from native forests began to exceed regeneration. Plantations of exotic conifers were planted to meet anticipated timber demands.^② The economics of open-cut mining^③, especially for coal and iron-ore, opened up large areas of remote Australia for mining settlements and promoted a new era of railway, port and industrial development during the 1960s and 1970s.

Similar developments occurred in agriculture, also. Intensive mechanisation, the introduction and development of new species of plants and animals, and the widespread use of pesticides and fertilisers expanded rural production. They also transformed the social environment of rural Australia. Agricultural mechanisation led to a decline in employment opportunities in rural areas and the eclipse of many small country towns. New irrigation projects and the further release of relatively marginal government-owned Crown lands for farming and grazing expanded the area of Australia under economic exploitation. Irrigation also led to increasing numbers of people working and living in rural areas in some parts of Australia.

These intensive changes in agriculture, coupled with nearly 200 years of careless development, exposed the fragility of the Australian environment. Alarming increases in the rate of soil erosion and the salinity of streams and farmlands resulted. At the same time, valuable market garden lands were lost to suburban sprawl and coastal wetlands drained and reclaimed for urban and industrial purposes. The quality of water in many rivers and coastal areas,

^① 第二次世界大战后，澳大利亚经济迅速发展，人民的物质生活水平迅速提高，形成了鼓励消费的生活方式。而这种生活方式造成对自然资源的过度利用。人们把环境当成了古希腊神话中象征丰饶的羊角，以为它不仅可以满足澳大利亚国内的需求，还可以有多余的资源用于出口以满足澳大利亚的其他需求。cornucopia: 古希腊神话中象征丰饶的羊角。

^② 指为满足预期的木材需求而种植引进的松柏类树木，破坏了当地的植被环境。

^③ 指露天地表开采煤矿和铁矿石大面积破坏了地表植被。

as well as the air over larger cities, became severely affected by urban and industrial discharges. Thus people became more aware of the constraints of the natural environment. They also began to appreciate the need to develop Indigenous forms of agriculture and the need to preserve some areas, especially the remaining forests, for reasons other than immediate economic gain.

The Management Vision

It was only to be expected that many individuals and organisations would become concerned at the rate of resource consumption, the resultant degradation of the natural environment, and the loss of many aspects of social well-being despite material gains in the national standards of living. The response of government and industry was to seek better ways of managing the environment. The need for economic growth was not questioned. Government legislation became the principal way of controlling the nature, extent and impact of resource development. Legislation from the late 1960s onwards often demanded that developers had to assess the likely impact of their proposals prior to approval being granted for them. Through such measures, considerable advances have been made in the control of pollution, land use planning, the development of policies and techniques to reduce environmental degradation in rural Australia, and the identification and conservation of areas of natural and cultural heritage.

However, the public mood has remained in favour of expansion and economic growth. The dominant national ethos of materialism has favoured consumer-oriented lifestyles over environmental considerations. This does not mean that Australians are not proud of their environment, or keen to see it managed wisely. It is just that their concern has been compromised by the failure of the management vision to involve individuals in recognising their responsibilities for the present condition and the future of the Australian environment.

The Ecology Vision

The management vision sustains most environmental plans and actions in Australia today. However, there are signs that another vision is emerging, a vision that has more in common with the way in which



Indigenous Australians perceive the environment than with previous European approaches to the development of Australia's resources. This is the ecological vision of the modern environmental movement which sees people and the natural environment as one, and questions whether the environment should be perceived solely in terms of resources to be exploited for economic growth in order to raise material standards of living. The ecology vision advocates conserver rather than consumer values and anticipates a conserver society which values the intrinsic ecological, aesthetic, scientific and spiritual values of the landscape as much as its economic potential. In the pursuit of a better quality of life for all, a conserver society would seek to conserve all resources for as long as possible, seek a fair pattern of access to resources, eliminate all forms of waste, and develop its economy in harmony with, rather than in opposition to, the natural environment.

Managing Environmental Conflict in Australia

These five visions of the environment reflect the changing social values in Australia. However, they are not mutually exclusive and have often merged into one another. Trends have not shown the dominance of any one vision and, even when one vision was temporarily dominant, aspects of other ones were always present in the thinking and actions of Australians. Indeed today, as at no other time in Australia's history, all five visions are competing for influence in the public mind and the making of environmental policy. The interplay of these visions may be seen in the economic proposals of resource developers (national development vision) and the preservationist reactions of environmentalists and Indigenous Australians (Aboriginal and ecology visions) and in the efforts of governments to mediate the resultant disputes through their enactment of compromises (the management vision).

Nevertheless, the over-exploitation and inappropriate use of resources still continues in many areas of Australia to the detriment of natural and cultural heritage. This is despite the present dominance of the management vision and the importance of the Aboriginal and ecology visions. While public attitudes may be more attuned now to the nature and worth of the Australian environment than at any time since 1788, the economic recession of the 1980s and 1990s has emphasised job security and economic production at the expense of conserver values.

A National Conservation Strategy

However, there are signs that increased attention is being paid to the demands of the Australian environment through the management vision and the development of strategies in which environmental protection and economic development can be mutually reinforcing and interdependent. The goal of 'living resource conservation for sustainable development'^① has led to policies which can promote development planning within the constraints of, and in harmony with, the natural environment. The 1984 National Conservation Strategy for Australia enjoins all Australians to acquire an attitude of stewardship towards our natural and cultural resources and heritage. It seeks to do this through four broad objectives:

- to maintain essential ecological processes and life-support systems (such as soil regeneration and protection, the recycling of nutrients, and the cleansing of waters) on which human survival and development depend;
- to preserve genetic diversity (the range of genetic material found in the world's organisms) on which depend the breeding programmes necessary for the protection and improvement of cultivated plants and domesticated animals, as well as much scientific advance, technical innovation, and the security of the many industries that use living resources;
- to ensure the sustainable utilisation of species and ecosystems (notably fish and other wildlife, forests and grazing land) which support rural communities as well as major industries;
- to maintain and enhance environmental qualities which make the earth a pleasant place to live on and which meet aesthetic and recreational needs. (*National Conservation Strategy for Australia 1984*).

There has been much activity at the government level to provide guidelines to help implement these objectives. Individual local and state governments, as well as the national government, now have a range of laws which seek to provide appropriate impact assessment and planning processes.

^① 'living resource conservation for sustainable development': “保护生物能源，实现可持续发展”。这是联合国环境署、世界野生动物基金组织和国际自然和自然资源保护联盟提出的世界保护自然战略。



Perhaps the most significant action in recent years has been the agreement by the leaders of all the state governments and the national government for a range of common approaches to environmental management.

The National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development

This process began in 1989 when the Australian government proposed to develop a National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development^① (NSES D). The process was extensive and, over a period of two years from 1990 to the end of 1992, involved consultation and negotiations between key interest groups from industry, the community, conservation groups, scientific organisations and all levels of government. Working Groups were established in nine key areas: manufacturing, mining, agriculture, forests, fisheries, energy production, energy use, tourism and transport. Each Working Group developed a comprehensive report which fed into the National Strategy. Intersectoral issues^②, such as climate change, biodiversity conservation, urban development, employment, economic diversity and resilience and international considerations, were the subject of special reports by the chairs of each of the Working Groups. The intersectoral report also provided a basis for the National Strategy.

Australia's three tiers of Government—Commonwealth, State and Local^③—adopted the National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development in December 1992 at a meeting of the Heads of Government of each jurisdiction. The National Strategy is based upon five key principles of Ecologically Sustainable Development:

1. integrating economic and environmental goals in policies and activities;
2. ensuring that environmental assets are properly valued;
3. providing for equity within and between generations;
4. dealing cautiously with risk and irreversibility; and
5. recognising the global dimension.

^① National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development: 生态可持续发展国家战略。它为澳大利亚政府指导政策和决策的制定提供了广泛的框架，目的是要形成一种通过多方协调与合作来实现生态可持续发展的方式。

^② intersectoral issue: 跨产业问题，指非产业内问题，需要多方协作解决的问题。

^③ 有关澳大利亚政治体制的内容，参阅第十三章。

The Future: Thinking Globally and Acting Locally

The United Nations ‘Earth Summit’

From 1990 to 1992, the United Nations was developing its own global action plan for sustainable development. This plan, called Agenda 21^①, was adopted at a Heads of Government Conference, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development—also called the ‘Earth Summit’—in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. The links between Australia’s National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development and Agenda 21 are clear. Each seeks to provide a framework for the development of environmentally sound and ecologically sustainable decision-making at all levels. While Agenda 21 takes a global perspective, it is also very much focused on the actions that individual governments need to take in order to ensure that development is sustainable. The two plans are complementary, and Australia’s commitment to, and implementation of, its own National Strategy fulfils the obligation it entered into in Rio de Janeiro to implement Agenda 21.

At the national level, implementation of the National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development has involved the development of a range of detailed policies, usually through cooperative mechanisms similar to those used to develop the National Strategy itself. For example, A National Greenhouse Response Strategy was developed in parallel with the Ecologically Sustainable Development Strategy and also adopted by all levels of government in December 1992. National level strategies now also exist for Forests, Rangelands, Biodiversity and Waste Management, and are consistent with the principles of ecologically sustainable development. The Commonwealth Government has also embarked upon a programme of national environmental reporting. The first such report in over a decade, *State of the Environment 1996*, describes the effects of human activities on the environment and their implications for human health and economic well-being. This report also serves as a benchmark against which the condition of the environment and the environmental performance of governments can be monitored in the future.

^① Agenda 21: 《21 世纪议程》，由地球峰会，即联合国环境和发展会议，于 1992 在里约热内卢通过。澳大利亚据此还制定了本国的《21 世纪议程》，称为 Local Agenda 21。



Acting Locally

Each level of government, and each individual jurisdiction, has responded to the recommendations of the National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development according to its own needs and priorities. For example, the Commonwealth Government has taken measures to ensure that Ecologically Sustainable Development principles—such as the precautionary principle, intergenerational equity and the conservation of biodiversity—are taken into account in its own decision-making processes. Legislation and government programmes increasingly stress ecologically sustainable development objectives and principles. The Australian International Development Assistance Programme which delivers Australia's official development Assistance overseas is also guided by ecologically sustainable development principles.

At the state and local government levels, planning and development legislation increasingly reflects a commitment to Ecologically Sustainable Development and the National Strategies. With some Commonwealth Government assistance and support, but largely from within their own resources, these governments are tackling issues such as waste minimisation and cleaner production, land use, transport planning and natural resource management, against a background of the national strategies. Thus the notion of ecologically sustainable development seeks to balance visions of national development with visions which show concern for Australia's environment and non-renewable resources.

► **Questions for Discussion**

1. What are the major types of environmental problems in Australia? How similar are these to and/or different from environmental problems in China? Why are there these similarities and differences?
2. Why do environmental controversies in Australia focus so much around proposals for resource development?
3. What are the key environmental values in each of the five environmental visions in Australia history?
4. To what extent are any of these five environmental visions reflected in the environmental visions of people in other countries in the Asia-Pacific

region? In what ways?

5. What are the five principles in the Australian National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development? How do these five principles relate to the goals of sustainable development as defined by government in other Asia-Pacific nations?

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Ways of Living

by James Walter

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内容提要:

长期以来, 澳大利亚人对历史学家所描述的“丛林神话”、“拓荒者神话”颇引以为荣, 认为英国殖民者在 18 世纪踏上澳洲大陆后, 正是这些陌生且险象环生的丛林孕育了澳大利亚这个民族的独特品质, 丛林成为了澳大利亚人的精神家园。但是, 这个国家的发展过程和现实似乎与这一传统大相径庭: 澳大利亚自 19 世纪上半叶以来就是一个以城市生活为其主导生活方式的国家。而且, 与其他发达国家一样, 澳大利亚这种以城市为中心的模式也经历了从兴旺到衰败, 由衰败向郊区化的转变, 而目前却又出现了回归城市的趋势。

为了远离蚊蝇成群、瘟疫不断的城市中心, 人们纷纷选择在空气清新、环境优美的郊区安居乐业。郊区昂贵的生活成本未能挡住第二次世界大战之后逐渐富裕的人们对居住环境私密性和拥有一个自己的家的追求, “澳大利亚之梦”成为了郊区发展的巨大推动力。

在哪一个地区居住完全是个人的选择, 那么, 在郊区居住社区发展的同时, 社会隔离也应运而生。中产阶级所居住社区的环境条件和各种基础设施要远优于工人阶级的社区。第二次世界大战之后的大批移民涌入使得这种社会阶层之间的隔离更为明显: 移民们首先会在最不适合居住的市中心或贫穷的郊区落脚。一旦站稳脚跟, 经济状况好转, 他们便会搬走, 取而代之的是刚刚来到澳大利亚的



新移民。

郊区生活不仅仅是一种生活方式，它已经成为了一种文化。郊区社区不仅仅展现了阶级、种族、民族的特征，而且孕育了澳大利亚社会的流行文化。传统文化中的“丛林神话”只能是一种梦想，而反城市化、崇尚自然的郊区生活则是可触摸到的现实生活。所以，郊区生活是澳大利亚梦想的真实体现，是“澳大利亚的生活方式”。这种生活方式跨越了文化、经济、种族和民族的局限，成为所有澳大利亚人共同分享的精神财富，也成为团结澳大利亚民族的一面大旗。

不过，对这种“澳大利亚的生活方式”和“澳大利亚之梦”的褒贬之争从来没有停止过。从现实情况来看，大多数的澳大利亚人依然沿袭了这个传统，选择了这种生活方式。与此同时，受过良好教育的年轻一代似乎从一个不同的视角看待城市中心，他们一反长辈们的价值观，告别郊区，开创了重返城市的新潮流。

这种新老交替、新老并存的局面将会延续下去，这也是对澳大利亚生活方式的最好诠释。

For two hundred years, Australia has been drawing people from all over the world: it is a settler society. Many of these settlers believed that Australians were pioneering people, living close to the land. Even today, there is an image of Australians as forever exploring, clearing the land, running sheep and cattle or growing wheat. Australians celebrate the virtues of country people—independence, self-reliance, comradeship (or ‘mateship’) and improvisation. Chapter 8 discusses the poets and painters who celebrated rural life in Australia at the turn of the century. These images also seemed to identify something distinct about Australia.^① Far from the industrialised metropolitan centres of Europe from which most migrants came, Australians, it was believed, learned to live life in the harsh conditions of the bush or the great outback. Indeed, one of the most famous depictions of the ‘typical’

^① 从殖民地时代起，澳大利亚的文人墨客们就一直致力于构筑一个具有自身鲜明特色的民族形象。这些对民族特性的传统描述包括以乡村生活为主要内容的“丛林神话”(Bush Legend)、“拓荒者神话”(Pioneer Legend)和“凯利帮神话”(Legend of the Kelly Gang)等。

Australian, in Russell Ward^①'s *The Australian Legend* (1958) focused on characteristics that were said to have their origins in rural ways of living:

According to the myth the 'typical Australian' is a practical man, rough and ready in his manners and quick to decry any appearance of affectation in others. He is a great improviser, ever willing to 'have a go' at anything, but willing too to be content with a task done in a way that is 'near enough'... He normally feels no impulse to work hard without good cause. He swears hard and consistently, gambles heavily and often, and drinks deeply on occasion... He is usually taciturn rather than talkative, one who endures stoically rather than one who acts busily... He is a 'hard case', sceptical about the values of religion and of intellectual and cultural pursuits generally. He believes that Jack is not only as good as his master but, at least in principle, probably a good deal better... He is a fiercely independent person who hates officiousness and authority... Yet he is very hospitable, and above all, will stick to his mates through thick and thin.

There was, in fact, a suspicion of cities (and of life in them): they were seen as containing all that Australia could and should avoid—the problems of the old world: Europe. Randolph Bedford, a journalist and novelist, claimed, "Australia is emphatically not the Australian city... We must look for Australia further out." Such beliefs have had their impact on Australian popular culture right up until the present day. Hence Australian movies have celebrated the bush (for example, *Crocodile Dundee*—see Chapter 9) and Australian tourism promotion continues to sell an image of Australia overseas which is predominantly rural, and tied up with the exotic landscape, flora and fauna.

How can we explain the difference between the myth of the 'typical Australia' and its way of life, and the urban way of life which is the reality for most Australians? This chapter explores the contrast between the bush myth and the urban reality, and the different responses of commentators to both its rural dwellers and its city dwellers. Not everyone has criticised life

^① Russel Ward: 罗素·沃德 (1914-1995), 著名历史学家。沃德于1958年出版的《澳大利亚的传统》(*The Australian Legend*)一书被誉为澳大利亚国民特性研究领域的划时代之作。有评论指出,虽然将丛林视为澳大利亚精神家园之所在并非沃德的原创观点,他在《澳大利亚的传统》中也没有对这些观点予以评论,但是,他的主要贡献在于为这些自19世纪以来延续至今的理论进行了详尽的阐述,提供了详尽的事实根据。



in the cities, and especially after the 1950s, life in the suburbs. More recently, some writers have celebrated living in a free-standing house surrounded by a garden in a suburb as just as much a part of the Australian way of life as living in the bush.

The Growth of Cities

The Economics of Urban Settlement

Despite the myth of Australians as a pioneering bush people, the lives of most Australians have been lived quite differently for most of this country's history: Australia has long been proportionally one of the most urbanised societies in the world. Even in 1861, a scant 50 years after the first European settlement, 41 percent of the population of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland lived in urban areas.^① By 1901 this had increased to 64 percent. For Australia as a whole, the proportion living in centres with more than 1,000 inhabitants increased from 62 percent in 1921 to 86 percent in 1976.

According to the economic historians, cities have emerged as a result of Australia's economic role in the world, and because of the importance of cities in serving that economic role. Immigration to and settlement of Australia exploded in the nineteenth century in response to the demands of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Europe—and particularly Britain, from which most immigrants came at that time—needed primary products for their mills and factories. Most of the settler societies of the period grew as primary product producers. Australia, with an arable, temperate hinterland—at least along the coastal ribbon—and accessible through good ports, was well suited to this role. The cities grew at the key ports, serving the pastoralists and farmers by providing access to the hinterland as well as the ports through which rural produce was rapidly transported to European markets. Because Australia was a settler society, except in the earliest years, farmers were not subsistence peasants. They produced cash crops to sell overseas and needed ports to get access to their markets and to their inputs, like machinery. Inland settlement was thin because farms needed to be large enough to produce cash

^① 从 19 世纪 50 年代中期开始，澳洲大陆的几个英国殖民地相继发现黄金矿藏，“淘金热”迅速升温，吸引了世界各地移民到澳洲淘金，从而极大地促进了墨尔本、悉尼和布里斯班等城市的蓬勃发展。

crops while the coastal cities employed people who handled, processed and transported the primary products. By the late nineteenth century, these port cities had grown to such a size that they generated their own momentum: their own demands for labour to serve the needs of the city populations and to build their infrastructures; their own demands for finance and investment; their own economies. Therefore, even though Australia had a rurally based economy, it had become one of the most urbanised societies in the world by the end of the nineteenth century (Frost, 1990).

‘Marvellous Melbourne’

While some settlers described Australia in terms of the ‘bush myth’ of the outback pioneers, there were others who saw the growth of cities as the symbol of progress, of the ‘civilising’ of the new country, and as evidence of their improvement of the land. In 1857, William Henry Archer^① contrasted the forest trees, wildlife and Aborigines who once lived on the site of Melbourne with ‘the steady, active, ceaseless tread of the white... the bustle and hum of some 100,000 workers, who have swarmed from the old hives of civilisation’. In 1880, a picture of ‘modern’ Melbourne was contrasted with the alleged remark of its founder, John Batman^② (in 1835) that ‘this will be the place for a village’. By the 1880s, Melbourne was being boosted as ‘Marvellous Melbourne’. But it was not just advertising: by the 1890s, with a population approaching 500,000, an impressively prosperous Victorian civic facade and an efficient urban transport network, Melbourne rivalled the tenth or twelfth city in Europe in terms of sophistication and technological

^① William Henry Archer: 威廉·H·阿彻 (1825-1909), 出生于伦敦的保险精算师, 1852 移民至澳大利亚, 就职于维多利亚民政部门。到 1859 年底, 阿彻一直担任维多利亚民政署署长, 1874-1878 年间担任土地与勘察局局长。他既是著名的统计学家, 又是业余显微生物学家和农学家。

^② John Batman: 约翰·巴特曼 (1801-1839), 巴特曼出生在悉尼, 其父为英国政府遣送至澳大利亚殖民地的罪犯。巴特曼在澳大利亚历史上留名, 主要原因之一是在所有殖民地首府的创建者中, 他是唯一土生土长于澳大利亚的白人; 其二, 在 19 世纪白人与原住民的土地之争中, 巴特曼是唯一承认澳大利亚原住民拥有土地所有权的白人。因此, 他与原住民就土地签署的合约在澳大利亚历史上具有重大的意义。



progress. Melbourne's cityscape struck visitors. Mark Twain^①, the American novelist wrote, 'in Melbourne the architecture will often suggest America; a photograph of its stateliest business street might be passed... for a picture of the finest street in a large American city'. Henry Kingsley^② was bedazzled:

I never stood in Venice contemplating the decay of the grand palaces... I never watched the slow downfall of a great commercial city; but I have seen what to him who thinks aright is an equally grand subject of contemplation—the rapid rise of one. I have seen what a small moiety of the world... has seen, and what saving this generation, has never been seen



The Flinders Railway Station, Melbourne

It has been the hub of Melbourne's rail system since the mid-1850s. By the 1880s, the original facilities and buildings were not adequate for the growing transportation demand. A new station was constructed but at very slow pace. Work was finally completed in 1910.

Courtesy of Xia Yuhe

① 美国著名作家马克·吐温在 19 世纪末应邀在英国殖民地进行了为期一年的巡回演讲。其间他到了位于澳洲大陆的英属殖民地，在悉尼、墨尔本进行了演讲和参观。

② Henry Kingsley: 亨利·金斯利 (1830-1876)，英国作家，曾经在澳大利亚居住过五年。他根据自己在此期间的亲身经历，在其作品中描述了自己在澳大利亚这一英国新殖民地里充满危险和艰辛的生活：遭遇丛林大盗、森林火灾、干旱等。

before, and will, I think, never be seen again. I have seen Melbourne.

The opulent architecture of ‘Marvellous Melbourne’ was a sign of the prosperity of the colonies, a statement about solid (mainly British) values, and a manifestation of the transmission of European ideas of what was proper to the ‘new world’. Cities were an assertion of civic culture in a society whose confidence was thin.

Power in the Cities

The urban achievement that impressed Kingsley indicated the nature of power in Australia: the power of government and of banks and financial institutions:

The capital cities were the citadels of Australian capitalism. Each was the main port and capital market for the colony it ruled and the home of its most influential men of property. A moneyed elite numbering no more than 5 percent of the population owned more than half the... wealth and most of these rich men lived in the capital cities. From their offices and boardrooms they issued the commands that felled forests, sank mines and fenced stations all over the continent. From city railways and telegraph stations radiated the iron rails and copper wires tethering the bush to the trade routes and markets of the world. (Davison *et al.* 1987: 193)

The cities drew on and dominated the resources of their hinterland. Each of the colonies (later states) of Australia—except for Tasmania and Queensland—developed radial patterns of transport and communication. All roads led to the city.

But what of the other 95 percent of the Australian population, those who were not the ‘moneyed elite’? The plight of the poor in the cities became more obvious with the economic depression of the 1890s (see Chapter 4). By the late nineteenth century, too, population had outstripped both the housing stock and services in the oldest established parts of the cities. The more prosperous residents moved out to establish new suburbs, leaving behind the workers who had no choice but to live close to their work in the inner cities (Frost 1990: 25-29, 37-39). There were plagues of rats and serious health problems.

It was at this time that the bush myth was created by the newly emerging



professional class of writers, journalists, artists, engravers, illustrators and cartoonists. These were products of the educational and self-improvement drive of the nineteenth century. By the late nineteenth century, literacy and at least an elementary level of formal education were widespread. Most Australians could read and write. The new writers and illustrators nevertheless had difficulty selling their work to the newly emerging publishing industries, and so were forced to live in the most disadvantaged parts of the city. But slums and rats provided no inspiration and they sought their images of Australia in the sunlight and heroism of the bush. It was these members of the bohemian intellectual class, the ‘city bushmen’ (Astbury 1985), who created the rural myth of the idealised bushman as the ‘typical’ Australian (Davison 1978). According to this explanation, the bush myth was a response to the disillusion of the 1890s depression and its impact on inner city life rather than a description of real experience.

We can better understand the segregation of people in the cities by considering the impact of public transport, since cities in some ways are products of their public transport systems. Because the wealth of Australia was produced in the country, the colonial parliaments were dominated by rural interests. But the owners of large pastoral stations or iron ore mines were not concerned about public transport in the city. They often blocked measures to introduce efficient commuter railways or better trams on the grounds of expense. This was why working people had to live close to their work, because transport from the outer areas of the city was time consuming and expensive. The majority of the population had to live within walking distance of their place of employment.

‘The Australian Dream’—a Home in the Suburbs^①

The Growth of Suburbs

Today the majority of Australians live not only in cities, but in the suburbs in cities. However, at the turn of the century the suburbs were a rural

^① 对澳大利亚人来说，在郊区拥有一栋占地四分之一英亩的住宅（one-quarter acre home in the suburbs）是“澳大利亚梦想”的内容之一。参阅澳大利亚广播电台（Radio Australia）网站（www.radioaustralia.net.com）上有关“澳大利亚梦想”的内容。

escape for the wealthy. Suburbs were less densely populated than the central city, yet more built up than country areas. Because people still had to go to the central city to work—in factories, shops, banks—the suburbs meant a separation between family life and working life. It was men, by and large, who travelled to the city for work while women and children spent their days in the suburbs. These patterns were closely bound up with ideas of ownership of land, and above all with home ownership.^①

The suburban dream was appealing and the introduction of light railways, mechanised tramways and eventually the motor car brought it within reach of more and more working Australians. What had formerly been elite dreams of home ownership and privacy came to be shared by larger and larger proportions of the city population, especially after World War II. Modern building technologies also had their effects, particularly the use of light timber frame housing, and prefabrication techniques. Home ownership seemed within the reach of all. This ‘suburban dream’ has produced the typical far-flung, low-density capital cities of Australia today. The costs of providing services (roads, electricity, gas and water) in these dispersed cities are enormous. Suburbs were thus a sign of the relative affluence of Australia in the first half of the twentieth century, and of the willingness of city dwellers to pay high prices for privacy and a ‘quarter acre block’ (that is, a piece of land in the suburbs with a house and a garden on it).

The value placed on private home ownership meant that city development in Australia was primarily driven by the market rather than by government planning or regulation. As in every city, the interplay between local government and private entrepreneurial activity is important. But in Australia, the real impact has been the building and real estate industries and the consumer choices of Australians. There were only a few periods when the government sought to exert planning control over city development, such as in the post-war period of the 1940s, and again in the 1970s. There have been government housing policies, linked not only to population needs but also to generating economic growth. As in the United States, very little of Australia’s housing stock is publicly owned, much less than in most European countries.

The emphasis on private choice rather than public planning has also

^① 参阅第七章有关郊区化与妇女地位的详细论述。



Middle-class people are found to live in 'good' suburbs (top, Sunshine Coast, Queensland) with wide streets and other conveniences (below, Melbourne, Victoria).

Courtesy of Xia Yuhe



meant that the suburbs themselves have been clearly differentiated. If the first move from the city core to the suburbs was by a middle class seeking escape from the working classes in the overcrowded inner cities, the suburbs of the twentieth century have assumed even greater differentiation. As reflected in social atlases of the major cities, most Australians can tell you which are the 'good' suburbs and which are the 'bad' suburbs in their city.^① Middle-class people live in the 'good' suburbs which have clean, leafy streets, well-maintained schools, good shopping, health services and childcare centres. They will either be close to the city or have good road or public transport access to the city. They are also more likely to be hilly, or on the seashore or a riverfront, as Australians like these aspects of the environment. Working-class people, including those who are unemployed, live in the 'bad' suburbs, flat land far away from the city centre and other services with poor transport facilities and few, overcrowded or rundown local amenities.

^① 用 good 和 bad 来描述市郊的居住区，澳大利亚人巧妙地展示了其社会阶层界线分明的现实。虽然他们中的许多人不愿意承认澳大利亚是一个有阶级存在的社会，但是，仅从居住环境上人们就可以清楚地看到贫富之间的巨大差距。

There is a growing presence of Asian ethnic groups in Australia, which can be described by the four characters inscribed on the entrance to Chinatown, Sydney: People from Different Parts of the World Are of One Family (四海一家).

Courtesy of Zhang Chengcheng



When Australia embarked on mass immigration programmes after World War II, there were substantial changes in the arrangements within these already differentiated suburbs. For most of Australia's settler history, the majority of immigrants have come from the British Isles. After the 1940s, however, the source countries for immigration were from all over Europe. As the immigrant workers from Greece, Turkey, Italy and other parts of non-English speaking Europe flooded into Australia, the resident population of the inner cities and the older suburbs found new jobs and followed the middle-class exodus from the city. The Greek and Italian and other ethnic minorities then moved into the working-class suburbs of the inner city. Class segregation now had an overlay of language and ethnic segmentation as well. In the next 20 years, these European communities themselves prospered and moved again within the city. This time their places were taken by later arriving immigrant groups from Asia: the one-time Greek and Italian areas now became the community centres for Vietnamese and Indo-Chinese communities.

Suburbs as Cultural Spaces

Suburbs were not just spaces for competition between contending economic and ethnic groups. The suburbs, as the places where most people lived, were and are the source of Australian popular culture. They too influenced the ways in which Australians thought about themselves, did their work and enjoyed their leisure. For instance, the anti-urban sentiment of the so-called 'bush legend' had its influence in the way entrepreneurs sold land in the suburbs. They represented the suburbs as the opposite to the city—as less susceptible



to evil, immorality and crime than the disease-ridden environment of the old city core. In relation to the economic development of Australia, it could be argued that the city was a practical necessity while the bush was an idealised dream, and that the suburb tried to capture something of the bush within the city. In the suburbs, nature was present in a tamed and civilised form. Suburban living was valued as a private retreat from the public sphere of the city and the workplace. Moreover, it was a family retreat, made cosy and respectable by wives and mothers. Women were the civilising core of the home, as well as being the domestic labour on which suburban life depended.

Such values have always played their part in the suburban expansion that began in Australia in the 1880s, but the process reached its high point in the 1950s when it was called ‘the Australian way of life’. The Australian way of life, based on living in the suburbs, took over some of the values of the nineteenth century bush legend, such as individualism and self-reliance, but added to these the cult of the family home, and of the modern conveniences which would make domestic life simpler. Australians were said to be united not by race or by language, but because they all shared the same way of life, and the same aspirations.^① The familiar picture of suburban family life, with its focus on home and garden, and on household goods such as refrigerators, washing machines, radiograms, television sets and, of course, the family car, was the basis of postwar affluence and the vast new consumer economy which the manufacturers and government encouraged (White 1981: 163).

The politics behind this celebration of a way of life were clear. Governments based their appeal to the people on the home-based instincts of the expanding suburban property-owning classes. The attraction for incoming immigrants was the chance to participate in a property-owning democracy. Australia reached the highest level of home ownership in the world in the postwar period.

^① 正如前一节所阐述的那样，澳大利亚人为实现他们“四分之一英亩家园”的梦想做出了不懈的、甚至毕生的努力。这种为全民所接受的价值观在实际生活中却存在质的不同，每个人所居住的地区都不可避免地显现出其鲜明的经济、社会特征：财富、种族、民族、宗教等等。

The Hills Clothes Hoist^①, invented in Australia for the suburban garden.

Courtesy of Wang Ping



Debates about the Suburbs

For cultural commentators and artists, the move to the suburbs was often seen as a breakdown of community identity which was being replaced by a featureless consumerism. One commentator criticized ‘a blazing and monotonous expanse of red brick and terracotta roof that has flowed over the hills and valleys... like lava... These immense deserts of brick and terracotta, or wood and galvanized iron, induce a sense of overpowering dullness, a stupefying sameness, a worthy, plodding, pedestrian, middle-class, low church conformity.’ (McInnes 1965) Barry Humphrey’s summary of his home town is that, ‘Melbourne is unique from a spiritual point of view. It’s the only place on earth where a visitor from abroad can close his eyes and wonder if there really is a life before death.’ The Nobel Prize winning novelist Patrick White^② in 1958 described suburbs as:

The Great Australian Emptiness, in which the mind is the least of possessions... in which beautiful youths and girls stare at life through blind blue eyes, in which human teeth fall like Autumn leaves, the buttocks of cars grow hourly glossier, food means steak and cake, muscles prevail, and

^① Hills Clothes Hoist: 这是一种伞状晾衣架，可升降、转动，澳大利亚郊区住宅后院常见的晾衣工具。1926年，Gilbert Toyne在阿德雷得为类似的晾衣架申请了专利，因此，Lance Hill并不是这一产品的发明人。但是，正是Hill对此进行了改良，使其用起来更为方便、轻松。因此，名为Hills Clothes Hoist的晾衣架迅速畅销澳大利亚，成为二战后郊区化和地产业高速发展过程中一个看似微小却又是不可或缺的元素。与此同时，Hills Clothes Hoist也成为了“澳大利亚梦想”和“澳大利亚的生活方式”的标志之一。

^② 见第七章的相关注释。



the march of material ugliness does not raise a quiver from the average nerves.

But other writers have come to the defence of the suburbs—Donald Horne^①, Hugh Stretton and Craig McGregor^②, for instance. McGregor, as one example, extols many features of life in the suburbs (the references are very local and many are probably unfamiliar to those who do not live in the Australian suburbs!):

Saturday morning shopping, Saturday afternoon on the beach, Sunday driving in the car, walk-shorts and T-shirts in St. Kilda^③ and Sutherland, trade-ins and tyre sale emporiums, bush picnics, Christmas barbecues, kids clutching sample bags at the show, roadside fireplaces, galvanized iron changing sheds, jacaranda and flame trees in the backyard, the football final, headlines about drought and the Davis Cup^④, race broadcasts on the radio, the Golden Casket Lottery^⑤, the Melbourne Cup^⑥, the Sydney-

① Donald Horne: 唐纳德·霍恩 (1921-2005), 澳大利亚著名编辑、作家和学者。曾经担任澳大利亚理事会 (Australia Council) 主席和堪培拉大学校长。第十四章中的有关注释介绍了霍恩对澳大利亚产生了重大影响的著作。

② Craig McGregor 于 1968 年出版了 *Profile of Australia* 一书, 真实地描述了现代澳大利亚生活的方方面面。

③ St. Kilda: 墨尔本的一个区, 位于风景宜人的菲利普湾。20 世纪 50 年代之前, 这里曾经是墨尔本名人汇聚、豪宅林立的时尚郊区。但是到后来, St. Kilda 变成了娼妓和吸毒者的代名词。近年来由于房地产价格的急剧上扬, 娼妓和吸毒者被挤出了这个地区, St. Kilda 也以其崭新的面貌成为墨尔本的旅游胜地之一。

④ Davis Cup: 戴维斯杯网球公开赛是每年全世界的重大网球赛事之一。这一比赛最早的名称是“国际草地网球赛”, 后于 1945 年以其发起者、美国哈佛大学网球运动员 Dwight F. Davis 命名。澳大利亚代表队曾多次获得戴维斯杯网球公开赛的冠军。

⑤ Golden Casket Lottery: 这是澳大利亚历史最为悠久的彩票公司之一。1916 年, Golden Casket Lottery 公司成立, 目的主要是为了第一次世界大战的参战老兵募集资金。该公司已在昆士兰州运营近一个世纪, 为昆州政府所有的公司。

⑥ Melbourne Cup: 这是每年 11 月的第一个星期二在墨尔本的弗莱明顿马场举行的赛马活动。在维多利亚州, 这一天是公休日。而在澳大利亚其他地方, 人们都会在这一天下午三点钟停下手头的工作, 或听收音机, 或看电视, 密切关注赛场的情况。平常从不赌博的人在这一天也许都会下一注, 试试自己的运气。首次墨尔本杯赛马于 1861 年举行, 此后每年举行一次。

Hobart Yacht Race^①, the local League club surf carnivals, holidays on the coast... this is the stuff of Australian life, the forms and ceremonies through which Australians have created a rich and idiosyncratic culture of their own.

Historian Hugh Stretton (1970: 20-21), who was involved in suburban town planning in Canberra and Adelaide, summarised the advantages of the suburbs in a much-quoted essay:

you don't have to be a mindless conformist to choose suburban life. Most of the best poets and painters and inventors and protestors choose it too. It reconciles access to work and city with private, adaptable, self-expressive



Commentators often complain of the 'urban sprawl' generated by Australians' desire for home ownership. The east coast of Australia has almost become a continuous strip of 'urban sprawl' from south of Sydney to north of Brisbane (top, a bird's eye view from the Sydney Harbour Bridge). And the century-old tram system in Melbourne still plays a significant role in connecting the city core with the out-reaching suburbs (below).

Courtesy of Xia Yuhe



^① Sydney-Hobart Yacht Race: 澳大利亚媒体通常将其称为“Bluewater Classic”。该帆船赛起点是悉尼，终点在塔斯马尼亚州的首府霍巴特，航程 628 海里。比赛在每年的 Boxing Day（节礼日）举行，是世界上最为有名帆船比赛之一。



living space at home. Plenty of adults love that living space and subdivide it ingeniously. For children it really has no rivals. At home it can allow them space, freedom and community with their elders; they can still reach bush and beach in one direction and, in the other, schools to educate them and cities to sophisticate them... Suburbs... let the generations co-exist, with some continuing independence for each. These are the gains our transport costs buy for us.

Studies of Australian attitudes for most of the postwar period confirmed a suburban preference. One of Australia's most pervasive cultural exports, the television series *Neighbours*, celebrates Australian suburban life (see Chapter 9).

Return to the City

One hundred years after they abandoned the central city, the more prosperous members of the community are returning. With the growth of urban populations and the spread of cars, the journey to work from outlying suburbs has grown in time and frustration. Central city living is becoming desirable again. The high point of 'the Australian way of life' in the 1950s and 1960s bred a generation which, in the 1970s and 1980s, moved back into the city as a response to the limited suburban context in which their parents raised them. Young, well-educated career-driven professionals saw the advantages of living near cultural facilities that only the central city provides. Almost a new bohemian class, these young intellectuals rebelled against the materialism and political conservatism of their elders. 'Gentrification' of old working-class areas allowed the better-off to reclaim 'history'. Real estate developers responded to the trend by converting inner-city industrial and commercial buildings into home units, townhouses and high-rise apartment blocks. The city gained a new image, not of poverty and overcrowding as it had in the 1890s, but of sophistication, convenience and access to cultural and economic infrastructure. This change was not the result of urban planning by government, but of entrepreneurs responding to a new sub-class of consumers. Words like 'yuppie' (young upwardly mobile person) or 'dink' (double income, no kids—that is, no children) were coined to describe this new class of professional people working mainly in the service and information industries. These changes have had significant effects on city skylines and on ways of living.

Conclusion

Urbanisation has been at the core of Australian settlement. Despite the myth of Australians as country people, the economic pattern of development has ensured that urban life has been the norm for most Australians. The nineteenth century settlers brought with them an idea of the ‘ideal city’ as the height of civilisation. This readily translated in the settler society to a belief in the city as representing progress, development and a claim on the new land. The cities dominated their primary-product-producing hinterlands, and were the channel to European markets. Economic life came to be focused on Australia’s coastal cities.

As the cities grew, the aspirations of the better-off to escape from the jostling of the ‘lower classes’, the development of new transport and building technologies, and the entrepreneurial activities of land (real estate) agents, led to spreading suburbanisation and segmentation of city populations. Starting in the 1880s, this trend reached its zenith in the decades between the 1940s and the 1960s. It was celebrated as ‘the Australian Way of Life’ and accompanied by mass immigration and rapid population growth.

As a result of all these influences, Australian cities are quite different from the cities of Europe and Asia. Australian cities are dispersed, low-density cities, relying on private motor transport (and extensive road systems) with privately owned detached housing on individual blocks of land. Home ownership has been promoted as ‘the Australian dream’, and growing up in ‘the backyard’ of one of these detached houses is promoted as a shared cultural experience. Many Australians share the suburban way of life, but it has been the subject of pointed criticism (as dull, conformist and individualistic), as well as spirited defence (as a space for freedom, self-expression and the production of a truly Australian culture). As in most contemporary Western economies, however, the popularity of inner-city living is rising once more, and after 100 years in the suburbs, the better-off are returning to the central city.

► Questions for Discussion

1. Why might ‘the bush legend’ have been a popular myth for Australians?
2. What are the links between the economics of Australia and the



increasing proportions of people living in the cities?

3. Today which classes live in the inner city and which in the suburbs? Why? How has this pattern changed over time?

4. What were said to be the advantages of suburban living? Why were the suburbs criticised? How were the suburbs defended?

5. How and why do Australian cities differ from those of China?

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