



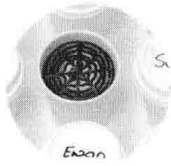
Sociology

Antipodean Perspectives

Second Edition

Edited by Peter Beilharz
and Trevor Hogan

OXFORD



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and Trevor Hogan
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With the assistance of
Christine Ellem
Thesis Eleven Centre for Cultural Sociology
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
La Trobe University

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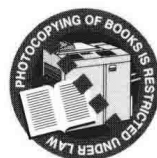
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Sociology

'Don't be deceived, gentle reader, the first editions are only
ballons d'essai; it is the second editions which count.'

Nikolaus Pevsner in Collini (2011, 5).

Guided Tour

Ease of navigation throughout the book is assisted by a complete Table of Contents, complemented by a shorter Table of Contents at the start of each Part.

Contents

Guided Tour	xii
Acknowledgments	xv
Contributors	xviii
Introduction: The Peculiar Path of Antipodean Modernity	xx

part one PLACE

Antipodean Mapping	8
Peter Behlert	
section one: Themes	13
1 Prelude: 'Land's Edge' and 'Fuginess and the Smalltown Shambolic'	14
Tim Winton	
2 Australian Cities	19
Trevor Hogan	
3 Suburbs	26
Graeme Davison	
4 Regions	31
Geoffrey Lawrence and Lynda Cheshire	
5 Wilderness	38
Stefan Petrow	
6 Sea Lanes	45
Peter Murphy	
section two: Places	57
Metropolitan Cities and their Hinterlands	58
7 Canberra	59
Alastair Craig	
8 Sydney	63
Peter Spearritt	

section two: Places

Metropolitan Cities and their Hinterlands	58	Edgert	144
7 Canberra	59	22 The Torres Strait Islands	144
8 Sydney	63	23 Papua New Guinea and Australia	148
9 Western Sydney	67	24 Pacific Islands	153
10 Melbourne	72	25 New Zealand	157
11 Brisbane	77	26 South-East Asian Cities	161
12 Perth	82	27 South Africa	167
13 Adelaide	87	28 Cairns	178
Antipodean Mapping	93	29 Britain and Australia	179
Towns and Regions	102	30 The United States and Australia	183
14 Regional Cities	102	31 India and Australia	187
15 Mining Towns	106	32 China and Australia	192
16 Northern Territory	111		
17 Alice Springs	115		
18 North-West Australia	120		
19 Kimberley	124		
20 Murray-Darling Basin	129		
21 Outback Towns	133		

1 | Prelude: 'Land's Edge' and 'Fuginess and the Smalltown Shambolic'

Tim Winton

On a low tide Monday afternoon just short of my thirty-third birthday, the winter sun finally comes out to burn the sky clear of cloud, and the kids and I gallop onto the beach to play. An easterly wind spikes out across the broad lagoon flattening the sea and running rakes across it in cold gusts. Under the sun the water shows its mottling of deeps and shallows, black and turquoise, reef and sand, dark and light, its coming and its going. The blunted swell butts against the barrier reef in feeble lines that lie down before the wind. Way out, the horizon looks like a rip-saw. At first glimpse of the Indian Ocean I stop running and feel the relief unwinding in my chest, neck and shoulders. Dinghies twist against their moorings. Gulls scatter before the blur of my insane kelpie. Two days off the plane, I am finally home.

The sand is cold beneath our bare feet and the dunes damp and spicy with marram grass and saltbush. We wheel down the wind hollows between the dunes, yelling and fooling about, shaking off the confines of the house, the stalemates and frustrations of winter indoors. The sun slants freely on our necks, barely felt, lighting the hard white beach to squinting point, to the momentary point of summer.

Down at the low-water mark, at the scalloped edges of the shore, the water is gigglingly cold. Clouds rise around our feet. The four of us hold hands and bend like a snail, raucous in the east wind, laughing with shock.

The kids fall to digging and damming and sculpting. They wet the knees of their trousers. They sniff back the gunk of their head colds and go quiet with concentration over moats and walls while I stand there in the water with my feet going numb and my mind drifting in a kind of fugue state that only comes to me here.

There is no one else around. I flinch at the sound of a school of whitebait cracking the surface a few metres away. It's alive out there. After the still, exhausted Aegean, where nothing moves but the plastic bags, it seems like a miracle. Call it jet lag, cabin fever, but I am almost in tears. There is nowhere else I'd rather be, nothing else I would prefer to be doing. I am at the beach looking west with the continent behind me as the sun tracks down to the sea. I have my bearings.

Like most Australians I have spent much of my life in the suburbs. I was raised in the Perth suburb of Karrinyup. A quarter acre, a terrace with a facade knocked out by some bored government architect, a Hills hoist in the backyard and picket fences between us and the neighbours. It was the sixties and the street was full of young families, State Housing applicants, migrants from Holland and Yugoslavia and the English north—foot soldiers of the great sprawl trying to make our way in the raw diagram of streets we slowly filled to make a new neighbourhood. I lived there happily for twelve years but I do not dream of that house.

Catharine Lumby

40 | Women

Catharine Lumby

In 1972, one of Australia's largest adbs that claimed to sum up Australian was

Above all, the average woman is a mc. As a good mother, she must also b home and family is [sic] the basis of her existence... Her roles as moth

When I read that passage to first-year are equally amused to learn that in 19 could be trusted to fly a commercial Ansett over discriminatory hiring practices predicting that planes would do Looking around the lecture: it students as ludicrous. The undergrad gained entry to one of Australia's m 2 per cent of students entering tertiary. They come from a variety of social, ex-see education as a right and they expect. At the beginning of the 1970s, and go on to university, and while that participation as a central part of discrimination legislation and no con married or fell pregnant were often unreliable and difficult to access. Sin government subsidisation of child car widely tolerated. On the face of it, a k we compare the 1970s to the twenty-f nation. Dig a little deeper, though, an issues continue to affect women's soci. Before we explore those issues, way ideas about who women are and

Short, pithy narratives from a range of Australian writers and academics set the scene and draw the reader into an understanding of sociology in the context of Australian life.

Liberal democracy The political system based on representative voting, the right to privacy and property and equality before the law. Drawing on the philosophical tradition of liberalism, liberal democracy emphasises the liberty of the individual and promotes tolerance of many perspectives and minority views.

Urban consolidation A movement and a government policy that seeks to overcome the externalities of suburban sprawl and low-density development by infilling around or under/over existing urban infrastructure (land, utilities, buildings) in the middle suburbs and inner-city areas.

Suburbia was not only viewed as the ideal environment for the raising of Australian families but was also deemed by politicians and planners to be both the expression and the vehicle of a liberal democratic society.

Today, public housing is a bit player in the real estate market, but historically governments have played important roles in providing housing for returned servicemen and their families after both world wars and in the building of large estates near key manufacturing bases in inner-city areas like Blacktown and Liverpool in Sydney, Broadmeadows in Melbourne, Keirana and Rockingham in Perth, and Elizabeth in Adelaide. There are variations between cities, with Perth still today having a proactive state government-run agency in public housing investment. The experiment in modernist high-rise flats in Sydney and Melbourne in the sixties has had a lasting impact on the development of the inner cities. They have provided the homes of many first-generation immigrants and have thereby ensured both a socio-economic and ethnic mix in these suburbs well after their colonisation by the professional middle classes since the seventies (a process called 'gentrification' by its critics and 'urban renewal' by its advocates).

Some state governments are now trying to develop urban consolidation policies, such as increasing housing densities and building shopping centres at and nearby key middle suburban railway stations; integrating and extending rail, light rail and bus services; endeavouring to restrict new housing-estate approvals at the outer fringes of the city; and, in public-private partnership ventures, building major inner-city urban renewal waterfront projects, such as Darling Harbour and Pyrmont in Sydney, and Southbank and the Docklands in Melbourne.

Most of the major cities have regional geographies that reveal socio-economic inequalities. In Sydney, the talk is of 'North Shore versus the Rest' or 'the West versus the Rest'; Melbourneans speak of north and south of the Yarra River (really north-west versus south-east); in Perth it is west and north versus south and east of the Swan River. These distinctions oversimplify, but they do a useful service in highlighting social divisions. Class distinctions sometimes reflect ecological realities. In Melbourne, for example, south and east of the Yarra River, the soil and microclimate are better than north and west of the city. Clay soils, and the desert winds blowing through the pass in the ranges, make the latter areas less appealing. The location of the docklands and industrial estates west of the CBD did not help either. Rivers and harbours combined with hilly terrains have historically boxed in Brisbane, Sydney and Hobart. They make mobility and the provision of utilities and public services technically challenging for planners. The flat plains of Adelaide, Melbourne and Perth have made it comparatively easier for governments to provide equitable services and connections for most of the populace. This is certainly true technically, although it also has to be a matter of a government's political will. In the 1980s, Barry Jones, federal Labor parliamentarian, famously showed that socio-economic disparities can be stark across the different regions of the big cities. Jones compared his Labor electorate in the working-class and new immigrant areas of Melbourne's outer north-west to the electorate of Kooyong held by then leader

of the Opposition, and Liberal Party leader, Andrew Peacock, in the affluent inner-eastern areas of Melbourne, whose residents were highly educated and professionally employed. In contrast to Labor, the people of Kooyong enjoy good public transport, easy access to the CBD, high land values and ample community services, leisure facilities and public amenities. Poverty, disadvantage and socio-economic inequalities are not just about employment and income. They are also shaped by geography and by planning and infrastructure, or the lack thereof.

Social inequalities are expressed across space and have ecological dimensions, but they are also a function of demographic change. Australia is a small population spread across vast distances. It is a country of immigrants, and immigration has been the main motor of demographic growth and the key policy tool of Australian government. Since the Second World War, there has been a marked and sustained increase in the numbers and diversity of immigrant recruitment and settlement. This has been a national development strategy over sixty years, the consequences of which are now increasing in intensity, speed and size. The metropolitan cities have been the main sites and crucibles of population growth and immigration. The government-sponsored immigration schemes after the Second World War not only poured new British immigrants into the cities but increasingly spread their net more widely to incorporate other Europeans. Despite attempts, through national reconstruction programs, to coax new migrants into the regions, many ended up in the metropolitan cities or at their margins in the new industrial zones such as Kwinana in Western Australia, Whyalla and Elizabeth in South Australia, and Port Kembla, Newcastle and Wollongong in New South Wales. The elimination of **White Australia policy** restrictions on immigration by the 1970s witnessed the opening of the programs to include immigrants and refugees from Turkey and the Middle East, and boat people from Vietnam. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 2009–2010, Australia's net overseas migration was 215 600, of whom 10 per cent were refugees. Despite ongoing government efforts to provide incentives for immigrants to settle in the regions, the metropolitan cities absorb the majority. This process is also uneven. Hobart has had very little inward migration, while Perth and Adelaide have had the highest British immigrant intakes. For most of the twentieth century, Melbourne received the largest number of non-British immigrants, but the balance has switched to Sydney in recent years. On a per capita basis, these cities—along with Canadian cities—are world leaders in the number of residents with different linguistic, ethnic or national origins who have also been granted permanent residence or citizenship. For example, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 2009 the percentages of the population born overseas in the metropolitan cities were (in descending order):

- 1 Perth (33.7 per cent born overseas, most of whom were British and New Zealanders, with 7.5 per cent born in Asia)
- 2 Sydney (31.4 per cent born overseas; and 13.1 per cent in Asia)
- 3 Melbourne (31.0 per cent born overseas; and 10.2 per cent in Asia)

White Australia policy This refers to the federal immigration policy that dominated Australia until the late 1960s and that favoured arrivals from particular 'white' countries such as Britain. It was enacted as official policy through the Immigration Restriction Act 1901.

Trevor Hogan

Margin notes highlight concepts important to sociological theory.

and what's suburb, much less that there's anything we could call 'the suburban way of life'. The new estates springing up on the fringe of the city, such as Melbourne's Caroline Springs and Adelaide's Golden Grove, are built at much higher densities than most traditional suburbs. Their two-storied townhouses, with family rooms, entertainment centres, triple bathrooms and garages, sit behind a thin ribbon of lawn, just a few metres from their neighbours. In their marketing campaigns, the old suburban appeals to the peace and privacy of the home and garden are blended with more traditionally urban themes: a 'vibrant' and 'thriving' town centre and the sophisticated 'lifestyle' of the inner city. 'Life by the Lake' promises one advertisement, suggesting that in the future suburb can have the best of both worlds. The suburb was always a compromise between the values of city and country life. Now the question is: has too much of each been sacrificed to make the compromise worthwhile?

Questions for discussion

- 1 Why do earlier generations of Australians regard the suburb as evidence of their good fortune?
- 2 'You don't have to be a conformist to choose the suburbs,' said Hugh Stretton. Do you agree?
- 3 'One little piece of earth with a house and garden which is ours'—how strong is this ideal among present-day Australians? If it has faded, is it because it's no longer attractive or because it is no longer attainable?
- 4 What are the future prospects of the suburban way of life?

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4 Regions

Geoffrey Lawrence and Lynda Cheshire

Travelling into the 'other' can provide both a sense of adventure and a feeling of fear. Urban Australians venturing into the outback, or rural Australians entering the cities

Geoffrey Lawrence and Lynda Cheshire

Questions for discussion at the end of each chapter provoke and encourage discussion on a range of interesting and relevant topics.

A further readings and references list at the end of each chapter provides a variety of sources that support the information contained in the chapter.

Highlights

7 Canberra

- Canberra is unique among Australian cities, having been entirely planned by the Commonwealth government, but it must be understood as a place where people live as well as a symbolic entity.
- Canberra is the product of colonial jealousies, chosen as capital city for the new nation state because of rivalry between Sydney and Melbourne.
- During the period between the 1930s and the 1950s, Canberra was a small administrative centre, and acquired its reputation as a cold, heartless town, populated by grey public servants and politicians.
- Canberra's post-1945 development could not have occurred without the multicultural presence of European migrants, thrown together with the sole purpose of nation-building, both in the Snowy Mountains and then in the national capital.
- Canberra in the twenty-first century continues to generate political and cultural heat over its symbolic reflection of nationhood.
- As the national capital, Canberra is a focus of debate concerning the nation's past, present and future. This is a conversation that the nation conducts with itself over its identity.

8 Sydney

- Sydney is the only Australian city to command the world stage, central in both Australian political and financial life, and home to some of the nation's great engineering and architectural feats, such as the Sydney Harbour Bridge and Sydney Opera House.
- With a population of over 4.5 million, Sydney, long Australia's largest city, has a complex make-up, with over one-third of that population born overseas.
- It is Australia's most unequal city, with more rich people and more poor people than anywhere else in the nation.

9 Western Sydney

- In recent decades, the Western half of Sydney has grown into a second metropolis in its own right, numbering in excess of 1.5 million people, and covering something like 300 square kilometres.

'Highlights' pages at the end of each section summarise the main points of the chapter in the section, helping students to reflect on the core issues discussed in the book.

Key Concepts

aesthetic economy

'Aesthetics' relates to art—that realm of human self-expression that is generally concerned with concepts of beauty, meaning and feeling. The aesthetic economy refers to the culture industries that have developed in modern societies around the performing, visual, aural and multi-media arts. Patronage of the arts has moved beyond Church and state—which was the typical pattern in pre-modern Western societies—to involve all types of corporate, community and individual market sponsorships. Modern technologies and industries have facilitated the rise of mass marketing, advertising and recording, and the proliferation of performance sites. The growth of the arts has been recognised by governments as contributing significantly to gross domestic product, often through the relationship of the arts with the export and tourist markets.

ageism

Ageism is a form of discrimination of people according to age rather than ability and personal characteristics. It is particularly applied to the negative stereotyping of the elderly. In OECD countries with aging population profiles, there is a growing conflict between the generations, whereby the elderly are depicted by ageists as unproductive, non-working welfare dependents.

agency

Agency is a concept referring to the willed and voluntary nature of an individual's life and action, as opposed to the constraint and determinism of social structures.

alienation

Alienation is the state of estrangement, or of being cut off from others. In sociology, alienation in the Marxian sense occurs in the labour process, whereby the commodification of working causes workers to be estranged from themselves, the products of their labour and their fellow workers. In this way, alienation is not only a state of being and a subjective feeling but also a structured field of social action in modern industrial capitalist societies.

alternative modernities

These are the trajectories towards the modernisation of a society that do not follow the historical paths taken first in Britain and then in Western Europe and North America. The major alternative modern project in the twentieth century was communism, as it was variously expressed in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Vietnam and so on. According to Cornelius Castoriadis (1922–97), the other main alternative modern projects have been the market, the state-bureaucratic society and autonomy (or participatory democracy). The projects of the market and bureaucracy are projects of rational mastery of nature and of each other, whereas the project of autonomy offers a radically different notion of freedom as collective self-responsibility and self-mastery.

At the end of the book, a complete Key Concepts list defines the terms used in the book, to assist students in essay and exam preparation.

Acknowledgments

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This second edition, *Sociology: Antipodean Perspectives*, represents a serious development of the first edition, *Sociology: Place, Time and Division*. The first edition, with its emphasis on the themes of place, time and division, was an explicit homage to the pioneering work of Bernard Smith on the Antipodes, in *Place, Taste and Tradition*, first published in 1945. Smith opened up new ways to think about the Antipodes, culture and the idea of cultural traffic. His death on 2 September 2011, at the age of 94, marks the end of an era in Australian intellectual life. We dedicate this new edition to his memory; this book would not have been possible without his example. Two of our contributors died in the six years since its first publication. Anthony MacMahon delivered one of the most powerful contributions to the first edition; its prose alone shows its power, which shines here again. We lament his passing. George Seddon, like Bernard Smith, was a public intellectual of the highest order who mastered the social and the natural sciences in order to think about the world as he found it while always prodding his readers and students to work and imagine better ways of being, living and making our worlds. Seddon's quirky 'what if?' scenario on the Kimberley, included here in the chapter 'North-West Australia' is a fitting epitaph of a man and thinker we have been honoured to know. It was a pleasure working with our counterparts at Oxford University Press, especially Michelle Head, Ailsa Brackley Du Bois, Emma Bourne, Estelle Tang and Lucy Davison. We are particularly grateful for the insights and comments offered by Jeffrey Alexander of the Yale Center for Cultural Sociology, and Anthony Elliott of Flinders University. The successful completion of this project would not have been possible without the contribution of Christine Ellem, who exerted as much influence over the ideas and content of the book as on its detail. This project is delivered through the *Thesis Eleven* Centre for Cultural Sociology, as was the first edition. Christine Ellem has made a major contribution to both the Centre and the book. The Centre works on many fronts, doing public work across five continents together with link centres at Yale, Leeds, Copenhagen, Delhi, Johannesburg, Christchurch and Manila. It makes a major contribution to intellectual and public life at La Trobe University, throughout the Antipodes and across the world. We thank the La Trobe University Deputy Vice Chancellor of Research, Tim Brown, and the La Trobe Dean of Social Sciences, Tim Murray, for making this possible.

From the first edition:

This book is the result of another, *Social Self, Global Culture*, which was the product of the culture at La Trobe's Sociology Department, first edited by Allan Kelleher (1996), then in a second edition by us (2002). Subsequently Debra James approached us to do a third edition. We came back with another new and innovative idea and approach. We want to thank Debra for her willingness to entertain this idea, the result of which is the book you have before you. We thank Debra and her team, especially Tim Campbell and Liz Filleul, for abundant efficiency and enthusiasm. For this new project, *Sociology: Place, Time and Division*, we invited contributions from

far and wide, in both the geographical and disciplinary sense. The idea and the result come out of our work in and through the *Thesis Eleven* Centre for Critical Theory at La Trobe University. Our greatest debt is to our writers, who took a punt on this idea, attended the introductory planning workshops, and delivered with verve and imagination. We are grateful to the publisher's anonymous readers, and especially so to our longstanding intellectual comrade and friend, Stuart Macintyre, for acting as a general reader and clanger detector. At La Trobe, our greatest debts are to our two production managers: Glenda Ballantyne, who saw the development phase through (especially in soliciting and formatting author drafts) before taking up a lectureship at Swinburne University; and Miriam Riley, who saw the whole manuscript through to print. Miriam also handled the visuals, as well as seeing through the words. Jason Pudsey from Flinders University, who on first reading the draft, grasped and embraced the vision of the project, joined the project by contributing significantly to the pedagogical aspects of the text. We dedicate this book to our students, and to our parents, Hedwig and Gerd Beilharz, and Beryl and Stuart Hogan.

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In Memoriam: Anthony McMahon, George Seddon

Introduction: The Peculiar Path of Antipodean Modernity

Peter Beilharz and Trevor Hogan

■ **settler capitalism** The type of capitalist development undertaken in places such as Argentina, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, where pastoralism dominated the expansion of the colonies and where colonial elites maintained their links with the home country by exporting agricultural products back there.

■ **culture** The values, beliefs, norms, mores and material artefacts that create a 'design for life'. Culture is both an ordering disposition for members of a society, and the everyday expressivity of its members, individually and collectively.

■ **Fordism** The production system so named for the innovations first proposed and developed by Henry Ford in his Detroit car factory at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is a system of mass production and mass consumption based on repetitious assembly-line labour and technology, and on standardised commodities.

Australia has always been an oddity, European in origins, southern in location. Its identity floats between these markers, Asia, the Pacific and Indian Oceans, suspended above Antarctica, penguins all the way. Convict and British, it became free, rich and Anglo with the discovery of gold, then modern and multicultural after the Second World War. **Settler capitalist**, it was colonial, then national and international (but it was always international). Its colonies, then its major cities—Perth, Adelaide, Hobart, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane—hug the coastline. Only its aspirant capital, Canberra, looks inward; these other major settings face out, and away, in very different directions.

How do we think about Australia in the world in the twenty-first century?

One obvious response is to say, 'not very well', as we have just entered it and, like snails, we carry our baggage, our homes, our pasts and our traditions with us. By many criteria, it seems as though we have barely left the twentieth century at all. There are two reasons for this. First, we are creatures of our pasts, or biographies as individuals. Second, everything that we do and think is constrained and enabled by **culture**—by the ways of coping, creating, making and doing that we grew and grow up with. What this means in Australia is that very many of our habits were formed in the postwar period, the so-called Long Boom, when **Fordism** or, locally, Holdenism arrived in the form of suburbia, malls and car culture, a Californian rather than a European suburbia. The postwar period saw the arrival of affluence in Australia, or consumer as well as producer society. It witnessed the consolidation of the two-party political system we are still stuck with and the establishment of university and health care systems that still frame our present activity. What's changed is equally apparent, especially in the last twenty years: an acceleration of everyday life, the further spread of individualism and neo-liberal tenets, increasing standards of living, and growing anxiety that we might not be able to sustain them, individually or collectively. If ours, then, was the age of comfort, it is now the age of anxiety. This is not peculiar to antipodean modernity, however, but rather is a global challenge facing all societies today.

In one way, nothing much has changed in 150 years. Still racist (like all other countries), Australia also has claims to be democratic, and it is still dependent on mining, though no longer on gold alone. Hence its modernity differs from the dominant pattern inherited from Britain and then exemplified by the United States in the postwar period. Our modernity has never been primarily industrial, in the sense of steel or machine production in the manner of Leeds or Sheffield, or mass production in the manner of Detroit or Pittsburgh. Modern we are, in Australia and New Zealand, but industrial more often with reference to exports from agriculture or extraction, from the surface or from beneath the earth. Our relation with the land has always been exploitative, and this is defining.

When *Terra Australis Incognita*, the great unknown southland, was merely a figment of the European imagination—a gap in the map (as in Thévenot's seventeenth-century map;

see our special feature on alternative maps of Australia, pages 8–11)—it was thought to be empty, or else populated by strange people or monsters, inhabitants of the Antipodes. These were not Aborigines, in the European imagination, but others with their feet elsewhere—literally ‘**antipodeans**’. The Antipodes were imagined as a world upside down, literally and metaphorically. After all, if you were in Melbourne, or Perth, you would literally be walking upside down, or at least this would be the view from the centres, from London or Paris. Sometimes the Antipodes are viewed as the dirty bits, the parts down-under, where the head was northern and the genitalia were down south. Even Australian nationalists thought this. Prime Minister Keating (1991–6) famously referred to our place as the arse end of the earth (again, we refer you to the alternative maps of Australia on pages 8–11).

For those who loved London, and took their orders there, Australia was bound to be inferior, convict, uncultured, the crude and dirty bits down there. Those living in Australia, as it was after 1901, could either accept this view and never feel quite at home or else could invert it. To invert it would mean valuing this place, our place, and its culture over the allegedly superior culture of our northern masters. But this attitude was merely turning around the signs directed to Quality Street.

Neither of these is a satisfactory alternative. To devalue our culture is no more adequate than to celebrate this place (or New Zealand) as Godzone, God’s Own Country. Self-loathing and self-congratulation are either lacerative or empty, warm gestures. The point, rather, is that we have been both European or Western and local or Australian at the same time. We are formed by our different cultural heritages, and these not only from Europe and now all over the world, but also from our immediate environments—hot, often dry, inhospitable, austere and naturally beautiful at the same time—more beautiful than European vision could first see, or accommodate, both in the fertile crescent and inland. This ambivalence, this sense of being there, elsewhere, and here at the same time, we call antipodean.

Australasia as antipodean modernity

What might it mean to be antipodean? Australia, to our way of thinking, remains antipodean—in the south and of the north at the same time. The Antipodes, for us, following Bernard Smith, are better understood as a relationship than as a place. True, we sometimes might choose to play the old antipodean card, where we enjoy being the rude bits, the vulgar parts that talk back in sometimes surprising language to those who might choose to style themselves as our cultural superiors in the north. But more fundamentally, we are of the north, too, just as the cultures of the north are mutually constituted with those of the south. Culture does not emanate from place; it does not come out of the ground. It is made by us and constituted via **cultural traffic** between places and actors. Sometimes we borrow ideas or routines from others; sometimes they from us. The cliché, for example, tells us that world culture emanated from London or Paris, then New York and Hollywood. But all these loci, and perhaps especially the latter, have acted as magnets or markets for talent that comes from all around the world (and all around the United States). It is not the place, New York City or Los Angeles, that makes culture, but the traffic that sucks in talent, ideas and innovations from all around the globe, including Australia. And the same is true for cities like Melbourne and Sydney.

antipodean/antipodes

Literally meaning ‘opposite foot’, the antipodes are often thought to be a place down-under. But it is better understood as a set of relationships between centre and periphery. Antipodean relations are mediated through processes of cultural traffic. The flow is two ways: while centres dominate, peripheries also perennially transform the centres.

cultural traffic

The movement and exchange of values, ideas, beliefs, mores and products between two or more destinations. Culture moves, and in its movement it is transformed.

centre/periphery All human economic development is uneven across cultures, spaces and societies. World system theory posits a strong correlation between the wealth and domination of the metropole and the poverty and oppression of the province. The former is the centre of the world system, which both needs and exploits the humanity, knowledge and resources of its peripheries.

sociology Sociology is a modern discipline concerned with the study of society.

nationalism Nationalism is the subjective allegiance of citizens to a nation state; it involves an assertion of shared values and goals, and may have an ethnic or civic basis.

nation An ancient term but with a peculiar modern meaning, the modern nation is the symbolic and cultural organisation of a territory based on the sovereignty of the state (and the mutual recognition of other states in a modern nation-state system) and on the citizenship and constructed national identity of the population living inside the designated territory.

If the Antipodes are not a place, as in the old, discredited sense, where the south is merely derivative of the north, then the idea of the Antipodes also proliferates and pluralises. Into the twentieth century, the Antipodes were often taken to refer to Australasia, to the trans-Tasman world that connected Australia and New Zealand, and indeed it is difficult to make sense of Australian life without reference to those New Zealand actors, musicians and intellectuals who crossed and cross over. But more, and differently, Perth, for example, has also worked as an antipodes for the east coast of Australia, constructing itself against the east even as it supplies the eastern cities and the world with talent and personnel—just as New Zealand is a net exporter not only of agricultural produce but also of people and ideas to the tune of a million citizens out. Like Tasmania, New Zealand exports raw material and clever people. The **peripheries** are vital to the likes, and fortunes, of the **centres**.

Antipodean sociology

There are, of course, other ways of doing **sociology**, against which we construct the idea and project of antipodean sociology. The most powerful, historically, has been **nationalist** in cast. It has presumed that Australia can be explained immanently, from within its own national boundaries, its map (sometimes with Tasmania left off). Often both Australians and outsiders behave as though Australia is the desert centre, the 'dead heart', even though most of its activity is conducted on the edges. In tourist consciousness, Australia is Uluru and the sails of the Sydney Opera House. For us, in contrast, it is its cities, suburbs and regions. After the Second World War, the unintended consequence of internationalism (as in the United Nations) is the consolidation of the nation state as the imaginary unit of society, politics and culture. It is as though Australia can be explained out of itself, whereas for us, Australia can only be explained with reference to its others—Britain, in the beginning, then the United States, the Mediterranean, South-East Asia, New Zealand and so on.

More recently this older way of thinking has been characterised as methodological nationalism—the idea that the world consists of more or less discrete organisational units called **nations**, which are nations first of all and only then come into interaction with one another. Methodological nationalism is the creature of twentieth-century nationalism. In this way of thinking, extended from the legacy of German Romanticism, each nation has its own distinct language, culture, intellectual tradition, musical canon, national literature and film industry ... even national social sciences and national sociology. And this is viewed as good. The idea of antipodean sociology points in another direction. It suggests that, like writing or rock music, Australian sociology is inflected by its imperial influences, British and American, but it is also influenced by smaller trends, including, for example, East European sociology after the seventies, and that our work influences that of others outside as well. But more, intellectual culture is also subject to regional influences, and this in two senses. Regions work alongside cities to construct local culture, as in the Murray–Darling Basin. But regions also operate transnationally, as in the case of the trans-Tasman.

The idea that the peripheries 'speak back' to the centres has become popular more recently. The imagery is limited: it suggests a politics of refusal or resistance rather than of creation or innovation. Against the claim that there is a dominant imperialist or northern hegemony that entraps us in the south at every moment, it is now increasingly popular to

claim that we, in Australia, inhabit a global south. Looking sideways is an important aspect of being antipodean; we need to know what happens in Perth and Christchurch, but also in Chile and Argentina and South Africa, all of which have similar imperial histories to settler capitalist cases like Australia. But we also need to look north, not only to the experience on either side of the Atlantic, but also to other antipodean experiences, like those in the Philippines, where the levels of cultural traffic have if anything been even more intense. To be antipodean, in this situation, is necessarily to be ambivalent, here and there, northern and southern at the same time, and inextricably so.

Relocating sociology

To our way of thinking, nationalism, **postcolonialism**, southern theory and subaltern sociologies are necessary but insufficient steps towards an antipodean sociology. But how did we get to this pass in the long journey of sociology from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century. Sociology, proverbially, involves the study of society, how we live, how we choose to live (or not) and how we value some things and persons over others. Sociology is also vitally concerned with how we know others or project our ignorance onto them. It is curious about the Janus face of **solidarity**, about the myriad forms of ‘us and them’—how we cooperate or include others as well as exclude or inflict violence on them or simply express indifference towards them. In its most elementary sense, sociology therefore focuses on the data and patterns of everyday life. Our interest is in the games people play, sociologists included. Humans of any age, like babies, are time-wasters: you can spend hours watching them. Sociology is constantly challenged by the novel consequences of change itself. Everyday life is subject to constant change, or acceleration, even to the extent that acceleration expands. Spend a year away from a city and you will find its physical structure changed; a year away from your networks and the relationships and actors have changed. Yet, at the same time, the longer duration of history saturates our settings. Our institutions reach back to cultures with which we have no direct familiarity, like nineteenth-century Britain or the Greek *polis*. And our everyday cycles connect us all—we work, eat, love, grow up and old, give birth and die. There is wonder in this **anthropological** sense of what we share with others across time and place, as well as astonishment in the shock of the new.

The peculiar character of being modern confers upon us a sense, all the same, that these worlds are changeable and can be changed by us. When values like democracy, autonomy or justice are violated, we know it, whether we respond with the weary cynicism of the worldly wise or the indignant rage of the rebel. In order to make sense of these worlds, a degree of comfort is arguably necessary, complemented by a sufficient sense of discomfort. As sociologists, we, the editors, have a need to be of the world, and not only in it. We need both to understand and to laugh and cry. We feel a need both to know and to respect our traditions, especially those that we choose, and to be able to create within them.

As Freud put it, humans need two things: work and love. Both are increasingly elusive and fragmented. In any case, we need to wonder at our worlds, to experience and to contemplate the joy and misery of modern times. Our sense, in constructing this book, is that sociology best begins from everyday life, with reference to place, time and **division**. This means choosing a substantive approach to sociology, valuing content rather than methods

■ postcolonialism

The movement towards the independence of the former colonies of Western powers, and the body of social theory that describes oppressor–oppressed relations shaped by race and culture in imperial and post-imperial contexts and sites.

■ solidarity

This refers to the forms of sociality and sociability derived from partners, families, associations, networks, movements, institutions and total societies that develop a sense of unity, common interests, and mutual support or recognition.

■ anthropology

Anthropology is comparative sociology, a study of how human societies organise themselves. It is interested in the material cultures and everyday life of communities.

■ division

The boundaries and processes that separate people from each other and that emphasise their differences rather than bringing them together on the basis of similarities.