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第一部分 General Report

The report on the developmet
of Chinese community in Australia 2018

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THE OVERVIEW ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE COMMUNITY IN AUSTRALIA

Haiyang Zhang; Kent Wang

Abstract: By examining the Australian census statistics, we have drawn a picture of the development of Chinese community in Australia characterised with their features on population growth, gender proportion change, age group structure, marriage and family status, spatial distribution, education, employment and income, political involvement, religious and social life. It is probably one of the most comprehensive studies on the development of Chinese community in Australia focusing on the analysis of Australian census data. We have identified mainly three types of Chinese – background population from the Australian censuses, namely those born – in – China, speaking Chinese at home, and having Chinese ancestry, to represent Chinese community in Australia. The key findings are summarised as follows.

The population of Chinese community in Australia have increased dramatically in the last 30 ~ 40 years, especially after 1990s. The total population with Chinese ancestry in Australia have increased to 1.23 million, accounting for about 5% of the total population in the Australian 2016 Census, and Chinese has become the second largest spoken language in Australia next to English, while China has ranked the third largest foreign birth country for the Australian population, next to the United Kingdom and New Zealand.

The Chinese – background population in Australia in general are younger than the overall Australian population, with about 80% falling in the labour force age range compared with about 65% of the overall Australians aged between 15 and 64. The female to male gender ratio for Chinese community in Australia has gone through a dramatic

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change from almost non – female migrants in the early days before 1960s to about 1.2 of the female – male ratio since 2000s, indicating that Australia might be a more attractive place for female Chinese – background migrants than their male counterparts. About 50% of the total Chinese – background population in Australia are married, while among those lone parents, female lone parents are 6 times higher than male ones, indicating that the female are more willing to take care of their children by themselves after their divorce.

The Chinese – background population in Australia have been concentrating in the major state capital areas, such as Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. More than 90% of the total Chinese – background population have been living the eight greater capital areas in Australia, which is much higher than the overall 67% for the total Australia population. With the increase of Chinese migrants, Chinese community have further dispersed into more suburbs in the greater capital areas. The number of suburbs with more than 1,000 Chinese – background population in Australia have increased rapidly after 2006. In the 2016 Australian Census, there are 140 suburbs with more than 1,000 population born in China, 206 suburbs with more than 1,000 population speaking Chinese at home, and 282 suburbs with more than 1,000 population having claimed at least one Chinese ancestry.

Chinese – background population in Australia overall have a higher education level. About half of them have at least a certificate, and about 1/3 hold at least a Bachelor degree, which is similar to the overall Australian level. Born – in – China population, who are likely to be the first – generation migrants to Australia, have a relatively higher education level than those speaking Chinese at home or with at least a Chinese ancestry according to the recent 3 national censuses. The most popular field of study for all the 3 types Chinese – background population in Australia has been management and commerce, which includes accounting, followed by engineering and IT. About 5 ~ 7% of Chinese – background population in Australia do not speak English at all, and about 20% do not speak English well.

About half of the Chinese – background population in Australia are employed, among whom most work in private sector. Among those employed Chinese – background population in Australia, about half of them work full – time. The top five industries in



which most Chinese – background population work in Australia are accommodation and food services, retail trade, manufacturing, health care and social assistance, and professional, scientific and technical services. The most popular occupations for Chinese – background population in Australia are professionals, clerical and administrative workers, managers, technicians and trade workers, community and personal service workers, sales workers and labourers. The median individual weekly income for the born – in – China population in Australia was lower than that for all overseas – born or all Australia – born population in Australia.

Chinese Australians have remained low represented in Australian politics considering their eligible size, roughly about 4% of total Australian citizens with voting rights having claimed Chinese ancestry. Most born – in – China population in Australia do not have any religion, while Christianity and Buddhism are the top two religions for Chinese – background population in Australia. The Chinese – background population have been more and more positively involved in all kinds of social activities in Australia, contributing to its multicultural development.

In short, Chinese community in Australia has been an important part in promoting the Australian development and will play a more and more important role in the future.

Key Words: Chinese Community, Australia, Development, Census Statistics

PART 1:

DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE COMMUNITY IN AUSTRALIA – ANALYSIS OF AUSTRALIAN CENSUS STATISTICS

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Chinese community in Australia has a long and continually increasing role in Australian history. With the born – in – China resident population in Australia exceeding

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520,000 in 2016, Chinese community in Australia has become the third largest ethnic group in Australia^①, behind the United Kingdom and New Zealand. More than 1.23 million Australian residents claim they have Chinese ancestry, and Chinese^② has become the second most spoken language at home just behind English according to the Australian 2016 Census. However, surprisingly, there is no comprehensive and up-to-date research on the development of Chinese community in Australia. With the growing importance of Chinese community in the development of Australia, there is a great need and significance to have a comprehensive research and understanding on the development of Chinese community in Australia.

One of the purposes of this report is to stimulate the development of Chinese community in Australia by providing and analysing more statistical information about themselves so as to increase their participation in the Australian social life. This report will also provide the policy makers in Australia with more accurate, up-to-date, and comprehensive analysis on Chinese community so that the policy making process can incorporate the unbiased information regarding Chinese community in Australia.

1.2 Literature Review

The literature on using statistical methods to analyse Chinese community in Australia is scarce, even in other overseas countries. Inglis (1972)^③ may be the first one who gave a statistical analysis on Chinese in Australia. The oldest data on Chinese in Australia may be traced back to the first year Australian census figures in 1881, with 1.6% of the total population (38,533 persons) being Chinese. This figure had declined from 1891 to 1947 and climbed back slowly and gradually to 1966, which might be a result of the “White Australian Policy” between 1901 and 1966. Inglis (1972) discussed the adjustment of Chinese migrants to Australian society from the economic, residential, cultural, social, marital, and civic perspectives with some limited statistical evidences. Nonetheless, it is a pioneer study on Chinese community in Australia and sheds a light

① Please refer to <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsl/lookup/3412.0Media%20Release12015-16> (accessed on 27/07/2017).

② Spoken Chinese includes Mandarin, Cantonese, and other varieties of Chinese languages.

③ Inglis, Christine. (1972) 'Chinese in Australia'. *The International Migration Review* 6(3): pp. 266 - 281.



for future research.

Coughlan (2008)^① is a more recent study on the changing spatial distribution and concentration of Australia's Chinese using 1986 – 2006 Australian population census data. He found that although a few areas of “high” Chinese spatial concentration have developed since 1986, overall there is an increasing dispersion of Chinese communities into the broader Australian community. Coughlan (2008) also showed detailed statistical analysis on the data based on three types of Chinese: (i) born in the People's Republic of China, (ii) of Chinese ancestry, and (iii) who spoke Chinese languages at home and summarised their trends and characteristics.

Similar studies on diverse theoretical perspectives can be found in Dunn (1998)^② and van Kempen and Özüekren (1998)^③, which explains the spatial concentration and distribution of ethnic groups. However, most theories of ethnic group concentration and dispersion fail to take into consideration the prevailing and changing nature of local, national and international economic relations, especially those relating to production and the work environment (van Kempen and Özüekren 1998). Many authors (e.g. McKay 1981^④; Fieldhouse 1999^⑤; Johnston et al. 2001^⑥; Farrell 2008^⑦) have explained that the structure of, and possible discrimination in, housing and labour markets (as well as the location of migrant hostels in the case of Australia) and the arrival of additional family members and friends, all contribute to the creation of ethnic clustering. At the same time, ethnic clustering not only assists the new immigrants in their transition into their

① Coughlan, James E. (2008), 'The Changing Spatial Distribution and Concentration of Australia's Chinese and Vietnamese Communities: An Analysis of 1986 – 2006 Australian Population Census Data'. *Journal of Population Research*, 25(2); pp. 161 – 182.

② Dunn, K. M. (1998), 'Rethinking Ethnic Concentrations; Cabramatta, the Case of Sydney'. *Urban Studies* 35(3); pp503 – 527.

③ Kempen, V. R. and Özüekren, A. S. (1998), 'Ethnic Segregation in Cities; New Forms and Explanations in a Dynamic World'. *Urban Studies* 35(10); pp. 1631 – 1656.

④ McKay, J. (1981), *Ethnic Communities in Melbourne; An Atlas of the Overseas Born Population*. Melbourne: Department of Geography, Monash University.

⑤ Fieldhouse, E. A. (1999), 'Ethnic minority unemployment and spatial mismatch; the case of London'. *Urban Studies* 36(9); 1569 – 1596.

⑥ Johnston, R., J. Forrest and M. Poulsen. (2001), *The geography of an Ethnic City; residential segregation of birthplace and language groups in Sydney*, 1996. *Housing Studies* 16(5); 569 – 594.

⑦ Farrell, C. R. (2008), 'Bifurcation, fragmentation or integration; the racial and geographical structure of US metropolitan segregation, 1990 – 2000'. *Urban Studies* 45(3); 467 – 499.

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new environment, but also permits the provision of group services, such as food, medical and social services, to assist in familiarization with, and integration into, the host society. Residential clustering is exacerbated when the new immigrant group has few skills that are readily transferable to the host society, and low educational qualifications, forcing them into unskilled low - income occupations, or unemployment, and therefore cheap housing (Darroch and Marston 1971^①; Fieldhouse 1999; Johnston et al. 2001).

In addition to foreign scholars' research on Chinese in Australia, there are a few more studies done by Chinese scholars in Chinese language. Zhang and Zhang (2011)^② made an analysis on the basic social characteristics of the new Chinese migrants to Australia based on the Australian official statistics from the perspectives of definition, motives to migrate, quantity, structure, education, employment and income of new migrants. Their data were mainly based on the 2006 Census of Australian Bureau of Statistics, with a relatively short period.

There are many other Chinese studies on the Chinese - background population in Australia from a number of different perspectives. For example, Zhang (2012)^③ discussed about the economic life of Chinese in Australia in the first half of the 20th century. Yang (2014)^④ analysed the self - identification and social identification of Chinese immigrants in Australia. Zhang (2002)^⑤ explored the history of Chinese involvement in Australian politics since the World War II. Tang (2015)^⑥ probed into the religious life

① Darroch, A. G. and W. G. Marston. 1971. The social class basis of ethnic residential segregation; the Canadian case. *American Journal of Sociology* 77(3): 491 - 510.

② Zhang, Qiusheng and Zhang, Rongsu. (2011) '当代澳大利亚华人新移民基本社会特征分析 (Analysis on the Basic Social Characteristics of New Chinese Immigrants in Australia)'. *Overseas Chinese Research*, pp. 48 - 55.

③ Zhang, Qiusheng. (2012) '略论 20 世纪前半期澳大利亚华人的经济生活 (Brief Analysis on the Economic Life of Australian Chinese in the First Half of the 20th Century)'. *Overseas Chinese Journal of Bugui*, No 1: pp. 6 - 11.

④ Yang, Zhenyu. (2014) 'The Self - identification and Social Identification of Chinese Immigrants in Australia'. *Foreign Language Education* 5: pp. 76 - 78.

⑤ Zhang, Qiusheng. (2002) '二战后澳大利亚华人的参政历程 (Australian Chinese's Involvement of Politics in Australia after the World War II)'. *World Ethnicities* 4: pp 30 - 35.

⑥ Tang, Linpan. (2015) '19 世纪澳大利亚华人与宗教 (Australian - Chinese Religious Culture in 19th Century)'. *Journal of Yichun College* 37(5): pp. 77 - 80.



of Australian Chinese in the 19th century, while Li (2011)^① researched on the Australian Chinese charity organisations. Our report tries to fill in the big gap in the literature on a comprehensive and up-to-date research on Chinese community in Australia.

1.3 Definition of Chinese Community

Chinese community in this study has a broad meaning of Chinese for statistics purpose. According to the censuses of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), there are mainly three ways to identify Chinese community in Australia. The first one includes those born in greater China, including mainland China, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), Macau Special Administrative Region (MSAR) and Taiwan^②. They are more likely to be the first generation of their families migrating to Australia. However, this statistics does not include those that were born in Australia with a Chinese origin. Moreover, not all people born in greater China speak Chinese at home or of Chinese ancestry. Nonetheless, overall about 90% of the population in Australia who were born in China speak Chinese at home or have Chinese ancestry. This counting method has been included in all the censuses since the earliest ones.

The second way to identify the population of Chinese community in Australia is counting those that speak Chinese languages^③ at home. A question on whether a person could read and write in a foreign language was first asked in the 1933 Census, but not again until the 1976 Census. In 1981 a double-barrelled question was included, the first part of which was about whether the person spoke a language other than English at home. If the person answered yes, he or she was sequenced to the second part of the question asking about proficiency in spoken English. In every Census since 1986 a

① Li, Hui. (2011) '澳大利亚华人慈善机构研究 (Research on the Australian Chinese Charity Organisations)'. *Journal of Zhengzhou Institute of Aeronautical Industry Management (Social Science Edition)* 30(4): 72 - 75.

② Participating in the Australian national census is legally binding for everyone who is in Australia on the night of the census including international students and visitors. However, the participation rate for those temporary visitors may not be high. Nonetheless, the ABS has reported its census data on those of usual residence (excluding those temporary visitors living or intending to live less than 6 months in Australia), and we use such data for our study.

③ Spoken Chinese languages mainly include Mandarin, Cantonese and other dialects of Chinese languages.

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question on language spoken at home has been included, with those who answered yes sequenced to a separate question on proficiency in spoken English. From 1991, a list of response options have been provided for the question, reflecting the most common languages reported in the previous Census. Respondents are able to provide their language in a text box if it is not included in the list of response categories. All censuses since then have included a similar question^①. Therefore, the detailed data on the population in Australia speaking Chinese languages at home has become only available from 1991. This method includes more Chinese than the first approach does, but excludes those that do not speak Chinese at home while have a Chinese ancestry origin.

The last method in census to identify Chinese community in Australia is counting those that have at least one Chinese ancestry^②. This method has the broadest inclusion of Chinese – background population in Australia compared to the above two methods. However, it is not flawless. A question on each person's ancestry was asked for the first time in the 1986 Census^③, but was not continued in the 1991 and 1996 censuses, and has resumed again since the 2001 Census. Moreover, compared with the second method, those with a Chinese ancestry but not speaking Chinese at home may have less Chinese cultural characteristics as some of them may be the second or more future generations of Chinese that were born and grew up in Australia and more or less completely assimilated into the Australian culture. Nevertheless, all the three types of Chinese statistics from the censuses are complementary to each other, offering a more comprehensive picture of Chinese community in Australia with some different focuses.

① Please refer to: <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2900.0main+features100622016> (accessed on 27/07/2017).

② In the census ancestry questions, you are allowed to provide a maximum of two ancestry origin, which are recorded as the 1st and 2nd response. In our study, we use the combined data on “ancestry/multi response”, which means that if a person indicated one Chinese ancestry in his/her census survey, he or she is included in the statistics of the population with Chinese ancestry. In our case, we selected all the ancestries we believe to be related to China, including Chinese, Taiwanese, Tibetan, and Chinese Asian not further defined (nfd) and not elsewhere classified (nec). For details, please refer to <http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/4a256353001a3ed4b2562bb00121564/f31b4ddd48a2a8ca257a75002adec8!OpenDocument> (accessed on 27/07/2017).

③ Please refer to: <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/2008.0~2016~Main%20Features~Ancestry~110> (accessed on 27/07/2017).



Chapter 2: Basic Statistics of Chinese Community in Australia

Basic enumerations of the population have been made since the early days of European settlement in Australia. These early enumerations were known as 'musters', the first one of which was taken in 1788 soon after a new settlement at Sydney Cove was formed. A Census conducted in New South Wales in 1828 became the first in a regular series in that colony and periodic censuses were taken in the other Australian colonies. The first simultaneous censuses of all the Australian colonies were taken in 1881 – this also formed part of the first simultaneous Census of the British Empire. The first national Census for Australia was taken in 1911. This national Census was followed by others in 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954 and 1961. Since 1961 censuses have been conducted at five – yearly intervals^①. Our basic statistics are mainly based on the national censuses started from 1911.

2.1 Population

2.1.1 Pre – Federation in 1901

Mak Sai Ying (also known as John Shying) was the first officially recorded Chinese migrant to Australia in 1818^②. It was believed by some historians that even before 1818 some Chinese traders had come to inhabit in Australia^③. It was recorded that over 3,000 Chinese indentured workers came to Australia between 1848 and 1853^④. During the Australian Gold Rushes (roughly from 1850s to 1900s), more Chinese were attracted to Australia. It was estimated that in 1861 there were at least 38,000 Chinese in

① Please refer to: <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsl/Products/F3AF616665E821A6CA2575D2001AA12E?opendocument> (accessed on 27/07/2017).

② Please refer to: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Chinese_Australians (accessed on 26 July 2017).

③ Please refer to: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Chinese_Australians (accessed on 26 July 2017).

④ Please refer to: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Chinese_Australians (accessed on 26 July 2017).

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Australia, accounting for about 11% of the total population at that time^①. However, in the first year of the simultaneous censuses in all Australian colonies in 1881, only about 1.6% of the total population (38,533) were Chinese, indicating that between 1861 and 1881 the growth of Chinese in Australia was almost stagnant. This was accompanied by riots against Chinese miners and the adoption of some anti-Chinese legislation, such as An Act to Make Provision for Certain Immigrants in 1855^②. The number of Chinese in Australia and its proportion in the total population continued to fall. This was exacerbated after the Federation of Australia in 1901 as the Commonwealth government introduced more severe restrictions to effectively prevent all non-European descents from immigrating to Australia, which is known as “White Australia Policy”^③.

2.1.2 1901—1981

The effectiveness of this “White Australia Policy” may be seen from the decrease in the Chinese population in Australia between 1901 and 1947 in Figure 2.1. The total population in Australia that were born in China dropped to 7,366 including 962 were born in Hong Kong^④ in 1947, while the proportion of Chinese in the total Australian population also reached the lowest percentage, only about 0.1%. As these discriminative policies progressively dismantled between 1949 and 1973, the population of Chinese in Australia in late 1970s and early 1980s gradually increased back to the level in late 1800s. This was coincided with the opening-up and reform policies in mainland China. More Chinese were allowed to go abroad, and more foreigners were welcomed to China to do business.

① Jean Gittins. (1981). *The Diggers From China: The Story of Chinese on the Goldfields*. Quartet Books Australia. Melbourne. ISBN 0-908128-16-9

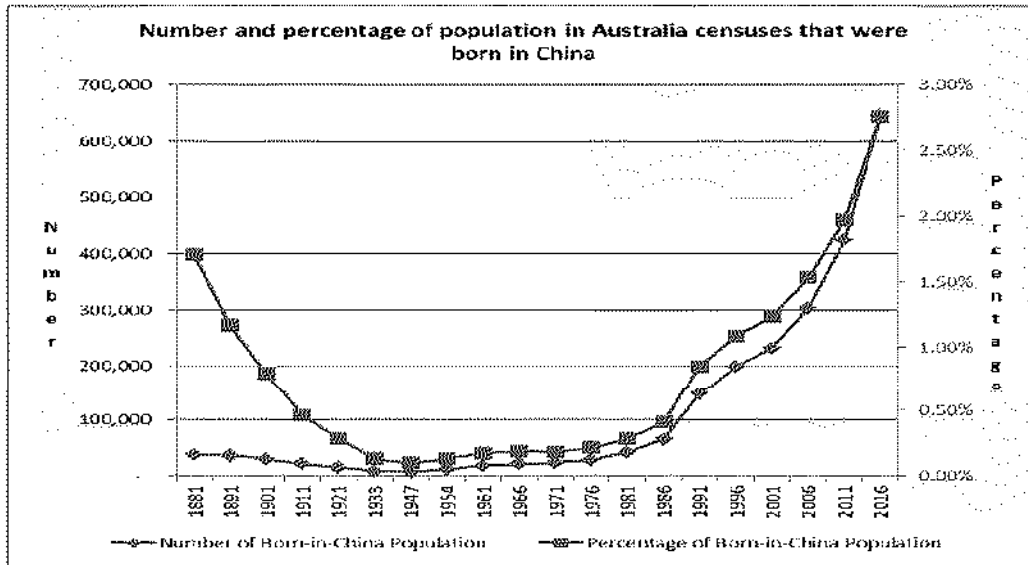
② <http://www.goldrushcolony.com.au/australian-gold-history-culture-info/chinese-australian-gold-fields/anti-chinese-racism> and http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/collection_interactives/endurance_scroll/harvest_of_endurance_html_version/explore_the_scroll/anti_chinese_violence and http://www.myplace.edu.au/decades_timeline/1850/decade_landing_15_1.html?tabRank=2&subTabRank=4 (accessed on 27/07/2017).

③ For details, please refer to https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White_Australia_policy (accessed on 27 July 2017).

④ For details, please refer to: <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/featurearticlesbytitle/4A6A63F3D851F7770CA2569DE00200137?OpenDocument> (accessed on 27 July 2017).



Figure 2. 1: Number and percentage of population in Australia that were born in China



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

2.1.3 1981—2016

After 1981, the population of Chinese in Australia have increased dramatically as shown in Figure 2. 1. Especially between the 1986 and 1991 censuses, the number of population in Australia that were born in China more than doubled, marking the fastest jump in terms of increasing ratio. This increasing trend has been continuing. Between the 2006 and 2011 censuses, more than 120,000 people born in China came to Australia as usual residents, while between the 2011 and 2016 censuses, this number further increased to more than 220,000.

While the census data on population in Australia that speak Chinese languages at home or have a Chinese ancestry have been only available in more recent years, we did a comparison for these three types of Chinese categories between the 2006, 2011 and 2016 censuses in terms of their total population and found a very similar trend as shown in Table 2. 1. As we can see and expect, the population in Australia that have at least one Chinese ancestry have the broadest coverage on Chinese - background population, with about 1.23 million in the 2016 Census, accounting to about 5% of the total Aus-

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tralian population.

Table 2.1: Population living usually in Australia with certain Chinese backgrounds in the 2006, 2011, and 2016 censuses

Year	Born in China including HKSAR, MSAR and Taiwan	Speaking Chinese languages at home	Having at least one Chinese ancestry
2006	304,774	500,469	676,157
2011	424,825	651,327	875,062
2016	645,886	927,944	1,232,896

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

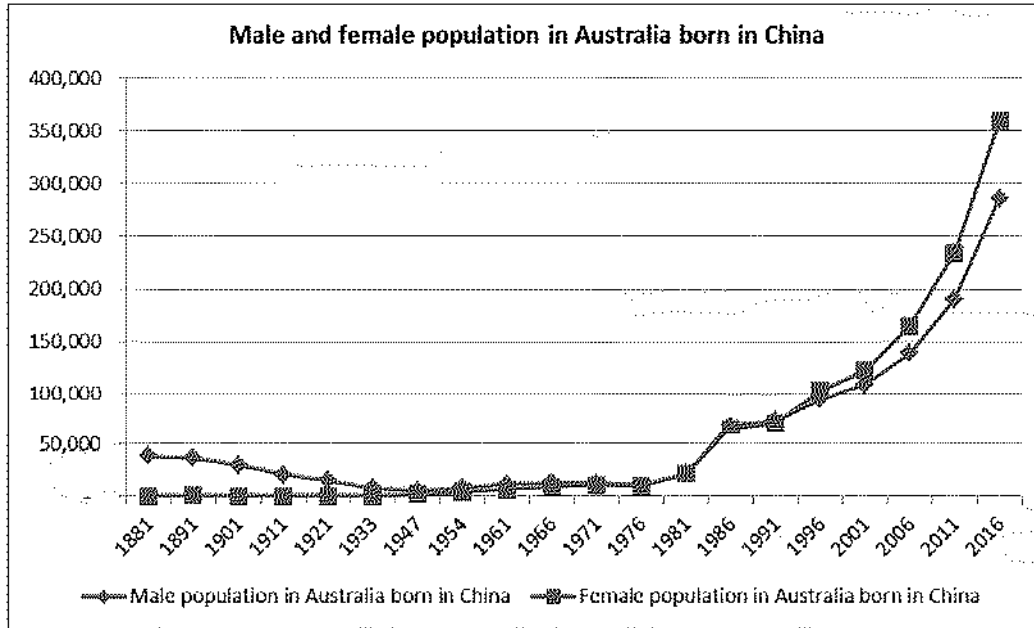
2.2 Gender

The gender structure in the early Chinese migrants before 1947 was extremely unbalanced as shown in Figure 2.2 below. It was shown that early Chinese migration was predominantly male. In 1881, there were only 259 female out of 38,533 Chinese in Australia. The male - female ratio was still 3:1 in 1947, with 5,538 male and 1828 female in Australia that were born in China. The early Chinese migrants came to Australia as sojourners rather than settlers. They came here to earn more money as colliers, labours, or gold diggers, and tried to come back to China to live a richer life with the money they earned in Australia. The hard working conditions and their sojourner conditions made them virtually unaccompanied by women or children.

The gender ratio has gradually become normal since 1947. In 1996, the number of female population in Australia that were born in China for the first time exceeded its male counterpart. Since 1996, female Chinese population in Australia have been more than male ones, and the gap has been enlarging. In the 2016 Census, the male - female ratio reaches 0.8, with 286,260 male and 359,615 female population in Australia that were born in China. This trend since 1996 has also been found for the population in Australia that speak Chinese languages at home or have at least a Chinese ancestry.



Figure 2.2: Male and female population in Australia that were born in China



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

2.3 Age Groups

The age structure of the Chinese in the early period between 1911 and 1947 was featured by a large proportion of old aged people. This was mainly because of a lack of immigration of young Chinese due to the “White Australia Policy” before and during this period. The earlier Chinese population during the Gold Rush ages grew older during the first half of the last century. The age structure of the Chinese between 1911 and 1947 is shown below in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Age Structure of the Population in Australia born in China including Hong Kong, 1911—1947

Year	Gender	Total Number	Percentages				Median Age
			Under 20	50 & over	60 & over	65 & over	
1911	Male	20258	0.7	35.5	14.0	8.3	44
	Female	376	10.6	8.2	2.1	0.8	13
	Person	20634	1.0	35.0	13.8	8.2	43

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Year	Gender	Total Number	Percentages				Median Age
			Under 20	50 & over	60 & over	65 & over	
1921	Male	14836	1.4	55.3	22.4	10.9	51
	Female	443	29.6	16.7	3.6	1.6	16
	Person	15279	2.2	54.2	21.8	10.6	50
1933	Male	8118	3.5	78.6	43.1	23.8	56
	Female	604	29.1	22.0	10.8	6.3	20
	Person	8722	5.3	74.7	40.8	22.6	54
1947	Male	5436	10.4	46.2	39.2	32.2	40
	Female	1612	29.7	15.3	8.5	5.1	22
	Person	7048	14.8	39.1	32.2	26.0	35

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

The United Nations (UN) has not adopted a standard criterion on old age, but generally used 60 + years to refer to the older population. As far back as 1875, in Britain, the Friendly Societies Act, enacted the definition of old age as any age after 50 (Roebuck 1979^①). More recently, most developed countries have accepted the chronological age of 65 years as a definition of “elderly” people. As we examine the age structure of the population in the first half of the 20th century when the people have a relatively shorter average life compared to today, in Table 2.2 we report a combination of three proportions of those over 50, 60, and 65 to reflect the old aged feature of the early Chinese migrants in Australia. The percentage of those no less than 50 years increased from 35% in 1911 to 74.7% in 1933 and then back to 39.1% in 1947, while that of those no less than 60 years old increased from 13.8% in 1911 to 40.8% in 1933 and 32.2% in 1947, and that of those no less than 65 years old increased continuously from 8.2% in 1911 to 26.0% in 1947. It is usually recognised as an old aged society if the population over 60 years old account for more than 10%. Therefore, the Chinese population in Australia during that period showed a clear aged structure. The median age increased from 43 years old in 1911 to 54 in 1933 and then fell back to 35 in 1947. Al-

① Roebuck J. When does old age begin?; the evolution of the English definition. *Journal of Social History*. 1979; 12(3): 416-28.



though the Chinese female in Australia during this time period did not have this aged structure, as their number was so small, they could not affect the overall age structure which was dominated by the male Chinese.

With the increasing population through migration, the Chinese population grew younger and more balanced in age structure. Next we compare the age structures among the three types of Chinese statistics in Table 2.3, namely those born in China, speaking Chinese language at home, and having at least one Chinese ancestry, from 2006 to 2016.

Table 2.3: Age structure of three types of Chinese population in Australia, 2006—2016

Year	Gender	Population in Australia born in China		speaking Chinese language at home		Having a Chinese ancestry	
		% of aged 15 – 64	% of aged over 65	% of aged 15 – 64	% of aged over 65	% of aged 15 – 64	% of aged over 65
2006	Male	39.1	4.4	36.1	3.4	35.1	3.1
	Female	46.8	5.3	41.6	4.1	40.9	3.7
	Person	85.9	9.8	77.7	7.5	76.0	6.7
2011	Male	38.8	4.1	36.4	3.5	35.2	3.1
	Female	48.4	4.8	43.3	4.0	42.0	3.7
	Person	87.2	8.9	79.7	7.5	77.2	6.9
2016	Male	38.0	4.3	35.5	4.0	34.2	3.7
	Female	48.8	4.9	43.2	4.6	41.7	4.3
	Person	86.7	9.2	78.6	8.6	76.0	8.0

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

The three types of Chinese statistics show a very similar age structure, so do their male and female age structures. The proportion of those aged between 15 and 64, which is also the working – age population percentage, has been more than 75% or even more than 85% for the first generation Chinese migrants as those were born in China, indicating that Chinese migrants have contributed greatly to the construction, development and prosperity in Australia. Compared with the overall age structure in Australia, 66.7% for

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those aged between 15 and 64 and 14.0% for those over 65 in 2011 and 65.6% for those between 15 and 64 and 15.7% for those over 65 in 2016^①, the Chinese population in Australia are much younger, which consist of an important labour force to Australia.

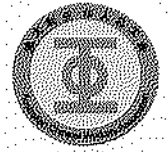
2.4 Marriage and Family

As mentioned above, the early Chinese population in Australia were virtually all male, with very few being married and having a family accompanied. This situation has greatly changed after 1947. From the comparison among the three types of Chinese in Australia in the recent 3 censuses in Table 2.4 below, we find that their marital status structures are very similar and steady. The proportion of those married accounts for about 40 ~ 50% of the total, while that of those never married accounts for about one third. The rate of the widowed is about 2 ~ 3% , while 4 ~ 5% for the divorced and 1 ~ 2% for separated. The overall marital status among the Chinese population in Australia has been similar to that of all Australians.

Table 2.4: Marital status of the three types of Chinese in Australia from 2006 to 2016

Year	Marital Status	Population in Australia born in China	Speaking Chinese at home	Having a Chinese ancestry
2006	Never Married	34%	33%	34%
	Widowed	3%	3%	2%
	Divorced	5%	4%	4%
	Separated	2%	1%	1%
	Married	52%	45%	41%
	Not Applicable	4%	15%	17%
2011	Never Married	35%	34%	34%
	Widowed	3%	2%	2%

① Calculated from the 2011 and 2016 Censuses in Australia.

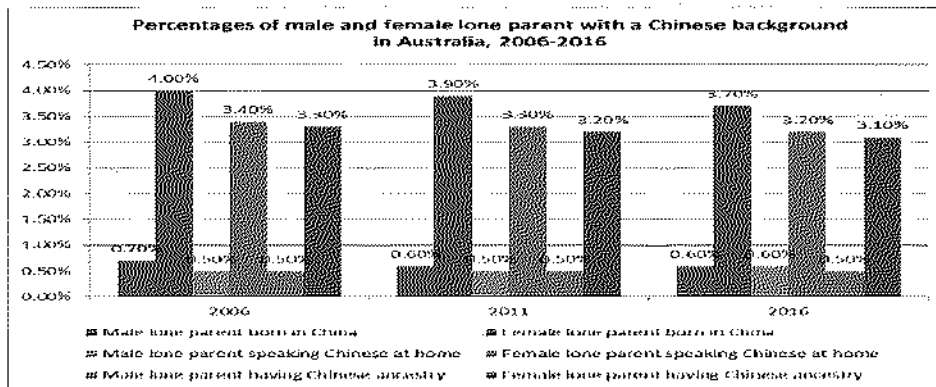


Year	Marital Status	Population in Australia born in China	Speaking Chinese at home	Having a Chinese ancestry
2011	Divorced	5%	4%	4%
	Separated	2%	1%	1%
	Married	52%	45%	42%
	Not Applicable	4%	13%	16%
2016	Never Married	36%	35%	35%
	Widowed	2%	2%	2%
	Divorced	5%	4%	4%
	Separated	2%	1%	1%
	Married	50%	44%	42%
	Not Applicable	4%	13%	16%

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Another important finding is that the percentages of lone parent in the three types of Chinese population in Australia is 3.6 ~ 4.7% from 2006 to 2016, relatively similar and stable among all the three types as shown in Figure 2.4 below. The number of female lone parent is about 6 times of that of male lone parent, indicating that the female are more willing than male in general to foster children alone if they lose their spouses.

Figure 2.4: Percentages of Male and Female Lone Parent in Chinese Population in Australia, 2006—2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

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Chapter 3: Spatial Distribution and Concentration of Chinese Community in Australia

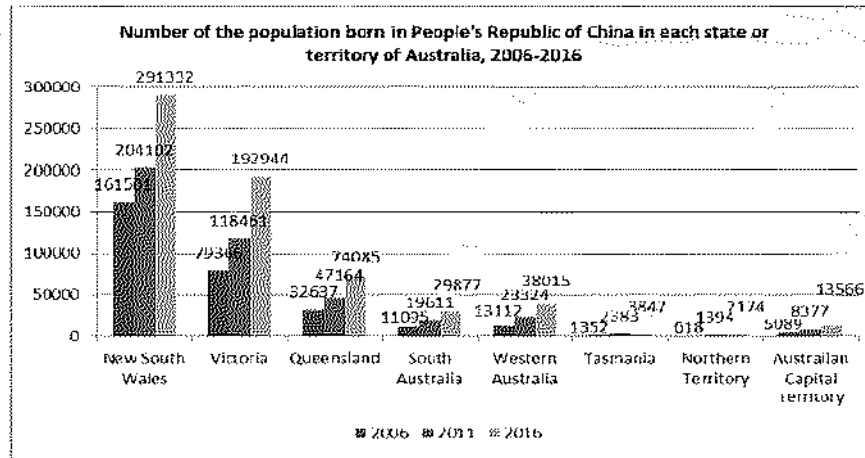
After we examined some basic statistics regarding Chinese community in Australia, we would like to dig deeper to get some more detailed findings, such as their status on spatial distribution, employment, education, and public involvement. First, we will focus on the spatial distribution and concentration of Chinese community in Australia. As people with the same ethnic background tend to live closer especially in overseas, such as many China towns, it is interesting to find out which states, cities or suburbs are the most popular places where most Chinese – background population live in Australia.

3.1 Spatial Distribution and Concentration at the State Level

As Figure 3.1 shows, New South Wales (NSW) has been the No. 1 state that has had the most population that were born in China, followed by Victoria and Queensland, which is not surprising at all as these three states also have the largest population in Australia. These three states account for about 80% of the total born – in – China population in Australia. More specifically, NSW accounts for 53% in 2006, 48% in 2011, and 45% in 2016, while Victoria accounts for 26%, 28%, and 30% respectively, and Queensland has been stable at 11% from 2006, indicating that more first – generation Chinese chose to live in Victoria than NSW from 2006 to 2016. It might be an indication that Melbourne is replacing Sydney as the most attractive place for Chinese population in Australia, which will be discussed in more detail later.



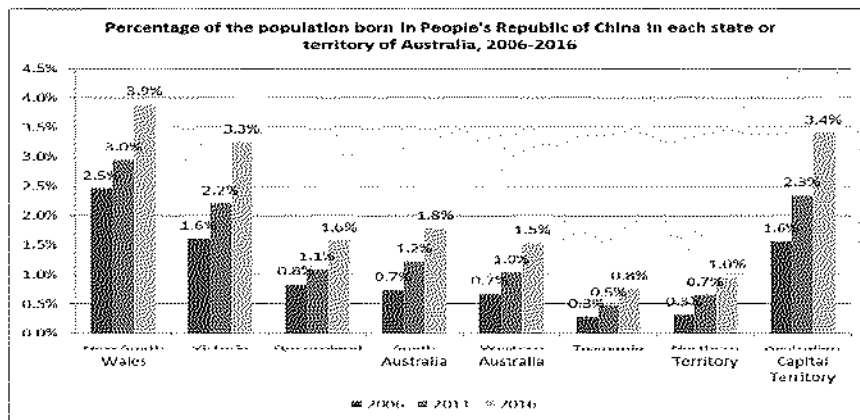
Figure 3.1: Number of born – in – China population in each state or territory of Australia, 2006 – 2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

If we compare them in terms of the percentage of the born – in – China population against the total state or territory population, we find that NSW still has the largest proportion of the born – in – China population, but Australian Capital Territory (ACT) has been catching up and become the second since 2011, followed by Victoria as the third place, as shown in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Percentage of born – in – China population in each state or territory, 2006 – 2016



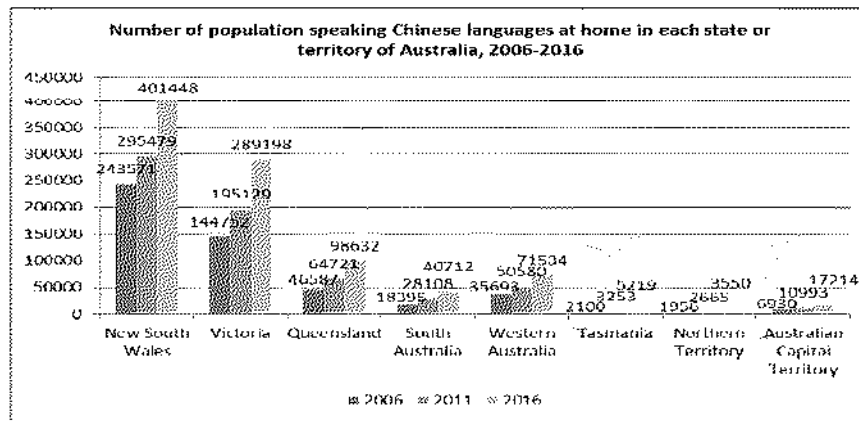
Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

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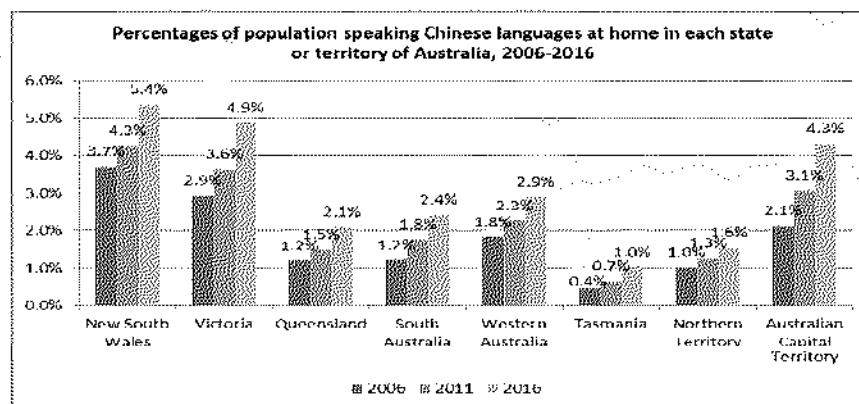
A very similar distribution pattern can be found in the population speaking Chinese language at home or having at least a Chinese ancestry, as shown in Figure 3.3 and 3.5. The slight difference is that, in terms of the percentages of the population speaking Chinese languages or having at least a Chinese ancestry among the total state or territory population, Victoria has been the second place instead of ACT, as shown in Figure 3.4 and 3.6.

Figure 3.3: Number of population speaking Chinese languages at home in each state or territory of Australia, 2006—2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Figure 3.4: Percentages of population speaking Chinese languages at home in each state or territory of Australia, 2006—2016



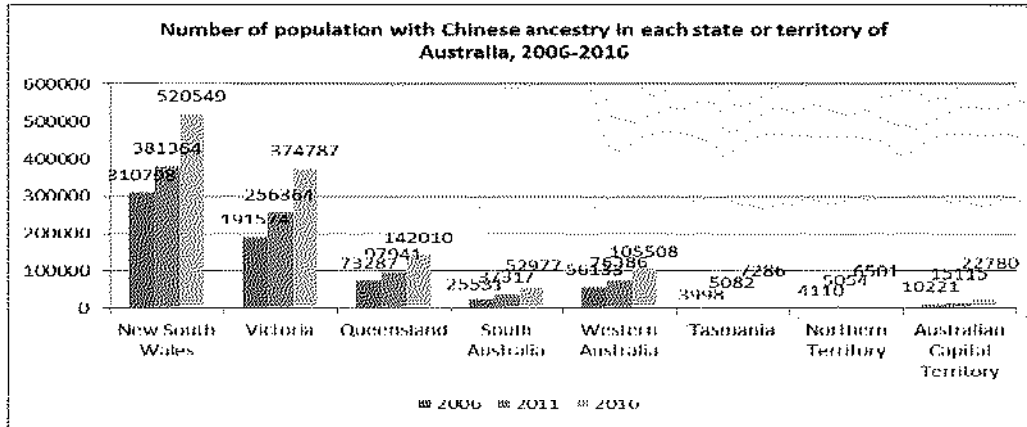
Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).



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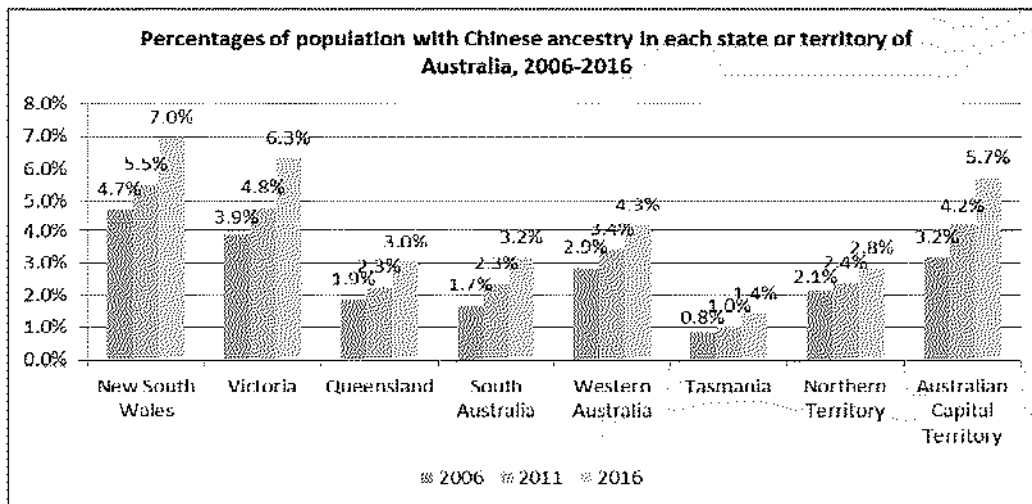
Australian Chinese Workers Association

Figure 3.5: Number of population with Chinese ancestry in each state or territory of Australia, 2006—2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Figure 3.6: Percentages of population with Chinese ancestry in each state or territory of Australia, 2006—2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

As both the number and percentages of Chinese – background population in each state or territory have been increasing, the total number of population with Chinese ancestry in NSW has reached a new high record of 520,549 in 2016, accounting for 7% of the total NSW population according to Figure 3.5 and 3.6.

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3.2 Spatial Distribution and Concentration at the Greater Capital City Level

In Australia, overall about 64% ~67% of total population lived in greater capital areas^① according to the censuses in 2006, 2011 and 2016. The greater capital areas are usually the most populated areas in each state or territory. Living in or near the state or territory capital areas means more convenient access to public infrastructures, such as subways, trains, buses, schools, hospitals and shopping malls, and has more working opportunities. This is much more clearly reflected from the population with Chinese background in Australia as shown in Table 3.1. More than 90% of population with any of the three types of Chinese background in Australia live in the eight greater capital areas, which is much higher comparing the overall concentration of Australians in the greater capital areas. It indicates that the population with Chinese background or those migrated people are more likely to live in cities than in remote rural areas.

As ACT is both a territory and a capital city, the population in ACT are the same as in greater Canberra. More than 95% of the population with any one of the three types of Chinese background living in NSW, Victoria, Western Australia and South Australia have been concentrated in their respective greater capital areas. Population in Northern Territory, Queensland and Tasmania are relatively less concentrated in their greater capital areas, which also applies to the Chinese - background population, but their relative concentration percentages are still much higher than that of overall Australians. All the above features have been very constant from 2006 to 2016 Census as shown in Table 3.1.

^① For details, please refer to <http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/4a256353001af3ed4b2562bb00121564/6b6c07234e98365aca25792d0010d730/%24FILE/Greater%20Capital%20City%20Statistical%20Area%20-%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf> (accessed on 27/07/2017).

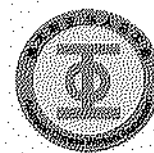


Table 3.1: Proportion of population living in greater capital areas in each state or territory from 2006 to 2016

Year	Greater Capital Areas	born in China	Speaking Chinese at home	Chinese ancestry	Overall Australian
2006	Greater Sydney	96%	96%	95%	63%
	Greater Melbourne	97%	97%	96%	73%
	Greater Brisbane	79%	80%	72%	45%
	Greater Adelaide	95%	96%	95%	73%
	Greater Perth	96%	97%	95%	74%
	Greater Hobart	69%	71%	54%	42%
	Greater Darwin	87%	91%	86%	55%
	Greater Canberra	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Overall	94%	95%	92%	64%
2011	Greater Sydney	96%	96%	95%	63%
	Greater Melbourne	97%	97%	96%	75%
	Greater Brisbane	79%	80%	73%	48%
	Greater Adelaide	96%	97%	96%	77%
	Greater Perth	93%	96%	95%	77%
	Greater Hobart	72%	71%	64%	43%
	Greater Darwin	82%	89%	86%	57%
	Greater Canberra	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Overall	94%	95%	93%	66%
2016	Greater Sydney	96%	96%	95%	64%
	Greater Melbourne	96%	97%	96%	76%
	Greater Brisbane	76%	77%	73%	48%
	Greater Adelaide	96%	96%	96%	77%
	Greater Perth	94%	96%	95%	79%
	Greater Hobart	73%	71%	66%	44%
	Greater Darwin	82%	88%	87%	60%
	Greater Canberra	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Overall	93%	94%	93%	67%

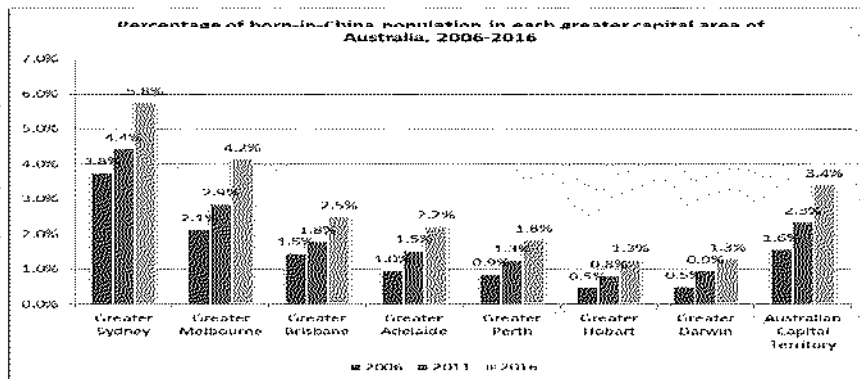
Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

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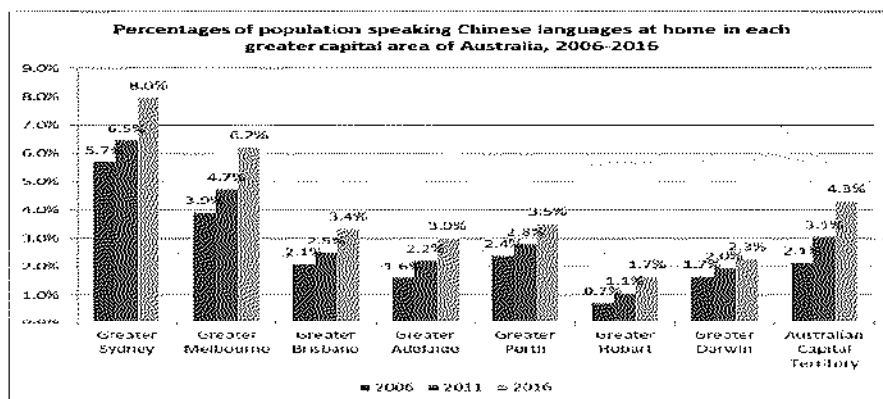
The percentages of the population with the each type of the three Chinese backgrounds in the greater capital areas against their respective total population are very similar to those in their states as shown in Figures 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9, compared with Figures 3.2, 3.4 and 3.6. Greater Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra areas have the largest proportion of population with any one of the three types of Chinese background. In the 2016 Census, the total number of population with Chinese ancestry in the Greater Sydney area has reached 493,226, accounting for 10.2% of the total population in the greater sydney area according to Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.7: Percentage of born-in-China population in each greater capital area of Australia, 2006—2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

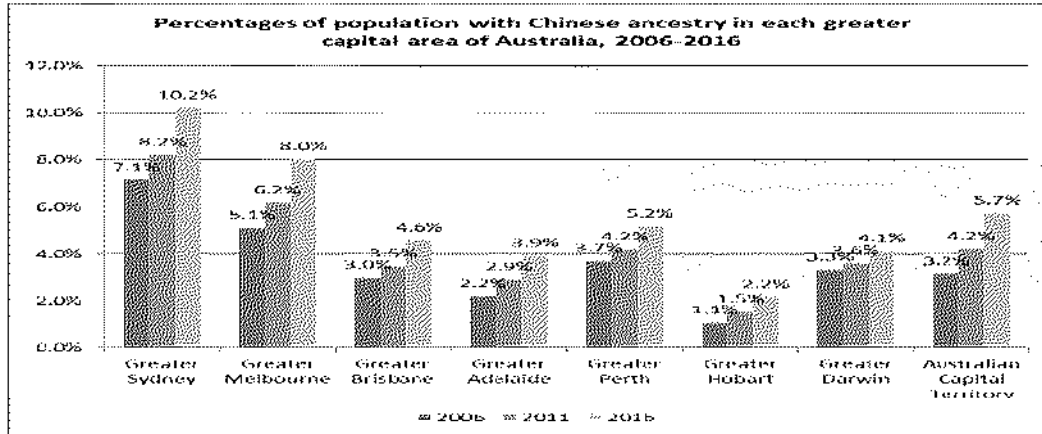
Figure 3.8: Percentage of population speaking Chinese languages at home in each greater capital area of Australia, 2006—2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).



Figure 3.9: Percentage of population with Chinese ancestry in each greater capital area of Australia, 2006—2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

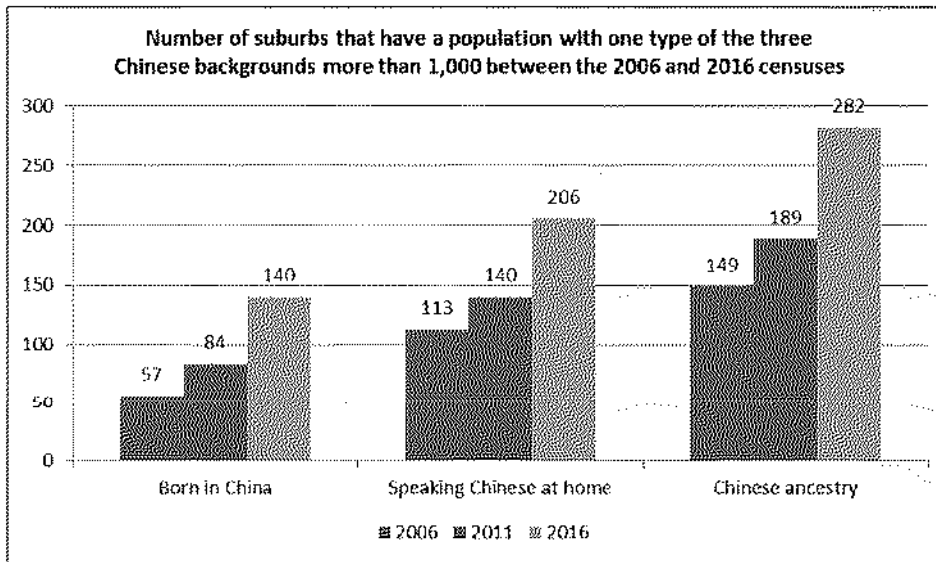
3.3 Spatial Distribution and Concentration at the Suburb Level

As we can see from the above analysis, the population with a Chinese background in Australia have increased tremendously, but the increased population have been still concentrated in the greater capital areas in each state or territory, especially in Sydney and Melbourne. If we look at the data in more detail, such as at the suburb level, we find the population with the Chinese backgrounds have been further dispersed into more suburbs in the greater capital areas. Figure 3.10 shows the change of the number of suburbs that have a more than 1,000 population with any of the three Chinese backgrounds between the 2006 and 2016 censuses. There were 57 suburbs with a born – in – China population exceeding 1,000 in 2006, which increased to 84 in 2011 and 140 in 2016. Similarly, the number of suburbs with a more than 1,000 population speaking Chinese languages at home has increased from 113 in 2006, to 140 in 2011 and to 206 in 2016. Finally, there were 149 suburbs with a population exceeding 1,000 that claimed a Chinese ancestry in 2006 census, which increased to 189 in 2011 and 282 in 2016.

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Figure 3.10: Number of suburbs that have a population with one type of the three Chinese backgrounds more than 1,000 between the 2006 and 2016 censuses



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

The top suburbs in any category of the above three Chinese backgrounds have been very similar from 2006 to 2016, concentrating in Sydney and Melbourne. Table 3.2 lists the top 20 suburbs with the largest population claiming at least one Chinese ancestry in the 2016 Census, and their change from 2006 to 2016. Melbourne suburb has for the first time surpassed Hurstville in the 2016 Census and become the No. 1 suburb in Australia with the largest population having at least one Chinese ancestry. There are 10 suburbs from Sydney ranking in the top 20 suburbs in Australia with the largest population with Chinese ancestry, followed by 8 suburbs from Melbourne. Canning Vale in Perth and Sunnybank Hills in Brisbane are the only two suburbs among the top 20, having a total population with Chinese ancestry exceeding 6,000 in 2016.

Table 3.2: Top 20 suburbs with the largest population claiming at least one Chinese ancestry in the 2016 Census, and their change from 2006 to 2016

Ranking in 2016	Suburbs (Great Capital Areas)	2006	2011	2016
1	Melbourne (Melbourne)	5120	8371	18262
2	Hurstville (Sydney)	10515	13677	16488
3	Glen Waverley (Melbourne)	8065	10540	13768



Ranking in 2016	Suburbs (Great Capital Areas)	2006	2011	2016
4	Chatswood (Sydney)	4282	6796	10358
5	Doncaster East (Melbourne)	5877	7051	9463
6	Carlingford (Sydney)	5499	6828	9362
7	Epping (Sydney)	4403	5882	8927
8	Campsie (Sydney)	6254	7046	8582
9	Burwood (Sydney)	4211	5101	8203
10	Eastwood (Sydney)	4386	5903	8123
11	Auburn (Sydney)	5172	6774	7698
12	Mount Waverley (Melbourne)	3472	5053	7558
13	Point Cook (Melbourne)	808	3702	7210
14	Clayton (Melbourne)	3482	4445	7203
15	Carlton (Melbourne)	3124	3867	6961
16	Doncaster (Melbourne)	3448	4624	6771
17	Canning Vale (Perth)	2514	4451	6385
18	Castle Hill (Sydney)	3089	4132	6314
19	Cabramatta (Sydney)	6040	6155	6170
20	Sunnybank Hills (Brisbane)	3405	4708	6019

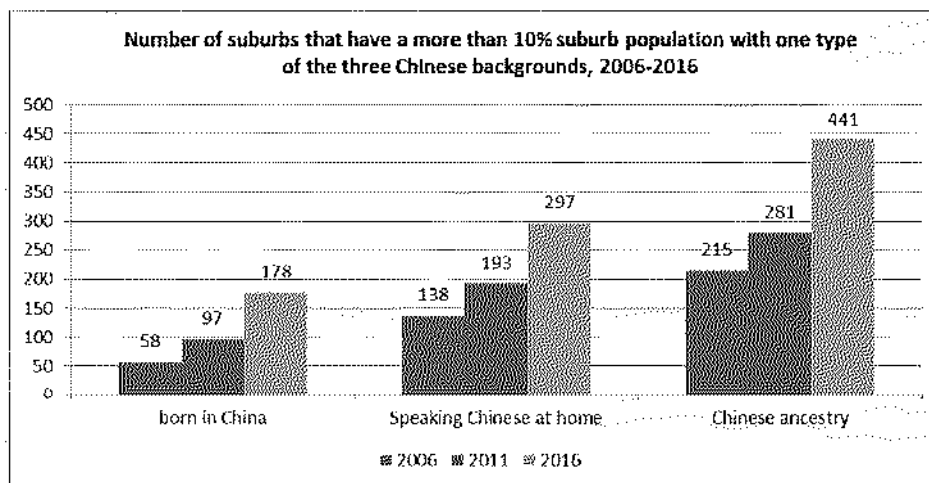
Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

However, if we compare those suburbs in terms of the percentage of their population with one type of the three Chinese backgrounds among the suburb total, we have a slightly different result. Figure 3.11 reports the number of suburbs that have a population with one type of the three Chinese backgrounds accounting for more than 10% of the total suburb population according to the censuses between 2006 and 2016. There were 58 suburbs with a born-in-China population exceeding 10% of their total suburb population in 2006, which increased to 97 in 2011 and 178 in 2016. Similarly, the number of suburbs with a population speaking Chinese languages at home accounting for more than 10% has increased from 138 in 2006, to 193 in 2011 and to 297 in 2016. Finally, there were 215 suburbs with a population having at least one Chinese ancestry exceeding 10% in 2006, jumping to 281 in 2011 and 441 in 2016.

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Figure 3.11: Number of suburbs that have a more than 10% suburb population with one type of the three Chinese backgrounds, 2006—2016



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

The densest suburbs in any category of the above 3 Chinese backgrounds have been very similar from 2006 to 2016, concentrating in Sydney, Brisbane, and Melbourne. Table 3.3 lists the top 20 suburbs with the largest percentage suburb population having claimed at least one Chinese ancestry in 2016, and their development from 2006 to 2016. Hurstville has been the No. 1 suburb in Australia with the largest percentage suburb population having at least one Chinese ancestry. There are 12 suburbs from Sydney ranking in the top 20 suburbs in Australia with the largest percentage suburb population with Chinese ancestry, followed by 4 suburbs from Brisbane and 4 suburbs from Melbourne.

Table 3.3: Top 20 suburbs in terms of the largest percentage of population having claimed at least one Chinese ancestry in 2016, 2006—2016^①

Ranking in 2016	Suburbs (Great Capital Areas)	2006	2011	2016
1	Hurstville (Sydney)	45.06%	52.53%	55.28%
2	Burwood (Sydney)	35.13%	40.91%	51.17%
3	Rhodes (Sydney)	12.38%	35.45%	49.38%

① Excluding those suburbs with a total population fewer than 1,000.



Ranking in 2016	Suburbs (Great Capital Areas)	2006	2011	2016
4	Eastwood (Sydney)	30.40%	36.45%	45.46%
5	East Killara (Sydney)	32.66%	34.58%	43.68%
6	Box Hill (Melbourne)	28.23%	32.66%	43.28%
7	Ultimo (Sydney)	25.75%	31.63%	42.40%
8	Robertson (Brisbane)	33.08%	36.15%	41.66%
9	Chatswood (Sydney)	31.68%	32.06%	41.58%
10	Zetland (Sydney)	20.67%	23.70%	41.23%
11	Stretton (Brisbane)	29.05%	31.51%	40.60%
12	Sunnybank Hills (Brisbane)	21.14%	27.97%	40.26%
13	Macgregor (Brisbane)	25.59%	32.66%	40.17%
14	Chippendale (Sydney)	14.00%	19.30%	40.14%
15	Melbourne (Melbourne)	25.14%	29.50%	38.62%
16	Carlingford (Sydney)	25.74%	31.66%	38.38%
17	Epping (Sydney)	23.21%	29.08%	37.68%
18	Carlton (Melbourne)	25.93%	28.63%	37.55%
19	Clayton (Melbourne)	24.30%	28.60%	37.21%
20	Wolli Creek (Sydney)	21.96%	31.33%	36.43%

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Chapter 4: Education Status of Chinese community in Australia

The pathways Chinese – Australian families choose to motivate their children are partly based on their cultural values which emphasise scholastic excellence, and partly on their own experiences in their native as well as in the host countries. Customarily, activities taking place in Chinese – background families have been focusing on the education of their children. Regular family discussions on educational matters and career paths had a modelling effect. The key feature of these families was that parental involvement in their children’s school – related activities remained high throughout the school time of their children. Chinese – background families indicate that diligence, a deep

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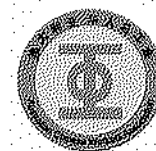
cultural respect for education and motivation to become educated have been quite strong among first generation immigrants. Chinese background population have a significant influence and place considerable pressure on their children academically. In addition, academic achievement has a strong correlation towards the success or achievement goals and sense of competence. In this chapter, we provide some factual discussions of the education – related census data for Chinese – background population in Australia, focusing on the last three censuses from 2006 to 2016.

4.1 National Level Analysis

In the 2006 Census, about 46% of born – in – China population in Australia had an education level at least with a certificate, which further increased to 52% in the 2011 Census and 55% in the 2016 Census. Specifically, about 9% had at least postgraduate education, about 1% had graduate diploma or graduate certificate, 21% had bachelor degree, 10% had advanced diploma or diploma level, while about 5% had certificate level in the 2006 Census as shown in Table 4.1 below. This pattern of education level has been similar across all the three types of Chinese – background population, while the born – in – China population have a slightly higher ratio over almost all high – level education than the other two groups, namely those speaking Chinese at home and having Chinese ancestry. The overall ratios of those having received high education have increased over the period between 2006 and 2016 for all the three types of Chinese – background population in Australia.

Table 4.1: Working qualification levels of the 3 types of Chinese – background population in Australia, 2006—2016.

Subjects / 3 types and census year	Born in China			Speaking Chinese at home			Having Chinese ancestry		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
Postgraduate Degree Level	28,851 (9%)	54,665 (13%)	99,158 (15%)	34,877 (7%)	63,490 (10%)	111,528 (12%)	42,634 (6%)	75,849 (9%)	131,599 (11%)



Subjects / 3 types and census year	Born in China			Speaking Chinese at home			Having Chinese ancestry		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate Level	3,780 (1%)	5,410 (1%)	9,398 (1%)	5,292 (1%)	7,775 (1%)	12,793 (1%)	7,770 (1%)	11,579 (1%)	18,528 (1%)
Bachelor Degree Level	65,249 (21%)	100,849 (24%)	163,498 (25%)	97,522 (19%)	143,847 (22%)	217,025 (23%)	133,039 (20%)	193,501 (22%)	288,263 (23%)
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	29,188 (10%)	38,962 (9%)	53,634 (8%)	40,244 (8%)	50,850 (8%)	68,113 (7%)	50,841 (8%)	64,171 (7%)	86,643 (7%)
Certificate Level	14,779 (5%)	20,261 (5%)	29,441 (5%)	22,261 (4%)	28,604 (4%)	40,597 (4%)	34,629 (5%)	44,707 (5%)	63,296 (5%)
Not Applicable	162,926 (53%)	204,674 (48%)	290,754 (45%)	300,283 (60%)	356,760 (55%)	477,891 (51%)	407,238 (60%)	485,251 (55%)	644,567 (54%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

With regard to the working qualification levels related to the employment for Chinese – background population in Australia, from Table 4.1, if we combine all the tertiary qualification group together (i. e. Bachelor, Advanced diploma, graduate diploma & graduate certificate, postgraduate degree), the proportion is around 40 – 50% on average. This clearly reveals the strong qualification background of the Chinese – background workers in the labour force in Australia.

In term of variation over time, tertiary qualification holders have been increasing in both absolute number and proportion, with the largest growth from the group of born – in – China population, who are likely to be the first – generation migrants. This provides consistent evidence that new Chinese immigrants tend to have higher education degrees and take the leading role in driving the changes of Chinese employment structure over the period.

From Table 4.2, by further examining the qualification fields of the Chinese – background working population, we find “Management and Commerce” degree has the

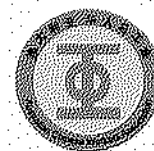
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largest number of holders in the total Chinese – background population, followed by engineering and technologies degrees. Business degree takes up to 20% of the total working Chinese – background population in Australia, reflecting the concentration of the fields of study in Chinese community. From the statistics, Chinese – background workers are less concentrated in fields such as creative arts, agriculture, architecture, law or medical sciences.

Table 4.2: Working qualification fields of the 3 types Chinese – background population in Australia, 2006—2016

Subjects / 3 types and census year	Born in China			Speaking Chinese at home			Having Chinese ancestry		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
Natural and Physical Sciences	7,985 (3%)	11,245 (3%)	17,248 (3%)	11,289 (2%)	15,615 (2%)	23,100 (2%)	15,021 (2%)	20,644 (2%)	30,432 (2%)
Information Technology	14,888 (5%)	19,389 (5%)	28,229 (4%)	21,749 (4%)	26,855 (4%)	36,442 (4%)	28,142 (4%)	34,702 (4%)	46,944 (4%)
Engineering and Related Technologies	20,916 (7%)	29,876 (7%)	47,496 (7%)	29,444 (6%)	40,399 (6%)	60,243 (6%)	38,300 (6%)	51,750 (6%)	75,608 (6%)
Architecture and Building	3,111 (1%)	4,750 (1%)	8,665 (1%)	4,808 (1%)	7,149 (1%)	11,868 (1%)	7,211 (1%)	10,432 (1%)	16,243 (1%)
Agriculture, Environmental and Related Studies	884 (1%)	1,311 (1%)	2,444 (1%)	1,173 (1%)	1,639 (1%)	2,03 (1%)	1,848 (1%)	2,420 (1%)	3,999 (1%)
Education	7,560 (2%)	9,979 (2%)	14,604 (2%)	9,519 (2%)	12,295 (2%)	17,772 (2%)	13,107 (2%)	17,007 (2%)	24,607 (2%)
Management and Commerce	50,409 (17%)	84,553 (20%)	141,886 (22%)	71,281 (14%)	111,392 (17%)	175,197 (19%)	92,944 (14%)	141,518 (16%)	219,008 (18%)
Health	14,135 (5%)	21,581 (5%)	31,753 (5%)	20,994 (4%)	31,038 (5%)	44,427 (5%)	30,048 (4%)	43,980 (5%)	63,955 (5%)
Society and Culture	14,333 (5%)	22,225 (5%)	37,436 (6%)	18,796 (4%)	2,993 (4%)	45,486 (5%)	26,133 (4%)	38,849 (4%)	61,753 (5%)



Subjects / 3 types and census year	Born in China			Speaking Chinese at home			Having Chinese ancestry		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
Creative Arts	5,309 (2%)	8,082 (2%)	14,632 (2%)	7,326 (1%)	10,838 (2%)	18,244 (2%)	10,982 (2%)	16,024 (2%)	25,807 (2%)
Food, Hospitality and Personal Services	4,178 (1%)	8,792 (2%)	12,306 (2%)	6,316 (1%)	11,471 (2%)	16,285 (2%)	9,107 (1%)	15,610 (2%)	22,267 (2%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

4.2 State/Territory Level Analysis

The education status of Chinese community in different Australian states and territories is closely associated with the demographical features and economic status of the Chinese – background population in that state or territory. Breaking down the Chinese education data by states and territories will provide useful information for understanding Chinese community in each state and for comparing across different geographical regions. Generally speaking, states are pretty similar in term of education composition and structure; territories are similar in those perspectives but are different compared with the states. We elaborate them in the following discussions.

We report the employment related qualification data for the population claiming Chinese ancestry by each state or territory in Australia. The Table 4.3 provides the number of Chinese – ancestry population for each qualification grouped by each state and territory from 2006 to 2016 census. Generally speaking, “Management and Commerce” is the largest group among all qualification fields for Chinese – ancestry population in Australia, followed by “Engineering”, “Social studies”, and “IT”. Chinese – ancestry population are still low in some qualification fields, such as “Law”. The number of Chinese – ancestry population studying natural science is growing fast in South Australia, while IT is growing in the same pace as natural science, and education. Architecture grows the fastest in Western Australia (WA) and Tasmania (TAS), while engineering shows the largest growth in Northern Territory (NT). Management and commerce grows considerably across all Australian states. Given the large number of qualification holders

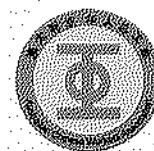
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in that group, this sharp growth indicated most of the change would still be coming from the Chinese ancestry population who hold “Management and Commerce” qualifications. It is also observed that Chinese – ancestry population are also growing in “Food and Hospitality” qualification numbers, indicating continuous interests from Chinese – ancestry population in this traditional popular employment industry for Chinese – background population. Generally speaking, territories see sharper growth over the period than states.

Table 4.3: Working qualification fields of Chinese – background population in states/territories, 2006—2016

Subjects	Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT
Natural and Physical	2006	2,828	1,548	447	206	265	25	14	236
	2011	3,857	2,297	745	411	454	38	15	360
	2016	5,002	3,123	923	609	733	56	41	552
IT	2006	5,139	2,883	681	353	267	114	14	309
	2011	7,180	4,533	1045	512	439	127	22	483
	2016	8,382	6,302	1,739	737	623	148	33	689
Engineering	2006	8,558	4,443	1,111	521	705	44	6	197
	2011	11,556	6,931	1,846	1,075	1,664	74	39	375
	2016	16,754	8,632	2,356	1,578	1,907	108	58	626
Architecture	2006	1,052	472	153	64	31	3	0	11
	2011	1,627	1,009	234	153	111	13	11	22
	2016	2,088	1,576	342	221	143	21	15	42
Health	2006	4,348	2,183	660	418	333	24	17	113
	2011	6,268	3,817	1,248	1,021	636	80	37	243
	2016	7,521	4,865	1,896	1,679	887	126	65	362
Education	2006	2,918	1,557	426	181	162	28	14	77
	2011	3,620	2,329	625	373	321	39	22	106
	2016	4,125	3,221	765	453	442	46	37	155



Subjects	Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	AC
Management and Commerce	2006	18,256	9,092	2,384	1,106	1,317	147	35	524
	2011	30,733	18,944	5,749	3,005	3,111	526	135	1,388
	2016	42,654	22,754	7,643	4,754	3,980	765	254	1,986
Social	2006	5,078	2,482	706	375	316	46	7	323
	2011	7,721	4,394	1,339	788	637	93	23	562
	2016	9,765	6,215	1,867	1,092	872	124	41	873
Arts	2006	1,563	797	253	91	103	15	7	40
	2011	2,475	1,572	451	231	222	32	12	101
	2016	3,290	2,291	668	538	479	53	28	136
Food, Hospitality and Personal	2006	1,320	749	259	198	135	14	7	34
	2011	2,744	2,263	776	350	383	45	28	105
	2016	3,235	3,446	906	664	579	69	47	168

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Table 4.4 presents annual statistics for the Chinese people on their highest education degree in Australian states. Bachelor and master degree holders are the largest groups among the qualification holders. All the degrees including Bachelor and above are increasing in numbers over the years while most of the lower level degree groups are decreasing in numbers over the same period. This suggests the education status of the Chinese – background population has been moving upward in the last ten years; with more and more people having tertiary education and obtaining university and postgraduate degrees. But it should also be noted that there are still large number of Chinese whose highest education is below college level, and the proportion is higher than the Australian average.

Table 4.4: Chinese' employment qualification level by states (2006—2016)

Subjects	Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT
Postgraduate	2006	11,066	5,339	1,729	689	762	77	37	662
	2011	20,779	11,639	4,239	1,989	2,065	352	85	1,366
	2016	28,127	15,547	5,432	3,668	4,093	548	109	2,068

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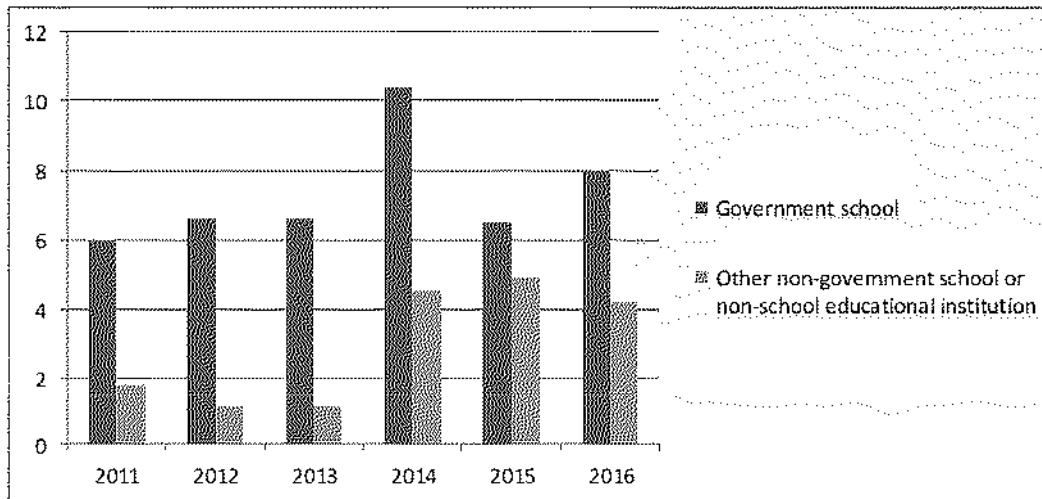
Subjects	Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	AC
Graduate Diploma	2006	1,063	694	174	90	75	5	0	91
	2011	1,468	1,149	259	139	149	13	3	120
	2016	1,870	2,086	458	358	412	27	7	208
Bachelor	2006	21,816	12,063	3,054	1,612	1,418	237	35	752
	2011	33,357	22,083	5,904	3,931	3,356	463	127	1,652
	2016	41,436	30,445	7,214	5,853	4,987	674	321	2,985
Advanced Diploma	2006	11,353	5,876	1,309	677	836	112	15	279
	2011	14,766	9,576	2,287	1,253	1,374	167	64	419
	2016	1,784	12,225	4,091	3,021	1,953	216	109	638
Certificate	2006	5,586	2,174	783	442	495	48	20	101
	2011	7,337	3,819	1,343	667	959	91	60	217
	2016	9,745	4,885	2,234	875	1,259	135	79	370

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

From the Table 4.4, all qualification levels are increasing in numbers over time. The number of postgraduate degree holders grew fastest among all the degrees in all the states, especially for the SA, WA and TAS. Bachelor degree generally grew in line with postgraduates but relatively low in TAS. Northern Territory (NT) show largest growth in “Advanced diploma”, while “Bachelor” holders grew fastest in ACT. Generally speaking, states show more consistent and similar pattern in the growth for all qualification levels than territories. And postgraduate has become more and more common among Chinese – ancestry population, indicating development and advancement of Chinese education and their working qualification levels.



Figure 4. 1: What school Chinese send their kids to in Australia (2011 – 2016, in thousands)



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Figure 4. 1 presents annual summaries for what type of school Chinese send their kids to in Australia from 2011—2016. It's found that government or public school is the dominant type where Chinese kids go to school in Australia, and there is clear difference between the first three years and second three years in the period with the 2011 – 2013 period shows similar composition and 2014—2016 period expands dramatically. Before 2013, public school is increasing while non – public school is decreasing in Chinese kids numbers. Since 2014, both public and non – public school see dramatic increase in Chinese kids numbers, especially for non – public schools. One thing is clear, more Chinese kids are going to non – public schools since 2014, although public school is still the dominant type of school where Chinese send their kids to in Australia.

4.3 English language ability

Table 4.5 presents the English language proficiency statistics for Chinese in Australia. The general finding is that the proportion of Chinese in each language proficiency level in the total Chinese population has been very stable across the three censuses. Born – in – China population have relative lower proportion of “very well” English speakers and relatively larger proportion of “not well” or “not at all” English language speakers. Roughly one fourth of born – in – China population can speak very good Eng-

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lish, comparing to nearly half of those dual – language speakers who speak Chinese at home. According to the table, more than half of the Chinese population can speak at least “well” English, while only around 5 – 7% of the population cannot speak English. This partly reflects the education status of Chinese community, providing context for Chinese employment, economic status and public involvement.

Table 4.5 English Language Proficiency of Chinese – background population in Australia

		Very Well	Well	Not well	Not at all	Not Applicable
Born in China	2006	82,781(27%)	118,154(39%)	63,715(21%)	20,095(7%)	20,034(7%)
	2011	113,823(27%)	171,230(40%)	87,618(20%)	27,092(6%)	25,062(6%)
	2016	166,870(26%)	263,514(41%)	138,315(21%)	46,363(7%)	30,824(4%)
Speaking Chinese at home	2006	202,321(40%)	171,642(34%)	93,098(19%)	29,037(6%)	4,338(1%)
	2011	261,797(40%)	228,975(35%)	118,076(18%)	37,769(6%)	4,706(1%)
	2016	350,910(38%)	332,558(34%)	178,068(19%)	61,165(6%)	5,246(1%)
Having Chinese ancestry	2006	218,137(32%)	184,687(27%)	98,846(15%)	31,727(5%)	142,751(21%)
	2011	284,882(32%)	246,460(28%)	125,504(14%)	41,396(5%)	176,824(20%)
	2016	387,742(32%)	357,683(27%)	188,431(14%)	66,754(5%)	232,288(19%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Chapter 5: Employment and Economic Status of Chinese Community

Economic life plays a vital role for any ethnic group in social living, no exempt for Chinese – background population in Australia. In fact, Chinese economic status has changed over the years in such a fashion that Chinese community involves more deeply in Australian society and makes deeper impact on both Australian way of living and their own lives. Employment data is one way we can work on to reveal this. By using the employment and income data from the ABS censuses from 2006 to 2016, we find Chinese – background population have grown fast (in proportion to the total population) in all Australian employment industries, with their income moving upwards; more and more Chinese – background population have found jobs in public services/sector as well as the private sector; Chinese employment structures are different in Australian states/territo-



ries in terms of industry concentration, income, working hours, etc. , although generally we see boosting employment and economic status in common. Next, let's examine the employment and economic status of Chinese community in Australia in more detail.

5.1 National Level Analysis

The Australian censuses in 2006, 2011 and 2016 collected information on employment status, sector and industry category, occupation type, weekly working hours, and weekly income range. By analysing the above statistics related to the three types of Chinese population in Australia, we are able to show a broad view of their employment and economic status. First, we look at them at the national level, and then examine them in more detail at the state/territory level. Table 5. 1 reports the employment status of the three types of Chinese – background population in Australia from the 2006, 2011 and 2016 censuses.

Table 5. 1: Employment status of the three types of Chinese in Australia based on the 2006, 2011 and 2016 censuses

Criterion	Year	Employed	Unemployed	Not in the Labour force	Not Stated/ Not Applicable
Born in China	2006	149,045 (49%)	16,591 (5%)	122,653 (40%)	16,484 (5%)
	2011	214,895 (51%)	23,720 (6%)	165,828 (39%)	20,387 (4%)
	2016	305,208 (47%)	37,051 (6%)	273,997 (42%)	29,618 (4%)
Speaking Chinese at home	2006	227,351 (45%)	22,818 (5%)	171,650 (34%)	78,655 (16%)
	2011	306,890 (47%)	31,448 (5%)	224,779 (36%)	88,223 (12%)
	2016	413,427 (45%)	47,799 (5%)	344,384 (37%)	122,321 (13%)
Having Chinese ancestry	2006	313,758 (46%)	28,438 (4%)	212,326 (31%)	121,638 (19%)
	2011	415,648 (47%)	38,845 (4%)	275,357 (31%)	145,215 (18%)
	2016	560,500 (45%)	59,077 (5%)	411,430 (33%)	201,896 (16%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

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Note: The percentages in the parentheses are against related total Chinese population in Australia.

According to Table 5.1, about halves of the population with Chinese backgrounds are employed, and about 5% of them are unemployed, having been relatively stable over the last three censuses of 2006, 2011 and 2016. Among all three types of Chinese – background population in Australia, roughly one third are not in labour force. Persons under 15 years old were considered “not applicable” and they roughly account for 5% of the total population. In total, we see roughly half Chinese – background population in working status and half not.

By making simple calculations using the three consecutive census data, we can detect some time variations over the same statistics for the variable. It is clear that working population of Chinese increased by 30 – 40% over the five years from 2006 to 2011. This is in line with total population growth of Chinese community over the time. Born – in – China population in the working force seem to dominate the variation of the whole Chinese community statistics, in both good and bad ways: both employed and unemployed changing statistics have been driven mostly by this group (as seen from yearly averages). Given the sharp increase in the population from the born – in – China group, the results may not be surprising.

Table 5.2 Chinese employment sectors 2006—2016

Criterion	Year	Public sector	Private sector	Not applicable
Born in China	2006	12,849 (4%)	133,101 (44%)	158,823 (52%)
	2011	21,691 (5%)	189,523 (45%)	213,614 (50%)
	2016	28,166 (4%)	271,388 (42%)	346,327 (54%)
Speaking Chinese at home	2006	21,098 (4%)	201,870 (40%)	277,498 (55%)
	2011	33,115 (5%)	268,980 (41%)	349,237 (54%)
	2016	41,095 (4%)	365,077 (39%)	521,777 (57%)
Having Chinese ancestry	2006	33,341 (5%)	275,214 (41%)	367,593 (54%)
	2011	50,313 (6%)	359,741 (41%)	465,007 (53%)
	2016	63,708 (5%)	488,439 (40%)	680,741 (55%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).



Table 5.2 presents Chinese employment sector changes. Most of the Chinese in Australia work in the private sector. More accurately, there were about 40% of total population working in the private sector, while only about 5% working in the public sector in the three censuses. In term of time variation over the three consecutive censuses, we see relatively balanced increase across public and private sectors. The table reveals a possible trend toward public sector for employment of Chinese – background population in Australia. The absolute total number of Chinese – background employment in the Australian public sector has been increasing possibly due to combined effect of continued in – coming of well – educated and highly – skilled Chinese immigrants and the increased opportunities created over the years by public administration needs. We believe it is a good sign of deeper public involvement for Chinese community. And there are slightly more people working for the state/local government than for the federal government.

Table 5.3 Weekly working hours for Chinese 2006—2016

Criterion	Year	None	1 – 39 hrs	40 hrs and above	Not applicable
Born in China	2006	3,831 (1%)	76,674 (25%)	63,871 (21%)	160,401 (53%)
	2011	6,007 (1%)	116,171 (27%)	87,026 (20%)	215,572 (51%)
	2016	7,723 (1%)	176,376 (27%)	114,908 (18%)	346,860 (54%)
Speaking Chinese at home	2006	5,728 (1%)	115,268 (23%)	99,177 (20%)	280,303 (56%)
	2011	8,692 (1%)	163,994 (25%)	126,513 (19%)	352,139 (54%)
	2016	10,478 (1%)	237,478 (25%)	157,083 (17%)	522,874 (57%)
Having Chinese ancestry	2006	8,559 (1%)	156,931 (23%)	207,872 (21%)	371,505 (55%)
	2011	12,698 (1%)	218,756 (25%)	174,727 (20%)	468,883 (54%)
	2016	14,938 (1%)	316,528 (26%)	218,713 (18%)	682,707 (55%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

We summarize and present the weekly working hours for Chinese – background population in Australia in Table 5.3 although more detailed group statistics are also available. Most of the Chinese – background workers take the normal weekly full – time working hours and it is confirmative that roughly 20% of Chinese – background workers work full time, accounting for half of the total employed. There is roughly equal size of Chinese people in the 1 ~ 39 hours group, and the Chinese who report no working hours

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are stable at 1% of the total population.

In term of time variation of this finding over consecutive censuses, the number of workers in each weekly – working – hour group increases proportionally with the total Chinese working population growth over time. Growth in the longer – working – hours groups (longer than 40 hours) is much less than lower – working – hour groups (lower than 40 hours). Dynamically, the Chinese workers’ working hours are shifting toward less than 40 – hours a week over time. This is a good sign that Chinese – background workers are moving toward normal jobs with common working time in the country. Combined with the income statistics, this gives an overall impression of “higher payment with shorter working hours” for more and more Chinese – background population.

Table 5.4 Chinese Australian working industries summary 2006—2016

Criterion	Born in China			Speaking Chinese at home			Having Chinese ancestry		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
Accommodation and Food Services	24,232 (8%)	32,862 (8%)	39,961 (6%)	33,834 (7%)	43,962 (7%)	53,246 (6%)	41,118 (6%)	52,798 (6%)	66,748 (5%)
Retail Trade	17,949 (6%)	23,480 (6%)	29,915 (5%)	27,436 (5%)	34,114 (5%)	42,742 (5%)	37,823 (6%)	45,590 (5%)	58,008 (5%)
Manufacturing	16,148 (5%)	20,397 (5%)	19,787 (3%)	27,682 (6%)	30,986 (5%)	27,917 (3%)	36,247 (5%)	40,156 (5%)	37,089 (3%)
Health Care and Social Assistance	14,291 (5%)	23,562 (6%)	34,317 (5%)	22,337 (4%)	33,930 (5%)	47,122 (5%)	32,889 (5%)	48,871 (6%)	69,356 (6%)
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	13,070 (4%)	20,746 (5%)	30,232 (5%)	21,075 (4%)	31,448 (5%)	42,450 (4%)	30,649 (5%)	44,594 (5%)	59,091 (5%)
Wholesale Trade	11,159 (4%)	14,713 (3%)	14,422 (2%)	16,049 (3%)	19,779 (3%)	18,546 (2%)	20,123 (3%)	24,353 (3%)	23,194 (2%)
Financial and Insurance Services	8,002 (3%)	12,349 (3%)	17,647 (3%)	13,828 (3%)	19,406 (3%)	25,261 (3%)	19,935 (3%)	27,297 (3%)	35,288 (3%)
Education and Training	7,893 (3%)	11,634 (3%)	17,797 (3%)	11,191 (2%)	16,417 (3%)	24,768 (3%)	16,732 (2%)	23,972 (3%)	35,740 (3%)
Public Administration and Safety	4,073 (1%)	6,320 (1%)	8,215 (1%)	6,848 (1%)	9,803 (2%)	12,328 (1%)	11,780 (2%)	16,168 (2%)	20,686 (2%)
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	5,111 (2%)	7,487 (2%)	11,435 (2%)	7,695 (2%)	10,541 (2%)	15,156 (2%)	10,741 (2%)	14,444 (2%)	20,531 (2%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).



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Note: the percentage reported in the parentheses is against the related total Chinese population.

Industry – wise speaking, the number of workers with Chinese background was reported largest in “Accommodation and Food Services” industry with more than 40,000 workers on average, followed by “Retail Trade” and “Manufacturing”. The three industries accounted for 30% of the Chinese working population. The industry of “Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services” had 30,469 workers with Chinese ancestry (in 2006), which accounted for 5% of the total Chinese population. From the Table 5.4, Chinese – background population worked in most of the Australian industries, but most of them have been still engaging in traditional industries where old generations of Asian immigrants worked in, such as “Accommodation and Food Services”, “Retail Trade”, and “Health Care and Social Services”. Industries such as “Professional, Scientific and Technical Services”, “Education and Training”, and “Public Administration and Safety”, have still been at minor proportions for Chinese – background population, which accounted for 8%. Even by adding “Financial and Insurance Services” to the three, there were only 11% working population in the four industries.

There was 30 – 40% increase in the number of employed Chinese – background population across almost all Australian industries between 2006 and 2016 censuses. However, industries such as “Professional Services”, “Financial and Insurance Services”, and “Health Care and Social Services” shew higher increase rate than other industries over the same period, while the traditional Chinese – populated industries such as “Accommodation and Food Services” shew less growth. This indicates some structural changes among the employment industries for the Chinese – background population.

Table 5. 5: Occupation summary of Chinese – background population, 2006—2016

Criterion	Born in China			Speaking Chinese at home			Having Chinese ancestry		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
Managers	17,632 (6%)	23,327 (6%)	39,423 (6%)	25,627 (5%)	34,379 (5%)	30,640 (5%)	34,483 (5%)	46,028 (5%)	66,732 (5%)
Professionals	39,243 (13%)	61,916 (15%)	89,246 (14%)	62,231 (12%)	92,417 (14%)	125,323 (14%)	89,648 (13%)	129,520 (15%)	175,866 (14%)

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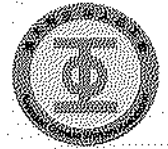
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Criterion	Born in China			Speaking Chinese at home			Having Chinese ancestry		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
Technicians and Trades Workers	19,071 (6%)	26,072 (6%)	32,715 (5%)	27,502 (5%)	35,217 (5%)	42,585 (5%)	35,329 (5%)	44,908 (5%)	55,167 (4%)
Community and Personal Service Workers	12,476 (4%)	19,407 (5%)	28,695 (4%)	17,352 (3%)	25,717 (4%)	37,163 (4%)	24,029 (4%)	34,809 (4%)	50,945 (4%)
Clerical and Administrative Workers	17,583 (6%)	26,430 (6%)	35,299 (5%)	28,396 (6%)	39,244 (6%)	49,818 (5%)	42,464 (6%)	56,663 (6%)	71,075 (6%)
Sales Workers	14,157 (5%)	18,556 (4%)	29,772 (4%)	21,532 (4%)	27,218 (4%)	41,477 (4%)	30,298 (4%)	37,012 (4%)	55,073 (4%)
Machinery Operators And Drivers	7,993 (3%)	9,430 (2%)	11,295 (2%)	13,013 (3%)	14,073 (2%)	15,991 (2%)	17,068 (3%)	18,576 (2%)	21,998 (2%)
Labourers	16,572 (5%)	21,774 (5%)	31,825 (5%)	25,387 (5%)	30,220 (5%)	41,158 (4%)	32,767 (5%)	38,215 (4%)	52,445 (4%)
Not applicable	160,038 (53%)	215,310 (51%)	347,608 (54%)	279,435 (56%)	352,634 (54%)	523,791 (56%)	370,068 (55%)	469,332 (54%)	683,578 (55%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

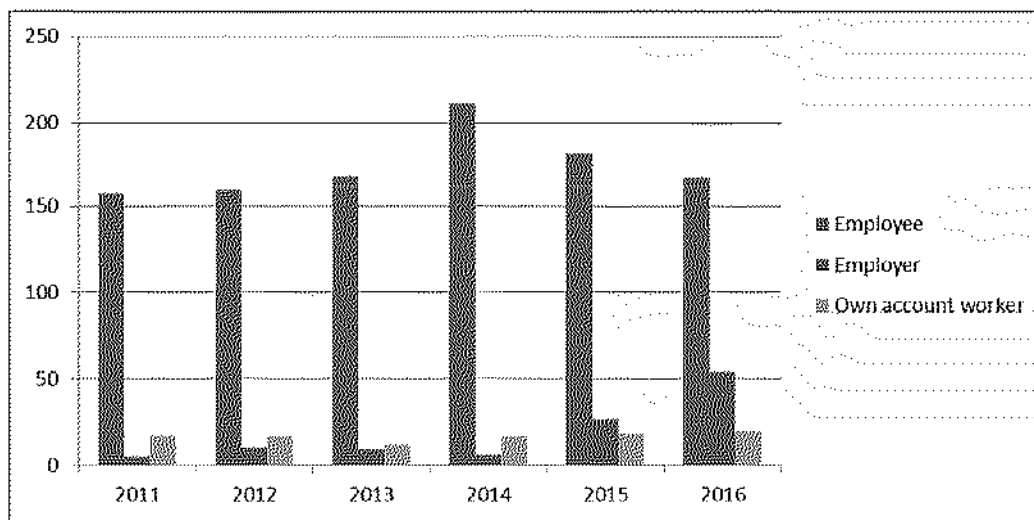
From Table 5.5, about 15% of the Chinese – background population worked as professionals, which was the most popular occupation among them. Clerical & administrative workers, managers, labourers, and technician & trade workers accounted for about 5% over the years, while sales workers, community and personal service workers, and machinery operators and drivers were between 2% and 5% during the three censuses. The statistics suggest that most of Chinese – background workers participate in the Australian work force as skilled professionals who can work independently, while Chinese who are taking managing positions in the work force are less observed.

Moving to 2011 and 2016, Chinese – background working population grew by 30 – 40% in line with the total population growth. It is found that Born – in – China population shew the large growth in almost all the occupations Chinese – background population got involved. This is especially true for professionals, community/personal service work-



ers, clerical administrators and technicians. All those occupations have seen relatively higher growth in number of Chinese background workers, which once again indicates immigrants have been taking a leading role in driving the changes of Chinese employment in Australia, at least by numbers.

Figure 5.1: Nature of employment participation (Mainland Chinese 2011 – 2016 in thousands)



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Figure 5.1 provides interesting indications for Chinese working status over the 2011 – 2016 period. There are three types of employment status in the figure. Employee, Employer and Own account worker. Majority of the Chinese workers over the six year periods were employees. Number of working employees gradually increased from 2011 to 2013 and peaked in 2014 for around 210,000. It is worth noting that the figure was based on census data for Chinese who were born in mainland China. This Chinese group makes up more than 50% of total Chinese population in Australia. And based on previous analysis, they also take a leading role in driving the changes in Chinese lives in Australia. After 2014, the number of Chinese working as employee began to decrease with the current (2016) level down to the same level as in 2013. One noticeable change after 2014 is that number of Chinese working as an employer increased exponentially with more than 50,000 Chinese working as an employer in 2016. This partly explains

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the decrease in number of Chinese working as employee over the last three years and also provides some evidence that Chinese are moving up in the employment chain toward more managing and high – payment roles. Of course this also suggests Chinese are taking more and more responsibilities in Australian business operation. This is also consistent with statistics for new Chinese immigrants’ qualification, income, employment industry and other variables we discussed in this report. The “Own Account Worker” remained relatively unchanged from 2011 to 2016.

From the income perspective, about 30% of the total born – in – China population in Australia had zero income according the three censuses if we combine the number in “Nil income” and “Not applicable”, as shown in Table 5.6. This proportion increases to 35 – 37% if we choose the group speaking Chinese at home or having Chinese ancestry. The overall proportion of Chinese – background population earning \$1 – 599 per week has been decreasing, while the proportions earning \$600 and above per week increasing, although the category of earning \$1 – 599 per week still has the largest population proportion for all the three types of Chinese – background population. Table 5.6 suggests most of Chinese have a weekly income within the low and medium income groups (1 – 599 \$ to be low, and 600 – 1599 \$ to be medium). There is clear tendency from the 2006 to 2016 that Chinese are moving lower in the low income percentage and higher in the medium income group percentage, by all the three criteria. The percentage in the high income group (1600 \$ plus) is also increased over time. Generally, the results indicate the income of Chinese – background population has been elevated and economic status is getting better over the past decade. We’ll discuss this more in the last chapter of the report for comparison with Australian income changes.

Table 5.6: Weekly income of Chinese – background population in Australia, 2006—2016

Criterion	Year	Nil Income	\$ 1 – 599	\$ 600 – 1599	\$ 1600 and Above	Not applicable
Born in China	2006	65,527 (22%)	134,999 (44%)	68,012 (22%)	11,204 (4%)	21,933 (7%)
	2011	97,579 (23%)	147,120 (35%)	114,315 (27%)	34,295 (8%)	25,819 (6%)
	2016	170,357 (26%)	199,222 (30%)	186,005 (29%)	47,489 (7%)	35,439 (5%)



Criterion	Year	Nil Income	\$ 1 – 599	\$ 600 – 1599	\$ 1600 and Above	Not applicable
Speaking Chinese at home	2006	89,149 (18%)	193,988 (39%)	107,823 (22%)	18,873 (4%)	86,546 (17%)
	2011	128,915 (20%)	203,438 (31%)	161,736 (25%)	54,706 (8%)	95,625 (15%)
	2016	209,936 (23%)	264,903 (29%)	246,079 (27%)	69,030 (7%)	129,630 (14%)
Having Chinese ancestry	2006	106,385 (16%)	250,220 (37%)	153,347 (23%)	29,539 (4%)	131,894 (20%)
	2011	151,882 (17%)	259,496 (30%)	218,641 (25%)	82,182 (9%)	154,801 (18%)
	2016	242,884 (20%)	335,043 (27%)	329,646 (27%)	103,749 (8%)	211,591 (17%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

5.2 State – Territory Level Analysis

Analysing employment and economic status of Chinese – background population in states/territories are both necessary and important. National level analysis provides broad picture of Chinese community while state/territories analysis will zoom in to provide segmented information which account for demographical and geographical differences for Chinese communities across regions. For example, NSW hosts the largest number of Chinese – background population in Australia, together with VIC, NSW provides the broadest base for discussing regional Chinese community activities. Chinese – background population living in NSW and VIC are more abundant in providing data for Chinese community from all perspectives of social life, but this doesn't mean Chinese – background population living in smaller states (TAS, SA) or Territories (ACT, NT) exhibit the same pattern. In fact, the economic and social activities of Chinese – background population are rather different in smaller states and territories, which provide valuable information for comparing regional economic activities in the state – territory analysis.

Table 5.7: Employment of Chinese – ancestry population in public/private sectors by states/territories (2006—2016)

	Public Sector			Private Sector			Not Applicable		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
NSW	5,892	11,144	16,783	103,154	140,064	172,338	2,878	3,232	4,115
VIC	3,318	6,420	8,926	47,204	80,912	103,378	1,302	1,746	2,001

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	Public Sector			Private Sector			Not Applicable		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
QLD	1,451	2,688	4,002	12,164	21,664	40,927	332	450	692
SA	772	1,596	2,295	5,328	11,314	16,293	198	254	321
WA	729	1,394	2,190	6,636	15,768	20,229	182	438	601
TAS	77	157	287	528	1,366	1,784	30	24	43
NT	82	171	209	238	874	1,202	12	26	53
ACT	1,131	2,334	3,281	2,412	4,442	7,932	40	52	102

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Table 5.7 presents the data for Chinese – ancestry population employment in government or private sectors from in each states/territories in Australia. The cross – sectional patterns of the state/territory analysis using the three different criteria (“Born in China”, “Speaking Chinese at home” and “Having Chinese ancestry”) are quite similar across Australian states/territories. So for brevity, we use “Having Chinese Ancestry” criterion to identify Chinese – background population in the state/territory analysis in the current study. It can be seen that Chinese – ancestry population employed by federal government have been growing in all states. The growth rate is larger for territories than for the states but generally smaller compared to growth in private sector. It is noticeable that Chinese employment increased sharply for State/Territory governments in Australia, which is even more than expansion in the private sectors. This is especially true for ACT, which sees the biggest Chinese employment growth in territory government, reflecting changing preference for Chinese immigrants. Expansion rate for Chinese employment in the local government is between those for the national and state governments. Private sector employment grows fastest in the NT and TAS, due to the relative smaller size of the group population originally.



Table 5.8: Working hours by states or territories

Weekly working hours	Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT
None	2006	2,706	1,198	420	240	178	24	6	84
	2011	3,842	2,462	814	566	658	36	28	234
	2016	5,129	3,896	1,658	936	882	106	51	469
1 – 39 hours	2006	57,354	27,568	7,650	3,864	4,190	388	178	2,344
	2011	82,596	49,730	14,378	8,488	8,994	1,048	692	4,564
	2016	123,367	73,470	25,304	11,220	12,402	2,345	723	7,652
40 hours and over	2006	47,948	21,252	5,366	1,976	2,880	210	128	1,124
	2011	63,404	34,344	8,944	3,732	7,352	406	276	1,986
	2016	86,098	62,984	12,943	7,890	11,324	723	466	3,278
Not Applicable	2006	120,068	63,104	16,702	10,108	8,766	1,316	344	3,524
	2011	162,256	101,188	29,896	19,106	16,348	2,294	706	6,362
	2016	220,897	146,744	48,986	33,727	29,813	4,653	829	7,943

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Based on the Table 5.8, the percentage changes of Chinese employment working hours distribute more normally across hour – groups for states than for territories. Due to relative original sizes in the working populations, percentage changes are smaller for big states than for smaller states (in term of population) which in turn smaller than for territories. One thing in common is that the biggest growth mostly comes from the “40 – hour” working hour group, with the exception in TAS and NT, which have biggest growth in shorter working hour groups. This suggests the weekly working hours of Chinese are more and more moving toward normal full – time working hours. But it is also noticed that Chinese still show expansion in the working population that work over time in some states such as SA, WA and NT.

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Table 5.9: Weekly income by states or territories (2006—2016)

Weekly working hours	Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT
Nil	2006	22,598	13,034	3,450	2,573	1,786	315	53	784
	2011	34,583	24,718	7,504	5,257	3,888	605	96	1,659
	2016	46,798	30,556	11,258	7,901	6,258	709	169	2,765
\$ 1 – 599	2006	55,223	27,643	6,982	3,269	3,787	377	142	1,462
	2011	58,681	33,356	9,180	4,984	5,001	735	249	2,024
	2016	63,108	40,225	12,369	7,148	7,625	928	366	3,219
\$ 600 – 1599	2006	24,601	10,255	2,907	1,249	1,477	119	94	890
	2011	41,892	23,473	6,573	3,579	4,604	345	331	1,765
	2016	61,358	31,682	12,348	6,068	6,319	552	413	2,552
\$ 1600 and above	2006	2,904	1,150	385	115	206	20	0	157
	2011	10,367	4,691	1,524	494	1,506	59	40	722
	2016	16,908	12,376	3,479	820	2,093	106	57	1,536

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

From the Table 5.9, it is generally found that number of Chinese in each income groups grow over time across states with the exception for some relative low income groups in the NSW. And generally high – income groups show much higher growth than the low – income groups. This is also partly due to the relative smaller size of those high – income groups in each state originally. The largest growth is observed with “ \$ 1600 and above” income group in WA, which is also the state that shows biggest growth in the high – income groups. It also needs to be noted that Chinese with no income also increase across states over time. The size increased by around 100% for that group across different states. By combining above, Chinese income exhibits tendency toward high – income groups but the gap between high – low incomers possibly is widen in the past ten years.

Chapter 6: Political, Religious and Other Social Aspects

With the fast growing population with Chinese background in Australia, there have been increasing attentions and discussions on their influence on the Australian society,

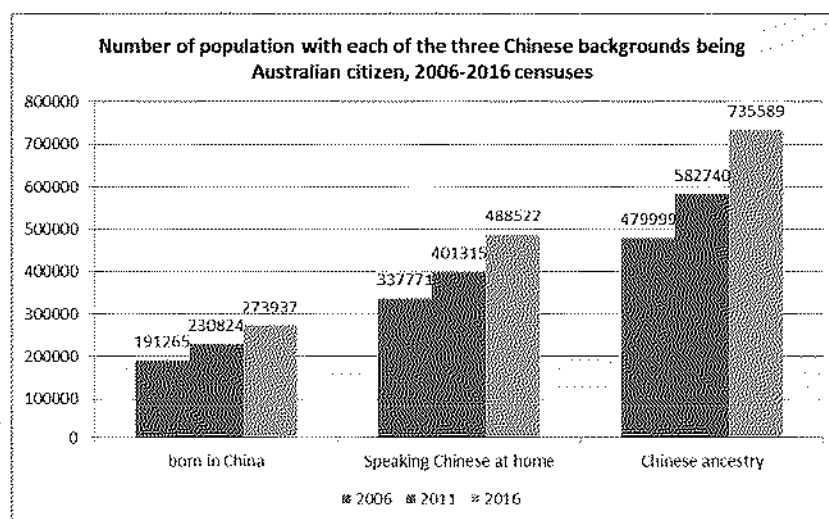


including politics, religion, and other social aspects. From Australian censuses we may find some statistical information to help us have a better understanding on the social aspects of the population with Chinese backgrounds in Australia.

6.1 Political Aspect

One of the key indicators showing the public or political involvement of Chinese – background population in Australia is the number of Australian citizens among them because Australian citizens aged 18 years old and over are compulsorily required to vote on elections. Figure 6.1 shows the number of population with the three types of Chinese backgrounds being Australian citizen (or Chinese – Australians). Specifically, born – in – China Australian citizens increased from 191,265 in 2006, to 230,824 in 2011, and 273,937 in 2016, with an average annual increase rate of 3.7%. For Chinese – Australians speaking Chinese languages at home, the number of Australian citizens increased from 337,771 in 2006, to 401,315 in 2011, and to 488,522 in 2016, with an average annual increase rate of 3.8%. Chinese – Australians of Chinese ancestry have the largest population among the three Chinese backgrounds, having increased from 479,999 in 2006, to 582,740 in 2011, and 735,589 in 2016, with an average annual increase rate of 4.4%, respectively accounting for 2.8%, 3.2%, and 3.8% of the total Australian citizens in the above three years' censuses.

Figure 6. 1: Number of population with each of the three Chinese backgrounds being Australian citizen, 2006—2016 censuses



Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

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As we can see that the number of Chinese – background Australian citizens has been increasing over the years, it is an important indicator showing that more and more Chinese – background Australians identify themselves as Australians, get involved in Australian political affairs, and may become a significant ethnic group in influencing Australian government and political decisions.

Despite the fast growing population with Chinese background in Australia and their relative successful performance in education, business and service, Chinese – Australians remain under – represented in Australian political life. There are very few Chinese – Australians becoming politicians^① in Australia. The earliest one, Thomas Jerome Kingston Bakhap^②(陈俊英 1866—1923), Senator for Tasmania, 1913 – 23, was a Caucasian descendant, but a stepson of a Chinese, who taught him Cantonese. Senator Bakhap recognized himself as “half – Chinese”, rebutted unfair discrimination and calumnies against the Chinese, and has been regarded as a natural ally by the Chinese people in Australia. William Joseph Liu (刘威廉 1893—1984)^③, Chinese community leader, was the Australian – born son of a Chinese immigrant and an Anglo – Australian woman. Known as “Uncle Billy” to Chinese community in Sydney, William Liu was instrumental in having the qualifying period for Chinese to acquire Australian citizenship shortened from 15 to 5 years. He devoted most of his life to developing a better understanding between Australia and China and he was awarded the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (OBE).

With more and more Chinese migrants to Australia after the dismantling of the White Australian Policy in 1970s, especially since the 1990s when the fast and continually growing Chinese immigrants to Australia started, more Chinese – background Australians became members of federal, state, or local parliaments. However, the ratio compared with the total number of Chinese – background Australians is still very low. Just to name a few of them with excellent political achievement. For example, Henry Tsang (曾筱龙, born in 1943), was the Deputy Lord Mayor of Sydney from 1991 to

① Politicians here refer to members of Federal Parliament, State or Territory Parliaments in Australia.

② For details, please refer to <http://biography.senate.gov.au/thomas-jerome-kingston-bakhap/> (accessed on 17 Oc. 2017).

③ For details, please refer to <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/liu-william-joseph-14161> (accessed on 17 Oc. 2017).

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Australian Chinese Workers Association



1999, a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council from 1999 to 2009, and Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier and to the Treasurer on Trade and Investment. Tsebin Tchen (陈之彬 born in 1940), was a Liberal member of the Australian Senate from 1999 to 2005, representing the state of Victoria. Helen Wai – Har Sham – Ho (何沈慧霞 born in Hong Kong in 1943), was a former Liberal member of the New South Wales Legislative Council from 1988 to 1998. Penny Wong (born in 1968) has represented South Australia in the Senate since 2002. There are a number of Chinese Australians who had made notable achievements in various walks of social life.

As we can see from their backgrounds, most of them were not from mainland China, but from Hong Kong, Taiwan, or Malaysia, which has a relatively more similar social and political system with Australia than with mainland China, especially before 1980s, or came to Australia at their young age. They have already well assimilated themselves to the Australian or western value, culture, belief, and national identity. It would be more difficult for first – generation migrants from mainland China to be able to make achievements politically in Australia because of the relatively dramatic change in the social and political systems and a lack of some necessary qualifications or skills a person required to be successful in Australian politics. Nonetheless, we have seen a growing tendency for more Chinese Australians to participate in Australian local council elections, especially in those districts with a higher percentage of Chinese Australians, such as those top Chinese – concentrated suburbs in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane mentioned in Chapter 3. For example, in the Hurstville City Council election in 2012, more than half of the candidates have a Chinese background as Hurstville was the No. 1 suburb with the largest Chinese Australian population in Australia in 2012^①, accounting for more than 50% of the total suburb population. In fact, any Australian citizen over 18 years old may become local Government Councilor, but it also requires knowledge of local government legislation, policies and systems, an interest in people and a willingness to invest time and energy in serving the needs and interests of the local community.

In short, considering the eligible size of Chinese Australians with voting rights, roughly about 4% of total Australian citizens with voting rights having claimed Chinese

^① For details, please refer to <http://www.abc.net.au/elections/nsw/2012/council/?page=Hurstville> (accessed on 17 Oct. 2017).

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ancestry, the Chinese Australians have remained low represented in Australian politics, but there is a great potential to catch up in the future as they have been successful in other areas.

6.2 Religious Aspect

Religion has always been an important force in our social life as it fulfils several basic functions within human societies. For example, as an integrative force, it functions to reinforce the collective unity of a group of people. Sharing the same religion unites people in a cohesive and building moral order. However, different religions may have caused disputes or even wars among the people with conflicting religions. According to the 2016 Census, Australia remains a religious country, with 60% of its population reporting a religious affiliation. However, the proportion of people reporting no religion, including people with secular and other spiritual beliefs, increased to 30% in 2016 – up from 22% in 2011. About 8.2% of Australian population reported a religion other than Christianity (52%), with Islam (2.6%) and Buddhism (2.4%) the most common.

Since British settlement of Australia, Christianity has been the dominant religion of Australia. Christianity also has had a profound impact on the establishment or the foundation of the social system in western developed countries today, such as the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia, on their institutions, social value, and culture. However, the percentage of Christian population in censuses has been decreasing. In 1966, 88% of Australian population claimed Christianity was their religion, which fell down to 74% in 1991 and further down to 52% in 2016.

It is worth pointing out that the Australian censuses have asked the question of religion but not a compulsory one, and given great laxity here. An individual may define their religion according to their cultural or family heritage, while he/she may not really believe in that religion. Therefore, it requires some caution in interpretation of the statistics, but it still can show us a general picture of the overall religious status in Australia.



Table 6.1: Religious status of the three types of Chinese – background population in Australia from 2006 to 2016

Year	Religious Status	Born in China	Speaking Chinese at home	Chinese ancestry
2006	No Religion	159,370 (52%)	214,836 (43%)	250,438 (37%)
	Christianity	64,048 (21%)	116,477 (23%)	212,911 (31%)
	Buddhism	53,871 (18%)	126,986 (25%)	157,319 (23%)
	Not stated and other religions	27,485 (9%)	42,170 (9%)	55,487 (9%)
2011	No Religion	247,204 (58%)	320,754 (49%)	376,874 (43%)
	Christianity	79,499 (19%)	142,615 (22%)	260,639 (30%)
	Buddhism	69,601 (16%)	146,742 (23%)	183,163 (21%)
	Not stated and other religions	28,521 (7%)	41,216 (6%)	54,381 (6%)
2016*	Secular Beliefs and No Religion	448,218 (69%)	571,748 (62%)	670,697 (54%)
	Christianity	92,353 (14%)	163,718 (18%)	306,040 (25%)
	Buddhism	72,388 (11%)	143,418 (15%)	189,519 (15%)
	Not stated and other religions	32,927 (6%)	49,060 (5%)	66,644 (6%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Note *: In the 2016 Census, the criteria for no religion are changed to include secular beliefs and other spiritual beliefs in addition to no religion.

Table 6.1 reports the number and percentage of the three types of Chinese – background population’s top religious acclamations in the 2006, 2011 and 2016 censuses. No religion has been the top religious status among all the three types of Chinese – background population in Australia, and the trend is that more and more Chinese – back-

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ground population in Australia claim that they have no religion, which is in line with the general trend in Australia. It is not surprising that no religion has the largest number and proportion among the population with the Chinese backgrounds as most people from mainland China do not have any religion, especially those born after 1949 when the Communist Party believing in atheism started to rule the country.

Following the top category of population without any religion, Christianity has become the top religion among the population born in China or with Chinese ancestry in Australia since 2006, but among those speaking Chinese at home in Australia only in 2016. Christianity might be first brought into China as early as in Tang dynasty (AD 635)^①, but has been relatively widely spread among the Chinese people in the 19th century by the Protestant missionaries, represented by Robert Morrison (1782—1834) and Hudson Taylor (1832—1905). According to Table 6.1, the numbers of all the three types of Chinese – background Christians in Australia increased over the period from 2006 to 2016 census, but their proportions decreased over that period. This is because the growth rate of Chinese – background Christians was not as fast as that of total Chinese – background migrants or non – religious ones. Another interesting finding is that born – in – China population in Australia or the first – generation Chinese Australian migrants had a higher percentage without any religion than those speaking Chinese languages at home and with Chinese ancestry, while they had a lower percentage in those having claimed Christianity than the rest two in all the three censuses. It indicates that a great number of Chinese – background population or migrants in Australia have accepted Christianity after they come to Australia.

Buddhism, which was first introduced into China around 300 B. C. , has had a great impact on the Chinese people, commonly recognised as one of the top religions in China. According to Table 6.1, Buddhism was the second largest self – claimed religion among the Chinese – background population in Australia. The Chinese – background population in Australia believing in Buddhism has been relatively stable over the period from 2006 to 2016 in terms of the total absolute number. However, in fact, its proportions for all the three types of Chinese – background population have been decreasing o-

① For more details, please refer to https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_in_China (accessed on 17 Oct. 2017).



ver time.

6.3 Other Social Aspects

In addition to their involvement in Australian political and religious life, Chinese communities have also become more and more actively involved in almost all other social aspects in Australia, such as cultural and community activities. Although the censuses did not ask those related questions, we still can notice their development from various sources.

Multiculturalism has been adopted as a major social policy in Australia since 1973. Under this policy orientation, Chinese community has been maintaining and promoting their languages and cultures within the Australian mainstream institutions. With more and more Chinese migrated to Australia, Chinese has become the second largest languages spoken in Australia. Especially after China has become the largest trading partner with Australia since 2005, Chinese language has become one of the most popular and even a compulsory foreign language course taught in Australian schools. It was estimated that a total of 90,000 students in Australian primary and secondary school were learning Chinese in 2012.^① There are also many community Chinese language schools in Australia, teaching Chinese languages and cultures to local Chinese – background or non – Chinese – background children and adults.

With more and more cultural exchange activities between Australia and China, more and more Chinese cultures have been accepted and appreciated by local Australians, such as Chinese traditional medicine, acupuncture, and Chinese martial arts. More and more Chinese medias have emerged in Australia, including newspapers, websites, TV, and radio programs, preserving and publicising the essence of Chinese traditional culture to the Australian public. Another important place to develop Chinese culture and unite Chinese – background population in Australia is mass organisations, such as China All Workers Association. Those organisations have been helpful to new immigrants and can even play more positive roles. With more well – educated Chinese – background immigrants joining those organisations, they are expected to play a more and

^① Orton, J. et al. 2012. Profiles of Chinese Language Programs in Victoria Schools, http://education.unimelb.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/631691/CTTC_profiles_report.pdf (accessed on 19 Oct. 2017).

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more important role in better representing the immigrants' interests in increasing their social status.

One indicator from the censuses in 2006, 2011 and 2016 may show the participation of Chinese – background population in Australia in organisational or community activities is the number of volunteer in unpaid work for an organisation or group. Table 6.2 reports the number and percentage of the three types of Chinese – background population in Australia participating in any voluntary organisational work or not. As we can see, there were about 10 to 12 per cent of all three types of Chinese – background population in Australia has been working in an organisation or group as a volunteer over the period of 2006—2016. It has been relatively stable in percentage, although the absolute number has been increasing over the years as the total Chinese immigrants have increased. It indicates that Chinese immigrants also care about the development of non – profit organisations and have been willing to volunteer to work for others' welfare.

Table 6.2: Voluntary work for an organisation by the three types of Chinese – background population in Australia from 2006 to 2016

Year	Religious Status	Born in China	Speaking Chinese at home	Chinese ancestry
2006	Not a volunteer	246,919 (81%)	359,499 (72%)	465,083 (69%)
	Volunteer	33,764 (11%)	51,248 (10%)	75,742 (11%)
	Not stated and Not applicable	24,090 (8%)	89,728 (18%)	135,326 (20%)
2011	Not a volunteer	349,452 (82%)	480,466 (74%)	612,234 (70%)
	Volunteer	47,211 (11%)	72,065 (11%)	104,507 (12%)
	Not stated and Not applicable	28,159 (7%)	98,796 (15%)	158,317 (18%)
2016	Not a volunteer	534,181 (83%)	685,111 (74%)	858,923 (70%)
	Volunteer	77,334 (12%)	114,733 (12%)	164,846 (13%)
	Not stated and Not applicable	34,365 (5%)	128,099 (14%)	209,125 (17%)

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).



It is also noted that with fast growth of Chinese – background population in Australia and their social and cultural influence on the Australian society, there have also been some tensions in Australian society, such as racism, prejudice, and discrimination. Sometimes, negative and controversial news regarding China and Chinese in Australia may also cause such attitudes among some Australians. For example, these controversies may range from politically sensitive topics related to bilateral relations to the crowding effects of Chinese investment on real estate market on local Australians. Moreover, it is also important for Chinese immigrants to make self – improvements and create a good reputation for all the Chinese – background population in Australia.

In short, Chinese immigrants have been involved more widely and deeply in all walks of life in Australia and played a more and more important and positive role in the social development of Australian affairs.

PART 2: POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Chapter 7: Policy Implications and Suggestions

In this Chapter we summarise the key findings in the previous chapters, compare the results with the average or middle class level in Australia, and discuss the policy implications and suggestions.

7.1 Summary of Key Findings

As the population with Chinese background in Australia have increased dramatically in the last half century, especially after 1990s, it is important to have a comprehensive and updated understanding on their development status in Australia. The total population with Chinese ancestry in Australia have increased to 1.23 million, accounting for about 5% of the total population in the Australian 2016 Census, and Chinese has become the second largest spoken language in Australia next to English, while China has ranked the third largest foreign birth country for the Australian population, next to the United Kingdom and New Zealand.

The Chinese – background population in Australia in general are younger than the

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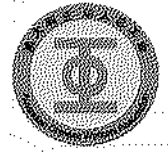
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overall Australian population age structure, with about 80% falling in the labour force age range compared with about 65% of the overall Australians aged between 15 and 64. The female to male gender ratio for Chinese community in Australia has gone through a dramatic change from almost non - female migrants in the early days before 1960s to about 1.2 of the female - male ratio since 2000s, indicating that Australia might be a more attractive place for female Chinese - background migrants than their male counterparts. About 50% of the total Chinese - background population in Australia are married, while among those lone parents, female lone parents are 6 times higher than male ones, indicating that female are more willing to take care of their children by themselves after their divorce.

The Chinese - background population in Australia have been concentrating in the major state capital areas, such as Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. More than 90% of the total Chinese - background population have been living the eight greater capital areas in Australia, which is much higher than the overall 67% for the total Australia population. With the increase of Chinese migrants, the Chinese - background population further dispersed into more suburbs in the greater capital areas. The number of suburbs with more than 1,000 Chinese - background population in Australia have increased rapidly after 2006. In the 2016 Australian Census, there are 140 suburbs with more than 1,000 population born in China, 206 suburbs with more than 1,000 population speaking Chinese at home, and 282 suburbs with more than 1,000 population having at least one Chinese ancestry.

Chinese - background population in Australia overall have a higher education level. About half of them have at least a certificate, and about 1/3 hold at least a Bachelor degree, which is similar to the overall Australian level. Born - in - China population, who are likely to be the first - generation migrants to Australia, have a relatively higher education level than those speaking Chinese at home or with at least a Chinese ancestry. The most popular field of study for all 3 types Chinese - background population in Australia has been management and commerce, which includes accounting, followed by engineering and IT. About 5 - 7% of Chinese - background population in Australia do not speak English at all, and about 20% do not speak English well.

About half of the Chinese - background population in Australia are employed, a



mong whom most work in private sector. Among those employed Chinese – background population in Australia, about half of them work full time. The top five industries in which most Chinese – background population work in Australia are accommodation and food services, retail trade, manufacturing, health care and social assistance, and professional, scientific and technical services. The most popular occupations for Chinese – background population in Australia are professionals, clerical and administrative workers, managers, technicians and trade workers, community and personal service workers, sales workers and labourers. The median individual weekly income for the born – in – China population in Australia is lower than that for all overseas – born or all Australia – born population in Australia.

Chinese Australians have remained low represented in Australian politics considering their eligible size, roughly about 4% of total Australian citizens with voting rights having claimed Chinese ancestry. Most born – in – China population in Australia do not have any religion, while Christianity and Buddhism are the top two religions for Chinese – background population in Australia. The Chinese – background population have been more and more positively involved in all kinds of social activities in Australia, contributing to the multicultural development in Australia.

Based on the above key findings, next we are going to discuss some policy implications and suggestions.

7.2 A “Thousand – Chinese Community” Initiative

There were about 280 suburbs with more than 1,000 populations claiming a Chinese ancestry, 200 suburbs with more than 1,000 populations speaking Chinese language at home, and 140 suburbs with more than 1,000 populations born in China in the 2016 Australian Census. By identifying those “Thousand – Chinese” suburbs, we can concentrate our efforts in promoting Chinese community fairs in those suburbs first, such as encouraging more Chinese – background Australians to participate in council elections and community affairs, and establishing Chinese associations to provide language training and services, legal and employment services, and other social advice so as to help them assimilate into Australian society more easily.

More specifically, this “Thousand – Chinese Community” initiative can be adopted

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as a pilot project by trial in a few condition – mature suburbs first by focusing on improving Chinese Australians’ education, employment and public involvement status in Australia so as to further promote the development of Chinese community in Australia. It is important to encourage the development of Chinese – related non – profit organisation in Australia so as to promote the development of Chinese community in Australia. With these non – profit organisations, such as churches and associations, people are organised and activities can be promoted. Next, we will talk about those aspects more in details.

7.3 Education

The report has revealed several key progresses Chinese community in Australia has made in improving the education status of all Chinese – background population in Australia. These includes; 1. Enrolments in all education levels for the Chinese – background population have increased in line with population growth for the past 15 years; 2. Enrolment in postgraduate education is especially noticeable as more and more Chinese – background population obtain postgraduate degrees in hope to find better jobs; 3. The structure of education for Chinese – background population is less evenly distributed compared to all – Australia as they concentrate on several popular majors (business, engineering and IT, etc.) but are still inactive in Law, Medical research, Creative arts, etc. 4. English language level for Chinese – background population, although improved from the last 15 years as a community, still not satisfying the growing needs and becomes a major obstacle for improving overall Chinese – background population living standards in Australia.

In light of the above, in this section we propose several initiatives to improve the education status (or improve education efficiency) for Chinese – background population. We base our discussions on the proposed “Thousand – Chinese Community” (TCC) framework.

7.3.1 English training

English ability is one of the most important abilities for immigrants in Australia. We propose to establish a set of English training facilitations based on the “Thousand – Chinese Community” framework discussed above. The aim for this initiative is to help Chinese to improve English ability with efficient time and cost.



Depending on the current English ability and needs of Chinese, we propose to provide English training at two different levels, Basic level (English for daily life) and professional level (English for job related activities). The basic level training is mainly designed for new immigrants who have not been systematically exposed to English speaking environments and the training is aimed to help them quickly grasp some key communication skills, facilitating their daily life for general communication purposes. The professional level will be targeting Chinese who have certain level of English ability and who are looking at attending Australian work force to pursue a professional life. As a result, in this professional level, more attention will be paid to help Chinese succeed in job interview, in business writing, in presentation, and in vocabulary building.

The “Thousand – Chinese Community” can have separated teams to take care either of the two training levels, designing their own plans, focusing on things such as “textbook”, “usual activities”, and “lecturing and tutoring”, etc. The management and marketing of the programs, however, can be centralized.

The other possible activity that can be carried out to improve Chinese English ability is to organise or promote social activities based on the “Thousand – Chinese Community” to join Chinese with local Australian in gathering, festivals, balls, and other functions. This will greatly enhance Chinese’s exposure to Australian culture, also great for their language learning.

The “Thousand – Chinese Community” also can provide information services on activities or opportunities which can help Chinese to improve their English to the whole Chinese community in Australia. This can be part of the grand information service scheme at whole Chinese community level.

7.3.2 Chinese learning

In addition to “English training” for new immigrants, the TCC can also provide Chinese learning facilitation and service mainly to people who have Chinese relation but had not been exposed much to Chinese culture and language environment. They can be decedents for Chinese immigrants, can be spouse for Chinese, and can be people living in the TCC who want to learn more about Chinese languages. It can have basic level and advance level with similar settings as the English training initiative discussed above. This plan can provide additional support for Chinese – background families and benefit

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local non – Chinese – background population who are interested in learning Chinese language and culture.

7.3.3 Training for work related skills

Apart from English languages, we propose to provide work – related skills training for Chinese community based on the TCC. There will be several stages of this proposed training, in line with the stages in working life. To be specific, we propose to provide the following training to Chinese based on the TCC:

A. Interview skills

Specific courses should be designed to cover the key skills required to succeed in the job interview and be provided to Chinese immigrants who are seeking working opportunities. Such training can be provided mainly in the “mocking – interview” fashion with some coursework beforehand. The aim for this training is to provide Chinese with real scenario of an Australian job interview so that every detailed skill needed for a success will be practiced and evaluated before the job seekers are entering a real interview room.

B. Basic computer skills

The TCC can also provide training for basic computer skills such as “Word”, “Excel” and other Office software, so that trainee can be equipped with certain computer skills, which can help them in their pursue for job opportunities. And depending on the specific content of the training, the TCC can consider recovering the cost to a certain degree.

C. Specific Job – related skills

The education background for most of Chinese immigrants is very good and for the past 10 years the education levels of the Chinese immigrants has been increasing on a timely basis. This provides very good foundation for further working skills training. But such practical working skills are very specific rendering it not possible to provide tailored training for individuals based on limited resources of the TCC. To circumvent this, we propose to design the training courses based on existing businesses that the TCC can get in touch with and provide specific training for those skills required for those businesses. At least two advantages from this; 1. The TCC has the facilitation to get in touch with some businesses and will be able to know best what skills are needed for those busines-



ses, and this provides authentic content for working skill training, gaining efficiency; 2. Since the training is tailored, the trainee will find it easier to find a related job afterward, making the training highly valuable and relevant.

D. A human resource platform

Depending on the content and program design, the training can take a cost – recovery approach and make it a non – profit driven business. But we also propose to have some working skill related training through purely information basis by establishing an HR (Human Resource) facilitation platform. Such platform will collect HR information from registered Chinese and provide job related information to the registered. It will also connect the employers with the Chinese job seekers and provide guidance to registered Chinese on job seeking.

7.3.4 Scholarships

Chinese – background population have a tradition for valuing scholarly excellence and we propose for the TCC to continue with that tradition. We have so many excellent Chinese who made their fame across disciplines of Australian lives and it is very good for the TCC to acknowledge and advocate that. We therefore propose the TCC to establish certain kind and number of scholarships to reward Chinese within their community. This can be for specific groups such as young students, or most active community service persons, etc. . The TCC will need to establish a panel or committee for this work. The committee will be responsible for designing such scholarship, obtain the funding (mainly sponsoring businesses), and organise the panel who provide unbiased judgement on the applicants/candidates. The scholarship can be at multiple levels and the awards can vary from time to time. There can also be major awards at higher levels (State, National) depending on needs and feasibility. The initial range for this scholarship shall be limited to Chinese and their families, but it can be (probably will) extended to all Australian who are eligible to apply.

At least several benefits from this initiative; First, the TCC will gain more popularity with more people pay their attention to it; Second, scholarly/activities excellence will be recognized and example being set up for younger generation; Third, businesses gain by sponsoring this, both inside and outside the TCC.

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7.4 Employment and Income

In our statistical analysis in the report, Chinese income and employment status have changed greatly in the past 15 years. This is the result from combination effect from increased population and elevated education status of Chinese. It also benefited from the continuous prosperity of the Australian economy in the past 15 years. However, with regard to establishing Chinese community same as the typical Australian Mid – class, there is still need to be improved. We propose several initiatives in this section to support this goal.

7.4.1 Chinese employment and income status compared with Australian Mid – class

Before the proposed initiatives are discussed, let’s look at some figures for comparison between current Chinese community status and Australian Mid – class in term of employment and income status. Table 7.1 provides comparison for working hour group distribution. The statistics are very similar across census years in Table 7.1, indicating relative stability of the absolute proportions. Relatively, Chinese have more people working in shorter working hour groups but less in the longer working hour groups (full – time or over time). This partly suggests current participation level for employment is still lower for Chinese than the Australian Mid – class. However, Chinese show less “Unemployed” group members, compared to Australian average in the same period. In both groups, more than half group member did not specify their weekly working hours.

Table 7.1: Percentage of working – hour groups for Chinese vs All Australia, 2006—2016

	2006		2011		2016	
	Chinese ancestry	All – Australia	Chinese ancestry	All – Australia	Chinese ancestry	All – Australia
None	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%
1 – 39 hrs	24%	21%	26%	23%	27%	24%
40 hrs +	20%	22%	20%	21%	21%	22%
N/A	55%	55%	53%	54%	51%	52%

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).



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Table 7.2 provides comparison between Chinese – background population income group distributions with overall Australia. It's clear that average weekly income of the Chinese – background population in Australia is still below the Australian average. Chinese – background population in Australia have a much higher zero – income percentage than the Australian overall, which might not be accurate as a similar much higher percentage of Australian who did not report their income. More Chinese are appearing in the low income groups (1 – 599 \$) (although the gap has reduced from 2006 to 2016), and less appearing in the relative higher income groups (600 \$ plus). However, the 2016 and 2011 censuses show a much better picture than 2006 for Chinese – background population in general, indicating the average income of Chinese community in Australia is moving more and more toward the Australian average.

Table 7.2: Percentage of income groups for Chinese vs All Australia, 2006—2016

	2006		2011		2016	
Nil Income	18%	5%	20%	6%	19%	6%
1 – 599 \$	41%	38%	32%	32%	31%	30%
600 – 1599 \$	22%	24%	26%	26%	28%	29%
1600 \$ +	4%	5%	8%	10%	9%	11%
N/A	15%	27%	15%	26%	13%	24%

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Table 7.3 directly shows how the median/average income of Chinese – ancestry population in Australia measured up to the Australian overall. It's clear that average of Chinese – ancestry population in Australia still lags behind the Australian mid – class level, although the gap has been reducing with time. All these figures clearly suggest effort still need to be taken in order to realize the goal to establish Chinese community as typical Australian Mid – class, from the employment and income perspectives.

Table 7.3: Median and average income comparison for Chinese vs All Australia 2006—2016 (\$ /week)

	Chinese – ancestry	All Australia
2006		

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	Chinese – ancestry	All Australia
Median Income	450 – 500	650 – 700
Average Income	418	458
2011		
Median Income	650 – 700	800 – 900
Average Income	527	570
2016		
Median Income	750 – 800	900 – 1000
Average Income	668	706

Source: Census data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Note: The median and average income data are based on census data from ABS. Chinese were identified by having Chinese ancestry. The average income were calculated by combining incomes from each level and divided by total related populations.

7.4.2 Information service (on human resources management)

Based on what discussed above, the TCC might help to realize the improvement goal of Chinese' employment and income status through a proposed information service to its community members on HR and related issues. Such platform can be either non – profit driven or profit driven, depending on the feasibility. Such platform will collect HR information of its community members and establish the connection between Chinese and businesses, to help boost Chinese employment in mainly local areas. Such platform might benefit from existing Australian government programs and schemes for supporting employment at community level. The advantages for such platform include lower cost achieved by removing communication barriers in culture and language with candidates, and more transparency achieved through simpler business model and lighter business setting.

7.4.3 Work – related training and service

This has been discussed in previous section when we discuss proposal for education. Such training shall aim to make Chinese workers more competitive in workforce.

A. Apprenticeship and other real job opportunities

We propose the TCC establish some kind of apprenticeship for community Chinese



people based on the TCC's connections with Chinese businesses and local businesses. The apprenticeship can benefit both Chinese/local businesses and the Chinese apprentices. The aim for this initiative is to create more job opportunities for Chinese through direct connecting employer and employee. Business can submit their application for participating in such program on an on – going basis and the TCC program committee can run an on – going pool of qualified candidates for apprenticeship. Such program will also benefit from existing Australian government programs in terms of information and supports.

B. Job opportunities created by developing the TCC service platforms

The “Thousand – Chinese – Community” or the TCC is the core initiative we propose based on the current report. According to our calculations, conservatively speaking, there are more than 100 Australian suburbs which have its Chinese population over 1000. This provided very solid base for the TCC initiative. Should the TCC initiative be implemented, there are large amount of job opportunities created ranging from construction, equipment service, IT support, data management, communications, activities organising, logistics and many others. These new opportunities will be favouring Chinese community and surely will boost Chinese employment in Australia. The on – going development of the TCC platform will also create continuous opportunities for employment.

C. Attracting new investments and facilitating new business

Based on the TCC, Chinese community should engage in activities to attract more investments from all sources (including from overseas) to invest in Australia and especially for Chinese businesses, matching business interests, bridging the investment needs. The TCC can also facilitate the start – up of the new business based on the TCC's broad information and industry connections. All of these will help to build up the Chinese economic status and contribute to the development for Chinese community toward the mid – class status in Australian society.

7.5 Public Involvement

According to our report, political areas of social life are where Chinese community is not very actively participated in. There is historical reason for this and there are also language ability issue, career preference and other reasons leading to this. However, positive progresses have also been made for the past decade in changing this toward more

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political involvement for Chinese. For example, the number of government employees in Chinese community has been increasing at all government levels (National, State, Local), and there are Chinese (and Chinese decedents) now at top ranking levels of government officials (for example, Senator Penny Wong, the current leader of opposition in the Senate). Elevated political status of Chinese will be critical for the future social life of Chinese in Australia with the current Chinese population in Australia accounting for 5% of the total Australian population.

Based on the TCC initiative we proposed from the current report, we recommend stimulating the political involvement for Chinese from the following perspectives;

7.5.1 Promoting participation of voting and election

Given the elections at all levels in Australia, Chinese community should be more active engaging in voting and providing candidate to run election. What the TCC can do is to provide more information (education) of the political system of Australia, the voting system, the rules of election, the voting and election methods, etc., to the community Chinese, making them more aware of the political system. This can be helped by obtaining Chinese language version of the flyers and booklets regarding the above information from Australian Election Commission and help distribute to the community and providing related consultation and services. The TCC can also consider calling for nomination of candidates for election from Chinese community, urging interested people to run for election on behalf of common Chinese interests. Certain related activities and services can be considered and arranged to realize these.

7.5.2 Supporting Chinese Australian's employment in the public sectors

There are more and more Chinese - background Australian population working for Australian government at all levels. The TCC can help to pool the information from the Chinese public servants in Australia and share this information with community Chinese who are interested in becoming a public servant in the future. The TCC can also help to make contact with the existing Chinese public workers for any job opportunity from the governments, and share this with the community in a timely fashion. Certain forums, seminars, presentations, and functions can also be arranged by the TCC to connect the current public servants and potential public workers, facilitating the job seeking in the public sectors.



7.5.3 Boosting Chinese' engagement in public welfare activities

The TCC can also help to host or organise more public welfare activities within its community such as charitable balls, donation, social meetings, etc. . Those activities can invite non – Chinese Australian to bridge the culture gap between Chinese and Australian, to enhance mutual understanding and to increase awareness of multiculturalism. Such activities can also help Chinese to improve their English and increase their self – recognition as part of Australian public life.

7.5.4 Promoting multiculturalism

China is well known for its abundant cultural heritage and long history. Australia society provides a very suitable stage for Chinese culture and heritage to be presented and included in the multiculturalism. Such inclusion means both preservation and development. On the one hand, Chinese culture and heritage should be preserved and kept to its authentic origin; on the other hand, Chinese culture will be developed by Chinese community in Australia to reflect the interactions with other cultures in Australia. What the TCC can do, is on both ends. The TCC can open a Chinese language school, aiming to improve Chinese language levels of the non – Chinese Australian as well as the descendants of Chinese immigrants. Certain community based cultural activities such as antique markets, food festival, heritage ceremonies, parades, etc. , can be organised on regular basis to promote Chinese culture. Activities such as Chinese carnival, sports games, contests, etc. , can also be considered to bring Chinese and non – Chinese together. The TCC can also help to promote understanding of Chinese cultures by organising activities such as movie festival, calligraphy and art exhibition, artistic contest, etc. . As symbols of Chinese heritages, 'Tai – Chi, Chinese Kung – Fu, and Ping – Pang can also be actively engaged to boost cultural exchange and Chinese confidence.

7.5.5 Promoting public town hall activities

Public town hall activities are usually adopted by western countries in fulfilling their democratic missions to engage in public discussions for current or incoming new policies from the government. It is one of the best ways to expose the new policy and seek public comments. What the TCC can do, is also to hold the town hall activities to boost Chinese understanding of the existing or incoming Australian policies. Such town hall meetings can be conducted in Chinese or in Chinese translation, to facilitate the broadest en-

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agement.

7.5.6 Focusing on Australia – China issues

The TCC shall always put Australia – China relationship and its issues as one of its main focuses as Chinese community will always have ties with both China and Australia. Chinese community has its connections with China by culture, by belief, and by blood. Chinese community at the same time has its connection to Australia in everyday activities by all means. As a result, the TCC should be actively engaging in increasing awareness of Australia – China related issues with its community members, so that they can benefit more from the insights of relationship between the two nations. TCC can also serve as a platform and bridge, connecting both Chinese and Australian policy makers, businesses, and talents, benefiting Chinese community in Australia.

7.5.7 Supporting and promoting free trade and investment of Chinese in Australia

Free trade has been proved to be beneficial to both countries in an overall sense. We have seen a lot of benefits for both countries gained from trading with each other. As China has become the top trading partner with Australia, it is important to further develop this relationship and continue to benefit from the enhanced trading relationship between the two countries. China has also increased investment in Australia especially in recent years, which brought and will bring a great more benefits and wealth to Australia, including new job opportunities.

7.5.8 Providing legal aid for Chinese community in Australia

As more and more Chinese –background population migrated to live in Australia, they have encountered many legal issues in Australia, such as low work payment, over –working time without payment, and rental cheating. It is hard for immigrants who do not speak English well to protect their legal rights in a foreign country. Therefore, it will be beneficial for Chinese community to gain some legal and translation support from some Chinese –background legal aid centres. Those centres can first be established in some most Chinese –populated areas. Those centres can be profit and non – profit in business according to the types of the clients.



7.5.9 Supporting and promoting aged care for Chinese community in Australia

It can be referred from this study that Chinese community in Australia, similar as all other ethnic groups and the general Australian population, is facing the aging problem as more and more Chinese are entering aging groups and are in need of aged cares in Australia. From the policy perspective, it is then necessary for the TCC to consider such situation and come up with feasible measures to deal with the problem. Aged persons in Chinese community are facing some common problems such as financial and medical service shortages. And additionally, they might have language and other communication problems which make them more vulnerable and in need of help. The TCC might consider acting as a bridge between the Chinese demands and various Australian aged – care services in improving the communications and quality of services. The TCC can also consider organising paid services to address various needs raised by community people relating to aged care. It is also possible to establish some kind of database or data networks which record demographic, health, and other data from the elders in the community, facilitating monitoring and management of the aging problems in Chinese community. Such initiatives will be job – creating and will be supported by both Chinese community and various Australian government bodies.

7.6 Conclusion

By examining the Australian census statistics, we have drawn a picture of the development of Chinese community in Australia characterised with their features on population growth, gender proportion change, age group structure, marriage and family status, spatial distribution, education, employment and income, political involvement, religious and social life. From the above analysis, we can see that Chinese community in Australia have been an important part in promoting the Australian social and economic development, significantly contributing to the Australian cultural development and rejuvenation. A set of policy suggestions have been raised to further strengthen the development of Chinese community in Australia in order to further promote Australian prosperity. In short, Chinese community is an important part of the Australian multiculturalism and will play a more and more important role in the future.

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第二部分 Survey Report

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Religious Life of the Chinese Community in Contemporary Australia

Yu Tao
Theo Stapleton

Abstract: Through a systematic investigation – the first attempt of this kind – into the recently released 2016 Australian census data, this report presents a comprehensive and up-to-date statistical picture of the religious landscape of the Chinese Community in contemporary Australia. Based on the empirical information revealed by the census data, this report points out the seemingly high level of secularity within the Chinese community in Australia. It also reveals that, whilst Christianity is the most common religion practiced by the Chinese community, the proportion of Chinese people in Australia who claim to be Christian is significantly lower than the general population, whereas the proportion of believers in Buddhism, Ancestor Veneration, Confucianism, and Taoism within the Chinese community is significantly higher than Australia's general population. Furthermore, this report shows that the religious profile of the Chinese community in Australia is relatively stable even when we use the three different categories of self-reported ancestry, languages spoken at home, or the birthplaces of parents to demarcate the community; however, while the general picture is fairly consistent, some differences in religious affiliation within these subgroups remain.

Keywords: Religious affiliation, Chinese community in Australia, Census.

Introduction

Religious institutions within a society do not only reflect the unique history and cul-

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ture of that place, but also have a profound impact on people within the society, both believers and non believers alike. In today's highly globalised world, the religious lives of migrant communities are increasingly important to this picture and have begun to demand our attention in new ways. This is particularly obvious in, and relevant to, multicultural societies such as contemporary Australia, where the emergence of religious plurality has been identified as one of the main characteristics of multiculturalism, which has in turn become a pillar of the Australian national identity (Bouma, 1995, Moran, 2011). The Australian federal, state, and local governments frequently treat religion as a matter deeply intertwined with cultural diversity and multiculturalism, features of contemporary Australia that they are determined to nurture and develop.^① Scholars from Australia and other countries have put considerable effort into investigating the historical background, contemporary reality, and ongoing changes within religious life in Australia's multicultural society (Burnley, 1998, Bouma, 1999a, Bouma, 1999b, Cahill, 2009).

However, while a noticeable amount of academic attention has been focused on how some religions, such as Islam (Gary et al., 2003), Mahikari, and Japanese Zen (Bouma et al., 2000), function in contemporary Australian society, to this date there lacks a comprehensive and up-to-date report which systematically assesses the religious life of the Chinese Community in contemporary Australia.^②

The Chinese community has been an important part of Australian society for a long time, and particularly in recent decades the size and significance of the Chinese commu-

① For example, the Australian Federal Government's Department of Social Services explicitly states the following message on the top of a webpage titled 'A Multicultural Australia' on its official website: 'All Australians share the benefits and responsibilities arising from the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of our society' (<https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-and-multicultural-affairs/programs-policy/a-multicultural-australia>, accessed on 22nd January 2018). In addition, the State Government of New South Wales legislated its *Charter of Principles for a Culturally Diverse Society* in 1993, clearly stating that they recognise religious diversity, along with cultural and linguistic diversities, as 'a valuable resource for the development of the State'.

② Australians share the benefits and responsibilities arising from the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of our society' (<https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-and-multicultural-affairs/programs-policy/a-multicultural-australia>, accessed on 22nd January 2018). In addition, the State Government of New South Wales legislated its *Charter of Principles for a Culturally Diverse Society* in 1993, clearly stating that they recognise religious diversity, along with cultural and linguistic diversities, as 'a valuable resource for the development of the State'.



nity has continued to grow. ① Members of the Chinese community have made remarkable contributions to various aspects of Australian society, including business, education, health, politics and cultural fields, to name a few. It is, therefore, impossible to paint a full picture of Australia's dynamic multicultural society without a systematic examination of the religious experience of the Chinese community. It is the disappointing absence of such rigorous research on the religious life of the Chinese community in Australia which this report seeks to remedy.

To bridge the aforementioned research gap, this report aims to contribute to the academic understanding of the Chinese community in Australia and their religious beliefs by answering the following questions:

(1) What is the religious profile of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia?

(2) In comparison with the general population's religious profile, what are the distinctive features, if any, of the Chinese community?

(3) Within the Chinese community in contemporary Australia, what are the differences among different subgroups regarding religious belief?

To answer these questions, this report presents the findings of a systematic investigation into the recently released 2016 Australian census data, providing a rigorous and up-to-date account of the religious profile of the Chinese community in Australia. Our findings show that members of the Chinese community are comparatively more willing to disclose their religious beliefs than the general population, with half as many Chinese respondents choosing not to answer the question regarding religious belief. While almost 30% of the general population can be described as secular, falling into the 'No Religion, so described' category, members of the Chinese community are far more likely to be in this category. While the Christian denominations are the most populous religious groups in both the Chinese community and the general population, the proportion of

① According to the 2016 census data, more than 1 in every 50 people who are current living in Australia was born in Mainland China, making Mainland China the fourth most common countries of birth after Australia, England and New Zealand. Moreover, in comparison to the information captured by the 2011 census data, the 2016 census data shows that the presentation of China - born Australian residents increased 50% during the 5 - year span between the two censuses. (For the source of the statistics presented here, please refer to <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsl/ml/2071.0>, accessed on 22nd January 2018).

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Christian belief among the Chinese community is significantly lower. Second to Christianity, Buddhism is the next most popular religion within the Chinese community, and although relatively few members affiliate with Chinese religions, the proportion is 10 to 12 times higher than the general population. We also used three differently defined cross sections of the Chinese community in Australia to gain further insight into the particular break down of religious belief within the community. On the whole, the three datasets returned similar results, making general observations about the Chinese community's religious profile possible. However, we also discovered significant and interesting differences as we broke down the data into smaller subsets.

To elaborate on these findings and explain their broader social and historical context, this report is organised into five sections. The first section offers a general introduction regarding the religious experience of overseas Chinese communities, highlighting the scarcity of systematic scholarly research into the religious belief of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia. The second section then gives more specific context about religious life in Australia, tracking some of the important trends from colonisation until the present day. This background understanding is essential for any study into a group's experience in Australia, and it is through this understanding of context that we are able to better analyse and assess the data in the census. The third section introduces the census data and specifies the operational definitions of the two essential concepts in this report—the 'Chinese community in contemporary Australia' on the one hand, and 'religion' on the other. Here we explain how relevant census questions were used to identify members of the Chinese community, and how we arrived at three operational definitions of the community. In defining the community, we also review the religious experience of the first wave of Chinese immigrants to Australia in the 19th century, tracking major trends to the modern day. In summarising the earliest records of Chinese people in Australia and highlighting important historical experiences of the Australian Chinese community, we attempt to demonstrate why using multiple different strategies to identify this community is preferable to settling for a one-dimension definition. The fourth section reports the key features of the religious lives of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia as revealed by the 2016 census data. We also discuss the similarities and differences in religious belief between different subgroups within the Chinese communi-



ty. The fifth section, which concludes the report, presents a summary of the main findings and a discussion on relevant theoretical and empirical issues that deserve further investigation.

Religious Experience of Overseas Chinese

Of the studies conducted on the modern Chinese diaspora and their religious experience, few focus on Australian case studies or statistics. That said, some of the trends and debates about other Western countries can still provide useful frameworks for us to better understand the religious life of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia. One such debate is over the reason for widespread conversion to Christianity amongst Chinese migrants, particularly towards evangelical Protestantism. As Fenggang Yang (1998) points out, “although the numerical significance of immigrant converts to conservative Protestantism is not yet clear, the theoretical importance of such conversions is beyond doubt”. One statistic which illustrates such a rise is that during the 1950s there were only 66 Chinese churches in the United States but now 32% of all Chinese in the US are Christians (Dart, 1997). There has been much debate over how this conversion process takes place, and we will focus here on two possibilities, the social and institutional explanations.

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Intuitively, religious groups (especially those looking to convert new members), provide social support, networks and the value of community for newcomers (Bouma, 2006). The Chinese Evangelical Church (CEC), beginning as a bible study group in 1948 in the Midwest of the United States, is a salient example of these institutional factors, which some argue 'must play an important role in converting Chinese immigrants to evangelical Protestantism.' (Zhang, 2006). By 1982, the group had taken on its current name, and now boasts three congregations with weekly attendance in the hundreds for each. This group organises camps and activities, where parents send their children, often so they can play with other Chinese friends, and in the process it is common for the children of non-religious immigrants to also join, sometimes resulting in conversion. With Cantonese, English and Mandarin services, CEC also offers activities and avenues for all age groups to get more involved with the Church. Other organisations like China Outreach Missionaries (COM), which is a parachurch organisation, have also been instrumental in the conversion of Chinese to Christianity in the United States (especially Chinese students). As Bouma (2006) points out, 'many tertiary students from China find social support and community involvement in Pentecostal Christian groups'. One potential Australian example of this phenomenon is a youth organisation called 'RICE (Renewal and Inter-Church Evangelism)', which would certainly be a fruitful object of more academic attention. These influential evangelical institutions, including mega churches, utilise the power of faith and Christianity to create welcoming, seeker sensitive communities, which at the very least does seem to facilitate the process of conversion.

However, others have argued that the influence of such institutional factors are overstated. Yang (1998), for example, argues that the so called 'Rice bowl Christians', who is motivated by the benefits they might receive from a community or network, does not adequately describe the situation of many migrant converts. According to him, there are many other avenues for Chinese immigrants to establish networks, and unlike the role the Church played for Koreans in meeting their community needs, the Chinese are not short of ways to connect with fellow Chinese migrants. Further, the notion that conversion can be seen as a form of assimilation is undermined by the fact that non-belief is perhaps just as accepted and representative of the local population in modern liberal



democracies. In addition, if assimilation was the goal, then it is strange that many of these Churches are so 'Chinese', both in terms of their congregation, leadership and language used in services. Chinese Christianity is certainly not a new phenomenon, and home grown evangelical protestant groups are gaining strength in China and abroad (Johnson, 2017). In fact, some Chinese expat religious communities are very connected with Christians in China, exchanging information over the internet (Poon and Cheong, 2009), at times benefiting from the more liberal management and regulation of information (religious documents) in the West. But the flow is now not only bilateral between China and other countries, but rather transnational, with North American Chinese Christians now beginning to conduct missionary efforts in Europe. All of this reveals Christianity 'to be a means by which these transnationals create a transnational identity that appeals to them' (Huang and Hsiao, 2015), rather than just as an attempt to assimilate or network.

The social context of migration is also posited as one alternative explanation for the conversion or 'rebirth' experience of many Chinese migrants. After 1949, particularly in places like Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia, there was 'unprecedented openness toward Christian proselytisation among people who had fled the wars and Chinese Communists' (Yang, 1998). Foreign thought and religion has always received a mixed reception in China. To see this one need look no further than the vast difference between the isolationist approach of the Han Dynasty, as contrasted with the cosmopolitan and international melting pot of ideas which was the Tang Dynasty. However, due in no small part to the legacy of the 1919 May 4th Movement, and the subsequent success of Marxist ideology in China's second revolution of the 20th century, the stigma around foreignness was becoming less significant in the minds of Chinese people (Yang, 1998). Others have pointed out that conversion experiences are often coupled with personal crisis, or hardship (Lofland and Stark, 1965), which certainly matches the story of many Chinese immigrants during this time. The 20th century saw two regimes toppled by bloody revolutions, and the impact of these power struggles on the average Chinese person cannot be understated, not to mention the impact of the following few decades which included the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. Of those leaving China during this era, many had experienced intense loss, witnessed great tragedy and at least some

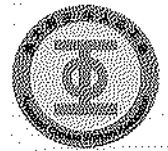
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were quite poor or uneducated. Religion, in offering hope and direction, can be attractive to those searching for meaning or explanation for seemingly unexplainable tragedy in their personal lives. In support of this view, the Chinese Christian Church (CCC) in Washington reports that 72% of its congregation were baptised at 18 years of age or older, and 58% were baptised at the CCC itself (Yang, 1998), which at the very least shows that many Chinese migrants are converts, rather than lifelong Christians.

Existing research also demonstrates that traditional Chinese religion and philosophy plays an important role in shaping the values and identities of overseas people of Chinese ethnicity, including Chinese Australians. These 'traditional' values broadly herald from three traditions, namely Buddhism (predominantly the Mahayana school), and the two indigenous traditions of Confucianism and Daoism. Much academic effort has been devoted to in depth study of these religions, both through analysis of their written works and more broadly in the way they have left their mark on Chinese culture and society (Yang, 2004). One point worth noting is that mutual exclusivity of belief within these traditions was not emphasised in China, and in that sense there is debate as to whether Western academics treat them too much like the monotheistic traditions they are familiar with. However, it is beyond doubt that these schools of thought are alive in some form within Chinese society, and impact on the lives of Chinese people in a multitude of ways, ranging from their interpersonal relations to healthcare choices. One study argued that Chinese women are more likely to view health as a 'multidimensional paradigm' which includes their 'body, psychology, social environment, and moral life', and that such views are best understood 'through the lens of the three main philosophies in Chinese culture: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.' (Kwok and Sullivan, 2007). This account is supported in other studies, where it is claimed that 'people from Chinese culture living in Australia and the United Kingdom follow Chinese culture and traditions in relation to their health beliefs' (Hsu et al., 2009). An Australian based study went further, claiming 'that the main beliefs of Chinese - Australian people about cancer are mostly based on supernatural explanations related to Taoist philosophies, such as retribution, Feng Shui, misfortune and bad luck.'

To successfully analyse the complexity and multifaceted nature of the religious lives of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia, we need comprehensive and con-



temporary data sets like the census. Our survey of the literature tells us that further empirical research should be conducted within the Australian setting. This study will use the recently released 2016 census data to reveal the most up-to-date facts about religious beliefs within the Chinese community, providing a more nuanced and detailed picture of not only the general patterns of the religious belief but also the similarities and differences among different subgroups within the Chinese community. However, to correctly interpret the facts revealed by the census data, one needs to first understand the broader social and historical context of religious life in Australia, both from a historical and contemporary perspective. We therefore find it fruitful to review the dynamics of Australian religious life both past and present, before moving on to analysing the details of the data collected through the 2016 Census.

Religious Belief in Australia: Past and Present

Religion has always played a key role in defining and shaping Australian society. The dynamics of the religious landscape do not only represent and reflect the general trends of Australian history, but religion itself is an essential part of the past and present, changing the very nature of society itself.

When considering the history of Australian religious belief, the more than 40,000 years (Bouma, 2006) of indigenous culture and religious activity must not go unmentioned. While in modern census data these traditions are not highly represented, the longevity of such belief systems make them significant, and any discussion of religious experience on this continent would be incomplete without paying homage to those traditions. The history of indigenous spirituality, including the dreaming/dreamtime, the ancient stories of creation and the deep connection to place and land are incredibly important to any picture of Australian religious life. However, the reality is that colonisation profoundly affected the religious landscape of this country. After British colonisation in 1788, the religious life of the average Australian changed dramatically. The colonies were predominantly British Protestant and brought with them an Anglican tradition which remains to this day, albeit not without some changes. Men like William Grant Broughton, who from 1829 to 1853 was leader of the Church in the Sydney colony, helped establish Australia as an Anglican stronghold (Lake, 2011). In the early years of the

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Sydney colony 'Governors Brisbane and then Darling were instructed to grant one – seventh of the colony's "waste and uncleared" land' (Lake, 2011) to the Church and Schools Corporation, Broughtons organisation. The Church then turned profit on the land, providing it with 'a permanent and independent income with which to fund its religious and educational activities' (Lake, 2011). However with an influx of prisoners to the penal colonies, Irish Catholics and other non – Anglicans grew in number. Then in 1836, the Church Act was passed, which democratised the distribution of funding to religious organisations. Governor Richard Bourke wanted to spread the money for Churches to not only the 'Church of England but also to the Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches, according to their number of adherents and demonstrated needs' (Lake, 2011). Even with reform of the biased funding allocation system, throughout the 19th century Catholicism remained 'a merely tolerated religion in a Protestant British government and society' (Chavura and Tregenza, 2015). Efforts by early religious leaders like Broughton to construct Churches and establish religion was able to give 'new meaning to particular sites and ensured that Anglicanism made a complex contribution to the colonial construction of place' (Lake, 2011). Australia's British colonial past, similar to other British colonies like Canada and New Zealand, has had a significant impact on the religious profile of the country in contemporary Australia.

Australian government immigration policy after federation in 1901 formalised the discriminatory colonial attitudes of the past, which came to be known as the *White Australia Policy*. This policy limited non – white immigration and even until after the second world war 'British immigrants were still... actively sought through government subsidized schemes' (Moran, 2011). Australia has 'long and strong xenophobic, racist and insular traditions' (Jupp, 2002) which were on clear display from colonisation up until this period, not only towards non – white immigrants, but most damagingly in the treatment of local indigenous populations. In the 20th century the Australian government, in attempts to assimilate the indigenous population, dispossessed families of their children, and inflicted great damage on the people and cultures who are the original custodians of the land. For indigenous Australians, activism in the 1960s led to some progress, like the 1967 referendum which counted them as citizens in their own land, the 1975 *Racial Discrimination Act*, and then the ground – breaking *Mabo* case of 1992 which overturned the legal principle of *terra nullius*, establishing indigenous land rights through common

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law. However, this discrimination, which continued into the late 20th century, cast a long shadow and much structural inequality remains. This is evidenced by the 1987 Royal Commission into Aboriginal deaths in custody, which lasting 10 years, investigated police misconduct in the treatment of Indigenous Australians, giving 330 recommendations for improvements. While treatment of indigenous people remains a persistent problem, the White Australia Policy was gradually dismantled in the second half of the 20th century, and multiculturalism was slowly embraced.

In terms of the religious profile of a country, flows of immigration are key drivers of change. New immigrants introduce both new religions and new potential converts. The increasingly liberal immigration policies of the latter 20th century created a more culturally and religiously diverse Australia (Douma, 2006). The first serious number of non-British immigrants taken during the three decades after the second world war were largely from 'Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Greece, Turkey' (Jupp, 2002). Throughout the 1960s very few Asian immigrants were taken (Gwenda, 2005), and it was not until Vietnamese immigrants were accepted after the Vietnam/American War that Australia's Asian population saw its first increase in the 20th century (Viviani, 1996). As elaborated on later, the first mass immigration from Asia was during the gold rush of the 1850s, which due to factors like British control of Hong Kong hastening the opening up of China, tough circumstances in Southern China and the discovery of gold, saw a rapid increase in the numbers of Chinese immigrants. However, Asian immigration to Australia was short lived and while some Chinese immigrants managed to stay, most of the Chinese community had been assimilated or kicked out by the 20th century. However, over the second half of the 20th century Australia became a truly multicultural nation. The high rate of diversification of the Australian population is evidenced by an estimation that 60% of Australians had mixed ethnic ancestry by the 1990s (Price, 1999).

In 1989, the Hawke Government rolled out the *National Agenda for Multicultural Australia*, which was an attempt at creating a more nuanced, multicultural, and diverse national identity. In the process of creating a more inclusive modern Australia, national narratives moved away from the Anglo-centric "racial myths fused with myths of hardy, courageous, stoic, tenacious, and individualistic pioneers who (rather than politicians, governors, and government officials) settled the land and forged the nation" (Moran,

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2011). The ANZAC spirit, propagated through military stories like that of Gallipoli and Kokoda trail campaign, have been criticised for their emphasis on exclusively masculine concepts of mateship and their racially homogenous hue (Lake et al., 2010). While contemporary Australia is a completely different place to Australia both 50 and 100 years ago, it is only with an understanding of the past that one can properly understand the significance of present day trends.

For research into religious belief in contemporary Australia, Gary Bouma's (2006) seminal book *Australian Soul* is essential reading. He documents the main trends using census data, with the 2006 census being the most recent available to him at the time of publication. This report will have the benefit of data from the 2016 census, which was unavailable to Bouma at the time of writing. Among other significant contributions to the literature, he discusses trends within Christianity, including the decline of Protestantism, the rise of megachurches, a decline in church attendance, and the counterbalancing secularisation of Australian society. Perhaps most importantly he also forwards his own argument that Australian religious expression, while not as loud and proud as American religion, remains an important phenomena in Australian society (Bouma, 2006). His book offers a detailed depiction of the 'shyness' and 'muted manner' (Wade, 2016) of public expressions of faith in Australia, described aptly as a 'whisper in the mind and a shy hope in the heart' (Bouma, 2006).

To this day just over half of the Australian population identify as Christian, with the most numerous denomination being Catholicism at 22.61%, followed by Anglicanism at 13.25% of the entire population according to the 2016 census. Many of the most important trends in contemporary Australian religious life revolve around changes within the Christian faith. From 1966 to 1991 the percentage of Catholics stayed relatively stable from 26.3% to 27.3%, while those identifying as members of the Anglican Church dropped from 33.6% to just 23.9% in the same time frame (Bean, 1999). A full analysis of the latest census data and the progress of these trends will be conducted in the next section. However aside from census data, surveys which specifically track church attendance rates can be useful in helping us understand in more detail the changes people's religious engagement. Between 1967 and 1993 the percentage of people who attended church once a week dropped from 25% to 16%, once a month attendees halved from 12% to 6%, those who went several times a year dropped from 25% to 15% and



those who never attended church went from 17% to 36% of the population (Bean, 1999). From the early 80s until the first few years of the new millennium Church attendance numbers reportedly halved again (Evans and Kelley, 2004). This is an important statistic because the way someone answers a census question about religious identity does not capture their level of commitment, or involvement, which is an essential indicator to helping us understand the true state of the religious landscape in Australia. These Church attendance statistics give us a strong indication that there is a decline, both in raw numbers of believers, but also in levels of engagement.

However, there are also counterbalancing trends, with the rise of Megachurches in suburbs and rural areas breathing new life into the Christian community, particularly by attracting large numbers of young members. Coinciding with the decline in traditional Protestant denominations like Anglicanism, 'since the late 1990s, the most rapidly growing Protestant church in Australia has been the Assemblies of God (AOG)' (Connell, 2005), which paved the way for the most well-known of these Churches, the Hillsong Church. This new model, which uses popular music, modern technology and a seeker sensitive disposition, has succeeded in creating a "total institution" (Hughes, 2013), 'invoking a logic of perpetual self-development that is imbued with ever greater resonance as the purposes of the devotee and the Church become synonymous' (Wade, 2016). Another related trend is the so called rise of spirituality (Bouma, 2006), reflected by the increasing number of people feeling that their religious belief was "not adequately described" by existing options, and opting instead to write in their own answer. In 1996 54,000 or 0.31% of the population fell into this category, however by 2001 that group grew to 352,000, accounting for around 1.88% of population (Bouma, 2006). Of people who answered in this way, it is important to note that 71,000 of them wrote in Jedi, or some answer pertaining to the Star Wars movies. While some have made the argument that this reflects a genuine spiritual belief (Bouma, 2006, Barron, 2002) it is highly likely that these answers are also reflective of a joking attitude of at least some respondents rather than a genuine spiritual engagement.

While the rise of the megachurch is a significant trend, it is no less significant than the secularisation of modern Australian society. Albeit the particularly dramatic rise of 'no religion' responses from '0.3% in 1947 to 6.7% in 1971' can in part be put down to a technicality in the census, in that it was only in 1971 that the answer 'no re-

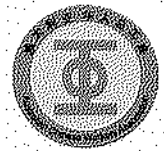
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ligion' was included as a response with a tick box (Bouma, 2006). However, the trend towards a more secular society is undeniably a real one, with the number of people selecting no religion increasing from 6.7% in 1971 to 15.5% in 2001 (Bean, 1999). Interestingly those moving into this category are 'largely members of the Anglican and MCPRU^① groups who were not taking up the religious identity of their parents' (Bouma, 2006). There remains debate as to what extent the increase in these numbers reflects a move towards a less religious society. Some argue that these statistics are overblown and that the drastic change which the numbers might suggest are not to be given too much weight (Evans and Kelley, 2004). Bouma points out that 'according to the 1983 Australian Values Study of "nones", 21.2% described themselves as "religious persons", 37.8% prayed "occasionally" or more frequently, while 16.2 per cent said that God was "quite" or "very" important in their lives' (Bouma, 2006). This argument suggests that while numbers of 'no religion' responses increase, underlying belief may still remain. Evidence against this argument would be the earlier discussion of decreasing church attendance rates. However, putting this debate aside, it is important to note that not all religious trends revolve around Christianity, and to truly understand Australia's religious landscape, its increasingly multicultural and diverse features must be given more attention.

The trend towards religious diversity is largely driven by Australia's increasingly multicultural society. According to Bouma(2006), 'There are now more Buddhists than Baptists, more Muslims than Lutherans, more Hindus than Jews and more than twice as many Sikhs as Quakers'. While much of this can be put down to immigration, conversion also has contributed in part to the growth of religions such as Buddhism and Islam. Aside from conversion and immigration however, the fact that in 2001 these two religions had their own tick boxes in the census after they had risen to over 1% of the population could have contributed to their increase in numbers(Bouma, 2006). So, while immigration has certainly brought with it new energy for these belief systems, through the establishment of religious communities, the structure of the census also played a role by making it easier for people to declare their beliefs. The 2016 census data analysed in the next section further demonstrates that Australia has become a very religiously and cultur-

① MCPRU refers to the Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Reformed and Uniting Churches.



ally diverse country.

This report, by focusing on the Chinese Australian community, seeks to shed more light on the diversity of Australia's religious landscape, using the latest census data to give us up-to-date information on the status quo. In the next section, we will offer a more detailed introduction to the 2016 census data and our operational definitions of both the 'Chinese community in contemporary Australia' and 'religion'.

Data and Definitions

The 2016 Australian census provides a rich empirical dataset which makes an in-depth analysis of the religious profile of the Chinese community in Australia and its relevant subgroups possible. The census received responses from over 96% of Australian residents in 2016, offering comprehensive coverage of many important demographic, economic, and social features of contemporary Australia.^① The census provides a few key pieces of information which allows us to identify members of the Chinese community. This information pertains to one's ancestry, the birthplaces of one's parents, and the main language(s) spoken at home. The census data also includes information on respondent's religious belief, making it possible to single out the religious faiths and affiliations of any given subset of the population, including the Chinese community. Moreover, given its structural nature, the 2016 census data allows us to compare demographic features and religious information of the Chinese community and the major subgroups within this community, as well as between the Chinese community and the entire censused population. In the rest of this section, we first provide some background information on how the census data was collected and structured. We then decide on the operational definitions for the two most essential concepts in this report—the 'Chinese community in contemporary Australia' and 'religion', in accordance with the structure of the data in the census. We also report on the general demographic features of the Chinese community in Australia and the statistical features of the general community's religious belief across all states and territories.

① For more detailed information and explanation on the coverage of the 2016 census, please refer to the following statement on the official website of the Australian Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/home/ABS+Media+Statements+-+Senate+Inquiry+Opening+Statement> (accessed on 22nd January 2018).

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The 2016 Census

The Australian census, a nation-wide survey on the Australian population and their housing information, was first conducted over 100 years ago. The *Census and Statistics Act 1905*, which still exists today after numerous amendments, requires the Australian government to carry out a national census on a regular basis. It also provides relevant government agencies with the power to direct individuals and businesses to disclose the information which is sought. The first Australian census was held in 1911. Since then, the duty of designing and conducting the national census has been held by the Australian Bureau of Statistics and its predecessor the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, which was established under the *Census and Statistics Act* in 1905 and ceased functioning in 1974. Following the 1911 Census, subsequent national censuses of Australia were held in 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, and 1961. Since 1961, the census has been conducted every five years, and the 2016 Census was Australia's 17th national census. The census night conventionally falls on the second Tuesday of August. Following this convention, the 2016 census was held on the night of 9th August.

The aim of the Census, according to the official statement from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, is to 'accurately collect data on the key characteristics of people in Australia on Census night and the dwellings in which they live'.^① With a five-year budget of around \$470 million, the 2016 Census is the largest statistical collection undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The census form includes 51 questions relating to the characteristics of individuals, plus an extra 9 questions relating to households. Altogether, these 60 questions reveal a substantial range of demographic indicators, including a population count, statistics on the sex, age, income, Indigenous status, country of birth, language, ancestry, family structure, education, occupation, and religious belief of all Australian residents.

In the 2016 Census, the Australian Bureau of Statistics introduced a new 'digital first' approach, moving the census online through their website and adding new login functionality, as an alternative to the traditional paper form. The 2016 Census had a re-

^① For more information, please refer to the following statement on the official website of the Australian Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/home/2016> (accessed on 24th January 2018).

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sponse rate of 95.1% , with 63% of people completing the Census online. According to the Report on the Quality of 2016 Census Data, which was produced by an independent assurance panel appointed by the Australian Statistician, ‘the changed approach led to a more efficient, effective and modern Census operation’.^①

Like all structured surveys, the census primarily focuses on straightforward and measurable information, and it really only provides cross – sectional data at the particular time of the census night. It is therefore unrealistic for the census to capture the more nuanced and complicated features of religious life, such as the meaning of being a religious practitioner or the details of interactions between members of a particular religious group. As we will further elaborate later in this section, the census also has a predefined categorisation system for religions. Although this system covers a great number of well-known religions and denominations, it is inevitable that the some of the detailed differences between certain religious traditions have been ignored or overseen during the coding process. The census form also only allows each person to identify one religious affiliation, and this may be problematic for people participating in the activities of multiple religions or religious organisations. Furthermore, the census lacks indicators which adequately describe the level of religiosity of respondents, and it is therefore impossible to distinguish between those very committed religious practitioners and those who only occasionally take part in religious activities. Despite these limitations, the census data remains one of the most valuable sources of empirical data for the analysis of religious belief within the Chinese community in contemporary Australia. This research is made possible by the census’ unparalleled comprehensive coverage and the substantial range of demographic information elucidated by the census.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics began releasing the census results through their website during April of 2017. The first comprehensive census dataset was released in June 2017, and a more detailed dataset, with information like occupation of respondents, was released in October 2017. For privacy concerns, publicly available census data accessible via the website of the Australian Bureau of Statistics appears in aggregated

^① This report is downloadable through the official website of the Australian Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/home/Independent+Assurance+Panel/%24File/CIAP+Report+on+the+quality+of+2016+Census+data.pdf> (accessed on 24th January 2018).

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forms. That is to say, although it is possible to calculate the demographic and religious features of a given geographic unit (such as a state or territory) or a given group of people (such as all of the Queensland residents whose fathers were born in China), it is not possible to precisely estimate the correlation between one's level of income and their religious affiliation, due to the lack of individual data. The statistical analysis provided in this report follows the structure of the census data, and hence is always in aggregated forms. The operational definitions of the two most essential concepts of this report—the 'Chinese community in contemporary Australia' and 'religion'—are also developed in accordance to the structure of the census data, and will be elaborated on in the following section.

Defining the Chinese Community in the Census

Chinese people have been a part of Australian society for over one and a half centuries, and perhaps understandably given the rich cultural and spiritual history of the Chinese people, religion has played a significant role in their lives. In order to define this community and their religious beliefs, it is important to have an understanding of both their history on this continent and how that has shaped the current status quo.

Chinese people were probably first in Australia, at least in any great number, during the time of the Australian gold rush in the 19th century. By the end of the 1850s there were at least 42,000 Chinese people living in Victoria. It was here where the majority of gold was being found and mined, eventually being given the nickname 'New Gold Mountain' after California was given the nickname 'Gold Mountain' just years before (Sheng, 2011).^① From 1851, when gold was discovered, until 1861, the population of Australia tripled, and 'according to Chinese official statistics, 10,000 Chinese left for Australasia during the 1801 to 1850 period, while the number increased to 60,000 from 1851 to 1875' (Sheng, 2011).

While the allure of gold was clearly a pull factor encouraging Chinese immigrants to make the journey to Australia, there were significant push factors, not the least of which was the Taiping rebellion between 1850 and 1864. Population and environmental factors

^① In fact, the official Chinese translation of the California city San Francisco, jiu jinshan (旧金山), literally means "Old Gold Mountain".



in China were also significant, with a twenty-fold increase in the population of Guangdong from the 18th to the 19th century coinciding with a mere 25% increase in cultivated land (Sheng, 2011). April 1852 saw a large flood which destroyed dams and irrigation systems, and in 1856 another flood washed away most of the crops in the Southern part of Guangdong (Sheng, 2011). Politically, during this period, ‘peasants comprised 60% of the population, but had access to only 9% of the arable land’ (Sheng, 2011), and ethnic conflicts between the Hakka people and the Cantonese were becoming more frequent. Large numbers of people left China at that point for more prosperous and safe conditions, and it is no surprise that the vast bulk of these people came from this region of Guangdong.

While these early settlers harboured aspirations for better lives and newfound wealth, the ‘Chinese in Australian society became dramatically marginalized’ (Sheng, 2011) as their numbers increased rapidly. The year of 1855 saw the first attempts by the Australian government to restrict Chinese immigration, and a 10 Pound tax on arrival lead many Chinese arriving at Ports in either Robe or Adelaide to make their way by foot all the way to Ballarat or Melbourne in Victoria (Willard, 1923). This was an incredibly dangerous journey, and of the 15,000 that set out, roughly a quarter of them died.^① It was only in 2017 that the Victorian Government officially apologised, and a pilgrimage walk of 550 km was conducted by descendants and those sympathetic to the cause, taking them around 20 days. This early Chinese immigration caused an influx of new religion in Australia, although due to relatively low levels of cultural exchange between the white community and the Chinese, these new religions were generally not adopted by the rest of the Australian community. Yet, due to high numbers of Chinese immigrants, ‘In 1857 there were 27,288 Buddhists in the Colony of Victoria, compared with 158,006 Anglicans’ (Bouma, 2006).

This early period of history is important in its own right, but there appears to be some disconnect, both culturally and temporally, between those who came during the gold rush period and the next influx of Chinese migrants. Given the increasingly xeno-

^① For more details, refer to the ABC podcast titled ‘Robe to Riches: a Chinese pilgrim route’, which is available through the following link; <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/spiritofthings/robe-to-riches;-a-chinese-pilgrim-route/8594210> (accessed on 30th January 2018).

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phobic and isolationist policy environment in 19th century Australia, Chinese immigration dwindled to a halt in the decades after the end of the gold rush (Willard, 1923). Anti-Chinese sentiments continued after Federation with the establishment of the White Australia Policy, further silencing the voice of the Chinese community during the first half of the 20th century. Although some members of the Chinese community are still able to date their ancestry back to the generation which arrived during the Australian gold rush, they had to keep a low profile until after the dismantling of the White Australia policy in the mid-20th century. New waves of Chinese immigrants began arriving in the 1970s—with the first ethnically Chinese war refugees coming from Vietnam and Cambodia, followed by the economic migrants from Hong Kong, and finally students and business people from Mainland China and Taiwan (Chapman, 2007, Ngan and Chan, 2012). Australia's higher education sector alone has attracted '1,076,000 Chinese students' from 1978 to 2006, of which 'only 275,000 have returned' (Cao, 2004), however the proportion returning to China is now increasing due to favourable economic conditions on the mainland.

The Chinese community in contemporary Australia consists of all aforementioned immigrants and their descendants, and it is in itself a highly diverse group. For example, whilst the young university graduates who recently decided to reside in Australia are likely to speak Chinese at home, some multi-generational Australian-born Chinese may not speak Chinese at all. Yet, despite the differences in the language that they speak at home, both the young university graduates and the multi-generational Australian-born Chinese are likely to submit the same answer when they are invited to identify their ancestry. Therefore, instead of arbitrarily choosing a single indicator to define the Chinese community in contemporary Australia, we feel it is necessary to identify members of this community through a variety of dimensions to capture its nuances.

The 2016 Census includes three types of information which make it possible for us to decide whether a person should be considered as a member of the Chinese community—those being ancestry, birthplace, and language. Each of these can be used as operational definitions of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia. In order to take a more comprehensive look at the religious life of the Chinese community, rather than concentrating on any single dimension, we defined the Chinese community through each of these three dimensions separately.



Firstly, Q18 of the Census asks for the ancestry of each person in a family, and requires the person to provide up to two answers. In reality, for people who provide two ancestries in the Census, it is impossible to know which one they consider as their primary ancestry. It is also possible that people who provide two ancestries did not intend to decide on an order of importance in the first place. Therefore, when the ancestry dimension is applied to identify the membership of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia, we use a variable named ANCP in the census data as our selection criteria. This variable allows us to select people who claim ancestry from the greater China region, and we consider these people as our operational population for the Chinese community in Australia when this community is defined by ancestry. In particular we report on those who identify at least one of their ancestors as Chinese or Chinese Asian.

Secondly, the Census Form also includes three questions that are related to birthplace. Q12 asks 'In which country was the person born', Q14 asks 'In which country is the person's father born', and Q15 asks 'In which country is the person's mother born'. To ensure accurate data, we focus on people whose parents were both born in the Greater China region, which includes the Chinese Mainland, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan. We did not simply look at one's own birthplace because we believe that the second generation of immigrants whose parents were both born in the Greater China region are likely to have cultural bonds with the birthplace of their parents to some extent, even though by their own birthplace alone they would not count as Chinese. We also excluded people who have only one parent born in the Greater China region. We do not believe that these people necessarily have less of a link with the Greater China region or the Chinese community in Australia, but including them would have introduced the risk that our operational population defined by birthplace is too similar to that defined by ancestry.

Finally, the Census Form includes two questions related to language. Q17 asks how well the person speaks English, but the answer to this question is not directly relevant to whether a person should be recognised as a member of the Chinese community. We therefore focus on Q16, which asks respondents who speak a language other than English at home to identify the non-English language that they speak the most frequently at home. When the language criterion is applied to demarcate the Chinese community in contemporary Australia, we include all of the people who indicate that Chinese is their

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most frequently spoken non-English language at home. Within this operational population, we include people who report that they speak Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin, Wu, Min Nan, and other Chinese dialects which are not further specified in the census data.

Using these definitions, it is possible to outline some of the general demographic features of the Chinese community in Australia, which gives us a contextual background through which we can better understand the community. Table 1 presents the statistical information regarding the demographic features of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia. As previously discussed, we define this community through people's self-reported ancestry, the birthplaces of their parents, and the non-English language most frequently spoken at home. According to the information outlined in Table 1, as of the 9th of August 2016, there were 1,232,900 members of the Chinese community in Australia, defined by self-reported ancestry. This counts for 5.27% of the entire Australian population on the census night. The scale of the Chinese community defined by the other two dimensions is significantly smaller. On the census night, there were 770,068 Australian residents whose parents were both born in the Greater China region, making up 3.29% of the country's population; and there were 927,944 Australian residents for whom a Chinese dialect was the most frequently spoken non-English language at home, making up 3.97% of the country's population.

In Table 1, we also report how the Chinese community defined through different dimensions intersect with one another. For example, among the Australian residents who we define as members of the Chinese community through ancestry, only slightly more than 60% have both parents born in the Greater China region, and less than three fourths count a Chinese dialect as one of the major languages spoken at home. Yet, among the Australian residents who have both parents born in the Greater China region, more than 90% use a Chinese dialect as a major language at home, and more than 98% can be defined as Chinese through ancestry. Equally interesting is that among Australian residents who use a Chinese dialect as one of their major languages at home, although nearly one fourth do not have both parents born in the Greater China region, over 95% can be identified as Chinese via ancestry. Clearly, the coverage of the Chinese community in Australia is significantly wider when it is defined by a person's ancestry rather than by language or parental birthplace.



Table 1 The General Demographic Features of the Chinese Community in Australia (as revealed by the 2016 Census Data)

	Australia	Ancestry	Birthplace	Language
	N	N	N	N
	%	%	%	%
Gender				
Male	11,546,638	569,760	350,017	427,249
Female	11,855,248	663,136	420,658	500,690
Age				
Medium Age	38	30	30	31
Education				
Year 12 Completion	9,879,965	821,973	552,277	649,429
Medium Weekly Total Household Income Range \$	1,250-1,499	1,800-1,749	1,000-1,249	1,250-1,499
Marriage (>15)				
Never married	6,688,916	428,072	269,308	326,091
Widowed	985,201	24,915	16,714	19,967
Divorced	1,626,891	52,615	35,203	40,226
Separated	608,056	16,997	10,245	12,994
Married	9,148,220	512,619	345,766	413,371
Total valid	19,037,284	1,000,000%	677,256	809,549
Not applicable	4,364,607	16.03%	59,313	72,333
Geographical Distribution				
NSW	7,480,230	520,549	357,392	401,190
VIC	5,926,624	374,787	227,667	289,045
QID	4,703,192	142,010	84,206	99,010
SA	1,676,653	82,977	33,770	40,615
WA	2,474,414	103,508	44,857	71,477
TAS	509,567	7,266	4,130	5,204
N	228,638	6,501	2,369	3,634
ACT	397,393	22,780	15,487	17,268
Other Territories	4,583	451	351	356
Total	23,401,691	232,900	770,068	927,944
Intersection				
Chinese Ancestry	1,232,900	232,900	755,716	895,971
China as the birthplace for both parents	770,068	755,716	770,068	718,044
Chinese as the main language speaking at home	927,944	891,262	718,044	927,944

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As shown in Table 1, generally speaking, regardless which operational definition of the Chinese community is chosen, its major demographic features are pretty similar. For example, across all subsections of the Chinese community there are slightly more women, averaging around 3% more than the rest of the community. Similarly, across all three categories, the Chinese community is 7 – 8 years younger on average, which is a significant gap indeed. The year 12 completion rate within the Chinese community is particularly high, with those counted as Chinese by birthplace boasting the highest completion rate, at 71.72%, 29.5% higher than the National average. In terms of average income of the subcategories, those defined as Chinese by ancestry are slightly better off than those who are Chinese by birthplace, with the former falling within the \$ 1500 to \$ 1749 range, and the latter in the \$ 1000 to \$ 1249 range. As for marriage data, Chinese of all subcategories have more in the never married category and less in the widowed divorced or separated categories than the rest of Australia. Chinese across all categories also have a slightly higher percentage of married people, with 1 – 3% more married than the rest of the population. Geographical dispersion is an also important part of the picture, and in terms of the distribution of the Chinese population, the States of New South Wales and Victoria are in the lead. Both states have significantly larger Chinese populations than the rest of Australia, with New South Wales' proportion of Chinese roughly 10% to 15% higher than the national average. Queensland has the lowest density of Chinese people, at almost 10% lower than the National average. New South Wales also interestingly has the highest proportion of Chinese who were born in the Greater China region, at 14.5%. The table itself provides a useful starting point from which to gain a greater understanding of this community and its demographic features.

Defining Religions in the Census

'Religion' is a highly contested concept. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify how the census categorises religion before we can truly understand and correctly interpret the information which it reveals. On the census form, the sole question on religion is Q19, which asks for "the person's religious belief". This is an optional question, and each individual is only allowed to identify one religion as their answer. The census form allows people to choose from a list of common religions in contemporary Australian society, pro-



viding a box for identifying with Catholicism, Anglicanism (Church of England), the Uniting Church, Presbyterianism, Buddhism, Islam, Greek Orthodox, Baptist, and Hinduism. In addition, people can also identify themselves as 'no religion', or specify their own religious belief in the designated place if a tick box option is not provided. Their answers are coded in accordance with the *Australian Standard Classification of Religious Groups*, which was lastly updated in July 2016, just a few weeks before the Census night.

According to the *Australian Standard Classification of Religious Groups*, a religion is generally regarded as 'a set of beliefs and practices, usually involving acknowledgment of a divine or higher being or power, by which people order the conduct of their lives both practically and in a moral sense'. As explained on the official website of the Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'this method of defining religion in terms of a mixture of beliefs, practices, and a supernatural being giving form and meaning to existence, was used by the High Court of Australia in 1983'. The High Court stated that '[f]or the purposes of the law, the criteria of religion are twofold; first, belief in a Supernatural Being, Thing or Principle; and second, the acceptance of canons of conduct in order to give effect to that belief, though canons of conduct which offend against the ordinary laws are outside the area of any immunity, privilege or right conferred on the grounds of religion'.^① This definition, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, describes the nature of all entities included in the *Australian Standard Classification of Religious Groups*, apart from one broad group named 'Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation'.^②

The Australian Standard Classification of Religious Groups presents religious beliefs in a hierarchical system. The top level, and broadest level within the categorisation system includes five major religious traditions, namely Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism,

^① All cited texts in this paragraph, along with more detailed explanations and examples of the *Australian Standard Classification of Religious Groups*, can be found through the following link: <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsl/mf/1266.0> (accessed on 29th January 2018).

^② According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the 'Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation' group could be considered to 'be outside the scope of the religion topic'. This broad group has been included 'for practical reasons and to make the classification more useful'. It includes personal spiritual beliefs, secular beliefs and the response 'No Religion'. For details, see <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsl/mf/1266.0> (accessed on 29th January 2018).

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Islam, and Judaism along with two other categories which are 'Other Religion' and 'Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation'. This level of specificity is represented by a one-digit code, and as the data is broken down, each new level of specificity introduces more digits. After the broadest category which just specifies the overall religion with one digit, new levels of detail specify the specific denomination and Church/religious institution which is represented by further digits. We have selected from this what we viewed as relevant statistical categories for the purpose of analysing the Chinese community in Australia as compared to the general population.^① The tables provided only depict these select categories and are not an exhaustive representation of the complete dataset.

It should be noted that the *Australian Standard Classification of Religious Groups* is developed mainly in a western social context, so the level of detail provided in the Christian code category is far in excess of the detail provided in all other code categories. The Christian one-digit code has almost 100 different four digit codes below it, while different denominations and schools within Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism and Islam are not further specified. This approach clearly has its limitations and has resulted in a reduction in the quality of the data for non-Christian religions. Notwithstanding, the census is still the most comprehensive set of data for religious belief in Australia.

^① For the full range of codes, see <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2901.0Chapter8352016> (accessed on 29th January 2018).



Table 2 The Percentages of Selected Religions in Australia and Australian States and Territories (as revealed by the 2016 Census Data)

All but Overseas Visitors	New South Wales		Victoria		Queensland		South Australia		Western Australia		Tasmania		Northern Territory		Australian Capital Territory		Other Territories		Total
	9.16%	2.78%	9.29%	3.09%	1.49%	1.88%	8.77%	10.39%	9.46%	16.71%	9.27%	49.04%	9.57%						
Missing Data	9.16%	2.78%	9.29%	3.09%	1.49%	1.88%	8.77%	10.39%	9.46%	16.71%	9.27%	49.04%	9.57%						
1 Buddhism	55.13%	15.49%	8.89%	15.38%	1.86%	1.47%	1.03%	0.26%	0.08%	0.26%	0.74%	0.26%	0.26%						
2 Christianity	1.27%	24.66%	23.27%	0.30%	0.22%	0.20%	0.27%	0.35%	0.45%	0.40%	0.22%	0.19%	0.08%						
201 Anglican	0.30%	0.22%	0.20%	0.43%	0.19%	0.19%	0.27%	0.35%	0.45%	0.40%	0.22%	0.19%	0.08%						
203 Baptist	0.27%	0.27%	0.47%	1.20%	3.07%	3.07%	0.33%	0.27%	0.33%	0.27%	0.25%	0.19%	0.08%						
207 Catholic	2.52%	2.51%	1.95%	0.69%	2.48%	2.48%	0.96%	0.44%	0.44%	1.30%	1.84%	1.46%	2.25%						
213 Jehovah's Witnesses	2.91%	2.91%	3.28%	5.12%	7.00%	7.00%	2.33%	3.74%	3.74%	5.73%	2.40%	4.51%	3.72%						
215 Latter-day Saints	1.04%	1.04%	0.90%	1.53%	1.14%	1.14%	1.06%	1.03%	1.03%	1.17%	1.02%	0.46%	1.11%						
217 Lutheran	2.43%	2.43%	2.30%	0.97%	1.38%	1.38%	1.56%	0.51%	0.51%	1.44%	2.59%	0.27%	1.88%						
223 Eastern Orthodox	3.58%	3.58%	3.35%	0.95%	1.72%	1.72%	2.04%	0.50%	0.50%	0.84%	2.50%	14.19%	2.58%						
225 Presbyterian and Reformed	0.49%	0.49%	0.71%	0.10%	0.06%	0.06%	0.22%	0.03%	0.03%	0.06%	0.17%	0.10%	0.39%						
233 Uniting Church	0.85%	0.85%	1.23%	0.75%	0.98%	0.98%	0.93%	0.47%	0.47%	1.79%	0.84%	0.83%	0.95%						
24 Pentecostal	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%	0.02%	0.02%	0.03%	0.01%	0.01%	0.06%	0.03%	0.08%	0.03%						
3 Hinduism	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%						
4 Islam	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%						
5 Judaism	0.02%	0.02%	0.03%	0.02%	0.01%	0.01%	0.02%	0.02%	0.02%	0.05%	0.05%	0.08%	0.02%						
6 Other Religions	25.57%	25.16%	31.74%	29.61%	35.54%	35.54%	32.94%	38.53%	38.03%	28.96%	36.17%	22.73%	30.09%						
605 Chinese Religions	0.11%	0.11%	0.12%	0.11%	0.11%	0.11%	0.11%	0.11%	0.12%	0.09%	0.22%	0.13%	0.11%						
6051 Ancestor Veneration	0.12%	0.12%	0.13%	0.15%	0.17%	0.17%	0.15%	0.15%	0.12%	0.13%	0.19%	0.06%	0.14%						
6052 Confucianism																			
6053 Taoism																			
7 Secular Beliefs and Other																			
Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation																			
7101 No Religion so described																			
7201 Agnosticist																			
7202 Atheism																			

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Once the operational definition of religion is clarified, the census data gives us great insight into the religious beliefs of people living in Australia, providing perspective on the distribution and density of religious belief over the country, both geographically and within subgroups of the population. The most populous religion for the entire population dataset is Christianity with a majority of respondents (52.14%) claiming some form of Christianity as their religion, which given previous discussion of Australia's Anglican roots should come as no surprise. Density of Christian belief is highest in New South Wales (55.13%) and lowest in the Australian Capital Territory (45.26%) and the 'other territories' (36.53%). Catholicism is the largest Christian denomination with 22.61% of the population, followed by Anglicanism with 13.25%, which reflects the general historic trend of a decline in Anglicanism in modern Australia. The State with the highest density of Catholics is New South Wales at 24.68% of the state's population, which is marginally higher than Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia and the Australian Capital Territory. The most Anglican state is Tasmania at 20.26% of their overall population and the least Anglican state is Victoria with only 8.89% of their population subscribing to Anglicanism. The second biggest overall belief category is 'Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation' (30.09%), and of that category the "No religion, so described" makes up the vast majority (29.63%). In terms of minority religions, Buddhism is most represented in the 'Other Territories' at 6.46% of their overall population compared to the next highest of 3.09% in Victoria (although it must be noted that in absolute numbers the Victorian Buddhist community is significantly larger). As for Hinduism, NSW and ACT have the highest density, with 2.43% and 2.59% respectively. Those who self-identified as believers in Judaism make up a small percentage of the overall population (0.39%), with the highest density being found in the states of New South Wales and Victoria, which are both above the national average at 0.49% and 0.71% each. As for 'Chinese religions', the Northern Territory has the highest density of Daoists and Confucians in Australia, and also has around twice the density of overall affiliation with Chinese religions (which includes Taoism, Ancestor Veneration and Confucianism) in comparison with the rest of the population. These are some of the general features of the entire population dataset which we found illuminating and of assistance in our research. In the next section we turn to a



specific analysis of those defined as Chinese by the census, and the profile of their religious beliefs.

Census Findings: Religious Belief of Chinese Community in Australia

In this part of the report we offer four different cross sections of the Chinese community and an account of their unique religious profile. We begin with general findings, detailing the trends that are present across the three definitional datasets, which use different features of respondents to demarcate the Chinese community. We then focus in on each definitional dataset individually. Within these three datasets, further distinctions are made, such as separating Chinese language speakers into the specific dialect they speak most frequently at home. This kind of detailed breakdown gives us valuable insight into the relevant differences and similarities between the different subgroups of the Chinese community.

General Findings

As shown in Table 3, the three different approaches used to define people as Chinese all returned fairly similar results on the whole, which makes it possible to outline some of the general features of the Chinese community in Australia. Of those features, one interesting phenomena is that Chinese people are more willing to divulge their religious identity, with the answer rate for the question about religion (which is optional) twice as high among the Chinese community as compared to the general population. This may be reflective of higher levels of concern over privacy and religious discrimination in the general population (Bouma, 2006). Alternatively, this could be due to high numbers of people with no religious affiliation in the Chinese community who are less likely to be as invested in this information and therefore are not as worried about disclosing their non – belief.

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Table 3 The Religious Profile of the Chinese Community in Australia

	Australian Residents			Chinese community defined by ancestry			Chinese community defined by parent's birthplaces			Chinese community defined by language		
	%	A	C%/A%	%	A	C%/A%	%	A	%	A	C%/A%	
Missing Data	9.57%	4.67%	4.95%	0.48	0.48	0.47	4.60%	4.97%	0.48	0.48	0.48	
1 Buddhism	2.41%	15.37%	12.96%	6.38	11.55%	9.15%	4.80	13.95%	6.42	6.42	6.42	
2 Christianity	52.14%	24.82%	23.32%	0.48	14.69%	37.45%	0.28	17.54%	34.50%	0.34	0.34	
201 Anglican	13.25%	2.91%	-10.31%	0.22	1.84%	-11.11%	0.14	1.00%	-11.26%	0.15	0.15	
203 Baptist	1.47%	2.31%	0.84%	1.57	2.22%	0.74%	1.50	2.29%	0.81%	1.55	1.55	
207 Catholic	22.51%	9.43%	-13.14%	0.42	4.09%	-18.53%	0.18	5.29%	-17.33%	0.23	0.23	
213 Jehovah's Witnesses	0.35%	0.11%	-0.21%	0.39	0.08%	-0.27%	0.23	0.09%	-0.26%	0.27	0.27	
215 Latter-day Saints	0.20%	0.19%	-0.08%	0.71	0.08%	-0.18%	0.29	0.08%	-0.18%	0.30	0.30	
217 Lutheran	0.74%	0.13%	-0.65%	0.13	0.06%	-0.59%	0.08	0.08%	-0.66%	0.11	0.11	
223 Eastern Orthodox	2.15%	0.21%	-1.94%	0.10	0.34%	-1.31%	0.10	0.16%	-1.96%	0.09	0.09	
225 Presbyterian and Reformed	2.25%	1.61%	-0.65%	0.71	0.93%	-1.32%	0.41	1.17%	-1.08%	0.52	0.52	
233 Uniting Church	3.72%	1.45%	-2.27%	0.39	0.99%	-2.73%	0.27	1.15%	-2.57%	0.31	0.31	
24 Pentecostal	1.11%	1.45%	0.32%	1.28	0.42%	-0.89%	0.36	0.87%	-0.24%	0.79	0.79	
3 Hinduism	1.88%	0.03%	-1.79%	0.05	0.02%	-1.36%	0.01	0.07%	-1.31%	0.04	0.04	
4 Islam	2.58%	0.33%	-2.29%	0.12	0.28%	-2.31%	0.11	0.21%	-2.38%	0.08	0.08	
5 Judaism	0.39%	0.02%	-0.37%	0.06	0.01%	-0.38%	0.03	0.01%	-0.38%	0.03	0.03	
6 Other Religions	0.95%	0.31%	-0.57%	0.40	0.31%	-0.53%	0.33	0.41%	-0.54%	0.43	0.43	
605 Chinese Religions	0.03%	0.23%	0.26%	10.42	0.28%	0.25%	10.20	0.34%	0.31%	12.38	12.38	
6051 Ancestor Veneration	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%	3.58	0.00%	0.10%	2.29	0.07%	0.01%	3.65	3.65	
6052 Confucianism	0.00%	0.02%	0.02%	14.29	0.02%	0.32%	14.30	0.02%	0.02%	14.24	14.24	
6053 Taoism	0.02%	0.23%	0.23%	10.79	0.25%	0.23%	10.60	0.37%	0.28%	13.06	13.06	
7 Secular Beliefs and Other												
Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation												
7101 No Religion so described	30.09%	54.40%	24.31%	1.81	68.67%	38.58%	2.28	61.61%	31.53%	2.05	2.05	
7201 Agnosticism	29.63%	54.15%	24.53%	1.83	68.48%	38.36%	2.31	61.41%	31.78%	2.07	2.07	
7202 Atheism	0.11%	0.03%	-0.03%	0.69	0.05%	-0.36%	0.42	0.06%	-0.06%	0.49	0.49	
	0.14%	0.01%	-0.10%	0.30	0.02%	-0.11%	0.17	0.03%	-0.11%	0.22	0.22	

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One other clear point from the data is that members of the Chinese community are much more likely to identify themselves in the “no religion, so described” category, with all the subgroups of Chinese one to two times more likely to respond as such. This seems to reflect a higher level of secularisation in the Chinese community, which could be a consequence of the forced process of secularisation undertaken by the Communist party during the 20th century. That said, we should not jump to conclusions about the extent of the secularisation in the Chinese community. It is possible that individuals who claim “no religion” still believe in certain religious concepts (like karma, fengshui, or reincarnation) and in some sense are still deeply bound up in religious thinking (Johnson, 2017). This also makes sense of the relatively low numbers of Chinese specifying Atheism as the response to the question on religious belief, with just 0.02 – 0.04% answering in this way, compared to 0.14% in the general population.

One similarity between the Chinese community and the entire population dataset is that Christianity is also the most populous religion within the Chinese community, although the proportion is much lower than the national average. Discussion in previous sections explained why both institutional and social factors might be influential in the conversion of Chinese immigrants to Christianity, and specifically the overwhelmingly conversion to Evangelical Protestant denominations/organisations. This trend, which has been documented to some extent in other western liberal democracies, is also present in Australia, but could benefit from further research.

Chinese defined by birthplace are the least Christian, with the percentage of Christians among this group at 14.67%, closely followed by those defined as Chinese by birthplace at 17.64%, and those who are Chinese by ancestry have the highest proportion of Christians out the subgroups at 24.82%. It must be pointed out that these numbers are still 27% to 38% lower than the national average. The reason that rates of Christianity are lowest when we define the community through birthplace may be because many families who have been here for two or more generations are excluded through this definition. For example, as shown in Table 1, of the Australian residents who can be defined as Chinese through ancestry, only slightly more than 60% have both parents born in the Greater China region. Those excluded in the definition by parental birthplace are a group which is potentially more likely to have Christian beliefs given a longer peri-

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od of exposure to Australian society.

Catholicism has the largest denomination of Christianity for the Chinese community, however for two of the three subgroups the Baptists outnumber the Anglicans, whereas in the general population Anglicanism sits comfortably in second spot. This finding shows us that the Chinese community is slightly less Anglican than the general population of Australia, which is understandable given Australia's early roots as a British colony.

The second most populous religion in the Chinese community is Buddhism, with roughly 10% to 15% of the Chinese community across the subgroups, and relatively few Chinese are affiliated with Islam, Judaism and Hinduism. Although in absolute terms few members of the Chinese community claim they are followers of Chinese religions, the proportion is still about 10 to 12 times higher than in rate of affiliation with Chinese religions in the general population.

One other clear difference between the general population and the Chinese community is in the number of people who respond in the 'Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation' category. Those who were born in China are particularly likely to fall into this category (68.67%), and those defined by ancestry and language are seemingly also quite secular, with 54.40% and 61.61% respectively answering in this category. However, less Chinese people across all categories were willing to specifically declare themselves as an agnostic or atheist, with more selecting the category of 'No Religion, as described'. This leaves the question about the subtleties of these people's religious belief or lack thereof open for debate.

Findings by Subgroup: Ancestry

As shown in Table 4, when we use ancestry to define the Chinese community, the majority of respondents (54.4%) fall into the "Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation" category, and Christianity takes first place as the most common religious belief (24.82%).



Table 4 The Religious Profile of subgroups within the Chinese Community in Australia (grouped by ancestry)

	Australian Residents Total	Ancestry: Chinese	Ancestry: Taiwanese	Ancestry: Tibetan	Ancestry: Chinese Asian (not elsewhere classified)	Ancestry: Chinese Community Total
Missing Data	9.57%	4.60%	5.80%	1.92%	5.12%	4.62%
1 Buddhism	2.41%	15.21%	19.99%	88.50%	14.80%	15.37%
2 Christianity	52.14%	24.98%	15.14%	2.18%	54.65%	24.82%
201 Anglican	13.25%	2.97%	1.44%	0.69%	2.47%	2.94%
203 Baptist	1.47%	2.32%	1.43%	0.64%	16.13%	2.31%
207 Catholic	22.61%	9.57%	3.43%	0.64%	17.08%	9.48%
213 Jehovah's Witnesses	0.35%	0.14%	0.13%	0.00%	0.00%	0.14%
215 Latter-day Saints	0.26%	0.19%	0.19%	0.00%	0.00%	0.19%
217 Lutheran	0.74%	0.10%	0.05%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%
223 Eastern Orthodox	2.15%	0.21%	0.15%	0.00%	1.33%	0.21%
225 Presbyterian and Reformed	2.25%	1.61%	1.73%	0.00%	1.71%	1.61%
233 United Church	3.72%	1.45%	1.60%	0.00%	3.23%	1.45%
24 Pentecostal	1.11%	1.44%	1.01%	0.00%	5.31%	1.43%
3 Hinduism	1.88%	0.09%	0.03%	0.69%	0.00%	0.09%
4 Islam	2.58%	0.30%	0.12%	0.00%	2.47%	0.30%
5 Judaism	0.39%	0.02%	0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
6 Other Religions	0.95%	0.36%	1.70%	0.37%	1.52%	0.36%
605 Chinese Religions	0.03%	0.27%	1.58%	0.00%	0.95%	0.28%
6051 Ancestor Veneration	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%
6052 Confucianism	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
6053 Taoism	0.02%	0.24%	1.57%	0.00%	0.95%	0.25%
7 Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation	30.89%	54.44%	57.48%	5.80%	22.77%	51.40%
7101 No Religion so described	29.63%	54.19%	57.16%	5.59%	20.68%	51.15%
7201 Agnosticism	0.11%	0.08%	0.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.08%
7202 Atheism	0.14%	0.04%	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%

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When we break down ancestry by the different geographical regions we notice that respondents who have ancestry which is 'Chinese Asian not elsewhere specified' have the highest proportion of Christians (54.65%). This category may include people who do not know exactly the details of their ancestry, which could be because they have been in Australia for many generations, and as such are more likely to have been influenced by a historically powerful Christian community. Another possibility is that this group includes immigrants from Southeast Asian countries like Singapore and the Philippines where Christianity plays a relatively more significant role in society. Recent Chinese immigrants from mainland China are comparatively more likely to specify their ancestry, and there is a lower proportion of Christianity within this group.

Within the group of 'Chinese Asian not elsewhere specified', the most represented denominations are Catholics and Baptists, with 17.08% and 16.13% respectively, which is significantly higher than other Chinese with different geographical ancestry. Buddhists within the Chinese community defined by ancestry total 15.37%, over 10% higher than the entire population dataset.

Hinduism and Islam are relatively underrepresented across those claiming Chinese ancestry of any sort, with the one exception of Islam in the 'Chinese Asian not elsewhere specified' category (2.47%) which has roughly the same proportion of Islamic belief as the general population (2.58%). This phenomenon is probably best explained by the fact that members of this subgroup are more likely to come from Malaysia, Indonesia, and other Southeast Asian countries where Islam is more represented.

As for the "Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation" category, we found lower numbers within the Chinese Asian groups (22.77%), with this group more likely to be Catholic, Baptist or Pentecostal. Of those with Chinese ancestry, 54.44% fall into the 'no religion, so described' category.

Findings by Subgroup: Language

Defining the Chinese community through language naturally lends itself to a further breakdown into the different dialects spoken by Chinese people. In fact, it was not until the Republican period that new mandarin started to become the standardised Chinese for the region. Chinese dialects are particular to place, but can broadly be grouped into northern and southern dialects, with much higher levels of linguistic diversity in the South (largely due to the more mountainous terrain limiting interaction between the different areas in ancient China) (Chen, 1999). Of those many and varied southern dialects, four of them are listed below (Table 5), and such a breakdown gives us one new lens through which to analyse the religious profile of the Chinese community in Australia.



Table 5 The Religious Profile of subgroups within the Chinese Community in Australia
 (grouped by language)

	Australian Residents Total	Language: Mandarin	Language: Wu	Language: Cantonese	Language: Hakka	Language: Min-Nan	Language: Other Chinese	Language: Chinese Community Total
Missing Data	9.57%	4.36%	4.82%	4.93%	5.98%	5.75%	5.28%	4.60%
1 Buddhism	2.41%	13.44%	14.87%	18.23%	20.19%	41.93%	10.87%	11.46%
2 Christianity	82.14%	14.88%	14.43%	23.23%	46.37%	28.61%	7.15%	17.64%
201 Anglican	3.25%	1.85%	3.07%	2.35%	2.67%	2.12%	0.67%	1.99%
203 Baptist	1.47%	1.61%	1.54%	3.87%	1.52%	2.43%	0.65%	1.29%
207 Catholic	22.61%	3.58%	4.52%	8.01%	34.18%	8.15%	2.49%	12.29%
213 Jehovah's Witnesses	0.35%	0.10%	0.18%	0.09%	0.10%	0.11%	0.04%	0.09%
215 Latter-day Saints	0.26%	0.08%	0.00%	0.08%	0.06%	0.07%	0.02%	0.08%
217 Lutheran	0.74%	0.05%	0.00%	0.13%	0.21%	0.07%	0.02%	0.08%
223 Eastern Orthodox	2.15%	0.25%	0.15%	0.06%	0.00%	0.06%	0.12%	0.18%
225 Presbyterian and Reformed	2.25%	1.06%	0.89%	1.43%	0.96%	2.07%	0.28%	1.17%
233 Uniting Church	3.72%	1.16%	0.95%	1.15%	0.46%	1.79%	0.42%	1.15%
24 Pentecostal	1.11%	0.78%	0.47%	0.96%	0.45%	3.13%	0.22%	0.87%
3 Hinduism	1.66%	0.07%	0.00%	0.06%	0.00%	0.06%	0.07%	0.07%
4 Islam	2.58%	0.26%	0.00%	0.10%	0.14%	0.95%	0.30%	0.21%
5 Judaism	0.39%	0.01%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	0.93%	0.00%	0.01%
6 Other Religions	0.95%	0.38%	0.50%	0.39%	1.10%	1.37%	0.27%	0.41%
605 Chinese Religions	0.03%	0.31%	0.47%	0.33%	1.0%	1.14%	0.21%	0.34%
6051 Ancestor Veneration	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.04%	0.02%	0.01%	0.01%
6052 Confucianism	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.02%	0.10%	0.02%	0.04%	0.02%
6053 Taoism	0.02%	0.28%	0.33%	0.30%	1.00%	1.08%	0.14%	0.31%
7 Secular Beliefs and Other								
Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation	30.99%	66.79%	65.44%	53.05%	21.37%	24.14%	76.06%	61.61%
7101 No Religion, so described	29.63%	66.59%	65.03%	52.86%	26.90%	23.76%	75.95%	61.41%
7201 Agnosticism	0.11%	0.04%	0.15%	0.09%	0.12%	0.13%	0.03%	0.06%
7202 Atheism	0.14%	0.03%	0.00%	0.03%	0.00%	0.06%	0.01%	0.03%

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Within the Chinese language community, Min Nan speakers have exceptionally high numbers of Buddhists at 41.93% of the group, followed by Hakka speakers at a much lower but still significant proportion of 20.19%. The Hakka people themselves also have particularly high numbers of Christians (46.37%), which is almost as high as the proportion in the overall Australian population (52.14%). Min Nan speakers have the second highest proportion of Christians (26.61%), and for both Min Nan and Hakka speakers the largest denomination is Catholicism at 8.15% and 34.18% respectively. This could be explained in couple of ways. Firstly, these people may have arrived in Australia earlier than other groups, leaving more time for conversion to locally popular religions and denominations. Alternatively, this may reflect the relative historical success of Christian missionaries within this language community.

The Hakka and Min Nan language groups have one more commonality, which is that they both have far lower numbers within the 'Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation' category. Only 24.14% and 26.37% of Min Nan and Hakka speakers respectively considered themselves to be in this category, as opposed to much higher numbers within Mandarin and Wu speakers (66.79% and 65.44 respectively). That is to say, the Mandarin and Wu speakers are significantly less religious than the Hakka and Min Nan speakers.

As for the Cantonese speakers, around half fall into the 'Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation' category, with the other half split roughly between Buddhism and Christianity (18.23% and 23.23% respectively). Cantonese speakers tend to come from Hong Kong, Macau and the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong province, a region which has a rich history of trade and interaction between different cultures which explains this diversity in religious belief.

Findings by Subgroup: Birthplace of Parents

As for Chinese defined by parental birthplace, the data allows for a further breakdown into the specific areas in which respondent's parents were born, giving us a better understanding of how specific cultural backgrounds influence religious belief. The sub-categories shown in Table 6 include those whose parents were born in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan.



Table 6 The Religious Profile of subgroups within the Chinese Community in Australia (grouped by the birthplaces of parents)

	Australian Residents Total	Parent Birthplaces: Mainland China	Parent Birthplaces: Hong Kong	Parent Birthplaces: Both Macau	Parent Birthplaces: Both Taiwan	Parent Birthplaces: Chinese Community Total
Missing Data	9.57%	4.41%	4.34%	3.80%	5.55%	4.47%
1 Buddhism	2.41%	11.44%	5.32%	6.67%	22.16%	11.55%
2 Christianity	52.14%	12.66%	34.56%	36.94%	12.81%	14.68%
201 Anglican	13.25%	1.70%	3.63%	1.38%	1.01%	1.84%
203 Baptist	1.47%	1.83%	6.46%	1.96%	1.47%	2.22%
207 Catholic	22.61%	3.30%	12.67%	26.93%	1.95%	4.09%
213 Jehovah's Witnesses	0.35%	0.08%	0.06%	0.00%	0.12%	0.08%
215 Latter-day Saints	0.26%	0.06%	0.13%	0.00%	0.14%	0.08%
217 Lutheran	0.74%	0.04%	0.17%	0.00%	0.03%	0.06%
223 Eastern Orthodox	2.15%	0.39%	0.03%	0.00%	0.02%	0.34%
225 Presbyterian and Reformed	2.25%	0.76%	2.05%	0.69%	1.64%	0.93%
233 Uniting Church	3.72%	0.90%	1.24%	1.50%	1.63%	0.99%
24 Pentecostal	1.11%	0.36%	0.66%	0.35%	0.89%	0.42%
3 Hinduism	1.88%	0.02%	0.04%	0.00%	0.02%	0.02%
4 Islam	2.58%	0.31%	0.09%	0.00%	0.05%	0.28%
5 Judaism	0.39%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%
6 Other Religions	0.95%	0.22%	0.26%	0.00%	1.66%	0.31%
605 Chinese Religions	0.03%	0.19%	0.20%	0.00%	1.50%	0.28%
6051 Ancestor Veneration	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
6052 Confucianism	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%	0.02%
6053 Taoism	0.02%	0.16%	0.20%	0.00%	1.45%	0.25%
7 Secular Beliefs and Other						
Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation	30.99%	70.93%	55.42%	51.32%	57.63%	68.67%
7101 No Religion, so described	29.63%	70.75%	55.16%	50.75%	57.46%	68.48%
7201 Agnosticism	0.11%	0.04%	0.11%	0.00%	0.06%	0.05%
7202 Atheism	0.14%	0.02%	0.05%	0.00%	0.02%	0.02%

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According Table 6, the group with both parents born in Taiwan has a particularly high proportion of Buddhists (22.16%), compared to the other locations which have less than half the proportion of Buddhists (ranging from 5.32% to 11.44%). This reflects the findings in the last section, namely that speakers of Min Nan/Hakka dialects (who are more likely to be from Taiwan than from the mainland) also have a very high proportion of Buddhists.

Those whose parents were born in Hong Kong or Macau have much higher rates of Christian belief (34.54% and 36.94%) than those with parents born in Mainland China and Taiwan (12.66% and 12.91%). The largest denomination of Christians for those with Hong Kong and Macau born parents is Catholicism, with Macau's Catholic proportion particularly high at 26.93% whereas the Hong Kong category has a relatively larger Baptist community at 6.46% compared to Macau with just 1.96%. Both Hong Kong and Macau have a long history of being colonised by European countries. In fact, they remained under the rule of Britain and Portugal respectively until the end of the 20th century. During the colonial period, Hong Kong and Macau were deeply influenced by the presence of Christianity, and this period of history has left its mark on the religious landscape of those territories, which in turn is reflected in the religious beliefs of those with both parents born in these places.

The group with both parents born in Taiwan have a much higher proportion of subscribers to Chinese religions (1.5%), and an exceptionally high proportion of those people are believers in Taoism (1.45%).

In terms of the 'No religion, so described' category, those with parents born in Mainland China have very high representation (70.93%) with other locations ranging from 51% to 57%. Of the parents of this group, a large proportion probably arrived in Australia after 1980s. As a result, people in this subgroup are less likely to believe in any particular religion, but they are also less familiar with concepts associated with religion, such as agnosticism and atheism. This is evidenced by the high numbers of non-religious people in this group (70.93%) and the relatively low numbers of people specifying a belief in atheism (0.02%) or agnosticism (0.04%). Interestingly this group, although they have very close ties to mainland China, do not have particularly high numbers of believers in Chinese religions. This is perhaps reflective of a contemporary China



which is somewhat disconnected on a spiritual level with its ancient past.

In this section we only report on the religious belief of people who have both parents born in the same territory within the Greater China region. For example, respondents with one parent born in mainland China and the other born in Hong Kong are not included in Table 6 due to space restrictions. It is reasonable to believe that the distribution of religious belief amongst these mixed parent groups falls in between the numbers for those with both parents born in each location, although this should be confirmed by further empirical studies into the census data.

Conclusion

Through a systematic analysis of the recently released 2016 Australian Census data this report attempts to produce a comprehensive profile of the religious life of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia. Our major empirical findings from the census data include the following:

(1) On face value, the Chinese community in contemporary Australia appears to be highly secular, with approximately 50% to 70% of its members claiming they do not have any religious belief. This is significantly higher than the proportion of people who claim 'no religion' in Australia's general population, however the number of people in this category has also increased in the general population over the last few decades. One anomaly is that even with higher levels of 'no religion', the proportion of people in the Chinese community willing to identify as atheist specifically is comparatively lower than the general population.

(2) While the Christian denominations are the most populous religious groups in both the Chinese community and Australia's general population, the proportion of Christian belief among the Chinese community is significantly lower.

(3) Second to Christianity, Buddhism is the next most popular religion within the Chinese community in contemporary Australia.

(4) Although relatively few members of the Chinese community in Australia report that they affiliate with Chinese religions, the proportion of believers in Chinese religions (including Ancestor Veneration, Confucianism, and Taoism) among the Chinese community is 10 – 12 times higher than the proportion within the general population.

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(5) Across all three different strategies we used to define the Chinese community in contemporary Australia, using people's self reported ancestry, languages spoken at home, or the birthplaces of parents, we found that the religious profile of these groups were all fairly similar.

(6) However, some significant differences regarding the pattern of religious affiliations exist between different subgroups within the Chinese community.

(7) Members of the Chinese community are comparatively more willing to disclose their religious beliefs than the general population, with half as many Chinese respondents choosing not to answer the census question regarding religious belief.

This report not only offers a significant amount of much needed information on the religious profile of the Chinese community in Australia, but also sheds new light on how the Chinese community adapts to, and evolves in, contemporary multicultural Australian society. As we demonstrated in this report, while broad similarities exist across the Chinese community in Australia, a more nuanced breakdown of the datasets reveals some interesting differences in the religious profile of Chinese people who are from different places, speak different dialects, or claim different ancestry. The Greater China region is a religiously and culturally diverse place, and this diversity is reflected in the data. The differences between the groups are best understood through contextual understanding of the historical and demographic reality of the specific Chinese region and culture with which respondents claim ties. Furthermore, the context of immigration, both in terms of the departure and arrival location and time of relocation are important parts of the picture. From the original gold miners of the 19th century to the hundreds of thousands of Chinese university students currently studying in Australian higher education institutions, the diversity of the Chinese community has enriched the multicultural fabric of Australian society.

While this report has made use of previous empirical and analytical research on the experience of overseas Chinese, a heavy emphasis has been placed on the 2016 Australian Census data. Although the census data is the most comprehensive and up-to-date resource for assessing the religious life of Australian residents, given the way it is designed and conducted, there are inevitably limitations. One limitation which has been discussed within the report is the difficulty in establishing facts beyond the simple ques-



tion of identification with a religion, like the level of involvement, the extent of individuals faith and more broadly how religious ideas influence their lives. Particularly in the case of the Chinese community, different conceptions of religion have made statistical analysis difficult, with the difference between words like religion (宗教) and belief (信仰) often leading to very different responses (Johnson, 2017). One further limitation comes from the structured nature of the data, and the absence of detail within non-Christian religions in the census' system, meaning that information on specific denominations or schools of non-Christian religions is not captured by the census. In addition, the quality of data for the Chinese community may be threatened by the itinerancy of Chinese students, whose population is statistically significant, yet whose personnel is changing frequently with old students graduating and new students arriving all the time.

Notwithstanding such limitations, we hope that the census data analysed in this report will serve as a foundation for subsequent qualitative investigations into the socio-political meaning of religious practice, the impact, and implications of these practices among the Chinese community in contemporary Australia. This may be achieved through the creation and analysis of new survey data which focuses on the religious life of the Chinese community in contemporary Australia, or through qualitative research based on interviews, participant observations and in-depth case studies from an Australian context. Assessing the religious profile of the Chinese community in Australia also presents opportunities to make sense of some intriguing questions in other social scientific fields. Unlike some other immigrant communities in Australia, which predominantly follow one or a few religions, the religious profile of the Chinese community in Australia is particularly rich and diverse. Moreover, existing scholarly works have demonstrated that religious affiliation has a complicated and profound influence on national and ethnic identities (Ngeow and Ma, 2016, Poon, 2016). Beyond this report, we hope that further investigation into the religious profile of the Chinese community in Australia will contribute to a new and better understanding of Australia's multicultural society.

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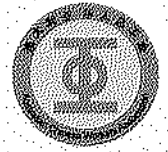
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Risk factors profiles for non – communicable diseases among Chinese immigrants in Australia

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Abstract

Background

Research suggests important health differences between Chinese immigrants and the general Australian population. Despite the significant risks of non – communicable disease (NCDs) among Chinese immigrants, knowledge about their risk factors in this field is scarce, with few studies conducted in Chinese immigrants. The objective of this study was to examine the common risk factors for NCDs in Chinese immigrants and compare them with the general Australian population. We also examined the association between acculturation and risk factors among Chinese immigrants.

Method

Using data from 266,696 Australian participants from the 45 and Up Study (2006 – 2009), we investigated health conditions among Chinese (n = 2,690), and non – Chinese (n = 264,006). Poisson regression models with a robust error variance were used to 1) estimate prevalence ratio (PR) and 95% confidence intervals (CI) for common risk factors by ethnicity using non – Chinese Australians as the reference group, and 2) to examine the association between acculturation and risk factors among Chinese immigrants by using less acculturated groups as the reference group. Prevalence ratio (PR) was reported, adjusted for the socio – demographic covariates.

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Results

There were significant differences in the chronic health risk factor profiles between Chinese and non-Chinese Australians. Chinese had significant higher prevalence of currently smoking (PR 1.27; 95% CI 1.06 - 1.51), physical inactivity (PR 1.49; 95% CI 1.42 - 1.58), and inadequate fruit and vegetable consumption (PR 1.16; 95% CI 1.13 - 1.19). Our study also found that greater acculturation measured by younger age at migration, longer duration of residence and speaking English at home, was associated with significantly higher prevalence of overweight/obesity and excessive alcohol consumption.

Conclusion

Our study found that Chinese immigrants had worse behavioural risk factor profiles for NCDs compared with non-Chinese Australians. Greater acculturation was inversely associated with these risk factors. With rapid influx of Chinese immigrants into Australia, their health problems present a huge challenge to Australian health care system. Findings from our study call for culturally tailored programs that aim to prevent NCDs risk factors among Chinese immigrants.

INTRODUCTION

Non-communicable diseases (NCDs) are the leading cause of global disease burden.^① Four major NCDs, namely cardiovascular disease (CVD), cancers, diabetes, respiratory diseases account for over 80% of all cause of mortality worldwide.^② These NCDs share common risk factors that are largely preventable. The major modifiable risk factors for NCDs include tobacco use, physical inactivity, harmful use of alcohol and unhealthy diets, such as low intake of fruit and vegetable.^{②③} These modifiable risk factors can lead to metabolic changes that increase the risk of NCDs, including hypertension, overweight/obesity, diabetes and high cholesterol.^② If no action is taken to re-

① GBD 2016 Causes of Death Collaborators, Global, regional, and national age-sex specific mortality for 264 causes of death, 1980-2016; a systematic analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study 2016. *Lancet*, 2017, 390 (10100); p. 1151-1210.

② World Health Organization, Global status report on noncommunicable disease 2014.

③ Ezzati, M. and E. Riboli, Behavioral and dietary risk factors for noncommunicable diseases. *N Engl J Med*, 2013, 369(10); p. 954-64.



duce these risk factors, the burden of NCDs will continue to grow.^① Therefore, understanding and monitoring distributions and trends of risk factors are critical to preventing future burden of NCDs among societies.^②

Australia is a culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) country. It is reported that over 28% of the Australian population were born overseas and the number of residents born in China have doubled over the last 10 years.^③ At the national level, China-born people are the third largest group of overseas-born residents after the United Kingdom (UK) and New Zealand, totalling more than 500, 000 in 2016.^④ Chinese Australians are now the largest ethnic group from a non-English speaking background.^⑤

Research suggests important health differences between Chinese immigrants and the general Australian population. One study found that CVD was the leading cause of death in both males and females among Chinese immigrants.^⑥ Particularly, male Chinese immigrants had almost double the risk of dying from stroke compared with the Australian-born population.^⑦ Chinese Australians with stroke were reported to have the higher prevalence of hypertension, high cholesterol and diabetes compared with English-speaking background Australian patients.^⑧ Cancer is also one of the leading cause of death among Chinese immigrants.^⑨ Chinese Australians were found to have higher rates of cervical cancer than the general Australian population in New South Wales (NSW).^⑩

Migration to western countries was found to be associated with a high prevalence of cardiovascular risk factors among Asian immigrants in part due to acculturation.^{⑪, ⑫} The

① World Health Organization, Noncommunicable Diseases Progress Monitor, 2017. 2017: Geneva.

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③ Australian Bureau of Statistics, Migration Australia, 2015–16

④ Australian Bureau of Statistics, Reflecting a Nation: Stories from the 2011 Census, 2012–2013.

⑤ Zhang, Y. Q., R. MacLennan, and G. Berry, Mortality of Chinese in New South Wales, 1969–1978. *Int J Epidemiol*, 1984. 13(2): p. 188–92.

⑥ Shen, Q., et al., Risk factor profile in Chinese–Australian stroke patients living in Sydney. *Australas J Ageing*, 2011. 30(3): p. 143–7

⑦ Supramaniam R, O'Connell DL, Tracey EA, Stas F., Cancer incidence in New South Wales migrants 1991 to 2001. 2006, The Cancer Council NSW: Sydney.

⑧ Gong, Z. and D. Zhao, Cardiovascular diseases and risk factors among Chinese immigrants. *Intern Emerg Med*, 2016. 11(3): p. 307–18.

⑨ Chiu, M., et al., Cardiovascular risk factor profiles of recent immigrants vs long-term residents of Ontario: a multi-ethnic study. *Can J Cardiol*, 2012. 28(1): p. 20–6.

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patterns of these risk factors vary by a range of factors, such as the country of origin, the length of stay, and the age at migration in the host country.^① For example, a Canadian study showed the longer duration of residence was associated with higher prevalence of diabetes among Chinese immigrants.^② An Australian study found the prevalence of overweight /obesity was significantly higher among Asian immigrants who came to Australia at younger age.^③ However, this Australian study did not distinguish Chinese from other Asians immigrants which could discount the potential influence of genetic and contextual factors.

Despite the significant health risks among Chinese immigrants, we do not have sufficient knowledge about their risk factor profiles. The rapid growth of Chinese immigrants presents a challenge to the Australian health care system. The present study uses data from a large population – based Australian cohort on aging with a sufficient number of participants born in China to explore profiles of NCD risk factors in Chinese and non – Chinese Australians. Specifically, we examined the common risk factors for NCDs in Chinese and compare them with non – Chinese Australians; we then examined the association between acculturation and risk among Chinese immigrants. Findings from this study will help inform policy makers and stakeholders about priority areas for NCDs prevention among Chinese Australians and guide culturally specific public health programs.

METHODS

Sampling and Procedures

The Sax Institute's 45 and Up Study is a large population – based prospective cohort study of adults aged 45 years and older living in NSW, the most populous state in Australia. Baseline data were collected between February 2006 and April 2009.^④ Participants were randomly sampled from the enrolment database of Medicare Australia, the publicly funded universal healthcare system in Australia. A total of 266, 696 partici-

① Agyemang, C., A. de – Craft Aikins, and R. Bhopal, Ethnicity and cardiovascular health research: pushing the boundaries by including comparison populations in the countries of origin. *Ethn Health*, 2012. 17(6): p. 379 – 90.

② Chiu, M., et al., Cardiovascular risk factor profiles of recent immigrants vs long – term residents of Ontario: a multi – ethnic study. *Can J Cardiol*, 2012. 28(1): p. 20 – 6.

③ Guo, S., et al., Cardiovascular disease risk factor profiles of 263,356 older Australians according to region of birth and acculturation, with a focus on migrants born in Asia. *PLoS One*, 2015. 10(2): p. e0115627.

④ Banks, E., et al., Cohort profile: the 45 and up study. *Int J Epidemiol*, 2008. 37(5): p. 941 – 7.



pants completed the baseline questionnaires. A more detailed description of the 45 and Up Study has been provided elsewhere. The study was approved by the NSW Population and Health Service Research Ethics Committee (reference no. HREC/10/CIPHS/33).

Identification of Chinese immigrants

Participants reported their ancestry and country of birth. We define “Chinese immigrants” as those who reported Chinese as their sole ancestry and who were born in China.

Outcome variables

Self – reported risk factors

Self – reported risk factors included hypertension, diabetes, high cholesterol, overweight/obesity, currently smoking, physical inactivity, inadequate intake of fruit and vegetable, excessive alcohol consumption. Hypertension, diabetes, and high cholesterol were defined using a self – reported question about physician – diagnosed conditions or recent treatment of that condition. Currently smoking was defined by answering “yes” to “Are you a current smoker?” Overweight/obesity was defined as body mass index (BMI) > 25kg/m²).^① BMI was calculated from self – reported height and weight, which has a good agreement (kappa = 0.80) with objectively derived BMI categories in the 45 and Up Study.^② Physical inactivity was defined as not meeting the World Health Organisation (WHO) physical activity guidelines: < 150 minutes of moderate – to – vigorous – intensity physical activity (bouts of at least 10 – minutes) in the previous week. Physical activity levels were assessed using the Active Australia Survey^③ which has adequate validity when total minutes/week of moderate – to – vigorous physical activity is compared against an accelerometer (Spearman rho = 0.52).^④ Inadequate intake of fruit and vegetable was defined as not having 5 serving of vegetable or 2 servings of fruit per

① WHO Expert Consultation, Appropriate body – mass index for Asian populations and its implications for policy and intervention strategies. *Lancet*, 2004. 363(9403): p. 157 – 63.

② Ng, S. P., et al., Validity of self – reported height and weight and derived body mass index in middle – aged and elderly individuals in Australia. *Aust N Z J Public Health*, 2011. 35(6): p. 537 – 63.

③ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, *A Guide and Manual for Implementation, Analysis and Reporting*. 2003, AIHW; Canberra.

④ Brown, W. J., et al., Reliability and validity of a modified self – administered version of the Active Australia physical activity survey in a sample of mid – age women. *Aust N Z J Public Health*, 2008. 32(6): p. 535 – 41.

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day,^① excessive alcohol consumption was defined as drinking alcohol more than 14 times per week.^②

Acculturation variables

Three variables were examined as markers for acculturation:^③ age at migration, length of residence in Australia and other language spoken at home. Age at migration and length of residence were calculated from questions “What is your date of birth?”, “What is the date today?” and, “What year did you first come to live in Australia for one year or more?” Age at migration was categorized into two groups: <18 years old (“migrated as a child/adolescent”) and 18 years old (“migrated as an adult”). Length of residence in Australia was categorized into four groups: <10 years, 10–19 years, 20–29 years, 30 years. Other language spoken at home was classified as “yes” and “no” from the question of “Do you speak another language at home?”

Covariates

Covariates include the following variables: age, sex, educational attainment (“school certificate or lower”; “higher school, trade, or diploma”; “university degree or higher”), marital status (“married/living with a partner” or “other”), location of residence (“major city” versus “regional/remote”) based on the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia,^④ and private health insurance (“having private health insurance” or “no private health insurance”).

Statistical analysis

All statistical analyses were performed using SPSS version 24 (SPSS Inc., USA; www.spss.com). Poisson regression models with a robust error variance were used to first estimate prevalence ratio (PR) and 95% confidence intervals (CI) for CHD, stroke, risk factors and cancer screen behaviours by ethnicity using non-Chinese Australians as the reference group, and then to examine the association between accultura-

① National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian dietary guidelines summary, 2013, National Health and Medical Research Council; Canberra.

② National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian guidelines to reduce health risks from drinking alcohol, 2009, National Health and Medical Research Council; Canberra.

③ Salant, T. and D. S. Lauderdale, Measuring culture: a critical review of acculturation and health in Asian immigrant populations. Soc Sci Med, 2003. 57(1); p. 71–90.

④ Department of Health and Aged Care Information and Research Branch, Measuring Remoteness; Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA), D. o. H. a. A. Care, Editor, 2001; Canberra.



tion and risk factors as well as preventive behaviours among Chinese immigrants by using less acculturated groups (age at migration ≥ 18 years old; length of residence in Australia < 10 years; speaks a language other than English at home) as the reference group. PR was reported, adjusted for the covariates listed above.

RESULTS

Sample characteristics

Using data from 266,696 Australian participants from the 45 and Up Study (2006–2009), we investigated health conditions and common NCDs risk factors as well as the association between indicators of acculturation and risk factors among Chinese immigrants ($n = 2,690$), and non-Chinese ($n = 264,006$). Descriptive characteristics of the two groups demonstrate that Chinese were younger compared with non-Chinese Australians (Table 1). Chinese participants were also more likely than non-Chinese Australians to have a university or higher degree, and tended to live in major cities.

Self-reported risk factors

There were significant differences in the chronic health risk profiles between Chinese and non-Chinese Australians. While Chinese had lower prevalence of hypertension, high cholesterol, overweight/obesity, excessive alcohol intake, they had significant higher prevalence of currently smoking (PR 1.27; 95% CI 1.06–1.51), physical inactivity (PR 1.49; 95% CI 1.42–1.58), inadequate fruit and consumption (PR 1.16; 95% CI 1.13–1.19) (Table 2). A similar pattern was observed in sex-specific analyses except for currently smoking; Chinese men were more likely than non-Chinese to report current smoking (PR 1.60; 95% CI 1.33–1.92) while Chinese women were less likely than non-Chinese to report currently smoking (PR 0.57; 95% CI 0.35–0.92) (Table 2).

Association between acculturation and risk factors

Aged at migration

Chinese immigrants arriving in Australia as a child/adolescent had different chronic health risk factors profiles than those migrating at an older age (Table 3). Chinese arriving in Australia as a child/adolescent were significantly more likely to report overweight/obesity (PR 1.85; 95% CI 1.58–2.16), excessive alcohol consumption (PR 5.26; 95% 2.91–9.51) compared with those who migrated as an adult (Table 3).

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Length of residence in Australia

Longer duration of residence in Australia was associated with some risk factors (Table 4). Compared with participants of less than 10 years of residence, Chinese immigrants who lived in Australia for longer than 30 years were significantly more likely to report overweight/obesity (PR 1.31; 95% CI 1.04 – 1.66), and excessive alcohol consumption (PR 4.86; 95% CI 1.39 – 17.04) compared with those who lived in Australia less than 10 years.

Language spoken at home

Chinese immigrants who spoke English at home were more likely to be overweight/obesity (PR 1.28; 95% CI 1.08 – 1.51), and excessive alcohol consumption (PR 3.79; 95% CI 2.29 – 6.26) compared with those who spoke a language other than English at home (Table 5).

DISCUSSION

Our study examined common risk factors for NCDs and the associations of acculturation with these risk factors among Chinese immigrants. We found Chinese immigrants have significantly higher prevalence of behavioral risk factors for NCDs, including physical inactivity, currently smoking, insufficient intake of fruit and vegetables compared with non-Chinese Australians. Our study also found that a higher level of acculturation, measured by age at migration, duration of residence and language spoken at home, was associated with overweight/obesity and excessive alcohol consumption. These findings showed Chinese people had worse risk factors profiles of NCDs requiring urgent attention from researchers and policy makers.

Smoking

Our studies showed Chinese people had 27% higher prevalence of currently smoking than non-Chinese Australians. The higher prevalence of smoking in Chinese is consistent with previous survey from Melbourne.^① A few reasons could explain the higher prevalence of smoking in Chinese people. Studies on immigrants in western countries

① Pope, J. and O. Aumann, A survey of CVD risk factors in the general, Chinese and low socio-economic populations of a small LGA in Victoria. Aust N Z J Public Health, 2006. 30(2): p. 184-5.



showed smoking rates were highly dependent on country of origin. ^① China has the largest population of smokers in the world, consuming over a third of the world's cigarettes. ^② The prevalence of currently smoking is particularly high among male Chinese and low among Chinese female, ^③ which corresponds to the cultural acceptance (or even expectation) for male smoking ^④ and the opposite for female smoking. ^⑤ Furthermore, research from North America has shown low degree of acculturation, as indicated by speaking native language at home and first-generation immigrants was associated with high prevalence of smoking in Chinese people. ^{⑥,⑦} In our study, Chinese Australians were first-generation immigrants and majority of them spoke a language other than English at home, indicating their low level of acculturation, which could explain the higher prevalence of cigarette smoking in this population.

Tabacco smoking is a leading cause of preventable death in the world. ^⑧ The harmful effect of smoking on mortality from cancers, CVD and respiratory disease are well documented in the medical literature. ^⑨ Exposure to second-hand smoke is also associated with increased risk of CHD, adverse birth outcomes, and chronic respiratory disease. Moreover, tobacco smoking imposes an economic burden related to increased medical cost and lost productivity. Australian government has been actively engaging in tobacco control, which has led to nation-wide declines in smoking prevalence. ^⑩ Our study suggests that despite the success in tobacco control, population subgroups such as Chinese Australians still face a higher risk, which requires more culturally tailored interventions.

① Gotay, C. C. , et al. , Acculturation and smoking in North Americans of Chinese ancestry: A systematic review. *Can J Public Health*, 2015. 106(5) ; p. e333 -40.

② Chen, Z. , et al. , Contrasting male and female trends in tobacco - attributed mortality in China; evidence from successive nationwide prospective cohort studies. *Lancet*, 2015. 386(10002) ; p. 1447 -56.

③ Huang, X. , et al. , Development and validation of a smoking rationalization scale for male smokers in China. *J Health Psychol*, 2017; p. 1359105317720276.

④ Ding, D. , et al. , An early - stage epidemic; a systematic review of correlates of smoking among Chinese women. *Int J Behav Med*, 2014. 21(4) ; p. 653 -61.

⑤ An, N. , et al. , Influence of American acculturation on cigarette smoking behaviors among Asian American subpopulations in California. *Nicotine Tob Res*, 2008. 10(4) ; p. 379 -87.

⑥ World Health Organization, Global status report on noncommunicable disease 2014.

⑦ Ezzati, M. and E. Riboli, Behavioral and dietary risk factors for noncommunicable diseases. *N Engl J Med*, 2013. 369(10) ; p. 954 -64.

⑧ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, National Drug Strategy Household Survey 2016; detailed findings. 2017, AIHW; Canberra.

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However, a promising observation is that the prevalence of smoking decreases with the increase in levels of acculturation, which suggests that exposures to Australia's anti-tobacco policies and culture may protect against smoking in Chinese Australians. Anti-tobacco campaigns and risk-reduction interventions may be tailored towards recent immigrants from China as they are the most at risk.

Physical inactivity

Our studies showed Chinese people had 49% higher prevalence of physical inactivity than non-Chinese Australians. The higher prevalence of physical inactivity in Chinese immigrants compared with non-Chinese is consistent with previous research from the UK and America.^{①,②} Physical inactivity is a common health problem among Chinese people. A study from China also showed the prevalence of physical inactivity was higher than the global average.^③

Physical inactivity is associated with many NCDs and early mortality as well as a significant economic burden.^{④,⑤} Substantial evidence showed regular physical activity (150 minutes/week of moderate intensity) is associated with numerous health benefits, including reductions in the risk of CVD, hypertension, obesity, type 2 diabetes, breast and colon cancers, and all-cause mortality.^⑥ Regular physical activity is also associated with improved mental health and general well-being.^⑦ Despite this strong evidence, most Chinese people do not participate in regular physical activity. Some suggests that physical activity is not considered as a cultural norm in Chinese society as it is in western countries.^⑧

① Veeranna, V., et al., Association of novel biomarkers with future cardiovascular events is influenced by ethnicity: results from a multi-ethnic cohort. *Int J Cardiol*, 2013. 166(2): p. 487-93.

② Zaninotto, P., J. Mindell, and V. Hirani, Prevalence of cardiovascular risk factors among ethnic groups: results from the Health Surveys for England. *Atherosclerosis*, 2007. 195(1): p. e48-57.

③ Sallis, J. F., et al., Progress in physical activity over the Olympic quadrennium. *Lancet*, 2016. 388(10051): p. 1325-36.

④ Lee, I. M., et al., Effect of physical inactivity on major non-communicable diseases worldwide: an analysis of burden of disease and life expectancy. *Lancet*, 2012. 380(9838): p. 219-29.

⑤ Ding, D., et al., The economic burden of physical inactivity: a global analysis of major non-communicable diseases. *Lancet*, 2016. 388(10051): p. 1311-24.

⑥ Penedo, F. J. and J. R. Dahn, Exercise and well-being: a review of mental and physical health benefits associated with physical activity. *Curr Opin Psychiatry*, 2005. 18(2): p. 189-93.

⑦ Yi, S. S., et al., Acculturation and activity behaviors in Chinese American immigrants in New York City. *Prev Med Rep*, 2016. 4: p. 404-9.



Rapid economic growth has led to changes in lifestyle behaviours, such as decreasing physical activity in China. ① The barriers to participating in physical activity among people living in included lack of knowledge and motivation, low socioeconomic status, lack of social support and safe community environment. ② However, there is lack of research on physical activities among Chinese Australians. Language was identified as a major barrier to participate in physical activity among CALD migrants. ③ Future efforts should focus on identifying potential modifiable risk factors that can facilitate the development of behavioural – change interventions. ④ Some strategies could be considered when designing the programs in Chinese people: ⑤ 1) increasing Chinese people's knowledge on physical activity by providing translated Chinese language health material and resources; 2) promoting social support and creating a safe community environment.

Physical inactivity and smoking are two important risk factors for diabetes. ⑥, ⑦ These risk factors are particularly detrimental with Asians known to have higher genetic predisposing to type 2 diabetes. ⑧ Due to both genetic predisposition and high prevalence physical inactivity and smoking, Chinese people are at high risk to develop diabetes if these two risk factors are not addressed.

Inadequate vegetable or fruit consumption

Our studies showed Chinese immigrants had 16% higher prevalence of inadequate

① Xu, G., et al., Effects of insufficient physical activity on mortality and life expectancy in Jiangxi province of China, 2007 –2010. *PLoS One*, 2014. 9(10); p. e109826.

② Yi, X.P., Z. Gao, Z. Wang, S. Pan, F. Yan, J. Liu, M. Wu, P. Xu, J. Wang, R., Associations between individual and environmental factors and habitual physical activity among older Chinese adults: A social – ecological perspective. *Journal of Sport and Health Science*, 2016. 5; p. 315 –321.

③ O'Driscoll, T., et al., A systematic literature review of sport and physical activity participation in culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) migrant populations. *J Immigr Minor Health*, 2014. 16(3); p. 515 –30.

④ Yi, X.P., Z. Gao, Z. Wang, S. Pan, F. Yan, J. Liu, M. Wu, P. Xu, J. Wang, R., Associations between individual and environmental factors and habitual physical activity among older Chinese adults: A social – ecological perspective. *Journal of Sport and Health Science*, 2016. 5; p. 315 –321.

⑤ Yi, X.P., Z. Gao, Z. Wang, S. Pan, F. Yan, J. Liu, M. Wu, P. Xu, J. Wang, R., Associations between individual and environmental factors and habitual physical activity among older Chinese adults: A social – ecological perspective. *Journal of Sport and Health Science*, 2016. 5; p. 315 –321.

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⑦ Knowler, W. C., et al., Reduction in the incidence of type 2 diabetes with lifestyle intervention or metformin. *N Engl J Med*, 2002. 346(6); p. 393 –403.

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fruit and vegetable consumption than non – Chinese Australians. These findings were consistent with a previous survey in Melbourne.^① Insufficient fruit and vegetable intake were also found in people from China. A recent large national survey from China showed nearly half of Chinese adults (46.8%) failed to meet the WHO recommendation for fruit and vegetable consumption.^②

Increased intake of fruit and vegetable is a key component of a healthy diet for the prevention of NCDs.^③ Australian dietary guidelines recommended eating at least 5 serves of vegetable and 2 services of fruit every day.^④ Evidence indicated that higher consumption of fruit and vegetable is associated with reduction of all – cause mortality particularly cardiovascular mortality, risk of CVD^⑤ and some types of cancer, such as colon cancer and breast cancer.^⑥ Similarly, the recent studies involving near a half million people in China found that higher level of fruit consumption was related with lower risk of CVD and mortality from CVD.^{⑦,⑧}

Influences of diet choices are complexes, involving factors from individual, socio-cultural, community, and industry and governmental levels.^⑨ Studies in Western countries found that low consumption of fruit and vegetable was associated with low socio – economic status, lack of access to fresh fruit and vegetable, high costs and lack of time to

① Pope, J. and O. Aumann, A survey of CVD risk factors in the general, Chinese and low socio – economic populations of a small LGA in Victoria. Aust N Z J Public Health, 2006. 30(2); p. 184 – 5.

② Li, Y. C. , et al. , Vegetable and Fruit Consumption among Chinese Adults and Associated Factors; A Nationally Representative Study of 170,847 Adults. Biomed Environ Sci, 2017. 30(12); p. 863 – 874.

③ Wang, X. , et al. , Fruit and vegetable consumption and mortality from all causes, cardiovascular disease, and cancer; systematic review and dose – response meta – analysis of prospective cohort studies. Bmj, 2014. 349; p. g4490.

④ National Health and Medical Research Council, Australian dietary guidelines summary. 2013, National Health and Medical Research Council; Canberra.

⑤ Hartley, L. , et al. , Increased consumption of fruit and vegetables for the primary prevention of cardiovascular diseases. Cochrane Database Syst Rev, 2013(6); p. Cd009874.

⑥ Boeing, H. , et al. , Critical review: vegetables and fruit in the prevention of chronic diseases. Eur J Nutr, 2012. 51(6); p. 637 – 63.

⑦ Du, H. , et al. , Fresh fruit consumption and all – cause and cause – specific mortality: findings from the China Kadoorie Biobank. Int J Epidemiol, 2017. 46(5); p. 1444 – 1455.

⑧ Du, H. , et al. , Fresh Fruit Consumption and Major Cardiovascular Disease in China. N Engl J Med, 2016. 374(14); p. 1332 – 43.

⑨ Mozaffarian, D. , Dietary and Policy Priorities for Cardiovascular Disease, Diabetes, and Obesity: A Comprehensive Review. Circulation, 2016. 133(2); p. 187 – 225.



prepare vegetables in western countries. ^① The reasons for low intake of fruit and vegetable in Chinese Australians were unclear due to lack of research in this group. Some suggest that acculturation to western lifestyles may contribute to adoption of unhealthy diet. ^{②,③} Dietary changes such as increasing intake of fats and decreased cereal intake were found in China due to adopting a Western, animal – based diet resulting from urbanisation and industrialisation. ^④ In China, low consumption of vegetables and fruit was related with low educational level, irregular diets frequencies and poor health literacy. ^④ Our findings highlight the importance to develop programs that promote healthy eating habits in Chinese Australians. Future research is also needed to identify effective interventions and policy approaches to increase the consumption of fruit and vegetable in Chinese population.

Acculturation impact on risk factors

Our findings showed more acculturated Chinese, measured by migration as a child/ adolescent, longer residence in Australia, and speaking English at home were more likely to be overweight/obesity. Several studies have identified greater levels of acculturation to be associated with overweight/obesity among immigrants from various countries of origin. ^{⑤,⑥} This could be due to greater exposures to western cultures that lead to adoption of unhealthy behaviours, such as poor diet, which predispose immigrants to obesity. ^② Research showed early acculturation can influence BMI and body composition during childhood and adulthood, having a long impact on future cardiovascular health, including diabetes, obesity and CVD. ^②

Our study showed that a longer duration of residence in Australia, migration as a

① Appleton, K. M. , et al. , Increasing vegetable intakes: rationale and systematic review of published interventions. *Eur J Nutr*, 2016. 55(3) ; p. 869 – 96.

② Lee, W. P. , J. Lingard, and M. Bermingham, Change in diet and body mass index in Taiwanese women with length of residence in Australia. *Asia Pac J Clin Nutr*, 2007. 16(1) ; p. 56 – 65.

③ Lv, N. and K. L. Cason, Dietary pattern change and acculturation of Chinese Americans in Pennsylvania. *J Am Diet Assoc*, 2004. 104(5) ; p. 771 – 8.

④ Li, Y. C. , et al. , Vegetable and Fruit Consumption among Chinese Adults and Associated Factors: A Nationally Representative Study of 170,847 Adults. *Biomed Environ Sci*, 2017. 30(12) ; p. 863 – 874.

⑤ Guo, S. , et al. , Cardiovascular disease risk factor profiles of 263,356 older Australians according to region of birth and acculturation, with a focus on migrants born in Asia. *PLoS One*, 2015. 10(2) ; p. e0115627.

⑥ Roshania, R. , K. M. Narayan, and R. Oza – Frank , Age at arrival and risk of obesity among US immigrants. *Obesity (Silver Spring)*, 2008. 16(12) ; p. 2669 – 75.

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child/adolescent and speaking English at home were associated with 2 – 4 times higher prevalence of excessive alcohol intake. The findings suggest high levels of acculturation had substantial impact on Chinese immigrants' drinking behaviours. Despite a general lack of research on Chinese subgroups in the use of alcohol in Australia, overseas studies showed that a greater level of acculturation was associated with higher levels of alcohol consumption among Asian immigrants, particularly in young adults. ①, ② In addition to the acculturation level, the country of origin was reported to have significant impact on Asians drinking behaviours. In China, drinking alcohol is an accepted cultural practice during major social and festive events, such as Spring Festival, and is considered to help relieve stress, facilitate social interactions and foster relationships in daily life. ③ Harmful use of alcoholic a major public health concern. ④ Harmful use of alcohol is associated with increased risk for NCDs, as well as mental and behavioural disorders. ⑤ In Australia, alcohol is second to tobacco as a preventable cause of drug – related death and hospitalisation. ⑥ Alcohol accounts for the majority of drug – related deaths and hospitalisation among young Australians, and is a significant contributor to pre – mature mortality and hospitalisation among older Australian. ⑦

CONCLUSIONS

Chinese Australians represent the largest CALD group in Australia. Our study found Chinese immigrants have higher prevalence of behavioural risk factors for NCDs. With rapid influx of Chinese immigrants into Australia, their health problems present a huge challenge to Australian health care system. The rising burden of risk factors for NCDs among Chinese calls for the monitoring the risk factors and developing culturally specific interventions to reduce the health risks among Chinese immigrants.

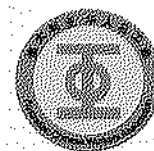
① Cook, W. K. , N. Mulia, and K. Karriker – Jaffe, Ethnic drinking cultures and alcohol use among Asian American adults; findings from a national survey. *Alcohol Alcohol*, 2012. 47(3) : p. 340 – 8.

② Cook, W. K. , et al. , Asian American problem drinking trajectories during the transition to adulthood: ethnic drinking cultures and neighborhood contexts. *Am J Public Health*, 2015. 105(5) : p. 1020 – 7.

③ Tang, Y. L. , et al. , Alcohol and alcohol – related harm in China: policy changes needed. *Bull World Health Organ*, 2013. 91(4) : p. 270 – 6.

④ World Health Organization, *Global status report on noncommunicable disease 2014*.

⑤ National Health and Medical Research Council, *Australian guidelines to reduce health risks from drinking alcohol*. 2009, National Health and Medical Research Council; Canberra.



TABLES

Table 1. Social demographic characteristics of participants in the 45 and Up Study by ethnicity
 (Data sources: the 45 and Up Study; baseline questionnaire data book)

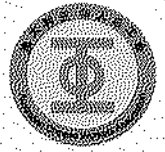
	Chinese (n = 2,690) % (n)%	Non-Chinese (n = 264,006) (n)
Age (Mean/SD)	59.9(11.5)	62.8 (11.2)
45 – 54	44.3(1,191)	29.0 (76,467)
55 – <64	27.4(736)	32.2 (85,075)
65 – <74	14.1(380)	21.8 (57,671)
75 – <84	11.2(302)	13.9 (36,577)
≥ 85	3.0(81)	3.1 (8,216)
Sex		
Male	45.6(1,227)	46.4 (122,478)
Female	54.4(1,463)	53.6 (141,528)
Education attainment		
School certificate or lower (<10 years)	16.1(424)	34.5 (89,536)
High school/trade/diploma	42.6(1,124)	42.3 (109,703)
University or higher	41.3(1,088)	23.3 (60,938)
Marital status		
Married/living with a partner	80.6 (2,167)	74.6 (195,547)
Other	19.2 (516)	24.8 (65,040)
Location of residence		
Major city	92.1(2,470)	44.6 (11,762)
Reginal/remote	213(7.9)	55.7 (146,184)
Private health insurance		
Yes	64.1(1,724)	63.4 (167,263)
No	35.9(966)	36.6 (96,739)

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Table 2. Prevalence of self-reported risk factors by ethnicity in the 45 and Up Study (2006 – 2009)

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)
Hypertension						
Non-Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chinese	0.78 (0.73 - 0.83) ***	0.88 (0.83 - 0.93) ***	0.86 (0.80 - 0.94) ***	0.93 (0.86 - 1.0)	0.70 (0.64 - 0.77) ***	0.83 (0.76 - 0.91) ***
Diabetes						
Non-Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chinese	0.94 (0.83 - 1.06)	1.08 (0.95 - 1.22)	0.91 (0.77 - 1.08)	1.02 (0.86 - 1.20)	0.98 (0.81 - 1.18)	1.18 (0.97 - 1.42)
High cholesterol						
Non-Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chinese	0.73 (0.65 - 0.81) ***	0.76 (0.69 - 0.85) ***	0.68 (0.58 - 0.80) ***	0.67 (0.57 - 0.78) ***	0.77 (0.67 - 0.89) **	0.87 (0.75 - 1.01)
Overweight/obesity						
Non-Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chinese	0.45 (0.42 - 0.48) ***	0.47 (0.44 - 0.50) ***	0.53 (0.49 - 0.57) ***	0.54 (0.50 - 0.58) ***	0.38 (0.34 - 0.42) ***	0.40 (0.36 - 0.44) ***
Currently smoking						
Non-Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1



续表

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)
Chinese	1.15 (0.97 - 1.37)	1.27 (1.06 - 1.51)**	1.53 (1.27 - 1.84)**	1.60 (1.33 - 1.92)**	0.52 (0.32 - 0.85)**	0.57 (0.35 - 0.92)*
Physical inactivity						
Non - Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chinese	1.39 (1.46)***	1.49 (1.58)***	1.43 (1.54)***	1.47 (1.59)***	1.36 (1.46)***	1.51 (1.41 - 1.63)***
Inadequate fruit and vegetable consumption						
Non - Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chinese	1.16 (1.19)***	1.16 (1.19)***	1.05 (1.09)*	1.05 (1.09)**	1.30 (1.25 - 1.35)***	1.29 (1.24 - 1.34)***
Excessive alcohol consumption						
Non - Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chinese	0.15 (0.19)***	0.16 (0.20)***	0.15 (0.20)***	0.16 (0.21)***	0.16 (0.11 - 0.24)***	0.16 (0.10 - 0.23)***

* < 0.05; ** < 0.01; *** < 0.001

PR, Prevalence ratio, calculated using Poisson regression models with a robust error variance

†PR, Prevalence ratio, for age, sex, education, private health insurance, marital status, and remoteness

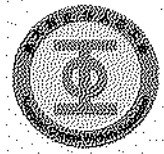
‡PR, Prevalence ratio, adjusted for age, education, private insurance, marital status and remoteness

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Table 3. Association between age at migration and risk factors among Chinese immigrants in the 45 and Up Study (2006 – 2009)

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)
Hypertension						
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	1.27 (1.06 – 1.52) **	1.05 (0.87 – 1.26)	1.32 (1.07 – 1.64) **	1.13 (0.90 – 1.43)	1.09 (0.79 – 1.50)	0.92 (0.68 – 1.25)
Diabetes						
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	1.24 (0.83 – 1.84)	1.03 (0.67 – 1.58)	1.32 (0.81 – 2.13)	1.08 (0.63 – 1.86)	1.02 (0.51 – 2.04)	0.96 (0.48 – 1.92) High cholesterol
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	1.22 (0.87 – 1.71)	0.96 (0.66 – 1.39)	1.51 (0.9902.30)	1.16 (0.70 – 1.91)	0.89 (0.50 – 1.60)	0.74 (0.42 – 1.30) Overweight/obesity
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	2.05 (1.78 – 2.36) ** ** *	1.85 (1.58 – 2.16) ** ** *	1.72 (1.45 – 2.04) ** ** *	1.63 (1.34 – 1.98) ** ** *	2.42 (1.92 – 3.05) ** ** *	2.19 (1.71 – 2.80)
Currently smoking						
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	0.62 (0.35 – 1.08)	0.81 (0.47 – 1.39)	0.46 (0.22 – 0.95) *	0.63 (0.33 – 1.20)	1.71 (0.63 – 4.69)	1.36 (0.41 – 4.55)



续表

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [‡] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [‡] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [‡] (95% CI)
Physical inactivity						
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	0.67 (0.53 - 0.83) **	0.68 (0.54 - 0.85) **	0.72 (0.55 - 0.95) *	0.73 (0.55 - 0.98) *	0.58 (0.40 - 0.84) **	0.60 (0.41 - 0.88) **
Inadequate fruit and vegetable consumption						
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	0.88 (0.79 - 0.98) *	0.90 (0.80 - 1.00) *	0.89 (0.78 - 1.01)	0.91 (0.79 - 1.04)	0.84 (0.71 - 1.00)	0.88 (0.73 - 1.06)
Excessive alcohol consumption						
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	8.32 (5.30 - 13.05) ***	5.26 (2.91 - 9.51) ***	6.82 (4.02 - 11.60) ***	4.84 (2.39 - 9.79) ***	10.22 (4.44 - 23.54) ***	6.54 (2.25 - 19.03) **

* < 0.05; ** < 0.01; *** < 0.001

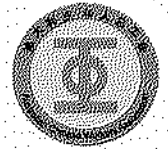
PR, Prevalence ratio, calculated using Poisson regression models with a robust error variance
[†]PR, Prevalence ratio, for age, sex, education, private health insurance, marital status, and remoteness
[‡]PR, Prevalence ratio, adjusted for age, education, private health insurance, marital status and remoteness

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Table 4. Association between length of residence and risk factors among Chinese immigrants in the 45 and Up Study (2006 – 2009)

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR (95% CI)
Hypertension	1	1	1	1	1	1
<10 years	0.98 (0.79 – 1.22)	1.03 (0.83 – 1.28)	0.98 (0.73 – 1.31)	1.01 (0.77 – 1.32)	0.98 (0.71 – 1.36)	1.07 (0.77 – 1.49)
10 – 19 years	0.93 (0.74 – 1.19)	0.93 (0.73 – 1.18)	0.81 (0.59 – 1.11)	0.87 (0.64 – 1.28)	1.06 (0.75 – 1.51)	0.98 (0.68 – 1.42)
20 – 29 years	1.43 (1.15 – 1.78)	1.04 (0.83 – 1.32)	1.29 (0.97 – 1.72)	0.97 (0.72 – 1.32)	1.54 (1.11 – 2.14) *	1.14 (0.80 – 1.62)
≥ 30 years						
Diabetes	1	1	1	1	1	1
<10 years	0.90 (0.57 – 1.44)	0.94 (0.55 – 1.49)	1.22 (0.56 – 2.68)	1.16 (0.54 – 2.53)	0.74 (0.42 – 1.31)	0.81 (0.45 – 1.46)
10 – 19 years	1.17 (0.72 – 1.89)	1.16 (0.71 – 1.91)	1.94 (0.89 – 4.26)	1.89 (0.86 – 41.4)	0.74 (0.39 – 1.41)	0.77 (0.40 – 1.51)
20 – 29 years	1.39 (0.87 – 2.23)	1.03 (0.62 – 1.71)	2.25 (1.04 – 4.86) *	1.52 (0.67 – 3.43)	0.88 (0.47 – 1.65)	0.74 (0.38 – 1.45)
≥ 30 years						
High cholesterol	1	1	1	1	1	1
<10 years						



续表

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)
10-19 years	0.96 (0.65 - 1.43)	- 0.89 (0.59 - 1.33)	- 1.05 (0.56 - 1.96)	- 0.91 (0.48 - 1.71)	- 0.90 (0.54 - 1.50)	- 0.89 (0.52 - 1.51)
20-29 years	1.14 (0.76 - 1.72)	- 0.97 (0.63 - 1.51)	- 1.20 (0.63 - 2.29)	- 1.00 (0.51 - 1.98)	- 1.11 (0.65 - 1.89)	- 0.94 (0.53 - 1.66)
≥ 30 years	1.33 (0.89 - 1.99)	- 0.87 (0.56 - 1.35)	- 1.53 (0.82 - 2.86)	- 0.97 (0.49 - 1.95)	- 1.18 (0.69 - 2.01)	- 0.80 (0.45 - 1.44)
Overweight/obesity						
< 10 years	1	1	1	1	1	1
10-19 years	0.77 (0.62 - 0.96) *	- 0.80 (0.64 - 1.01)	- 0.85 (0.65 - 1.12)	- 0.88 (0.66 - 1.17)	- 0.67 (0.48 - 0.95)	- 0.71 (0.50 - 1.02)
20-29 years	0.83 (0.66 - 1.05)	- 0.84 (0.66 - 1.07)	- 0.79 (0.59 - 1.06)	- 0.82 (0.60 - 1.11)	- 0.85 (0.59 - 1.22)	- 0.85 (0.58 - 1.24)
≥ 30 years	1.40 (1.13 - 1.72) **	- 1.31 (1.04 - 1.66) *	- 1.24 (0.95 - 1.62)	- 1.30 (0.96 - 1.75)	- 1.49 (1.0702.07) *	- 1.36 (0.94 - 1.95)
Currently smoking						
< 10 years	1	1	1	1	1	1
10-19 years	0.70 (0.43 - 1.15)	- 0.77 (0.49 - 1.22)	- 0.78 (0.47 - 1.30)	- 0.85 (0.53 - 1.37)	- 0.27 (0.07 - 1.91)	- 0.21 (0.05 - 0.98)
20-29 years	0.56 (0.33 - 0.97) *	- 0.60 (0.34 - 1.01)	- 0.62 (0.35 - 1.10)	- 0.65 (0.38 - 1.12)	- 0.41 (0.08 - 2.11)	- 0.20 (0.03 - 1.23)

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	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)
≥ 30 years	0.39 (0.22 - 0.61) 0.67) * *	(0.34 - 1.09)	0.38 (0.20 - 0.60) 0.69) * *	(0.32 - 1.12)	0.52 (0.13 - 2.17)	0.29 (0.04 - 2.37)
Physical inactivity						
< 10 years	1	1	1	1	1	1
10 - 19 years	0.90 (0.76 - 1.06)	0.95 (0.80 - 1.13)	1.05 (0.80 - 1.36)	1.14 (0.86 - 1.50)	0.80 (0.64 - 0.99) *	0.83 (0.66 - 1.03)
20 - 29 years	0.98 (0.83 - 1.17)	1.03 (0.86 - 1.24)	1.09 (0.83 - 1.44)	1.12 (0.84 - 1.50)	0.91 (0.73 - 1.15)	0.96 (0.75 - 1.22)
≥ 30 years	0.80 (0.66 - 0.96)	0.88 (0.72 - 1.08)	0.93 (0.70 - 1.24)	1.07 (0.78 - 1.47)	0.69 (0.54 - 0.89) * *	0.74 (0.56 - 0.98)
Inadequate fruit and vegetable consumption						
< 10 years	1	1	1	1	1	1
10 - 19 years	0.95 (0.87 - 1.03)	0.96 (0.88 - 1.05)	0.95 (0.85 - 1.07)	0.97 (0.86 - 1.09)	0.94 (0.83 - 1.06)	0.94 (0.83 - 1.07)
20 - 29 years	0.96 (0.87 - 1.05)	0.96 (0.87 - 1.06)	0.93 (0.82 - 1.06)	0.95 (0.83 - 1.09)	0.98 (0.86 - 1.11)	0.96 (0.84 - 1.10)
≥ 30 years	0.90 (0.82 - 0.99) *	0.91 (0.82 - 1.02)	0.82 (0.82 - 1.06)	0.95 (0.82 - 1.09)	0.84 (0.73 - 0.97) *	0.87 (0.74 - 1.02)



续表

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)
Excessive alcohol consumption						
< 10 years	1	1	1	1	1	1
10 - 19 years	0.83 (0.23 - 3.00)	0.83 (0.23 - 3.06)	0.63 (0.12 - 3.19)	0.61 (0.11 - 3.23)	1.24 (0.15 - 10.57)	1.28 (0.16 - 10.30)
20 - 29 years	1.29 (0.35 - 4.73)	1.12 (0.29 - 4.31)	1.59 (0.34 - 7.39)	1.42 (0.27 - 7.35)	0.45 (0.03 - 7.30)	0.42 (0.03 - 6.12)
≥ 30 years	7.01 (2.02 - 22.29) **	4.86 (1.39 - 17.04) *	6.36 (1.55 - 26.44) *	4.77 (0.95 - 23.69)	7.05 (0.94 - 53.08)	5.20 (0.74 - 36.30)

PR, Prevalence ratio, calculated using Poisson regression models with a robust error variance

[†]PR, Prevalence ratio, for age, sex, education, private health insurance, marital status, and remoteness

[‡]PR, Prevalence ratio, adjusted for age, education, private insurance, marital status and remoteness

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Table 5 Association between language spoken at home and risk factors among Chinese immigrants in the 45 and Up Study (2006 – 2009)

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [†] (95% CI)
Hypertension						
Other language	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	1.30 (1.12 – 1.51) **	0.93 (0.79 – 1.10)	1.30 (1.07 – 1.59) **	0.92 (0.72 – 1.15)	1.30 (1.03 – 1.63) *	0.96 (0.76 – 1.21)
Diabetes						
Other language	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	1.21 (0.86 – 1.70)	0.91 (0.62 – 1.34)	1.11 (0.69 – 1.78)	0.77 (0.45 – 1.34)	1.34 (0.82 – 2.17)	1.10 (0.65 – 1.88)
High cholesterol						
Other language	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	1.33 (1.01 – 1.77) *	1.05 (0.77 – 1.44)	1.59 (1.08 – 2.34) *	1.31 (0.83 – 07)	1.13 (0.75 – 1.69)	0.88 (0.58 – 1.35)
Overweight/obesity						
Other language	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	1.41 (1.21 – 1.65) ** *	1.28 (1.08 – 1.51) ** *	1.42 (1.17 – 1.70) ** *	1.34 (1.09 – 1.66) ** *	1.43 (1.11 – 1.84) ** *	1.19 (0.91 – 1.56)



续表

	Overall		Men		Women	
	Unadjusted PR [†] (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [‡] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [‡] (95% CI)	Unadjusted PR (95% CI)	Adjusted PR [‡] (95% CI)
Currently smoking						
Other language	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	0.52 (0.31 - 0.88) *	0.76 (0.44 - 1.31) *	0.52 (0.29 - 0.94) *	0.82 (0.47 - 1.43)	0.66 (0.19 - 2.23)	0.58 (0.13 - 2.61)
Physical inactivity						
Other language	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	0.90 (0.77 - 1.05)	0.93 (0.78 - 1.10)	0.89 (0.71 - 1.12)	0.92 (0.72 - 1.17)	0.91 (0.73 - 1.13)	0.94 (0.75 - 1.18)
Inadequate fruit and vegetable consumption						
Other language	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	0.95 (0.87 - 1.03)	0.97 (0.89 - 1.06)	1.02 (0.92 - 1.13)	1.02 (0.92 - 1.16)	0.88 (0.77 - 0.99) *	0.92 (0.80 - 1.05)
Excessive alcohol consumption						
Age ≥ 18 years old	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age < 18 years old	5.89 (3.79 - 17) ***	3.79 (2.29 - 26) ***	5.49 (3.25 - 27) ***	3.50 (1.88 - 51) ***	7.07 (2.16 - 78) ***	4.75 (2.05 - 03) ***

* < 0.05 ; ** < 0.01 ; *** < 0.001

PR, Prevalence ratio, calculated using Poisson regression models with a robust error variance

†PR, Prevalence ratio, for age, sex, education, private health insurance, marital status, and remoteness

‡PR, Prevalence ratio, adjusted for age, education, private insurance, marital status and remoteness

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Student employment: issue of exploitation and its impact on graduate expectation in Australian labour market

Minhua Li

A study of Chinese students in University of Sydney

Key words: Chinese Student; Australian labour market; employability; undergraduate employment; exploitation

1. Abstract

Recently, there is intense policy interest in Australia on school – to – work transitions. Allied to this there has been a rapid expansion of Chinese students involved in higher education since the 1990s. The major way in which school students experienced workplaces before was through work placement arranged by school. However, part – time employment and internship is more and more common. Also, many students start part – time work whilst still at school, although the negative phenomena have been little examined in the literature. This study, therefore, set out to examine the different ways in which Chinese students still at school experience workplaces and how does it effect the transition from education to employment. The research, carried out at University of Sydney during July to September 2017, contained both qualitative and quantitative components.

A full literature review, mainly of Australian literature but also including few works



from overseas was carried out. The reviews covered literature on International students work experiences on part time employment and internship as well as issues associated with it. Besides, the most relevant literatures regarding related regulations was also briefly examined.

The quantitative part of the study involved administration of a questionnaire to those Chinese students who studying in University of Sydney. The questionnaire was composed of personal details, a record of participation in some paid and unpaid activities in workplaces, and detailed sections about both positive and negative part of work experience and graduate expectations. In total, 238 responses were received to this questionnaire.

In the qualitative stage, case studies were carried out in those agreed to participate in it through the survey. More detailed situation would be examined in this part. The quantitative and qualitative information were analysed segregately and were then drawn together to outline some overall conclusions.

The research found that Chinese students are vulnerable to exploitation. When undertaking part – time job which mostly in hospitality, because they are not familiar with the wage policies nor confident about the English skills, so that they would more likely to be employed by someone from the same cultural group, which makes the exploitation would most commonly be happened.

However, even student value the work experience that the part – time employment brings, the transition from education to employment and the positive connection between school – time employment and graduate outcomes depends on if the work field related to their study field. It's not easy for Chinese students to find an internship related to their study what can be the Stepping Stone for employment. Nevertheless, most of the internship programme is unpaid. In addition, more and more students would like to return to home country instead of staying in Australia compares to previous years. Students don't get enough support from responsible stakeholder, more practice from universities, government, related organizations is necessary.

2. Introduction

Australia has always been the main destinations for Chinese students studying abroad. The Australian Government Department of Education and Training reported that

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over 164,997 Chinese students were enrolled in Australian education institutions by July 2017, an increase of 19% over the previous year, which share 29% of all the international students^①. It's obvious that China has become the first source of international students in Australia. The large and booming number of Chinese students plays a more and more important role on Australian labour market and society, it's necessary to investigate the employment situation and graduates destination of those students who studying in Australia from China.

These visitors tend to remain for one to four years and through this period have long had the right to be employed for 20 hours per week during the semester and an unlimited number of hours at other times^②. The demand for youth labour is rising along with the growing numbers of university students who are available for casual work. Since enrolments at universities have constantly arised, but so has the institution costs of higher education. Take the International student tuition fees rates announced by the University of Canberra as an example, the annual fee rate for Bachelor of Accounting in 2016 is \$ 26,590 (Australian Dollars), while it increased to \$ 28,460 in 2017, and would be \$ 30,450 for students who enrolls in 2018, which respectively rise 7% and 6% compare to the prior year.^③ At the same time, fund support available to international students has decreased. Many international students experience severe financial difficulties while studying in Australia with a significant proportion having a non-wage income less than half the Henderson Poverty Line^④. This has also contributes to increase the incentive for university students to seek part-time employment to reduce the financial pressure.

The growing popularity of overseas study, coupled with the massification of the higher education in China, means more and more Chinese students are seeking to distinguish themselves in an increasingly competitive global labour market. Even for those students without financial pressure, it's still likely to them to look for employment for at-

① "Australian Government Department of Education and Training," last accessed Oct 11, 2017, <https://www.education.gov.au>

② "Parliament of Australia," last accessed Oct 11, 2017, <https://www.aph.gov.au>

③ "University of Canberra," last accessed Oct 11, 2017, <http://www.canberra.edu.au>

④ Nyland, C., Forbes - Mewett, H., Marginson, S., Ramia, G., Sawir, E. and Smith, S. (2009) "International student-workers in Australia: a new vulnerable workforce", *Journal of Education and Work*, 22:1, 1 - 14



tempting to transition from an Australian university into the Australian labour market. By achieving so, they try to accumulate work experiences through part-time jobs or major-related internships. That is, general accepted that students could benefit financially and academically from employment.

However, there are lots of problems that those Chinese students encounter, this is not least from the research by Damian Oliver has revealed that University student labour is central to the functioning of labour in the retail and hospitality industries which regarded as low-skilled work, at the same time, these young workers doesn't know much about their employment rights, which placing them in a weak bargaining position and exposing them to a high risk of exploitation^①. Australian Taxation Office suggests that there was 5,294 person, in which 95% proportion of complaints, reported that their employer pays them cash on hand for tax avoidance^②. This year, Professor Stephen Clibborn from the University of Sydney had a survey about part-time employment situation among 1,433 international students randomly selected, 60% of 272 students who have a part-time job earn lower than the minimum hourly rate \$18.29 made by Australian Fair Work Commission^③.

The employment satisfaction of Australian-educated graduates is not as pleasant as expected, according to the data from Australian Government Department of Education and Training in 2017, 42% Chinese students who are studying in Australia enrolls in Management and Commerce field, and 10% enrolls in Engineer, but there is still a fairly low rate of employment in acknowledged skill shortages areas in Australia, such as engineering and accounting^④.

In spite of their consequent vulnerability, international student-workers have not been included in debates on vulnerable workers and this is true even of contributions that have analyzed the vulnerability of those young studentworkers from China.

There are a few research about the vulnerable international student-workers and

① Oliver, D. (2003) "New job, new start? Union attitudes and student workers", AIRAANZ

② "Australian Taxation Office," last accessed Oct 11, 2017, <https://www.ato.gov.au>

③ Oliver, D., McDonald, P., Stewart, A., and Hewitt, A. (2016) "Unpaid Work Experience in Australia: Prevalence, nature and impact", Commonwealth Department of Employment

④ "Australian Government Department of Education and Training," last accessed Oct 11, 2017, <https://www.education.gov.au>

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their employment outcome in Australia, though none of them has focussed specifically for Chinese students, or investigate how the employment experience influence their employment expectation, a report should be conducted upon with a view to containing the vulnerability of this community and what to do for them to gain a better career.

The five research questions, which were devised for the current study aim to examine these research gaps, are as follows:

- What is the extent and nature of the way in which Chinese students experience the workplace?
- How does student work experience affect university graduates' attitudes toward employment
- What is the nature and relative importance of benefit gained from the internship?
- What effects do such experiences of the workplace have on later influence to students' mobility?
- What are the major work relation problems currently for Chinese students – workers and what should responsible stakeholder do?

The study attempted to provide answers to these five questions with the following research methods:

- Literature review
- A survey in University of Sydney
- In – depth interview students who agree to participate it according to survey

This report outlines the analysis about the employment situation of Chinese students workers in Australia by collecting questionnaire responses and drawing on interviews with 238 Chinese students in University of Sydney. The paper begins by discussing the student workers related literature and how policy stratification of the employment support regime impacts on the labour market position of low – wage employees. We then clarify the proportion of those students employed, the nature of their employment experience, and comment on what might be done to reduce their vulnerability by responsible stakeholders.



This study involved a questionnaire which was distributed to students via both hand out and social media. It was a confidential survey which does not identify individual respondents in any recognisable way. The survey also identified which study field are they involve in, if its related to their job, their hourly rate before tax, where are their employer comes from, what kind of issues that they encounter while looking for a job and what's their satisfaction or expectation towards their employment situation.

Furthermore, we suggest that as primary sponsors of international student visas, universities should put more effort on informing and protecting students' labour rights and that given the dire situation of many international students they must be identified to be part of the vulnerable – worker debate.

The conclusions have clear policy implications, and it is to be hoped that the data will support national and State/Territory policy – makers as they devise and refine policies and programs relating to school students and workplaces.

3. Literature review

The literature review has revealed the following major points that have implications for the study.

Firstly, there is very little literature about Chinese student school – time workers in Australia; the data from the National Employment Report which conducted by government are focus more on the graduates, and the recent study about student worker by professors wasn't pay attention on the Chinese students in particular. The need was clearly established, therefore, for a scoping study to learn more about the extent and condition of part – time work for university students.

Secondly, student workers have always been excluded from vulnerable workers debate, however, as the population of this group growing constantly, exploitation have been slowly exposed.

Thirdly, some studies shows there is part of the student worker who working in a different field not in connection with their study, more exploration of the reason and the detail of other kind of work (such as unpaid internship and volunteer job) is needed.

Fourthly, the relationship between employment during semester time and employment outcomes can be more extensively explored. How these work experiences influence

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the way students approach future work and careers and manage their employability, and how does student employment affect university graduates' work centrality, attitudes, and expectations?

Finally, both universities and unions have shown a great interest in engaging with student workers. Understanding more clearly how student employment affects young people's work-related attitudes, beliefs, expectations and behaviours will help unions formulate better recruitment and organising strategies.

This part of the paper examines current literature on Chinese students' experiences of workplaces through distribution of employment, negative experiences of student workers and the linkage between their school-time employment and graduates outcomes.

Several of the stakeholders consulted in the early stages of the project pointed out that students may experience workplaces in several other ways (such as accompanying parents to work), but such experiences are outside the scope of this paper, therefore the literature review only include part-time work, internship and other unpaid work. The literature covered in this chapter is mainly Australian, but some overseas literature is referred to in areas where the Australian literature is not extensive.

In this chapter, the literature on Chinese students' part-time employment situation is examined first, followed by that on the problems faced while working as international students, especially on underpayment issue. Next, a discussion on the internship or work placement is presented. What's more, the transition of students toward labor market from higher education is described. Finally, a small body of literature that the effort that responsible stakeholder has been put is discussed.

3.1 Chinese students and part time employment

China has always been the leading source of the international student in Australia. By July 2017, there are 202,690 Chinese students were enrolled in Australia, which increases 20 per cent compared to last year, and shares 30 per cent of all the international students. Most (64.7 per cent) of them were enrolled in higher education, but substantial groups could be found in English language intensive courses for overseas students (ELICOS) (14.2 per cent) and Non-award courses (8 per cent), while smaller num-



bers were enrolled in vocational education and training (VET) courses and schools^①.

In Australia, a large scale participation of university students in the labour market has been a more recent phenomenon^②. The recent growth in student working may be related to many factors, including increased school tuition rates and the increased prominence of service industries in the Australian economy rely on casual low-cost employees. Furthermore, McDonald, Bailey, Oliver, and Pini (2007) found out that the rising cost of tertiary education, new consumption needs, and demand-side factors such as the growth of the service economy and the prevalence of casual work in Australia is driven by various factors such as increasing participation in education and training^③.

Most studies of student workers have indicated that students work in order to earn extra money and to gain work experience. However, Oliver (2006) also suggests that students appear to value such work experience although most students do not envisage long-term careers in it^④. More social interaction and flexible working hours is also the reasons they would consider.

On the other hand, for student-workers, similar negotiations of identity are apparent in seeking professional work. In particular, many student-workers seek to distance themselves from the perceived 'masses' of fellow students within the urban environment willing to do unskilled work, and from framings of students as 'backdoor' and therefore undesirable migrants^⑤. In these individual identity performances, student-workers try to work against the racialisation of the Asian and the South Asian student as unskilled labour in Australian cities, usually through positioning themselves as the exceptional and therefore desirable worker. Their exceptionalism is expressed not just through their capabilities but also through their commitment to professionalism and a permanent stay^⑥.

① "Australian International Education," last accessed Oct 11, 2017, <https://internationaleducation.gov.au>

② "National Centre for Vocational Education Research," last accessed Oct 11, 2017, www.ncver.edu.au

③ McDonald, P., Bailey, J., Oliver, D., and Pini, B. (2007) "Compounding vulnerability: Young workers' employment concerns and the anticipated impact of the WorkChoice Act", *Australian Bulletin of Labour*, 33, (1)

④ Oliver, D. (2006) "Undergraduate Student Employment and its Effect on Graduates' Attitudes toward Work, Employment and Trade Unions"

⑤ Robertson, S. (2016) "Student-workers and tourist-workers as urban labour: temporalities and identities in the

Australian cosmopolitan city", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42:14, pp. 2272-2288.

⑥ Robertson, S. (2016)

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Stepping stones?

Part time working may have a beneficial influence on both subsequent employment rates and student workers themselves. Oliver (2006) claims that the current generation of young people is also aware that work experience, even in low – skill jobs, is critical to improving post – study employment prospects. They value not only the income but the independence it brings^①.

Some researcher also found that paid employment offer skills development. A survey conducted by NCVET developed a number of questions explored what the students learned at work. The results report on students' perceptions of their generic skills development show that similar types of generic skills are well developed in the workplace activity, with “behaving at work” (57.5%), “verbal communication” (63.8%) and “using your initiative” (56.2%) all scoring fairly highly. At the same time, it also showed that special skills, such as “dealing with customers” “communication skills” “operating the computer or other equipment” are also greatly developed^②.

Students who took a job because they wanted to learn (either to gain general or specific experience) were more likely than the average to develop their generic skills. Students who took work to keep themselves busy or out of the house also reported higher levels of generic skills development. The lowest generic skills development was amongst the ten students whose main reason for taking their job was because their parents told them to^③.

3.2 Underpayment

However, a discovery not expected was that few international students believe the difficulties they experience in the workplace are a product of racism or exploitation. Their perspective is at least partly explained by the fact that many employers who pay international students less than the legal rate are part of the ethnic network that assists the international mobility of these students, while at the same time providing an environment

① Oliver, D. (2006) “Undergraduate Student Employment and its Effect on Graduates' Attitudes toward Work, Employment and Trade Unions”

② “National Centre for Vocational Education Research,” last accessed Oct 11, 2017, www.ncver.edu.au

③ Smith, E., and Green, A. (2001) “School Students' learning from their paid and unpaid work”



ripe for exploitation^①.

There is definitely a black market behind Australian labour market, such as the overworked, underpaid, cash – in – hand worker is becoming increasingly common^②. Clibborn (2015) also pointed out that International student workers are particularly vulnerable to exploitation at work as they are generally young, many from non – English speaking backgrounds, lack of experience, away from support networks, financially insecure and less likely to aware of employment rights and enforcement institutions.

Part – time student workers are employed in a narrow range of industries. Robbins (2007) found that 66% of students are now working one or more jobs in any given week and that most of these jobs were casual and located in retailing and hospitality, work place most commonly in restaurants, cafes, fast food and retail shops^③. Base in a survey, Clibborn (2017) also suggested that the Chinese students worked mostly in restaurants/cafes (35%), followed by retail (24%) and fast food (10%)^④. High – skill jobs offer limited opportunities for young people who only seek part – time work, the low – skill job such as hospitality and retailing, at the same time, requires less ability and offer flexible working hours^⑤.

However, underpayment is very common in such labour market. By now, the national minimum wage is currently \$ 18.29 per hour or \$ 694.90 per 38 hour in a week (before tax). Casual employees covered by the national minimum wage also get at least a 25% casual loading^⑥. However, Reports from industry campaigns and court cases run by the Fair Work Ombudsman (FWO) often mention international students as workers subject to underpayments. For many international students are poor, marked by multiple dimensions of precariousness. Some aspects of poor treatment can be attributed to the

① Nyland, C., Forbes – Mewett, H., Marginson, S., Ramia, G., Sawir, E. and Smith, S. (2009) "International student – workers in Australia: a new vulnerable workforce", *Journal of Education and Work*, 22:1, 1 – 14

② Clibborn, S. (2015) "Productivity Commission Inquiry into the Workplace Relations Framework", The University of Sydney Business School

③ Robbins, W. M. (2007) "Student Workers and trade Union: a preliminary report of findings", Diverging employment relations patterns in Australia and New Zealand

④ Clibborn S (2017). "Why international student workers in Australia tolerate underpayment Economic and Industrial Democracy"

⑤ Karmel, T., Lu, T., and Oliver, D. (2013) "Starting out in low – skill jobs", NCVER

⑥ "Fair Work Ombudsman," last accessed 11 Oct 2017, <https://www.fairwork.gov.au>

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standard risks of casual employment in any of its forms. But the major deficit is widespread underpayment and non payment, in breach of award regulation^①.

Such underpayment is concentrated in the two main segments where international students are clustered, that is, ‘ethnic’ and ‘mainstream’ cafes and restaurants^②. The most serious abuse occurred in city’s restaurants and cafes, and particularly within family – owned enterprises^③. A recent survey conducted states that of the students who reported their hourly rate, 58% earned between \$7 and \$15 per hour at a time when the legal minimum for a casual waiter was \$16.08 an hour and the rate for a casual shop assistant was \$17.97 per hour^④. Similarly, Clibborn (2016) has revealed almost 75% of Chinese student visa workers in Sydney are paid below the minimum wage, with two out of five paid just \$12 an hour or less. For those working as waiters, 100% are paid below the minimum award rate for casuals.

Exploitation amongst international students are detailed in several non. academic sources. Trade union accounts include two reports from United Voice on contract cleaning in Melbourne, which point to experiences of poor working conditions, sham contracting, and cash – in – hand payments below the rates set in collective agreements and awards^⑤. Ferguson (2015) revealed that “half – pay scam”, whereby student workers were provided with a pay slip recording legal minimum wages for, say 20 hours per week, but were obliged in practice to supply 40 hours of work for this money. Illegal employment practices included long trials or training periods without pay and a ‘cash-back scam’, whereby workers would be paid at legal rates but were obliged to return some of the wages to their employer^⑥. Some employers even calculate fewer working hours than what employees actually did^⑦. Students are often exploited by “friends” or

① Campbell, I., Boese, M., and Tham, J. (2016) “Inhospitable workplaces? International students and paid work in food services”, *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 51, (3)

② Campbell, I., Boese, M., and Tham, J. (2016)

③ Charlesworth, S., and Macdonald, F. (2015) “Women, work and industrial relations in Australia in 2014”, *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 37, (3), pp. 366 – 382

④ Nyland, C., Forbes – Mewett, H., Marginson, S., Ramia, G., Sawir, E. and Smith, S. (2009)

⑤ “Victorian TAFE International,” last accessed 31 Oct 2017, <http://www.vti.edu.au>

⑥ Ferguson, A., Danckert, S., and Toft, K. (2015) “Retail 7 – Eleven ‘in panic mode’ Class action looms over wages”, *The Canberra Times*, 01 Sep

⑦ Charlesworth, S., and Macdonald, F. (2015)



those from their own national community. During a face – to – face interview, Interviewees commonly thought Chinese restaurants frequently employ international students and pay illegal wages^①.

Why would students accept the underpayment? Clibborn (2015) found international students most likely not refer to the traditionally accepted theory that the rates were comparable to their home country^②. Most of them even unaware of what rates were back home as they had never worked before coming to Sydney. Students who were aware of the Australian minimum wage but regarded themselves as having little choice in the matter because they were not local and it was easy to replace international students^③. Exploitation was an issue that many international student – workers experienced, but most were reluctant to speak out. Nyland (2014) stated that many international students employed by members of their own cultural group. The cultural and employment relationship between student – worker and employer provides some understanding why very few interviewees indicated they would become assertive if they had problems in the workplace^④.

3.3 Internship

Anecdotal evidence strongly suggests that internships are becoming increasingly common in Australia among universities students. An “internship” is defined by the National Society for Experiential Education (NSEE) as; a carefully monitored work or volunteer experience in which an individual has intentional learning goals and reflects actively on what he or she is learning throughout the experience^⑤. An internship could be required to involve in part – time or full – time work experience that is related to the student’s career goal or major, an intern may be paid or unpaid, may or may not be receiving academic credit for the internship^⑥.

Internships offer a range of benefits for both students and employers. It provides

① Nyland, C., Forbes – Mewett, H., Marginson, S., Ramia, G., Sawir, E. and Smith, S. (2009)

② Clibborn, S. (2015) “Productivity Commission Inquiry into the Workplace Relations Framework”,

③ Charlesworth, S., and Macdonald, F. (2015)

④ Nyland, C., Forbes – Mewett, H., Marginson, S., Ramia, G., Sawir, E. and Smith, S. (2009)

⑤ “National Society for Experiential Education,” last accessed in 11 Oct 2017, www.nsee.org

⑥ Clara Jordan – Baird (2013) “Experience Essential, Remuneration: None,” Centre for Employment and Labour Relations Law, The University of Melbourne

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significant benefits to students in terms of employability, particularly among graduates from polytechnic institutions. Results indicate work – based learning can be used as a successful strategy to bridge theoretical knowledge and practice and enhance graduate employability^①. Students benefit from the internship programme. They are expected to benefit from internship programmes through the exposure to a workplace environment, the application of technical skills, and the improvement of soft skills. Internship programmes also benefit organisations that hire interns^②. A recent review of 57 peer – reviewed articles addressing the impact of internships completed by university students supported the existence of a wide variety of benefits for students, employers and higher education institutions, including improved changes of employment in a career – oriented job after graduation, enhancing job and social skills, and assistance in deciding on career paths^③. From the internship providers' perspective, the most highly developed skill of interns is team skills^④. The employers, as industry partners in internship programmes, benefit by having an opportunity to better understand the increased expectations of society in regards to their social responsibility in the area of education^⑤.

A report commissioned by the Fair Work Ombudsman identifies unpaid internships as a growth area both in Australia and internationally. And unpaid internships are particularly popular in industries that are considered attractive to job – seekers or where there is an oversupply of qualified graduates^⑥. For internship has been regarded as the entry of employment, workers overall supply outweighs labour market demand, there are lots of internships are unpaid^⑦. Students in unpaid internships learned more about selling and influencing others. This is a great piece of knowledge for students who wish to

① Silva, P., Lopes, B., Costa, M., Seabra, D., Melo, A., Brito, E., and Dias, C. (2016) "Stairway to employment? Internships in higher education", *High Educ*, 72, 703 – 721

② Ruhanita, M., Zakiah, M., Rosiati, R., and Aini, A. (2014) "Internship for accounting undergraduates: comparative insights from stakeholders", *Education + Training*, 56, (6), pp. 482 – 502

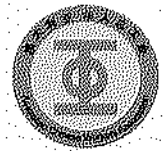
③ Velez, G. S., and Giner, G. R. (2015) "Effects of business internships on students, employers, and higher education institutions: a systematic review", *Journal of Employment Counseling*, 52, (3), p. 121

④ Jackling, B., and Natoli, R. (2015) "Employability skills of international accounting graduates Internship providers' perspectives", *Education + Training*, 57, (7), pp. 757 – 773

⑤ Ruhanita, M., Zakiah, M., Rosiati, R., and Aini, A. (2014)

⑥ Stewart, A., and Owens, R. (2013) "The Nature, Prevalence and Regulation of Unpaid Work Experience, Internships and Trial Periods in Australia: Experience or Exploitation?", Fair Work Ombudsman

⑦ "Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission", last accessed in 11 Oct 2017, <https://www.gov.uk>



build a career in sales, entrepreneurship, or the non-profit sector^①.

Some researchers hold negative opinion of unpaid internship, the students in paid internships saw more skill development than students in unpaid internships^②. Stuart (2013) conducted a survey of those people aged 18 to 29 who had performed some kind of unpaid work experience and found the number of potentially unlawful placements was based on students who undertook an internship as part of a tertiary course where they performed work that otherwise would have been done by a paid employee. What youth can afford to undertake an unpaid internship? Elitism reigns such that ‘students of privilege cluster in posh unpaid internships that open doors while lower-income students cluster in retail and food preparation jobs’^③, just as O’Connor and Bodicoat (2013) has argued, ‘internships may have become a key mechanism for middle-class kids to get middle-class jobs, potentially also reproducing divisions of ethnicity, gender and place’^④. Some workers, predominantly international students or graduates, are paying agencies to place them in unpaid internships. Migrant workers, particularly international students, are especially vulnerable to pressure to perform unpaid work because they have the urgency of seeking to maximise the possibility of securing access to permanent residence^⑤.

3.4 Transition

There are positive links between school and work. Over a half of students in paid work in a survey stated that their jobs had helped them at school, although work experience and vocational placements were felt to be more useful. Students reported quite a high amount of transfer of learning between their different learning environments^⑥. Young workers do learn more about their employment arrangements as they accumulate more experience in the student labour market. While young workers may be vulnerable

① Karmel, T., Lu, T., and Oliver, D. (2013)

② Karmel, T., Lu, T., and Oliver, D. (2013)

③ Derek Thompson (2012) “How Unpaid Internships Are Bad For Students, Bad For Workers And Bad For Society”, *The Atlantic*, 11 May 2012

④ O’Connor, H., and Bodicoat, M. (2016) “Exploitation or opportunity? Student perceptions of internships in enhancing employability skills”, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38, (4), 435-449

⑤ Stewart, A., and Owens, R. (2013)

⑥ Smith, E., and Green, A. (2001)

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to exploitation when they first enter the student labour market, continued involvement in paid work increases their confidence in dealing with employment relations. University students' expectations of how the graduate labour market operates appear to be influenced both by their field of study and their experiences in the student labour market^①. 77 per cent of the graduates have some forms of interactions with work organizations during their studies. The level and mode of participation differ, however, very much, and the benefits of participating differ by mode of interaction. Project – based interaction is positively and significantly associated with completing studies on time. Further, graduates who have participated in either project – based interactions or practice periods have better labour market situation after graduation^②. Gribble, Blackmore, and Rahimi (2015) found that international students place the high value on Work Integrated Learning. See as a way of enhancing employment outcomes in both home and host country (e.g. employers in China also want graduates with practical experience), at the same time, employers favour graduates who have discipline related work experience^③.

However, there are challenges across the Australian labour market which have impacted on young people seeking to move from school to work or from higher education to work^④. By identifying eleven articles that explored the transition of newly qualified paramedics. The thematic content was identified and discussed in four separate categories. Each theme revealing the emotional, physical and social impacts new graduates face as they strive to find acceptance in a new workplace and culture. Given the significant role that paramedics have in modern healthcare, the transition from student to practitioner is a period of significant stress to the new paramedic^⑤. Entry level opportunities for young people have narrowed significantly and pathways into the labour market have become

① Oliver, D. (2010) "University Student Employment and Expectations of the Graduate Labour Market", *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 53, (1), pp. 123 – 131

② Thane, T., and St. ren, L. (2015) "Study and labour market effects of graduate students' interaction with work organisations during education", *Education + Training*, 57, (7), pp. 702 – 722

③ Gribble, C., Blackmore, J., and Rahimi, M. (2015) "Challenges to providing work integrated learning to international business students at Australian universities", *Higher education, skills and workbased learning*, 5, (4), pp. 401 – 416.

④ Anlezark, A., and Lim, P. (2011) "Does combining school and work affect school and post – school outcomes?", NCVET

⑤ Kennedy, S, Kenny, A, and O'Meara, P. (2015) "Student paramedic experience of transition into the workforce: A scoping review", *Nurse Educ Today*, 35, (10), pp. 1037 – 43



more complex and difficult to discern. Entry points which may have offered stewardship and training for young people directly from school into full time employment

(e.g. apprenticeships) and from higher education (graduate recruitment) have declined^①. At the same time, the area of family residence and the department of study are the key factors affecting the graduates' employment probability^②.

3.5 Regulating

Union have been seen as an efficient way to fighting for worker right and improve the working treatment. However, very few (only 13 per cent) respondents were members of a union, over three – quarters of respondents were not members of a union, and 9.5 percent of respondents did not know whether or not they were members of a union^③. Similarly, A survey of 1,153 undergraduate university students showed that while students have quite favourable attitudes towards unions, only one in three wanted to join a union after graduation. A large proportion of respondents were unsure of their views toward unions^④. Young workers are more likely to work in nonunionised workplaces, Allan, Bamber and Oliver (2006) indicated that attitudes towards unions are not generational, but are more likely to reflect their socialisation and circumstances. There are lots of student workers are employed by small and medium – sized firms, many of which would be anti – union^⑤.

Discipline and parental experiences with unions were sources of significant variation in union sympathy. Students with positive experiences of union membership, irrespective of union or future occupation, were more likely to want to join a union after graduation^⑥. At the same time, Caremon suggested that a favourable attitude toward u-

① "Graduate Careers Australia", last accessed in 11 Oct 2017, <http://www.graduatecareers.com.au>

② Menon, M. E., Pashourtidou, N, Polycarpou, A, and Pashardes, P (2012) "Students' expectations about earnings and employment and the experience of recent university graduates: Evidence from Cyprus", *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32, pp. 805 – 813

③ Smiljanic, V. (2004) "Fast Food Industry: A Research Study Of The Experiences And Problems of Young Workers", Employment Rights Legal Centre

④ Oliver, D. (2005) "New job, new start? Union attitudes and student workers", AIRAANZ

⑤ Allan, C., Bamber, G., and Oliver, D. (2006) "Student Experiences at Work and Attitudes to Unionism: A Study of Retailing and Fast Food", 21st Century Work – High Road or Low Road?: Proceedings of the 20th Conference of the Association of Industrial Relations Academics of Australia and New Zealand, 1

⑥ Allan, C., Bamber, G., and Oliver, D. (2006)

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nion membership is positively related to age, as young people age they learn more about unions from other sources.

There are suggestions in respect of the employment situation of student – workers for several main stakeholders. Unions should do more to promote the role and achievements of unions to student workers, as well as develop coordinated strategies that respond to students' contemporary transition from part – time to full – time work^①. As major sponsors of international student visas, universities should inform and protect students' labour rights and that given the dire situation of many they must become a recognised part of the vulnerable – worker debate^②. Some employers' policies, procedures and training are inadequate, federal and state governments, government departments and statutory authorities such as WorkSafe, Industrial Relations Victoria, and the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations need to review the working conditions of young workers in the fast food industry. Further education and assistance needs to be provided to both young people and employers in areas identified as problems, especially in the area of occupational health and safety. In addition, there needs to be enforcement^③. Similarly, Clibborn (2015) indicated that the federal government needs to step in with additional resources if we are going to have any chance of ending underpayment abuse^④.

What's more, Jill, Gribble and Rahimi (2015) found out that post – study work opportunities have been identified as a major determinant in the choice of study destination for international graduates^⑤. A stronger federal coordination of higher education, one way or another, is needed in the competitive environment of internationalization. A diplomatic goal should be considered for Canada's higher education internationalization as it might work more effectively than interventions abroad to create a positive international environment. And more specific for international student services, universities

① Oliver, D. (2005)

② Nyland, C., Forbes – Mewett, H., Marginson, S., Ramia, G., Sawir, E. and Smith, S. (2009)

③ Smiljanic, V. (2004)

④ Clibborn, S. (2015) "Productivity Commission Inquiry into the Workplace Relations Framework"

⑤ Gribble, C., Blackmore, J., and Rahimi, M. (2015) "Challenges to providing work integrated learning to international business students at Australian universities, Higher education, skills and workbased learning", 5, (4), pp. 401–416.



might consider more proactive approaches to meet the need of international students^①.

4. Research Methodology

4.1 Context

As the Chinese student enrol in Australian higher education instantly increased, and more and more students enter in the local labour market even during the school time. The primary goal of the survey was to analyze the prevalence of work exploitation among those Chinese students studying in Australian higher education and the links between their work experiences to outcomes, their expectation towards graduates also included.

All respondents were required to answer a series of questions about their experience of employment they had undertaken in the past two years and more detailed questions about the most recent work experience they had undertaken, the concept of employment in this study including (1) part – time employment; (2) work experience placements arranged by university; (2) unpaid work undertaken to gain a certificate or credits; and (3) overseas internships arranged privately or through an internship broker, without a formal connection to a course of study or labour market assistance program.

This study sought to assess the employment situation acquired by participating in work experiences. To achieve this, a combination of quantitative approach and a semi – structured interview was taken to the research.

4.2 Target population and sample

The target group for the study was Chinese students who are studying in universities (both undergraduates and postgraduates) in Australia currently working during school time as well as students who no longer employed, but had done so in the past. The employment includes either paid or unpaid, part – time or full – time employment, non – internship or internship.

To investigate the study we have collected information from a sample of Chinese students from the University of Sydney. The sample includes students that have partici-

^① Liu, W., and Lin, X. (2016) "Meeting the Needs of Chinese International Students Is There Anything We Can Learn From Their Home System?", *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 20, (4), pp. 357 – 370

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pated in different forms of employment and students who have not. Related data about graduates from University of Sydney in the spring term 2017 was received from the higher education institutions, the university's Career Center was also used as a source for gathering information.

In total, 238 students responded to the survey. All subject fields were represented among the Chinese students, and nearly all groups of students were sampled. However, students who are seeking to work but had not yet had an employment experience were excluded from the study. It was necessary to focus on those had work experience in order to achieve accurate results, but since students were self-reporting, there was no way to confirm that the students who took the survey had actually completed internships. Additionally, fresh students who just enrolled at the beginning of this term were also excluded from the study for they just got to Australia and its rarely for this group have work experience in Australia.

Business school students were of particular interest to the researcher because of Management and Commerce subject is the most common study field of Chinese students in Australia^①.

4.3 Research method

The survey questionnaire was organized to maximise feedback return rates and minimise errors of interpretation. The inside cover of the questionnaire clearly summarized the aim of the survey, confidentiality of all the information collected, estimation in the time of completing the questionnaire. Instructions were also included throughout the questionnaire to guide respondents to fill in it. Definitions and examples were both provided to clarify concepts that help respondents less likely to have difficulty understanding. The majority of questions were the single choice (close-ended) for ease of completion and analysis of results.

The questionnaire consisted of the following five main areas of investigation:

- Details of study situation;
- Details of their employment;

① "Australian Government Department of Education and Training"



- The link between their study and employment;
- The expectation of outcomes and the connection with their current employment;
- The problems that they have encountered when seeking to job or during working time;

The questionnaire was piloted at the University of Sydney by handing out it. The pilot sample included 12 Chinese students who were currently employed or have been employed. Following the piloting, thorough modifications were made as a result of it.

The survey itself consisted of 28 questions in total (Appendix A), including single choice, multiple choice and the open – ended survey question, which gives respondents the chance to respond in detail. However, “section based on answer” is applied in this survey, which means it is setted up as people only see certain sections based on their answers. The survey also gives survey respondents the option of choosing an ‘Other’ response, and it would be come to an open – ended question to find out what “Other”. Overall, the survey would not take participants more than two minutes to complete due to its short, direct nature (A copy of the questionnaire is enclosed in Appendix of this report). Each response was recorded individually to form one master spreadsheet with all of the data. Although the survey itself was freely accessible to the public, the response data were available only to the researcher.

Wechat is one of the most popular social media in the world, Wechat monthly active user reached 963 million. 61.4% users will access Wechat Moments every time they launch Wechat app to follow friends’ latest status updates^①. The survey was designed on the online platform MikeCRM, a Chinese social and market research company. This software allows anyone to access the survey via a unique link through Wechat moments and stores responses in spreadsheet form on the Wechat account associated with the survey. All surveys responses were recorded during July – September 2017.

Apart from the survey, a face – to – face semi – structured interview was also applied to 15 students who stated that they agreed to participate a face – to – face interview and left their contact way on the survey. All of them are Chinese higher education students and working during school time, with the exception of 3 students who used to

① “Wechat Data Report 2017”, last accessed 11 Oct 2017, <http://blog.wechat.com/2017/11/09/the-2017-wechat-data-report>

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work but not any longer.

The conversations were of approximately 20 – 40 minutes in length and the researcher took notes during the interviews and the audio – recordings were also transcribed. Interviews took place either in a face – to – face context or online using Whatsapp or Skype, depending on the informant’s location and preference.

The respondents were asked to explain their working experiences in as much narrative fact as felt comfortable, instead being restricted to overly simplified yes – no answers. In addition, surveying question feedbacks that covered a range of areas, including study field, study situation, finances, work experience and expectation, the data exposed evidence relating to delicate issues not directly approached – such as the detail working conditions that students undertook. In relation to paid work, the key issues of participation, occupation, remuneration, discrimination and crowding are revealed in the following section of the paper, where it is determined if Chinese student – workers are a isolated and vulnerable workforce.

5. Detailed Findings

We begin this section by describing the data used in this research. As mentioned, 238 questionnaires were completed and returned. However, a group of 122 respondents haven’t had work experience in the past two years have to be excluded from the analysis. In total, 49 per cent of Chinese students states that they have participated in work place during education, in which the percentage of female students (59.5%) is much larger than that of male students (40.5%).

54.4 per cent of interviewees involves in undergraduate study, while 40.4 per cent indicated that they are post – graduates. And further 5.2 percent involves in Doctoral education. Most of the students enrolled in Management and Commerce study field, which is about 55.2% of the total sample. Architecture and Building, Engineering, Mathematics and Science are the following popular study field that Chinese students involved in (8.6%, 10.2% and 8.6% respectively).

Among 116 eligible respondents, 12 of them agreed to participate in following semi – structured interview; a qualitative research study was carried out according to it. The findings show below combine both quantitative and qualitative study results.



5.1 Remuneration

According to Australian Government Department of Immigration and Border Protection, for international students, once the course has commenced students are permitted to work a maximum of 40 hours per fortnight when their course is in session, and unlimited hours when their course is not in session ^①. However, there are different weekly working hours, as demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1 Working hours in a week

Working hours	No. of participants	Proportion
10 hours and less	32	27.6%
11 hours – 20 hours	54	46.5%
21 hours – 30 hours	0	0%
31 hours and more	30	25.9%

Table 1 indicates that 74.1 per cent of students work less than 20 hours per week during semester time, which also means that most of them work as casual employees as the availability of part-time schedules that can be readily combined with their full-time study.

In assessing low wages we focus on wage rates below the prescribed minimum. The national minimum wage for full-time worker is currently \$ 18.29 per hour ^②. We take \$ 22 as the cut-off point for underpayments, since \$ 22.86 (includes a 25 per cent 'casual loading') is the minimum hourly rate for casual employees according to the Fair Work Act from 1 July 2017. Response distribution for the hourly rate before tax can be found in Table 2.

Table 2 Hourly Rates Before Tax in Australian Dollar

Hourly rate (before tax)	No. of participants	Proportion
Unpaid	15	12.9%
\$ 12 or less	28	24.1%
\$ 13 – \$ 17	46	39.7%
\$ 18 – \$ 21	17	14.7%
\$ 22 or more	10	8.6%

① "Australian Government Department of Immigration and Border Protection"

② "Fair Work Ombudsman"

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As illustrated in Table 2, the majority of the respondents (91.4 per cent) are in underpayment situation. It also been found 43% of all students were paid \$ 12 per hour or less, which significantly below the minimum wage.

According to Fair Work Act, voluntary and unpaid work is not included in the limit of 40 hours per fortnight if it is of benefit to the community; is for a non-profit organisation; is genuinely voluntary (that is, you are not paid either in cash or other—board and lodging is acceptable) ①. As can be seen from table 1 and table 2, only 15 respondents say that they are undertaking unpaid position but there are 30 respondents work more than 31 hours per week which much more than the maximum working hours that they can undertake, this data shows that there are still 12.9 per cent of students work overtime during semester time.

Table 3 Types of wage payment

Types	No. of participants	Proportion
Cash	47	40.5%
Bank account	54	46.6%
Unpaid	15	12.9%

As demonstrated in Table 3, more than one-third of all respondents were paid in cash directly from their employers while the practices of cash payment are not illegal under Australian law. The proportion of the students who receipt their wage through bank account is slightly higher than those undertook cash-in-hand job. The questions about pay slips and the use of a TFN (Tax file number) was further examined in the in-depth interview. The answers indicated that the majority of the jobs described by our interviewees were undeclared jobs. For many interviewees, what was called 'casual' was understood as 'off the books' or 'cash in hand' employment that fell outside the tax and labour regulation system ②. Additionally, 15 students who indicate they don't get paid match those have stated that they are in unpaid employment.

① "Fair Work Ombudsman"

② Li Y. T (2015) "Constituting Co. Ethnic Exploitation; The Economic and Cultural Meanings of Cash in Hand Jobs for Ethnic Chinese Migrants in Australia", Critical Sociology, Eprint ahead of publication 23 September

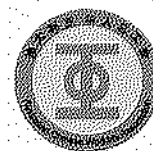


Table 4 Relevance between employment and study

No. of participants	Proportion	
Yes	36	33%
No	80	67%

It can be seen from the table 4 that the students who stated their jobs were not related to what they study significantly more than those stated that there was connections between their jobs and their educations.

Table 5 Job categories

Job categories	No. of participants	Proportion
Hospitality	67	57.8%
Commerce and Management	13	11.2%
Education	9	7.8%
Engineering	4	3.4%
Architecture and Building	9	7.8%
Research	4	3.4%
Health care	4	3.4%
Tourism	2	1.7%
Office Administration	4	3.4%

Table 5 indicates that the proportion of Chinese students who works in Hospitality is the highest (57.8 per cent) among all the students employed in different industries. Besides, Chinese student – workers can also be commonly found in Commerce and Management (11.2 per cent), Education (7.8 per cent) and Architecture and Building (7.8 per cent).

In comparison with the study field that students mostly involves in Commerce and Management (55.2 per cent); Engineering (10.2 per cent); Architecture and Building and Mathematics and Science (8.6 per cent respectively), we can see in the sample that students study Engineering and Mathematics are less likely to find a job related to their study field, those who study Commerce and Management is the most popular field that student – workers work in except for hospitality, however, it still a small proportion compare to its proportion of study field is more than half. Those who study Architecture and Building are more likely to get a job related to their education, at the same time,

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Education work field attracts people from different study fields.

Table 6 Where does employer comes from

Area	No. of participants	Proportion
Great China Region	69	59.5%
Australia	47	40.5%

Table 6 shows more than half of the participants stated their employers comes from Great China Region (Include Mainland of China, Hongkong, Taiwan, Macau area), meaning Chinese students would more likely to work for employers from the same cultural group, as the same time there are 40.5 per cent participants states that their employers is Australian.

5.2 Expectation of Graduate Employment

We begin this section by describing the data about expectation of graduate employment used in this research. As showed below, wage expectations, job expectations, work place expectations and primary considerations were analysed.

Table 7 Wage expectations

Hourly rate (before tax)	No. of participants	Proportion
\$ 10 and less	0	0%
\$ 11 - 17	9	7.8%
\$ 18 - 24	31	26.7%
\$ 25 and more	76	65.5%

Table 7 depicts the distribution of these students by the expected hourly rate. We can easy to see most of students have high expectation towards it, 65.5 per cent of the participants indicates their ideal wage rate is more than \$25 per hour while 26.7 per cent of participants says they are happy with hourly payment range from \$18 to \$24. However, only 7.8 per cent of the students states that they can accept hourly wage lower than the national minimum of \$18.29 per hour. It reflects the great differences that exist between the wage expectations and the wage that they were actually getting.

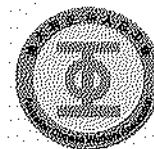


Table 8 Job expectations

Job categories	No. of participants	Proportion
Hospitality	0	0.0%
Commerce and Management	80	67%
Education	0	0%
Engineering	4	3.4%
Architecture and Building	9	7.6%
Research	4	3.4%
Health care	4	3.4%
Office administration	2	1.7%
Tourism	2	1.7%
Media	3	2.6%
Start own business	9	7.6%

Response distribution for job expectations can be found in Table 8, the data here show that Commerce and Management is the most popular graduate outcome by a large proportion (67 per cent) of Chinese students. Architecture and Building and Start own business is also popular outcome for students as it both at 7.6 per cent of the sample. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that there is none respondents states that they are expecting to work in hospitality which is the most popular job for part – time employment at the moment.

Table 9 Expectation of graduate outcome (relevance)

	No. of participants	Proportion
Work in education related job	85	73.3%
Work in education unrelated job	31	26.7%

Table 9 presents the mean responses of participants who have expectation of graduate outcome. The first point to note is that the majority (73 per cent) Chinese students willing to work in the relevant job in the future as they are educated, which is match the majority number of students are studing and would like to work in Commerce and Management (see table 8). Nevertheless, there are still more than a quarter (27 per cent) students would like to transfer to work different job after graduation.

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Table 10 Work place expectations

	No. of participants	Proportion
Stay in Australia	55	47.4%
Return to China	53	45.7%
North America	4	3.4%
Southeast Asia	4	3.4%

As can be seen from the table 10, the data relates the percentage of those students expects to stay in Australia after graduation is slightly more than the percentage of those students states that they would like to return to home country in the future. What's more, there is respectively a small proportion (3.4 per cent) of participants shows that they would like to go to work in North America and Southeast Asia.

Table 11 Primary consideration of job seeking

	No. of participants	Proportion
Location	22	19%
Salary rate	34	29.3%
Accessibility	9	7.8%
Professional counterparts rate	28	24.1%
Working environment	21	18.1%
Interest	2	1.7%

It is obvious from the table 11 that Salary Rate is the most significant consideration for Chinese students while looking for a job; there is also other important consideration such as Professional Counterparts Rate (24.2 per cent); Location (19 per cent) and Working Environment

(18.1 per cent). There are only two respondents states that they will take their own interest as main consideration for employment.

5.3 Difficulties

The difficulties that student – workers encountered in labour market is examined by how they find out a job as well as the primary difficulty have they encountered.



Table 12 The way of secure a Job

Way	No. of participants	Proportion
From family or friends	44	37.9%
Internet	39	33.6%
Door knocking	17	14.7%
University placement	14	12.1%
Agency	0	0%
Information from university	0	0%
Community or Clubs	2	1.7%

Table 12 illustrates that it is the most common for students to secure a job from recommendation from family or friends, which also match the result shows in the table 6 that most of the employers were from the same cultural group as these Chinese students. However, Internet is also very beneficial for student while seeking a job at 33.6 per cent. Door Knocking (14.7 per cent) and University Placement (12.1 per cent) is both also efficient ways for job seeking from the responses of participants who undertook a job. At the same time, there is a small size of sample states that they got the job through community meeting. Moreover, we can also see from the table that there is none respondents says that they access the job from neither agency nor University service.

Table 13 Primary Difficulty Have Encountered

	No. of participants	Proportion
Language barrier	31	26.7%
Culture difference	7	6%
Permanent resident requirement	27	23.3%
Lack of information	17	14.7%
Certification requirement	15	12.9%
Wage arrears	0	0%
Over time working	7	6%
Never encounter problems	12	10.3%

According to the table 13, the language barrier is the primary difficulty that

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students have encountered by more than a quarter of respondents. There is a large proportion of respondents (23.3 per cent) says that they have encountered Permanent Resident Requirement while looking for job. Furthermore, Lack of Information (14.7 per cent) and Certification Requirement (12.9 per cent) is another important issue that cause desperation in employment.

In addition, Culture Difference and Over Time Working is also mentioned as primary difficulty, which both at 6 per cent respectively. Besides, there are more than 10 per cent of participants points out that they never have any problems while looking for employment. When it was further explained in the interview that this part of respondents all secured a job with the help from family or friend.

Table 14 Primary Support inneed

	No. of participants	Proportion
Employment training from university	35	30.2%
Work arranged by university	30	25.9%
Support from related unions or organisations	22	19%
Job information	29	25%

Table 14 indicate that more than half of the respondents demands support from universities either training about policies or regulations about employment (30.2 per cent) or work arrangement (25.9 per cent).

Moreover, the results of Table 14 also presents that the support from unions or organisations is significant for students as well, especially for underpayment situation and work place administration. A quarter of participants also states that a wider range of job information is needed.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study provides insights regarding the employment situation of Chinese students who studying in Australia during education time. With the combination of survey and semi-structured interviews, findings from the study confirms that many Chinese students have been exploited as well as learned from work experience when they first en-

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ter the student labour market. The knowledge of the resulting both positive and negative work experience and the connection with their graduate expectation and outcomes allows the students to better prepare themselves for labour market; the university to plan for an effective internship programme to benefit the students transition from education to employment. ; and government or related organizations to determine appropriate political changes for vulnerable international students workforce.

Five main conclusions can be drawn from this research.

First, Chinese student – workers are vulnerable to exploitation. Most of them are paid less than the national minimum wage, a quarter of them even earn less than 12 dollars per hour. Additionally, the most popular work field that those students would choose for part – time employment is hospitality, especially in “main stream” cafes or restaurants, for the reason that they think this industry offer more flexible working hours and less difficulties to get the job. Furthermore, its been illustrated that a great number of Chinese students found out their job through friends or family which means they are usually working for people from the same cultural group. At the same time, Chinese restaurants are exactly the work place that they are more common to encounter the poor pay. What’s more, lots of students states that they only get the wage with cash in hand and without any pay slip, which means the place that they work for largely likely to do it for tax avoidance. However, it’s surprisingly found that most of the students work fewer than limited working hours, which different from the previous studies argues that many international students encounter overtime working issue.

Second, there is a huge gap between their current employment situation and their graduate expectations. Students always have high expectation towards their graduate destinations, a large number of respondents claims that their ideal hourly pay is more than 25 dollars. Moreover, Chinese students are more likely to work in the same field as they study field, by contrast, most of them are working in the position which without relevance to their study at the moment. Furthermore, Commerce and Management is the most popular work field that students expect to involve in, which match their study field. However, none of them indicates that they would like to work in hospitality, the result in contrast to their current work situation. Students undertaking part – time employment which seems not benefit for their future doesn’t think there has to be a connec-

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tion between their education and employment, all they want is to gain work experience during semester time, when they first come into the student labour market, continued involvement in paid work increases their confidence in dealing with employment relations.

Third, apart from part – time employment, undertaking internship is the other common choice for students who are studying in Australia. Not the same as part – time employment, internship is more likely to be the unpaid job, and have high relevance to their study field. Students most commonly involve in Commerce and Management and Education, which both is high skilled required, interns would like to gain work experience from it or take it as stepping stone to full – time employment. It's been exposed that some interns also pay for a third – party agency, often referred to as an “internship broker”, to secure an unpaid work position. International students are their target population^①. However, none of the respondents claims that they get the internship through paid agency according to this study.

Fourth, the number of those would like to stay in Australia is similar to those suggested that they are going back to home country after graduation. Australia has always been the popular destination for international students to settle down for its high wage paid and better live environment. Roberston (2013) indicated that the introduction of easier access to permanent residency (PR) for international students on completion of their course can help to explain the rapid growth in the number of international students over the past fifteen years. Nevertheless, return to China is more and more popular. China's booming economy, liberalizing politics and policies on recruiting international returnees all contributed to making the graduates who have acquired an Australian higher education are competitive in China's labour market (Hao, 2012). So settling in Australia is no longer the best choice for students to make.

Fifth, as the major sponsor of Chinese students population, universities need to be more helpful to their transition from education to employment. From this study, we can find out that there is very limited help that students can gain from universities which actually is in demand. It's highly suggested that universities should provide wider source of

① Oliver, D., McDonald, P., Stewart, A., and Hewitt, A. (2016) “Unpaid Work Experience in Australia: Prevalence, nature and impact”, Commonwealth Department of Employment



hiring information to students as well as the necessary employment training which include the basic work policies in Australia. What's more, more work placements for students can be applied. Additionally, unions which are Chinese students oriented and related work relations organizations might need to determine appropriate changes for vulnerable international students workforce.

There are three limitations to the present study. Primarily, the study have been limited to students from one university, which might not provide a representative picture of the population of Chinese students in Australia. Future studies can also collect wider sample size with more universities involved. Next, due to time limited, the study have not sought to explore the relationships between student's previous part - time experience or their expectation and their first graduate work. Further work experience of graduate work need to be examd. Finally, the study declares that it is also essential to look at the study performance of students both in terms of effects on the quality of the internship that they are undertaking as well as benefits realised in the transition to work. The data on those students who undertake high - skilled employment during higher education are, however, limited, and further studies are needed on this issue particularly.

In spite of their vulnerability, Chinese students have previously been excluded from the vulnerable - worker debate. This paper has introduced to the literature international students as workers with rights and expectations and insists they must become identified as an accepted part of this debate. The findings in this study, couched in terms of a broad notion of precariousness, suggest that more attention needs to be paid to Chinese student - workers, labour regulation - poor enforcement and the responsibilities that universities should take.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A Questionnaire

在澳留学生就业调查问卷

敬启者：

感谢您在百忙之中抽空参与重要的调查问卷，这份问卷旨在了解留学生的就业状况，为留学生提高就业质量争取就业利益提供更好的研究支持。

该问卷可能会占用你1-2分钟的时间来完成。

再次感谢您的参与，请点击“Next”开始回答问卷。

性别*

- 男
 女

您目前在澳受教育的状态是*

请在输入框内填写年数，表示“在读几年”或者“毕业已多少年”

- 语言或预科 _____
 本科在读 _____
 本科已毕业 _____
 硕士研究生在读 _____
 硕士研究生已毕业 _____
 博士研究生在读 _____

您受教育的学科领域是*

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> 建筑 | <input type="radio"/> 商科 |
| <input type="radio"/> 工程学 | <input type="radio"/> 教育 |
| <input type="radio"/> 人文社科 | <input type="radio"/> 法学 |
| <input type="radio"/> 自然科学 | <input type="radio"/> 艺术 |
| <input type="radio"/> 新闻与传媒 | <input type="radio"/> 旅游及服务业 |
| <input type="radio"/> 数学与科学 | <input type="radio"/> 物理 |
| <input type="radio"/> 上述都不符合 | |



下述哪个选项符合您目前的主要就业状态? *

如曾工作过目前没有工作, 请选择匹配前一份工作的选项

- 全职工作 (每周工作等于或多于35小时)
- 兼职工作 (每周工作少于35小时)
- 全职实习生 (每周工作等于或多于35小时)
- 兼职实习生 (每周工作少于35小时)
- 海外实习
- 未工作过或正在找工作
- 代购

您是如何找到工作的? *

- 家庭或朋友介绍
- 网络求职
- 上门求职
- 学校安排
- 社团及社团活动
- 学校的就业信息资源 (如校内职业服务中心, 邮件和宣传小册子)
- 职业中介
- 其他

您工作的行业领域是*

- 服务业
- 会计与金融
- 市场与管理
- 教育
- 办公室行政
- 电脑工程与信息软件
- 建筑
- 医疗

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旅游及酒店管理

科学研究

其他 _____

您一周平均工作多少个小时*

10小时 或更少

11-20 小时

21-30 小时

31小时 或更多

无工作

您已经工作多久了*

如您已结束或短期工作请告诉我们您工作总共所持续的时长

少于1个月

1-3月

3-6月

6-12月

超过一年

无工作

您的工作是否与所学专业相关? *

是

否

如果您的工作与所学专业不相关, 请选择下述进

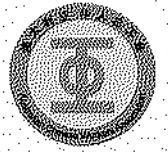
难以找到和专业相关的工作

对比之下我目前所在的职位工资更高

希望未来从事目前所在的行业

只是为了得到工作经验

只是为了得到收入



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其他 _____

您的时薪大约*

税后澳元

- 无工资
- 12 或更少
- 13 -17
- 18-22
- 23 或更多
- 其他 _____

下述哪个选项符合您工作的最主要原因? *

- 增加工作经验
- 收入
- 职业发展
- 打发时间
- 其他 _____

您的雇主来自下述哪个地区? *

- 中国 (包括港澳台)
- 东南亚 (包括马来西亚, 新加坡, 印度)
- 东亚 (韩国, 日本)
- 澳大利亚
- 欧洲
- 北美
- 非洲

您薪酬的支付方式是*

- 现金
- 银行账户

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无工资

其他 _____

下述哪些选项符合您在找工作或工作中所遇到的困难? *

多选

语言障碍

文化差异

PR要求

缺少信息资源

资格证书要求

拖欠工资

超时工作

没有遇到困难

我还遇到过上述不包含的困难 _____

下述哪个选项符合您的未来就业期望? *

我很满意目前的工作领域, 希望转为全职或者更高职位

我希望留澳从事与专业相关的工作

我希望回国从事与专业相关的工作

我希望在澳继续深造, 工作经验对我来说不太重要

我希望回国转到其他领域工作

我希望在澳转到其他领域工作

还没想好

上述都不符合 _____

下述哪些选项符合您希望得到的就业相关的帮助? *

多选

学校增加相关的澳洲就业知识培训 (例如税率维权等法律法规基本信息)

由学校安排相关实习或工作

来自相关组织的支持与帮助 (团体活动及追回工资等)



更广泛的就业信息渠道

我还希望得到除了上述之外的其他帮助

未来期望工作的领域*

自主创业

服务业

会计与金融

市场与管理

教育

办公室行政

电脑工程与信息软件

建筑

医疗

旅游及酒店管理

广告及传媒

其他

未来更倾向工作的地区*

中国大陆

港澳台地区

澳大利亚

其他

未来期望时薪*

税前澳元

10 或更少

11-17

18-24

25 或更多

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下述哪个选项符合您没有工作的原因? *

- 学习任务繁重没有时间
- 目前尚未找到理想的工作
- 想要再更熟悉环境再说
- 其他 _____

下述哪些选项符合您找工作的首要考虑因素*

多选

- 地理位置
- 薪酬水平
- 容易取得程度
- 与专业对口程度
- 工作环境
- 其他 _____

下述哪些选项符合您希望回国的原因? *

多选

- 难以留澳 (PR要求)
- 国内发展机会更多
- 当初出国时就打算进修完便回国
- 对家人朋友和熟悉环境的思念
- 在国内申请到了更好的职位
- 其他 _____

下述哪些选项符合您希望留澳的原因*

多选

- 更喜欢国外的环境
- 更喜欢国外生活方式
- 薪酬水平更高
- 就业机会更多
- 发展空间大
- 希望最终能够移民

如果您愿意参与我们的线上访谈, 请留下您的联系方式



Are the Chinese responsible for the declining of housing affordability in Australia?

Mona Chung; Bruno Mascitelli *

Abstract: Chinese engagement in the Australian economy has been a feature of the Australian economic landscape since the beginning of the millennium. Closer economic relations have ensued culminating with the Free Trade Agreement signed in 2015. Alongside this economic relationship has been the growing levels of Chinese investment in Australia across all sectors. Much of this investment has occurred with encouragement from Australian authorities and industry sectors. However, in some sensitive areas such as agriculture and residential property, the observations, mostly from the media, have been observed with more suspicion and concern. Unfortunately, much of the commentary has also been devoid of data and analysis and resorted to tabloid sensationalism.

The purpose of this chapter is to focus on one of the areas of concern that of the residential property market, and provide a researched picture of Chinese residential real estate investment in Australia. The chapter will begin by providing the general framework of foreign direct investment in Australia. It will also examine the historic undertones of this investment and the more contemporary direction of this investment and how it plays out in Australian society. Scholars in Australia and elsewhere have thus far provided little understanding of this Chinese investment in what is fundamentally a poorly researched field of activity. The intention of this research is to begin a process of open and scholarly debate about the real picture of Chinese residential real estate investment and seek to offer objective and realistic outcomes to this phenomenon. This research reflects

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ted in this chapter is one of the few to have investigated what Chinese residents in Australia actually do in relation to residential choices.

The conclusive outcomes from this research indicate that Chinese real estate investment trends are largely correlated with the migration policies in Australia and that the majority of the Chinese real estate purchases were a result of migration choices of a medium to long – term nature and purely speculative. There is little evidence that the Chinese are paying more than the market prices and the majority of the Chinese who purchased residential real estate did so using mortgaging facilities like all other real estate buyers. The research tells us that the top three factors, which drive their decision making to purchase real estate are: 1. Public transport; 2. real estate prices; and 3. The surrounding environment of the real estate. The two stand out influencing factors including the decision to purchase real estate in Australia are real estate prices and Australian government policies.

Key words: Chinese investments, migration, real estate, residential real estate investments, return on investments, Chinese culture

Introduction: Accessibility to residential real estate in Australia's largest cities has become a difficult one especially in the last decade or so. This was made even more difficult by the effects of the global financial crisis of 2008, triggered by real estate loans repayments and low credit worthiness of many mortgage holders. While this was apparently 'an American problem', it quickly spread across the world and put on the radar screen possible consequences for Australia.

In any discussion on the question of accessibility to affordable real estate in Australia's largest cities is influenced by a series of converging elements. On the one hand, there is the expectation of access to buying a home in Australia and at the same time, the evident scenario of rising prices of home ownership in Australia's largest urban centres. As evidence of this the Australian Bureau of Statistics recorded that first home buyers had declined by about a third in the 10 years to 2016 (ABS 2016). These two trends have had the effect of placing the expectation of purchasing a home, out of reach for many. The notion of the 'Australian dream' of buying one's home, which until recently was an expectation, might become an elusive dream (partyforfreedom, 2015).

Another aspect of this housing affordability issue is the role played by foreign in-



vestment and especially the Chinese presence in terms of residential investment. This paper seeks to address each one of these aspects and examine how it influences and interplay with the real estate market separating the emotion from the reality and drawing social and political analysis from its possible consequences.

The housing affordability concern has been a loudly voiced one especially given that housing stress indicators places Australia at high levels of stress with an overall median multiplier of 6.3 while Canada is 3.1, the USA is 3.6, Ireland is 4.7 and the UK is 5.5 (Reed & Wu, 2010). Why might it be, that Australia, which was not a significant sufferer during the global financial crisis finds itself under greater housing stress than most other comparable countries under examination? In this scenario, some have invariably pointed the finger at Chinese buyers and investors.

The aim of the research is to investigate and establish the real level of Chinese investment in the residential real estate property sector related to the major urban centres in Australia. This study seeks to bring into the public arena addressing the actual intentions of the subjects at the centre of much debate and concern over Chinese investment in Australia and whether there is any basis to it. It will provide policy makers, educationists, academics, governments and business community a better picture of the true impact of Chinese real estate investment both on the housing market, the local community and Australia overall.

Australian home ownership was in the 1960s, considered as an expectation for all. It was an accessible target for the growing economy and one which successive governments built their economic credentials on. Throughout the last decades of the 20th century, Australian families were considered to be amongst the highest ranked homeowners in the world. As some scholars noted; "From the earliest days of settlement, the opportunity to own property and land was at the heart of the Australian dream... In the suburbs...the right to own a block of land and a home had become the unwritten compact, the great Australian promise" (Huang & Hudson - Wilson, 2007). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian home ownership dropped to 67 per cent in 2011 from a higher 71 per cent in 1966 (Song, Liu, & Langston, 2006). The conclusion being that the dream of owning your own home in Australia might no longer be a realisable one as it goes into slow decline. Is this a feature at play with the current con-

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cern about rising real estate prices and the players in this scenario?

Chinese migration to Australia of course has various facets to it, most of which are beyond the realm of this chapter. From the early settlement during the Gold Rush in the 1800s through to the discriminatory approach applied through the ‘White Australia Policy’ of 1901, Chinese have generally not received major immigration welcome gestures. However more recent data tells us of a dramatically different settlement scenario which began to be registered in the mid – 1990s. In the census of 1996, Chinese people made up 0.6 per cent of the total population. By 2015 this figure had doubled to 2 per cent of the total population (Armillei & Mascitelli, 2016). The Chinese presence in Australia, in both its human and economic manifestations, is now a permanent fixture of Australia’s demography.

Not too different from most ethnic migration processes, Chinese migration carries with it some political and social baggage. In particular its migration cohort, originate from a country, which is making significant inroads and will soon become the largest economy in the world. In terms of the visa processing and categories in which Chinese nationals entered Australia, since 2001 Skilled Independent visas made up the largest cohort of Chinese residents in Australia with over 29.8 per cent of the total Chinese visa applications. In 2015, this figure increased to 37.8 per cent of the total applications. The next largest category included Partner visas making up 20.6 per cent in 2015 while those applying for a Business Innovation and Investment visa made up 15.7 per cent.

Australia and China are strong economic and trade partners. China is Australia’s number one trading partner, and is slowly growing also into its number one investment source. Moreover, China is expanding its soft power instruments and Chinese culture and presence is growing ubiquitously. In addition, Chinese migration alongside Chinese investment often go hand in hand as has been witnessed in Europe, Africa and elsewhere (Chung & Mascitelli 2015). While the expectation is that Chinese migration to Australia will continue to grow, as will Chinese students continue to study in Australia, the emergence of issues, which highlights this ever – growing presence, will become part of the public discourse and dare we say debate.

At the same time, the Chinese have a love for real estate. Not until the success of open door policy since 1979, Chinese had little chance of investing anywhere let alone



overseas. The rapid economic development allowed the Chinese to have spare cash and in more recent years, significant amounts of money have ended up in the hands of both the Chinese state enterprises and private individuals.

Foreign Investment in Australia

Across all sectors of the Australian economy, foreign investment has, been crucial for its economic expansion and at the same time a source of controversy and concern. Since the end of World War Two, most foreign investment into Australia was dominated by British and US inward investment. In the 1980s, there were noticeable amounts of Japanese investment entering the retail, automotive and the tourist industry. These large amounts of foreign investment entering the Australian economy created national anxiety about foreign ownership. These concerns were translated as “foreigners were buying the farm”. It always remained a touchy issue, as did outward Australian investment. As a small to middle sized economy, foreign investment in Australia is essential for the development of its economy. Investment in real estate is one of the segments of this foreign investment.

According to scholars in the field on foreign direct investment (FDI), Australia's foreign direct investment history can be partitioned into three periods. The first from the 1960s until 1975 was a period of realisation of the importance of foreign direct investment and an interventionist approach to inward FDI flows, especially in the resource sector. The second phase from 1976 until the late 1990s, defined by a more liberal approach towards investment per se and was given great emphasis of services investment. The third phase from the early 2000s involved a limited reversion to more regulation and scrutiny and particularly in the resources sector. Prior to 1975 inward investment was regulated by the Reserve Bank of Australia under fixed exchange rate regimes and during that period investment had sectors which were clear no – go areas such as banking, civil aviation and broadcasting (Wheaton & Simonton, 2007).

The United States remains Australia's dominant inward investor country, accounting for around 23.7 per cent of the total stock of foreign direct investment as at the end of 2014. China (\$46.6 billion) remains the largest source country for the proposed in-

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vestment in 2014 – 15 although this growth comes from a low base (see Table 1). China is the fifth largest source country with respect to the stock of foreign direct investment, accounting for around 4.4 per cent of the total stock (KPMG/University of Sydney, 2016). Foreign investment into real estate was the largest sector with approvals at \$97 billion, which accounted for around 50 per cent of the value of the all approvals in 2014 – 2015. There was also of note, \$36.2 billion of proposed investment in the commercial real estate sector (FIRB, 2016).

Table 1 – Approvals by country of investor by industry sector in 2014 – 15

Nation	Projects Approved	Agriculture, forestry, fishing (\$ m)	Financial & Insurance (\$ m)	Manufacturing (\$ m)	Minerals (\$ m)	Real estate (\$ m)	Services (\$ m)	Total (\$ m)
China	25,494	2,494	1,730	5,317	9,845	24,349	2,822	46,563
USA	412	1,005	1,870	4,249	3,797	7,103	7,065	25,093
Singapore	1,097	619	24	1,796	–	3,850	3,333	9,974
Japan	152	–	17	135	766	774	6,965	8,658
Canada	309	597	203	142	2,110	1,577	3,260	7,888
UK	1,588	175	–	55	390	2,063	3,842	6,528
Malaysia	2,236	–	500	676	113	3,430	415	5,137
Thailand	80	–	121	60	612	911	1,734	3,437
Korea	224	–	–	477	–	2,528	–	3,011
Hong Kong	1,292	–	–	677	91	1,678	–	2,706

Source: Foreign Investment Review Board 2014 – 15 Annual Report (FIRB 2015)

It is clear that China is now Australia's largest foreign investment source and if Hong Kong is included in the total, Chinese investment into Australia is now nearly double the US level of investment.

Chinese Investment in Australia

In 2015 Chinese direct investment into Australia reached a sum of \$A11.1 billion which included 65 major deals. Australia was the second largest recipient country of ag-



gregated Chinese Foreign direct investment second only to the United States (KPMG 2016). By far the largest single item of Chinese investment into Australia in 2015 was the real estate sector above and beyond the more cited sectors such as mining (9 per cent) and agribusiness (3 per cent) - see table 2.

Table 2 – Chinese ODI in Australia in 2015

Sector	% investment of total
Real estate	45
Renewable energy	20
Healthcare	17
Mining	9
Infrastructure	3
Energy (Gas and oil)	3
Agribusiness	3

Source: Demystifying Chinese Investment in Australia: the new normal: health, happiness, lifestyle and services (KPMG/University of Sydney 2016)

In terms of the national spread of the real estate investment coming from Chinese, much is concentrated in New South Wales where coincidentally Chinese migrants are located in greater numbers. According to a recent report, 94 per cent of the total real estate investment from China goes to New South Wales alone (Haylen, 2014). Real estate investment in Australia is attractive to the Chinese often because of the perceived view that there are better returns and asset diversification on this investment. In addition, given the perception of the Australia economy to Chinese investors, there is the view that Australia will have good long – term economic growth and as well as solid population growth.

Real Estate as an Investment and the Chinese

The role of the property sector in national economies has been explored and studied across numerous markets. For instance Australia, Finland, Italy, Japan, Turkey, UK and USA from the 1960s to 1980s have received scholarly scrutiny (Bon, 2000). Roulac (1996) examined the property financial input – output relationships and Pagliari et al. (1997) compared commercial property output in Australia, Canada, the United

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Kingdom and the United States over the period 1985 – 1995 by analysing separately office, retail and warehouse sectors.

Fama and Schwert (1977) investigated the inflation – hedging characteristics of various asset classes in the US while Chaudry et al (1999) were among the first to test the relationships between various asset classes and between different property types. They concluded that inflation is indeed a significant long run factor in explaining property value. Hoesli et al (2006) examined the co – integration of US and UK property with inflation and several other fiscal and monetary factors for the period 1977 – 2003. They found a long run relationship between property and expected inflation but not with unexpected inflation. Goetzmann (2006) found a weak long run relationship between property and inflation for data in the period 1992 – 2004. Goddard (2011) simply refers to real estate as a ‘typically good hedge for inflation’. He further extends this to the international real estate market suggesting that real estate ‘allows multinational firms to match their international asset holdings with their international liability exposure’. Song, Liu and Langston (2006) on the other hand analysed the economic performance of Australian real estate sector. They found that the Australian residential property sector had played a more important economic role than the commercial sector in the economy.

Wheaton (2008) examined the special relationship between immigration and real estate investment and housing prices of the Canadian market between 1975 and 1996. Significant growth of the real estate was found in that market in particular in Vancouver and Toronto. In both cities, an influx of Chinese migrants from Hong Kong migrated to these Canadian cities out of fear of the return of Hong Kong to the mainland. However, the smooth handover and the administration of the system of ‘one country two systems’ in Hong Kong soon provided these migrants the confidence to return to Hong Kong to continue their business activities. As a result, many purchased properties of real estate and found them empty and unoccupied turning some of the suburbs into ‘ghost towns’. Such a fear has not occurred in Australia yet, although in its place has emerged another fear around the concern that ‘the Chinese have pushed up the market price artificially’.

Chinese investment into the residential real estate market has changed the housing market globally. As an example the changes witnessed in the late 1990s in Canada (Ley & Tutchener, 2001) driven by the return of Hong Kong residents to mainland China soon after 1997. Interestingly business migration from China was one of the categories to



encourage this migration movement although migration as a result of real estate investment played a bigger role. For example, in 1986 Toronto housing prices showed an appreciation of 27 per cent over the previous year, and this was followed by succeeding annual gains of 37 per cent, 21 per cent and 19 per cent (Ley & Tutchener, 2001).

In the case of Australia and more recently, according to one pundit “foreigners are increasingly a key driver of Australia’s housing market, with approved investment more than doubling in 2013 – 14” (Mulligan, 2015). This revelation, though not surprising, contains with it certain factors, which require exploring. Chinese investment in Australian real estate in 2015 reached \$ A6. 85 billion equalling 45 per cent of the total Chinese investment in Australia (KPMG/University of Sydney, 2016). While there is the view that Chinese investors have been the largest off shore investors in real estate, the report by KPMG and University of Sydney provided very different conclusions. The report states:

US citizens were the largest foreign investors in Australian real estate in 2012, investing \$ A8. 1 billion. Foreign investment by Chinese investors increased to \$ A4. 2 billion in 2012, just over half that of the US (KPMG/University of Sydney, 2016).

This may also be one of the attractions for Chinese investors to invest in the Australian residential real estate sector. Song and Liu (2010) considered the property sector to be a vital contributor of economic development.

The emphasis on foreign investment in real estate has primarily focused on Chinese investment. This special interest in Australia has been driven by a range of factors none less than the middle/upper class in China looking to buy either a holiday home in Australia or a property for their child to reside in while they might be studying in Australia. However there is another view that “India will be the next major player in Australian real estate” (Zhou, 2016). Whatever the final outcome there has been excessive focus on Chinese investors and again according to Zhou “Property experts say some Australians priced out of the market after years of prices growth are using overseas – based Chinese buyers as scapegoats responsible for housing affordability” (Zhou & Power, 2016).

However besides the media speculation there is little or no literature on any rela-

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relationship between Chinese outwards investments with property prices given its recent occurrence (Chung & Mascitelli, 2015). In Australia China has overtaken the US to become the biggest source of approved foreign investment in Australia and in the real estate field Chinese investors more than doubled their spending in the past (Chung & Mascitelli, 2015).

Whether all this concern about Chinese interest in real estate is mainly a result of the xenophobia is indeed the question this research project seeks to address. Based on the Foreign Investment Review Board (FIRB) approval figures, ABS data on actual Chinese investment in commercial real estate, estimates that Chinese residential real estate investment totals around 2 per cent of all residential real estate transactions in Australia. Rose (2015) suggested as much as ‘Australians might think Chinese investors have pushed up property prices, “we ain’t seen nothing yet,”’ Stephen Halmarick, Chief economist of Colonial First State Global Asset Management, suggests that Chinese capital will inflate the global asset prices.

What are the factors, which drive the Chinese investors into real estate? Levin (2012) found three interconnected meanings behind the choice of houses in Melbourne (Australia) by the Chinese migrants: 1. The desire to counter past experience of housing in China; 2. A desire to improve future opportunities through housing; and 3. The wish to blend into Australian society. The Chinese are distinctly different from other migrant groups such as the Italians in Melbourne. The Italians use their homes to form tangible links within Italian – Australian social space and are parts of a network that construct this transnational space (Levin & Fincher, 2010).

Policy Changes, the FIRB and Other Inhibitors to Chinese Investment in Real Estate

While it is commonplace to refer to the ease in which Chinese investment occurs, what is less understood or even known, are the difficulties and the obstacles that Chinese investment faces in real estate and other sectors. What is not factored into the process of Chinese external investment is the difficulty in releasing funds out of China. This is a much more restrictive and complex process than in most western countries. Currently the policy stipulates that each Chinese citizen may only take maximum 50,000 US \$ out of China annually. In addition, currency fluctuations have also played their role in discour-



aging Chinese investment in Australian real estate from time to time. In terms of the attraction of Australia as an investment location, the recent successes of Pauline Hanson's One Nation might act as a deterrent for Asian, and especially Chinese investment in Australia, real estate or otherwise. Richard Yuan, the Chairman of the Australia China Entrepreneur Club which houses 120 wealthy Chinese investors in Australia questioned the worth of investing in Australia per se. He stated "When people heard about Pauline Hanson getting elected, they got nervous. It's very bad for foreign investment. Her political ideology is anti - Asian, anti - multiculturalism to cause a stirring against coloured people" (Capital Growth Property, 2016) .

The political discouragement is compounded by attempts by Australian authorities to impose higher taxation and financial tariffs on requests for investment projects. While these forms of revenue raising measures appease certain segments of the electorate, their intent is primarily political seeking to show that the government is demonstrating concern about the foreigners buying up Australian assets! Such measures include increases in stamp duty introduced in July 2016, in Victoria as well as expected land tax increases expected to be at 1.5 per cent. There is also an additional \$ A5,000 application fee imposed by the Foreign Investment Review Board (FIRB) for projects. The State of Queensland has also added a new property tax worth 3 per cent of the value of the property and the State of New South Wales has increased its stamp duty (a form of land tax) to 4 per cent of the value of the property and there is also speculation of a further 0.75 per cent land tax on all residential land (Australia News, 2016). Although these policies are generally for all overseas purchasers, some of the largest increases have been eyeing Chinese investors and buyers especially as they make up the largest number of overseas purchasers.

While there is growing difference between the Australian dollar and the yuan, which will make Australian property even more appealing to Chinese investors, there is the likelihood that the slight downturn expected in the Chinese economy may impact external investment such as real estate in Australia. Overall, there is the expectation that there will be fewer Chinese investors purchasing property in Australia, which will put some downward pressure on prices. This will be more evident in Sydney and Melbourne where Chinese investors are already active but there will be virtually no effect on property prices in the other Australian cities or in regional areas.

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Social Impact of Chinese Real Estate Investment

There is much finger pointing towards Chinese commercial and residential investors buyers as being responsible for higher and often unreachable housing prices and as a result creating disharmony in numerous suburbs throughout the large urban centres. Much of this concern is without any evidence and is anecdotal often based on the physical appearance of those attending an auction. The data from this research along with the methodology and approach will make it is possible for scholars and especially policy makers to draw on more informed discourses given a stronger body of research that has been undertaken in this study. The impact of the research we believe will demonstrate and lay-out a new discourse on this theme. This research will provide stakeholders in the industry corroborated data allowing planning, and addressing the difficulties of prospective house owners thereby providing evidence of the real underlying issues.

The nature of Chinese collective culture has a unique dynamic to it, where, more so than in other nations, Chinese investors work in tandem with concentrations of migration (Chung, 2010). This has led to the scenario where a few major cities in the world have attracted a significant number of Chinese investors in places such as London, Vancouver, Milan, Melbourne, Sydney and elsewhere (Chung & Mascetilli, 2015).

The notion is that not only are there a relatively large number of Chinese investors in real estate in numerous suburbs in cities such Melbourne and Sydney potentially increasing the cost of houses but that this concentration is also expressed in the potential for the creation of localities in “ghetto” structures. Not only does this create declining affordability for the remaining community of that suburb, but also incites hostility for ethnic groups that purportedly create this situation. The characteristics of the Chinese diaspora is it will seek out areas where their ethnic community is already located. In cities like Melbourne, this includes suburbs such as Box Hill and Glen Waverly where there are large concentrations of Chinese. While levels of ethnic concentration are not new in cities like Melbourne, with Italians in Carlton, Greeks in Richmond, and Jews in Caulfield, the sheer number of Chinese residing in these “Chinese areas” and the rapid establishment of supporting businesses is making this phenomenon more prominent. There is a fear in the local community of a ‘Chinese invasion’ and creating



‘ghettoes’ (partyforfreedom, 2015). The fear is a “parallel society” with Chinese living, working and schooling separately. For instance, Balwyn High School attracts over 100 overseas fee – paying students, 99 per cent are from China. The price of housing in Balwyn for instance has experienced dramatic increases in the past few years. This is in addition to those who have already migrated on the 188 or the 888 visas (Dubecki, 2016).

If these notions are true, then the scenario whereby real estate is out of reach financially of younger couples and new first time house owners, can only have serious social consequences on local communities. Not only is affordable housing and the dream of house ownership become endangered but new house owners are obliged to take out higher loans and possibly face more precarious and unsustainable mortgages. In a contrasting manner cities such as Vancouver, which have also observed large numbers of commercial and residential real estate purchased by Chinese investors, have also experienced high levels of non – occupancy for significant periods of time thereby producing the phenomenon of ‘ghost towns’ within local communities and ultimately shrink the occupied spaces and leaving large spaces and properties unused.

While the concept of Australia being a part of Asia has been a widely acknowledged one, especially the existence of Chinese in the Australian community has been growing since the Whitlam years, the shadow of the ‘white Australian policy’ no doubt still casts doubt over the general population of Australians (Fitzgerald, 2015). “Ghettoes”, “school zones” or concentration of real estate investment or any other form of Chinese concentration causes concerns among including when the issue of Australian workers being displaced as has occurred when discussing some forms of Chinese investment with the need for Chinese workers. The fear that ‘traditional Australians are becoming strangers in their own land with many of their suburbs being turned into third world “ghettoes” riddled with crime, social friction and impending real estate bubble collapse’ (partyforfreedom, 2015). These are serious allegations, concerns and fears, which go beyond just the housing affordability and begin to encroach into the domain of social harmony.

Methodology

To date there is no extensive research in Australia, which specifically target the

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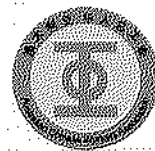
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Chinese community. The questionnaire designed for this data collection was in Chinese consisting of 25 questions, which were aimed at investigating two major Chinese groups. The two categories were: 1. Those who have invested in Australia and 2. Those who have not but may consider to do so in the future. The questionnaire was designed for individual investors and not State Owned Enterprises.

A part of the questionnaire addressed those who have invested in Australia with questions, which addressed: price range, reasons for selecting the suburbs they invested in, factors which impacted their investment decision and whether their purchases were based on once off down payments or they made their purchase with mortgages. For those who plan to purchase a property in Australia a similar set of questions are also asked in order to understand their purchasing decision based on the above categories. For all respondents the research also sought to discover whether government policies, from the Chinese government or the Australian government may have impacted their decision making.

An online questionnaire was placed on WeChat, a communication app on mobile phones, which was created by a Chinese telecommunication company and aimed at Chinese users. It was entirely voluntary for anyone to participate in this project. Once the questionnaire was submitted the participants were not able to retrieve the answers but the questionnaire and its responses were entirely anonymous and therefore no one was able to be identified.

WeChat is an online software developed by a Chinese company and used mostly by Chinese as a type of instant messaging tool. In terms of function it is very similar to WhatsApp. The current number of users of WeChat is around the 900 million mark. It differs from other existing online tools in that not only are individuals able to communicate with each other on an identifiable basis, but also has a facility where individuals are able to post and display information. The questionnaire was posted in the public domain. Once the questionnaires were anonymously completed, they are left in a digital box. The questionnaire was designed in the way that individuals could not be identified in order to protect their privacy and identity and the questionnaire is made available but individuals are not actually approached to complete the survey. One may only participate if one chooses to do so. Therefore, the consent of participating is given when one decides to complete the questionnaire. The questionnaire is in Chinese only therefore only



Chinese speaking respondents were able to complete it. 367 questionnaires were completed by Chinese individuals from China, Singapore, Malaysia and Australia identified only by their nationality.

The interviews with real estate agents were recorded with their permission. Two of the interviewees declined to have the interview recorded. Notes and transcripts were taken from the interviews. The secondary data for this research will be data from IBIS world, ABS and material from other localities in the public domain.

Findings and discussion of the quantitative data

Purpose and group of investments

Research of this nature is unique and is to our knowledge the first time it has been conducted. It will provide scholars with a real perspective of the picture of the Chinese residential real estate investment in Australia. The largest age group which responded to the questionnaire were in the 26 – 35 year old bracket representing 52.6 per cent of the total respondents.

234 completed questionnaires or 63.76 of the total of the respondents migrated to Australia while the second largest group of 54 responses or 14.72 per cent of the respondents plan to migrate to Australia. Together they represent 78.4 per cent of the population. This is an important finding as there is the perception that Chinese students mostly buy property while studying in Australia. This finding clearly informs us that only a very small percentage, some 14.17 per cent who purchase properties are students. This is consistent with the first finding that 26 – 35 year – old are our largest group of respondents.

On the question of the investment undertaken by the respondents some 167 equaling 45.5 per cent of the respondents purchased real estate for the purpose of investment. The next largest group some 40 per cent of responders purchased properties to reside in them upon migration to Australia while the student/education cohort amounted to a smaller 9.26 per cent of the respondents. This finding supports Wheaton and Nechayev's (2008) suggestion to a degree that migration clearly is a major driver for residential real estate purchases. However, Wheaton and Nechayev have missed the group who are simply investors which may well be due to the period of their research

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which was between 1998 – 2005. The next finding supports this.

Periods of Chinese investments in real estate

As for the years that real estate was purchased, 24 out of 239 (10%) purchased property between 2000 – 2005. The next 3 blocks of time, 2005 – 2010, 2010 – 2015 and 2016 have been divided into 3 equal portions with the first block being 74 (31%), 78 (32.64%) between 2010 – 2015 and 63 (26.26%) in 2016. These findings are significant for the following reasons:

1. The Chinese only started to purchase real estate in Australia from 2005 onwards. This correlates with Wheaton and Nechayev's research before 2005.

2. The trend no doubt represents significant growth with an ever – growing number but noticeably 2016 alone is nearly as large as the previous 5 years. What should also be borne in mind is that the 2016 figure only represented 10 of the 12 months of the year.

3. The business innovation and investment scheme

Below is a table showing from July 2001 – 30th June 2015 for selected category (business innovation and investment):

Table 3 Business Innovation and Investment July 2001 – June 2015

Category	Business visa class	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14
		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business and innovation	132, 890, 891, 892, 893	0	7	64	106	206	189	202	171	155	98	117	328	279	545
	188	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	134	1795	3638
	888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
	Other	703	754	1036	1547	2072	2625	3268	4222	4139	4693	4497	4596	2539	687
Total		703	761	1100	1653	2278	2814	3470	4393	4294	4791	4614	5058	4614	4870

Source: (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2015)



Table 4 Consolidated Table

Category	Business visa class	2001 – 2005	2005 – 2010	2010 – 2015
Business and innovation	132, 890, 891, 892, 893	177	923	1367
	188	0	0	5567
	888	0	0	<5
	Other	4040	16,326	17,012
Total		4217	17,249	23,951

Source: (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2015)

The above consolidated table provides a better idea on the growth of migration. In the 132, 890, 891, 892, and 893 visa class, the period of 2005 – 2010 had a growth of 421% on the previous period of 2000 – 2005. During the period of 2010 – 2015 the first group of classes had growth of 48% and the other class grow by 4% only. While the other class had a 304% growth. Both 188 and 888 were introduced in 2002 and are aimed at replacing the previous classes. Overall, we saw a 304% growth between 2005 – 2010 period compared to the 2000 – 2005. Between the period of 2010 – 2015 there was a growth of 39%. These figures supports strongly the changes in their real estate purchasing behaviour.

Locations and choice of properties

Out of the 239 who have made their purchase, 161 (67.36 per cent) purchased in an area where other Chinese resided. This is very consistent with the collective Chinese culture and also other ethnic settlement patterns in the past. Scholarly literature has underscored the characteristic of migrants seeking out their compatriots in terms of where they eventually reside (Willingham, 2004). The motives here are cultural affinity, language accessibility and support mechanisms. It is consistent with the migration history and trends in urban settlement in Australia whereby ethnic concentration has been repeated in the past by previous migration patterns (Jupp, 1996). Although new areas in Melbourne suburbs such as Glen Waverly were not previously an area of Chinese concentration, they have become so as new and increasing numbers of new Chinese migrants have begun to concentrate in this new suburb of Melbourne.

What is not supported in this research is the notion of ‘school zone’ real estate. 24

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respondents or 10 per cent of the respondents stated that they purchased 'school zone' properties in order to have their home near 'quality' schools. This finding would appear to be a significant and surprising revelation from the research and one for the real estate sector to gain better understanding in terms of the motivations of the Chinese investors. What could be behind this reasoning of respondents could lay the basis for a second stage of the project.

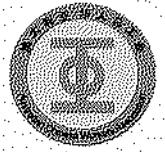
In terms of the properties purchased by these Chinese respondents some 148 or 62 per cent indicated they purchased houses (or would have) rather than apartments or units. The Chinese have a preference for real estate with land as the land ownership is an important factor. In China, generally real estate is purchased in high-rise buildings and generally with no land attached.

It is significant that 144 responses (60.25%) of the real estate purchasers bought established houses. According to FIRB's policy, non-residents may only purchase new real estate or second hand for the purpose of re-building. However, this research does not answer the question whether the purchasers will re-build or they have found ways and means around the policies. This is a matter for further research.

Price range and Source of funds

The next significant finding is the purchasing price of the properties. Two blocks of price ranges which are equal in percentage terms are \$ A500,000 – 800,000 and under \$ A1,000,000 representing 25.94 per cent respectively. The third largest block of price range is \$ A1 – 2 mil (24.69 per cent). These three categories occupy nearly 77 per cent of the total responses. It is consistent with the time frame of the purchases as well as the area of real estate. For instance, in Melbourne, Box Hill's medium house prices in 2010 was 486,750 and by 2015 it was 847,000 (Dobbin, 2015). This represents an increase of 74%.

The two largest groups of potential purchasers are under \$ A1 million (26.36%) and \$ A1 – 2 mil (25.58%) which are nearly equal percentage. The third largest group is the \$ A500,000 – 800,000 range at 20.16%. Within the range of middle price range suburbs in Melbourne, these price ranges gave a strong indication that the Chinese are indeed paying a market price rather than inflated prices. However if it is not clear if they are willing to pay a small premium within the four major groups of areas dis-



cussed in the point above. A more detailed future study is required to be carried out in order to do so.

76.29% (280) of the respondents indicated they either have or will choose to have a mortgage when purchasing a property. Although 23.71%, less than a quarter, indicated they either have or would pay for their purchase with a once off payment, this percentage would not be considered high compare to the Australian residents. At the very least this does not confirm the perception that majority of the Chinese are capable of making once off payment when purchasing their properties.

Factors which influence Chinese purchasing decisions

11 factors (location, prices, transport, parking availability, surrounding environment, local community, types of buildings and their sitting positions (fengshui), potential capital increase, owner's corporation, kindergarten and school availability and other) are listed. Respondents were asked to rank the top 3 most influential factors influencing their decision in order of importance. Access to Public transport emerged as the top influencing factor chosen by 204 respondents followed by housing prices at 194. The third most influencing factor is location (187) followed by surrounding environment (152), local community (107), parking (97), potential capital growth (86), fengshui (78), owner's corporation (38), kindergarten and access to schools (37) and others (3) (not specified).

Out of the 129 respondents who plan to purchase there is a nearly equal distribution of between Chinese areas and local residents areas, 32 (24.81%) and 33 (25.58%) respectively. The two significant growth areas is the 'school zone', 38 (29.48%) and wealthy areas 26 (20.16%) which is significantly up from the purchased group of 5.86%.

Influencing factors for potential purchasers for the Melbourne market

274 respondents out of 343 believe that the real estate prices are the most important factor which drives their decisions in terms of purchasing real estate. The second most important factor is the Australian government's policies on real estate investments. This result does not support the perception and media discussion that Chinese are driven to invest into Australian real estate due to Chinese government policy changes. As it turns out the Chinese government influence appears to be the least important consideration.

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This takes to task the media portrayal of Chinese investment and purchasing of real estate in Australia influenced or in fear of Chinese policy changes. It is clear that the Chinese investors are quite attuned to the influence of the local policies and have a relatively good understanding that the local policy changes will have a major impact on their investment decision.

The research findings of this project are significant for the following reasons:

1. This is the first set of data, known to the authors that has been collected from the Chinese community;
2. The findings address a range of Chinese preferences in terms of migration, house purchases, location of purchases which to this moment have primarily been addressed by the media and industry bodies;
3. The research raises important question for future research;
4. Some myths have been addressed with scientific evidence rather than perceptions and unsubstantiated views.

Findings and discussions of the qualitative data

The importance of a 'Home' for Chinese

Chinese as a group of consumers in real estate purchase have very distinct cultural characters. Chinese love real estate. This is consistent with the literature. The character for home 家 in Chinese has a rooftop. It is imbedded in the culture that as soon as they make enough money, they must first buy a home. To live in a home that is purchased rather than rented is important for stability. Historically Chinese labours who went overseas during the gold rush, for instance, did the same. As soon as they made money, it was sent home to buy land and build houses. The only thing that has changed now compared to then is the new migration move (Chung & Mascitelli 2017). This has been seen around the world in the most recent times. A Sydney agent said:

Chinese don't just buy real estate in Australia. They buy real estate everywhere in the world. It is trendy in China that if you are rich you must enjoy a western life style. Australia is the closest Western country to China. So far, Sydney and Melbourne are still not too Chinese like. It still feels like western cities. Australia is large



enough to have all the variety as well, Chinese food, Thai food etc. Most of my clients are top end, they have properties around the world such as New York, Vancouver, London etc.

For those who migrate here on the investment program, the first and most important thing for the family is to buy a roof over their head. It is also a very strong cultural desire that they must own their home where possible. Leasing or renting is simply not good enough.

The Chinese purchasing real estate did not really start until around 2005. This has been consistent with the quantitative data discussed earlier. Prior to this period the small numbers, who did was unnoticeable. Chinese who purchase real estate in Australia can be grouped into 3. Those who came to Australia around 2000 did not come with large amount of capital. It took them some years to work and cumulate for the deposits. This group of Chinese are now Australian residents/citizens. The next group are those who came on an investment visa, previously it was the 163 and then the BIIP program was introduced and the capital requirement went from the previously 750,000 to 1.5 million for a 188 visa or 5 (888), 10 and 15 mil. This group came to Australia with the required amount of capital to invest in Australia in order to obtain their permanent residency. The third group is the investors group. Some of these group have never been to Australia and may not come for a long time. This group also include those who send their children to Australia to study. Nonetheless, some of the students upon on completion of their studies might have taken the advantage of any visa or work opportunities and eventually remained in Australia.

Chinese purchasing real estate in a more noticeable manner is a more recent phenomenon and incurring in two major periods: 1. Between 2004 – 2009 and 2. The later comer since 2009. This has been consistent with the literature (Liu & Gurran 2017). Liu and Gurran (2017) suggested that between the financial year 2009 – 2010 to 2014 – 2015 the growth of Chinese purchase of real estate had grown 38 per cent. This is also consistent with the quantitative data discussed earlier.

A range of push and pull factors especially on policy changes since 2015 both in Australia and China on investment have impacted on the Chinese purchasing real estate

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in Australia. Prior to this period, the market was relative open and unregulated. It therefore presents an opportunity to the Chinese purchasers especially to those who were pure investors. Three major reasons which served as the push factor from the Chinese side;

1. The 'Going Abroad' policy by the Chinese government was still in full operation that through which policy, Chinese organisations and individually were still encouraging to invest overseas.

2. Many Chinese have sold their properties in the top tier cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou which the property prices were sky high. From the sales they had abundance of capital at hand to invest elsewhere. Australia was relatively cheap from their perspective.

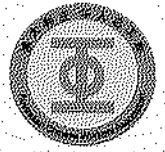
3. Although the policy that an individual was only permitted to transfer no more than \$ US50,000 outside China, the ruling was not strongly enforced. In some cases, local governments encouraged private firms investing overseas by providing assistance and grants.

The pull factors from Australia were;

1. There were little to no restriction to who and what could be purchased. Policies such as; a) none residents were only permitted to purchase new dwelling; b) none residents were only permitted to purchase one second – hand property for the purpose of self – use only; c) none residents must strictly obtain FIRB permission to purchase real estate; were not in place. They were all introduced gradually during this period.

2. Banks were lending equally to residents and none residents which meant those who sold their properties in China were able to purchase multiple properties by laying out an initial 10 per cent deposit. One agent recalled an overseas purchaser bought 40 apartments off the plan in one purchase. This group of investors focused on the new apartment blocks. They either planned to keep all the apartments as an investment portfolio or were planning to sell after settlement and make a profit just on the stamp duty. The banks not only lend to non – residents but also accepted proof of income from overseas. This policy was later tightened to only accept evidence of Australian income only.

The policy changes from the Australian side has since moved on to much higher level that as recent as the latest introduction, none residents are now lashed with as high



as a 12.5% extra stamp duty when purchasing any real estate. The stamp duty exemption on new stocks is no longer available to the non-residents. In the current environment, some agents suggested that there have been policy changes every year. Many agents felt this is not good for the Australian investment market and economy as it gives the impression of instability.

While a range of factors have impacted on the decision-making process, the quantitative research suggested that policy changes is the most influencing factor. The qualitative data further confirmed this finding.

Are Chinese responsible for the high real estate price in Australia

The view whether the prices have been pushed up by the Chinese varied from agent to agent. Some agents had strong resentment on the topic that the Chinese have pushed up the prices. One agent in an area where Chinese buyers are strong felt that the media has been targeting at the Chinese buyers unfairly:

I think it is so unfair that the media is targeting at the Chinese. With everything we must look at both sides of the equation. The Chinese are making their contribution to the Australian economy. In any rate, the Chinese are using their hard earned money. They did not rob anyone or steal from anyone.

The agents' perspective in general is that Chinese certainly are not paying more intentionally. One agent said:

Chinese are smart people. Their money is hard earned money as well. They would not go around wasting their money.

There is a perception that Chinese pay ridiculous prices in general and this is confirmed to be incorrect by the agents interviewed. As a result, vendors often ask for ridiculous prices when the inquires come from Chinese buyers. Agents recalled that vendors asked for significantly higher prices as soon as they hear the potential buyer is Chinese. They also expect higher prices when it comes to what is believed to be lucky numbers for Chinese such as 8. The agents interviewed felt these false perceptions are quite ridicu-

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lous and unhealthy. Vendors often say that Chinese don't understand the Australian market. They hope to take an advantage of them. One agent commented:

Don't you think it is quite laughable? On one hand they are complaining that the Chinese are buying all the properties by paying a high price which keep the locals out of the property market (sic) selling their properties, they are lifting the price.

At any rate the agent draws the attention to the other side of the equation:

Everything has its two sides. We must thank these Chinese buyers. Because of their purchasing power many industry sectors have been lifted, for example: interior decorating, furniture, removalists, electricity companies... You can't just look at property. The property market links to many other market sectors. It made the market active and lively. I am certain it made a huge contribution to the Australian economy. We need to thank the Chinese buyers if anything as they lifted the market, grew the economy. If Chinese buyers stop investing in the property market in Australia, I am certain all areas of economy will be impacted on including the construction sector.

A Sydney agent suggested:

Australian market without Chinese will be very difficult. According the fin review last week there are 30,000 stressed properties in Australia currently. This is simply caused by a small raise of the interest rate. Many developers say that Chinese investment is the saving grace to Australian economy... still on the over all percentage Chinese are still small.

The topic of price is a sensitive one and it is impacted by a range of factors. All the factors play important roles for none Chinese buyers as well. The only difference is the level of importance of each factor that is placed by Chinese and none Chinese. The combination and the variation of the importance of these factors determined the price at the



purchase.

First, Chinese often suffered lack of local knowledge and information. This is especially the case when the purchasers reside overseas who only just come to Australia to purchase a property. Their homework is usually poorly done. Even when they went through the trouble doing the homework by gathering some information, it can often be false as well. This will often lead to poor decision making. However in the more recent years this situation is significantly changing. One agent commented;

First their information is generally indirect. For example they heard from a friend which is a typical. They often 'hear from a friend's friend'. Sometimes they may go through the trouble talking to the neighbours before purchasing. This can be problematic as they may not understand what the neighbour told them very well due to the language problem..... the Chinese buyers were definitely much more ignorant a few years ago than they are today. I felt they are smarter now as they "have learnt the lessons from the other".

Secondly, the lack of time during the process of purchasing and the distance is another factor that influences their decision making. they sometimes make a special trip to Australia just for the purpose of purchasing a property. They are often here for 2 weeks and often no more than 3 weeks. Their time is limited. They are under pressure to make decisions. They would weight the cost of another trip and the time spend as well as the possibility of the price raise of properties as a part of the opportunity costs. They are prepared to pay a premium of no more than 10% to secure something within the short time frame. An agent in Sydney said;

Sometime the Chinese do not know the local market situation. They might have done things totally 'above the norm'. These would be exception situations. For instance there was a property which was worth about 1 million, a Chinese buyer paid over 2 million. The buyer was simply not aware of the market condition. Soon after the sale, it was all over the media. It was reported everyday by the newspapers, all

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main stream papers and Chinese newspapers all reported the incident over and over again. This was simply a situation that the buyer did not know what price it should be. He felt he needed to offer more to buy it but was not aware that he offered too much. But the media's constant and repeat reporting gave the impression this happened all the time on daily basis.

Thirdly, in the event they fall in love with the property they are willing to pay a premium. This is no difference from the local buyers as this is purely emotional. Equally the first two elements may come into play at this point as well.

Fourthly, when they attend actions, they may end up paying more. This occurred because of the cultural characteristics of the Chinese. They are very competitive and do not like losing. At an auction the Chinese it is claimed bid the price up without being able to stop. One agent in the most influential areas of Melbourne suggested that sometimes the non-Chinese stop bidding at auctions as soon as they see a Chinese bid.

Fifthly, there is a possibility that the Chinese are willing to pay a bit more, but not a great deal more. The real estate prices in major cities such as Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou are way higher than the prices in Australia. To many of the Chinese from those cities, the prices in Australia are considerably cheaper. Especially for those who sold their properties in those cities in China, they are relatively geared up to pay a little more. One agent in the city area said;

I have seen a few actions. Chinese are willing to pay a little more. They have fairly strong financial backing these days. They don't think it is much to add another 50,000 on top for a 1.25 million dollar property. Generally, if they don't have a solid financial base they usually won't go to an action. Their strategy at an auction is to take control of the situation by compressing any potential bidders. To increase the bid by a larger than usual amount, it scares the other bidders away.

Sixthly, there is a distinct cultural difference between the Chinese buyers and Australian buyers when it comes to budget. Agents all commented on the fact that Australian buyers would generally not differ from their budget too far, for instance 10%. However

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for the Chinese purchasers, the budget sometimes can be a bit of a wild card. It is not unheard of for a Chinese purchaser to pay twice or even more above their budget. One agent suggested:

Chinese generally have other sources of finance which is why they don't have to stick with their said budget. Sometimes they give you a budget not because that is the firm number of fund available but because we were asking them for a figure.

One agent made a particular observation about the perception of the Chinese purchasing the top end real estate. He felt that the perception of Chinese causing the raise of real estate prices is largely generated by the media and in particular their stories usually come from the top end of the market and they are one off stories.

There are very few expensive properties. The percentage of Chinese purchasing these expensive properties is still small. Even if they buy all the expensive properties which is not possible the impact on the market in total would still be very minimal to truly influence the market effectively. Plus unless one has a permit to remain in Australia, he/she is not permitted to buy second – hand properties.

In brief, all agents perceive the Chinese buyers have become more and more mature in their approaches when it comes to purchasing real estate. They also have better access to information. They are more in tune with the policy changes, learning more about Australia. The more financially secured buyers especially those who are in the property development industry start to impose more influence on the Australian real estate market. This trend will only increase as time goes on.

Action versus private sale

Chinese really do not like auctions but if they are forced to go they have to win as a cultural character as discussed above. They do not like losing, and they are quite competitive. The inability to win at an auction is a big face losing exercise. However, this certainly does not mean they will pay too much above the market price. Unless they are forced, for instance, they fall in love with a particular property and it is only up for auc-

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tion, they would have no choice but to attend the auction. Generally, at the start they do not like making the first offer. It is a typical approach for the Chinese to wait for others to start bidding as they are concerned if they were to start, it may be too high or too low.

All the agents interviewed observed that the Chinese are less restricted by the budget they set in the first place. Compared to the other buyers, they are able to stretch themselves a lot further. One agent in an area which are favoured by Chinese in Victoria commented:

Most of the Chinese who purchase properties have a lot more funds than what they plan to spend. If it is above the budget it generally means they just have to shift funds. Also, the Chinese seem to put more value on a property such as: 1) my mother lives in the next street; 2) it is closer to Chinese grocery shops or super markets; 3) the house is in a good liveable order, doesn't require any work. They are able to move in straight away.

Australians generally limit their mortgage to a level that they feel they can afford. They would generally leave a certain percentage of their income for other purpose such as a holiday or purchasing other household items. Where the Chinese not only stretch themselves out to the full extent of their income for their mortgage they may even seek assistance from the others. For instance the younger purchasers (in their 20s or 30s) will often seek or being offered support from their parents. The parents may offer to make up the shortfall of the deposit for instance. This will be another factor that gives the purchaser a stronger position to offer more at an auction. Some Chinese purchasers may also borrow from their friends and families. One agent put this specific character down as a part of the culture.

In general, if there is an easy way out, everyone will choose that. I am sure Chinese are the same. However when there is an aim or a target is being set, the Chinese tend to respond to a higher target as a challenge. This is very different from other cultures in my view. This is why if the Chinese realise that they need to pay



50,000 more to secure a property because there are a few people are bidding for it. They would make the move to offer 50,000 more. When it comes to auction, they do not see the offer of 100,000 as 100,000 but 20,000 as the other 80,000 would be met by a loan. They don't seem to consider the loan portion as their money.

This may indeed be another major reason that shows the Chinese sometime have more to spend on a property.

Driving force and values of properties

It has been consistent with the quantitative data that there are three major factors which drive the Chinese buyers the most: surrounding environment especially transport, schools and shopping. However, what is not consistent is in what order these three factors drive the Chinese purchasers. Our quantitative data showed that the surrounding environment was the top factor more so than schools.

A closer analysis showed that in order to understand which factor is more of a priority indicated that the Chinese purchasers are generally belong to two groups: 1) those who have made money in China and come to Australia to retire; and 2) the younger migrants. In these groups, we exclude those who are investors.

For the first group, the school zone requirement is not important. They prefer nice environment such as south – eastern suburbs, closer to other Chinese, convenience of transport sometimes also comes into play. Shops especially Chinese grocery shops in a handy location is certainly important. Many of this group are retired public servants or business people. For public servants they are generally not permitted to migrate overseas until they retire.

For the second group they are generally in their late 30s or 40s. This group have children and certainly consider school zone as an important factor. The catchment concept is based on their knowledge from China so that they like to live within certain distance of good public schools. This trend has changed from the earlier migrant had less funds than the more recent migrants especially those who arrived under the BHP program, which only began in 2013 – 2014 (Chung & Mascitelli 2017). As the entry point of the BHP program has been lifted to \$ 1.5 million from the previous \$ 750,000 of the 163 visa it is clearly reflected in their way of looking at schools. School zones have been

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shifted from good public schools to good private schools. One agent in Box Hill quoted a price difference of \$100,000 between a school zone and nonc school zone property. With a double school zone property, (meaning to have two schools in the same area) the price difference may be 100,000 to 150,000. Although these figures appear to be large on their own, a deeper analysis suggests that a 100,000 difference on a property of say 2.5 million is 0.04%. Again, is this significant in the overall scheme?

Chinese customers – Demanding customers

There are some particular cultural characteristics about the Chinese, which are not captured by the literature. Chinese are demanding customers and are different from other consumer groups culturally. This has been proven by many large MNCs having experienced it in China for now nearly 20 – 30 years. Companies such as P&N and Walmart have learnt their lessons the hard way are now acknowledging and accepting these facts.

To provide real estate services to Chinese purchasers two fundamental factors must be considered: Language and Culture. Most of the Chinese customers speak little or often no English. For any real estate agents who can't provide the service in Chinese, there is very little chance to engage them. Secondly the cultural understanding, it shortens the distance during the process of learning about the clients. Chinese clients do not do business unless trust and relationship is established (Chung 2012). A top end Sydney agency said 90% of their clients come from referral. When they first start the company in 2009, their initial aim was to provide the service that no other agencies were providing. The agent pointed out specifically the difference between a Chinese client and an Australian client. If all conditions are satisfied such as the location, the land, the house etc, an Australia client will make the purchase while a Chinese client will not unless he/she trusts you.

All additional services were free. This includes; airport pick up, hotel pick up, arranging schools etc. Angeline Chen, a young agent in Melbourne, who requested for her name to be mentioned said:

We are like nannies. We help with their kids schooling, house removal, airport pick up, touring... I felt we are like their house keeper. In fact they never make the direct demand, but all my colleagues do these additional duties which no other Aus-

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tralian agencies do. We never list this services as additional service. So it is in theory provided free of charge. Some clients are kinder than the others who would give us a red packet with 100 dollars. But we never demand for them to pay. We obviously want to sell properties. We also expect them to introduce to us other clients. This is the way Chinese build long – term relationships.

A Box Hill agent said:

I once had a family. On the way to see the property the kids started to scream. The parents told us to turn around and go to a playground. So I had no choice. We went. The kids were happy and we went to see the property after. Some of my colleagues often met Chinese clients who make additional demands.

It is common for agents to ask their perspective clients about a budget. That way the agent is able to introduce suitable properties to the perspective clients. For Chinese this however is a no, no. A Chinese agent said:

You shouldn't ask them what their budget is. That is to suggest that they can't afford property.

So the way to find out about their price range is really by trial and error. Sometimes even when they suggested a price range it still would be okay to show them something that is way above the price they quoted. This has been consistent with the early section regarding their source of funds.

One other character that the agents have noticed is the haggling nature of Chinese clients. On one hand they are quite capable of making quick decisions on a large amount but then they can haggle on small points for a very long time, sometime this can be a matter of a couple of thousands. The Box Hill agent commented:

They are very quick at making the decision for the purchase of a several million dollar property but then they will start bargaining for a couple of thousand dollars.

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Sometimes they can take a couple of weeks. I think they just like small gains. This can even be for one or two thousand dollars.

Fengshui

Fengshui is a particular Chinese cultural character. Australian agents found this difficult to understand. Not all Chinese have a blanket view and understanding about Fengshui. Cantonese have a lot more Fengshui requirements than Chinese from other parts. Younger generation Chinese also noticeably are paying little to attention Fengshui. One agent even noted that some young clients are buying number 4 simply for fun.

8 is commonly known as a good number. 4 shares similar pronunciation of death and it is therefore considered a poor number in general. Although agents have also sold properties with 4 to Chinese when the property was exactly what they wanted. Again the emotional factor in purchasing real estate is shown here regardless of the culture.

Conclusion

While much concern and dissatisfaction is expressed in parts of the Australian media about rising housing prices and the Chinese buy – up of residential property, there has yet to be serious scholarly research conducted to explore the reality of these scenarios. Moreover, there has been a dearth of investigation to examine the real impact of these developments on the real estate market and on local communities. Understanding the drivers, the participants and the motivations of the Chinese and other communities is central to the provision of accurate data for the policy makers to construct relevant investment policies for the benefit of investors as well as for the local communities. This research will benefit all sides of the relationship and has sought to separate fact from fiction and what can be both of benefit as well as harm as a result of this purported practice.

The loud sound bites from many quarters on Chinese investment in real estate has been a phenomenon, which has hit the headlines. Like all headlines, there is always a small element of truth. However, certain levels of xenophobia and hysteria have also infected this narrative. That there be concern for younger Australians to be able to secure



a roof over their head is all but natural and in the case of Australia still within the realm of an expectation. The attraction of Australia from the Chinese and its real estate has a range of connotations to it. China is engaging with Australia on many fronts and that there also be an interest in real estate should not be a surprise. This phenomenon is also a realisation of the changed nature of China, its economy and its outreach. Nonetheless, the fear campaign both against foreign direct investment and specifically Chinese is a misplaced concern and only brings out the bad past of some of Australia's policies and responses to the presence of foreigners in Australia.

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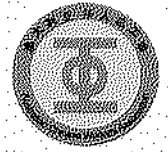
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第三部分 Community Study

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澳大利亚华人总工会

Australian Chinese Workers Association



The Associations of Ethnic Chinese's Roles in Sino – Australian Relations

——The Perspective of Public Diplomacy

Yu Changsen; Wu Nan *

Abstract: As globalization deepens, the elite groups of non – governmental organizations join the public diplomacy to play a growing role – – to broaden the scope of public diplomacy. The associations of ethnic Chinese is a special form of non – governmental organization, a bridge between the ancestral home and the country, the presence of Chinese social existence and continuing behavior. The associations of ethnic Chinese are responsible for the legacy and the importance of Chinese culture. In the process of advancing public diplomacy in china, the associations of ethnic Chinese is using cross – cultural communication as well as powerful organizational capabilities and rallying power. The associations of ethnic Chinese in Australia are long – run and have its unique role in history and now, especially after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Australia. The associations of ethnic Chinese play an important role in both political and cultural diplomacy. So, exploring the role of the associations of ethnic Chinese in Sino Australian relations has a strong operability and reality. This article is based in the associations of ethnic Chinese in Australia to explore its role in the Sino Australian relations. And select a number of the associations of ethnic Chinese with symbolic meaning to conclude that the Chinese government should play a better role in the Chinese community and to further promote public diplomacy.

Key words: Australia, The associations of ethnic Chinese, Public diplomacy

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华人社团在当代中澳关系中的作用

——以公共外交为视角

喻常森 吴楠*

内容提要:由于全球化的深入发展,各种非政府组织、社会团体、精英群体加入公共外交的行列,发挥日益重要的作用,拓宽了公共外交的行为主体范围。华人社团作为非政府组织的特殊形式,是祖籍国与住在国的桥梁纽带,是华人社会存在和延续的行为主体,承担着传承和弘扬中华文化的重要责任。在中国不断推进公共外交的进程中,海外华人社团凭借跨文化的沟通优势以及强大的组织能力和号召力,成为一支不容小觑的重要力量。澳大利亚的华人社团源远流长,在历史上和现在都发挥着其独特的作用,特别是中澳建交后,在澳华人日益增多,华人社团在两国政治、经济、文化、外交等方面都扮演着重要角色。本文从公共外交的视角,以澳大利亚的华人社团为研究对象,探讨其在中澳关系中所起的作用,并选取若干具有代表性意义的华人社团进行案例分析,总结应更好地发挥华人社团的作用,进一步推进公共外交。

关键词:澳大利亚 华人社团 公共外交

一、导论

2017年3月25日,中国国务院总理李克强访问澳大利亚。李克强总理在致辞时特别感谢在澳大利亚的华人华侨为中澳两国各方面的交流与合作所做出的贡献。他说:“现在有很多新的华人华侨为中澳两国的合作和友谊发挥纽带的作用,我跟他们说,他们都是我们免费的大使。”^①李克强同时表示,希望澳大利亚华人社团积极融入澳大利亚社会,使中澳两国合作发展有更深厚的民意基础。

1972年中澳两国正式建立外交关系,随着两国间交往的不断深入,中澳关系达到了高水平。日前,中国已经成为澳大利亚第一大进口来源国、第一大出口市

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① 《李克强赞“你们都是免费的大使”》，澳洲新快网 2017年3月25日，<http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/Xt9k4emsJFCnvR3zA3Lcw>。



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场、第一大贸易伙伴、第一大服务贸易出口目的地、第一大农产品出口市场、第一大贸易顺差来源国、第一大旅游收入来源国、第一大留学生来源国、第一大年度外资来源国以及第一大年度移民来源国。^① 澳大利亚最新民调显示,65%的受访民众认为中国的发展对澳大利亚是好事、是机遇,这显示中澳关系已有更为坚实的社会和民意基础。^② 中澳两国需要提高互信互利,相互促进,进一步发展两国的战略伙伴关系。

自建国二百多年以来,移民一直被视为澳大利亚的基本国家政策。自20世纪70年代以来,随着“白澳政策”的废除,华人移居澳大利亚者增多,尤其是近年来,伴随着中澳关系的日益密切,澳大利亚的华人数量不断增长。近年来,随着对华人移民的吸引力增加,澳大利亚的华人数量逐渐增加,华人华侨在澳大利亚的影响也越来越大。一方面是因为澳大利亚的华人华侨已经成为当地社会的重要群体之一;另一方面是因为随着中澳两国交往日益增多,澳大利亚主流社会和当地民众对中国的发展现状、中华文化的了解越来越深。

2012年,澳大利亚联邦议会通过的一项议案中特别表彰了澳大利亚的华人华侨对当地经济社会以及文化发展所做的贡献。由此可见,澳大利亚官方对华人华侨200年来所做出的贡献给予了高度肯定和赞扬。同年,在庆祝中澳建交40周年的时候,中国驻澳大使陈育明表示,回顾澳大利亚200多年的发展历史,如果没有华人华侨的参与和贡献,就没有澳大利亚的今天;而从中澳建交40年两国关系的发展来看,如果没有华人华侨的参与和贡献,也就没有中澳关系发展的今天。^③

随着在澳华人华侨人数的增加,华人社团组建和参加社团组织的行为也大量增加。近年来,华人社团已经突破以血缘、地缘的基础,综合性、业缘性专业社团成为一种主流,综合性、专业性、福利性、政治性成为新华人社团的显著特征,华人社团的宗旨从联络情感、扶贫助困,发展到今天更加注重促进中澳在政治、经济、文化等各方面的合作与交流,更加注重融入澳大利亚主流社会,并且努力为当地社会发展做贡献。

华人社团作为凝聚华人华侨力量的重要载体,对澳大利亚的发展和中澳关系

① 《商务部:日前中国是澳大利亚第一贸易伙伴》,金融界, <http://mt.sohu.com/20160719/n459935964.shtml>, 2016年7月19日。

② 《中澳第二轮外交与战略对话 王毅强调中澳关系需两翼并进》,国际在线网, <http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2014-09-08/095130809230.shtml>, 2014年9月8日。

③ 《中国驻澳大使高度评价华人华侨在澳重要作用》,中国新闻网, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hq-pl/zggc/2012-12-20/content_7825066.html, 2012年12月20日。

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的发展都起着重要作用,但国内学术界对澳大利亚的发展史、澳大利亚的移民政策关注较多,对华人华侨与中澳关系的研究则较少,单独研究华人社团对中澳关系影响的资料也暂付阙如。

二、澳大利亚华人社团的历史沿革

澳大利亚华人众多,华人社会历史悠久,华人社团源远流长。经过长期的发展,华人社团依旧焕发着强大的生命力,在不同的历史时期呈现出不同的发展特点。

早期华人社团的出现是早期移民海外的华人未能立足、适应、融入主流社会,而借民族传统势力自保、自助、自治,以及谋生海外的一种必然产物。它们“主要是建立在家族、村社及宗教联系的基础上”^①的。

19世纪中叶,澳大利亚的“淘金热”兴起,大批华人背井离乡,漂洋国外。刚刚来到异国他乡,对一切都不熟悉,而且社会地位低下,再加上语言不通,没有经济基础,在澳大利亚立足显得困难重重。中华民族历来有同舟共济、患难与共的传统和习惯。为了乡梓的自我保护,华人同源同宗,聚在一起,互助共济、合谋生计,避免和当地白人或政府发生矛盾冲突,调解华人群体内部发生的纠纷,仍然采用国内世代相袭的习惯,以宗亲、乡土和业缘关系,汇聚同乡、同姓、同宗,继而组织起来,建立起许多以互助、联谊为目的的社团组织和少数秘密会社。

早期社团与广东独特的地理位置有关。广东临近澳门、香港,海岸线长,境内河川如织,这一地理环境十分方便开展对外交往和移民活动。且这一地区素有对外交流的传统,鸦片战争前就已经开展了较具规模的海外移民活动。一方面,国内的生存环境堪忧,另一方面,前往海外则看似充满了机遇。在这样的背景下,沿海的广东地区大量华工踏上了出国谋生的艰辛道路。因此,早期在海外谋生的大部分都是广东地区的穷苦人民,他们也最早在海外建立了自己的社团组织。

19世纪80年代以来,随着赴澳华人的日益增多,地域分布的扩展,职业与经济模式的变化,华人社团有了新的发展,陆续建立了许多以地缘为基础、业缘为桥梁、血缘为纽带的社团组织,它们在澳大利亚华人之间的彼此扶助、相互恤救方面起了重要作用,也表现出与早期社团所不同的特点。

① 颜清湟:《新马华人社会史》,王庆武序,北京:中国华侨出版公司,1991年。



表 1: 澳大利亚早期宗亲团体成立情况

名称	成立时间	地点	备注
合福	19 世纪 80 年代	新南威尔士	广东 16 个县
中福	19 世纪 80 年代	新南威尔士	广东 16 个县
兴新	19 世纪 80 年代	新南威尔士	广东 16 个县
光新	19 世纪 80 年代	新南威尔士	广东 16 个县
博生堂	19 世纪 80 年代	新南威尔士	广东 16 个县
公义堂	1875	新南威尔士	东莞
保安堂	1880	新南威尔士	中山
荫德堂	1880	新南威尔士	中山
南番顺会馆	19 世纪 50 年代	维多利亚	南海、番禺、顺德
四邑会馆	1854	维多利亚	四邑
冈州会馆	1854	维多利亚	新会

(资料来源:笔者根据《2015 年澳大利亚华人年鉴》汇总整理)

20 世纪初,西澳华人苦心经营的菜园、家具厂、洗衣店和零售店已有一定规模,成为西澳经济的一个组成部分。华人经济的发展,招致了种族歧视现象的日益增加。团结互助、维护自身合法权益、保持民族传统文化,已成为西澳华人迫切的共同愿望。在这种背景下,1910 年,西澳华人在珀斯创建了澳大利亚第一个大型华人社团——中华会馆。西澳中华会馆成立之初,共有 260 名会员。其主要活动有:一是筹集资金,资助老弱病残者返回祖国;二是汇款回国救济广东、安徽等地的受灾贫民;三是捐款给当地的慈善机构,服务澳大利亚;四是支持孙中山推翻清王朝的革命活动。西澳中华会馆已成为当时澳华社会中一个比较有影响和凝聚力的重要社团。

二战以后,国际形势发生了巨大而深刻的变化,中华人民共和国于 20 世纪 50 年代宣布废除双重国籍,鼓励华侨取得居住国国籍,与居住国人民共同建设新国家。

1972 年中澳建交,澳大利亚政府宣布废除“白澳政策”,中澳关系进入了一个新阶段。70 年代后期,澳大利亚政府安置了大批印支华人难民。80 年代,中国推行改革开放政策,大批以自费留学生为主体的大陆新移民进入澳大利亚。90 年代以冷战对峙为特征的两极格局解体,世界格局走向多元化。中澳关系有了新的发

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展,澳大利亚总理相继访华。

进入新世纪以来,世界经济重心转向亚太地区,华人经济在国际舞台上正扮演日益重要的角色——这一系列变化对包括澳大利亚在内的海外华人社团产生了巨大的冲击,各种思想观念、文化传统、生活习俗乃至社团的宗旨、纲领、名称和运作模式,都要与之相适应。它既要保存华族优良传统和民族意识,又要符合居住国利益;既要坚持社团福泽宗乡的宗旨,又要逾越地缘界限,加强与其他团体的联合和合作;既要为华族生存发展争取平等权益,又要领导华人社群,突破旧传统观念,与居住国友胞携手合作,共创一个多元文化的繁荣国家。

三、当代澳大利亚华人社团的资源评估

庞大的华人人口和优秀的华人社区历史带动了各类社团的发展。据不完全统计,新南威尔士州正式注册的华人社团约有260个左右,如果加上未曾注册的小型社团,总数超过500个;维多利亚州华人社团从10年前的150个左右,增加到2015年的约400个;堪培拉正式注册的华人社团不到20个;南澳西澳等地的社团若干。^①

这些林林总总的华人社团其规模有大有小、时间有长有短,在规模、主要活动、会员特点和发展模式等方面有着巨大差异。

(一) 当代澳大利亚华人社团的类别

就种类而言,澳大利亚的华人社团主要包括地缘宗亲社团、职业类社团、科教文卫体类社团、综合性社团、妇女青年老人类社团、政治性社团、慈善服务类社团、宗教社团等(见图1)。

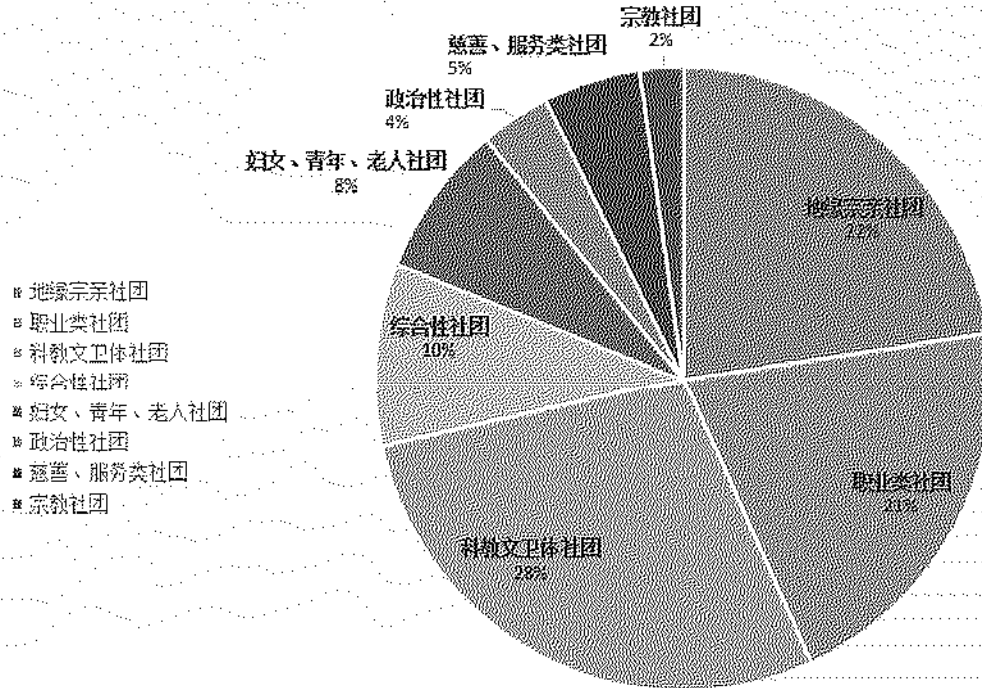
1. 科教文卫体社团大放异彩

科教文卫体社团约占澳大利亚华人社团的三成,是占比最大的一类社团。这类社团一般以某一学科、某一专业或某一兴趣为基础,为加强华人知识分子之间的联络、了解和学术交流以及推广中华文化而创设。科教文卫体社团既从微观层面满足了各个社区的文体需求,更从宏观层面弘扬了中华文化。

^① 澳大利亚华人年鉴编委会:《2015年澳大利亚华人年鉴》,悉尼:澳大利亚华人年鉴出版社,第316页。



图1 澳大利亚各类华人社团所占比例



(资料来源:笔者根据《2015年澳大利亚华人年鉴》汇总整理)

例如,悉尼的三大中医协会与其他各州中医协会团结协作,遥相呼应,有效推动了澳洲中医注册的进程。^① 澳华文联和澳中文化科技促进会是两个主要文化类社团,他们依托当地政府的文化政策,探索出一条本土化的移民文化道路,每年邀请、接待中国一线文艺院团访澳,策划组织大型文化活动,在中华文化海外传播方面做出重要贡献。^②

2. 地缘宗亲社团占比依旧较大

到目前,地缘宗亲类社团依旧占了一大部分,约为22%。澳大利亚早期华人社团基于血缘或地缘形成,以宗亲会为主,这类团体历史悠久,大多置有产业,以帮

① 澳大利亚华人年鉴编委会:《2013年澳大利亚华人年鉴》,悉尼:澳大利亚华人年鉴出版社,第302页。

② 澳大利亚华人年鉴编委会:《2013年澳大利亚华人年鉴》,悉尼:澳大利亚华人年鉴出版社,第303页。

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助同乡、同族为宗旨,最早可以追溯到19世纪50年代华人大批赴澳淘金时期。早期同乡会如澳洲叻明洪福堂、洪门致公总堂、澳洲雪梨四邑同乡会、澳洲东莞同乡会公义堂、澳洲增城同乡会等,均有超过百年的历史,会员主体为来自中国广东各个县市的移民。

后来,随着华人经济状况的改善、行业分布的扩散,澳大利亚华人逐渐摆脱了早期华人社团狭隘的地缘观念和界限,原有的宗亲同乡会组织经过多年的整合嬗变,也以新的面貌存在发展。

随着20世纪70年代非歧视性移民政策的确立,澳大利亚迎来第一个亚洲移民高峰,推动了一系列新同乡会的建立。20世纪80年代成立的主要同乡会如澳洲潮州同乡会、澳洲福建会馆、澳洲中山同乡会等起到了承前启后的作用。

到20世纪90年代,随着澳中关系的深入发展和中国“出国潮”的兴起,华裔移民的地域来源也由广东福建等南部沿海地区扩展到内陆的各个省市,包括藏族同胞联谊会、新疆华人协会等等,代表着来自中国不同省份、不同城镇、不同民族的华人,大批新移民同乡会如雨后春笋般纷纷成立,凭借与故土千丝万缕的联系,整合两地资源,在政治、经济、文化和教育交流方面都起到了重要的纽带作用。

3. 职业类社团占比突出

职业类社团在澳大利亚华人社团中约占21%。

这类社团起着扶持、发展华人经济、交流信息等作用,往往是在澳大利亚从事某一职业人数较多的华人为维护自身经济利益自发产生建立的。这类社团在促进亚裔主流化和国际交流方面都起到了不可忽视的作用。

最早较有代表性的职业类社团有由四邑华商组建的悉尼联益堂、墨尔本洗衣协成行、维多利亚州华侨家具协会、悉尼织绣公会等等,到现在范围越来越广泛,比如华人生物医学科学协会、亚太摄影协会、墨尔本华文作家协会等等,囊括了各行各业。最为突出的是各大商会。如中华经贸文化交流促进会,在商界元老林辉源的领导号召下,集合悉尼政商界诸多重量级人物,在推动澳中之间的贸易合作和文化交往、开展公益活动、促进两国人民友谊方面做了大量卓有成效的工作。^①

4. 福利、服务类社团发挥不可忽视作用

妇女、青年、老人类社团和慈善服务类社团加起来约占13%。

这类社团主要活动以联谊、服务、慈善公益为主,知名社团包括澳华公会、华人

^① 澳大利亚华人年鉴编委会:《2013年澳大利亚华人年鉴》,悉尼:澳大利亚华人年鉴出版社,第297页。



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服务社、澳洲华裔相济会等等。这类社团突出的特点是公益性,早期是自发服务,后期逐渐获得政府资金补贴,针对华人华侨开展包括托儿、养老和移民安居在内的各项服务,在社区中有着重要的地位。比如,成立于1974年的澳华公会,有近40年的历史,登记会员达万人,面向社区提供各类服务,包括高龄家居服务、日间中心、失智症服务等。另一家著名的社区服务社团是成立于1981年的慈善机构华人服务社。本着协助广大亚裔背景移民定居和融入澳洲社会的宗旨,华人服务社开展内容丰富、覆盖地域广泛的一系列服务项目,每星期约有超过1800个家庭从中获益。^①

与政府的密切合作使得社区服务类社团具有特别强烈的主流化意识,它们不仅积极推行各类改革措施以提高机构治理水平,使社团走向正规化和制度化的轨道,还作为华裔社群的代表,活跃于各级政府之间,在影响华人的各项事务上发挥自己的作用,成为主流社会和华人社区的重要桥梁。

5. 政治类社团意义重大

这类社团的数量不多,战后日趋减少,目前约占4%。代表性社团有澳洲和统一促进会和澳大利亚华人团体协会。澳洲和统会自2000年创建以来,一直活跃在全球反独促统运动的前沿。华协会则团结了悉尼的150个社团,在维护华人社区利益和推动澳中友好关系方面形成统一的立场和行动方针。华协会在每年的中国农历新年和澳洲日举办的庆贺晚会,均受到澳中两国政要的重视和支持。^②

(二) 当代澳大利亚华人社团的地域分布

就地域分布而言,澳大利亚的华人社团主要分布在新南威尔士州和维多利亚州,其他各州也有分布,但数量较少。

1. 超过四成分布在新南威尔士州

新南威尔士州有澳大利亚最著名的大都市悉尼,悉尼大都市圈具有悠久的历史、蓬勃的多元文化和成熟的商业环境。同时它又是世界知名的移民门户城市,吸纳了全澳五分之一以上的移民。^③ 多种文化的碰撞、整合和交融,造就了悉尼的国际化视野,兼容并蓄的文化氛围和繁荣的少数民族社区。从澳大利亚华人定居史

^① 澳大利亚华人年鉴编委会:《2013年澳大利亚华人年鉴》,悉尼:澳大利亚华人年鉴出版社,第290页。

^② 澳大利亚华人年鉴编委会:《2013年澳大利亚华人年鉴》,悉尼:澳大利亚华人年鉴出版社,第297页。

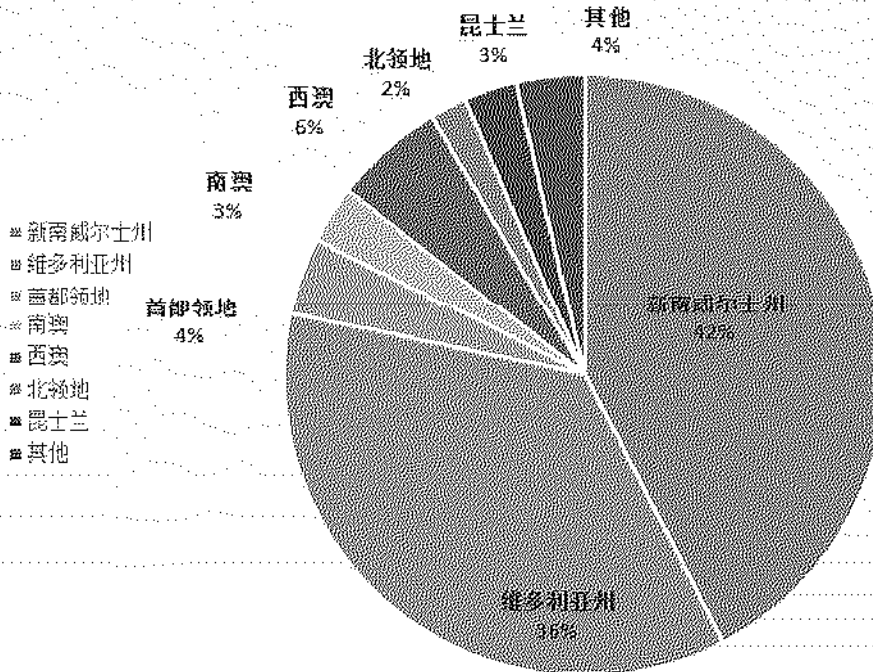
^③ 澳大利亚华人年鉴编委会:《2013年澳大利亚华人年鉴》,悉尼:澳大利亚华人年鉴出版社,第295页。

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的角度来看,新南威尔士州具有不可取代的枢纽地位,其华人总数、社区历史、社团发展以及华人的经济政治影响力都堪称澳大利亚各州之最。

图2 澳大利亚华人社团地域分布



(资料来源:笔者根据《2015年澳大利亚华人年鉴》汇总整理)

2. 约三分之一分布在维多利亚州

维多利亚州作为澳大利亚面积最小的大陆州,却成为澳大利亚人口最密集、农牧业生产最发达的一个州。维多利亚州的华人社团从10年前的150个左右,增加到2015年的约400个,有些来同一地区的华人社团,从原来的一两个增加到现在的五六个,增加数倍。^①

3. 西澳、首都领地等地区亦有发展

有关西澳、首都领地等地区华人社团的记载较少,总共占比约为22%。但近年来,随着移民数量的大幅增加,澳大利亚各州的华人社区不断充实扩展,华人社

^① 澳大利亚华人年鉴编委会:《2013年澳大利亚华人年鉴》,悉尼:澳大利亚华人年鉴出版社,第316页。



团也得到了长足的发展。如堪培拉正式注册的华人社团有近 20 个,但囊括了同乡会、学生会、综合服务型机构、商会、华文教育机构、新闻机构和业缘性组织,这种构成能有效涵盖华人社区各方面的利益诉求。与悉尼、墨尔本等国际大都市相比,堪培拉独有的小城镇环境更有利于形成紧密的社区纽带和团结协作运行模式。

(三) 当代华人社团参与公共外交的主观意愿

澳大利亚华人跟其他海外华人华侨一样,对中国具有强烈的归属感和文化认同感。澳大利亚华人社团不管在过去还是现在,都心系中国的命运和发展,关注着中国的进步与强盛。澳大利亚华人社团曾以多种方式积极参与中国的革命与建设,一是筹集资金,资助老弱病残者返回祖国;二是汇款回国救济广东等地的受灾贫民;三是捐款给当地的慈善机构,服务澳大利亚;四是支持孙中山推翻清王朝的革命活动。

澳大利亚华人为了生存和发展,在政治上已经认同住在国澳大利亚,但在文化认同方面仍然坚守中华文化,中文已经成为澳大利亚第一通用外语。^① 澳大利亚华人社会对中国的认同感比较强烈。

从现实来看,增进主流社会对中国的了解和认知,推动中澳关系友好交流与发展,符合华人社团的长远利益;推动中国对澳公共外交,提升中国的国家形象,也有助于华人社团在主流社会获得更好的发展环境,进而增强华人社团在主流社会的地位。从情感基础、文化认同和利益动机出发,澳大利亚华人社团都具备参与中国对澳公共外交的主观意愿。

四、澳大利亚华人社团参与公共外交的路径和效果分析

公共外交的核心是信息和思想的跨国流动。^② 澳大利亚华人社团具备传递信息和思想的独特优势,是联系中澳双方的重要纽带,是中国对澳公共外交的重要载体。澳大利亚华人社团在介绍中国政治、经济、社会发展,传播和弘扬中华文化,推动中澳两国友好交往方面发挥了重要作用,在提升中国国家形象方面也起到特殊作用。下面将介绍澳大利亚华人社团参与公共外交的路径及其效果分析。

^① 《汉语热持续升温 普通话成澳大利亚第一通用外语》,国际在线, <http://gb.cri.cn/42071/2014/09/25/7551s4706975.htm>, 2014 年 9 月 25 日。

^② Edmund A. Gullion, "What is Public Diplomacy?" <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/murrow/Diplomacy>. 转引自刘贞晔:《非政府组织及其非传统外交效应》,《国际观察》,2012 年第 5 期。

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(一) 传递中国声音,有助于加强对中国的认知

由赵可金教授对公共外交的定义,可以推出公共外交的目标函数由低到高依次为知晓度(知名度或认知度)、美誉度、认同度。知晓度(知名度或认知度)是公共外交的首要目标,也是实现其他目标的前提和基础。如果没有必要的认知度,就谈不上赞赏和认同。对目标国开展公共外交最直接最初的目标就是让对象国民众认识了解自己,通过与其联系密切的华人群体或华人社团的介绍更容易被主流社会接受。^① 国家形象是一个国家向外界散发的象征符号,它可以给公众带来对于这个国家的整体认知和综合评价,华人社团在中国形象传播和建构中发挥独特作用。

华人社团可以通过多种形式向海外主流社会介绍中国的真实情况,传递中国声音,加强住在国主流社会和民众对中国的认知,提升中国的国家形象。2008年6月,针对达赖喇嘛赴澳大利亚这一事件,澳大利亚和平统一促进会、澳大利亚中华年组委会等多个华人社团发表了公开信,呼吁澳大利亚国会对达赖喇嘛要有真实客观的认识和了解,对中国对达赖喇嘛的态度要有所认知,不要以任何方式支持达赖喇嘛在海内外分裂中国的活动。

2016年7月23日,墨尔本的一百多个华人社团举行了一场声势浩大的游行活动,抗议所谓的南海仲裁非法出笼,支持中国政府对南海的主张,约有三千多名华人华侨参与了这次游行。这是澳大利亚华人华侨近年来声势最为浩大的一次游行。

国家形象是一个国家综合国力强弱和国际地位高低的反映,体现了一个国家软实力。开展公共外交有利于提升国家形象,增强国家软实力。公共外交同传统外交相比,传播手段更为先进,方式更为多样,效果也更加明显。华人社团勇敢发声,向澳大利亚全方位地介绍中国国情和政策方针,化解澳大利亚民众的片面看法,积极提升澳大利亚公众对中国的认识,从而提升中国的国家形象以及增强中国软实力。

(二) 搭建交流平台,有助于促进双边友好往来

华人社团为中国与住在国之间互动沟通积极主动地搭台筑桥,如以举办大型活动为契机,邀请两国高层出席,为会面沟通创造机会,加强了双方在商界、政界、文化界等领域的交流互动,有利于促进双边友好往来。

① 李亚:《马来西亚华人社团与中国对马公共外交》,华侨大学2016年硕士学位论文,第32页。



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澳大利亚国际商会,搭建了各式各样的交流平台,促进中澳两国政府、民间在政治、经济、文化、教育等各方面的交流与合作。比如政府间建立友好城市、行业间进行项目考察,以及民间进行文化教育培训等,为增进中澳友谊,促进中澳两国友好交往作出了一定的贡献。^①2017年3月23日,正值李克强总理访澳,以“陕西省企业走近澳洲”的“陕西省——澳大利亚投资贸易洽谈会”在悉尼举行。这次洽谈会正是由澳大利亚国际商会主办的,以全新的姿态展现了中国积极与澳大利亚拓展投资和深化合作的合作大趋势。^②

自2007年始,每年在中国内地举办一次“中澳医院论坛”,由澳大利亚澳中友好协会合作主办。每年邀请中国各省市卫生部门、各地公立医院、各领域专家学者、知名医疗企业等参加论坛,搭建交流平台,从而促进中国与澳大利亚在医院管理建设方面的交流与合作。“中澳医院论坛”得到了中澳两国自中央到地方的高度肯定和支持。^③

2015年,澳中友好发展协会利用厦门“国际开放窗口”的优势,与四川省泸州市政府签订战略合作协议,为“一带一路”战略添砖加瓦,充分发挥厦门市作为“海上丝绸之路”重要节点的作用。澳中友好发展协会多次为中澳城市、港口之间的交流与合作牵线搭桥,比如澳大利亚弗林德斯港与中国厦门港建立了友好港口关系,进而在中澳两国间打造了一条海上便捷通道;澳大利亚林肯港市与中国龙海市建立了友好合作关系,搭建了海产品贸易和加工平台等。^④

2010年,“2010世界华人金融精英陆家嘴峰会”在上海召开。澳大利亚华人金融专家协会是此次峰会的协办单位,该协会属于银行与金融领域的高级专业组织。通过举办金融、法律等方面的专题讲座,澳中两国金融服务业的交流与合作得到了进一步加强。^⑤

(三) 弘扬中华文化,有助于增强中国软实力

华人社团是中华文化的重要载体,承担着传承和弘扬中华文化的重任。华人

① 《澳大利亚国际商会简介》,澳大利亚国际商会官网,<http://www.aita.com.cn/aita-about/introduction.html>。

② 《陕西省经贸团访澳 投资贸易洽谈会悉尼举办》,澳洲新快网,<http://www.xkb.com.au/html/cnc/shetuan-dongtai/2017/0323/189204.html>,2017年3月23日。

③ 《澳中医院论坛简介》,澳中友好协会网站,<http://www.acbeg.com/anewweb/yyft.asp>。

④ 《澳大利亚华社响应“一带一路”战略 促进中澳经贸合作》,中国日报网,http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqgj/jryw/2016-01-07/content_14466747.html,2016年1月7日。

⑤ 《2010世界华人金融精英陆家嘴峰会》,澳洲新快网,<http://www.xkb.com.au/html/cnc/shetuan-dongtai/2010/0217/28144.html>,2010年2月17日。

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社团在住在国开展各式各样的文化活动,将中华传统文化呈现给当地主流社会,推动华人社会与住在国的良性互动,传播和弘扬了中华传统文化,有助于中国软实力的建设。

澳大利亚的华人社团承担着发扬和传承中国传统文化的责任。逢年过节,澳大利亚各州政府及各级政要会通过参加当地华人社团举办的各种新春活动和迎新宴会,向广大华人拜年。农历春节既是海外华人共聚一堂的日子,也是中华传统文化在澳大利亚舞台上大放光芒的日子。2015年1月,澳大利亚华人团体协会为了庆祝澳洲日和农历春节,在悉尼举办了“双喜”晚宴。澳大利亚各级政府和议员以及新南威尔士州一百多个华人社团共同参加了这一盛大的活动。^①

随着全球化的不断发展和中国对外开放程度的加大,中国与世界沟通的渠道越来越多,世界对中国的传统偏见逐渐减少,但语言的差异始终是中国与世界沟通的一大障碍。孔子学院传播了代表中华传统文化灵魂的汉文化——汉语。在当代,孔子的思想仍然有巨大的现实价值,孔子文化也成为中国“软实力”建设的一个途径,而孔子学院作为中国推行公共外交的一张重要名片,一方面通过汉语教学帮助世界更加了解中国,一方面向世界宣传“中国梦”,以期让世界更加理解乃至认同中国文化、中国道路以及中国制度。2007年12月,澳洲孔子研究会捐立的首尊“孔子标准像”在新州落成。成立六年来,澳洲孔子研究会已在澳大利亚、英国、奥地利等地捐立了17尊孔子圣像。2009年9月,澳洲孔子研究会与澳洲福建会馆、悉尼大学孔子学院等共同主办了首届澳洲孔子文化节。该协会秉承“传承中华文化,弘扬和谐理念”的宗旨。^②

中华优秀传统文化是中华民族文明遗产,是植根在中国人心中的基因,对中国人的思想和行为方式起到了潜移默化的作用。2001年12月,澳洲侨青社组织了第十六次华人青年学生文化学习寻根团。本次寻根团首先到广州参加了由暨南大学主办的包括学习国画、书法、中文、武术等在内的课程,并在课后参观了故宫、长城、兵马俑、桂林山水等风景名胜。

(四) 团结海外华人,有助于增进华社利益

海外华人社团作为“利益共同体”而存在。海外华人以血脉为亲缘、以情怀为

^① 《多项活动庆新春 悉尼华人欢欣过年选择多》,澳洲新快网, http://www.xkb.com.au/html/news/zuirehuati/2015/0206/143287_2.html, 2015年2月11日。

^② 《澳洲孔子研究会在世界各地捐立17尊孔子圣像》,中国新闻网, <http://www.chinanews.com/hw/jy/2012/08-20/4119112.shtml>, 2012年8月20日。



基础,凝聚成一股保护自身权益、谋求华人发展的力量。

中澳正式建交后,华人华侨的数量日益增多,华人社会中有一些高龄老人饱受疾病的煎熬,加上语言不通、生活习惯饮食习惯不同,生活多有不便。考虑到上述问题,澳华公会有感于今后中澳友谊的稳步发展,于1978年筹备成立澳华疗养院基金,后经社会各界的华人华侨的踊跃支持,澳华疗养院在悉尼开张,为华人华侨老人服务,使更多的华人华侨晚年生活过得更加幸福。澳华疗养院基金会属下现有三间疗养院,分别位于爱尔活区的周藻洋疗养院、宝活区的陈秉达疗养院及好市围区的钱梁秀容疗养院,共计160多个宿位,为华裔长者提供优质高龄住宿服务。^①

总之,澳大利亚华人社团是联系中澳双方的重要纽带,在传递中国声音、搭建交流平台、传播中华文化等方面发挥着积极的作用。

五、澳大利亚华人社团公共外交功能的再思考

随着全球化的深入发展和信息化的广泛推广,公共外交的行为主体不断拓宽,非政府组织、精英群体、智库甚至个人纷纷登上公共外交舞台,使公共外交的内涵和形式不断丰富。澳大利亚华人社团凭借自身独特的优势,成为中澳公共外交的重要参与者,但在发挥越来越大作用的同时,也存在诸多问题,并在发展过程中受到多种因素和条件的掣肘。

(一) 澳大利亚华人社团参与公共外交过程中存在的问题

1. 外部国际环境的制约

一直以来,美国等国家多采取进攻型外交战略,中国所采取的是“为了塑造海外形象最大化争取国际发展空间,规避国外民众和政府对本国形成的消极印象,创造有利于本国的国际环境”^②的防御型外交战略。这一基于中国国情的外交战略,有利于改善中国在国际上的舆论环境。现今,国际环境复杂多变,如何确保海外华人华侨在当地有更好的生存和发展,如何鼓励海外华人华侨积极融入主流社会,如何引导海外华人华侨积极、稳妥地参与公共外交,是一个重要的问题。

2. 国内公共舆论的影响

海外华人华侨参与公共外交起到的制约因素之一就是国内公众舆论的影

^① 《澳洲华人疗养院迎来24周年庆 为无数华人提供服务》,中国侨网, <http://www.chinaqw.com/hqhr/2016/11-02/110815.shtml>, 2016年11月2日。

^② 韩方明:《公共外交概论》,北京:北京大学出版社,2011年,第220页。

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响——中国公众通过媒体宣传和网络技术等渠道发挥作用。从直接角度来看,国内公众舆论直接对中国对外公共外交产生着影响,从间接角度来看,因为近年来传播媒介和方式越来越国际化、社会化,国际社会对中国国内公众舆论也越来越关注、担忧和警惕,进而间接对中国的公共外交产生影响。海外华人华侨社会通过血缘、地缘和高贸联系等与祖国有着千丝万缕的联系,因此,国内公众舆论环境肯定会对海外华人华侨或多或少产生影响。因此,如何营造良好的舆论环境,如何引导国民培养冷静、客观、大气的大国国民心态,是当前中国公共外交实践中必须解决的问题。

3. 华人社团内部的问题

澳大利亚华人社团并不是一个统一的整体,具有多元性;各自的组成、性质、宗旨、目标都会存在较大的差异;对中国的情感依附、关注度和联系度也会有所差异,因而并不是所有的澳大利亚华人社团都能参与到中国的公共外交中来。比如有的华人社团规模小、活动范围局限,不能为中国公共外交发挥作用;比如有的澳大利亚华人社团是亲台湾的,对中国大陆的认识存在一定误解;比如有些华人社团关注的重心放在当地社会,与中国的联系甚少或者根本没有联系。这些都不利于澳大利亚华人社团发挥公共外交作用。

另外,澳大利亚华人社团的传播方式还有待调整和完善。按照当代公共外交专家汉斯·塔什的说法:所谓公共外交,在其本质上就是“政府与外国民众进行交流的一个过程,目的是为了使自己本国的理念和理想、制度和文化的,以及国家目标和现行政策获得理解”,^①因此,要进一步地调动华人华侨参与中国侨务公共外交的积极性,就有必要使传播方式得以调整与完善。中国时任国务院新闻办主任王晨曾提出:“许多情况下,传播力决定影响力,话语权决定主导权,时效性决定有效性,透明度决定公信力。”^②这说出了中国侨务公共外交中有效传播方式调整与完善主要方向之所在。

此外,还有华人社团难以融入主流社会的问题。澳大利亚华人社团在主观意识上对澳大利亚的政治认同和文化认同还有很多未到位之处,而因为缺乏沟通与认同,澳大利亚华人社团有时不能获得澳大利亚政府应有的支持和必要理解,以及澳大利亚主流社会的全面包容和整体接纳。比如参政,相当一部分华人认为政治与己无关,这就不能适应现代华人政治发展的需求,也无法满足华人社团自身的权

^① Hans N. Touch, *Communicating with the World: US Public Diplomacy Overseas*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990, p. 3.

^② 王晨:《积极推进党委新闻发言人制度建设》,《求是》,2010年第10期。



益保护。“华人在政治上的影响力还远不及其他主要移民社群,与在商界、学界及其他行业的成就相比,华人在政界的影响力还远远不够。”^①实际上,随着华人经济实力和社会影响力的增强,随着在澳华人越来越深入了解主流社会,他们渴望有更大的舞台,会希望有更大的平台表达意见和传达诉求,这也是广大华人融入主流社会、维护自身权益的必由途径。

(二) 促进澳大利亚华人社团参与公共外交的对策建议

1. 加强与重点华人社团的联系

澳大利亚华人社团数量庞大,具有多元性,并不是一个统一的整体。我国在开展公共外交时,要更多地关注那些与中国联系密切、情感依附程度较高、规模较大且有一定的实力的重点华人社团,它们在澳大利亚主流社会能产生一定的影响力,可以更有效地向澳大利亚主流社会和民众推介中国,提升中国的国家形象。

华人社团越来越成为联系在澳华人、沟通华人与祖国、协调华人与当地政府的桥梁。澳大利亚华人虽然拥有选举权,但参政程度不高,华人议员很少,因此华人社团往往成为澳大利亚政府与华人之间的桥梁和参与当地政治必不可少的媒介。政府在讨论处理华人问题诸如移民问题、教育问题等时,一些有影响力的华人社团的领导人便往往成为华人代言人,向政府反映华人的意见和要求,争取政府采取有利于华人的政策与措施。华人社团举行活动,常常邀请政府有关人士和当地两大政党负责人参加,许多社团领导人也亲自参加到政府的一些咨询机构中去。

2. 适当发挥“意见领袖”的作用

海外华人华侨的“意见领袖”可以从以下几个方面来界定:一是海外华人华侨中的后起之秀;二是海外华人华侨中的各界名流;三是海外华人华侨中的知名媒体人,四是华人华侨中 NGO 组织的负责人。

近年来,由于海外华人华侨实力不断增强,在当地社会地位不断提升,在经济、政治、文化、科技等各个领域都涌现出一批华人精英,越来越被住在国主流社会和当地民众所关注和重视,有不少人已经融入主流并且在政界、商界、学界有了较大的号召力和影响力。因为这些“意见领袖”的影响力越来越大,对住在国主流社会的了解也更加深入,越来越有话语权,所以他们是我国开展公共外交的重要对象和渠道,是我国公共外交的重要资源和财富。

^① 《留学生到国会候选人 华人移民参政新力量》,澳洲新快网, <http://www.xkb.com.au/html/news/zuirehuati/2016/0725/174404.html>, 2016年8月25日。

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3. 鼓励侨胞走出华人圈

政府应多鼓励、支持海外华人华侨走出“唐人街”或“中国城”，走进住在中国的当地社团和公共事务，直接接触当地社会和当地民众。这种“零距离”交流可以直接有效地加深当地民众对中国的认知和了解、提升华人形象和国家形象、增加海外华人华侨的话语权，扩大中国的海外影响。华人华侨的友好行为能够增加当地政府和民众对中国的好感，继而增加对中国的支持和认同。

另外，增强华人参政的意愿。2016年工党推出的候选人周硕说：“政治和个人生活息息相关。在澳大利亚不可能远离政治，你可以选择不直接去参选，但是你没有办法脱离政治。你手中有一张选票，每个人的生活——衣食住行方方面面，都会受到各种政策的影响。”^①

总之，澳大利亚华人社团在参与中国对澳公共外交的过程中也会存在一些问题，这提醒我们应该加大关注澳大利亚华人社团所处的环境，加以引导和关怀，适时调整政策，维护华人社团利益，更好地发挥华人社团的公共外交作用。

六、结语

近年来，世界各国对公共外交日益重视，无论是发达国家还是发展中国家，无论是大国还是小国，纷纷利用自己的优势大力开展各具特色的公共外交。通过实施政府公共外交、加强媒体对外传播、广泛开展对外文化交流活动等方式，在扩大本国文化影响力、构建和提升国家形象、增强国家软实力以及维护国家利益等方面取得了不错的效果。

公共外交的内在要义是思想和信息的跨国流动，澳大利亚的华人社团作为联系中澳两国的桥梁纽带，具备思想和信息传递的独特优势，是中国对澳大利亚公共外交的重要载体，在推动中澳政治、经济、文化等方面起到了极为重要的作用。

澳大利亚华人社团通过介绍中国国情、传递中国声音；搭建交流平台、加深合作友谊；弘扬中华文化、推动文化交往；融入主流社会、改善族群关系；加强经贸往来、促进人员交流等途径参与中国对澳大利亚的公共外交，在提升中国国家形象、增进主流社会对中国的认知、传承和推广中华文化等方面做出了突出贡献。

澳大利亚政府推行的多元文化政策，为澳大利亚华人社团的正常发展提供了有利条件，将使华人社团的运作和模式更加自由、广泛和多样化。澳大利亚华人社

^① 《留学生到国会候选人 华人移民参政新力量》，澳洲新快网，<http://www.xkb.com.au/html/news/zuirehuati/2016/0725/174404.html>，2016年8月25日。



团在求同存异的原则下,加强团结,慎终追远,敦厚族谊,在促进澳大利亚多元文化共同发展的同时,繁荣中华传统文化,为澳大利亚社会竭诚贡献,为中澳关系的更大发展发挥作用。

我们要充分发挥华人社团的作用,以期达到塑造真实良好的中国国家形象、推动中澳两国沟通交流、促进两国友好往来的目的。此外,并通过华人社团在中澳公共外交的双向互动,加强中澳两国的沟通与了解,为中国的公共外交做出贡献。

The Path to Improve the Influence of Australian Chinese Community on Public Policy Formulation

Zhao Chang*

Abstract: Australian Chinese have a strong ethnic power. With the continuous improvement of political literacy, the Chinese community has become more ripe in involving in public affairs. Urban political life occupies the leading position in Australian Chinese political life and the “urban regime” provides a feasible way for Chinese community to influence public policy. Through the path of “urban regime”, the Chinese community formed a union regime urban with public sectors, and deeply participates in the community governance, economic governance and political governance of the city. It is conducive to eliminate racial estrangement, promote Chinese social responsibility and so as to form the ethnic social capital by participating in community governance; It is conducive to exert the economic power of the Chinese people and enhance the influence of ethnic economic capital by participating in economic governance; It is conducive to improve the level of Chinese participation in politics, and expand the influence of ethnic political capital by participating in political governance. With the development of regime structure, Australia Chinese are gradually changing the edge position in Australian society, and may play a role of “key minority” in the social governance, so as to establish the indispensable status of Chinese community in Australian public policy making.

Key words: urban regime theory, Chinese community, public affairs

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提升澳洲华人社区对公共政策制定 的影响的路径研究

赵 昌*

内容提要:澳洲华人具有强大的族裔力量,随着政治素养的不断提高,华人社区参与公共事务,并对其施加影响的条件已然成熟。城市政治生活在澳洲华人政治生活中占据首要地位,“城市政体”为华人社区影响公共政策制定提供了可行路径。通过政体路径,华人社区与城市公共部门结成治理联盟,深度参与城市的社区治理、经济治理和政治治理。参与社区治理有利于消除种族隔阂、提升华人社会责任感,形成华人的族裔社会资本;参与经济治理可以发挥华人经济实力,提升族裔经济资本的影响力;参与政治治理可以提升华人参政议政水平,拓展族裔政治资本的影响范围。随着政体结构的发展完善,澳洲华人逐渐改变边缘地位,并可能在社会治理中发挥“关键少数”作用,从而奠定华人社区在澳洲公共政策制定中不可或缺的地位。

关键词:城市政体理论;华人社区;公共政策

一、澳洲华人社区发展现状

根据2016年澳大利亚人口普查资料,澳洲华人人口已经超过120万人,约占全澳人口的5%,其中大陆出生人口超过50万人。不过澳洲华人依然没有改变聚居在大城市的习惯。大悉尼地区出生在海外的人口,华人占比达7.8%,仅次于英国人和土生澳人。其中中国大陆为224,685人,占大悉尼地区总人口的4.7%,高于新南威尔士州的3.1%,也高于澳大利亚的2.2%。大墨尔本地区华人也达到了6.1%的高比例,其中大陆为155,998人,占3.5%。^①这两个城市大陆出生的人口合计超过38万人,占整个澳洲907,570大陆华人的四成。

但另外一个方面,自20世纪90年代以来,随着华人的适应性不断增强,除悉

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① 数据来自澳大利亚统计局人口普查网站。

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尼、墨尔本等大城市外,也有很多华人选择珀斯、阿德莱德、布里斯班等城市居住,甚至一些偏远地区也开始出现定居华人。华人社区也随之拓展,不再仅仅聚居在城市的核心区域,而是向周边社区扩展。根据2016年统计数据,在大悉尼地区,至少有八个区华人人数超过当地人口的30%,其中很多分布在悉尼市的西南、西北部而非CBD。悉尼的好市围(Hurstville)有49.4%的人宣称祖籍为中国,其中大陆出生人口占36.9%。罗得市(Rhodes)有44.5%的人宣称祖籍为中国。墨尔本的华人社区很多也分布在东部和北部等偏远地区。相应地,部分传统聚居区的华人比例发生变化,如位于悉尼市中心的唐人街,商业职能提升,居住人口显著下降,曾为著名华人区的爱舍菲(Ashfield)目前华人比例仅为19%,在华人社区中处于普通水平。当然各个城市也存在差异,比如布里斯班的华人聚居区主要还是以森尼班克(Sunnybank)为中心的衍生区和交通枢纽,其布局特点类似于大部分澳洲城市,在发展水平上与悉尼、墨尔本存在一定差距。

澳洲主要华人聚居区华人比例情况一览表

社区名	地理位置	祖籍中国的人口比例	大陆出生人口比例
Hurstville	悉尼西南部	49.4%	36.9%
Burwood	悉尼中西部	45.1%	34.5%
Rhodes	悉尼西北部	44.5%	38.2%
Eastwood	悉尼西北部	38.4%	25.3%
Ultimo	悉尼市区	36.6%	29.8%
Box Hill	墨尔本东部	35.4%	27.6%
Robertson	布里斯班南部	33.1%	17.2%
Haymarket	悉尼市区	31.9%	18.9%
Sunnybank	布里斯班南部	31%	19%
Carlton	墨尔本市区	30.8%	22.6%
Notting Hill	墨尔本东南部	27.3%	19.6%
Doncaster	墨尔本东北部	26.6%	15.8%
Box Hill North	墨尔本北部	24.1%	16.4%

(资料来源:本表是笔者根据2016年澳大利亚人口普查数据综合而成)

除人口增长、分布更加零散外,澳洲华人的第三个变化是社会融入度不断提高。以往的澳大利亚华人在家多说汉语或粤语,现在,更多的华人开始以英语为主



要语言。在职业分布上,华人也开始向以往白人占主导的行业进军。这又进一步影响了华人政治观念。长期以来,澳洲华人安分守己,对公共事务并不热心,因此华人社区和社团组织多以互助性和地域性团体为主。但自20世纪90年代以来,这种情况在逐步改变,华人的参政意识不断提升,对自身的族裔定位也在不断改变,不再认为是澳洲公共事务中可有可无的边缘群体,而是积极投身其中,出言献策,表达立场。近年来,部分华商开始通过政治献金等方式表达对澳公共事务的关切,并且献金数额也较为可观。据澳洲选举委员会2014—2015财政年度政治捐款统计,包括玉湖集团的黄向墨和洪永裕都向澳洲政党献金,而且他们的献金不专于某一政党,而是各个政党都有捐献,还有地产企业家王志春也向澳洲两大党献金。^①此外,一些华人还以个人名义向澳洲社会组织捐款,比如华商周泽荣除向自由党、国家党和工党捐款外,还捐资2500万元兴建悉尼科技大学新教学楼,命名为“周泽荣博士楼”,并在该校设立奖学金。

总之,澳洲华人各方面条件已经成熟,完全具备参与当地公共事务并发挥重要影响力的条件。

二、澳洲华人社区对公共政策的影响力评估

(一) 制约因素

1. 参政人数有限

目前华人已成为澳洲最大少数民族族群,但是华人的参政人数却少得可怜。2016年澳洲联邦大选是华人参政人数最多的一次,据澳大利亚斯威本科技大学刘路新博士初步统计,竞选参议院的有新南威尔士州代表工党竞选的韩以文和周硕、维多利亚州的杨千惠、西澳洲帕尔默联合党推出的王振亚;代表自由党竞选众议院的有墨尔本的刘乐、维多利亚州的华珏靓和刘和华等人。^②这些华人候选人相对于120万的庞大华人人口来说其实非常之少,即使全部选举成功,也很难完整表达华人群体的利益关切。

2. 参政水准不高

澳大利亚的政府体制一般分为联邦、州和地方三级制。在联邦一级中,曾有2013年以独立候选人身份参选联邦参议院议员的工汉铭、代表工党参选联邦众议

^① 星岛日报社:“多位华人企成政治献金大金主,两大政党均获巨额捐款,绿党不满”,《星岛联网·澳洲版》,2016年2月3日。

^② 《华侨华人研究》编委会:《华侨华人研究2016》,北京:中国华侨出版社,2017年,第58页。

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院议员的李逸仙 (Jason Yat - Sen Li) 以及代表自由党竞选联邦众议院议员的林俊宏,但目前仅有马来西亚华裔黄英贤 (Penny Wong) 等寥寥数人在职。在州一级,代表性人物是曾经的团结党党魁、新南威尔士州前上议员黄肇强等。华人参政往往活跃在地方一级,也就是我们通常所说的“市”。曾经的墨尔本市市长,“全球最佳市长”获得者苏震西即是代表。曾子崇 2000 年竞选史卓菲市 (Strathfield) 议员获得成功,2001 年又成功当选为该市市长。刘娜心于 2008 年作为团结党候选人首次当选为好市围市议员,积极为社区和选民服务,并于 2012 年再次连任该市市议员。郭耀文 (Robert Kok) 于 2008 年以独立候选人身份首次当选为悉尼市议员,后又当选悉尼副市长一职,其在任期间还经常访问中国,推动中澳友好往来等。2016 年,郭耀文连任议员,另有华人陈选君 (Craig Chung) 当选。^① 悉尼事务独立团代表,华裔资深翻译和执业律师邹佳虹 (Grace Zou) 也当选为议员。因此,整体来讲,虽然澳洲华人取得了一些参政成就,但并没有形成一股强大的参政势力。

3. 公共政策缺席

由于澳洲华人常常采取抱团取暖的方式,因此往往更多地关注内部事务,而对澳洲公共政策的参与程度很低,甚至不了解澳洲的基本社会需求。澳联社评论员吕世琦 (Jethro Lyu) 尖锐地指出:一些华人“伪议员候选人”根本不了解任何澳大利亚的行业政策,也没有提出针对性的建议和解决方案,不可能在民选政治中取得成功。^② 这其实反映的是华人还没有找到合适的参与公共事务的路径,无法在核心事务中发挥作用。

(二) 有利因素

1. 族裔力量强大

澳洲华人虽然一向沉默,但已发展成为一股不可小觑的力量。华人族裔力量主要表现在几个方面,第一,华人的社团组织非常强大。据估计,目前澳大利亚有超过 300 个华人社团,过多的社团虽然也会分散华人力量,但由于处在少数族裔地位,各类社团在重大事项上很容易找到利益交集,从而为团结斗争奠定基础。第二,华人的数量迅速攀升。在 2011 年人口普查中,澳洲华人人数约为 86 万,短短

^① 中国侨网:“澳洲两华裔当选悉尼市议员,其中一人已连任八年”,2016 年 9 月 18 日, <http://www.chinaqw.com/hqhr/2016/09-18/103876.shtml>.

^② 吕世琦:“120 万华人,为何在政治上毫无建树? 如何赢得一席?”2017 年 6 月 28 日, <https://australianinsider.com/2017/06/28>.



数年,即已经达到 120 万之多。其中大陆新移民占有很大比重,相对于传统华人,新移民适应性更强,更容易联合发声。第二,华人经济实力增强,政治影响力日增。从澳大利亚富豪榜看,华人富豪越来越多,许荣茂、黄炳文、叶立培、周泽荣等已成为 BRW 年度富豪榜的常客。华商的很多经济政治活动也在不断提升他们的社会影响力,周泽荣向悉尼科技大学捐资兴建“周泽荣博士楼”即被传为美谈。玉湖集团的黄向墨担任澳洲中国和平统一促进会会长,积极向澳大利亚政党献金,还捐资成立悉尼科技大学澳中关系研究院。中国已经是世界第二大经济体,中国的“一带一路”倡议和亚投行吸引了包括澳大利亚在内的世界瞩目,中澳自由贸易区的成立和快速发展更是密切了两国的经济关系。借助于中国经济崛起的东风,华人在澳经济发展中必将大放光彩。

2. 政治素养提升

经过多年的经验积累,澳洲华人的参政目标发生了很大改变。早期华人参政主要是维护族群利益,在“白澳”社会中争取生存空间,但近年来随着多元文化政策的实施,华人对族裔和民族的认识也在发生转变。2007 年和 2010 年在华人社区本尼朗(Bennelong)的竞选经历充分说明了这一点。2007 年该华人社区义无反顾地支持“中国通”、工党候选人陆克文,但是陆克文的施政实践给这种虚幻的文化心理上上了生动的一课,华人利益并没有因为拥戴一位“知华”领导人而得到维护,反而成为政治家政治活动的牺牲品。2010 年本尼朗华人选民意识到问题所在,开始走出族裔藩篱,以澳大利亚的政治标准理性地看待政治候选人,行使自己的投票权。^①正如华人候选人李逸仙所说:“我的理念是我们需要一个有包容性的澳大利亚认同,是否是澳大利亚人与你从哪里来无关,与你的肤色无关,而是与你对澳大利亚的贡献和承诺密切相关。”^②这说明华人已自觉把自己看成澳洲社会成员的一分子,政治素养有了根本性的提升,这为在公共事务中发挥作用准备了前提和基础。

^① 高佳:《澳洲华人的中产阶级地位及其参政诉求:2007 年大选以来的变化》,《华侨华人历史研究》,2013 年第 3 期;赵昌、张秋生:《论多元文化政策下澳大利亚民族认同建构的困境》,《世界民族》,2017 年第 4 期。

^② Jason. Yat - Sen Li, “Being Australian is not About the Colour of Your Skin”, The Sydney Morning Herald, August 30, 2013. <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/jason-yatsen-li-being-australian-is-not-about-the-colour-of-your-skin-20130830-2sv06.html>. assessed October 16, 2017.

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三、政体路径与华人社区参与公共事务治理

(一) 城市政体理论及其基本含义

战后资本主义国家普遍实行了多元文化政策,使得城市中除政府官僚机构外,新的政治力量不断孕育。城市政体理论即是对西方多元主义社会城市内部的诸多政治现象提供一个解释框架。该理论设定了“市政府—企业—社团”的三位一体的动态理论模型。城市政体理论学者认为,城市发展政策受到内部多种要素的影响,各要素之间存在一种相互依赖、相互制约的动态关系。这些要素从整体上看可以包括三大部分:(1)以市政府为代表的政治组织。(2)以企业为主导的经济组织。(3)以社团和市民为主体的社会组织。它们分别握有城市发展所需的不同资源,由于这种社会资源的分散性特征,没有任何一方能够单独推动城市的健康发展。因此,“联盟”就成了必然的选择,市政府、企业、社团逐渐形成非正式合作伙伴关系,共同促进城市发展,这种合作联盟被称之为“城市政体”(Urban Regime)。

黄徐强认为,“政体”理论的意义在于“将我们对权力的认识由突出纵向的支配转向强调横向的合作,从而将传统的社会控制模式的权力观变革为新型的社会生产模式的权力观。”^①斯通(C. N. Stone)则认为,由于已经不能单独依靠政府的力量解决城市公共问题,由政府主导推行的多元文化主义的效用因而会大打折扣。^②特别是在现代城市,执政者必须关注掌握城市经济命脉的商人的政治诉求。同时,对在政治、社会和经济上处于边缘地位的群体来讲,增加政治影响力并不是仅仅在政治活动上表现活跃而已,而是要遵循“投资的政治”(Politics of Investment),成为所在地政治决策的一部分。

1989年,斯通在《政体政治》一书中建构了城市政体理论的基本框架,认为城市的正常运转“不是一个主演通过控制其他演员的意志来减轻统治压力的问题,恰恰相反,它是通过沟通和分享来影响他人,进而在进程中转变他人思想的问题。”^③他将社会力量纳入政体结构中,认为现代城市事务如此复杂,各个权力之间形成一种平衡,单靠政府权威已经行不通,也不可能协调好各方面利益,解决好所有问题,

^① 黄徐强:《从统治城市到治理城市:城市政治学研究综述》,《华中科技大学学报(社会科学版)》,2015年第1期,第33页。

^② Clarence N. Stone, "Looking Back to Looking Forward: Reflections on Urban Regime Analysis", Urban Affairs Review, Vol. 40, No. 3 (January 2005), p. 311.

^③ Clarence N. Stone, "Power, Reform, and Urban Regime Analysis", City & Community, Vol. 5, Issue 1 (March 2006), p. 27.



政府需要与各方面力量合作,组成一个联盟。在这个过程中,权力之间讨价还价,政府的决策工作也越来越公开化,城市政体实际考察的就是这种城市政治权力的运作。在斯通基础上,经过莫斯—伯格和斯托克等人的总结,城市政体含义日益清晰,政体实际是一个非正式的但相对稳定的结构,为政府和私人们建立了沟通渠道。^①

城市政体理论为解释多元社会环境下的城市政治现象提供了一个可行的研究视角。美国城市的政治实践似乎也支持了斯通的论述。在美国关于城市政治的研究中流行一种“黑人威胁理论”(Black - Threat Theory)的分析框架,该理论认为由于白人构成了美国城市政治力量的主体,掌握着主导性权力,参与城市政治活动的黑人越多,白人越会感到黑人形成的威胁,这反而会降低黑人参政成功的概率。^②但是,孟菲斯市的黑人市长威利·W.赫林顿(Willie W. Herenton)通过与城市精英合作的方式,跳出本族政治概念,提出跨族群的政治纲领,同样可以获取白人的足够政治支持并成功连任五届,少数族裔政治领袖与城市精英阶层成功组成了一个“城市政体”的执政联盟。

(二) 澳洲大都会城市治理与华人社区的机遇

由于特殊的自然条件,澳大利亚人口分布较为集中,大都会在澳大利亚社会中占有特殊重要的地位。澳大利亚两大城市悉尼和墨尔本拥有澳洲近半数人口,加上其他各州都会布里斯班、阿德莱德、珀斯等城市,澳大利亚的绝大多数人口实际都生活在城市中,城市政治实际主导了澳大利亚人的政治生活。而澳大利亚在城市治理上的一个特点是缺乏大都市一级的统一政府,所有城市管理均以“市政委员会”为基础开展,这使得城市治理的地方化特点非常浓厚,比如悉尼有43个这样的委员会,每个市政委员会管辖区相当于一个“市”,有自己独立选举的“市长”。墨尔本则有31个市政委员会。

由于推行多元文化政策,澳大利亚的城市政治具有明显的破碎性,城市治理面临诸多挑战。澳洲第一大城市悉尼就是一个典型例子。有学者指出:“悉尼的治理,在过程 and 实践中,都是澳大利亚复杂的多组织治理的产物,是由于全球空间经济中城市变化的位置导致的规模政治的产物……虽然强弱各异,每一个层次都直

① 何丹:《城市政体模型及其对中国城市发展研究的启示》,《城市规划》,2003年第11期,第15页。

② James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu and Gregory Marsh, "Applying Black Threat Theory, Urban Regime Theory, and Deracialization: the Mayoral Elections of 1991, 1995, and 1999", Journal of Urban Affairs, Vol. 26, No. 4, 2004.

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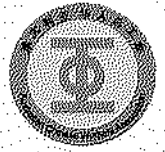
接或间接地对城市治理产生影响。”^①另一个典型的例子是墨尔本自2013年以来每年举行的“墨尔本不眠夜”(White Night Melbourne)艺术节活动。该活动的市民参与已经成为城市公共事务中不可或缺的重要组成部分。这个大型文化活动也同时在安全管控和城市空间中寻找平衡,形成了独特的由市民广泛参与的社会、文化和政治景观。^②“墨尔本不眠夜”已经成为墨尔本提升全球城市影响力和竞争力的重要举措,它不仅带动了墨尔本市区的商业和旅游业繁荣,而且促进了人口的增长。在这个活动中,维多利亚州政府、墨尔本市政府和各种非政府组织参与其中。媒体公司、广告公司、博物馆、图书馆等各类组织都有了参与的空间。因此,城市治理的多头参与是澳洲公共事务的重要特征。

澳洲华人分布与城市布局基本一致,因此,城市政治是澳洲华人面临的最直接的政治生活形态,深耕当地治理是华人参与澳洲社会治理的第一步,获取当地支持是在更高层次上发挥更大影响力的先决条件。澳洲华人群体是随着中澳建交后新移民不断涌入而发展壮大的。与英裔、欧裔或新西兰裔移民不同,华人移民的来源地非常复杂,不仅有大陆移民,还有台湾、香港和东南亚各国移民,虽然都可称为华人移民,但政治利益诉求有很大差异。澳洲华人的另外一个特点是大陆新移民的飞速发展,这种发展不仅表现在数量上,而且表现在经济实力和政治影响等方面。华人逐渐改变着少数族裔和边缘群体的政治地位,在经济实力的支持下,华人城市政治生活超越了社团层面,改变了传统由边缘向主流的融入模式,向政体结构模式转变,社团、社区、华裔全面参与了市政活动,华人对公共事务的参与正迎来重大变革。

澳洲城市治理的革新也为华人提供了参与公共事务的机会。澳大利亚虽然存在着联邦—州—地方的三级管理体系,但实际上由于缺少市一级的统一管理,地方政府是非常脆弱的,这首先表现在财务问题上。澳大利亚地方政府的财政来源主要有两个途径,一个是联邦政府的财政拨款,一个是本地的不动产税收。澳大利亚也存在一个权力下放的问题,但这种下放更多的情况下使得地方承担了更多的管理责任但财政方面却没有大的改善,地方政府财政逐渐吃紧。由于澳大利亚是民选政府,地方政府虽然急需增加收入,也只能继续维护不动产税费水平。财政收入

^① Pauline M. McGuirk, "Producing the Capacity to Govern in Global Sydney: a Multiscaled Account", *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (April 2003), p. 205.

^② David Mercer and Prashanti Mayfield, "City of the Spectacle: White Night Melbourne and the Politics of Public Space", *Australian Geographer*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (July 2015), p. 508.



澳大利亚华人总工会

Australian Chinese Workers Association

没有增加,财政支出却不断攀升,因为社区需求日益增加,特别是提出一些超出地方政府能力范围的服务要求,而由于基础设施落后,对市政设施的维护亦成为地方事务中越来越大的支出,各地方政府面临着越来越大的财政压力,迫切需要财政开源。^①但联邦和州的财政支持非常有限,这迫使地方政府开始设法调动非政府的民间资本参与社区建设中。

在联邦政府层面。20世纪80至90年代,霍克和基廷执政时期,联邦政府开始消减对地方政府的财政支持力度,导致地方政府被迫引入私人资本,这为地方治理中的公私关系打开方便之门。在新南威尔士州1988年到1995年的自由党政府执政时期,这项政策逐步演变成一种管理方式。1988年成立公私合作性质的悉尼城市委员会(Sydney City Council),还实施一个名为“新悉尼中心”的战略计划(New Central Sydney Strategy Plan),促进了私人资本对城市建设的参与,提升了它们在城市治理中的分量。1995年后联邦政府实施的国家竞争力提升政策(National Competition Policy),“除了带来大幅度的权力下放外,这项政策还在州和地方政府层面把公共服务引入了可竞争的市场,从而促进了服务的企业化,以及各州差异化和私有化。”^②这又进一步促进了新的政商联合。与此同时,州政府的一系列措施也加剧了这种事态。在维多利亚州肯尼特政府(the Kennett Government, 1992—1999年在位)时期,推行一种新的调节体系,叫作维多利亚规划规则(the Victoria Planning Provisions),通过该体系,很多权力下放给了地方政府。^③

地方政府的治理现实也要求组建新的治理政体。从20世纪90年代开始,澳大利亚地方政府开始引入竞争性投标制度,私营部门通过竞争投标赢得授权,参与地区公共事务的管理。近年来,大悉尼地区各个市政厅的市政费不断提升,位于悉尼北部的富人区摩士曼(Monsman)是大悉尼地区较小的市政厅,但该区居民收入较高(2014年为25亿澳元),相应地服务要求也提升,市政费不断攀升,增幅已经超过2.4%的政府上限,高达13%。^④市政活动的增多要求居民在市政决策方面的更大参与。

① 布莱恩·多莱里、内尔·马歇尔、安德鲁·沃辛顿:《重塑澳大利亚地方政府:财政、治理与改革》,北京:北京大学出版社,2008年,第39—68页。

② Pauline M. McGuirk, “Producing the Capacity to Govern in Global Sydney: a Multiscaled Account”, p. 206.

③ Annette Kroen and Robin Goodman, “Implementing Metropolitan Strategies: Lessons from Melbourne”, *International Planning Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (August 2012), p. 306.

④ 星岛日报社:《25个市政厅图额准增市政费》,《星岛联网·澳洲版》,2015年1月19日。

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全球化也是推动澳大利亚管理制度革新的重要因素。为提升主要城市的国际竞争力和全球竞争力,从20世纪90年代以来,联邦政府采取了很多措施,如1999年成立一个名为“澳洲轴心”(Axis Australia)的机构,意图把悉尼打造成为全球金融中心。执政悉尼长达12年的悉尼市长弗兰克·萨托(Frank Sartor)于2000年在悉尼城市委员会下成立了“悉尼国际委员会”(Global Sydney Committee),成员包括州和市两级官僚以及悉尼CBD商业精英。在全球化进程中,悉尼国际委员会的成立代表了城市中产阶级的兴起,并开始在城市治理的决策中发挥举足轻重的作用。

乔·瓦利斯(Joe Wallis)认为,地方治理中的多组织合作使得地方上形成了一种治理网络。通过多组织合作,地方其他组织被授予了本社区政策的创制权,也建立了地方当局与其他组织的合作伙伴关系。通过一种叫作“市政理事会区域组织”的机构,地方实体能够通过捐赠体系来获得私人和非官方的社区部门的资本和实物捐赠,从而使公共部门打入资本市场。当然这从另一方面也增加了公共部门的分散化。^① 社区事务的地方化给华人参与公共事务以启示,横向融入是参与澳大利亚政体结构的基本路径;深耕社区事务,在社区层面上表达华人声音是维护华人利益的第一步。不过公共政策是政治系统运转的结果,因此,当华人议员参与社区事务的时候,也应注意协调与地方管理者的关系,因为在地方决策过程中,民选议员往往是管理方面的外行,与当地官僚机构之间不无冲突。

在另一个层次上讲,由于澳大利亚在地方治理上以市政理事会为单位,华人社区的代表实际只能在“市”的层次上产生影响。这样虽然可以满足该华人社区的服务需求,发挥华人的比例和数量优势,但在族群层次上,也就是说在维护各华人社区的共同利益方面,华人社区的代表就爱莫能助了。因此,州和联邦政府层面的华人代表尤为重要,他们才是真正能够代表华人利益的代表,这也是华人参与公共事务处理的关键一环。由于澳大利亚社会治理的平行结构,市政一级的成功并不代表着州和联邦层面的成就,因而华人还面临着把地方优势向上层政府扩散的问题。

四、政体路径与华人社区的公共事务参与

长期以来,华人参与澳洲社区治理主要通过三个途径:一个是社团组织。通过社团领袖表达利益诉求。一个是社区会议。华人常常具有社区聚居的特点,较大

^① 布莱恩·多莱里、内尔·马歇尔、安德鲁·沃辛顿:《重塑澳大利亚地方政府:财政、治理与改革》,第172页。



的华人社区会通过一定的社区决议表达华人政治意愿。第三是华人政治家。华人通常希望推举具有华人或华裔背景的政治家作为华人群体利益的代言人参与市政活动。

这三种形态彼此交错,相互关联,并没有十分清晰的界限。但总体来讲,社区是华人权力的主要依托,因为不断聚居的华人逐渐形成了被称为族裔郊区社区(Ethnoburb)^①或者族裔城邦(Ethnopolis)^②的海外飞地,并依托飞地经济(Enclave Economy)不断壮大,构建形成华人族裔资本(Ethnic Capital)的基本形式。

不过,随着现代社会治理体系的发展,建立在忠诚、和谐、血缘关系、共同认同和传统之上的社区与基于利益的契约关系的“非人格”的城市社会之间的矛盾日益加深,而依靠行政机构和官僚政治运作的城市生活方式又凸显了这一矛盾。^③全球化的发展和澳洲城市治理环境的进步更进一步改变着华人与城市的政治关系,两者逐步融合共同构成城市政体的组成部分。

(一) 政体路径与华人的社区参与

澳大利亚城市社区主要有两类,即移民性种族社区和宗教性社区。华人一般生活在种族社区里,在社区治理中最大的威胁是种族隔阂和对立。参与城市治理、构建社区政体成为华人参与公共事务和维护良好种族形象的有效措施。但是,澳洲向来有所谓“主流社会”与“少数族裔”的阶层划分。华人常常把族群政治利益寄希望于澳洲政府的宏观民族政策和少数参政华人的政治宣讲。作为少数族裔的华人群体为维护其基本利益,依靠主流社会提供的多元主义作为族裔自卫的工具,在政治生活中自觉站到边缘位置。

1997年,全国国民大会(National General Assembly)通过了决议,从法律上赋予了地方政府更多的自主权和主动权,城市政治的参与与否对华人自身的利益影响加大。而1996年“一族党”(One Nation Party)的政治风波使得华人感到在和睦的多元社会,政治危机依然存在,华人参政意识开始觉醒,他们开始突破族裔的限制,向更广泛的政治定义演进,因为他们意识到他们的政治价值“不仅依赖于少数族

① 周敏、林闽钢:《族裔资本与美国华人移民社区的转型》,《社会学研究》2004年第3期。

② Bernard P. Wong and Chee - Beng Tan, eds., *Chinatowns around the World Gilded Ghetto, Ethnopolis, and Cultural Diaspora*, Leiden - Boston: BRILL, 2013.

③ 布莱恩·多莱里、内尔·马歇尔、安德鲁·沃辛顿:《重塑澳大利亚地方政府:财政、治理与改革》,第112页。

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裔、移民潮,还依赖于澳洲国内政治形态和跨国经济影响力。”^①因此,华人领袖不再游走于政治的边缘,而是努力成为澳洲政治的一个分层和有机构件,并对澳洲政治体制的建构和运行提出挑战。“团结党”^②的成立意味着华人不再按照澳洲政治体制的既定框架被动接受,而是有所创造,通过创建独立政党的方式形成一定程度的政体联合。它“清楚地调整了主流政治权力运作的逻辑,突破了少数族裔必须接受两大党的政治模式,也表达了对文化多元主义的肯定,证明了文化多元主义是由公民社会争取而来的,而非由上而下式执政者的恩赐。”^③

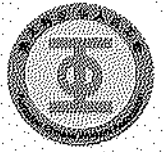
华人对澳洲社区治理的参与还体现在社区华人政治地位的提升上。2007年以后,澳大利亚政治开始进入动荡期,工党和自由党两大政党的执政斗争日益激烈。在政治折冲之际,华人日益发现了自己的政治价值——努力做澳洲政治的“关键少数”。华人力量的壮大为华人政治生活的活跃提供了强大的社会资本,华人社区的变革也促使华人不再仅仅依赖某些社团领袖或某个参政华人代言利益,而是在本居住社区即可发挥足够的政治影响力。以悉尼郊区本尼朗社区的选情变化为例。2007年,由于对霍华德政府种族政策的不满等原因,本尼朗华人选民把选票大部分投给了工党候选人,终结了联盟党在本选区33年不败神话。2010年选举中,本尼朗选民又认为工党并没有代表自身利益,又把选票投给了联盟党,华人选民力量再一次得到展现。华人希望首先从社区层面就成为澳大利亚公平的一分子,通过参与决策进程体现公民价值。华人社区的诸多变化和调整大大改变了华人社区与悉尼社会之间的关系,华人由城市边缘走向中心舞台。

另外一个重要方面是华人社会责任的觉醒。在这方面,澳大利亚华人总工会是典型代表。自2012年成立以来,华人总工会在组织章程中明确提出十项社会服务目标。另外,该会更明确提出要培育政治候选人参与地方和联邦事务。该会先后组织开展了诸多公益项目,如为广大留学生、背包客、457签证者以及新移民等提供一系列培训和维权服务;通过组织“青年领袖训练营”,积极培养新一代青年华人领袖。此外,该会组织编写了《澳洲排华政策的历史终结——公祭十九世纪排华骚乱中的死难者》一书,以唤醒华人对“白澳政策”和澳洲多元文化主义的反思。

^① Jen Tsen Kwok, “Chinese Australian Urban Politics in the Context of Globalisation”, *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011, p. 97.

^② 1997年由华人黄肇强组织成立的澳大利亚少数族裔联合政党,成员包括华人、印度人、意大利人等澳洲少数族裔,2016年解散。

^③ 杨聪荣:《在“一个国家”和“多元文化主义”的激荡中成长——从公民社会模式看澳大利亚华人的参政空间》,《华侨华人历史研究》,2002年第2期,第14页。



该会正在开展的《澳洲华人社区发展报告 2018》编写项目则以常态化的蓝皮书形式追踪当代华人社区的发展状况,以期对澳华关系发挥启发和指导作用。澳大利亚华人总工会强调自身的公益和服务性质,这为其开展活动创造了诸多便利,因此发展迅速,正以新州为基地向澳洲其他各州扩展。

在社区治理中,澳大利亚的州与地方政府的的关系向来含混不清。一方面地方政府作为一层治理机构长期得不到法律地位,州和联邦掌握着财政大权,而社区治理的责任则由地方政府承担,州与地方政府常常出现难以调和的治理矛盾。另一方面,地方政府数量众多,难以协调和达成统一,一些需要各地方政府协调处理的事情往往延误得非常严重,很多重大工程和规划难以推行。在这种情况下,华人可以利用自身资源号召各个地方联合起来,起到表率 and 带头作用,以为澳大利亚社区治理做出自身贡献。如针对夜晚城市安全问题,阿德莱德市在 2013 年召开两次有公民代表参与的公开讨论会议,以实现公民对城市治理的参与。昆士兰东南部在修改城市发展规划中也大量吸引公众参与。^① 这些社区生活事务正是华人发挥影响力不可错失的机遇。

(二) 政体路径与华人的经济参与

传统华人的族裔经济规模小,力量弱,具有狭隘的地域性。随着多元文化主义在澳洲的实施,新移民大量涌入,华人经济开始向规模化、集团化转型,特别是近年来大陆投资移民人口的增加,华人跨国公司开始大量涌现,华人经济对澳洲经济的影响力日益不容小觑。

华人经济实力的增强又进而促成了两方面的结果:一方面华人参政者开始超出传统侨领范畴向侨商扩展。新移民带来了对于华人政治利益的新理解,他们不再仅满足于维护在多元社会中的基本权益,而是提出贸易自由、消除壁垒、完善服务等更高的政治要求。另一方面华人参政者与政府部门、商业同行、华人社区和其他族裔的关系均得到深化。与早期华商不同,他们不但希望宽松的经商环境,更希望协调当地各方面利益。作为华人商业精英,他们意识到在华人社区和市政生活中需要扮演积极角色。如澳洲华人商业精英余威连(Jonathan Yee)不仅担任香港澳洲商会新南威尔士州分会会长和中山同乡会第 16 届会长,还加入工党,角逐悉尼市议员。在参选活动中,工党亦把他放在了市长候选人之后,凸显了工党对华裔选

^① 孙彩红:《国外公民参与城市治理的案例与借鉴价值》,《中共天津市委党校学报》,2016 年第 1 期,第 66-67 页。

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民的重视。余威连还对悉尼唐人街等市政问题表达了自己的看法。^① 这些因素都导致了参政华商的政治生活逐步向一种联盟体制也即“城市政体”迈进。目前地产投资成为新华人对澳大利亚城市影响力的一个重要方面。据统计,华人已经成为澳大利亚房地产最大海外投资者,在2013—2014年度已经达到124亿澳元,^②其中大部分投入悉尼、墨尔本等大城市。虽然这也造成一部分人对华人投资的恐惧,但澳大利亚国会在2014年公布的调查报告表明,房地产的外资涌入只是悉尼等大城市房价飙升的小部分因素,并且肯定了华人投资对当地经济的推动作用。

华人在经济上的崛起以及在经济参与上的积极姿态使澳洲社会一些本来就持敌对心理的人找到了攻击借口。2014年一位华商购买悉尼市史卓菲的一处旧宅就被澳洲政府判定“损害国家利益”。^③ 2016年9月22日,曾经出资180万澳元资助建立悉尼科技大学澳中关系研究院的玉湖集团创始人黄向墨被迫辞去研究院主席一职,作为澳洲中国和平统一促进会会长的黄向墨积极投身澳洲政治,但其政治背景受到一些澳洲政客质疑。这一事件一定程度上会打击华商参与悉尼市政建设的积极性,这也说明由于近年来华商,特别是大陆华商投资活动的增加,澳洲政治对华商的警惕性增强,而华商的出路并不是退出,而是广泛与澳洲各界沟通,寻求有共同利益的同盟军,在相互理解和尊重的基础上寻求利益交集。比如,黄向墨就力主通过“政治捐款”增强华商影响力,但同时也提醒华人遵循并熟练掌握主流社会的游戏规则,避免“买路钱”思维。^④

(三) 政体路径与华人的政治参与

通过市级选举在政府任职来参与市政事务是华人常见的参政方式。华人代表也常常以少数族裔代表身份自居,承诺一旦当选,将采取一系列有利于华人的措施。同时,华人也曾试图以另组政党的方式进一步影响澳洲政治议程。1996年“一族党”风波以后,多元主义和种族平等的口号在一定程度上成为一句空话,华人意识到传统“融入”模式无法有效改变澳洲种族主义的传统思潮,开始通过另组

① 星岛日报社:“工党余威连角逐雪梨市议员”,《星岛联网·澳洲版》2016年8月3日。

② Alexandra Wong, “Transnational real estate in Australia: new Chinese Diaspora, Media Representation and Urban Transformation in Sydney’s Chinatown”, *International Journal of Housing Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2017, p. 101.

③ 中国新闻网:“澳大利亚政府阻华商悉尼买房 称其损‘国家利益’”,2014年4月10日, <http://www.chinanews.com/hc/2014/04-10/6047650.shtml>.

④ 澳大利亚华人总工会:《澳洲排华政策的历史终结——公祭十九世纪排华骚乱中的死难者》,哈尔滨:黑龙江人民出版社,2016年,第379-382页。

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政党的方式表达政见,1997年团结党得以成立,并为打击澳大利亚新种族主义做了很多工作。但是,由于限于少数族裔,团结党的工作越来越陷入困顿,只好于2016年停止工作,实质性解散。这种情况下,华人参政者转面向政体结构寻求支持,悉尼华人聚居区好市围的华裔参政者冯旭(Tim Feng)声称其为华人利益代言的方法是“与联邦和省政府合作、建立华裔商家和社区与本地警署的紧密联系”。^①冯旭还号召华裔社区与自由党合作,因为该党代表中小企业主和专业人士利益,与华人利益相符。冯旭的政治身份是新南威尔士州议员和联邦议员的事务顾问,同时还是中澳企业家协会副主席。澳华社区议会主席陈克勋和新南威尔士华人上议员何沈慧霞(Helen Sham-Ho)均表态支持冯旭的政治观点。在2011年的澳大利亚总理大选中,西悉尼的很多华人社区选情发生了重大变化,纷纷转投给自由党,比如史卓菲市高达20%,乐调市(Rockdale)高达13%,这对整个悉尼地区的选情造成了很大影响。^②华人显著增强的经济实力与其聚居的社区特征一起形成城市政治中的一股巨大力量。

华人参与市政事务的另一种方式是组建新型社团组织,在其基础上表达政见。2007年,“澳华社区议会”(Chinese Community Council of Australia)成立,它是一个旨在推动华人参政议政的社区组织。该组织目前已在澳大利亚各个主要城市建立了自己的分支机构,并多次举办各类活动,促进华人参政议政。悉尼华人社区议会则通过“我们都是中国人”的口号试图把悉尼几百个华人社团联合起来,提出共同的政治纲领以向悉尼和澳洲政府施加政治压力。有学者评论:“这种结成统一战线的大然的理由合乎常理让人无法拒绝。”^③另外,“澳华社区议会”在2010年9月举办了以“澳大利亚政治生活中的华人”为主题的研讨会。2011年开始,“澳华社区议会”每年都召开一次全国性会议,提出年度议题。如2011年会议的主题是“寻找澳洲华人的声音”。时任澳洲金融部长的黄莫贤和澳华社区议会维州分部会长蒋天麟医生、澳华社区议会维州分部顾问团主席林美丰议员等参会。大会要求澳洲政府对华人曾经遭受的种族歧视正式道歉。这一要求在2017年5月25日得到澳洲政府的初步回应,维多利亚州州长安德鲁斯向160年前在该州受到种族歧视的

① 星岛日报社:“好市围补选冯旭为华人发声”,《星岛联网·澳洲版》2014年2月28日。

② Andrew Jakubowicz, “Chinese Walls Australian Multiculturalism and the Necessity for Human Rights”, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 6, (December 2011), p. 692.

③ Jen Ang, “Beyond Chinese Groupism: Chinese Australians between Assimilation, Multiculturalism and Diaspora”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 7, 2014, pp. 1187-1188.

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华人道歉。^①2012年会议的主题是“共建澳华之音”，呼吁华人行动起来，并对一些关乎华人切身利益的问题如平等、种族主义和文化认同等问题做了具体探讨。2016年7月10日，位于好市围市的澳华论坛（Chinese Australian Forum）召开新闻发布会，谴责“一族党”和其党魁宝林·汉森的种族歧视言论，维护澳大利亚的种族平等原则。^②此次汉森和“一族党”言论并非针对华人，但其言论已经从根本上触及华人利益。悉尼政治精英也开始主动与华人社区沟通联系，如2016年6月15日悉尼本尼朗选区的联邦议员约翰·亚历山大（John Alexander）就与华人社团代表共商社区事务，还表示继续不遗余力为当地社区服务。^③澳大利亚华人总工会也是代表性的新型社团，社团主席陈青松自2015年起多次参与地方政府选举，并获得澳洲多家华人媒体报道。^④2017年该会发起成立澳大利亚自由劳动党，并参与澳洲选举。与团结党围绕多元文化政策诉求不同，澳大利亚自由劳动党力图代表中产阶级的政治诉求。但同时，该党也积极继承团结党的政治遗产，因而体现了华人对澳洲政治生态的最新觉悟与理解。

结 语

在多元文化政策的保障下，随着中澳关系的持续健康发展，经过几十年的不懈奋斗，澳洲华人社区日渐成长壮大。在时代潮流的裹挟下，华人社区不可能继续沉默，而应在澳洲社会发出应有的声音。借助政体路径，在城市生活层面，华人社区应与澳洲公共部门结成治理联盟，变边缘社区为主流群体的一分子，从而深度参与城市社区生活、经济生活和政治生活，并进而提出族裔解决方案，影响公共政策的制定。近年来华人社区的政治实践也充分证明了政体路径的可行性。另外，政体路径也为华人社区在州和联邦层面的参政议政准备了条件。

不可否认，作为专注于城市内部权力运行的政治理论，城市政体理论带有一些明显的缺陷。比如，关注城市内部而往往忽视城市政治发展的宏观背景，对国家政治结构因素和社会发展背景考察不够等。但是，城市政体理论对多元文化城市的

① 参考消息网：“港媒称澳州长为歧视华人历史道歉：道歉永远不会太迟”，2017年5月30日，<http://www.cankaoxiaoxi.com/world/20170530/2039592.shtml>。

② 星岛日报海外综合：“澳华论坛严正反对种族歧视”反韩珍”运动捍卫多元文化”，2016年7月10日，<http://std.sheadline.com/daily/news-content.php?id=983229&target=2>。

③ 星岛日报社：“亚历山大议员与华人社团茶叙”，《星岛联网·澳洲版》2016年6月16日。

④ 如《澳洲新报》2015年1月10日报道其参选新州上议员并推动中澳贸易的新闻，《澳洲新快报》同步报道。《星岛日报》2017年8月14日报道其参选金巴伦市议会，并提出多项服务社区的政策措施。

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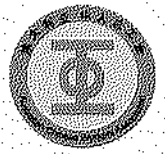
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Australian Chinese Workers Association



族裔关系和民族融合具有极强的解释力，“政体”概念的引入对处理传统多元城市的族裔关系带来了很大思维变革。具体就华人而言，它扩大了华人社区参与澳洲公共政策的行为体，不仅包括了地域性的华人社团和华人领袖，而且扩大到新兴华商、跨地域华人组织、专业行业协会甚至华人个人，体现了城市政治力量的互动，为治理改革提供了新方案。参与政体构建是华人对澳洲公共政策发挥影响的有效途径，遵循这一路径，华人社区必将发生深刻变化，成为澳洲城市政体的有机组成部分。

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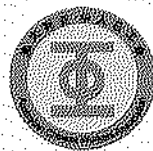
What Impacts will the Implement of the Identity Card System for Overseas No – Citizenship Chinese exert on Australia’s Chinese Community and Sino – Australia Relationships?

Yan Ting; Zhang Yujie *

Abstract: There are a grand shortcoming for the Exit & Entry Administrative System of China, namely which indiscriminately deems the overseas no – citizenship Chinese as the common foreigners and presents them the same administrative service, as in some degree have hurt their national sentiment and is not beneficial to improve their cultural and national identity with China, that is doomed to barrier China’s Overseas Chinese Affaire strategy to be successful and be bad for promotion of solidarity and cooperation with overseas chinese. If China government implements the Identity card system for overseas no – citizenship Chinese, maybe they can figure out the problem, because that will present grand benefits for the development of overseas Chinese Community, expansion of Sino – Australia relationships, enhancement of their cultural exchange & political mutual trust and advancement of the cooperation and interaction in the areas of talent, education an technology between China and Australia, etc. .

Key Words: Identity Card for Overseas No – Citizenship Chinese; Australia; Chinese Community; Sino – Australia Relationship

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“华裔卡”制度实施对澳大利亚华人社会发展与中澳关系的影响

颜 廷 张玉洁*

摘要:当前中国出入境管理制度和永久居留制度存在一个较大缺陷,即简单地将海外华人混同于普通外国人进行一开管理,未能有效区分海外华人与普通外国人的差别,这既在一定程度上伤害了海外华人的感情,不利于推动海外华人对华文化认同与民族认同,更有悖于国家侨务战略目标,不利于推进与海外华人的团结、合作。若中国政府能够制定实施“华裔卡”制度,则不仅有利于促进以澳大利亚为代表的海外华人社会的发展壮大,扩大其族群社会影响力,亦必将大大促进中澳经贸关系的拓展与深入、加强两国文化交流与政治互信,并有助于促进两国之间的人才、教育、科技的交流、合作与互动,等等。

关键词:华裔卡 澳大利亚 华人社会 中澳关系

近些年来,有关中国政府应制定实施“华裔卡”^①制度的呼声越来越高,各类媒体亦时见相关讨论。社会各界之所以呼吁尽快建立和实施华裔卡制度,根源在于现有的“绿卡”制度执行门槛太高,^②而中外跨国人口流动、经贸与技术合作又越来越频繁,迫使海外华人不得不寄希望于建立仅针对海外华人的华裔卡制度。然而,海外华人社会及国内一些人士对这一问题较为关注,学界的研究却相对滞后,目

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① 这里所说的“华裔卡”,指仅针对海外华侨华人发放的、证明持有人在华永久居留资格的合法身份证件。

② 所谓中国“绿卡”,即获得在华永久居留资格的外国人在中国境内居留的合法身份证件。自2004年实行“绿卡”制度至2011年年底,总共只对外国人发放了4700多张绿卡,年均发放量248张,而彼时在华常住的外籍人口已达60万。见华声在线,http://news.voc.com.cn/article/201406/201406031620312265.html

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前仅有王辉耀、苗绿等少数海归学者对华裔卡制度问题给予了一些关注。^①但这些研究仅属于一般分析性考察,缺乏更为具体、细致的学理论证和实证研究,尤其是缺乏有关华裔卡制度实施对不同国家或地区华人社会可能产生的影响的考察和研究。鉴于当前海外华人与祖籍国中国之间的联系越来越紧密,如何破除传统签证障碍,方便海外华人与中国之间的经贸交往与民间交流、合作,对华裔卡制度建立与实施等问题展开更为深入、具体的实证性研究就尤为迫切。作为西方发达国家重要一员,澳大利亚是颇受欢迎的华人移民目的国,目前居澳华人华侨数量已高达120余万,占澳大利亚总人口比例约4.8%,是西方发达国家中占其总人口比例最高的,故而这里便以澳大利亚为例,探讨“华裔卡”制度实施对海外华人社区发展与中外关系的影响。

一、中国签证制度的问题及中国政府的努力

作为中华民族一分子,无论是在变法图强的晚清,还是战火纷飞的抗日救亡岁月,抑或是新中国社会主义建设大潮中,海外华侨华人始终同祖国休戚与共,为中华民族的生存与发展做出了莫大贡献,展现了炎黄子孙之间生生不息的血脉情。历史步入当代,受益于持续加速的全球化进程,中国经济与社会发展迎来了前所未有的繁荣与进步。作为中国融入世界、联系世界的桥梁与纽带,海外华人移民在中国改革开放及经济社会发展过程中扮演了至关重要的角色,一直是中国改革开放的坚定支持者,同时亦是中国制造和中国影响力全面走向世界的向导和铺路架桥者。近些年来,伴随着中国经济和科技实力的全面崛起,以及国际影响力、文化软实力的逐步提升,中华民族已迎来全面复兴的重大历史契机。而紧密团结世界各地的华侨华人,共谋发展,更是把握中华民族复兴历史契机的重要抓手。在这样的时代历史背景下,如何促进海外华人社会的发展,加强海外华人华侨与祖国之间的联系与合作,便成为当前中国政府及全世界华侨华人所面临的共同命题。应该说,在很长的历史时期内,作为同文同种的命运共同体,海内外华人一起展现了血浓于水的袍泽深情和共同的责任担当精神,而当此中华民族崛起的重大历史时刻,海内外华人更应携手共进,扩大交流,深化合作,谋求更大发展。故而,中国共产党十九

^① 如王辉耀:《设立“海外公民证”和“海外华裔卡”吸引人才回流》,《国际人才交流》,2011年第4期;苗绿等:《科技人才政策助推世界科技强国建设——以国际科技人才引进政策突破为例》,《中国科学院院刊》,2017年第5期。



大报告要求“广泛团结联系海外侨胞和归侨侨眷,共同致力于中华民族伟大复兴。”^①

事实上,为了促进海外华侨华人与祖国之间的联系和交流,方便政府管理并提供相应的服务,中国政府从1986年起先后制定、实施了首部《中华人民共和国公民出境入境管理法》、首部《中华人民共和国外国人入境出境管理法》及相关实施细则,并于2004年制定实施了首部《外国人在中国永久居留审批管理办法》,为外国人申请中国“绿卡”提供了法律依据。不仅如此,中国政府还数次对上述立法进行修改、调整以适应侨情变化,并在总结三十余年的人口出入境管理实践经验基础上,最终于2013年推出新版《中华人民共和国出境入境管理法》和《中华人民共和国外国人入境出境管理条例》。与以往相关法律规定相比,新版外国人出境入境管理条例,“增设了探亲类、人才类和私人事务类签证,以便签发有效期、停留期较长的签证;增设了团聚类居留证件,以方便在中国停留超过180天的家庭团聚需要;而对于因紧急事由需要入境者可申请办理口岸签证,等等。”^②从而为海外华人来华工作、生活提供了更多的便利。不仅如此,2015年9月15日,在《关于加强外国人永久居留服务管理的意见》中,中国政府还对外国人永久居留服务管理制度进行全面改革和创新,要求根据经济社会发展需要,调整在华工作人员申请永久居留门槛,扩大用人单位类型范围,取消职务级别限制,放宽居住时限要求;对在国家重点支持的行业和领域工作的外国人,畅通从工作居留向永久居留的转换机制;放宽外国优秀留学生在华工作限制,为其毕业后在中国境内工作和申请永久居留提供渠道。^③2016年11月5日,国务院向全国人大常委会提交的有关出境入境管理法执行情况的审议报告,也宣布将“指导驻外签证机关适当放宽外籍高层次人才、外籍华人的签证受理条件,简化审批程序。”^④应该说,经过数年努力,中国出入境管理制度和永久居留制度改革方面取得了不小的成就,为海外华人入境出境及申请永久居留资格提供了更多的便利。然而,即便如此,从团结海内外华人推动中华民族

① 习近平:《决胜全面建成小康社会 夺取新时代中国特色社会主义伟大胜利——在中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会上的报告》,2017年10月18日。

② “裘援平:《华侨华人入境趋便利‘绿卡’申请有望放宽》,中国新闻网,http://www.chinanews.com/zgqj/2014/03-21/3978215.shtml

③ 中央全面深化改革领导小组第十六次会议:《关于加强外国人永久居留服务管理的意见》,2015年9月15日。

④ 《国务院关于出境入境管理法执行情况的报告——2016年11月5日在第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会第二十四次会议上》,中华人民共和国公安部网站,http://www.mps.gov.cn/n2253534/n2253535/n2253536/c5538068/content.html

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伟大复兴的角度而言,现有针对外国人的入境出境管理制度及永久居留制度仍然存在着难尽人意之处,即现有相关法律法规本质上是將海外华人混同于普通外国人进行一并管理,未能有效区分海外华人与普通外国人的差别,这很大程度上不利于这一宏伟战略目标的实现。^① 其中的主要原因有以下两点:

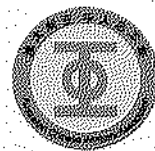
其一,这对广大海外华人同胞是一种感情伤害,不利于推动海外华人对华文化认同与民族认同。如前述,与普通外国人不同,在中国近现代经济、政治与社会发展进程中,尤其是在近四十余年的改革开放大潮中,海外华人从来都是重要的历史参与者和创造者,而非如普通非华外国人那样仅是中国历史的旁观者,乃至曾是历史上的侵略者。然而,从1986年中国政府制定实施首部《中华人民共和国外国人入境出境管理法》起,非但將已入籍他国的海外华人视同普通外国人,在出入中华人民共和国国境及在华居留、工作、生活等方面进行统一管理,且2004年8月实施的《外国人在中国永久居留审批管理办法》亦將海外华人视为普通外国人,在申请永久居留资格(俗称“绿卡”)时无任何优待,而必须满足较高的永居资格条件。^② 这种在签证管理、永久居留资格申请等各方面抹杀海外华人与非华外国人性质差异的做法,事实上既怠慢了海外华人与祖国之间的感情联系与血脉亲情,更否认了海外华人在中国历史发展进程中的贡献,这在本质上是一种明示性的感情伤害,非常不利于海外华人,尤其第二、三代海外华人对华文化认同感与民族认同感的延续与强化;对提升中国海外文化软实力和构建良好国际形象亦非常不利。

其二,有悖于国家侨务战略目标,不利于推进与海外华人的团结、合作。根据相关法律规定^③,华侨仅指定居在国外的中国公民,但中国政府的侨务战略规划及实际侨务工作中,却又將海外华人视为侨胞,秉持“以人为本、为侨服务”的基本宗旨,在子女教育、国内居留、投资、社会活动等诸多方面为其提供便利,尤其是近年中国政府提倡的“大侨务”战略,更是明确將服务于海外华人视为侨务工作重要组成部分,提出要“站在民族和国家利益高度,超越部门和地域的狭隘眼光,整合调动

① 在1980年代中国政府建立人口出入境管理制度之初,因来华外国人,主要是海外华人,故而相关立法及法规无需特别区分海外华人与普通外国人身份上的差别,这时將海外华人与普通外国人进行一并管理,是可行的。然而,随着中外跨国人口流动越来越频繁,来华普通外国人越来越多,再將海外华人与之混同起来一并管理,就不太合适了。

② 诸如:在中国直接投资、连续3年投资情况稳定且纳税记录良好;在中国担任副总经理、副厂长等职务以上或者具有副教授、副研究员等副高级职称以上以及享受同等待遇,已连续任职满4年,且4年内在中国居留累计不少于3年,并且纳税记录良好;对中国有重大、突出贡献以及国家特别需要,等等。当然,根据2015年9月颁布的《关于加强外国人永久居留服务管理的意见》,条件稍有放宽,但并无本质性变化。

③ 全国人大常委会:《中华人民共和国归侨侨眷权益保护法》,2000年10月31日。



各方面资源和力量,广泛开展各领域交流活动,共同做好华侨华人工作。”^①并要求侨务工作要有“大格局”,即侨务工作要“面向全球、放眼长远,推动形成既有利于侨胞长期生存发展,又服务于国家内外发展需要的多维立体全方位工作格局。要加强整体性、基础性、长效性建设投入,打造多层次、宽领域与侨联谊交流服务合作平台,同海外侨胞侨团侨校侨媒建立密切联系,推动加大为侨服务投入和体系建设,推动侨务工作全面协调可持续发展,不辜负侨胞期待,不辱团结凝聚侨心侨力、同圆共享中国梦的历史使命。”^②可见,在促进中华民族崛起与实现中国梦的伟大战略构想中,与华侨一样,海外华人亦是重要依托力量和可资信赖的重要资源。然而,现有签证制度及绿卡制度比照普通外国人进行管理,是不符合中国侨务战略规划目标诉求的。事实上,当海外华人对华跨国人口流动时必须如同一般外国人那样需要考虑各种签证限制及在华工作、生活等方面的制约时,^③这在本质上就是为侨务工作的顺利推进设置门槛和障碍。

综上所述,尽管近年来中国政府在外国人入境出境管理方面进行了诸多改革,然而,当一切改革所带来的便利性乃为普适于普通外国人,而非为海外华人量身定制,便不利于提升和加强海外华人对华文化认同与民族认同。尤其是在中国“绿卡”申请门槛极高,且绝大多数海外华人无缘获得永久居留资格的情况下,对于普通签证的任何便利化改革,其实质性的效能都有很大局限。从这个角度上来说,中国政府有必要在现有出入境管理和签证制度基础上,重新设计一种专门针对海外华人的永居免签制度,以区别于普通外国人,服务于民族复兴、国家崛起的宏大战略目标。

实际上,伴随着海外华侨华人跨国人口流动越来越频繁,近年来呼吁中国政府发行针对海外华人的、类似于永久居留身份证即具有“绿卡”功能的“华裔卡”的声音越来越密集。这种呼声在2016年初中国人大和政协两会期间达到了高潮。当年2月初,加拿大新华人联合会在华人社区发起万人签名活动,呼吁中国政府能够考虑广大华人的建议,逐步实行对外籍华人发放华裔卡(侨民证)的政策。^④2月

① 张红:《推动“大侨务”布置“大格局”》,人民日报海外版,2014年4月11日,http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrbhwb/html/2014-04/11/content_1413915.htm

② 张红:《推动“大侨务”布置“大格局”》,人民日报海外版,2014年4月11日,http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrbhwb/html/2014-04/11/content_1413915.htm

③ 投资、子女就学、就业、置业、参保、在华停留/居留时间等诸多方面皆大受制约。

④ 《他发起万人签名 呼吁给海外华人发华裔卡》,温哥华港湾,2016年2月4日,http://www.bcbay.com/news/2016/02/04/395776.html

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初,以陈青松主席为首澳大利亚华人总工会亦在澳大利亚举办万人签名支持华裔卡以及要求承认双重国籍活动,得到三万多人的支持,并于两会期间派陈青松主席专程回国向广东省侨联副主席、全国政协常委李崑表达澳大利亚华人希望中国政府尽快推行普惠性华裔卡和承认双重国籍的强烈愿望,并联合其他华人社团举办了一系列争取实施华裔卡制度的聚会活动。^①而同样在此两会期间,3月6日政协委员潘庆林向全国政协递交提案,希望在不涉及“双重国籍”问题下,研究对海外华人签发“外籍华人身份证”。^②而全国政协常委、广东省侨联副主席李崑更是直言建议删除目前国籍法第九条“定居外国的中国公民,自愿加入或取得外国国籍的,即自动丧失中国国籍”的规定,希望中国政府实施双重国籍制度,只是加入外国国籍者,不得享有选举、投票、担任公职等政治权利。^③就目前国情而言,实施双重国籍制度可能性不大,但这一呼吁却表达了海外华人与祖国发展同呼吸、共命运的急切诉求。

对于海外华人期盼中国政府发行“华裔卡”的热切呼声,中国政府未直接回应是否立即执行类似“绿卡”功能的普惠性“华裔卡”,但仍积极探讨推进海外华人来华居住、工作生活的便利化措施。从2016年开始,公安部在北京中关村、广东自贸区、上海自贸区、张江国家自主创新示范区,以及天津、辽宁、浙江、河南、湖北、重庆、四川、陕西自贸区等地实施出入境政策试点,对于外籍华人具有博士研究生以上学历的,或者在上述地区内的单位连续工作满4年、每年在中国境内实际居留累计不少于6个月的,可以申请在华永久居留(其外籍配偶和未成年子女可随同申请)。^④不仅如此,为吸引海外人才创新创业,方便外籍华人安居乐业,2016年12月,公安部支持上海科创中心出入境“新十条”政策实施。根据该政策,“对符合认定标准的外籍高层次人才,经上海张江国家自主创新示范区或中国(上海)自由贸易试验区管委会推荐,可直接申请在华永久居留(其外籍配偶和未成年子女可随同申请),同时缩短审批时限,永久居留审批时间从原来的6个月缩短为50个工作

① 有关澳大利亚华人总工会争取实施“华裔卡”制度的新闻报道,可参见澳大利亚 SBS 电视台对澳大利亚总工会主席陈青松先生的采访录音, <https://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/mandarin/zh-hans/audiotrack/will-china-issue-overseas-chinese-card?language=zh-hans>

② 《政协委员潘庆林提案:研究给海外华人签发‘外籍华人身份证’》,澎湃新闻,2016年3月3日, http://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1438720

③ 《全国政协常委李崑:建议允许海外华人保留恢复中国国籍》,观察家,2016年3月14日, http://www.guancha.cn/society/2016_03_14_353910.shtml

④ 《国侨办权威解答:‘中国绿卡’华裔卡‘能不能办?怎么办?’》,中国侨网,2017年10月18日, <http://www.chinaqw.com/hdfw/2017/10-18/165045.shtml>



日。……对外籍投资者申请永久居留给予倾斜,对于申请永久居留的外籍投资者,将投资额度要求从 200 万美元降低至 100 万美元。同时放宽投资者认定方式,如该人是以自然人身份作为控股股东的公司企业投资的,也可以提出申请。”^①而针对海外华人,该政策不仅放宽了具有博士研究生以上学历的外籍华人申请在华永久居留的条件,还允许外籍华人凭探望亲属、洽谈商务、科教文卫交流活动及处理私人事务的相应证明或担保,可申请 5 年以内多次入出境有效签证;在上海工作、学习、探亲以及从事私人事务需长期居留的,可按规定申请有效期 5 年以内的居留许可。^②为了方便该政策执行,给予外籍华人在沪申办永久居留和居停留便利的优惠待遇,2017 年 1 月 1 日上海市还专门出台了《关于外籍华人身份认定的办法》,只要外籍华人能够出具下述材料之一,即可证明其外籍华人身份,这些材料包括:父母或其他亲属丽萃具有中国国籍的材料(包括有关亲属关系的证明材料)、申请人祖籍地县级以上人民政府侨务部门出具的证明材料、经认定部门核准的海外华侨华人社团出具的证明材料、申请人所在国政府部门出具的有关证明材料,以及认定部门认为确有必要出具的其他证明。^③可见,在方便海外华人归国工作、生活、居留方面,中国政府正在进行不懈的努力。只是这些工作仍处于试点阶段,有较大区域局限性,且这些努力亦多局限于为拥有较高学历背景、专业技能水平或投资者服务,而非普惠于一般海外华人,故而与海外华人诉求的普惠性“华裔卡”还有较大距离。

二、“华裔卡”制度实施对澳大利亚华人社区发展的影响

如前述,海外华人社会的发展是中国全球战略崛起可资依赖的一支重要支撑力量。海外华人社会发展得如何,直接关涉中国国际影响力和文化软实力的提升,进而影响中华民族复兴与中国全球战略崛起。可见,对中国而言,推动海外华人社区健康发展、壮大有其重要价值和意义。而作为传统发达移民国家,从 19 世纪殖民地时代以来,澳大利亚即是华人重要的移民目的地。然因种族歧视,澳洲华人始

① 《支持上海科创中心建设 10 条出入境新措施实施》,中华人民共和国国家发展和改革委员会网页:
http://www.ndrc.gov.cn/tzggz/tzgg/ggkx/201612/t20161226_832703.html

② 《政策解读:“公安部支持上海科创中心建设出入境政策‘新十条’”》,上海市科学技术委员会网页:
<http://www.stcsm.gov.cn/jdhd/jl/zcjd/347680.htm>

③ 上海市人民政府侨务办公室:《关于实施〈关于外籍华人身份认定的办法〉的通知》,上海侨务网:
<http://qwb.sh.gov.cn/shqh/node826/node830/node833/ui1ai180.html>

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终较少,^①直至20世纪70年代澳实施多元文化政策,方为华人移民澳洲打开了大门,华人对澳年度移民人口从70年代初的数百人上升至90年代初的3000余人,并在2010—2011年度达到29,547人的历史最高峰值。^②这使得2016年澳洲人口普查时,来自中国大陆的华人移民已达51万左右。^③若加上港澳台地区来澳华人移民,人数将更多,且此次人口普查中认同为华裔的澳洲移民人口数量更高达121.3万。^④就居澳移民人口数量而言,华人已经成为澳大利亚第一大少数族裔,本应能够发挥相应的族群影响力,做好中澳之间沟通桥梁,减少双方误解,加强互信。然而,现实情况是,恰恰由于华人移民数量居高不下,加之近年来中国在亚太地区的强势崛起,澳大利亚一批右翼保守势力越来越担心“黄祸”“亚洲入侵”,进而攻击在澳华人,抹黑中国。近年澳大利亚政界、主流媒体、社会公众的一系列对华不友好言论及举措可谓不胜枚举。而与此同时,澳洲华人社区除极少数人士,大多数皆噤声不语,鲜有作为。由此可见,华人数量虽众,社会影响力、与主流社会积极对话意识,及休戚与共的团结意识却相对欠缺,这种状况亟待扭转。当然,作为澳大利亚华人移民来源国,中国无权干涉或指导澳华人社会事务。然而,在针对海外华人来华签证制度上实施“华裔卡”制度,或许一定程度上有利于帮助澳大利亚华人社区的发展以及族群影响力的提升,从而有助于促进中澳之间的沟通和交流,加强互谅互信。主要理由如下:

其一,促进华侨入籍澳洲,加大华人社区公民比例。如前所述,近年来出生地为中国的在澳第一代移民人口总数已高达51万,其中2000年以后移民澳洲的有366,775万人,^⑤占比高达72%。值得深思的是,在中国大陆华人对澳移民人口数量高企不下的情况下,华人移民来到澳洲之后,愿意入籍者比例却不太高。据2006

① 直至1954年华人移民方达10,277人。见 Department of Immigration & Multicultural Affairs, *Immigration: Federation to Century's End; 1901-2000*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2001, p. 18.

② 这里所说的华人移民,仅指来自中国大陆移民。

③ 这个数据是根据移民部报告 Country Profile - China 2015 (见网页 <http://www.border.gov.au/about/reports-publications/research-statistics/statistics/live-in-australia/country-profiles/peoples-republic-of-china>)提供的截至2013年6月底的数据加上2013年7月初至2014年6月底华人年度移民人口数据计算得来的。

④ Australian Bureau of Statistics, *2016 Census of Population and Housing, Time Series Profile*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2017. 见其中“T09 ANCESTRY (a) BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARENTS (3 of 3)”数据模块。

⑤ 该数据乃由2016年出生于中国大陆的华人口数据减去2001年的华人口数据计算得出,相关数据可分别见2016 *Census of Population and Housing, Time Series Profile* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Commonwealth of Australia, 2017) 中的“T08 Country of Birth of Person (a) by Sex”数据模块及2006 *Census Community Profile Series, Times Series Profile* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) 中的“T08 Country of Birth of Person by Sex”数据模块。



年澳大利亚人口普查数据,当年出生于中国大陆的华人移民为 206,593 人,^①其中入籍者为 117,769 人,^②入籍比例为 57%。时隔五年,2011 年澳人口普查数据显示,当年出生于中国大陆的华人移民为 318,969 人,^③其中入籍者为 150,726 人,^④入籍比例降为 47.3%,与上一次人口普查时相比,入籍比例下降近十个百分点。这意味着,若不考虑 2006 年人口普查以前的华人新移民人口,则 2006 年以来的华人新移民年度入籍比例将更低。事实上,仅以 2010—2011 年度、2011—2012 年度及 2012—2013 年度为例,每年度华人新移民入籍比例已低至 30% 左右。^⑤ 2013—2014 年度中国对澳移民人口为 26776 人,^⑥而当年度华人移民入籍仅为 9203 人,^⑦入籍人口比例稍高,亦仅为 34.4%。华人移民入籍比例较低,说明大多数移民澳洲者,更满足于获得澳洲绿卡,而非入籍。对于华人社区发展而言,这便会带来至少两个方面的不良影响:(一)华裔人口数量庞大,拥有澳洲公民身份数量却不多,导致族群社会影响力不足。大量华人移民澳洲后仅满足于持有澳洲绿卡,表明这些人大多只是将澳洲作为生活的一个选项,而非必选项,这便在很大程度上会影响其积极参与澳洲华人社区建设的积极性。(二)大量华人移民仅仅有澳洲绿卡而不愿入籍,这本身便是与主流社会自我隔离的一种心态,也就难免容易引起主流社会的各种猜忌,诸如华人只是来分享澳洲福利、抢占工作机会,而不是真心地与其共同建设澳洲,乃至怀疑华裔对澳不够忠诚,等等。综上所述,华人社区虽为澳第一大少数民族,因新移民者加入澳籍的意愿低迷,这一方面会导致华人社区影响力不足,另一方面还因庞大的族群人口数量,而更容易引起主流社会猜忌。而澳洲大量华人之所以仅愿持绿卡,而非热衷于入籍,不同的人群固然各有其不同的理

① Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006 *Census Community Profile Series, Basic Community Profile*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2007. 相关数据见“B09: Country of Birth of Person (a) by Sex”数据模块。

② Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Australia's Migration Trends 2011 - 12*, Commonwealth of Australia 2013, p. 131.

③ Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011 *Census of Population and Housing, Basic Community Profile*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2012. 相关数据见“B09 Country of Birth of Person (a) by Sex”数据模块。

④ Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Australia's Migration Trends 2011 - 12*, Commonwealth of Australia 2013, p. 131

⑤ 颜廷、张秋生:《澳大利亚华人新移民回流:历史、现状与趋势》,《华侨华人历史研究》,2015 年第 4 期。

⑥ Department of Immigration & Border Protection, *Historical Migration Statistics*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2016, 根据“3.3 Migration Programme outcome by stream and citizenship, 1996 - 97 to 2014 - 15”数据模块计算得出。

⑦ Department of Immigration and Border Protection, *Australia's Migration Trends 2013 - 2014*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2014, P. 96.

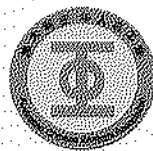
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由,但整体而言,中国政府在针对海外华人的入境出境签证管理方面缺乏灵活性、变通性,也是一个非常重要的因素。由于中国政府不承认双重国籍,且中国绿卡申请要求高、签发量极少,这便导致越来越多的中国人移民澳洲之后,不愿意轻易放弃中国国籍,担心日后回国不堪各种签证之扰,生活上也会多有不便之处。而如果中国政府能够实施“华裔卡”制度,使“华裔卡”具备类似于中国绿卡的功能及附带的便利性,那么一定程度上能够解除部分人的后顾之忧,令其放心加入澳洲国籍,从而真正壮大华人社区力量,也避免给对华不友好人士以借口。

其二,将有利于缓解、淡化澳洲华人社区分散状态,促进华人社会团结,增加族群凝聚力。众所周知,由于各种因素影响,澳大利亚华人社区内部派系林立,利益关系错综复杂,从而导致华人社群呈现一片散沙的状态,主要表现在:部分原籍台湾或香港的华人移民与中国大陆籍移民之间因政治意识形态原因相互攻讦;20世纪90年代以前的老移民与新千年以来的新移民之间相互指责,使得澳洲华人社区内部多有不和谐之音,进而产生一定程度上的族群撕裂,严重影响华人在澳洲社会的形象。^①之所以出现这种现象,很大程度上是历史与时势发展造成的。20世纪90年代之前移民澳洲的华人,尤其是来自中国大陆的华人,与新千年以来移民澳洲的华人,其移民的主要目的存在差异。前者多为难以忍受当年中国逼仄的政治与社会环境、极为落后的经济生活条件,而不得不为个人乃至家庭的前途寻找出路。很大程度上,这类华人移民澳洲属不得已的无奈之举;而新千年移民澳洲者,则大多数是在获得改革开放红利后移民澳洲,对这类人而言,移民澳洲本质上属于一种生活选择,而非无奈。如此一来,由于移民的历史背景的不同,这两类人群在生活态度、方式、习惯及人生诉求等各方面皆有较大差异,这便导致在华人社区的交往中,容易相互产生误读或摩擦。而同样由于历史原因,中国大陆与台湾之间尚未统一,且意识形态不同,加之民进党上台后一直推行“去中国化”政策,间接影响到海外台湾籍华人与中国大陆籍华人之间的关系;同样,香港回归中国已二十余年,但长期殖民地的历史及社会制度与中国大陆之间存在的差异,一定程度上也使得一部分香港籍华人与中国内地籍华人在观念和心理学上有较大距离。这些因素导致在澳洲的华人虽为同一族群,其内部却处于相对撕裂的状态,从而使得同一族群却无法形成强大的内聚力,在澳大利亚政治与社会生活中难以发挥应有的影响力。中国政府若能实施拥有类同于“绿卡”功能的华裔卡制度,这将大大方便澳洲华人

^① 当然,华人山头意识浓厚,导致华人社团为数众多,相互不能很好地协作,这也是导致澳洲华人缺乏内聚力的重要原因。



澳大利亚华人总工会

Australian Chinese Workers Association

回国考察、生活、投资或从事其他社会活动等等,令其能够从这种更加开放性的制度设计中分享中国改革开放发展的红利,切实体会当前中国社会的制度运作与实践,以及公众精神状态和整体风貌的变化;从而有助于港台华人移民对中国大陆新移民更多一些体谅和宽容,减少意识形态干扰,促进双方的相互理解和尊重,进而切实提升华人社区凝聚力。

三、实施“华裔卡”制度对中澳关系的影响

中国政府制定实施“华裔卡”制度,不仅有利于鼓励华人入籍澳洲,融入当地主流社会,提升华人政治与社会影响力,亦必将在推动中澳关系方面发挥积极作用。

(一)“华裔卡”的设立有助于拓展中澳经贸合作领域。中国和澳大利亚都是亚太地区的重要国家,是重要的经贸合作伙伴。根据澳大利亚外交贸易部发布的《2016年澳大利亚贸易组成》报告显示,2016年中澳双边贸易总额为1,552亿美元,占澳对外贸易总额的23.1%,是澳大利亚最大贸易伙伴。中国同时还是澳大利亚最大的出口目的地和进口来源地。2016年,澳大利亚出口了价值930亿美元的货物和服务到中国,同时从中国的进口额为621亿美元。数据还显示,2016年澳大利亚服务和货物贸易总额已达到创纪录的6,730亿美元,且在澳大利亚2.4%的经济增长率中,贸易的贡献超过1.5%。^①

然而,出于意识形态等政治原因,澳大利亚政府对中国在澳投资,尤其是关于能源、资源等领域的投资,审查甚严。2016年3月31日澳大利亚出台了外国投资新规定,旨在加强对外国投资者收购澳大利亚重要基础设施资产的安全审查,届时澳所有州、领地政府的重要基础设施资产对外国投资者出售,须经澳大利亚外国投资委员会(FIRB)正式审查。^② 这项规定使得外国投资尤其是华资在澳洲投资将愈加困难。故而,对于海外投资者而言,若要避开烦琐严格的外资审查,最好的办法就是入籍。但是,由于中国不承认双重国籍,且海外移民很难拿到中国绿卡,导致许多在澳华侨不敢入籍澳洲,从而增加了在澳投资的难度。而“华裔卡”的实施将在一定程度上能够有效缓解这一尴尬的状况。首先,“华裔卡”制度实施之后,很大程度上能够鼓励在澳华侨入籍,真正融入澳洲社会,从而有利于减少相关投资

① 徐海静:《中国仍是澳大利亚最大贸易伙伴》,新华网,http://news.xinhuanet.com/world/2017-07/04/c_1121262601.htm,2017年11月8日。

② 陈迎春:《中国和澳大利亚经济关系的战略转型与升级》,《中国经贸导刊》,2017年11期。

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审查,自由拓展事业领域,且不必忧虑失去中国国籍而带来诸多不便。其次,这一政策还将大大地便利澳洲华人来华投资。“华裔卡”设立之前,华人回到祖国时总会因为外国人身份而备受“照顾”,各种审批手续繁杂且耗时冗长,不仅增加了华人投资的成本,还打击了他们的投资热情。“华裔卡”的设立不仅极大地方便华侨华人在中国的的生活和工作,国民待遇原则还可以及时保护他们的切身经济利益。再者,有利于“一带一路”倡议与澳大利亚“北部大开发”战略相对接,从而开拓中澳两国的经济新领域。伴随着“一带一路”倡议走向澳洲,并与澳大利亚“北部大开发”战略相对接,作为中澳两国的重要沟通桥梁——华侨华人的作用将更加突显,他们在开拓中澳两国经济合作新领域的过程中的价值和影响力无可替代。而一旦中国政府实施“华裔卡”制度,将更加能够方便华侨华人处理中澳两国的经贸事务,简化相关手续,极大地提高经贸合作领域的工作效率,从而推进双方的经贸合作。

(二)“华裔卡”设立将有助于改善澳大利亚社会对中国的认知。作为外界了解中国的重要媒介,国外华侨华人一直都是构成中国形象的重要元素,外国民众常常会通过他们的生活方式、言行举止来感受中国、认知中国,构建对中国的初步印象。^①虽然中澳之间的贸易往来非常频繁,但两国之间的文化交流稍显匮乏。作为中澳关系的润滑剂,华侨华人一直发挥着良好的沟通作用。如前文所述,澳洲华人数量已高达120余万,且出生于中国大陆的华人华侨就高达50多万,如此庞大的华侨华人群体将是澳大利亚了解中国的重要窗口,也是树立良好中国形象以及改善澳大利亚社会对中国认知的重要桥梁。

不难看出,文化和价值观上的差异是导致中澳两国产生分歧的重要原因之一,而减少误解和分歧的最好方式就是加强互动和相互认知。而实施“华裔卡”制度对于促进中澳民间社会的沟通和交流,拉近彼此文化心理距离,进而促进双方对对方文化价值观及意识形态差异方面的互谅和相互宽容,有重要价值和意义。其一,多数华侨华人在澳大利亚生活多年,熟悉澳大利亚的语言和风俗习惯,更容易与当地人沟通。“华裔卡”的设立加强了澳大利亚华侨华人与中国的互动交流,方便澳大利亚的华侨华人及时更新见闻,向澳大利亚社会传播中国社会新动态,对外释疑解惑,加强民间文化沟通,帮助澳大利亚社会树立正确的中国观。其二,“华裔卡”的设立使得华人华侨在澳大利亚可顺理成章地以公民身份及时宣传中国独立自主

^① 王志章、刘子立:《一支不可或缺的力量:全球华侨华人与中国国家软实力建设》,《重庆与世界》,2014年12月,第31卷第12期。



的外交政策以及中国现实国情、方针政策和发展模式,帮助澳大利亚政府和社会恰当理解中国政府意图,大大消除澳大利亚社会对中国的误解,^①从而促进双方关系走向良性发展。其三,澳大利亚华人移民二代和三代文化程度普遍较高,视野开阔,思维灵活,是传播中国文化的有力助手,但这些移民后代对中国的了解普遍不如祖辈,而“华裔卡”的设立将有助于改变这一现状。受益于“华裔卡”所带来的便捷功能,他们可以时常亲临中国,切身感受中国文化,加深对中国社会的理解,从而为宣传正确的中国观打下基础。其四,华侨华人在澳大利亚的人数逐年增加,曾一度引起澳大利亚社会对中国的担忧和抵触,害怕中国实行双重国籍削弱华人对澳大利亚的国家忠诚度,而“华裔卡”的设立可有效地避免因改变单一国籍制所带来的各种国际纠纷问题,缓解澳大利亚社会对中国的忧心,既有利于增强中国与澳大利亚之间的政治互信,又兼顾了澳大利亚华侨华人的需求。因此,“华裔卡”的设立既方便了澳大利亚华侨华人回国生活学习,增加相互了解,传播中华文化,纠正澳大利亚社会对中国的误解,改善澳大利亚对中国的认知,这非常有助于推动中澳民间公共外交深度与广度,加强中澳政治互信与合作,降低中澳博弈风险。

(三)“华裔卡”的设立将促进中澳人才环流。众所周知,在越来越激烈的国际人才竞争中,长期以来中国一直面临着巨大的人才流失问题,以及对外人才环流缺失问题。而要应对严峻的国际人才竞争,中国必须采取新的对应措施和政策来加强海外人才的归属感,方便海外人才的回流与环流。^②作为传统移民国家,澳大利亚一直是中国移民热点目的国之一。据统计,中国是澳大利亚曾经的第一技术移民来源国和现在的第二大技术移民来源国,每年都有大量中国人才流向澳大利亚。而“华裔卡”的设立将有助于加强中澳之间的人才互通,形成中澳人才环流,促进两国科技交流与合作。首先,澳大利亚的高等教育享誉全球,中国是澳大利亚第一大国际留学生来源国,每年都有大量学生前往澳大利亚留学并最终留在那里工作,这一定程度上意味着中国对澳人才流失。而设立“华裔卡”,不仅会加强澳华侨华人与祖国的联系,还有利于将吸引大批优秀华侨华人归国工作,从而减少中国人才流失。其次,第二次世界大战以来,经济全球化进程不断推进,世界范围内的资本、生产要素及人员流动日益常态化,设立“华裔卡”能够使中国人才敢于“走出去”,又有机会“回的来”,从而在中澳之间塑造一条便利的人才流动通道,这将会大大促进中澳之间的人才交流,从而有利于推动两国之间科技、教育、文化等各领域的

① 王志章、刘子立:《一支不可或缺的力量:全球华侨华人与中国国家软实力建设》,《重庆与世界》,2014年12月,第31卷第12期。

② 王辉耀:《设立“海外公民证”和“海外华裔卡”吸引人才回流》,《国际人才交流》,2011年04期。

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合作。最后,在这个信息大爆炸的时代里,如何快速从庞杂纷繁的人才数据库中找到有效人才信息并合理配置、利用,可能会极大地影响国家科学技术的发展速度和质量,而设立“华裔卡”将有利于促进和加强中澳双方的人才互动,更加广泛、深入地了解双方人才特点,建立全面的人才信息库,及时发送国内外相关产业(领域)人才需求信息及相关动态,形成与海外人才之间更为紧密的信息交流与互动,消除信息不对称可能带来的科技人才错置,^①从而最大限度地挖掘人才潜力,避免人才浪费。综上所述,“华裔卡”的设立有利于促进中澳之间的人才环流,锤炼中澳人才技能,提升人才质量,避免人才浪费。

小结

近些年来,因中国大国崛起与民族复兴进程中海外华人的价值和作用越来越凸显,中国对侨务工作愈加重视,并将之纳入国家整体外交战略轨道,于2011年《国家侨务工作发展纲要(2011—2015年)》首次正式以国家政策形式提出要大力拓展侨务公共外交,^②希望借助海外华人华侨力量,向世界宣传、推介中国,改变世界对中国的印象,加深世界对中国的理解。然而,中国的侨务公共外交政策视海外华人华侨为向世界宣传、推介中国形象的媒介,必须把握住一个基本前提,即海外华人对其祖国中国充满好感与怀恋,对其有着深刻的文化认同与民族认同,否则,这种侨务公共外交便会失去可资依托的海外华人群体基础,不存在可操作性和可持续性。从这个角度来说,当前中国的出入境管理制度和永居签证制度不加区分地将海外华人混同于一般外国人管理,几乎完全视其对中国社会的经济与科技贡献水平而决定是否对其发放永居签证,本质上是缺乏战略眼光的实用主义行为,这十分不利于坚固海外华人与中国之间的血脉亲情与感情联系,促进海外华人社会的发展壮大,也就更无法指望在这种双边关系交往中海外华人能够更加积极、主动地承担起中国形象宣传使者的角色,从而潜在地影响到海外华人居在国与中国之间各类双边关系的拓展与深化。从这个意义上来说,改变现有关于外国人出入境管理和永居签证制度的管理理念,尽快制定实施“华裔卡”制度,针对海外华人发放具有类似于“绿卡”功能的“华裔卡”,亦几乎可说是势在必行。

① 高子平:《海外科技人才回流与信息不对称问题研究》,《当代青年研究》,2012年10月第10期。

② 所谓侨务公共外交,就是通过侨务渠道开展的公共外交。在这种公共外交实践中,海外华人既是受体,又是主体。侨务公共外交在影响海外华人的同时,又通过海外华人的媒介作用,向外国政府和民众传达和介绍中国基本国情、价值观念、发展道路、内外政策等信息,以消除误解,增进了解、促进合作,从而维护和实现国家的根本利益。见何亚非:《释放侨务公共外交巨能量》,人民日报海外版,http://paper.people.com.cn/rmhbhw/html/2013-10/16/content_1310440.htm



The Evolution of Multicultural Policy in Australia

Yang Honggui*

Abstract: Multicultural policy is the basic strategy for the Australian government to deal with ethnic and cultural diversity. It was introduced during the federal government of Whitlam (1972—1975), formed during the Fraser (1975—1983), and was established as the basic national policy of Australia during the Hawke (1983—1991). Since then, the multicultural policy has been continuously adhered to and improved by successive governments of Australia, and some new trends have emerged in terms of principles and measures.

Key words: Australia; Multicultural policy; Multiculturalism; Evolution

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澳大利亚多元文化政策的演进

杨洪贵

摘要:多元文化政策是澳大利亚政府处理民族文化多样性的基本策略。它产生于惠特拉姆政府时期(1972—1975年),形成于弗雷泽政府时期(1975—1983年),在霍克政府时期(1983—1991)被确立为澳大利亚的基本国策。此后,多元文化政策得到澳大利亚历届政府不断的坚持和改进,并在原则和措施等方面出现了一些新的发展趋势。

关键词:澳大利亚;多元文化政策;演进

多元文化政策指的是西方国家为谋求民族、宗教或语言方面的少数族群对公共领域的参与而设计和实施的处理文化多样性问题的一系列方针、原则和措施。^①多元文化政策最早产生于20世纪70年代初的加拿大,随后在澳大利亚和西欧国家推行。新世纪以来,多元文化主义成为西方社会争论的重要话题,西欧国家纷纷放弃多元文化政策,而澳大利亚却继续坚持多元文化政策。澳大利亚不仅是世界上第二个推行多元文化政策的国家,也是至今依然坚持多元文化政策的国家。因此,对澳大利亚多元文化政策的演变进行梳理不仅有助于认识澳大利亚社会发展,也可以为认识和理解西方社会多元文化主义提供一个案例。

一、多元文化政策的形成

澳大利亚多元文化政策最初萌生于戈夫·惠特拉姆政府时期(1972—1975年),马尔科姆·弗雷泽政府时期(1975—1983年)最终形成。

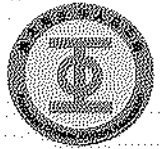
1971年,在祝贺新加坡成为多种族社会时,约翰·戈登总理表示,澳大利亚要消灭种族意识,成为一个多种族社会。^②1972年,工党政府上台后,戈夫·惠特拉

^① James Jupp, *The Challenge of Diversity, Policy Options for a Multicultural Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1993, p. iii.

^② [澳]E. M. 安德鲁斯:《澳大利亚中关系史》,厦门大学出版社,1992年,第255页。

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姆总理表示,澳大利亚反对种族歧视。^① 1973年,移民部长艾尔·格拉斯比(AI Grassby)宣布,将推行一项“全球一致,无人种、肤色或国籍之歧视”的移民政策。同年,艾尔·格拉斯比出访加拿大。归国后,他发表题为《一个未来的多元文化社会》(A Multicultural Society for the Future)的声明,首次正式引入多元文化主义概念。格拉斯比指出,长期以来我们在自己的土地却常常有着被流放的感觉。如今,澳大利亚人必须回归自己的精神家园,塑造澳大利亚人对这片土地、对这个国家的归属感和认同感。澳大利亚应该充分利用文化多样性来创造新的统一与和谐,把澳大利亚社会建成和谐的民族大家庭。^② 格拉斯比公开宣布认可与肯定文化多样性,宣扬利用澳大利亚人口丰富的文化多样性来创建民族大家庭。

惠特拉政府并没有形成系统的多元文化政策原则方针,采取的主要措施是旨在促进移民在澳大利亚的定居过程。诸如设立社区关系委员会,电话翻译(口译)服务,资助移民少数民族电台,在社会服务部门设立双语福利站,在学校里鼓励教授移民语言。1974年设立社区关系专员。1975年颁布《种族歧视法》(Racial Discrimination Act 1975)。1975年10月,当新的《种族歧视法》提交联邦议会表决时,惠特拉姆总理对该议案做了说明。他说:“新的法案坚决将下述原则定为法律,澳大利亚是一个多元文化国家,原住民的语言和文化以及来自世界各地的移民的文化特色在其中都能各得其所。”^③在宣布《种族歧视法》的仪式上,惠特拉姆总理宣布澳大利亚是一个多元文化国家。1975年11月,反对党领袖马尔科姆·弗雷泽发表演讲,表示认可多元文化主义。弗雷泽在一次希腊人社区集会上宣布,我们是一个多元文化社会,必须鼓励和支持文化多样性的发展。^④在这一时期,澳大利亚人已公开承认他们生活在一个多元文化的社会里,多元文化主义成为某种时尚。

1975年11月,马尔科姆·弗雷泽的自由——国家党政府上台,继续推进多元文化政策。1977年,澳大利亚政府建立澳大利亚民族事务理事会(The Australian Ethnic Affairs Council),在其主席杰西·朱伯勒斯基(Jerzy Zubrzycki)主持下,制定《作为一个多元文化社会的澳大利亚》(Australia as a Multicultural Society)的报告,建议政府推行多元文化政策,并第一次确定了多元文化主义的定义。多元文化主

① 刘友法、张力军:《世界经济与中国》,社会科学文献出版社,1998年,第129页。

② National Multicultural Advisory Council, *Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1999.

③ 韩隽:《澳大利亚工党研究》,新疆大学出版社,2003年,第114页。

④ National Multicultural Advisory Council, *Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1999.

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义是指这样一种社会：许多在宗教和民族上互不相同的群体，拥有共同的纽带。^①该报告确立了建立多元文化社会的三条原则：社会和谐、机会平等和文化认同。该报告提出了澳大利亚多元文化政策的基本原则，因而朱伯勒斯基被澳大利亚人称之为“多元文化之父”。^②

1977年，政府还建立移民计划与服务审查委员会专门考察有关移民服务的规定。1978年，在其主席格尔贝勒（Frank Galbally）主持下发表《移民服务与计划：关于入澳移民计划与服务审查的报告》（*Migrant Services and Programs: Report of the View of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants*），即后来众所周知的《加尔贝勒报告》（Galbally Report）。该报告提出了移民服务和计划的原则；决定资助族群福利组织；建议政府必须就他们的利益和要求与各社群进行协商；认为族群和语言的多样性并非国家统一的威胁。报告还建议政府建立多元文化事务研究院（Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs）和特别广播服务（Special Broadcasting Service），提出为成年移民与儿童提供英语培训、翻译服务等。^③《加尔贝勒报告》奠定了多元文化政策的组织制度基础，确立了少数民族特殊服务的基本原则。

以上两个委员会的报告成为澳大利亚多元文化政策正式形成的标志，尤其是《加尔贝勒报告》被认为是澳大利亚多元文化政策的基础。它明确宣称，最需要帮助的是那些对英语知之甚少甚至一无所知的移民，而之前移民帮助与服务主要通过友好邻居委员会给予了英国移民，移民帮助与服务应该主要转向非英语背景移民，提出的移民服务与计划的四条原则为：第一，澳大利亚社会的所有成员必须有平等的机会充分地发挥他们的潜力，必须有平等的机会获得社会服务；第二，任何人都应该能够不受歧视地保持自己的文化，同时鼓励去理解和包容其他文化；第三，移民的需要应该通过向全社会服务的计划来满足，但为了确保平等与公正，特殊的计划和服务在当前是必要的；第四，移民计划与服务应该在充分与移民协商的基础上制定和实施，同时应该鼓励移民自立。^④这四条原则明确了移民在澳大利亚有权平等地获得社会资源与服务。为了确保移民民族文化得到保持与发展，移

① Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland, Robert Unquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 103.

② 王铁志、吴金光：《澳大利亚的多元文化政策》，《民族研究》，1996年第4期。

③ Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland, Robert Unquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, p. 97.

④ James Jupp, *From White Australian to Woomera, The Story of Australian Immigration*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 87.



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民自己应该承担起就移民需要和状况向政府提出建议的责任。为此,提高移民社区参与社会的主动性和能力就成为关注的重点;设立移民资源中心,其管理委员会成员主要来自移民社区组织,向所有移民族群开放。在此后三年里通过移民部实施的资助计划和移民资源中心的服务分别向非英语背景移民提供了170万和134万美元的资助。同时,报告承认民族文化多样性在澳大利亚社会的存在的合法性,驳斥了文化多样性必然导致社会分裂的观点,认为恰恰是文化压迫导致民族之间的敌视与隔阂。报告还认为,如果多元文化主义要成功的话,必须开展教育计划,进行文化与语言培训,促进不同文化之间的沟通与理解。^①

1979年6月,澳大利亚民族事务理事会联合发表了一个题为《多元文化主义及其对移民政策的影响》的报告。报告追溯了澳大利亚社会处理文化多样性问题的政策演变,探讨了多元文化主义的概念与计划,分析了在澳大利亚创建多元文化社会和相关移民政策的条件。报告承认多元文化主义是澳大利亚社会发展的动力,认为多元文化主义应该在澳大利亚现有的议会民主制的框架下发展。同年,澳大利亚民族电视评论委员会在其发表的报告《关于民族电视服务机构的中期报告》指出,通过促进文化多样性的宽容与尊重,民族电视有利于所有澳大利亚人,澳大利亚社会的多元文化特性有利于民族群体保持与发展他们自己的文化认同。1980年,澳大利亚多元文化事务研究院发表题为《多元文化与移民教育评论》的报告阐述了教育在多元文化主义形成中的作用。报告认为,在澳大利亚,教育应该包括第二外语教育、社区语言教育和澳大利亚民族文化多样性教育。

1981年,弗雷泽总理对多元文化主义的基本原则和措施进行了如下阐述:多元文化主义珍视多样性,而不是制造分裂;注重引导,而不是孤立。多元文化主义关注民族与文化差别,在共同价值观念的框架下使多元文化在相互补充而不是相互竞争的基础上和谐共处。坚持共同的价值观念不是对多元文化主义的威胁,而是多元文化主义的保障,因为它为所有人的幸福提供了必要的前提。多元文化主义是一种关于给予所有澳大利亚人参与社会、经济与政治生活以及获得社会、经济与政治利益的机会平等的思想与政策体系。对机会平等的关注是为人们的道德感所驱使,更为基本人权观念所要求。文明社会绝不能容忍剥夺某些群体的基本人权。^②

① James Jupp, *From White Australian to Woomera, The Story of Australian Immigration*, p. 88.

② National Multicultural Advisory Council, *Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1999.

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1982年,澳大利亚民族事务理事会发表《为所有澳大利亚人的多元文化主义》的报告,进一步发展了1977年《作为一个多元文化社会的澳大利亚》所提出的多元文化原则,在社会和谐、平等、文化认同之外,又加上新的一条,即对澳大利亚社会的责任、义务和参与。^①在强调少数民族权利的同时,又强调他们对澳大利亚的责任和义务,使多元文化政策趋于完善。就在当年,澳大利亚多元文化事务研究院发表的报告《安居计划与服务评价》指出,澳大利亚是世界上拥有最全面的移民服务体系 and 多元文化政策的国家,并且在某些方面是独一无二的。

二、多元文化政策成为基本国策

1983年,工党上台执政,霍克总理“立志为建设一个多元文化的新澳大利亚而奋斗”。^②霍克政府向社会各界保证,新政府将继续推行无歧视的移民政策,并将积极推进多元文化社会的建设。当年,工党政府组织澳大利亚多元文化事务研究院审查委员会。委员会向政府提出《给移民和民族事务部的报告》,即盖斯(CASS)报告,建议废除澳大利亚多元文化事务研究院(AIMA),在移民和民族事务部之下设立一个法定的官方机构。^③澳大利亚多元文化事务研究院没有被立即废除,但进行了人事调整。

1986年,联邦工党代表大会在决议中宣布:“承认澳大利亚社会目前存在着多种文化和多种生活方式这一事实,尤其是在原住民和少数民族社区。”^④当年,移民与多元文化计划与服务审查委员会发表的报告《不要满足于小有成就》对澳大利亚联邦政府多元文化政策的基础概括为四条原则:第一,所有的社会成员应该有平等的机会参与澳大利亚的经济、社会、文化与政治生活;第二,所有澳大利亚人有权平等获取政府代表社会所管理国家资源;第三,所有澳大利亚人有权平等地参与和影响政府政策、计划和服务的决策与实施过程;第四,在澳大利亚法律容许的范围内,所有澳大利亚人有权信奉自己的宗教,使用自己的语言,并同时尊重其他人同样的权利。此报告进一步完善了澳大利亚多元文化政策的内涵。同年,澳大利亚多元文化事务研究院发表报告《多元文化主义的未来方向》指出,非英语移民在澳大利亚社会遭遇了突出的社会与经济不平等,强调应该改革政府的移民服务机构与服务

① Anthony H. Richmond, *Immigration and the Ethnic Conflict*, Macmillan, 1998, p. 16.

② [澳大利亚]鲍勃·霍克:《霍克自传》,贵州人民出版社,1997年,第76页。

③ Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland, Robert Urquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, p. 98.

④ 韩隽:《澳大利亚工党研究》,新疆大学出版社,2003年,第115-116页。



措施以适应社会需要。该报告还建议多元文化政策的适用对象应该包括非英语背景移民、残疾人、妇女和原住民。这是澳大利亚首次提出扩大多元文化主义服务的对象范围。

1987年,霍克政府正式关闭澳大利亚多元文化事务研究院,在其旧址上建立多元文化事务办公室(Office of Multicultural Affairs),隶属于总理和内阁,直接受总理领导。同年,霍克政府建立了澳大利亚移民政策咨询委员会(Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies)。1988年5月澳大利亚移民政府咨询委员会发表《移民:对澳大利亚的承诺》。该报告认为,移民政策与多元文化政策有着密切联系。政府对多元文化主义的定义与民众的理解存在差异,在民众中广泛存在对多元文化主义的迷惑和对政府政策的不信任。许多具有良好教育的职业人士认为多元文化主义会导致社会的分裂。许多人对移民是否能真正履行对澳大利亚的义务和是否真正忠诚于澳大利亚的宪法原则表示担忧。报告认为这些观念的存在对多元文化主义发展构成挑战,建议政府提出并实施系统的多元文化主义政策体系。根据报告建议,建立了附属于移民、地方管理与民族事务部的移民研究局(Bureau of Immigration Research)。移民研究局获得政府大量的拨款,开展项目研究,举办会议和研讨班,它成为关于移民问题和多元文化主义问题的论坛。^①

针对1988年澳大利亚移民政策咨询委员会发表的报告提出的问题,联邦政府组织了一个由来自社区组织和大学的21名成员构成的多元文化事务咨询理事会(Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs)。在其成立大会上,霍克总理要求多元文化事务咨询理事会准备一份名为《一个多元文化的澳大利亚的国家议程》(National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia)的文件。1989年,多元文化事务咨询理事会主席格宝爵士在广泛协商与调查的基础上完成了这一文件。联邦政府颁布《国家议程》(National Agenda),获得两党的一致支持。议程进一步系统地制定了多元文化政策的范围、限制和目标原则,提出了一揽子实施多元文化政策的措施,成为“澳大利亚多元文化社会发展的一块里程碑。”^②

经过霍克政府的努力,到20世纪80年代末,多元文化政策终于成为澳大利亚的基本国策,具体表现在两个方面。其一,多元文化事务管理机构的地位提升了。

^① Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland, Robert Urquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, p. 99.

^② Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland, Robert Urquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, p. 102.

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1985年专门设立了移民与民族事务部来负责少数民族事务,在各州设立了相应的基层组织。1987年在内阁之下设多元文化事务办公室,作为总理直接领导的四个办公室之一,专门负责协调政府级部门之间的民族工作。其二,多元文化政策实施范围扩大。以前多元文化政策主要由移民部门实施,如今联邦政府要求各个部门的工作计划都必须包含多元文化内容,各级政府都必须结合实际情况制订多元文化政策的具体实施方案。^①此后,移民、劳工、福利、卫生、教育等部门都设有机构或官员负责民族事务。

1991年上台的基廷工党政府继续奉行霍克时期的多元文化政策。1992年,基廷政府公开宣布“融入亚洲计划”。在移民政策上,基廷政府继续从亚洲引入技术移民和商业移民的同时,移民政策更为宽松。1994年,基廷政府组建国家多元文化咨询理事会(National Multicultural Advisory Council)对1989年《国家议程》的实施状况进行评估并提出改进建议。1995年6月,国家多元文化咨询理事会的报告《多元文化的澳大利亚——面向和超越2000年》重申了1989年议程提出的基本原则。报告强调,澳大利亚社会将继续沿着更加和谐与宽容的方向发展,从而增强澳大利亚的全球竞争力,更好地应对种族和解、民族认同、信息技术、宗教多样性发展以及经济变革等澳大利亚面临的重大问题。^②

三、多元文化政策的发展

1996年11月30日,新上台的霍华德政府推动议会一致通过《议会关于种族宽容的声明》(Parliamentary Statement on Racial Tolerance),重申了1989年《国家议程》的基本思想,强调澳大利亚多元文化主义必须坚持以下原则:(1)所有澳大利亚人享有平等与公平,无论种族、肤色、信仰和血统如何;(2)免于种族、肤色、信仰和血统的歧视移民政策;(3)促进与原住民和托雷斯海峡岛民的和解进程,承认他们曾遭受过严重的社会和经济不平等;(4)澳大利亚是一个宽容与开放的多元文化社会,同时强调社会统一与团结,要求所有澳大利亚人对澳大利亚的民主制度和价值观念承担压倒一切的义务;(5)谴责任何形式的种族歧视。^③

^① Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland, Robert Unjuhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, p. 99.

^② Fact paper, *The Evolution of Multicultural Policy: Key Official Policy Reports Summaries*, <http://www.immi.gov.au/multicultural/nmac/append-c.htm>.

^③ National Multicultural Advisory Council, *Multicultural Australia: The Way Forward*, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997.



与此同时,随着形势变化,澳大利亚政府组织人员开展研究,为下一世纪澳大利亚多元文化主义的发展设计蓝图。1997年6月,联邦政府任命了国家多元文化咨询理事会(NMAC)的新成员,要求理事会审视多元文化政策的现状,研究下一个十年的多元文化政策的发展方向及其政策框架。12月,国家多元文化咨询理事会完成对多元文化主义实施状况的考察与研究,发表题为《多元文化的澳大利亚:未来之路》的工作报告。该报告在分析多元文化主义实施状况的基础上,指出多元文化主义发展面临的挑战,并邀请社会各界献言献策,为设计下个世纪多元文化主义的发展努力。在广泛听取社会各界的意见与建议的基础上,经过两年的研究,1999年5月5日,国家多元文化咨询理事会完成题为《新世纪的多元文化主义:迈向包容的社会》(*Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness*)的报告。报告系统地分析了澳大利亚多元文化政策的发展和成就,并就如何完善多元文化政策向政府提出了32条政策建议。^①在此基础上,1999年12月澳大利亚政府公布多元文化政策声明——《多元文化澳大利亚的新议程》(*A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*)。《新议程》对澳大利亚“多元文化主义”这一术语的内涵进行了界定,认为澳大利亚多元文化主义是一个承认和赞同澳大利亚文化多样性的术语。在承诺对澳大利亚及其根本的社会制度和民主的价值观念承担压倒一切的义务和责任的前提下,认可和尊重所有澳大利亚人表达和享有自己独特文化的权利。澳大利亚多元文化主义也是旨在达到以下目标的策略、政策和计划。这些目标包括:澳大利亚在政治、经济和社会基础设施方面更好地满足多元文化人口的权益和需要;促进不同文化的人们之间和谐共处;最大限度地利用文化多样性造福所有澳大利亚人。^②《新议程》认为,文化多样性是澳大利亚一种重要的社会、文化和经济资源。在尊重差别、崇尚宽容、追求自由以及国家利益压倒一切的责任等价值观念的基础上,澳大利亚已经建立起多样性的统一。为使澳大利亚的多元文化继续造福于所有澳大利亚人,多元文化政策和项目必须奠基于澳大利亚的民主社会制度之上,并遵循下列基本原则:

(1) 公民义务。所有澳大利亚人支持那些保证自由和平等、确保多样性得以繁荣发展的澳大利亚社会的根本制度和原则;

(2) 文化尊重。根据法律,给予所有澳大利亚人表达他们自己的文化和信仰

^① National Multicultural Advisory Council, *Multicultural Australia for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness*. Commonwealth of Australia, 1999.

^② *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1999, p. 6.

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的权利,同时要求他们尊重其他人享有同样的权利;

(3) 社会公平。给予所有澳大利亚人平等的待遇和机会,以使他们都对澳大利亚社会、政治和经济生活做出贡献,免受基于种族、文化、宗教、语言、地域、性别和出生地的差别的歧视;

(4) 富有经济价值的多样性。为使所有澳大利亚人受益,使源于多样化人口的文化、社会和经济利益最大化。^①

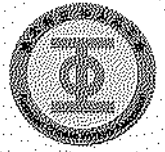
《新议程》认为,澳大利亚政府和社会须将他们的行动和措施莫基于这些原则之上,务必使澳大利亚的文化多样性继续成为其社会发展的根本动力。《新议程》还强调确保多元文化政策成为其社会的统一力量,并与所有澳大利亚人相关。1999年议程对1989年议程提出的多元文化政策的三个重要方面文化认同、社会公正和经济效率进行了新的阐述,并赋予了新的内涵,从而奠定了多元文化政策在新世纪发展的基础。

为了实施新议程,政府于2000年建立澳大利亚多元文化理事会(Council of Multicultural Australia),其成员来自各州(领地)的杰出人士。其目的是协助政府实施多元文化政策,提高人们对多元文化主义的认识与理解,促进社会和谐与多元文化项目的协调。

2003年5月13日政府公布了新的多元政策声明——《多元文化的澳大利亚:多元一体》(Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity),为2003—2006年多元文化政策的发展确定了战略重点和方向。该声明开篇就宣布,文化多样性是推动澳大利亚国家发展的一种最重要的力量。政府致力于创造一个多元文化的澳大利亚,通过多元文化政策和计划把国人团结起来共同推进澳大利亚的社会公正和公平。^② 政府实施多元文化政策的目标是依靠共同的未来和对国家及其民主制度和价值观念、法治原则的忠诚,把澳大利亚打造成为一个成功的文化多元、宽容和开放的社会。为了实现这些目标,声明对多元文化政策的基本原则进行了新的阐述:(1) 共同义务——所有澳大利亚人应尽公民义务,坚守保障我们自由和平等以及保证文化多样性在我们社会繁荣的基本原则和制度;(2) 相互尊重——依据法律,所有澳大利亚人有权表达他们的文化和信仰,并且有义务尊重其他人同样的权利;(3) 人人平等——给予所有澳大利亚人平等的待遇和机会。以使他们都对澳大利

^① A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia, p. 8.

^② Multicultural Australia: United In Diversity. Updating the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia; Strategic Directions for 2003 - 2006, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 5.



亚社会、政治和经济生活做出贡献,免受基于种族、文化、宗教、语言、地域、性别和出生地的差别而产生的歧视;(4)人人受益——所有澳大利亚人应从富有经济价值的多样性中获得益处,即源于多元文化的人口的巨大的文化、社会和经济利益。多样性务使所有澳大利亚人从中受益。^① 通过政府的不断努力,多元文化主义已经成为澳大利亚确保文化多样性的社会、文化、经济利益最大化的制度框架,成为澳大利亚构建社会和谐、增进社会宽容和开放的政策保障。^②

2008年工党政府建立澳大利亚多元文化咨询理事会(Australian Multicultural Advisory Council),研究和设计新的国际移民背景下应对澳大利亚文化多样性的政策。理事会主要在以下问题上为政府提供建议:在一个文化和宗教多样性的社会如何实现团结问题;如何克服澳大利亚社会的不宽容和种族主义;在整体上协调澳大利亚文化多样性的社会与经济利益;移民在社会事务和公民事务上如何扩大参与的问题。2010年4月,澳大利亚多元文化咨询理事会向政府提交报告《澳大利亚民族:澳大利亚多元文化咨询理事会关于文化多样性的申明以及对政府的建议》(*The People of Australia: the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council's Statement on Cultural Diversity and Recommendations to Government*)。作为回应,2011年2月17日,澳大利亚移民与公民部部长克里斯·鲍恩(Chris Bowen)发布新的多元文化政策文件《澳大利亚民族:澳大利亚多元文化政策》(*The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy*)。

新多元文化政策规定尊重文化多样性,坚守民主原则和澳大利亚法律。澳大利亚成功的多元文化社会和民主是建立在澳大利亚人共有的权利和责任的基础之上。^③ 新多元文化政策的四个基本原则为:(1)澳大利亚政府欢迎和重视文化多样性的利益,使之受惠于所有澳大利亚人,服务于国家共同体的广泛目标,有益于社会和谐和保持澳大利亚民主价值观念。(2)澳大利亚政府致力于创建一个公正、开放与和谐的社会,人人均可享有澳大利亚社会提供的机会,澳大利亚政府为文化和语言多元背景的澳大利亚人提供贴心服务;(3)澳大利亚政府乐见源于成功的多元文化国家的经济、贸易和投资利益;(4)澳大利亚政府促进理解和接受文化多

^① *Multicultural Australia: United In Diversity. Updating the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia; Strategic Directions for 2003 - 2006*, p. 6.

^② *Multicultural Australia: United In Diversity. Updating the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia; Strategic Directions for 2003 - 2006*, p. 5.

^③ The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Inquiry into Migration and Multiculturalism in Australia, Commonwealth of Australia*, 2013, p. 16.

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样性,采取有力法律措施应对社会不宽容和歧视。^①

为更好推行多元文化政策,2013年澳大利亚联邦政府将多元文化事务从移民部转交给社会服务部管理。2017年,澳大利亚联邦政府发布新的多元文化政策文件《多元文化澳大利亚:团结、强大和成功》(Multicultural Australia – United, Strong, Successful)。在文件引言里,澳大利亚总理马尔科姆·特恩布尔指出,澳大利亚是世界上最成功的多元文化社会。他重申了澳大利亚政府摒弃一切种族主义和走多元文化道路的决心。

四、澳大利亚多元文化政策演变的趋势

自20世纪70年代产生以来,澳大利亚政府不断根据国内外形势有针对性地进行调整和改进,坚持和发展中澳大利亚多元文化政策呈现出如下特点和趋势。

首先,强调与所有人相关,由主要关注非英语移民需要向关注所有澳大利亚人转变。澳大利亚多元文化政策主要是围绕着非英语背景移民在澳大利亚所遭遇的不平等待遇而提出来的,其政策措施主要关注非英语背景移民,特别是在过去50年里来到澳大利亚的非英语移民。1989年《国家议程》设计的政策措施就主要是为了满足非英语移民的需要,促进他们平等地参与澳大利亚社会。^② 澳大利亚的多元文化政策最初也一直被认为是为移民设计的,直到1989年澳大利亚原住民都被不是这一政策关注的对象。多元文化政策要解决的基本问题是如何确保将非不列颠移民整合澳大利亚社会之中。“非英语背景移民”(Non-English Speaking Background Immigration)这个特殊的术语创造出来专门指政策的目标群体。^③

20世纪90年代以来,尤其在基廷政府时期,多元文化主义政策的目标群体扩大,扩大到原住民,并把原住民和解作为重要的内容。^④ 1995年,国家多元文化咨询理事会的报告《多元文化的澳大利亚——面向和超越2000年》把原住民民族和解纳入多元文化政策框架之内。^⑤ 1996年11月30日联邦众议院一致通过的《关于种族宽容的决议》宣布将确保所有澳大利亚人享有平等和公平与促进与原住民

① *The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2011, p. 3.

② James Jupp, *The Challenge of Diversity: Policy Options for a Multicultural Australia*, 1993, p. 4.

③ James Jupp, *From White Australian to Woomera, the Story of Australian Immigration*, p. 84.

④ James Jupp, *From White Australian to Woomera, the Story of Australian Immigration*, p. 55.

⑤ Fact paper, *The Evolution of Multicultural Policy: Key Official Policy Reports Summaries*, <http://www.immi.gov.au/multicultural/nmac/append-c.htm>. 2005-10-15.

澳大利亚华人总工会

Australian Chinese Workers Association



和托雷斯海峡岛民的和解进程作为多元文化政策必须遵循的原则。1997年 国家多元文化咨询理事会认为,要把多样性凝聚为统一的力量,多元文化政策应该继续关注非英语移民,更应该关注所有澳大利亚人,包括原住民和所有的移民及其后代(无论是来自不列颠和爱尔兰的人口居于多数的移民及其后裔,还是来自欧洲其他国家、亚洲、美洲、非洲或南太平洋地区的人口居于少数的移民及其后裔)。^① 在1999年《新议程》和2003年政策声明里对多元文化政策的关注对象进行了进一步的明确。澳大利亚政府认为,多元文化政策只有与所有澳大利亚人相关才能更加全面,更能为所有澳大利亚人所接受。

其次,强调社会统一,以公民义务构建国家认同。多元文化政策既强调少数民族传统文化的保持及平等的政治、经济权利的保障,又强调所有人必须对澳大利亚承担的责任和义务以促进社会统一。1989年《议程》中专门确立了三项限制,即所有澳大利亚人应该对澳大利亚承担压倒一切的和一致的义务,对它的利益和未来承担责任;所有澳大利亚人必须接受澳大利亚社会的基本结构和原则——宪法和法律、宽容和平等、议会和民主、言论与宗教自由,英语作为官方语言和性别平等;每个人在表达自己独有的文化及信仰的同时,必须尊重他人的价值观和文化。1996年11月30日联邦众议院一致通过的《关于种族宽容的决议》把所有人对国家、对其民主制度和价值观念承担压倒一切的义务作为多元文化政策必须遵循基本原则。国家多元文化咨询理事会在1999年的报告中认为在多元文化主义与澳大利亚公民身份,与广泛的“公民权”概念(指澳大利亚公民和永久居民所拥有的澳大利亚社会成员资格)之间存在着密切的联系,并且把公民义务作为多元文化政策的一个基本原则,把公民权利与义务的统一作为在多元文化的澳大利亚社会促进社会和谐的基础。1999年《新议程》和2003年政策声明中明确把公民义务作为多元文化政策的基本原则之一。在此,多元文化政策明确地将公民的义务、公民意识和国民意识作为把所有澳大利亚人统一起来的共同纽带,即如澳大利亚著名学者唐纳德·霍恩所说的那样以共同的“公民身份”来构建澳大利亚社会团结与统一。^②

第三,强调多元文化是重要的资源,重视和加强开发多样性的经济价值。多元文化政策在经济方面最初是关注如何消除移民在澳大利亚就业市场上所处的弱势

^① National Multicultural Advisory Council, *Multicultural Australia: The Way Forward*, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1997.

^② Hurry Irwin, *Communicating with Asia: Understanding People and Customs*, Allen & Unwin, 1996, p. 89.

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地位,促进外来移民的就业机会均等。澳大利亚政府逐渐认识到文化多样性不仅是对澳大利亚社会的挑战,更是澳大利亚社会适应经济全球化发展的重要资源。来自世界各地的移民,带来了他们的技术以及对来源国的了解。这些会帮助澳大利亚更好地适应全球市场的挑战。民族文化多样性会提高澳大利亚在国际市场的竞争力。文化与语言多样性不仅使澳大利亚成为世界上理想的旅游目的地,而且也使得澳大利亚重要的教育出口国。多元文化丰富了澳大利亚的文化和生活方式等等。由此,在经济方面,90年代初以来澳大利亚在推进多元文化政策的过程中,除继续采取措施促进机会平等外,还重点转向开发民族文化多样性的经济价值,关注直接源于多样化顾客与劳动力的经济利益。1999年《新议程》将“富有经济价值的多样性”作为多元文化政策的一项基本原则,2003年的政策声明进一步提出“人人受益”的原则。

第四,强调社会和谐,促进不同文化的理解和欣赏。多元文化政策的重要方面——文化认同,在早期重点在于帮助移民社会保持他们的文化传统,帮助他们在澳大利亚保持、传承本民族的语言、文化和生活习俗。90年代以来重点转向鼓励所有的澳大利亚人更好地相互理解和共享他们的传统文化。如在许多大学和继续教育学院开设了许多关于文化多样性的课程,政府和商业机构举办的跨文化培训课程。政府还实施了社区和谐计划(Community Harmony),1999年联邦政府规定每年3月21日为“和谐日”(Harmony Day)。和谐日宣扬促进澳大利亚人团结的共同价值观念——尊重差别和崇尚宽容。和谐日的目的是在于促进不同文化和民族背景的人们重申彼此之间的理解、尊重和友好相处,反对种族主义。^① 联邦政府每年拨专款资助开展多种活动来庆祝和谐日。为了使和谐日显得特别,政府鼓励人们穿上橙黄色服装,橙黄色是澳大利亚国家和谐日的颜色。在和谐日活动上,政府组织各民族展示传统艺术、手工艺品以及传统饮食等等。和谐日活动成为各民族展示自己传统和宣传自己文化的舞台,也成为促进澳大利亚社会不同民族文化交流和理解的重要平台。3月21日是“联合国消除种族歧视日”。澳大利亚规定3月21日为澳大利亚和谐日,不仅表达了政府致力于创建和谐的多元文化社会和消除种族歧视的决心,而且反映了今天澳大利亚社会多元文化的现实和澳大利亚政府构建和谐的多元文化社会的努力。

其五、重视国家法定纪念日,强化澳大利亚传统。对国家法定纪念进行纪念既

^① *Multicultural Australia; United In Diversity. Updating the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia; Strategic Directions for 2003 - 2006*, p. 8.



是一个国家/民族增进凝聚力,促进社会和谐团结,培育和强化民族/国家认同的重要途径。世界各国莫不予以重视。澳大利亚国家法定纪念日既有的传统纪念日,又有近年来新确定的纪念日。传统的纪念日成为反映澳大利亚历史和展现澳大利亚传统精神的标志。主要的传统纪念日有两个,一是“澳大利亚日”,即澳大利亚国庆日,纪念现代澳大利亚的开创者们在1788年1月26日登上澳大利亚大陆。另一个是“澳新军团日”,是纪念一战中澳大利亚与新西兰士兵英勇战斗的精神,它成为澳大利亚传统精神的象征。近年来新确定的纪念日,除了澳大利亚公民日外,重要的还有“澳大利亚国旗日”。1901年澳大利亚政府在全国范围内举行国旗设计大赛。这次设计大赛吸引了32823人参与。1901年9月3日,在墨尔本皇家展览大厦举行了一次大型集会,澳大利亚总理埃德蒙·巴顿(Edmund Barton)宣布五人的设计入选,他们提交了类似的设计,因而被宣布为共同享有澳大利亚国旗设计者的荣誉。在这一天第一次升起了澳大利亚国旗。国旗的图案的寓意,南十字星代表澳大利亚所处南半球的地理位置;联邦星代表澳大利亚各州和领地构成的联邦;而十字代表着澳大利亚立国的基本原则——议会民主制、法治和言论自由。1996年澳大利亚总督威廉·迪恩(William Deane)宣布9月3日为澳大利亚国旗日。“澳大利亚国旗日”体现了澳大利亚政府宣扬澳大利亚标志和基本价值观念来引导多元文化的人口实现统一、培育国民认同和民族自豪感的努力。

结束语

族群、文化和语言多样性一直是澳大利亚社会的基本特征。澳大利亚原住民就存在语言和文化的多样性。英国殖民之前,望加锡人和美拉尼西亚人每年定期到澳大利亚北部海岸与当地原住民进行贸易。18世纪英国殖民以来,来到澳大利亚的移民包括马来西亚人、华人、日本人、菲律宾人、阿富汗人,以及爱尔兰人、英格兰人、苏格兰人和德国人。1901年,澳大利亚推行白澳政策禁止亚洲人和太平洋岛民移民澳大利亚。第二次世界大战结束后,澳大利亚逐步放弃白澳政策,实行无差别的移民政策。从1945年以来,来自180多个国家的超过750万移民已经来到澳大利亚。2010年,父母双方至少一方出生在国外的澳大利亚人占人口总数的

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45%。^① 2011年,澳大利亚人具有270个不同的族群,拥有260多种语言。^② 根据澳大利亚统计署数据,从最早的原住民到新来的移民,300多个不同的民族生活在澳大利亚。

在战后移民导致文化多样性发展的背景下,随着多元文化主义在西方的兴起,20世纪70年代初澳大利亚政府开始采用多元文化政策来处理民族文化多样性及其社会后果的问题。20世纪80年代末,霍克政府将多元文化政策确立为基本国策。1995年,澳大利亚政府重申多元文化政策的基本原则。1996年澳大利亚举办了全球第一次多元文化大会。1997年澳大利亚政府对多元文化政策进行评估,1999年澳大利亚政府推出《多元文化政策新议程》,为新世纪多元文化政策的发展指明了方向。新世纪以来,随着国际局势的变化,围绕多元文化主义的争论也波及澳大利亚,但是,澳大利亚政府一直坚持多元文化政策和非歧视性的移民政策,认可和支持文化多样性。^③ 2011年和2017年,澳大利亚政府颁布文件,重申和强化多元文化政策。在全球局势紧张,不确定因素不断扩大的形势下,西欧国家纷纷宣布多元文化政策的失败,而澳大利亚政府依然继续坚持多元文化道路。在此过程中,澳大利亚多元文化政策的关注对象从最初的非英语移民扩大到所有澳大利亚人,公民义务成为多元文化澳大利亚创建共同身份的基础,开发文化多样性的经济价值受到越来越大地重视。今天“多元文化的澳大利亚”已经成为澳大利亚人及国际社会对澳大利亚的基本认识,成为澳大利亚国家认同的重要成分。

^① The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Inquiry into Migration and Multiculturalism in Australia*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2013, p. 8.

^② The Australian Multicultural Advisory Council, *The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy*, Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2011, p. 2.

^③ The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Inquiry into Migration and Multiculturalism in Australia*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2013, p. 7.



Sino – Australian Relations; Implications to the Chinese Community In Australia

Liao Kai; Zu Haoyue*

Abstract: Since the establishment of diplomatic ties, the bilateral relationship between China and Australia has been steadily improved. The economic, political, military and cultural ties have all been strengthened in recent years. On the one hand, the significant increase in trade volume and the number of Chinese tourists have made the Chinese culture and language more important in Australia. Which in turn created a wide range of opportunities for the Chinese community in Australia. But on the other hand, the rise of China and its growing influence in the region have also caused concerns and raised suspicion. That posed challenges to both the bilateral relationship between the two countries, and the prosperity of the Chinese community in Australia. This study argues that, instead of taking a passive role in this relationship, the Chinese community could also play a more active role boosting the relationship between the two countries.

Key words: Sino – Australian Relations; the Chinese Community in Australia

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中澳双边关系对澳大利亚华人 社区发展的影响

廖 凯 祖皓月*

内容提要:自建交以来,中澳双边关系保持总体平衡发展态势。近年来,两国在经贸、政治、军事、文化等方面的交流得到了进一步加强。随着双边经贸合作领域的扩大以及移民和旅游人数的大幅增加,中国的语言和文化在澳大利亚得到了进一步重视,澳洲华人社区也因此迎来了多种发展机遇。然而,中国的崛起及其在地区甚至全球影响力的增加让澳方感到疑惧,两国在一些问题上的分歧不可避免地给双边关系的进一步发展带来一定的消极影响。作为两国关系中的一个桥梁,澳洲华人社区在促进当地多元文化社会发展的同时,也可以发挥自身优势,助力中澳关系向前迈进。

关键词:中澳关系 华人社区

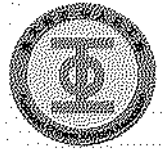
一、中澳关系现状

(一) 中澳关系的持续发展

自1972年12月中国和澳大利亚正式建立外交关系以来,^②尽管受到不同的社会制度、价值观念、人权以及亚太地区复杂的国际关系局势的影响,但两国双边关系的发展趋势总体上是平稳的。从政治层面交流来看,虽然中澳两国的政治制度不同,但在加强两国政治与战略互信方面一直没有停止不前。特别是20世纪90年代末以来,双边关系逐步升温,从全面合作关系到战略伙伴关系,到当下的全面战略伙伴关系。在2016—2017年间,澳方领导人访华共有3次,中方领导人访澳共有7次(见表1)。尤其在2017年3月李克强总理访澳期间,双方先后签署了8

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② 汪诗明:《论澳中关系正常化》,《世界历史》,2003年第3期。



份合作文件,文件内容涉及中澳自贸协定、气候变化、文化、教育等诸多领域。^① 这次访问取得丰硕成果,将中澳关系和两国合作提高到一个新的水平。

表 1: 2016—2017 中澳双边政治互动^②

日期	事件
2016 年 2 月	澳外长毕晓普访华,期间杨洁篪国务委员会见,王毅外长同毕举行第三轮中澳外交与战略对话
2016 年 4 月	澳总理特恩布尔正式访华,习近平主席会见,李克强总理同特恩布尔举行第四轮中澳总理年度会晤
2016 年 9 月	澳高等法院首席大法官弗伦奇访华
2016 年 5 月	中共中央政治局委员、中央书记处书记、中宣部部长刘奇葆访问澳大利亚
2016 年 9 月	习近平主席在二十国集团领导人杭州峰会期间会见澳总理特恩布尔
2016 年 9 月	李克强总理在老挝东亚合作领导人系列会议期间会见澳总理特恩布尔
2016 年 9 月	全国政协副主席、中国国际交流协会副会长齐续春访澳
2017 年 2 月	外交部部长王毅访问澳大利亚,期间会见澳总理特恩布尔,与澳外长毕晓普共同举行第四轮中澳外交与战略对话
2017 年 3 月	李克强总理对澳进行正式访问,同特恩布尔总理举行第五轮中澳总理年度会晤,会见澳总督斯科斯格罗夫、参议长帕里、众议长史密斯、反对党工党领袖肖顿、新南威尔士州州长贝雷吉克利安等,与特恩布尔总理共同出席中澳经贸合作论坛、第六届中澳工商界首席执行官圆桌会、第二届中澳省州负责人论坛等
2017 年 4 月	中共中央政治局委员、中央政法委书记孟建柱访问澳大利亚,期间会见澳总理特恩布尔,启动中澳高级别安全对话机制

① 2017 年 3 月 24 日李克强总理和特恩布尔总理在堪培拉国会大厦共同见证多份中澳合作协议的签署。两国总理见证签署的八份合作文件是:中国商务部长钟山和澳贸易投资旅游部长乔博签署了《中澳两国政府关于审议中澳自贸协定有关内容的意向声明》;钟山部长和乔博部长还签署了《中华人民共和国商务部与澳大利亚外交贸易部关于加强发展合作的谅解备忘录》;外交部长王毅和澳副总理兼农业部长乔伊斯签署了《中国国家质量监督检验检疫总局与澳农业水利部关于检验检疫合作的联合声明》;外交部部长王毅和澳副总理兼农业部长乔伊斯还签署了《中国国家质量监督检验检疫总局与澳农业水利部关于开展来自经澳大利亚批准国家的三文鱼产品在华加工后输澳的合作意向书》;中国驻澳大使成竞业和澳教育培训部长伯明翰签署了《中国教育部与澳大利亚教育与培训部关于职业教育与培训合作的谅解备忘录》;中国驻澳大使成竞业和澳驻华大使安捷思女士签署了《中华人民共和国政府和澳大利亚政府文化合作协定第十四个文化交流执行计划》;中建集团总经理王祥明与 BBI 集团董事长乔纳森·杨签署了《中国建筑股份有限公司与 BBI 集团关于西澳巴拉巴拉基础设施项目的合作谅解备忘录》;国开行董事长胡怀邦和 BCA 主席格兰特·金签署了《国家开发银行与澳大利亚企业领袖理事会中澳工商界首席执行官圆桌会合作框架协议》。参见“李克强与澳总理特恩布尔共同见证中澳合作文件签署”, <http://au.mofcom.gov.cn/article/todayheader/201703/20170302541800.shtml>。

② “中国同澳大利亚的关系”, 中华人民共和国外交部网站, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/dyz_681240/1206_681242/sbgx_681246/。

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从经贸关系层面角度来看,目前中国是澳大利亚最大的贸易伙伴、最大的出口目的地和最大的进口来源地,而中国是澳大利亚第七大投资来源地和第五大对外投资目的地。澳大利亚外交贸易部发布的《2016年澳大利亚贸易组成》报告显示,2016年中国仍是澳大利亚最大贸易伙伴,保持了自2009年以来的领先地位,中澳双边贸易总额为1552亿美元,占澳贸易总额的23.1%。同年,澳大利亚出口了价值930亿美元的货物和服务到中国,而澳大利亚从中国的进口额为621亿美元。另外,澳大利亚毕马威(KPMG)和悉尼大学的数据显示,与2015年相比,2016年中国企业在澳大利亚的投资总额上涨了11.7%(以澳元计),即从137.5亿美元(101.4亿美元)增加到153.6亿美元(114.4亿美元),仅次于2008年投资高峰值后的第二个高峰年。

中澳两国在贸易关系上是相互依赖和互补的,但又存在不对称性。^①中澳经贸合作的依赖性和互补性体现在:澳大利亚丰富的矿产品、能源、农牧产品为中国国内经济发展所急需;而中国向澳大利亚出口的纺织服装、鞋、玩具等产品价廉物美,深受澳大利亚人民的青睐。但澳大利亚对华进出口贸易的市场替代性较强,而中国对澳大利亚的铁矿石及其他矿产资源进口替代性较弱,因而造成贸易关系的不对称性以及两国在贸易合作关系中主导权的不对称。^②

中澳关系的日益密切同样体现在文化和教育交流方面,中国已成为澳大利亚最大的国际学生来源地和最大的国际旅游收入来源国。双方间人员往来已达每年200多万人次。根据澳大利亚教育和培训部公布的数据显示,来自中国的留学生人数依然遥遥领先其他国家。截至2017年9月,澳大利亚的留学生人数超过50万,其中中国留学生人数超过15万,占有所有澳大利亚留学生总人数近30%。^③同时,澳大利亚政府也在大力推动“新科伦坡计划”,鼓励更多澳大利亚青年前往中国等亚洲国家留学。中国学生和澳大利亚同学之间的互动创造了重要的联系和宝贵的资产,也不断地加深了中澳间的相互了解和信任。^④

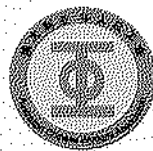
近年来,澳大利亚日益成为中国游客重要的旅游目的地之一。2016年12月,

① 高程:《中澳双边贸易中不对称相互依赖分析》,《当代亚太》2008年第2期。

② James Reilly, "Counting on China? Australia's Strategic Response to Economic Interdependence," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 5, no. 4 (2012).

③ Department of Education and Training, Australian Government, "International Student Data Monthly Summary", 2017.

④ "'中澳旅游年'在悉尼隆重开幕 李克强和澳大利亚总理特恩布尔致贺词", 中华人民共和国中央人民政府网站, http://www.gov.cn/guowuyuan/2017-02/05/content_5165582.htm.



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澳大利亚向符合条件的中国公民发放 10 年多次往返旅游签证,吸引了大批中国游客来到澳大利亚,体验澳大利亚独特的自然、历史和文化。澳大利亚旅游调查局 (Tourism Research Australia) 发布的国际游客调查报告 (International Visitor Survey) 显示,在截至 2017 年 9 月的前 12 个月里,澳大利亚共接待了 133 万名中国游客,并在访澳期间共消费了 103 亿澳元,购买产品和服务。这使得中国成为 2016 年澳大利亚最具价值且增长最快的入境海外游客市场。2017 年,中国和澳大利亚合作举办的“中澳旅游年”活动,其中包含超过 100 多个与中澳文化有关的活动,不仅吸引更多的中国游客来到澳大利亚参观其神奇的自然生态景观,也让更多的澳大利亚人了解中国。^①李克强总理在 2017“中澳旅游年”开幕式表示,人文交往是支撑中澳关系发展的重要支柱之一。^②同时,澳大利亚旅游局局长托尼·索思 (Tony South) 也表示,中国是澳大利亚最有价值的旅游市场,2017“中澳旅游年”将进一步推动两国旅游文化交流。

中澳科技层面的交流也在不断加强(见表 2),特别是在 2016 年,中国的“火炬计划”来到澳大利亚新南威尔士大学,同年,澳大利亚在上海设立了海外“创客”基地。悉尼科技大学澳大利亚中国关系研究院副院长詹姆斯·劳伦森 (James Lawrenson) 指出:“中国一贯重视科技创新,澳大利亚政府近年也在强调这一点。澳中在科技创新领域的合作对两国将是双赢的。”^③中国越来越强调以科技创新驱动经济发展,积极与澳大利亚开展科技创新合作。澳大利亚也在努力摆脱以往主要依靠自然资源出口拉动经济发展的模式,转而更多地依赖创新驱动。在推动经济社会发展的大战略上,中澳两国互有需求,互有优势,能够实现互利共赢。

表 2:2016—2017 中澳双边科技互动大事件

日期	事件
2016 年 4 月	澳宣布在上海设立澳大利亚海外创新基地
2016 年 5 月	中国首个海外火炬创新园区落户澳新南威尔士大学
2017 年 3 月	李克强总理访澳期间,双方宣布建立中澳创新对话机制

中澳双方也在努力建立“更深层次”的军事/防务关系。尽管中澳双边军事/

① 澳旅游局局长:“2017‘中澳旅游年’将进一步推动两国旅游文化交流”,人民网,http://australia.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0504/c408038-29252915.html.

② “‘中澳旅游年’在悉尼开幕 李克强和澳总理致贺词”,《人民日报》(海外版)2017 年 2 月 6 日。

③ 张小军、宋聃:“综述:中澳科技创新合作正当其时”,新华网,http://www.xinhuanet.com/tech/2017-03/24/c_1120688273.htm.

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防务交流已持续多年,并在近几年有深度广度的发展,但相较于中澳经贸关系,中澳军事/防务领域的交往和合作仍然处于初级阶段——澳大利亚政府始终对中国不断增长的军事实力表示深切担忧。^① 尽管如此,中澳双方仍继续保持不间断的军事与防务交流,努力深化军事与防务关系,增进两军接触与互信。例如,2016—2017年中澳一起参与的军事与防务交流活动就有10项(见表3)。

表3: 2016—2017中澳双边军事、防务活动

日期	事件
2016年5月	澳国防军副司令格雷格斯访华
2016年8月	“合作精神”中澳新(西兰)美(国)四边人道主义救援减灾室内联合推演在新西兰举行
2016年8月	中方派员赴澳参加“熊猫袋鼠—2016”中澳双边联训
2016年10月	澳国防军司令宾斯金、国防部秘书长理查森米华与中央军委委员、军委联合参谋部参谋长房峰辉举行第19次中澳防务战略磋商
2016年11月	海军“郑和”号训练舰访澳
2016年12月	“合作精神—2016”中新澳美四边桌面推演
2017年8月	中澳两军第二十次防务战略磋商
2017年8月	“科瓦里2017”中澳美三军联训
2017年9月	“熊猫袋鼠—2017”中澳陆军联合训练
2017年12月	“合作精神—2017”人道主义救援减灾联合室内推演

(二) 中澳关系的挑战

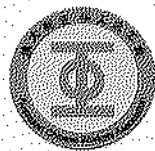
中澳双边关系正持续稳步发展,但在其发展的过程中也面临着不同层面的挑战。

首先,面对“经济上依靠中国、安全上傍着美国”的经济利益与安全利益分离的局面,^②澳大利亚在同中国交往的过程中,存在着越来越复杂的心理。澳大利亚地理上虽然被视为亚洲的一分子,但在文化和心理认同上一一直自视为西方国家,因此,澳大利亚长期以来在安全问题上一一直寻求英国和美国的庇护。^③随着中国经济的不断强劲的增长,中国逐渐取代美国在澳大利亚的经济地位,但同时,澳大利亚

① 张剑:“澳大利亚与中国的军事交流关系”,参见常晨光、喻常森主编:《大洋洲发展报告(2013—2014)》,社会科学文献出版社,2014年,第268页。

② 喻常森:《21世纪美澳同盟再定义:从联合反恐到应对中国崛起》,《当代亚太》,2016年第4期。

③ 韦宗友:《澳大利亚的对华对冲战略》,《国际问题研究》,2015年第4期,第5页。



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也首次面临安全与经济利益的脱节现象。从战略上讲,澳大利亚几乎没有理由改变与美国的同盟关系。如新南威尔士大学张剑教授所言,“澳大利亚的国防政策的核心是支持美国在亚太地区的主导地位”。^①澳大利亚与美国有着长期稳固的安全同盟关系,受到公众舆论、文化亲和力和类似的政治制度的支持。

另一方面,随着中澳两国经济来往日益密切,澳大利亚对中国经济的依赖程度日益加深,不少澳大利亚人开始担心中国资金的渗透是其潜在的安全威胁。同时,澳大利亚社会也开始对中国的崛起所带来的地区格局变化担忧,并激化了澳大利亚国内有关“中国威胁”的辩论。^②例如,2017年洛伊研究所的调查显示,澳大利亚人对中国的态度有些矛盾。当被问及中国在未来20年对澳大利亚构成军事威胁的可能性时,近一半(46%)的澳大利亚人表示“有威胁的可能性”,但当被问及中国目前是像经济伙伴还是像军事威胁者时,79%的人视中国为“经济伙伴”。^③

其次,地缘政治也是挑战中澳关系升温的重要因素。中国经济近年来的快速发展具有深刻的国内和国际影响。其中最重要的一点是,中国在周边地区的经济影响力的日益扩大,使得美国推出“亚太再平衡战略”以及最近的“印太战略”对中国在该地区日益增强的实力和影响力进行制约。澳大利亚积极参与美国的“亚太再平衡战略”及“印太战略”,并介入南海争端,使本来已经很复杂的南海地区局势雪上加霜。例如,2016年2月,澳大利亚外长毕晓普在访问中国前对记者称“希望中方言行一致,停止岛礁建设。澳支持菲律宾将南海争端提交国际仲裁。”^④2016年7月,在“南海仲裁”案结束之后,澳大利亚同美国和日本发表联合声明,表达了对“南海仲裁”案后的“严重关切”,并强烈要求中国遵守“南海仲裁”案的判决结果。2017年11月,澳大利亚发布十几年来第一份外交政策白皮书,其中提到澳大利亚希望美国扩大在亚洲地区的影响力,以抗衡中国的崛起。这份白皮书中还专门提到了南海问题,称“北京在中国南海的岛屿建设工程达到了‘前所未有的速度’,并且反对建造军事用途的‘人工结构’。”澳方的上述言行不可避免地给中澳关系的发展带来损害。

第三,澳大利亚社会的不确定性也是影响中澳关系发展的重要因素之一。这

① 张剑:“近年来澳大利亚南海政策的新变化及其动因分析”,参见常焜光、喻常森主编:《大洋洲发展报告(2015—2016)》,社会科学文献出版社,2016年,第79页。

② Mark Beeson and Jeffrey D Wilson, “Coming to Terms with China: Managing Complications in the Sino - Australian Economic Relationship,” *Security Challenges* 11, no. 2 (2015).

③ Alex Oliver, “2017 Lowy Institute Poll,” (Lowy Institute for International Policy 2017), p. 9.

④ 王青云、郑晨:“澳大利亚应在南海问题上采取客观公允态度”,《中国日报》网, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/interface/yidian/1120783/2016-02-16/cd_23506740.html.

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主要表现在以下几点：(1) 澳大利亚对于中国投资感到担心。2017 年调查显示，澳大利亚人对外国投资持有非常谨慎的态度。40% 的澳大利亚人认为，在未来十年，外国投资将成为对澳大利亚切身利益的关键威胁，而 44% 的人认为是主要威胁但不是关键威胁，仅有 13% 的人认为外国投资不是一个主要威胁。^①而中国又是澳大利亚的主要投资国，中国投资被澳政府否决的情况在近两年密集出现。这无疑对中澳投资关系造成伤害。(2) 中澳之间的一些文化交流，以及媒体之间的合作等也被怀疑是得到中国政府的指示。前澳大利亚国防部秘书长丹尼斯·理查森 (Dennis Richardson) 表示：“中国政府对澳大利亚华人社区进行了严密监视，并有效地控制了澳大利亚的一些中文媒体。”《中国日报》与澳洲几个主要媒体的合作也被指为中国做政治宣传，比如宣传“菲律宾寻求南海国际仲裁毫无根据”等。^②(3) 在中澳两国互信不足的情况下，在澳华人同中国的联系增多也成为一把双刃剑。例如，在澳大利亚的中国留学生和学者访问团体被指由于得到使馆资助而支持中国的活动，以及参加意识形态宣传活动等。^③甚至认为很多在澳华人“怀念人民共和国和它的执政党，……一部分人没有试着融入澳洲并把忠诚献给了另一个国家”。^④而华人对大学和研究机构的捐赠也被警告可能有政治动机。研究人员也被指一贯推动让北京高兴的政策。^⑤为大学捐款的华商也不得不减少捐款和曝光率。^⑥这一系列事件很大程度上损害了中澳两国人民友好交往的氛围。

① Alex Oliver, “2017 Lowy Institute Poll,” (Lowy Institute for International Policy 2017), p. 11.

② Phillip Wen, “China’s Propaganda Arms Push Soft Power in Australian Media Deals,” <http://www.smh.com.au/business/media-and-marketing/chinas-propaganda-arms-push-soft-power-in-australian-media-deals-20160531-gp7yz6.html>.

③ Nick McKenzie et al., “Australian Sovereignty under Threat from Influence of China’s Communist Party,” ABC News, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-06-04/australian-sovereignty-under-threat-from-chinese-influence/8583832>.

④ James Laurenceson, “澳媒体指责澳华人社区中两位富豪给政党捐款是试图破坏澳大利亚主权,” The Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI), The University of Technology Sydney, <http://www.australiachinarelations.org/sites/default/files/20170616%20ACRI%20Opinion%20James%20Laurenceson%20Sydney%20Today.pdf>.

⑤ Matthew Knott and Heath Aston, “Don’t Become ‘Propaganda Vehicles’ for China: Universities Warned over Donations,” <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/dont-become-propaganda-vehicles-for-china-universities-warned-over-donations-20160908-gr1as.html>.

⑥ Kelsey Munro, “Sam Dastyari Donor Steps Down from University’s China Centre over ‘Supposed Chinese Influence’,” <https://www.smh.com.au/education/sam-dastyari-donor-steps-down-from-university-china-centre-over-supposed-chinese-influence-20160922-gr1sza.html>; Jamie Smyth, “Huang Quits Sydney Think-Tank Amid Concerns over Beijing Influence,” Financial Times, <https://www.ft.com/content/f449c862-8088-11e6-8e50-8ec15fb462f4>.



二、澳洲华人社区发展概况及现状

目前,澳大利亚华人社区的发展可以归纳为以下三个方面的特点:(1)澳洲华人口数量不断增长,已成为澳大利亚主要移民群体之一。据澳大利亚统计局公布的数据显示,截至2016年12月31日,全澳华裔人口为1,213,903人,约占全澳人口的5.6%,已成为仅次于印度裔的第二大新移民群体。与5年前相比,澳洲人口增加了近200万,其中有130万移民,来自中国的移民有19.1万人。^①另外,澳洲有将近690万人(28.5%)出生在海外,出生在英国的澳洲人占比最高,为1,198,000人(5.0%),其次是新西兰,为607,200人(2.5%),中国排在第三,为526,000人(2.2%)。(2)澳洲华裔移民多聚居于沿海的大城市。澳洲华人群体大多生活在大城市,例如,居住在悉尼的华人为487,976人(10.8%),居住于墨尔本的华人为356,324人(8.5%),居住在布里斯班的华人为99,593(4.7%),而居住在珀斯的华人为99,229人(5.5%)。其中,悉尼人口总数超过500万,市内有多个华人聚集区,南部赫斯特维尔区(Hurstville)华人比例高达34.2%,是悉尼最大的华人聚居区。墨尔本最大的华人聚居区是博士山区(Box Hill),华人所占比例为20.4%。除了悉尼和墨尔本这两个城市以外,剩余的大部分居住在布里斯班、黄金海岸、珀斯和阿德莱德等城市,而小城市和内陆偏远地区则少有华人的身影。(3)虽然澳洲华人已逐渐融入澳洲社会并得到认同,但仍需不断提高其融入与认同程度。随着澳大利亚华人社区的不断扩大,在家说中文的比例也随之上升,而不是以说英语为主。根据2016年澳大利亚人口普查结果显示,在澳大利亚,除了英语,普通话是澳大利亚的第二大语言,有596,711人说普通话,占总人口的2.2%(2011年为1.6%),有280,943人说广东话,占总人口数的1.4%。当把所有的中国语言结合起来,在澳大利亚说中国语言的人口总数约为65万(包括普通话,广东话,客家话等)。^②同时,中文也获得当地政府和社会更多的重视。例如,在澳大利亚,有超过100所中小学开设了中文课堂,有3万余名学生学习中文。此外,40多所澳大利亚高校开设了中文教学或中国文化中心,大力推广中文学习。^③澳大利亚北领地区政

^① The Australian Bureau of Statistics, "2016 Census of Population and Housing. General Community Profile," (The Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

^② Thangugo, "Infographic: The Chinese Community in Australia," <https://identitycomms.com.au/2017/01/infographic-chinese-community-australia/>.

^③ 王思琪、王泉骄:"文化教育交流为中澳'一带一路'合作搭建桥梁" <http://australia.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0728/c408038-29435294.html>.

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府教育厅代表凯文·吉兰(Kevin Gillan)表示,北领地区与中国在教育上的合作来往不断,并在今后5年内,北领地区政府计划引进20位汉语老师作为支援该地区汉语教学的重要力量,并争取实现北领地区高中毕业生汉语普及率达到12%的目标。^①

另外,与早期移民相比,华裔新移民大多通过技术移民来到澳洲,具有良好的教育背景,他们广泛活跃于澳洲不同行业,如工程技术、医疗卫生和高等教育及文化艺术界行业,收入颇丰,逐渐步入白领阶层。同时,一些资金雄厚的华商,也开始在澳大利亚政策许可的条件下,向多种类型的制造加工工业、贸易业、餐饮业、房地产和电子业等行业发展,并逐渐走向多元化、国际化,为澳大利亚经济发展做出贡献。^②另外,近些年来澳的中国留学生人数不断增加,大部分留学生完成学业后,会选择留在澳洲,并就职于澳洲各行各业。不过在澳华人的就业率仍然略低于澳洲就业率的平均水平。据澳洲社会服务部(Department of Social Services)最新数据显示,在15岁及以上的华人中,劳动力参与率为57.1%,失业率为11%,而澳大利亚总人口的劳动参与率和失业率的相应比例分别为65%和5.6%。^③

三、中澳关系对澳大利亚华人社区发展的影响评估

(一) 中澳关系带给澳大利亚华人社区的机遇

2017年3月,特恩布尔总理在欢迎来澳访问的中国总理李克强及夫人程虹时指出:“如今,我们又有机会再次重申两国之间经久不衰的关系。这一关系在未来只会变得更加牢固。在过去的两个世纪以来,澳大利亚的华人社区做出了卓越的贡献。我们拥有着世界上最成功的多元化社会。如果没有澳大利亚华人社区的贡献,很难想象当代澳大利亚将会变成什么样。”特恩布尔还骄傲地宣布,墨尔本唐人街是西方世界历史最悠久且持续有华人定居的中国城,“有证据表明中国与我们这一南半球大陆更早就产生了联系。这一早期的接触预示着在今天千千万万个人际

① 陈议庭:“澳大利亚北领地区将开设首所孔子课堂”,新华网,http://www.xinhuanet.com/world/2017-05/13/c_1120966878.htm.

② 李兴:《新移民对澳大利亚华人社会的影响》,《八桂侨刊》,2001年第4期。

③ Department of Immigration and Citizenship, “Community Information Summary China – Born,” Australian Government. Department of Immigration and Citizenship, https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/02_2014/china.pdf.



交往中,澳中之间有着丰富且广泛的战略及经济文化关系。”^①这种关系发展必然也带给澳华人社区积极影响,并主要表现在以下几个方面:

(1) 中澳两国贸易经济领域合作加强,澳洲华人工作机会增多。随着中澳交流日益频繁,澳洲政府急需一些会中文而且比较了解中国形势的人才。澳大利亚由外企投资支持的就业岗位约为190万,占有所有就业岗位的六分之一。^②而中国作为澳大利亚的主要投资来源国,为澳大利亚人提供了大量就业岗位,同时为在澳华人创造了可观的就业机会。再者,中国游客人数不断增加,在澳大利亚几乎所有的主要机场、车站、购物中心、银行、商店都有中文标语和提示,讲中文的工作人员也供不应求。全球招聘网站(Indeed.com)的最新数据显示,普通话是澳大利亚双语职位最抢手的语言,其次是法语和日语。具体的数据显示,澳大利亚的双语普通话工作职位招聘信息,在2014年1月1日至2017年2月期间,其搜索指标的增长超过了一倍。^③该公司分析了2016年3月至2017年2月之间的工作岗位,发现约有700个职位是中文搜索词(2014年初,在搜索词普通话中,只有大约320个帖子),而法语为345个,日语为330个。澳大利亚未来对于讲中文人员需求将大大超过其目前能够满足的数量。换句话说,随着同中国经贸等方面的合作不断深入,澳大利亚将为本国华人创造更多的工作机会和经商机会,也为华人融入澳大利亚社会提供了捷径。

(2) 中澳关系的升温,使得澳大利亚华人社区越来越受到当地社会的重视。中澳关系的不断发展和深化的同时,抵澳的移民、留学生和游客越来越多,澳大利亚华人华侨与中国的联系也显著增加。中国目前已成为澳大利亚华人新移民社区联系的主要对象。澳大利亚华人对中国文化以及身份认同也因此加强。在澳大利亚,有越来越多的关于中国文化活动,这些活动的增加体现了澳大利亚华人华侨对中国文化的认同加强。例如,在中国元宵佳节期间,澳大利亚悉尼多处挂起了中国传统式红灯笼,超市内元宵上架,购买的人络绎不绝;在悉尼市情人港,悉尼市政府

① 韩畅:“特恩布尔:澳大利亚今天的成就,离不开华人社区的贡献”,澳洲网,<http://cms2.newsduan.com/newsyun/zhuanti/20170321wuyang/20170321xiaotu/20170324/6942.html>.

② James Laurenceson and Svetlana Zarkovic, “Foreign Investment and Australian Jobs: Empirical Estimates and Policy Questions,” The Australia – China Relations Institute (ACRI), The University of Technology Sydney, http://www.australiachinarelations.org/sites/default/files/20170814%20ACRI%20Research_Foreign%20Investment%20Australian%20Jobs_Laurenceson%20Zarkovic_0.pdf.

③ Primrose Riordan, “Mandarin Skills Open Doors for Job Seekers,” <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/mandarin-skills-open-doors-for-job-seekers/news-story/23e3abbc4ba3ed7b0f819123107387d3>.

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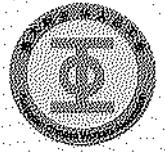
为中国农历新年庆典举办了龙舟竞渡比赛活动,澳大利亚各地的数千名民众参与此项赛事,这是南半球规模最大的龙舟竞渡比赛。两天赛程中有 100 多场精彩的比赛。悉尼市市长克劳馥·摩尔(Croft Moore)表示,色彩斑斓的龙舟竞渡已成为悉尼中国农历新年庆典一道夺目的景观。龙舟在海扇湾驰驱而过的瞬间,象征福星高照和波澜壮阔的气势。^①

不仅如此,澳大利亚新闻集团(News Corp Australia)旗下的《澳大利亚人报》(The Australian)在 2017 年推出其中文网。这是第一家推出中文网站的澳大利亚全国性日报,也是澳大利亚媒体加速关注中文社区的最新动向。《澳大利亚人报》主编保罗·惠塔克(Paul Whittaker)说:“中国是一个现象,是我们现在所知的即将来临的亚洲世纪的一个非常突出的增长和变化的例子。《澳大利亚人报》很高兴能够在让该地区人民了解我们的故事、价值观和想法上做出贡献。”《澳大利亚人报》首席执行官尼古拉·格雷(Nicholas Gray)也表示:“随着来自中国的澳大利亚移民已超过 50 万人,以及中国在亚太地区的突出地位,让中文读者读到澳大利亚以及亚太地区的新闻报道将变得越来越重要。”^②

(3) 澳洲华人参与社会事务与政治事务积极性高涨。过去,由于不同国度政治体制的差别,绝大多数华人很难有“参政议政”的概念,但是,随着澳洲华人的经济实力与政治话语权的逐渐提升,新生代的澳洲华人积极参政的热情明显比过去更加高涨。例如,2016 年的澳大利亚大选,各党派中都可见华裔候选人的身影,其中具有代表性的华裔候选人包括:新南威尔士州的工党联邦参议院候选人韩以文、周硕,自由党联邦众议院候选人华钰靓,维多利亚州的工党联邦参议院候选人杨千慧与西澳洲的帕尔默党联邦参议院候选人王振亚。其中,工党候选人韩以文和周硕在接受当地媒体采访时表示,华人社区是澳大利亚多元文化的重要组成部分,在澳大利亚政治、经济、文化艺术和科技创新等各领域都扮演越来越重要的角色。而在加强澳中关系、促进贸易投资方面,澳大利亚华人更是起到了不可替代的重要作用。澳中商业峰会主席杨东东表示:“基于一定的文化背景,华裔议员对中澳两国国情要比澳大利亚本土议员了解更多,有利于促进中澳两国的合作交流,这是显而

① 盛楚宜:“数千名澳大利亚民众赛龙舟欢度中国农历新年”,人民网,http://australia.people.com.cn/n1/2016/0222/c364496-28138355.html.

② “《澳大利亚人报》推出中文网站——盘点近年澳媒中文动向”,http://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/mandarin/zh-hans/article/2017/09/21/ao-da-li-ya-ren-bao-tui-chu-zhong-wen-yang-zhan-jian-dian-jin-nian-ao-mei-zhong?language=zh-hans.



易见的。”^①

(一) 中澳关系带给澳大利亚华人社区的挑战

(1) 澳大利亚社会普遍对中国迅速增长的战略投资感到担忧,这种担忧同时也侧面影响到澳大利亚华人社区的积极发展。中国企业赴澳大利亚投资已经有很长的历史,虽然中澳两国的关系总体比较稳定,但澳大利亚拒绝中国企业并购的案例屡见不鲜,并且同时给予中企在澳投资“密切关注”。例如,澳大利亚财政部长斯科特·莫里森(Scott Morrison)以“国家安全方面的担忧”为由拒绝将新南威尔士电力供应商(Ausgrid)出售给中国国家电网公司和李嘉诚旗下的长江基建。中国商务部新闻发言人沈丹阳在谈到澳大利亚政府阻止中国国家电网收购澳洲电网时表示,这种决定存在明显的保护主义倾向,严重影响中国企业赴澳投资的积极性。同年,中国湖南大康牧业股份有限公司联合中房置业股份有限公司签署购买协议,将以3.7亿澳元的价格收购澳大利亚肉牛养殖牧场。澳大利亚政府拒绝批准这项交易,理由是该项交易可能会对澳大利亚的国家利益造成损害。另外,根据2017年10月澳大利亚广播公司报道,澳大利亚税务局第二次更新联邦政府对外资农场的登记显示,中国的投资澳洲农场面积已从150万公顷增加到近1450万公顷。新南威尔士的国民党籍参议员约翰·威廉姆斯(John Williams)提到,政府应该“密切关注”外国所有权的层面,以确保“未来几十年的粮食安全”。^②这种排斥或担忧中国投资的行为很容易演化为对在澳华人群体的排斥情绪,也减少了在澳华人在这些投资合作中可能扮演的桥梁地位与相应的发展机遇。

(2) 中国公民在澳购置房产,造成澳洲房价上涨,引发当地民众不满。近年来,中国在澳大利亚的住宅房产投资占比最大,大量的中资企业以及中国民众的进入,导致了悉尼、墨尔本等城市中心地带的房价戏剧性上涨,把支付不起高房价的当地居民挤出了市场,让澳大利亚国民产生了抵触情绪。这些抵触情绪或多或少通过社交媒体的力量而放大。作为回应这些抵触情绪,澳大利亚政府已经开始根据该国的外国投资审查法,仔细审查向中资企业出售重要资产之举,而且已经阻止了若干宗颇为引人瞩目的交易。针对一些违反外资限购房地产规定的中国买家,

^① 宦佳、顾彦秋:“华人不再‘冷感’ 竞选发声积极(侨界关注)”,《人民日报》(海外版),2016年7月4日。

^② Lucy Barbour, “Chinese Investment in Farmland Soars as Politicians Urge Closer Eye on Foreign Ownership,” ABC News, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/rural/2017-10-03/china-raises-interest-in-australian-farmland-to-record-level/9012262>.

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政府也要求其出售所购房产。例如,澳大利亚时任财政部长乔·霍基(Joe Hockey)命令中国开发商恒大地产的老板卖掉其在2014年斥资3900万美元以非法方式购买的一栋豪宅。^①甚至,一些极为普通的华人代购行为(如代购婴儿奶粉)被新媒体放大后,也引发了澳大利亚社会的不满。这些不满与排斥很大程度上造成澳洲社会对华人的认同感下降。

(3)澳大利亚华人的政治捐款被澳媒体无故怀疑受到中国政府的影响。随着澳洲华人社区的日益增多,一部分华人开始参与澳洲政治活动,但却屡被怀疑是受到中国政府的影响。例如,澳大利亚广播公司(ABC)详细罗列了2013年至2015年40多个中国捐赠者和捐赠机构的信息,包括姓名或名称、捐赠金额、时间、捐赠对象以及与这些捐赠对象的关系等,并提到中国的政治捐款是北京寻求在澳大利亚获得影响力的一种方式。^②这些媒体的“调查报告”无疑打击积极参与政治活动的澳洲华人。例如玉湖集团创始人、曾给澳大利亚政界人士和政党大量捐款的黄向墨辞去悉尼科技大学澳大利亚—中国关系研究院主席一职,因为他担任这一职务让太多的注意力集中在了“政治捐款和假定存在的中国影响力上”。另外,2017年,澳大利亚媒体又无端指出,澳洲华人社区中两位富豪给两个主要政党的捐款是站在中国政府的立场上,是在试图破坏澳大利亚国家主权。^③

结语

随着澳大利亚与中国的关系不断升温,澳大利亚华人社区也逐渐壮大。作为澳大利亚移民的重要组成部分,澳洲华人不仅为澳大利亚的经济建设和文化发展做出了独特贡献,也成了中澳关系发展中的一个重要纽带。从梳理中澳关系的发展对澳大利亚华人社区的影响过程中可以得出三个重要结论:第一,澳大利亚华人社区在中澳关系的互动中扮演着积极的角色;其次,中澳关系的稳步发展给澳大利亚华人社区带来更多的发展机遇;第三,良好的中澳关系在推动澳大利亚华人社区发展的同时,也带来了一些挑战。总的来说,中澳关系的良性发展,使得中澳两国在各个方面的合作增多,给澳大利亚华人带来了很多的发展机遇。而作为中澳关

① Neil Gough, “中资收购澳大利亚供电企业受阻”,《纽约时报》中文版, <https://cn.nytimes.com/business/20160812/australia-china-ausgrid-nsw-sydney/>.

② Chris Uhlmann and Andrew Greene, “Chinese Donors to Australian Political Parties: Who Gave How Much?”, ABC News, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-21/china-australia-political-donations/7766654>.

③ James Laurenceson, “澳媒体指责华人社区中两位富豪给政党捐款是试图破坏澳大利亚主权”, http://www.australiachinarelations.org/sites/default/files/20170616_ACRI_Opinion_James_Laurenceson_Sydney_Today.pdf.



系互动的一个不可忽视的因素,澳大利亚华人社区的良好表现不仅为自己在澳大利亚争取到一个有积极影响力的地位,也拉近了中澳两国的关系。虽然澳大利亚对中国方面仍然持有担心和疑虑,不过从历史的进程来看,通过中澳在各方面越来越多的互动以及在互动中两国之间的认识加深,分歧与冲突会逐渐得到缓和,这种担心和疑虑也会随之减少。

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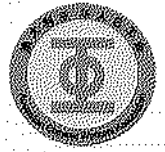
A Study of the Operation of Chinese – language Newspapers and Magazines in Australia

Jianjun Zhu; Mingming Feng*

Abstract: The existence of Chinese – language newspapers and magazines is noticeable in the Australian Chinese Community, and is an important indicator of the development of the Chinese community. The history of Chinese – language newspapers and magazines in Australia is a journey of over one hundred years characterised by several historical stages, with a number of influential newspapers and magazines having come into being. At present the Chinese – language newspapers and magazines in Australia are in a context of diversification and prosperity. Selecting and Focusing on two current groups of representative newspapers and magazines: one group the traditional daily newspapers represented by Sing Tao Daily, Australian Chinese Daily and New Express Daily, and the other the newly – established entertainment and lifestyle magazines represented by BQ Oriental Weekly and City Weekly, the case study of this report indicates that there are great differences between their ways of operation. Chinese – language newspapers and magazines in Australia are currently facing a challenge of increasing competition, but also new opportunities brought about by close ties formed in the nexuses of culture and trade between Australia and China. The investigation shows that the development of Chinese – language newspapers and magazines in Australia is closely related to the changes and growth of the Chinese community, as well as to Sino – Australian relations. It not only has effectively advanced the development of the Chinese com-

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澳大利亚华人总工会

Australian Chinese Workers Association

munity in the country and the Chinese community's integration into Australian society, but also has played an important role in strengthening the relations between the two countries.

Key Words: Australia; Chinese – language newspaper and magazine; Operation; Investigative Report

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澳大利亚华文报刊经营状况调查报告

朱建君 丰明茗*

摘要: 华文报刊在澳大利亚华人社区中是非常显性的存在,是华人社区发展状况的重要风向标。澳大利亚华文报刊已经走过了一百多年风雨磨砺的发展历程,其发展具有阶段性特征,出现过一系列重要报刊,目前已呈现出多样化兴盛的景象。通过重点考察当前具有代表性的两组报刊,一组是以《星岛日报》《澳洲新报》和《新快报》为代表的传统日报,另一组是以《BQ 东方北京青年周刊》和《城市周刊》为代表的新兴综合文娱资讯类报刊,案例分析可见其经营方式存在很大差异。澳大利亚华文报刊在当前经营中面临着竞争加剧的挑战,但也面临着中澳经济文化交往密切带来的新的发展机遇。调查表明,澳大利亚华文报刊经营成效实际上与华人社区的变化、生长,与中澳关系密切正相关,其存在有效促进了华人社区的发展,在促进澳大利亚华人社区融入澳大利亚社会和促进中澳友好方面也起着非常重要的作用。

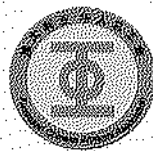
关键词: 澳大利亚 华文报刊 调查报告

华文报刊在澳大利亚华人社区中是非常显性的存在,是华人社区发展状况的重要风向标。刘渭平、张秋生、张奥列等学者多年前就曾在研究澳大利亚华人史的著作中梳理过澳大利亚华文报刊的历史;^①郝丽、詹秀敏、黄成维、陈弘等学者也曾专门探讨过澳大利亚华文报刊的历史发展问题;^②郭美芬等曾对澳大利亚华文报刊内容作为重要资料进行过解读,研究了华人在澳大利亚历史进程中的身份认同

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① 刘渭平:《澳洲华侨史》,香港:星岛出版社,1989年;张秋生:《澳大利亚华侨华人史》,北京:外语教学与研究出版社,1998年;张奥列:《澳洲风流》,香港:开益出版社,1996年。

② 郝丽:《澳大利亚华文报刊发展初探》,《国际新闻界》,2000年第3期;詹秀敏:《澳大利亚华文报刊与澳华文学关系述略》,《华文文学》,2004年第1期;黄成维:《澳大利亚中文媒体发展综述》,北京:世界中文传媒年鉴社,2009年;陈弘:《中文媒体与华人移民的文化身份构建:澳大利亚的经验》,《华东师范大学学报》,2014年第4期。



问题。^①这些研究成果对于揭示澳大利亚华文报刊在澳大利亚华人社会发展中的变迁和作用具有重要意义,不过,澳大利亚华文报刊本身的经营状况,尤其是近年来在全球新科技变迁背景冲击下的经营现状,仍是一个有待研究和理清的重要问题。

笔者在借鉴前人相关研究成果的基础上,于2017年通过多种方式对澳大利亚华文报刊经营状况问题进行了调查研究,作为此次调查研究的一个总结,本调查报告就澳大利亚华文报刊百年发展历程、澳大利亚华文报刊经营状况案例分析和澳大利亚华文报刊经营面临的挑战与机遇等三个方面做出说明,为希望了解该问题的读者提供一份参考。

一、澳大利亚华文报刊百年发展历程

澳大利亚华文报刊从最初的萌芽到现在,已经走过了一个多世纪的历程。其间曾几经风雨磨砺,但文脉坚韧不绝,无数报人和投资者前赴后继,投身报海争锋,终至今天的百花齐放局面。

19世纪50年代,维多利亚墨尔本地区发现金矿引发世界范围内新的淘金热,赴澳大利亚“新金山”的华人移民人数也在增加,1855年,维多利亚的华人达到了一万六千人。1856年5月,澳大利亚出现了第一份中英文双语报纸,这是由罗伯特·贝尔(Robert Bell)在墨尔本金矿地巴拉瑞特(Ballarat)创办的《唐人新文纸》(Chinese Advertiser),稍后改名为《英唐招贴》(English and Chinese Advertiser),1858年停办。该报主要面向金矿区域华人刊登政府公告、广告和《圣经》段落等,每周六免费发行,当时大约有400份的发行量。^②由此可见,该报在形式上与后来注重新闻报道和社论及读者来函的报纸有很大不同,不能称为严格意义上的报纸。而同期澳大利亚的英文报纸已经在社会生活中非常活跃,1854年,《先驱报》的日发行量为6620份,《帝国》报的平均日发行量为2700份,且两报在报纸价格上竞争激烈。^③与这种情况相比,可以看出当时初现的澳大利亚华人社区存在着华文报刊匮乏的问题。

^① Mei - fen Kuo, *Making Chinese Australia: Urban Elites, Newspapers and the Formation of Chinese - Australian Identity*, 1892 - 1912, Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2013.

^② Mei - fen Kuo, *Making Chinese Australia: Urban Elites, Newspapers and the Formation of Chinese - Australian Identity*, 1892 - 1912, p. 5; Kate Bagnall, "Early Chinese Newspapers in Australia", <https://www.nla.gov.au/blogs/trove/2015/02/19/early-chinese-newspapers>.

^③ 张威:《澳大利亚报刊溯源》(下),《国际新闻界》,2000年第6期,第77页。

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19世纪末20世纪初,随着赴澳华人的增多,澳大利亚华文报纸相继兴起。首先是在1894年,侨商孙俊臣(Sun Johnson)与两欧裔人合作,在悉尼创办了第一份在全澳发行的全中文报《广益华报》(Chinese Australian Herald)。《广益华报》是在甲午战争中中国失败、海内外华人反清情绪高涨的背景下出现的,^①主要报道华人在澳的活动消息以及中国的动态,刊登广告和社论等,每周六发行,发行量达到1000份,发行区域包括澳大利亚、新西兰和太平洋地区;该报于1923年8月25日发行最后一期后停刊。^②继《广益华报》之后,出现的第二份全中文报为1898年6月在悉尼出现的《东华新报》(Tung Wah News)。该报由当地华商合股创办,每周出版两期,其中一位大股东为悉尼安昌公司华商余荣,另一位大股东为刘汝兴,1902年经营者更换,并更名为《东华报》(Tung Wah Times),每周出版一期,直至1936年;该报创立之初,无浓厚的政治色彩,但随后则转向支持光绪的维新政策,成为“保皇派”的喉舌,远销新西兰等地,曾报道1900年梁启超赴澳活动,宣传君主立宪。^③1901年,墨尔本还出现了郑禄(Thomas Chong Luke)创建的《爱国报》(The Chinese Times)。该报经历了多次改名,1905年由《爱国报》更名为《警东新报》,1917年改称《平报》,1919年后又称《民报》;该报为周报,1902-1914年期间,每周发行1000份,本地印刷,读者群主要是在维多利亚生活的华人;从内容来看,该报的政治倾向为支持孙中山革命,《警东新报》的编辑刘月池、黄右公等曾在同盟会成立后大力宣传革命,普及孙中山的三民主义思想,1919年更名的《民报》则系由国民党党部接办,逢周六出版,铅印和手写并用;1922年该报迁往悉尼出版发行,到1949年停刊。^④该报多次更改的报名也可以反映出经营者的变化及其政治倾向。这样至20世纪20年代,悉尼、墨尔本已有五家华文报纸。^⑤

然而,由于受澳大利亚联邦建立前后日益强烈的白人排华浪潮影响,大量华人回国,新移民很难进入澳大利亚,且随着时间的流逝在澳华人数量下降明显,华人报刊业也逐渐陷入萧条。上述各主要华文报纸于20世纪上半叶先后停刊后,新出

① 张秋生:《澳大利亚华侨华人史》,北京:外语教学与研究出版社,第107页。

② Kate Bagnall, “Early Chinese Newspapers in Australia”, <https://www.nla.gov.au/blogs/trove/2015/02/19/early-chinese-newspapers>.

③ Kate Bagnall, “Early Chinese Newspapers in Australia”, <https://www.nla.gov.au/blogs/trove/2015/02/19/early-chinese-newspapers>; 张秋生:《澳大利亚华侨华人史》,外语教学与研究出版社,第107页。

④ 张秋生:《澳大利亚华侨华人史》,第103、108页; Kate Bagnall, “Early Chinese Newspapers in Australia”, <https://www.nla.gov.au/blogs/trove/2015/02/19/early-chinese-newspapers>.

⑤ 任传功:《澳华传媒的发展与改革开放的中国》,夏春平主编:《送你一条中国结——第二届华文传媒论坛》(论文集),香港:香港中国新闻出版社,2003年,第143页。



现的报刊数量非常有限,且生存困难。到20世纪60年代,澳大利亚的华文报刊处在整体微弱状态,只有以侨青社主办的《侨声》月刊为代表的少数几份报刊仍在顽强坚持。直到20世纪70年代澳大利亚废除“白澳政策”,特别是中澳建交后,澳大利亚华文报刊才开始复兴。

20世纪70年代以后,澳大利亚开始实施多元文化主义政策,赴澳华人增多,社会舆论氛围有利于华文报刊业迎来一次转机。1980年代,澳大利亚接收的越南难民中有众多华人,另外大批来自香港、台湾地区以及广东沿海的中国新移民和留学生涌入,刺激了华文报刊的复兴,港台地区报业大亨也纷纷来澳经营。1982年,香港的《星岛日报》报业集团率先发行了澳大利亚版《星岛日报》,总部设在悉尼,报纸派送到澳大利亚各州,澳大利亚华人有了第一份日报。《星岛日报》澳大利亚版总编和其他编辑人员都主要来自香港,报纸风格为香港式。1987年,香港的《新报》也来澳大利亚创报,发行《澳洲新报》。与《星岛日报》一样,《澳洲新报》为日报,总部设在悉尼,派送至全澳各地,创办人为香港移民商人刘美伶。因《星岛日报》已经在前发行数年,《澳洲新报》当时在发行上遇到很大困难,举步维艰,后该报调整读者对象,面向当时从大陆来澳的留学生,结果市场开扩,绝地逢生。^①除了来自香港报业集团背景的日报,1987年和1988年澳大利亚还出现了两份土生土长的周报——《华声报》和《海潮报》,它们都是由越南华裔难民所创办。《海潮报》在墨尔本发行,而《华声报》为越南华裔杨汉勇在悉尼创办的新闻周报,随后墨尔本又出现了《移民导报》。中国留学生也不乏办报创刊人才,先是有了第一份中国留学生杂志《大世界》,1992年,第一份中国留学生周报《华联时报》问世。^②一位受访的业内人士表示,这个时期澳大利亚的华文报刊可谓蜂拥而起,初具规模,既有付费的大报,也有免费的报刊。在澳大利亚颇有声誉的《汉声杂志》便是在1985年由祖籍广东的越南华侨罗崇华在墨尔本发起创办的免费刊物,开始为双月刊,后改为月刊,以刊登时政文章、学术论文为主。

到了20世纪90年代,澳大利亚的华文报刊种类显著增多,新加入经营者不乏其人,不过竞争也日趋激烈。引人注意的是,1994年,台湾地区的《自立快报》体系进入澳大利亚,与悉尼台商王茂雄合作,共同创立了澳大利亚版《自立快报》,报社设在悉尼百老汇区(Broadway)。张奥列研究认为,《自立快报》是第一家采取薪酬制度化、尊重版权以及全澳第一家全电脑化编制的华文报刊,这标志着澳大利亚华

① 张奥列:《澳洲风流》,香港:开益出版社,1996年,第153页。

② 张奥列:《澳洲风流》,香港:开益出版社,1996年,第145页。

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文报业登上了一个新的台阶。^①张奥列先生曾在《自立快报》从业超过8年,他在接受笔者访谈时还指出,澳大利亚版《自立快报》按台湾地区正统报业经营,社长和总编均由台湾地区《自立快报》总部派出,从编辑到电脑排版技术,到员工福利等,很规范专业,该报是澳大利亚第一份全彩印刷报纸,在这方面比悉尼首屈一指的本地英文日报《悉尼先锋晨报》(Sydney Morning Herald)还要早,当时的《悉尼先锋晨报》仅有头版和底版为彩印,而其他中文报纸只有头版报头套红。《自立快报》员工当时有60到70人不等,全盛时期达到80人左右。然而,由于当时生活在澳大利亚尤其是悉尼和墨尔本的华人读者以香港人和广东人为主,来自台湾的商人及学生比例较少,因此以台湾人口味和角度编写新闻的《自立快报》无法获得讲粤语读者的喜爱,也无法争取到说普通话的读者,再加上唐人街的商人又大都来自香港地区,很多广告是投向《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》的,导致《自立快报》读者数量不多,广告盈利一直未能增长,加之《自立快报》按悉尼本地报业行规薪酬支付员工的开销,工作人员后来不得不减至50余人。在经营了8年后,澳洲《自立快报》因亏损500万澳元最终停刊关门。此事足见澳洲华文报业竞争之激烈。

新闻周报《华声报》的变化同样值得关注。20世纪90年初期,台湾老板黄丰裕加盟《华声报》,成为《华声报》股东之一,后来黄丰裕买下该报大部分股份,成为主要股东。1992年《华声报》改为双周报,1993年则改为日报《华声日报》。《华声日报》在当时成为继《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》之后澳大利亚第三大华文日报。1996年左右,《华声日报》又改为《澳洲日报》(Daily Chinese Herald),股权变更为黄丰裕个人所有。^②

随着新移民和留学生人数的逐步增多,20世纪初澳大利亚华文报刊行列里又出现了《澳亚商报》《新时代报》《大华周末》等新的面孔,到2003年澳洲已有5份日报和20多份周报(其中不包括日报赠阅的免费刊物)。华文报刊成为在澳华人了解澳大利亚的重要途径,也成为当地企业和政府机构向中文读者宣传和推广产品服务的重要工具。不过要论整体影响力的话,澳洲华文报业的“四大顶梁柱”,即《星岛日报》《澳洲新报》《澳洲新快报》和《澳洲日报》四大日报则位居前列。通过采访得知,其中作为新秀的《澳洲新快报》是2004年广州羊城报业集团旗下(由广东侨鑫集团投资)的《新快报》入驻悉尼而发行的,它收购了《华人日报》编制团队,利用广州《新快报》新闻资源,结合本地市场经营,发行后影响力逐渐增加,成

① 张奥列:《澳洲风流》,香港:开益出版社,1996年,第153页。

② 一位曾经为《澳洲日报》撰稿多年的澳洲华文作家在调研过程中提供了这方面的情况。



为澳洲华文报业的四大日报之一。《澳洲新快报》旗下还拥有《财富一周》和《生活一周》，免费派送取阅，受到了中国留学生和新移民喜爱。而《澳洲日报》的老板黄丰裕还成立了澳洲中文报业集团（Chinese Newspaper Group），黄氏家族掌管着澳洲中文报业集团下属的三个地区的三大中文日报：《墨尔本日报》（Chinese Melbourne Daily），《昆士兰日报》（Queensland Chinese Daily）以及《澳洲日报》。据受访者表示，《澳洲日报》在华人社区有一定的影响力，读者主要是以来自台湾地区的移民、台商及部分大陆新移民为主，广告也以台商广告和赞助以及中国大陆新移民商家广告为主。

除了四大日报之外，第五份澳洲华文零售报则是在墨尔本发行的《大洋日报》。该报之前有《大洋时报》，在1990年代由来自中国河南的一位留学生创办，一直持续到现在，零售价\$1.50澳元，内容包括新闻和文艺副刊，有一定的广告收入。后来中新社与之合作，主要由中新社投资并提供新闻资源，共同创办了《大洋日报》。

最近十年，随着中国经济的腾飞，中国成为澳大利亚最大的贸易伙伴，不少来自中国大陆的成功商人纷纷移民澳大利亚，其中一些商人以华裔居民人数最多的悉尼和墨尔本两个城市作为中心，创办以房地产和综合文娱资讯为主的报刊。这些报刊多是免费派送、免费取阅，读者群为18到30岁之间的中国大陆留学生，以及来自中国大陆的新移民。如《新天地》月刊创办于2004年，是澳洲第一份中英文全彩高端生活杂志。^①目前具有代表性的新兴刊物还有南海文化传媒集团旗下的《城市周刊》和《CITYWALKER 乐城》，以及澳星集团和《北京青年周刊》共同创办的《BQ 东方北京青年周刊》。其中《CITYWALKER 乐城》月刊创办于2011年6月6日，是一本兼具实用性与可读性的大众华语月刊，内容涵括新闻、资讯、文化、娱乐等各个方面，是一本受悉尼年轻人欢迎的免费时尚刊物。这种情况大大丰富了澳大利亚华文报刊的原有格局，使得澳大利亚华文报刊在过去十年有“百花齐放，百家争鸣”的现象。

二、华文报刊经营状况案例分析

澳大利亚华文报刊历经一个多世纪的发展后迎来了较为兴盛的局面，华文报刊的种类和数量大幅度增加，一度成为佳话，不过另一方面，通过以上对澳大利亚华文报刊百年发展历程的梳理，也可以看出华文报刊业内成员实际上变化颇大，报刊创办、停办交织而行，经常是你方唱罢我登场。这种情况显示出报刊有方经营的

① 见《新天地》微信公众号 newlandmagazine 上关于该刊物的介绍。

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极端重要性,笔者选取两组报刊作为观察对象,就其经营状况进行了多种方式的调查与研究。第一组为澳大利亚声望最盛的传统日报,包括《星岛日报》《澳洲新报》和《新快报》;第二组为新兴的综合文艺资讯类报刊,包括《BQ 东方北京青年周刊》和《城市周刊》。

根据调查所得数据,将三大日报的经营情况有关参数汇总制成下表,涵盖了创办时间、经营模式、发行模式、内容特点、员工人数、发行量、读者群、零售价等因素:

表 1:《星岛日报》《澳洲新报》和《新快报》经营状况比较

	《星岛日报》	《澳洲新报》	《澳洲新快报》
创办时间	1982 年 3 月	1987 年 3 月 19 日	2004 年 2011 年 2 月 28 日后,由繁体排版改为简体排版,称是“澳大利亚第一份简体中文日报”
经营模式	私营,隶属于香港星岛集团	私营	私营,隶属于广东侨鑫集团(Kingold Group)在澳投资的侨鑫传媒(澳洲)有限公司 ^①
发行模式	印刷,日报,彩印	印刷,日报,彩印	印刷,日报,彩印
发行版面	对开纸 6 张半至 7 张,周一至周五 26 至 28 版左右;周六和周日合版,对开纸 13 张半至 15 张,54 至 60 版面	日报周一至周五,对开纸 7 张,28 版左右;周六和周日合版,对开纸 10 张至 12 张,四年前平均 84-96 版面,目前平均 56 版面	日报 4 开 52 版,周末 92 版
内容特点	除了澳洲新闻和社区新闻本地采编之外,其他板块包括中国大陆新闻、香港地区新闻、台湾地区新闻、娱乐、财经、体育和国际新闻等,均来自香港总部。每日还有《新民晚报》和《广州日报》专版。新州地区每周二还附送《东周刊》	日报全报及随报附送两本周刊。日报以澳洲本土新闻、本地华人社区新闻为主,其他包括商业财经,中国大陆和港台地区新闻,娱乐、体育、赛马、国际、旅游、饮食、副刊、地产、汽车以及分类广告。周末两本周刊内容分别有华人社区关心的专题以及生活休闲,富含文化、美食、时装、节庆及娱乐的动态消息。从编辑、制作及出版流程作业均在本地完成	提供即时澳洲本地新闻与资讯,覆盖澳洲政治、生活、娱乐、留学、房产、金融和移民等领域。周末副刊:《澳洲新快报》有《财富一周》和《生活一周》两个副刊。《财富一周》于 2007 年正式发行;《生活一周》于 2008 年正式发行,内容板块包括健康、旅行、时尚、食品和酒文化、奢侈品牌等……

^① Kingold Media(Aus) Pty Ltd



续表

	《星岛日报》	《澳洲新报》	《澳洲新快报》
员工人数	60 多人 (2008—2013 年间数据) 30 多人 (2015—2016 年间数据)	目前 30 人至 40 人左右	40 多人
发行量	最新发行量不详	一万八千份左右 (日报) (4 年前的数据)	日报周一至周五版平均 8000 到一万份, 周末版平均 1 万 5 千份, 读者人数约 8 万*
读者群	主要以早期中国大陆和香港、台湾地区的移民为主	分别来自中国大陆和港澳台地区、东帝汶、马来西亚、越南、台湾、印尼、新加坡、柬埔寨及老挝, 身份阶层涵盖学生、家庭、员工、雇主、生意业者、公司企业、投资者。读者来自不同背景, 但有一致的共同点: 渴望得到新闻资讯、更多信息, 以及想知道周围的最新动态。	主要为在澳生活的华人包括留学生, 专业人士, 白领, 商业业主, 家庭主妇
零售价	新州: \$ 1.30 昆州: \$ 1.50	统一价: \$ 1.30	新州: \$ 1.00 南澳: \$ 1.60 西澳: \$ 2.20
官方门户网站	www.singtao.com.au	没有	www.xkb.com.au

资料来源: 业内人士访谈和问卷调查; 日报样本考察; 读者调查; 日报官方网站和官方媒体简介。

* 该数据来自《澳洲新快报》2016 年对外宣传的官方公司媒体简章

可见, 三大日报经营策略各不相同, 这在内容特点和读者群上反映得特别突出。《星岛日报》更关注华人与香港、台湾地区的资讯, 《澳洲新报》关注面更宽, 另外, 香港报纸的特色版—色情版和马经版, 由《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》继续保留。早期悉尼和墨尔本唐人街的餐馆多为香港餐馆, 餐馆雇佣了很多来自香港地区文化程度不高的厨房长短工, 他们大多数在下班后做两件事——买马和看黄版。为了照顾这一部分读者的需求, 《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》从创办以来, 一直有色情版和马经版。《澳洲新快报》则适应了中国大陆移民与留学生的特点和资讯需要,

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而且《澳洲新快报》旗下拥有《财富一周》和《生活一周》，免费派送取阅，受到了中国留学生和新移民喜欢。不过，由于《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》创建时间较早，在澳洲华人社区已经建立了一定声望，仍然是大多数来自港台、广东地区移民，以及早期来澳留学的大陆学生的首选日报；《澳洲新快报》在广告业务一直远远落后于两大老牌日报，广告盈利不足，再加上以全彩印刷和聘请的采编、排版、销售等员工开支，常年亏大于盈利。而对于资金非常雄厚的广东侨鑫集团，报纸带来的影响力受到重视，所以尽管《澳洲新快报》一直亏损不盈利，但仍旧持续经营发行。^①

广告收入是观察报刊经营状况的一个重要指标。澳大利亚三大华文报纸的周末版（周六和周日）是每周最畅销的，除了刊登的新闻资讯多，均有赠送免费副刊，因为读者的购报习惯，购买报纸的读者比周一至周五购买人数要多，所以周末版也特别受到广告商的青睐。随机挑选的同年同月同日的三大报纸周末版的广告版面进行对比，可以大约感知三家日报的广告收入情况。笔者随机抓取三大报2016年10月1日周末版进行观察，发现《星岛日报》该日广告版面为12页；《澳洲新报》该日广告版面为18页；《澳洲新快报》该日广告版面为6页。

从以上数据可见《澳洲新报》广告居首，《星岛日报》第二，《澳洲新快报》第三。必须注意的是，由于三份报纸的版面收费标准不同，该数据仅作为推测广告收入的一个参考。《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》的版面大小一样，均为对开纸，而《新快报》澳洲版则为4开纸。由于《澳洲新报》和《星岛日报》的版面大小是《澳洲新快报》的一倍，而且广告收费也要比《澳洲新快报》要高，从此可以推测这两大日报的广告收入，应该是大大超过《澳洲新快报》的广告收入。另外，从广告商性质上分析，《澳洲新快报》2016年10月1日周末版除“分类广告”外，刊登的广告商仅为中资企业—中国南航和swisse保健品；然而，《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》除去多版面的“分类广告”，刊登的广告商有悉尼华人社团、澳洲华人商家、澳洲公司以及澳政府及市政厅的广告。由此不难看出，就当前澳洲整个华人区的华语报刊影响力而言，《澳洲新报》和《星岛日报》仍占主导性。

由于华文日报广告竞争激烈，过去很多广告基本被《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》占去，加上现在的网络新媒体冲击，受访者表示，澳大利亚中文报业集团管理的三家日报基本上不赚钱。该集团后来购买了一系列免费地产报，主要盈利则来自于这些以房地产为主的免费周报，譬如《华声地产报》（Chinese Herald Property Week-

① 资料来源于对曾经在《澳洲新快报》从事网站编辑的员工的匿名采访。



ly)、《澳华地产》(Chinese Melbourne Property Weekly)和《昆士兰地产》(Queensland Property Weekly)。

根据对《BQ 东方北京青年周刊》和《城市周刊》的调研资料数据,其经营相关要素情况制表如下:

表 2:《BQ 东方北京青年周刊》与《城市周刊》经营状况比较

	《BQ 东方北京青年周刊》	《城市周刊》
创办时间	2010 年 9 月	2013 年 7 月 22 日
经营模式	澳大利亚澳星国际传媒集团 (AIMG Holdings / AIMG BQ Pty Ltd) 携手《北京青年周刊》共同投资	私营,南海文化传媒集团下属周刊,与中国新闻社合作
经营资金	《北京青年周刊》投资了 500 万	不详
发行模式	每周出版,全澳发行。直投渠道:《BQ 澳洲》在墨尔本、悉尼、珀斯、阿德莱德、堪培拉 5 个城市的华文商务圈进行了定向投放。零售发行:墨尔本、悉尼两大城市主要街区的书报亭、中文书报店、大型华人超市、周末中文学校发行点。特殊订阅者:中国国际航空公司,领事馆和中资机构。	印刷,周刊;在悉尼的发行点多达 150 余家,读者自行免费取阅
内容特点	集时政、财经、文化、消费为一体的综合期刊	全球新闻、时事、经济、金融、生活、旅游、时尚、艺术
员工人数	2010 至 2013 年期间,共十余人,包括设计、编辑、销售和活动策划。	不详
发行量	每月 2 万左右	每期(周)发行量高达 1 万份
读者群	25 岁至 55 岁之间的华人和中国留学生,平均年龄为 33.6 岁。	定位在 25 岁至 55 岁之间的华人留学生和新移民
广告收支	据受访者表示,该周刊应该是亏损为多。	不详。据华文媒体业内知情人士表示,周刊为全彩印刷,免费取阅,刊登的广告也不是很多,应该是亏损大于盈利。

资料来源:业内人士访谈和问卷调查;周刊样本考察;读者调查;周刊各自的官方网站 (<http://www.bqweekly.com.au>; <http://www.nanhaimedia.com/portfolio/cityweekly/>。)

可见,新兴的综合文娱资讯周刊与传统日报的经营路径非常不同,它们都有着雄厚的资金和资源,内容丰富、排版设计新颖,或派送或免费,深受在澳大利亚的中

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国留学生和新移民喜欢,而且成为中资驻澳企业机构的指定阅读杂志。就华文报刊整体和整个华人社区而言,这当然丰富了媒体的多样性,增加了读者的可选择范围,而对传统华文报刊来说,则同时感受到了一种生存压力。

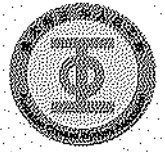
三、华文报刊面临的挑战和机遇

20世纪90年代以来,包括澳大利亚华文报刊在内的华文传媒就呈现出竞争激烈的态势,^①近些年来,在澳大利亚社会变迁与全球新科技变迁环境下,澳大利亚华文报刊经营进入了新的复杂变局之中,面临着竞争加剧的生存挑战。不仅四大日报与其他传统销售发行报刊之间存在竞争,这些传统报刊与新兴的有着雄厚资金支持提供免费资讯、文娱、吃喝玩乐周刊之间的竞争更是十分激烈,一起“瓜分”目前的百万常住华裔以及众多年轻的中国留学生读者群。相比近十年创办的以吃喝玩乐为主的免费刊物,传统四大日报虽然仍旧维持着“龙头”的声誉与地位,但风光与往日相比则相对暗淡,订阅量下降。除了传统的严肃新闻内容采编写作风格不能迎合年轻一代的口味外,排版和印刷风格也未能跟上时代变化的节奏。而且,目前澳大利亚已经有新兴的几十种网络媒体和自媒体,这对纸媒也构成了巨大的市场挑战。目前,自负盈亏的华文报刊生存非常艰难,靠发行量和广告收入为生的传统日报更是感觉挑战严峻,订阅量和零售量减少,广告收入大不如以前,再加上昂贵的印刷成本,传统日报纷纷缩紧员工人数、薪酬和福利,以节省成本。这使得很多年轻人纷纷跳槽转行,剩下的报社员工多为那些十几年前来澳的老移民。传统华文报刊在媒体新技术、网络化和数字化的全方位压力下有的出现了休刊之无奈,有的则谋求新的经营策略,探索转型途径。

一位在澳大利亚《星岛日报》从事编辑工作超过10年的老员工在接受采访时表示,从2012年以来,澳洲星岛日报受到网络媒体的冲击,赚不到钱,将员工从原来的60多人左右裁员至目前的30多人。他表示,现在很多人已经不买报纸了,不仅是华人报纸受影响,西人报纸也是一样,大气候是这样的。通过访谈得知,《星岛日报》现在的读者大都是老人,因为读者人数在减少,《星岛日报》在社区的影响力也在减少。

新兴华文刊物,尽管在吸引年轻华人移民和留学生读者群上,比传统报刊要更胜一筹,但是由于澳大利亚的媒体自由制度,任何人或公司都可以出版发行刊物,华人社区各类免费刊物琳琅满目不下50种;再加上一些英文生活刊物也想要“抢

① 庄伟杰:《澳洲华文传媒:竞争激烈与前景堪忧》,《粤海风》,2003年第4期。



夺”消费力强的中国留学生群体,纷纷出版中文版,大家都竭力在澳大利亚华人圈中扩大自己的读者群,这样的市场局势让新兴华文刊物之间的竞争也非常激烈,“活下去”和盈利的压力也同样构成巨大挑战。

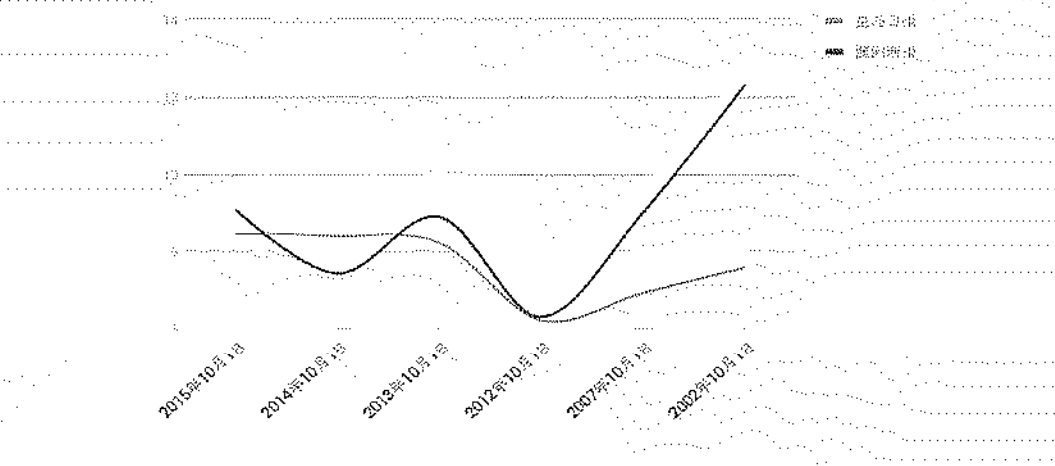
但另一方面,华文报刊也有新的发展机遇。由于中澳贸易关系在过去十年蒸蒸日上,中澳自由贸易协定 2015 年得以签署,中国人经济水平和消费水平提高,中国赴澳移民、留学生和游客增多,华文报刊的潜在读者群也相应扩大。因此澳大利亚各个行业争先恐后“博取”澳大利亚本土中国消费者(新移民、留学生和游客)的“欢心”,纷纷在澳大利亚华文媒体上刊登广告,这给华文报刊广告收入和在澳大利亚本地商圈中地位的提高带来了新机遇。

澳大利亚华文报刊在经营中面临的挑战和机遇在广告收益变化趋势分析中可以反映出来。笔者随机抽取《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》在 2002 年、2007 年、2010 年、2013 年、2014 年和 2015 年六年在 10 月 1 日的广告版面,对比结果如下。^①

表 3: 随机抽取《星岛日报》和《澳洲新报》广告版面比较(数据单位:全版)

日期	《星岛日报》	《澳洲新报》
2015 年 10 月 1 日	8.49	9.1
2014 年 10 月 1 日	8.42	7.45
2013 年 10 月 1 日	8.25	8.91
2012 年 10 月 1 日	6.25	6.33
2007 年 10 月 1 日	6.95	9.03
2002 年 10 月 1 日	7.61	12.33

图示如下:



① 由于两份报纸的版面收费标准不同,该数据仅作为广告收入对比的导向。

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纵向对比:从六年的总体趋势看,版面大小相当的《澳洲新报》广告版面总数总体超出《星岛日报》。2012 年均是两份报纸广告版面总数的六年最低点,从 2002 年到 2012 年的十年,两份日报的广告版面总数均大幅下跌。而这十年,是全球互联网高速发展时期。和《星岛日报》相比较,《澳洲新报》的跌幅最大。笔者推断,大幅下跌除了受到互联网的冲击外,可能与香港《新报》“分家”独立出来有关联。然而,《星岛日报》一直有着星岛报业这个大集团依靠,跌幅相较不是很大。

横向对比:从曲线图可以看出,两份日报的广告版面总数从 2002 年大幅下跌至 2012 年后,又出现缓慢回升。经调研者在收集广告版面原始数据当中,发现两份报纸均增加了不少旅游和地产版块。自 2012 年开始,中国在全球跨境游客来源国中排名首位,^①澳洲是中国游客最喜爱的出境旅行国之一。到了 2016 年,中国已经成为澳洲第二大海外游客来源国。^②从 2012 年年中开始,澳洲各大城市房产受到不少中国房地产投资者的青睐,房地产市场蓬勃上升。两份日报均把握住了这两大市场时机,增强旅游、留学和房地产版块的广告,使广告量逐步回升。近年来澳大利亚经济与中国经济的紧密联系,使得本来受到互联网强烈冲击的华文报刊“起死回生”。因此,澳大利亚华文报刊在激烈的竞争压力与生存挑战中,在经营上也在设法并且应当更好地把握住市场新机遇,积极改善经营模式。

与此同时,纸质报刊不应只把网络视作对手和敌人,而要转换思路,一方面继续保持“内容为王”观念下对优质内容的追求和产出,另一方面也要运用网络新技术,通过转型新途径来把优质内容更快更好更便捷地送到用户手中,加强受众黏性。事实上,《星岛日报》和《澳洲新快报》等澳大利亚华文报刊,大都已经寻求运用网络新技术,开通官方网站,尝试新媒体项目,希望以此弥补发行量和收益的下降,改变已经出现的纸质报刊的颓势。不过,其新媒体项目的盈利模式尚未清晰,是否能实现自我反哺仍有待观察。

结语

今天澳大利亚华文报刊在数量和种类上可谓琳琅满目,整体上呈现“百花齐放、百家争鸣”的状态,既有代表传统华文报刊继续居于龙头地位的四大日报,也有拥有雄厚商业资本支持的免费派送生活娱乐资讯的新兴华文报刊,经营方式不

① <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/chinese-tourists-continue-to-spend-despite-economic-downturn/news-story/a9aa3f1b04b1f33003cc06ad8c211a8b>.

② <http://www.tourism.australia.com/content/dam/assets/document/1/6/x/g/p/2002921.pdf>.



而足。澳大利亚华文报刊从 19 世纪中后期的零星初现,历经百年时光的洗练发展到今天,其经营成效实际上与华人社区的变化、生长,与中澳关系密切正相关。今日澳大利亚华文报刊的“百花齐放、百家争鸣”,正是华人社区不断发展壮大的结果体现,也是在澳华人来源多样化的结果体现,同时还是中澳友好关系带来发展机遇的结果体现。另一方面,华文报刊在经营上立足于向华人社区传播澳大利亚社会新闻及澳大利亚重要国家大事和政府信息,介绍当地生活资讯,并及时报道中国和国际重要信息,有效促进了华人社区的发展,在促进澳大利亚华人社区融入澳大利亚社会和促进中澳友好方面也起着非常重要的作用。

(致谢:调研过程中多位业内人士接受了访谈,感谢他们提供的宝贵信息和意见)

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第四部分 Chronicles / 大事记

The report on the developmet
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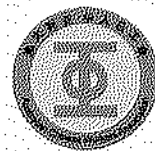
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The Chronicle of the Chinese Community in Australia since 1818 to 2018

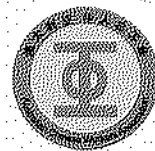
King Fong; Tiffany Ho

- 1818** The first known Chinese settler who arrived in Sydney, was Mr Mak Sai Ying, he was a Carpenter born in Canton, China in 1798. In 1823, he married an English lady, Sarah Thompson and had four children together. In 1829, he bought a half share in the Lion Hotel in Parramatta. (In 1803 or 1808 there was a Chinese male named Ahuto who arrived in Sydney, but no further information has been found about his whereabouts.)
- 1819** The population in New South Wales was 26,026 people.
- 1825** Rev. John Dunmore Lang from the Presbyterian Church in Sydney sponsored two Chinese workers as domestic servants while he was visiting Hong Kong and China on Missionary promotions.
- 1831** On the 8th March, 1831, Mr John Dickson was granted 9 perches of land which was part of the Cockle Bay precinct (now known as Darling Harbour) by the Governor of New South Wales. John Dickson had an Engineering business, down of Goulburn Street, next to Pier Street, Haymarket; and for his charitable contributions, he was rewarded with this piece of land. John Dickson sub-divided this parcel of land, and he named one of the streets after himself, Dickson Street. However, the City of Sydney Council misspelt his name, and was gazetted as Dixon Street.
- 1840** The amount of Convict labourers from England were been reduced and the Chinese coolie labourers were considered affordable.

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- 1848.** 121 Chinese “Coolie” labourers with 100 adults and 21 young boys were recruited from the Port of Amoy, China and landed in Sydney. About half was contracted to stay in Sydney and another half were sent to Queensland.
- 1850.** Mei Quong Tart (1850—1903) was one of Sydney’s most well – known businessmen in the nineteenth century. He made a significant impact on the social and political scene of Sydney at a time of strong anti – Chinese sentiment in Australia. Mei Quong Tart was buried at Rookwood Cemetery.
- 1852** News of the Gold discovery in New South Wales and Victoria spread to the Chinese villages surrounding in the Canton city.
- 1853** The last ship carrying Convicts from England landed in Tasmania.
- 1855s** The states of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, etc. , became known as the “New Gold Mountains” in Guangdong, Hong Kong, Macau in China, Singapore, Malaya, etc.
- In the gold fields, the Chinese found “gold dust” floating close to where the gold was panned by the European and British miners; along the river stream, the Chinese collected the gold dust, took the gold dust to the local goldsmith, who melted the dust into gold coins called “din gum”, din was the equivalent to the English measurement of “Tael”, about one tenth of an Ounces. “Gum” in Cantonese Chinese means “gold”. Therefore, “din gum” became a legal tender and a fair exchange for goods and services. “Fair din gum” evolved into the Australian term, “fair dinkum”.
- 1855** Victoria passed the “Immigration Act to make Provision for Certain Immigrants” to restrict Chinese Immigration as well as regulate the residence of the Chinese population in Victoria. In 1855, there were 11,493 Chinese arrivals in Melbourne. The Act was repealed in 1863.
- 1856** The Chinese population living in New South Wales was 1,800 males and 6 females. This British Colony became known as the New Gold Mountain because gold was discovered two years earlier in California, U. S. A. , which became



known to those in China as the Old Gold Mountain.

- 1857** The Act of Parliament of South Australia made provision for levying charges on Chinese men arriving in South Australia and legislation to restrict Chinese immigration. On 4th July, 1857, the Buckland riot, an anti-Chinese race riot, occurred in the goldfields of the Buckland Valley, Victoria.
- 1860** In Sydney, Chinatown was based along Wentworth Avenue and Wexford Street, Surry Hills.
- 1860** In 1860—1861, the Lambing Flat (now called Young) Riots were a series of violent anti-Chinese demonstrations that took place in the Burrangong region, in New South Wales which led to restriction of Chinese immigration.
- 1861** The Census showed that in N. S. W., there were 12,986 Chinese males and 2 Chinese females. The Australian census, in 1901, showed that there were 38,247 Chinese males and 11 Chinese females in Australia. This dramatic increase of the Chinese population in Australia, was the result of the Gold discovery and the opportunities to secure good wages in the Goldfields. With the great increase of Chinese labourers competing for work in the mining areas, there was a lot of racist tension, with Chinese prepared to accept lower pay and conditions. In the township of Lambing Flats, the Chinese with experience helped build the “Dam” nicknamed the Chinaman’s Dam. N. S. W. State Government started a new law to charge each new Chinese settler ten pounds per person to move into New South Wales. This was called the Entry Poll Tax; started in 22nd November.
- 1861** New South Wales Government passed the legislation of “Chinese Immigration Regulation and Restriction” Act, which was repealed in 1867.
- 1869** The Belmore Markets for Wholesale Fruit and Vegetables was built in Campbell Street, between Pitt Street and Parker Street, Haymarket. The new Markets replaced the temporary Markets along York Street where the QVB or Queen Victoria Building was to be built in the 1870s. With the reduction of Gold mining, the growth of the City of Sydney became strong with more Chinese businesses

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starting in the Haymarket areas.

1870s John Dickson created Dixon Street for storing timber for wholesale during the 1870s. The new markets in Campbell Street became timber storage into market businesses. Therefore, Dixon Street became wholesale and retailers.

1871 The Chinese population in N. S. W. was 7,208 Chinese males and 12 Chinese females. This reduction from the 1861 total was due to the Entry Poll Tax. Ten pounds was equal to six months gross wages for a “Coolie” labourer. Therefore, some of those on low wages became lonely and depressed, many went to other southeastern countries looking for a better Oriental lifestyle. The census for the British Colony for the Chinese population was also lower compared to the census in 1860. The result showed there were 28,307 Chinese males and 44 Chinese females. Unless you were a wealthy Chinese businessman, it was difficult to sponsor your wife from mainland or Hong Kong in China.

1871 Mr Mei Quong Tart (surname Mei) became the first Chinese to gain British citizenship, in order to own land, and to qualify to act as a Royal Commissioner against Chinese gambling and opium smoking (Opium was legally imported by the East India Trading Co.).

1877 The Palmer River gold field attracted over 18,000 Chinese miners and continued to be popular for approximately three years after which gold production fell off.

1877 The first official Chinese Monument “Quong Sin Tong” was built in 1877 by the “Quong Sin Tong Society” to commemorate the death of the Chinese people in 1865. Queensland passed the Anti – Chinese legislation.

1878 On 23rd December, there was an anti – Chinese seaman’s strike. The Australian maritime strike, from 1878 to 1879, prevented the seaman from being sacked and replaced by cheaper Chinese workers.

1880s Campbell Street, Haymarket, become well known as Sydney’s Chinatown, until the 1970s.

1881 The Chinese population increased in New South Wales to 10,141 Chinese males



and 64 Chinese females. For the whole British Colony, there were 38,274 Chinese males with 259 Chinese females. For the Chinese population in Sydney were 2,232 Chinese people.

The implementation of Chinese Restriction Act 1881 and the Chinese Restriction and Regulation Act 1888 succeeded in discouraging entry and making re-entry to Australia impossible except for a limited few.

- 1886** Western Australia passed anti-Chinese legislation.
- 1887** Mei Quong Tart hosted a meeting with two envoys from China, representing the Emperor-General Wong Yung Ho and Consul U Tsing. Quong Tart was to receive the Highest Award "Mandarin 5th Degree" for his valuable services rendered on behalf of his countrymen.
- 1890** Wing Sang & Co. Ltd established in Sydney. The founders are were Mark Joe, Mr George Bew, Mr Ma Ying Piu and Mr Choy Hing. Their first headquarters was in Campbell Street, Haymarket. Wing Sang & Co., were importers and exporters. Their financial successes led to their Sincere Department Stores, being established in Shanghai, Canton, Hong Kong and Chungshan.
- 1896** Victoria and New South Wales legislation to restrict Chinese in the furniture-making industry was implemented.
- 1897** Sydney's Chinese Business community mostly from the Haymarket areas organised a celebration at the Prince Alfred Park near Central Station for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. The public attendance was nearly 20,000 persons. The Chinese performed Cantonese Opera, Lion, and Dragon Dances.
- 1898** The Tung Wah News (1898—1902) and the Tung Wah Times (1902—1936) were among the most important newspapers in the history of Australia's Chinese communities.
- 1901** In May, in the Federation procession held in Melbourne, there were two Chinese community paraded two Dragons (one from Bendigo and one from See Yup Society) took part in the celebrations. The six separate British self-governing colonies of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia,

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and Western Australia formed the Commonwealth of Australia.

1901 This British Colony was named the Commonwealth of Australia or also named the Federation of Australia. The census showed that Chinese in Australia were 29,153 males and 265 females. For New South Wales, there were 10,063 males with 159 females. In Sydney, there were 3,474 Chinese persons. Population for whole of Australia, there were 3,773,801 people, and New South Wales had 1,354,846 people.

The governments from Victoria and New South Wales introduced restrictions on Chinese immigration, also known as the White Australia Policy. The Immigration Restriction Act 1901 placed certain restrictions on immigration and to provide for the removal from the Commonwealth of prohibited immigrants.

Chinese Masonic Society of Australia (CMS) established in 1851 during the gold rush period to take care of Chinese people. CMS was beginning to reach its maturity period, the period of rising nationalism. After the proclamation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, the White Australia Policy became systematic and legalised.

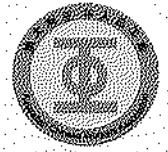
1903 Asians lose right to be naturalized. The Naturalisation Act 1903 introduced the conditions by which 'aliens' could be granted naturalisation by the Commonwealth and attained the rights and privileges of British subjects. This Act also precluded persons from Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands from applying for naturalisation.

1909 The first Chinese consulate in Australia was established.

1910 Land in Dixon Street, Haymarket, was available to be bought by Chinese investors, the first buyer was Mr. Philip Lee Chun who bought the site of 82 & 84 Dixon Street, and many commercial buildings were built in 1915 onwards by Chinese.

1911 The Census showed 3,183 Chinese males and 151 Chinese females living in Sydney.

On the 10th October 1911, the new government of the whole of China was declared with the end of the last Emperor. The new Republic of China was pro-



claimed. Dr Sun Yat Sen who organised the revolution, became a National hero. The Chinese Nationalist Party or Kuo Min Tang became the ruling Political government.

1913 The first Chinese Chamber of Commerce was established in the Haymarket area, later moved into the newly built building in Dixon Street owned by the Goon Yee Tong Society which represented the Tung Goon clans. The Goon Yee Tong Society continued to allow the Chinese Chamber of Commerce to have their monthly meetings free of charge, there were always Tung Goon clan members elected onto the Chamber's Committee, until the 1970s.

1914 World War I broke out on 28 July 1914. Private William Edward Sing bought up in Clermont and Proserpine, Queensland. He was born in 1886 to an English mother and Chinese father. He became Australian hero for his skill as a sniper, he was given a nickname "the Murderer" or "the Assassin".

1920s Chinese groups would be organising the annual Chinese New Year celebrations along the foreshores of Middle Harbour and later in the Killarney Heights Picnic Grounds. Gradually when the Markets were built in Campbell Street (currently the Capital Theatre site) Chinese were concentrated in Campbell Street and became Sydney's Chinatown from the 1920s.

1921 The Chinese population in Australia was 15,940 males with 1,143 females. In N. S. W. there were 6,903 males and 379 females. In Sydney, there were 2,813 males with 85 females. Many local Chinese decided to visit China under the new Republic. Also, many Sydney Chinese started businesses in the country towns within New South Wales. The whole population of Australia was 5,435,801.

1925 An Australian born Chinese, Leslie Joseph Ting You (Chinese surname unknown) was not allowed to sell Real Estate. Leslie's father was unknown, but his mother was Chinese. Leslie went bush and disassociated himself from the local Chinese.

1928 Leslie came back to Sydney and established L. J. Hooker Real Estate in Kings-

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ford. He changed his surname to Hooker because he liked the “Hooker” position in Rugby Union. After five years, L. J. Hooker Real Estate, failed badly; his Accountant, a Englishman bought shares and took over the marketing and promotions. After the Second World War, business began to prosper.

1930s When the Paddy’s Markets and the large Wholesale Markets were built in the late 1930s, a new shift of the Chinese businesses were concentrated along Dixon Street, Hay and Lackey Streets.

1934 The Federal Government through its immigration – related the Law to allow local Chinese businessmen to sponsor assistants workers from China. Most of the assistants would be their relatives and families.

1938 Because of the Japanese invasion into northern parts of China, the local Sydney Chinese organised a fundraising program to assist the War efforts in northern China with Dragon Festival Ball under the Young Chinese Relief Movement. Sydney Chinese (known as ABCs – Australian born Chinese) established the first Dragon Ball to raise money for local Australian Charities and a small amount for China’s war against Japan.

1939 The Second World War was a global war that lasted from 1939 to 1945, there were many Chinese Australians involved and made vital contribution to the war. The Chinese Youth League was formed for welfare services to raise funds for the Chinese resistance to Japan’s invasion and also to assist the Chinese Seamen’s Union to seek better wages from the various shipping companies.

1941 Diplomatic relations between the Commonwealth of Australia and China were established in 1941.

1942 The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour, caused the Second World War. Australia was on War alert with its military troop sent to Europe to assist the British forces. Many Australian born Chinese were volunteers, and later Chinese Australians joined in the Pacific campaign. The Second World War ended in August, 1945.

In 1942, the Bank of China established its first branch in Sydney; its main oper-



ations were currency exchange to facilitating trade between Chinese and Australian.

1947 The total population in Australia was 7,579,358. The total of the Chinese population in Australia was 12,100, including part – Chinese and 2,533 females. In Sydney, there were 3,300 Chinese including part – Chinese.

1949 The Civil War in China began, and it was reaching a final crisis, when on 1st October, 1949 the new Government under the People's Republic of China took over from the government under the Republic of China. The Republicans under the Nationalist Kuo Min Tang retreated to the island of Taiwan where they established the government of the Republic of China.

1951 The Colombo Plan, initiated by Australia and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) aimed to improve and strengthen the stability in the Asia region. Original signatories were Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan, United Kingdom, Malaya and North Borneo, and then the membership expanded to 25 countries. By 1970 Australia had donated \$ A300 million to the Colombo Plan, and by the 1980s over 20,000 students had benefited from the plan.

1954 Chinese Women Association of Australia was established by Phyllis Wong, wife of the Consul General in 1954, to combat the problems of isolation and loneliness felt by Chinese women.

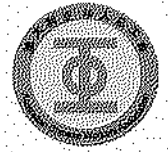
1956 Australia held its first Summer Olympic Games, in Melbourne, it was officially known as the Games of the XVI Olympiad in November to December. Just a few days before the closing ceremony, a 17 year old Chinese – Australian, John Ian Wing wrote a letter to Sir Wilfred Kent Hughes, the chairman of the Olympic Games organising committee: "I believe it has been suggested that a march should be put on during the closing ceremony and you said it couldn't be done. I think it can be done", and it changed the ceremony plans significantly forever.

1957 The Federal Government decided to allow non – Europeans to apply for citizenship after 15 years of continuous residence, and later after citizenship, can sponsor spouses and children under 18 to Australia.

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- 1958** Immigration Restriction Act was repealed and the revised Migration Act 1958 introduced a simpler system of entry permits and abolished the controversial dictation test.
- 1966** Non - Europeans/Asians residence period for Naturalization/Citizenship was reduced from 15 years to 5 years and a wider range of individuals admitted under the 'distinguished and highly skilled' category. The March 1966 announcement was the watershed in abolishing the 'White Australia Policy,' and non - European migration began to increase. The 1966 Census showed that there had 26,700 Chinese in Australia with 9,943 living in Sydney.
- 1968** Rookwood Chinese Pavilion (Luk Fook Tong) established in 1968, and all elected committee members were prominent businessmen from the Haymarket Chinatown areas.
- 1972** The newly elected Federal Government under the Whitlam Labor Party, decided to recognise the People's Republic of China which was a promise before the elections. Therefore, the Republic of China in Taiwan was no longer recognised.
- 1973** Over subsequent years Australian governments gradually dismantled the 'White Australia Policy' with the final vestiges being removed in 1973 by the new Labor government. Residence period of naturalization of all non - British immigrants for citizenship was shortened to 3 years.
- 1974** The Australian Chinese Community Association was established in 1974 under the elected President, Mr. Kip Fong. Welfare for the non - English speaking Chinese was an important agenda. ACCA was a non - political, non - religious, and a not - for - profit organisation that was specifically formed to serve the Chinese - Australian community in New South Wales.
- 1975** The Racial Discrimination Act was passed, which made racial discrimination unlawful.
- Dixon Street was adopted as the new Chinatown by the City Council after consultation with the Dixon Street Chinese Committee; formal beautification plans and the official launch took place in Dixon Street on 14th August, 1990. A publica-



tion "Chinese Migration & Settlement in Australia" by Mr C. Y. Choi was made available to the public. It has a lot of interesting information.

After the Vietnam War, many Refugees from South Vietnam were allowed into Australia and our Australian population continued to increase.

1976 The first group of "boat people", Vietnamese and Chinese from Vietnam, were allowed to settle in Australia as refugees. They started to choose Darwin, Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth. With the expected removal of the Wholesale and Retail Markets from the Haymarket to Flemington, there was some empty commercial premises occurring in the Haymarket precinct. Therefore, with the support and co-operation by the City of Sydney Council, the Dixon Street Beautification Plan Committee was formed with most of the Chinatown businessmen.

The Australia-China Chamber of Commerce and Industry was established in 1976

1978 The Chinese Cemetery Trust - Luk Fook Tong for the Rookwood Cemetery was elected to liaise with the Rookwood General Cemetery Trust in regards to the newly built Pavilion building which replaced the previous old Pavilion built in the early 1900s.

The Australia - China Council was established by the Australian Government in 1978 to promote mutual understanding and strengthen the Australia - China relationship in ways that supported Australia's foreign and trade policy interests.

1980 On 15th August 1980, the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Nelson John Meers AO officially declared the completion of the Beautification Plan for Dixon Street, the new Chinatown after negotiations by the Sydney City Council and the Dixon Street property Owners and business Owners jointly raised funds to build the Ceremonial Archways, Lions, pavilion, seats, garden beds, etc.

The two archways were built and officially opened; Dixon St, corner of Factory St was the Chinese Ceremonial Traditional Archway, this one was the northern or the Ceremonial Entrance to Chinatown and the one down next to Hay St was the southern or exit archway. The Ceremonial Archways were guarded by the two Ceremonial Lions. In olden China the lion was the King of the jungle, the Pekin-

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ese Dog was the best – known animal in China representing a symbol. A new animal was created about two hundred years ago in China, with the head of a Pekingese Dog and the body of a lion, called a Foo Dog, also known as a Ceremonial Lion.

Other attractions included the Chinese Garden of Friendship, down the bottom of Goulburn Street, a project between the New South Wales State Government and the Province of Guangdong, China. Both completed as a Sister State relationship in the 1980s.

1983 On the 18th of April, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang was the first Chinese head of government to visit Australia, and Mr. Bob Hawke was the Prime Minister at that time.

1984 Residence period of naturalization of all non – British immigrants for citizenship shortened to 2 years.

Alexander “Alec” Fong Lim was the eleventh Lord Mayor of the City of Darwin and was also the first Chinese Australian Lord Mayor. He was awarded the Order of Australia in 1986 for his services to the community and local government.

1986 The Census showed there were 172,000 of Chinese ancestry in Australia with 58,500 Chinese residents in Sydney.

Australia began accepting Chinese students for tertiary education in 1986 in English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS).

1988 Chinese Friendship Gardens was a joint venture by the New South Wales State Government and the Provincial Government of Guangdong, China, as a Sister State relationship established in Darling Harbour.

A publication “Harvest of Endurance – Chinese in Australia 1788 – 1988” by Ms Mo Yimei and her brother Mr Mo Xiangyi. It was sponsored by the Australia China Friendship Society in the form of colourful hand – painted Scrolls.

The Hon. Helen Sham – Ho became the first Chinese Australian elected into the N. S. W. State Parliament Upper House – the Legislative Council.

1989 Immigrants from Mainland China and Taiwan have arrived in increasing num-



bers. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce revived and Chinese language newspapers were once again published.

1990 The Australian Chinese Charity Foundation Inc (ACCF) was formed in 1990 as a broad-based charity organisation to help the Australian community at large. It was supported by the generosity of patrons, trustees and a corporate trustee, life member and ordinary member.

1991 In 1991 the total using the Chinese language at home total over 251,000 in Australia with 125,000 living in Sydney. In the latest Census, there were 324,000 persons using the Chinese language at home with about 170,000 in Sydney.

1992 Henry Tsang, OAM., was elected Deputy Lord Mayor at the City of Sydney Council. In 1992, Henry Tsang was the organiser of funding from the Haymarket Chinese Businesses to sponsor a bronze sculpture in the shape of an Anchor "To Sail, To Stop". On the 23rd February, 1992, this monument was unveiled by Her Majesty, The Queen Elizabeth.

1993 A majority of the People's Republic of China students with visas extended in 1989 allowed to apply for permanent residence in Australia.

1994 Mr. King Lee, City Police Community Liaison Officer, with the support of the N. S. W. Police and the N. R. M. A. Neighbourhood Watch.

1996 According to the 1996 Census, there was 17,892,418 people in Australia. An interesting comparison showed that in the 1996, 48.8% of the total Chinese speaking population was living in New South Wales (probably 75% in Sydney) compared to 28% living in Victoria, 9.1% living in Queensland and 8.4% living in Western Australia, other states had smaller percentages. The most rapidly growing group were the China-born. Arrivals from China tripled between 1994 - 1995 and 1995 - 1996 from 3,700 to 11,200.

1998 Mei Quong Tart bust was erected near Ashfield train station to commemorate a well-connected community leader and his significant impact on the local political scene.

On the corner of Sussex and Hay Street, was the old gum tree Monument repre-

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senting the Golden Water Mouth, a gift from the Sydney City Council in 1998 as a contribution towards the Sydney Olympic Games to be held in the Year 2000. The re-cycle water which dripped down represented “money and life.” The old gum tree has been treated from any further growth, and was re-inforced inside. A large proportion of the cost for the monument was donated by the Chinatown Merchants, Clubs and Chinese businesses.

2000 The Light Fitting (representing Heaven) and the Tiles (representing Earth) on the ground below were a “gift” from the Sydney City Council for the Chinatown area, as Dixon Street was one of the streets of Chinatown where the Year 2000 Olympic Torch past through on its way up to Sydney City Town Hall.

2001 The 2001 Census showed about 248,500 Chinese residents in Sydney.

2003 The War Memorial for the Chinese Ex-Services men & women built in 2003 through the Australian Chinese Ex-Services National Reunion Committee. The historical monument were situated on the corner of Dixon Street and Liverpool Street, Sydney.

The President of the People’s Republic of China, Mr Hu Jintao and his wife Madame Liu Yongqing visited Australia.

2004 The 5th Worldwide Chungshan Association’s Convention, held in Sydney’s Convention Centre from the 6th and 7th of October, 2004.

In the Power House Museum, on the 1st of July, 2004, the opening day for the “An International Conference on Quong Tart and his times 1850 to 1903”. It was organised by the Chinese Australian Historical Society (CAHS), a historical exhibition on “No Ordinary Man, Sydney’s Quong Tart: Citizen, Merchant & Philanthropist”.

2005 First Inaugural “NSW Premier’s Chinese Community Achievement Awards” presented at Government House on 4th of February, 2005. The presenter was the State Premier, The Hon. Bob Carr. Award received by Ms Connie Kaki Tung for the “Young Chinese Volunteer”; Dr Tony Goh, CM., for the “Jack Wong Sue – Distinguished War Veteran; Ms Rose Yeung for “Dr Victor Chang Community Service Award” and King Fong, OAM., for the “Quong Tart Lifetime Achieve-



ment Award in Community Service”.

On the 9th of October, Chinese community clans promoting Cantonese Opera presented by The Loyal Heart Opera held at the Seymour Theatre, Sydney University to fundraising for Prostate Cancer at Concord Hospital.

2006 The 2006 census showed that 221,995 people (5.39%) in Sydney reported Mandarin or Cantonese as the language they used at home.

The Premier of China, Mr Wen Jiabao visited Australia.

2007 The President of the People's Republic of China, Mr Hu Jintao visited Australia for the second time.

2008 The University of Sydney opened NSW's first Confucius Institute becoming a leading Chinese cultural and language centre in NSW.

2009 The Chinese Vice Premier Li Keqiang visited Australia

2010 Australian Foshan Association Inc. formed with the first President Mr Amen Lee, OAM., who was still the current President.

2011 The 2011 Census of Population and Housing (August 2011), the resident population of Australia was 21.5 million people. Over a quarter of Australia's population was born overseas. Around 46 percent of Australian residents were either born overseas or have at least one parent born overseas.

2012 The Australian Chinese Workers Association (ACWA) was established on the 26th November, with the mission to promote multiculturalism, free trade doctrine and corporatism in the Chinese community, and lead the community to get involved with the public activity, especially political involvement in Australia.

2013 Australian Chinese Workers Association (ACWA) called more than 200 volunteers to support ALP in the Federal election.

2014 Australia and China have just signed off on a historic free trade agreement following President Xi Jinping's rare address to federal parliament.

ACWA ran the first yearly Youth Leadership Campaign, recruiting more than 100 youth leaders from universities and industries to encourage them devote

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themselves to the public activity in Australia and run seminars to promote the knowledge of writing CV's, job interviews and protection of the rights at work.

2015 Australian Chinese Workers Association (ACWA) hosted a public memory service on Australian Harmony Day, 21st of March to commemorate Chinese Gold Miners at Theatrette, NSW Parliament House, Sydney.

2015 The Committee of Federation of Australian Chinese Guangdong Community organised the 8th World Conference of Guangdong Community 5th & 6th October. The Chairman was Mr. Xiangmo Huang. About 1 800 person, local and overseas Chinese attended the two days event.

2016 On the 9th of October, the Australian Chinese Workers Association with the Rookwood General Cemeteries Reserve Trust Management organised a Commemoration and Erected Chinese Gold Miners Memorial Monument (1851—1861) for the Chinese Gold Rush Miners which was a significant event in the history of the Chinese community in Australia. 300 people attending this special event, including Chinese Monks, politicians and Chinese clans.

Australian Chinese Workers Association launched the book, titled "The End of the History of Anti - Chinese Policy" on 9th of October. The ACWA consecrated the monument for Chinese miners involved in the gold rush, about 350 local libraries, community organizations and community leaders have received this book.

As a whole, Australian residents identifying themselves as having Chinese ancestry made up 5.6% of those nominating their ancestry at the 2016 census and numbered 1,213,903. At the 2016 census, 509,555 people declared that they were born in Mainland China, 86,886 declared that they were born in Hong Kong, while 46,882 declared that they were born in Taiwan. There are also a large number of persons of Chinese ancestry among those born in Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, the Philippines and Vietnam.



2017 Australian Chinese Workers Association organised the book conference “The End of the History of Anti Chinese Policy” in the Theatre of NSW Parliament House on 23rd of March while welcoming Chinese Premier, Li Keqiang to visit Sydney. ACWA hosted the first anniversary for the Chinese Gold Miners Memorial at Rookwood Cemetery on 31st of October.

It has been 45 years since Australia (The Kangaroo) and China (The Dragon) had formally established diplomatic relations on December 21, 1972. Chinese Premier Li Keqiang visited Australia for 5 days and focussed on strengthening China’s economic relationship with Australia and positioning his country as a bulwark against rising protectionism.

2018 On 20th of May, at the Sydney Town Hall, about 2,000 people attended the 200th Anniversary of Chinese Migration to Australia – 1818 to 2018. They were 5 people pressing the computerised buzzer to start the Official Opening Ceremony, it included President of the Organising Committee Prof. Xiangmo Huang, John McEvoy a descendant of Mei Quong Tart, Barry Shying a descendant of Mak Shying, Dr. Frank Chou and Dr. Fai Yuen Lam.

Australian Chinese Workers Association with Fair Work Ombudsman (FWO) on 22nd June, 2018 in Sydney Office of FWO ran the first yearly campaign to protect the rights at work in Chinese community.

“The Report on the Development of Chinese Community in Australia 2018” was initiated by Australian Chinese Workers Association, it is the first community development report for and by the overseas Chinese community, published in October 2018.

Currently throughout Sydney and suburbs, there are over 280 Chinese Associations registered.

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中澳关系大事记

许善品

(湘潭大学历史系)

1783 年

英国政府正在商讨如何开发和使用澳大利亚时,英国人詹姆斯·马特拉 (James Matra) 就提议将中国苦力输入澳大利亚。

1829 年

鉴于澳大利亚牧场的迅速发展和劳动力的奇缺,爱德华·威克菲尔德 (Edward. G. Wakefield) 曾主张雇佣包括中国人在内的亚洲人作为契约工人运往澳大利亚。

1840 年

新南威尔士宣布废除罪犯流放制度后,由于缺少劳动力,于是率先向中国招募契约劳工。

1848 年

10月2日,澳大利亚牧场主招募的第一批华工120人从厦门乘船到达新南威尔士,次年又招募了270名华工进入澳洲,这些华工主要在牧场和农场工作。

1851 年

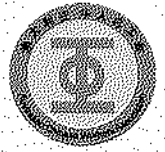
澳大利亚维多利亚州发现了金矿之后,由于当时美国国内反华、排华情绪日益严重,不少华工遂转战澳洲淘金,由此,墨尔本被淘金华工称为“新金山”。

1854 年

上半年,就有3000多名中国人来到澳大利亚,下半年又有7000多名中国人漂洋过海来到澳洲。于是,古老的中国与年轻的澳大利亚以华工为纽带产生了碰撞。

1855 年

6月,维多利亚立法会议通过澳大利亚历史上第一个排华法案——《限制移民



条例》，规定凡经登记的船只，每 10 吨只能携带华工 1 名，并且每运入 1 个华工须付 10 磅人头税，由此拉开了澳大利亚排华历史的序幕。

1857 年

7 月 4 日，在维多利亚巴克兰河金矿区，爆发了白人矿工大规模袭击华人的恶性事件，有 3 名华人当场死亡，2000 多名华人遭到抢劫，华人财产损失达 5 万英镑，维多利亚当局包庇、纵容白人暴徒。

1861 年

6 月 30 日，新南威尔士发生严重的反华暴乱，一千多白人暴徒手持大头棒和锄头柄，举着“不要中国人”的旗帜，对华人劳工施加骇人听闻的暴行。

9 月，参与暴乱的白人暴徒全部被宣告无罪。

1880 年

11 月，澳大利亚各殖民地在悉尼召开“殖民地会议”，除了西澳大利亚和南澳大利亚州持保留意见，其他各州决定制定条例，限制华人入境，于是在排华浪潮中确立了“白澳”政策。

1887 年

5 月，中国清政府就派总兵王荣和候补知府余，以访查华民商务的名义抵达悉尼，要求澳殖民地改善华人劳工的待遇，这是中国官员首次到达澳洲。

12 月，中国驻英公使向英国政府提出抗议，指出澳大利亚作为英国殖民地，单独对华人征收人头税违反国际法，况且中英两国早有条约，规定两国人民可以自由到访对方国家，要求英国政府命令澳大利亚予以废除。然而，英国政府态度暧昧，敷衍了事。

1888 年

6 月，澳大利亚各殖民地又召开了第二次“殖民地会议”，再次共商协调排华事宜，决定限制华人入境，规定：任何船只每 500 吨限载华人 1 名；禁止华人从澳一殖民地进入另一殖民地。

1900 年

中国爆发义和团运动后，澳大利亚 500 名海军志愿者参加了英国的远征分遣队，镇压义和团。

1901 年

12 月，澳大利亚联邦刚刚成立不久，就颁布了《移民限制法》，运用更为严格的语言测验法，比以前略为巧妙地阻止有色人种入境，其中心内容是：入澳者必须能

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听写一段 50 字长的任何欧洲文字,不及格者不得入境,将对华人华工的歧视、排斥上升为国家法律。经历过数轮排华浪潮后,在澳华人人数锐减,不少华人纷纷逃离澳洲,留在澳大利亚的华人也过着备受凌辱、忍气吞声的生活,成为事实上的三等公民。

1909 年

由于澳洲排华问题日益突出,华人要求清廷设领护侨的声音日高,清政府在墨尔本设立了总领事馆,梁兰勋为总领事,中澳两国从此建立了领事外交关系。

1921 年

澳大利亚向中国派驻贸易代表。

1935 年

澳大利亚向中国派驻贸易专员

1941 年

7 月,中澳两国建立公使级外交关系,双方决定分别在对方的首都设立与此相应的公使馆。

10 月 28 日,出于防范日本入侵的考虑,澳大利亚向中国战时陪都重庆派驻了外交使团,弗雷德里克·爱格勒斯通(Frederic Eggleston)爵士被任命为第一任澳大利亚驻华公使。

11 月 8 日,国民政府任命曾任外交部政务次长的徐谟为第一任中国驻澳公使,从此中澳建立了正式的外交关系。

1942 年

1 月 1 日,中、美、英、苏、澳等 26 国代表在华盛顿签署了《联合国宣言》。至此,国际反法西斯同盟正式建立,中澳两国亦由此正式成为军事盟友。

1 月 20 日,中澳正式开通无线电,使得两国能通过电波了解彼此的国情,在反法西斯战争中相互鼓励、相互支援。

5 月初,中国派出王志光上校为驻澳军事代表,开创了两国军事合作机制。

1949 年

10 月 1 日,中华人民共和国正式宣告成立。澳大利亚工党政府曾经严肃思考过效仿英国承认新中国的可能性。然而,随着冷战的开启、朝鲜战争的爆发、澳美同盟的建立、联盟党政府的上台,澳大利亚不再考虑承认新中国,而是追随美国奉行对华遏制、敌视、封锁的政策。



1951 年

澳大利亚建立了澳中协会,对两国文化交流与贸易往来起到了推动作用。

1957 年

应中国政府邀请,由澳工党四位联邦议员组成的代表团对中国进行正式访问,这是澳工党首次以代表团形式访问中国。

1965 年

出于对中国不断加深的敌意,澳大利亚决定追随美国出兵越南,以遏制“共产主义威胁”。

1966 年

6月,哈罗德·霍尔特(Harold Holt)总理上台执政不久,就决定在台北设立大使馆,任命驻台“大使”,这使中澳关系裹足不前,甚至有所倒退。而中国国内此时开始了轰轰烈烈的“文化大革命”,严重干扰了中国外交,使中澳关系雪上加霜。

1971 年

4月,澳大利亚乒乓球代表团到访中国。

7月5日至12日,时任在野党领袖的爱德华·高夫·惠特拉姆(Edward Gough Whitlam)率工党代表团访问中国,对促进中澳关系正常化做出了巨大贡献。同月,中国乒乓球队回访澳大利亚,受到澳大利亚民众的热烈欢迎,“立即承认新中国”成为澳大利亚人民的共同心愿。

1972 年

12月21日,惠特拉姆为首的工党政府上台执政后不久,就与新中国建交,同时终止了与台湾的官方关系。中澳建交是两国关系发展史上最重要的里程碑。两国建立外交关系的联合公报指出:“澳大利亚政府承认中华人民共和国是中国唯一合法政府,承认中国政府关于台湾是中华人民共和国一个省份的立场,两国政府同意,在相互尊重主权和领土完整、互不侵犯、互不干涉内政、平等互利和平共处的原则的基础上,发展两国之间的外交、友好和合作关系。”

1973 年

7月24日,中国外贸部部长白相国访问澳大利亚,两国签署了第一个澳中贸易协定,协定规定:在双边贸易中相互提供最惠国待遇,成立联合贸易委员会。

10月31日至11月4日,惠特拉姆总理访问中国——这是历史上首位澳大利亚总理访华。中澳双边关系的正常化为两国经贸往来的大发展铺平了道路。

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1974 年

中澳分别在对方国家举办了历史上首次的经济贸易展览会,密切了两国贸易关系,增加了两国对彼此经济特点、外贸供需情况的了解。

1978 年

澳大利亚外交贸易部成立了澳中理事会,该理事会的宗旨是“促进中澳双方理解;扩大中澳长期交往的领域;为澳大利亚政府提供如何巩固与中国及中国人民关系提供意见和建议”,澳中理事会的成立为进一步发展澳中友好关系创造了条件。

澳大利亚决定给予中国普惠制待遇,由此成为第一个给予中国以发展中国家优惠贸易待遇的国家。

1979 年

3 月,中国驻澳洲第一个总领馆在悉尼开馆。

1980 年

5 月,李先念副总理访澳,同约翰·马尔科姆·弗雷泽(John Malcolm Fraser)总理举行会谈,并签署了《促进科技发展技术合作协定》。澳政府向中国提供 5000 万澳元的无偿援助,这是双方签订的第一个双边科技合作协定。中澳双方商定,两国外交部建立副部长级政治磋商机制。同年,中国对澳大利亚的出口额首次突破两亿美元。

1981 年

9 月,中澳两国签订了第一个经济技术合作议定书。

1982 年

1 月和 4 月,中澳首任互派武官到对方国家赴任,中国成为第一个在澳大利亚驻有军事代表的共产党国家。

1983 年

4 月,中国总理赵紫阳率代表团访问澳大利亚,这是中国总理对澳大利亚的首次访问。

1984 年

2 月,澳总理鲍勃·霍克(Bob Hawke)对中国进行了回访。霍克的来访进一步密切了中澳在各个方面的交往,澳中关系的良好发展成了不同社会制度、不同经济发展水平的国家之间关系的典范。

7 月澳在上海设立了总领馆。



1985 年

4 月,中共中央总书记胡耀邦出访澳大利亚,这是中共中央总书记第一次访问澳大利亚,受到霍克总理的热烈欢迎。双方领导人一致认为:中国的现代化建设 with 澳大利亚的自然资源及经济结构升级的计划是互为补充的。同年 5 月,霍克总理对中国进行了回访,霍克重申澳政府将发展对华关系作为其对外关系的最重要组成部分之一。

8 月,澳大利亚联邦总督尼尼安·斯蒂芬(Ninian Stephen)对中国进行了非正式访问。这是澳大利亚联邦总督第一次访华。

1986 年

9 月,中国万里副总理访澳。期间,万里副总理与霍克总理联合宣布正式成立中澳部长级联合经济委员会,下设 10 个联合工作小组。同年,两国签署了《澳中教育、培训与高等教育研究的合作谅解备忘录》,为两国开展教育、研究合作奠定了坚实基础。

1989 年

6 月发生在北京的“六·四”事件曾一度严重损害了中澳关系。澳大利亚随后追随美国对中国发动制裁。

7 月 13 日,澳大利亚政府发表了澳中关系新框架声明,将人权问题列入两国关系中的敏感问题。不过,两国关系很快就雨过天晴,迎来转机。

1991 年

2 月 26 日,澳大利亚外长加雷斯·伊文斯(Gareth Evans)宣布:澳大利亚政府自即日起正式取消自 1989 年 7 月以来实施的对华经济和政治制裁。伊文斯说:“澳大利亚政府认识到中国在亚太地区的重要地位,因此,我们愿意与中国保持双边的合作关系和地区的伙伴关系。”

4 月,伊文斯外长来中国访问,这次访问被认为“标志着两国友好关系实现了正常化”。

1993 年

6 月,主张融入亚洲的保罗·基廷(Paul Keating)总理访华,这是自 1986 年后澳大利亚总理首次访华。

1994 年

11 月,全国人大常委会委员长乔石对澳大利亚进行正式友好访问,这是中国人大常委会首委员长次访澳。这一年,中澳双边贸易额首次突破 60 亿澳元大关。

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1995 年

中澳签订了第一份教育合作谅解备忘录。

1997 年

3 月,澳大利亚总理约翰·霍华德(John Howard)应李鹏总理的邀请正式对华访问。两国商定,今后每年召开一次副部长级经贸联委会会议,每两年召开一次部长级会议。同年,中澳正式开启首次战略防务磋商机制,就两国共同关心的国际和地区安全问题交换意见。

7 月,中澳召开首次人权对话,旨在加强相互信任,讨论人权问题,并寻求合作的具体方式。

8 月,澳大利亚发布外交白皮书,明确地提出与美国、日本、中国、印尼的关系为最重要的四大外交关系。

1998 年

2 月,中国中央军事委员会副主席、国务委员迟浩田上将应邀访问澳大利亚,这是中国军方高级领导人第一次访问澳大利亚。

1999 年

7 月 中澳正式结束有关中国加入世贸组织的双边市场准入谈判,并发表联合新闻公报。

9 月,应澳大利亚总督威廉·帕特里克·迪恩(William Patrick Deane)的邀请,江泽民对澳进行了为期 5 天的国事访问,这是中国国家元首首次访澳,两国首脑宣布建立中澳面向二十一世纪的长期稳定、健康发展的全面合作关系;同时同意在加强两国现有对话与磋商机制的基础上,建立中澳两国领导人以及两国外长之间一年一次的定期会晤机制(2+2)。

2000 年

5 月,中澳正式签署关于中国加入世界贸易组织的双边协议。

2002 年

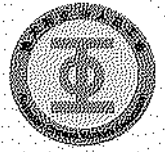
7 月,中澳两国签订了《液化天然气贸易协议》,协议期限为 25 年,贸易额高达 250 亿澳元,这是澳大利亚签订的最大一笔贸易协议。

2005 年

5 月,中澳启动首轮自贸协定谈判。

2006 年

4 月,温家宝总理对澳大利亚进行正式访问,两国正式建立“21 世纪互利共赢



的全面合作关系”。

10月16日,中澳签署《环境发展伙伴关系项目》谅解备忘录,旨在促进双方在水资源、环境管理领域跨部门的合作和协调机制。

2007年

9月,胡锦涛主席对澳大利亚进行国事访问,并出席在悉尼举行的APEC领导人非正式会议。这一年,中国首度超过日本成为澳大利亚第一大贸易伙伴。

2008年

2月,中国外交部长杨洁篪对澳大利亚进行了正式访问,与澳外长斯蒂芬·史密斯(Stephen Smith)举行会谈并共同启动首轮中澳战略对话。

4月,澳总理陆克文(Kevin Rudd)首次正式访华并出席博鳌亚洲论坛年会,国家主席胡锦涛与他举行了会谈。

2009年

5月2日,澳大利亚陆克文政府发布国防白皮书,要求中国提高军事透明度,认为中国将成为亚太最强大的军事力量,明确称中国为“威胁”。

10月29日,国务院副总理李克强对澳大利亚进行正式访问,两国领导人共同宣布,从2010年开始两国互办文化年。互办文化年对增进中澳人民相互了解、促进两国关系健康发展起到了积极作用。

2011年

8月,中国科技部部长万钢与澳大利亚创新、工业与科研部部长金·卡尔(Kim Carr)共同签订了《关于澳中科研基金管理的谅解备忘录》。

11月2日,“中澳论坛”首次会议在澳大利亚联邦议会大厦举行,中国全国人大外事委员会主任委员李肇星和澳大利亚外长陆克文出席并发表演讲。16日,为了配合美国“重返亚太”,澳大利亚宣布美国海军陆战队将采取轮驻的方式进驻达尔文,到2014年驻军规模将达到2500人。

2012年

3月22日,中国人民银行与澳大利亚储备银行签署了为期3年、价值300亿美元的双边本币互换协议。

4月10日,中国商务部与澳基础设施和交通部签署了《关于加强基础设施建设领域合作的谅解备忘录》,并成立了中澳基础设施建设合作工作组。

2013年

3月24日,中国商务部部长钟山与澳大利亚贸易、旅游与投资部长斯蒂芬·

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乔博(Steven Ciobo)在堪培拉签署了《关于加强发展合作的谅解备忘录》。

4月,澳总理朱莉娅·吉拉德(Julia Gillard)对华进行正式访问,并出席博鳌亚洲论坛2013年年会,受到习近平主席的接见,同时宣布中澳货币实现直接兑换。国务院总理李克强同吉拉德举行首轮中澳总理年度定期会晤。

12月,澳外长朱莉·毕晓普(Julia Bishop)访华,并与王毅外长共同举行首轮中澳外交与战略对话。

2014年

6月24日,首次中澳战略经济对话在北京举行,中国国家发展改革委主任徐绍史与澳国库部长乔·霍奇(Joe Hockey)、贸易与投资部长安德鲁·罗伯(Andrew Robb)就中澳自贸协定、在澳设立人民币清算行、建立投资合作框架等问题进行了对话。

11月,习近平主席到访澳大利亚,在澳大利亚联邦议会发表演讲,并出席了在布里斯班举行的G20峰会。此外,两国首脑宣布建立“全面战略伙伴关系”。同月,澳大利亚总理阿博特(Tony Abbott)到访北京,并参加中国主办的APEC领导人会议。

12月3日,“中澳高级对话”首次会议在北京举行,会议由中国前外交部长李肇星和澳大利亚前国库部长科斯特洛(Peter Costello)共同主持。同月,中国与澳大利亚宣布完成自贸区协定的最后谈判。

2015年

6月7日,中澳自贸区协定正式签署。

12月20日,中澳自贸区协定正式生效。

2016年

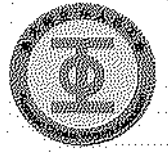
2月29日,中澳政府官员在澳大利亚塔斯马尼亚州首府霍巴特(Hobart),召开中澳南极和南大洋合作联合委员会第一次会议。

4月16日,由中国商务部、澳大利亚外交贸易部共同主办的第五届“中澳CEO圆桌会”在北京举行。

2017年

3月23日,中澳双方签署了《中华人民共和国国家知识产权局与澳大利亚知识产权局合作谅解备忘录》,将继续加强在专利审查、人员培训、文献交换、公共服务等领域的合作与交流。

4月21日,中澳首次高级别安全对话在悉尼举行,中共中央政法委书记孟建柱和澳大利亚外长毕晓普、总检察长乔治·布兰迪斯(George Brandis)共同启动对



话机制。双方就反恐、打击网络犯罪、打击跨国犯罪等重要议题进行了讨论。

9月15日,中国商务部部长钟山与澳大利亚贸易、旅游与投资部长乔博在北京共同签署《关于电子商务合作的谅解备忘录》。

11月23日,澳大利亚发布外交白皮书,无理指责中国在将南海岛礁用于军事用途,同时也承诺将加强与中国的关系。

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第五部分 Appendix/附录

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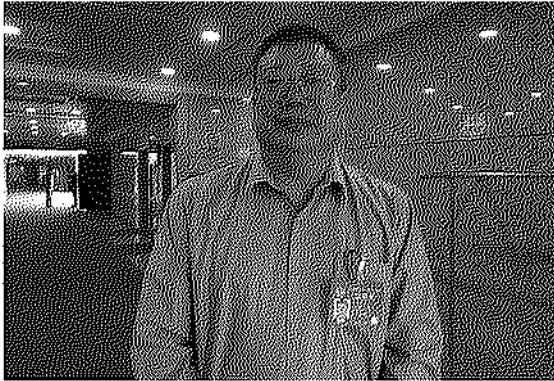
This book is also available at Amazon

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杰出华人列传



李崑简介

李崑,男,1953年11月出生于中国广州。汉族。澳门科技大学研究生院硕士,副教授。现任中国侨联常委,广东省人民政府参事。历任十一、十二届全国政协常委,中国国民党革命委员会中央常委、广东省委副主委。

1969年至1976年赴海南岛广州军区生产建设兵团下乡知青,1982年至1994年在广州外语学院,任计算机和应用语言学讲师、副教授。1992年与桂诗春教授等人主持的“高考标准化考试试验”获全国教育科研成果一等奖,1995年与桂诗春等人主持的国家“七五”社科项目“中国学生英语学习心理”获全国“七五”社科研究二等奖。2000年至2011年底任广东省江门市副市长,2011年12月调往广东省侨联任专职副主席、巡视员。2014年4月被广东省人民政府聘为省政府参事。

出版主要著作有:《IBM PC/XT 原理与应用》(1991.3),《垦丁集——教育考试的探索与实践》(2000.4),《垦丁集——参政实践与议政观点》(2013),《垦丁集——词志心诗映自然》(1—4)(2010—2016)。在10年省政协委员和15年全国政协委员期间,提出提案近200件,两次获省、一次获全国优秀提案奖。“关于出口退税机制亟待改革”“我国行政层级精简的建议”“建议义务教育经费中央统筹”“呼吁反垄断法早日出台”“关于将‘双规’纳入法治轨道的建议”“关于全面放开生育并鼓励生育的建议”“呼吁尽快制定华侨权益保护法”“有关中国国籍优先的提案”等提案、大会发言或社情民意信息引起社会较大的关注。

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慈善济世 创造光明

——黄肇强医生侧记

吴景亮

认识黄肇强医生已经超过 20 年了,他给我的印象就是“忙”。忙什么呢?我总是搞不明白:他既不图名,也不为利。图的是个啥?黄肇强先生是名医生,之后投入到社区服务以及慈善活动。再后来,因为韩珍的“反亚”言论,他振臂一呼,竖起来团结党的大旗,跻身于纽省上议院的政治舞台,整整当了八年的上议员,为民请命。

八年后从纽省上议员的职位上退休,刚刚 65 岁。但从政坛上淡出的黄肇强并没有闲下来,他又重新穿上了白大褂拿起听筒,做回医生的本行,但他只是兼职而已,他还要腾出足够的时间来做社会工作,做慈善活动,做助人为乐的事情。

功成身退 心系公益

从纽省上议员的公职退下来之后,首先接回来澳洲华人公益金主席的工作,并全力推动“光明之行”的计划。“光明之行”不仅是一项慈善义举,更是黄肇强医生开创的一项光明的事业,也是让澳洲华人扬名于澳洲、中国、越南、柬埔寨等地的一个慈善“品牌”。创建于 1997 年的“光明之行”,最初是由澳洲华人公益金赞助的,现在已经成为澳洲众多的殷商和社会慈善人士所共同支持的慈善活动了。

无私奉献 创中福会

众所周知,黄肇强医生创办的“中国留学生福利会”,在当年对来到澳洲的中国留学生所做出的无私帮助:当年抵澳的中国留学生,因为种种的原因,读书辛苦,生活艰难,有的还发生了车祸,有的留学生有自杀倾向等,一时间,人心惶惶,不可终日,陷入困境。是黄肇强医生向他们伸出了援手:先是联系救世军、天主教会和基督教会提供帮助,后又因部分语言学校倒闭的原因,无法长期居留,他联同侨领和侨社游说政府高层,争取了政府给予这些留学生居留权。



黄肇强医生当年的无私帮助,成就了今天留学生对澳洲社会的贡献。

这些当年的留学生饮水思源,每每提起了黄肇强医生,都纷纷竖起了大拇指对他称赞有加,并时时以黄肇强医生为榜样,服务社群,献身于社会。

淡薄名利 时时感恩

有人说:“人到无求品自高。”

黄肇强医生正是这样的一个人。他对社会的奉献是无私的,是不求回报的。

他曾经说过:“我18岁来澳洲,不识英文,但却可以通过努力读完医科,成为一名医生,更被评为全澳洲十位最佳普通科医生之一。后来更晋身纽省上议院,踏上了澳洲的政治舞台。这真是不可思议,我要感恩,要多谢上帝。”

因为感恩,他认为对社会的回报是应该的;因为感恩,他在慈善事业上找到了个人的价值。

仅仅从黄肇强曾经担任过的公职和参与的慈善公益活动,就可以看到了他对社会所做出的贡献:纽省民族事务委员会专员、纽省民族学校理事会主席、纽省中文教育理事会主席、华人天主教会会长、澳洲华人公益金主席、中国留学生福利会主席、“光明之行”医疗队领队、团结党主席等。

闲话信仰 感悟人生

黄肇强医生是一位虔诚的天主教徒,他多年来对社会与慈善公益的无私付出,很大程度上来自他的宗教信仰。

黄肇强信奉“宽恕、包容、爱”的宗教信条,他认为这超越了人的自私自利;社会的和谐共处,世界的和平安全,有赖于一种信仰、一种凝聚力、一种宗教的力量。

采访的当天,笔者和黄肇强医生在一间咖啡厅里,边喝香浓的咖啡,边细细地聆听着他的谈话:他谈到了当年的中国留学生在寻求帮助时,走进了教会时对宗教的认识,他提到了中国古训中的“老吾老以及人之老,幼吾幼以及人之幼”的博爱观,他列举了古今中外以“德”治国的实例,他分析了共产主义与基督教的“博爱”的异同,他谈到了诺亚方舟,谈到了神的祝福。

黄肇强医生娓娓道来,他的话语发自内心、诚恳真挚,没有丝毫的说教,没有偏激的藻辞,令听者如沐春风。

笔者有幸更有缘,认识了这样一位长者、智者、哲者。

同时,黄肇强医生更是一位耕耘者、奉献者和光明的使者。

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无悔·无怨·无私

——专访获新南威尔士大学“优秀校友奖”潘南弘

吴景亮

华人服务社创办人之一潘南弘,最近获得了新南威尔士大学“优秀校友大奖”,以表彰他作为校友对澳洲社会的贡献。他获得的奖项为“对社区及政策的影响大奖”(The UNSW Alumni Award For Social Impact and Public Policy),这对于一名机械工程专业的校友来说,好像有点偏离了原来所学习的专业,但如果是了解或认识潘南弘的朋友,就会觉得是“实至名归”的。因为他几乎是把自己人生最黄金的岁月都奉献到社区的服务上去了。这个奖项,无疑是对潘南弘付出和努力的肯定和表彰。

其实,早在1997年,潘南弘就获得了OAM澳洲国家勋章,2001年,还获得了澳洲百周年纪念奖章。荣誉对于潘先生来说,只是一个新的“起点”。

笔者日前在华人服务社的一个英文新书的新闻发布会后,采访了这位认识了多年的前辈和好朋友。

当谈到所获的这个“杰出校友奖”时,潘南弘谦称:“这是集体的功劳,是多年来一班志同道合的朋友们共同努力的结果,荣誉应该归于大家。”

众所周知,潘南弘于1981年3月创办了华人服务社,发展到今天已经是华人社区中最具规模、最有影响力的慈善服务机构之一。37年的漫长岁月,他一直陪伴着这个“孩子”成长,他用心浇灌栽培,悉心呵护。现在,华人服务社已经成长起来了,他依然不离不弃:这是自己亲手带大的“孩子”,这种血浓于水的感情,让他日夜牵挂,让他倍加珍惜。

笔者饶有兴趣问起了这个“杰出校友奖”的一些历史,潘南弘介绍说,新南威尔士大学的这个奖项,已经有46年的历史了,这期间大概有30万名毕业生,获得这个奖项的只有二百多人。

今年共有95名校友获提名,但只有11名校友获奖,包括现任新州州长 Gladys



澳大利亚华人总工会

Australian Chinese Workers Association

Berejiklian, 现在的澳洲总理夫人 Lucy Turnbull 等, 她们分别获“社会杰出贡献奖”和“杰出建筑师奖”, 都是在自身的领域中对澳洲社会及行业有突出贡献的。

但是, 在笔者眼前“获奖”的潘南弘, 却已经是一名双目失明的残疾人, 他说: “我要活下去, 做一个对社会有用的人。所以, 我必须要有生活的基本技能。要适应生活, 不能只活在负面的‘抱怨’上。过去的, 就让它过去吧。未来, 才是最重要的。”

2006 年发生遇袭事件, 他因公受伤造成双目失明, 面对着突然而来的双目失明, 他慢慢地学会了做简单的早餐, 生活基本能够自理。他学会了电脑打字, 借助电脑软件“听”阅电邮、新闻和打电话。

华人服务社几年来出版的《垦丁集》的 450 篇文章, 他都认真“读”过, 并提出修改的意见; 这次刚出版的英文版新书的 40 篇文章, 也经过他的审阅和修改。他是一个双眼看不见的“编辑”, 但是他的心, 就是一盏黑夜的“明灯”。

眼前的潘南弘, 虽然双眼都失明了, 但仍然活出了生命的精彩。

十多年后再次采访潘南弘, 感慨良多。

失明这 12 年来, 潘南弘不仅没有被“双眼”长困在家中, 而是用另一种的方式继续为社区服务, 他每个星期依然在同事的帮助下定时去华人服务社, 继续做他“力所能及”的工作, 他把几十年丰富的社区管理经验, 言传身教给年轻一代。他用自身的影响力和能力, 帮助华人服务社解决了一个又一个的困难, 渡过一个又一个的难关。

华人服务社的员工, 只要是看见潘南弘的身影, 听到他的声音, 就感觉到亲切, 感觉到有信心; 潘南弘——已经是一位让人敬仰的华人服务社的精神领袖。

已经可以安享在家“弄孙为乐”的他, 还会经常出现在公众的视野之中。他的忙碌, 他的付出, 他的忘我, 都是为了服务社区, 造福社群大众。

走笔到此, 笔者还在思考着一个问题: 如果没有潘南弘双目失明之后, 继续义无反顾地留在华人服务社挑起重担, 无私地付出。能够有今天华人服务社颐养院的落成吗? 能够有华人服务社今天所取得的成绩吗?

当然, 如果潘南弘当年没有被袭击受伤至双目失明, 那今天又会是一种怎样的情况呢?

时间不可以倒流, 人生也没有太多的“如果”。

无论如何, 他的故事和人生, 依然是那样打动着记者的心。

笔者仅以一副对联赠送给潘南弘先生:

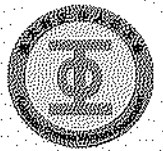
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南国华社见精神，
弘扬仁爱称正人。

附:1. 潘南弘从颁奖嘉宾新大 Deputy Vice – Chancellor Eileen Baldry 教授手中
接过奖座。

2. 新州前州长伊曼于2007年,授予潘南弘“梅光达社区服务终身成就奖”。



身披凯甲 慈悲化身——身穿警服的般若法师

星星之火可以燎原

——记澳大利亚悉尼

般若院住持般若法师

海南三亚南海佛学院 般舟

2000年9月15日至10月1日,来自全球200个代表团的11000多名运动员,参加了20世纪最后一次奥运会——在澳大利亚悉尼举行的第二十七届奥运会,……9月12日,在澳大利亚悉尼奥运会运动员村举行的中国代表团入村升旗仪式上,人们通过电视转播镜头,注意到一位身着僧服的年轻人,他就是来自中国、曾在福建佛学院(莆田广化寺)学习、工作,现任澳大利亚悉尼般若院住持的般若法师。在此次澳大利亚悉尼举行的27届奥运会上,般若法师被选作宗教服务人员,在奥运历史上首次常驻在奥运村。在奥运村,般若法师颇受欢迎,每天有20至30人运动员到他(佛堂静修室)那里打坐,其中大多是欧洲人或者北美人,尤以加拿大、英国、荷兰等国运动员选手居多。般若法师在奥运村为运动选手进行宗教服务,是通过环境布置、心理暗示等帮助运动员克服临战前夕的紧张情绪;还通过察言观色来确定运动员心结,帮助他们进行有针对性的解决,被许多运动员称为“心理按摩师”。

2007年1月,应澳大利亚悉尼华藏寺住持般若法师之邀,我在澳大利亚进行了三个月的参访与学习。

在澳期间,除了有机会欣赏到世界南边——澳大利亚美丽的蓝天、碧海及人与动物的自然和谐风光之外,更使我有机会学习与了解到西方文化与澳洲佛教的发展现状。而这期中对我影响最深的,就是我的学长、同是母校——福建佛学院毕业,曾在福建佛学院教学与担任福建佛学院教务干事和莆田广化寺纠察等职,现任澳大利亚悉尼般若院住持的般若法师。从悉尼奥运会上走出来的“奥运和尚”,今天又有什么变化呢,那就是他又多了一重身份“警察和尚”了。

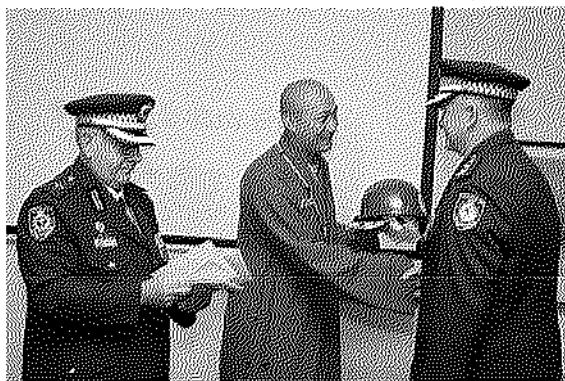
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2006年5月,般若法师接受了澳大利亚新南威尔士州警方的邀请,在悉尼 Parramatta 警察总部担任宗教顾问(Buddhist police chaplain)一职,2006年5月26日,在悉尼 Parramatta 警察总部正式举行了授衔仪式,在授衔仪式上,有来自悉尼总部的警务处长及200多百位警官出席,般若法师在授衔仪式上发表了重要讲话。这标志着,在澳大利亚这个多元文化的国家,特别是西方社会,佛教的信仰又更深入了、佛教的发展又迈向了更上一层,而“僧人”走进警察局,配有警服,在警察局任职,这可能是世界上第一次,亦是第一人。

般若法师的警服上特意装饰有法轮标志,显示其佛教身份。般若法师将发挥他的长项,通过静坐及心理治疗等服务,为警察及警局工作人员等提供精神上的慰藉和心理咨询与辅导。

般若法师主要工作是在警察总部,同时亦无定时的访问不同的下属警局,主要工作范围职责是,直接指导具有佛教信仰或感兴趣的警察和警局工作人员,将佛法融入日常工作中。般若法师设立了佛教心理学,佛教禅修静坐班等课程,讲授通过静坐调整身心,解压情绪,放下工作压力与调整心里意念,使情绪得到舒缓,心情得到平稳。特别是通过佛法正信知见,慈悲济世,关怀众生,导人向善的内涵,使那些需要帮助的人获得心灵上的祥和,精神得到安宁,以及人与人、家庭、朋友等关系得到友善和尊重。



般若法师在授衔仪式上

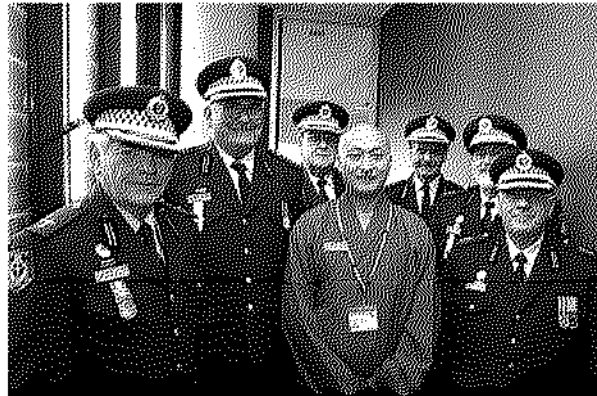
“警察”——这一“人民的忠诚守护卫士”的高贵尊称,他们日常的工作挑战性是很大的,特别是当今全球各类让人闻而色变,听了心惊胆寒的恐怖事件时有发生,所以,对于警察来说,他们的精神时时处在高压状态,所以,澳大利亚警方期望通过宗教的思想,特别是佛教的慈悲智慧与人人平等的思想,能给社会带来和谐与安宁,早在2000年悉尼奥运会之际,释般若法师就曾作为佛教法师代表,进驻奥运会运动员村,成为历史上首次在奥运村里常驻的宗教服务人员。般若法师以自己的个人学佛经历、心得体会与学识,利用佛教静坐和佛教心理学等,为运动员选手进行宗教服务,是通过环境布置、心理暗示等帮助运动员克服临战前夕的紧张情绪;还通过察言观色来确定运动员心结,帮助他们进行有针对性的解决,被许多运动员称



为“心理按摩师”。

静坐和心理治疗,不失为在西方弘法利生的方便。曾经有人问般若法师,你是警察还是和尚,般若法师回答说:“观世音菩萨是男的还是女的”?所以,对一个弘法人来说,方便有多门,善巧有多种,虽穿警察服,肩承佛法轮。般若法师认为,静坐是非常好的,也是积极有效的休息方式之一,通过静坐对恢复体力、消除疲劳大有裨益,特别是警察在外执行任务时,身心消耗极大。所以,静坐对身心的恢复与训练很有帮助,提高对任务的反应、判断、处理能力等等,这些通过科学、有效的静坐提升都是可以得到实际的利益,获得这些利益自然会提升我们的身心世界的和谐与生活品质。尤其在西方,当物质生活达到一定高度之后,身心方面的调整与健康是他们追求的第一指标,而心理治疗,则是通过种种方法解决生活中存在的种种心理问题,帮助有心理障碍乃至疾病的人们解脱烦恼痛苦束缚,也可以帮助人更好的体验生活、完善自己,所以,这是一项济苦救难的崇高事业,属于布施中的无畏布施,功德不可思议,果报也不可思议

般若法师还受请参加一线工作,诸如列车出轨、重大交通事故等事件,亲临现场,协助救援工作人员及伤者。般若法师亦参加了总局有关“防恐怖及反恐、突袭等课程的训练”。相信在突发事件的现场,般若法师这样的身影出现,一定会让警察感到镇定和鼓舞。



般若法师与其他各大宗教资深顾问合影

般若法师除了担任澳大利亚新南威尔斯州警务处总部(NSW POLICE)的宗教顾问职务(Regional Police Chaplain - Buddhist)外,同时也是悉尼康克医院(Concord Hospital)的宗教辅导员,般若法师每星期五固定会到该医院关怀那些孤寡老幼病残等病人,用佛法甘露清凉他们身心的痛苦,使他们觉知生命的痛苦与人生的无常,从而在心灵上种下佛法的解脱之因……

般若法师慈悲身影的出现,及他热忱的弘法精神,使我想起一本西方的著作——Buddha in the Street(佛陀在世间)。

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般若法师简历:

1973 年出生,祖籍安徽太湖,1987 年,于安徽省潜山县三祖禅寺出家,1989 年,经三祖寺推荐,来到莆田广化寺,进入了全国有名的福建佛学院学习深造,1991 年毕业于,1992 年留母校工作,先后在福建佛学院教学,并担任佛学院教务干事,及任广化寺纠察等职。

1994 年 10 月,他与澳大利亚悉尼华藏寺藏慧法师的因缘,在藏慧法师的邀请之下,他来到了澳大利亚。在这个西方社会,般若法师一边刻苦学习英文,一边利用佛法结合西方文化的需要,将佛法积极融入澳洲的社会,他先后在新南威尔士大学(University of New South Wales)、雪梨大学(Sydney University)、麦觉理大学(Macquarie University)等担任佛学授课法师。

2000 年应澳大利亚奥委会的邀请,代表佛教参加了历史以来的第一次“佛教为奥运会服务弘法的活动。”

2003—2005 年,般若法师赴台湾南普陀佛学院深造并亲近当代律学高僧道海长老。

2006 年 1 月应华藏寺四众弟子邀请,担任华藏寺住持。

2006 年 5 月,般若法师接受了澳大利亚新南威尔士州警方的邀请,在悉尼 Parramatta 警察总部担任宗教顾问—Buddhist police chaplain”一职。

2007 年 1 月,受悉尼西南区域医院邀请,担任悉尼康克医院(Concord Hospital)的宗教辅导员。

2008 年 1 月,法师辞去华藏寺住持一职。

2008 年 9 月 6 日,由般若法师发起的“般若院”创院成立,在悉尼的南区(Sunny Harbour seafood Restaurant, Hurstville)伟洋餐厅举行了“般若院创院发布会”,此标志着法师在澳大利亚弘法的一个新转折点。

2009 年 8 月,由般若院主办,经澳大利亚政府批准的佛教刊物《般若》杂杂志正式出版。法师任主编。

2017 年 11 月 12 日受悉尼西南区楞严学院创寺住持常愍长老尼之托,接管楞严学院并举行千人晋院仪式。

2018 年 4 月 14 日正式升座于楞严学院,由中国佛教协会会长学诚法师,国家宗教局及 10 个国家和地区诸山长老举行了千人升座法会。

2018 年 4 月 13 日澳中佛教总会对外宣布会;法师担任首届执行总会会长;会址设于楞严学院。



孙忠伟简介

孙忠伟,男,1981年10月生,澳大利亚新南威尔士大学工程科学硕士、高级工程师。2003年7月参加工作,现任山东金柱控股有限公司 CEO、总裁,澳大利亚阳光实业集团创始人、董事长,聊城市房地产业协会会长,聊城市第十二届政协委员,山东建筑大学青年联合会委员,阿拉善 SEE 山东项目中心第一届工委副主席。连续荣获聊城市十大杰出青年、聊城市有突出贡献中青年专家、山东省留学人员回国创业奖等荣誉称号。

孙忠伟毕业于山东建筑大学,曾就职于山东省交通工程监理咨询公司,后留学澳大利亚深造,在澳参与多家公司的创办和运营,具有丰富的管理经验。2011年归国,进入山东金柱集团有限公司,从稳定安逸的中国公务员到澳洲新南威尔士大学硕士、再到澳洲知名设计院总经理、阳光实业集团董事长,现今履新金柱控股 CEO、总裁,他历经安逸、艰难、彷徨、重生,他突破壁垒、破茧成蝶,以坚毅的品格登上企业之巅,高屋建瓴、谋划未来。

拥有 60 余年成长历程的金柱控股在 2015 年面临战略转型,孙忠伟高瞻远瞩,顺势而为,重塑顶层架构,制定“五年发展规划”,创新企业管理,深化体制机制改革,重视人才资源,重新定位企业战略,为企业谋划出了四大战略导向,形成了“建筑为根,房产为基,养老为德,农业为本”的四大产业板块布局,不断创造奇迹,实践着百年基业的传承。

善缘起于善因,他用艺术养公益,从前人的故事里,从字里行间的记录中,从日复一日的工作中,见证初心与成长,光荣与梦想。孙忠伟于 2014 年加入阿拉善 SEE 生态协会,作为阿拉善 SEE 公益金融硕士班的副班长,身体力行的诠释环保公益人的精神,探索中国公益金融的创新之路。在集团成立盛世养老义工团、发起盛世养老慈善基金会,并组织开展“养小鱼”、慈善一日捐等一系列活动,鼓励员工献

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身公益,懂得感恩。在他心中,公益是镜子,折射出人性最美的一面,而美,不是感觉,是浩瀚星空中最接近头顶的那一颗明媚。

他从来都不是普通人,而是一个有热情、才华,坚定,不放弃,不惜一切地想要在这个世界上留下激情与梦想的年轻人……



Friends of Chinese Community



Introduction——Graham Perrett MP

Graham was born in St George in Queensland in 1966, the seventh of ten children. He received a Diploma of Teaching in 1985 and taught high school English for eleven years in state and Catholic schools.

Graham has a Bachelor of Arts with Honours from the University of Queensland and a Bachelor of Laws from the Queensland University of Technology. He was admitted as a Solicitor of the Supreme Court in 1999 and worked in commercial and estate law. He later worked as an organiser with the Queensland Independent Education Union, before becoming a Senior Policy Advisor with the Queensland Government and then the Queensland Resources Council.

Growing up in a small country town gave Graham a strong sense of community. ?

He joined the Labor Party because of the Party's strong commitment to fairness, equality and an opportunity for all.

As a teacher and lawyer Graham has fought for the rights of some of the most vulnerable people in our community and understands the importance of a top quality education for every Australian child.

Graham was elected to parliament in 2007 and has been fighting for the Southside ever since.

Graham is a keen musician, reader and the author of three books: The Twelfth Fish, The Big Fig and The Solid Rock. He lives in Moorooka with his wife Lea and two sons.

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Introduction—Curriculum Vitae of Ambassador Zhou Wenzhong

Mr. Zhou Wenzhong, born in Jiangsu Province in August 1945, is a university graduate.

1970—1973 Staff member of the Beijing Diplomatic Service Bureau of the People's Republic of China

1973—1975 Student at Bath University and London School of Economics of the United Kingdom

1975—1978 Staff member of the Department of Translation and Interpretation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

1978—1983 Attaché and then Third Secretary of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China to the United States of America

1983—1987 Second Secretary, Deputy Division Director and then Division Director of the Department of Translation and Interpretation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

1987—1990 Deputy Consul General of the People's Republic of China in San Francisco in the United States of America

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- 1990—1993 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to Barbados and to Antigua and Barbuda
- 1993—1994 Deputy Director General of the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
- 1994—1995 Consul General (Ambassadorial Rank) of the People's Republic of China in Los Angeles in the United States of America
- 1995—1998 Minister and Deputy Chief of Mission of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China to the United States of America
- 1998—2001 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Commonwealth of Australia
- 2001—2003 Assistant Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
- 2003—2005 Vice Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
- 2005—2010 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the United States of America
- 2010—2018 Secretary - General, Boao Forum for Asia; Vice President, China - US People's Friendship Association
- 2018— Vice President, China - US People's Friendship Association; Member of the Council of Advisors, Boao Forum for Asia

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Introduction——The Hon Professor Bob Carr

Professor the Honourable Bob Carr is the Director of the Australia – China Relations Institute (ACRI) at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS), the only Australian think tank devoted to illuminating the Australia – China relationship. He is a Professor in International Relations.

Professor Carr is a former Foreign Minister of Australia (2012—2013). He is also the longest continuously serving Premier in New South Wales history (1995—2005). His administration pioneered private provision of public infrastructure, lifted public works spending to a record high, increased school literacy standards and declared 350 new national parks.

He received his Honours degree in History from the University of New South Wales.

He is an Honorary Professor at Beijing Foreign Studies University. He is a recipient of the RSIS Distinguished Visiting Fellowship from Nanyang Technological University and the Fulbright Distinguished Fellow Award Scholarship for service to US – Australia relations. He has served as Honorary Scholar of the Australian American Leadership Dialogue.

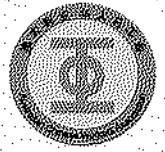
He has been frequently interviewed by international media. His opinion pieces are published in the Australian Financial Review, The Australian, the Sydney Morning Herald and Nikkei Asian Review.

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He is the author of *Thoughtlines* (Viking, 2002), *What Australia Means to Me* (Penguin, 2003), *My Reading Life* (Penguin, 2008) and *Diary of a Foreign Minister* (NewSouth Publishing, 2014).

Professor Carr's research focuses on international relations, foreign policy, Chinese politics and economics, national defence and security.

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Introduction——The Hon Jodi McKay MP

Jodi McKay is the NSW Member for Strathfield, Shadow Minister for Transport, and Shadow Minister for Roads, Maritime and Freight.

Jodi is from Gloucester and began her career as a journalist in television, radio and print media before working in communications and marketing in the private sector.

Jodi was the Member for Newcastle between 2007 and 2011, and held eight Ministerial portfolios during her time in Parliament, including Tourism, Small Business, Women, Science and Medical Research, Commerce and Minister Assisting the Minister for Health (Cancer). Her achievements include appointing the first ever NSW Chief Scientist, strengthening the State's domestic violence framework, championing the world renowned Sydney Vivid light festival, as well as hosting Oprah Winfrey's first ever visit to Australia.

Following the 2011 election, Jodi relocated to Sydney and began working as the Director of Communications, Government and Community Affairs at Family Planning, the State's leading provider of reproductive health services.

In 2014, a sensational corruption investigation into several Liberal Government MPs over illegal donations revealed that Jodi stood up to unscrupulous developers and for that paid the ultimate political price.

The revelations in ICAC spurred Jodi to re-enter NSW politics and she was elected as the Member for Strathfield in 2015. She has also served as a senior Shadow Min-



ister in other portfolios such as Planning and Police.

Jodi is determined to reach out to those who are often overlooked and feel they are without a political voice. She represents a vibrant multicultural community in the heart of Sydney.

Outside of politics, Jodi has held several executive and non – executive roles in leading non – for – profit health, science and research organisations including Epilepsy Action Australia, Australian Science Innovations, Hunter Medical Research Institute and the University of Newcastle Research Associates.

Jodi has a Master of Public Administration from the University of Sydney. She is also the most senior woman in the state parliamentary Labor Party and can tell us much about women in politics and community leadership as we “push for progress”.

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Introduction—The Hon Julia Finn MP for Granville

Prior to my election to the NSW Parliament, I was a Councillor at the former Parramatta City Council, including a term as Lord Mayor. During that time I got to know local Chinese Australians well and hear the stories about their families and their life stories.

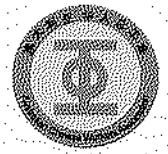
I am especially proud of my role in supporting Lunar New Year celebrations in Parramatta and instigating the local community celebrations of the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony in 2008. This was a great local showcase of Chinese cultural and performance traditions and was enjoyed by many people here.

Now, the most recent Census shows over 8,000 people in my electorate (about 7.5 percent) claim Chinese ancestry, half of whom were born overseas. My electorate is culturally diverse with 57 percent of people born overseas and Chinese ancestry is the fifth most prevalent in our area.

There is a long history of over 200 years of people from China migrating to make Sydney their home. Records show that about 18 Chinese settlers had immigrated to Australia before 1848.

The earliest is reported to have been Mak Sai Ying - also known as Mak O'Pong or John Shying - who is reported to be the first known Chinese immigrant to arrive in Sydney in 1818. He was born in Guangzhou in 1798 and on arriving in NSW he purchased land at Parramatta - to the north of my state electorate of Granville.

On becoming State Member for Granville one of my first speeches in the NSW Parliament commemorated the seventieth anniversary of the Second World War, or the anti-fascist war, as it is known in China. The anti-fascist war is tremendously important for China and the Chinese people as they endured war with Japan from 1937 until 1945,



and it is important to me as my father was a World War II veteran.

As I said in my parliamentary speech, things change over time. The great suffering endured by prisoners of war and others who lived under Japanese occupation is not easily forgotten. Now China is our largest trading partner and perhaps it is also time for Australia to acknowledge how much we benefitted from the brave, determined Chinese resistance that reduced the effectiveness of the imperialist Japanese forces in the Pacific. We have a shared history of defining our nationhood and our independence through this war, and it is something we should reflect on more.

Most Australians are familiar with decisive events during the war such as the Battle of Midway and the hard – fought battles between July and November 1942 as Japanese and Australian forces fought on the Kokoda Trail. Nonetheless, I am pleased to see that the Higher School Certificate Modern History syllabus now focuses more on the Pacific war than it did in the past and includes China during this period. That means that today's students have a better and fuller understanding about the anti – fascist war.

Since 2015 I have got to know local Chinese social organisations and local Chinese business people even better. It is marvellous to join Chinese Australians when they celebrate Lunar New Year but also to join with them in making our community a better place in which to live.

I recognise the important role undertaken by Rev David Wong of St Marks Anglican Church in Granville, leading a wonderful multicultural congregation but also the custodian of one of the most significant churches in my electorate.

For the past 200 years Chinese migrants have been integral to our community and have worked hard to make our city a better and more prosperous place. From the time of Mak Sai Ying to newer arrivals today I welcome the contribution made by Chinese Australians and the contribution they will make into the future.

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Introduction——The Hon Julie Owens MP

I'm Julie Owens, Federal Member for Parramatta and immensely proud to represent the thousands of people of Chinese background who live in my electorate. I am also delighted to have been asked to provide my biography for this publication outlining the significant contribution made to Australia by Chinese communities over time.

I was born in North Queensland and spent my school life there before going to the Queensland Conservatorium of music to study piano. My father was in the army so we moved around a bit. During my High School years, I worked in the Golden Circle cannery in Brisbane and I saw first – hand the way people from overseas worked so hard and sacrificed so much to build new lives for themselves and their families. It filled me with a great pride to be a citizen of a country where others wanted to live, that offered a second chance, a new start. But it also filled me with pain to see the reactions of some in the community who seemed to want to keep Australia from growing into a mature nation that could benefit so much from a more diverse population. I think it was during those days that I realised I had a desire to run for politics for the Labor Party – to support a multicultural and multi – faceted Australia.

Following university, I worked for many years in music and theatre. I ran my own businesses and worked to help other smaller arts businesses survive on arts funding. But I never lost my desire to represent people and stand up for a positive Australia, one that recognises who we are and where we could go by embracing our place in the world and people from overseas.

In 2004, I was fortunate enough after a very long 12 months of hard campaigning to



win the confidence of the people of Parramatta – including large numbers of people from a Chinese background who call Western Sydney home – by becoming their Federal Member of Parliament. The people of Parramatta have sent me back to Canberra as their representative four times since then, a privilege which is only afforded to a few people and one I have never, and will never take for granted.

One of my favourite parts of my job as the Federal Member for Parramatta is visiting the diverse communities I represent – whether at community events, in their homes, their shops or in their neighbourhoods while holding mobile offices. Or indeed in my own neighbourhood which is blessed with people from all over the world.

But with particular reference to the Chinese community of people I represent, I am immensely proud to have one of the highest numbers of people from Chinese background of all the Members in the House of Representatives. As a result, Chinese New Year is always particularly special in Parramatta and I feel sorry for my Parliamentary colleagues who don't get to spend it in their electorates with the lavish celebrations that we get in Parramatta. Western Sydney is a special place to live – Parramatta is on a river so it is even more special – and there is no doubt in my mind that the contributions of people of Chinese background over years and years have been a huge part of this. The ethics and values of diligence and reward for hard work, of honour and respect and hearty celebration borne by our Chinese community have undoubtedly improved Australia and I hope, will continue to for many years to come. We are all better for it.

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Introduction——The Hon Linda Burney MP

Linda Burney is the first Indigenous woman to be elected to the Australian House of Representatives.

Linda is the federal Labor member for Barton. The electorate of Barton includes the suburbs of Bexley, Brighton – Le – Sands, Campsie, Canterbury, Carlton, Earlwood, Hurlstone Park, Hurstville, Kingsgrove, Kyeemagh, Marrickville, Rockdale, Tempe and Wolli Creek.

She represents an electorate with one of the largest Chinese communities in Australia.

Linda is also the opposition Minister for Human Services. The Human Services portfolio is responsible for the administration of Centrelink, including processing and debt recovery.

Early career

Linda began her career as a teacher in 1979, at Lethbridge Park Public School. She then joined the NSW Department of Education and worked in its Aboriginal Education Policy Unit.

Linda served on the executive of the NSW Aboriginal Education Consultative Group, including as President.

In 1998, she served as the Deputy Director General of the NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs, and then as Director General from 2000 to 2003.



NSW State Parliament

In 2003, she successfully ran for state parliament in the NSW Legislative Assembly, as the state Labor member for Canterbury.

She became the first Aboriginal person elected to the NSW Parliament.

In 2005, she was appointed Parliamentary Secretary assisting the Minister for Education and Training until 2007, when she received her first state ministerial appointment.

In April 2007, she was appointed the Minister for Volunteering as well as the Minister for Youth.

She subsequently served as the Minister for Fair Trading, Community Services, Women, and the State Plan.

Following the 2011 NSW State Election, she was elected NSW Deputy Labor Leader. She also served as opposition minister for the Hunter; Sport and Recreation; Planning, Infrastructure and Heritage; the Central Coast; Family and Community Services; Aboriginal Affairs; Early Childhood Education; and Ageing and Disability Services.

Federal Parliament

In May 2016, she resigned from the NSW Parliament, and successfully ran for election to the Federal Parliament as the Labor member for Barton.

As the first Indigenous woman elected to the Australian House of Representatives, she was sung into her seat during her first speech to the Parliament as part of a special traditional song.

Linda was appointed opposition minister for Human Services. As the opposition

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minister, she has fought the Government's inaccurate automated debts which were incorrectly sent to thousands of innocent Australians. She has also fought for Centrelink long call wait times and processing times to be decreased.

Linda has also been appointed to the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee for Constitutional Recognition which is exploring ways to recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the Australian constitution. This is an important and historic committee and the changes it will recommend will require a referendum to amend the constitution.

Locally, Linda has campaigned against the Turnbull Government's attempts to make it more difficult for non - English speaking permanent residents to apply for citizenship.



Introduction——The Hon Luke Foley MP

Luke Foley is the Leader of the Labor Party in NSW. Luke holds a Bachelor of Arts from the University of New South Wales.

Luke has been a member of the ALP since 1988.

He worked with the Guide Dog Association of New South Wales from 1988 to 1990. Luke was an Organiser and Secretary of the Australian Services Union of New South Wales. He has also worked as an Electorate Officer to Bruce Childs, Labor Senator for New South Wales.

Luke was Assistant General Secretary of the Australian Labor Party NSW Branch from 2003 to 2010.

Luke became a member of the Legislative Council in 2010. In 2011 he became Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Council.

As a result of the resignation of former Labor Leader John Robertson in January 2015, Luke was elected unopposed as Labor Leader, he was endorsed as the Labor Candidate for the Seat of Auburn at the March 2015 election.

Current Positions

Leader of the Opposition

Member for Auburn

Shadow Minister for Western Sydney

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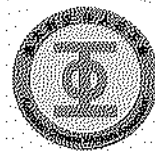
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He is actively involved with several community organisations;

- Member of the Summer Hill Seniors Cricket Club;
- Member of the Sydney Cricket Ground;
- Executive member of the Victor Trumper Society;
- Vice President of the Cormac McAnallens Gaelic Athletic Club;
- Member of the Friends of the Botanic Gardens;
- Member of the Australian Services Union;
- Member of the Australian Fabian Society; and
- Member of the Evatt Foundation.

Luke is married to Edel and has three children Aoife, Niamh and Patrick.

His interests include cricket, football, rugby league, Gaelic football, hurling, reading and history.



Introduction——The Hon Michelle Rowland MP

Michelle is a member of the Australian Labor Party and was elected to the House of Representatives in 2010 as the Federal Member for Greenway.

Prior to entering Parliament she was a senior lawyer specialising in competition and regulation in the telecommunications, media and technology sectors.

In 2013 she was appointed Shadow Minister for Citizenship and Multiculturalism, and Shadow Assistant Minister for Communications.

In October 2015, Michelle was elevated to the Shadow Cabinet and appointed the Shadow Minister for Small Business and Shadow Minister for Citizenship and Multiculturalism.

Michelle was re-elected at the July 2016 election and appointed Shadow Minister for Communications.

Michelle has served as a Councillor and Deputy Mayor of Blacktown City Council, Chair of Screen NSW, and a Director of the Western Sydney Area Health Service.

Michelle represents a diverse and multicultural electorate in the heart of Western Sydney, including the strong growth areas in North West Sydney. She has developed a

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strong relationship with the multicultural communities in Sydney, including the local Chinese community.

Michelle is married to Michael and they have two young daughters, Octavia and Aurelia. Michelle is passionate about affording everyone, regardless of their background, equality of opportunity.

澳大利亚华人总工会

Australian Chinese Workers Association



Australian Government

Fair Work
OMBUDSMAN

The Fair Work Ombudsman (FWO) is an independent Australian Government agency that educates, promotes fairness and ensures justice in Australian workplaces.

To achieve this, the FWO works with employees, employers and the community to promote harmonious, productive and cooperative workplaces. They provide free advice and help employers and employees understand workplace rights and responsibilities. They can assist you to resolve your workplace disputes and the FWO enforces compliance with Australia's workplace laws.

Online resources that the FWO has developed to assist the Chinese community include the following:

- FWO's website translator on www.fairwork.gov.au – This tool makes it possible for you to translate the FWO's website content, including fact sheets and information guides into 40 different languages including Traditional and Simplified Chinese.
- Dedicated Chinese online resources – FWO's website also has a range of professionally translated resources and information covering such topics as pay, holidays, time off work and starting a new job. There are also in – language videos to help explain key workplace entitlements and responsibilities. For Simplified Chinese see www.fairwork.gov.au/chinese, for Traditional Chinese see www.fairwork.gov.au/chinesetraditional.
- Anonymous Report – Recognising the reluctance of many workers, especially migrant workers, to report workplace non – compliance the FWO has an anonymous reporting tool that is available in Traditional and Simplified Chinese. See <https://www.fairwork.gov.au/anonymous-report>.

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fairwork.gov.au/how-we-will-help/how-we-help-you/anonymous-tipoff.

You can also call the FWO for free advice on 13 13 94. If you have difficulty with English, you can call the Translating and Interpreting Service on 13 14 50. They will call FWO for you and interpret your query.



南京市侨联简介

新中国成立后,3000多名华侨来到南京。1960年,南京市归国华侨联合会正式成立,当时有归侨4000余人。今天,南京现有归侨侨眷35万人,保持联系的海外宁籍侨胞10万人。市侨联多次荣获中国侨联和江苏省侨联的先进集体称号,是党和政府联系归侨侨眷和海外侨胞的桥梁与纽带,也是侨界群众自己心目中的娘家。

市侨联充分发挥侨界优势,围绕中心、服务大局,充分运用海内海外“两个平台”,积极发挥财力智力“两个资源”,主动融入“重洽会”“金洽会”,开展了“创业中华,创新南京”侨界人才汇聚金陵、新侨创新创业论坛及项目对接会、海外院士校长南京行等活动,富有成效地开展招商引资、招贤引智工作,在促进我市经济社会又好又快发展中发挥了重要的作用。通过吸纳海外先进技术和管理经验为我所用,吸引和扶持海外优秀人才来宁创业、为国服务,在提高自主创新能力、建设创新型城市方面做出了积极贡献。

市侨联立足基层,贴近实际,倾听广大归侨侨眷和海外侨胞的呼声,积极反映侨情民意,围绕归侨侨眷和海外侨胞普遍关心的热点难点问题,积极建言献策,促进了许多涉侨问题的解决。积极向有关部门推荐德才兼备、参政议政能力强的侨界人士作为归侨侨眷人大代表、侨联界政协委员人选,在人大、政协中充分发挥作用,积极履行侨联参政议政职能。

市侨联大力宣传《中华人民共和国归侨侨眷权益保护法》,坚持以侨为本、为侨服务的宗旨,积极探索主动维权、依法维权、科学维权的方式方法,全心全意做好为侨服务工作,努力做到把广大归侨侨眷和海外侨胞的利益实现好、维护好、发展好。

市级侨联坚持以亲情、乡情、友情为纽带,以血缘、地缘、业缘为基础,采取多种形式开展海外联谊工作,在开展民间往来、凝聚一切积极因素、推进祖国和平统一等方面发挥了积极作用。坚持采取“请进来,走出去”的方式,强化海内外联谊工

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作,搭建交流平台,拓展运作空间,发挥民间优势,深交老朋友,广交新朋友,拓展海外联谊的广度和深度。同分布在世界各地的众多侨团和侨领加强联系与交流合作,为促进侨界和谐发展,为增进中国人民同世界各国人民友好交往贡献力量。市侨联已经与60多个国家的200多名海外重点侨领建立了密切联系,与400多个海外侨团建立友好关系,并通过联合主办“亲情中华,欢聚台湾”“海峡两岸书画家笔会”等活动,增进了同岛内侨界组织的沟通,为促进两岸关系和平发展做出了努力。

为呼应国家公祭日的决定,向海外侨团发出倡议书,并与省侨联共同组织百余名海外侨领来宁祭奠南京大屠杀遇难同胞。在侵华日军南京大屠杀70周年之际,在全球华侨华人中开展网上公祭遇难同胞活动,得到473个海外侨团的积极响应。另外,积极推进文化交流基地建设,中山陵、侵华日军南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆、行知华文教育学校等入选中国侨联“华侨华人文化交流基地”;周园、游子山分别入选省侨联“华侨华人文化交流基地”。

为了支持澳大利亚华人总工会在2016年10月9号举办“澳洲淘金潮华人死难者纪念碑”揭幕典礼,市侨联积极协调南京玄奘寺住持传真大和尚带领徒弟远渡重洋到悉尼主持有关法事。



鸣 谢

从澳大利亚华人总工会执委会 2017 年开会决定编辑《澳大利亚华人社区发展报告 2018》到今年交付出版,编委会全体同仁们克服了各种困难,对本书的顺利完成提供了宝贵支持,因此,澳大利亚华人总工会对全体编委会成员的付出表示衷心的感谢!

本书得以出版离不开参与本书各个专题撰写的各位专家学者的辛勤努力。正是他们的精益求精的学术态度,才使得本书的编写如期完成。在此请接受我们的崇高敬意。

在本书将要交付出版的时候,编委会面临的困难就是原定的赞助款因为某些预料之外的原因未能到位,这本有史以来第一部华人社区发展报告几乎要胎死腹中的时候,我们中华民族的优良传统就像每一次中华民族面临生死关头的时候一样显现了,我们得到了各方的支持。在此特向下述捐赠人士和企业表示诚挚的谢意:

周文杰、郭存孝、孙忠伟、潘勇晖、张我武、陈明强、许基云、林泉、何少良、孔玲、高大惠、朱莉、黄蕾、宁子文、雁异、张金蕊、林瑞华、梁杰夫、秀宝、Monika Tu, Cheng Guo, Joanna Zhang, Chuan He, Lisa, Gina, Dr Yadong Adam Chen; Future Account, T-one Trading Pty Ltd.

一位不愿披露姓名的慈善家暨历史学家以及两位成功企业家孙忠伟和陈明强先生的慷慨解囊,对本书的顺利出版起到了决定性的作用,居功至伟。在此请接受我们的崇高敬意。

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澳大利亚华人总工会顾问李万宏先生更是发动他在工会系统内的广泛人脉帮助筹款志愿者团队。在此请接受我们的崇高敬意。

澳大利亚华人总工会文艺总监刘丹女士带领文艺宣传部全体同仁在华人聚集的各个火车站派发筹款单,为我们的筹款工作立下了汗马功劳。在此请接受我们的崇高敬意。

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本书得到了黑龙江人民出版社的大力支持,尤其是付秋婷编辑对本书的顺利出版全程护航。在此请接受我们的崇高敬意。

本书得以顺利出版,还得到了许许多多不知名的人士的默默支持。在此谨向他们致以崇高的敬意。

澳大利亚华人总工会
2018年6月17日