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**Creating Heterotopia out of Place:  
18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Australia**

# Creating Heterotopia out of Place: 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Australia

This paper focuses on Michel Foucault's essay *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias*, and applies the concept of heterotopias, introduced in his essay, to early Australian society. By doing so, the paper aims to prove the existence of heterotopic sites in early Australian society. Since heterotopic sites are essentially cultural constructs ("counter-sites"), the paper also examines the prerequisites that enabled the creation of heterotopias. That is, the paper examines the conceptual transition that Australia underwent – from a conceptual space to a place, and from a place to a heterotopic site. By using various sources of information and taking into consideration both colonial and post-colonial perception of early Australian society, the paper also shows that Australia embodied virtually every aspect of Foucault's philosophy, which means that it represented a whole range of heterotopias: a heterotopia of both deviation and crisis, a heterotopic site that juxtaposed incompatible sites that also changed their functions, a heterotopia of indefinitely accumulating time, a heterotopia of temporariness, a system of opening and closing, and finally a heterotopia of both illusion and compensation. Furthermore, these heterotopic sites are divided into those noticeable on a micro-level (e.g. Parramatta Female Factory), and those noticeable on a macro-level (the whole continent).

## KEYWORDS

**heterotopia, worlding, Australia, Britain, colonialism, national identity**

This paper focuses on Michel Foucault's essay *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias* in order to apply the concept of heterotopias to early Australian society. The paper takes into consideration colonial and post-colonial perception of early Australian society, and attempts to give an insight into what life was like for early settlers, how Western elite changed their lives, but also the lives of natives and currency lads and lasses.

In his essay, Foucault derives the concept of heterotopias from utopias, the main difference being that "utopias are sites with no real space", "fundamentally unreal spaces", while heterotopias are actual, geographical sites (1967, 3). He defines the latter as "something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which real sites, all other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (1967, 3). He further elaborates the concept and draws the conclusion that "there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias" (1967, 4). What makes them different are the varied forms they take (1967, 4), that is, heterotopias can be divided into several types according to their distinctive features. Firstly, there are heterotopias of crisis and heterotopias of deviation. The former refers to "privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis" (1967, 5), while the latter refers to sites with individuals "whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm [...]" (1967, 5). Secondly, existing heterotopias may change their function, but they are also capable of juxtaposing "in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (1967, 6). Furthermore, there are also heterochronies, that is, heterotopias of accumulation and temporality. They are both linked to slices in time, but the difference between them is that time never stops building up in heterotopias of indefinite accumulation, while time is always in its transitory aspect in heterotopias of temporality, they are "not oriented toward the eternal" (1967, 7).

In general, heterotopic sites are "not freely accessible like a public site" (1967, 7), and thus can be divided according to their systems of opening and closing, which either isolates them or makes them penetrable. One usually has to have a certain permission in order to enter a heterotopic site, or make certain gestures, and, despite the fact that some heterotopic sites seem to be open, they "generally hide curious exclusions" (1967, 7).

Lastly, heterotopic sites usually have a function in relation to all the remaining space. More precisely, there are sites of illusion that expose every real place as more illusory (Foucault 1967, 8), and there are sites of compensation which seem to be more perfect than all the other

remaining space (Foucault 1967, 8). Hence, the purpose of the paper is to apply the above-mentioned Foucault's principles of heterotopia to Australia's society in order to argue that 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Australia indeed functioned according to these principles.

## 2. WORLDING OF AUSTRALIA

It is quite important to bear in mind that heterotopias are cultural constructs realized in real, physical places. This notion is of great importance as it brings closer the underlying concept of heterotopias, i.e. to the prerequisite for heterotopic sites, which is the creation of place out of space. In order to understand the principles of heterotopias in early, colonial Australian society, it is necessary to go back to the earliest days of its settler history. More precisely, to its earliest explorers, colonizers, and settlers to see how Australia "came into being", and how Western civilization, particularly Britain, culturally constructed a place out of a conceptual space.

Although first recorded contacts with Australia were not related to James Cook, he still remains one of the main figures in the early settler history of Australia, and his journals most certainly brought Australia closer to his European contemporaries. Despite other notable explorers, such as Sir Philip Arthur, this paper is focused on James Cook's journals as they serve as the most prolific example of the first contact with the unmapped and allegedly uncultured space.

Beside descriptions of the encountered flora and fauna, for Cook mapping and naming were a far more serious endeavour. As Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin suggest,

Maps and mapping are dominant practices of colonial and post-colonial cultures. Colonization itself is often consequent on a voyage of 'discovery', a bringing into being of 'undiscovered' lands. The process of discovery is reinforced by the construction of maps, whose existence is a means of textualizing the spatial reality of the other, naming or, in almost all cases, renaming spaces in a symbolic and literal act of mastery and control (2007, 28).

The fact that mapping was not just a matter of geography, but also a cultural and social matter, lies at the forefront of James Cook's journals. According to Paul Carter, "for Cook, knowing and naming were identical, but there was no relation between signifier and signified [...]" (1988, 9) which, in fact, means that "the name itself becomes an arbitrary imposition on the place, a linguistic gesture without a local topographical or traditional justification" (1988, 13).

Nevertheless, the given names served their purpose for European explorers of his time and made orientation easier. Cook did not “insensitively [reduce] a foreign coast to certain local, biographical preoccupations of his own” (Carter 1988, 31), but, on the contrary, maintained the difference between “the order of nature and the order of culture” (Carter 1988, 31). This would mean that, for Cook, names “created a cultural space in which places might eventually be found” (Carter 1988, 32). That is, he “inaugurated Australia’s spatial history” (Carter 1988, 33), but also opened the path to colonization which is why Cook’s naming and mapping could also be linked to Martin Heidegger’s notion of *worlding* which is a more general term later vulgarized and applied to imperialism, or, more precisely, to imperialist literature in Gayatri C. Spivak’s work *Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism* (1985, 260).

This conceptual transition from space to place is quite important for the creation of heterotopias as well because both, places and heterotopias, are culturally constructed. The notion of *worlding* makes this assumption clearer as it is a concept used “to describe the way in which colonized space is brought into the ‘world’, that is, made to exist as part of a world essentially constructed by Euro-centrism” (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 226). Moreover, it is “carried out by activities such as mapping, both by putting the colony on the map of the world and by mapping it internally so as to name it, and by naming it to know it, and hence, control it” (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 226).

The conclusion that could be drawn is that heterotopias are by-products of naming, i.e. by-products of this conceptual transformation of space into place, into reality, through *worlding*, i.e. naming, mapping and colonial discourse<sup>1</sup>, on both macro and micro level which will be further explained in this paper.

### 3. HETEROTOPIA OF DEVIATION AND HETEROTOPIA OF CRISIS

Regarding heterotopias of deviation and crisis, Australia may represent both of these principles of heterotopias if the double aspect of the Australian bush is taken into consideration. This assumption also implies another principle of heterotopias, which is the capability of juxtaposing very different sites into a single real place. Nevertheless, juxtaposition will be discussed on a micro level, unlike heterotopias of deviation and crisis.

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<sup>1</sup> “It is the system by which dominant groups in society constitute the field of truth by imposing specific knowledges, disciplines and values upon dominated groups” (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 50).

The bush is one of the main symbols of Australia and is, therefore, an important feature in Australian national identity: "This emphasis on Australian national identity as emerging from a historically 'lowly' type of work, especially in the bush, functions to reinforce or produce a story of Australia as an egalitarian society" (Elder 2007, 49). However, the notion of the Australian bush was not fully transparent since it retained its double aspect which means that it represented both "reality of exile" (Wright 1965, 11), and "reality of newness and freedom" (Wright 1965, 11) for early Australian settlers, especially convicts.

Most of the convicts were sent to Australia for petty crimes because "it was a way to deal with increased poverty [...]. Simple larceny, or robbery, could mean transportation for seven years" (Australian Government, n.d.). Therefore, for them, Australia could have represented a heterotopia of deviation because it was a place destined for "deviant" individuals who disobeyed British law, and whose behaviour was aberrant in relation to required norms. Moreover, penal settlements, such as Norfolk Island, Sarah Island, Port Macquarie, and Moreton Bay, may represent a quintessential example of a heterotopia of deviation due to rough conditions that convicts found themselves in at these settlements: "We have to work from 14-18 hours a day, sometimes up to our knees in cold water, 'til we are ready to sink with fatigue... The inhuman driver struck one, John Smith, with a heavy thong" (Australian Government, n.d.). The fate of women convicts was disturbing as well:

The British Home Office had other ideas, however, and intended New South Wales to be little more than a dumping ground for the excess of convicts which British gaols could not accommodate. Within this penal colony, women were assigned only one main function – they were there primarily as objects of sexual gratification. The main difficulty, as far as the British authorities were concerned, was to find a sufficient number of women convicts, and to do this, they had to impose preponderantly harsher sentences on women [...] (Summers 1975, 268).

Settlers, convicts, and ex-convicts were faced with the "reality of exile" (Wright 1965, 11), a new surrounding they had to assimilate to in order to survive and start a new life. As a result, a number of convicts tried to escape the penal settlements, however, escape did not necessarily imply easier life:

On the 24th, a convict who had absconded on the 5th, having been guilty of a robbery, returned into the camp almost starved. He had hoped to subsist in the woods, but found it impossible. One of the natives gave him a fish, and then made signs for him to go

away. He said, that afterwards he joined a party of the natives, who would have burnt him, but that with some difficulty he made his escape; and he pretended to have seen the remains of a human body actually lying on a fire, but little credit can be given to reports from such a quarter (Philip 1789, 118).

This is another reason why Australia could be interpreted as a culturally constructed heterotopia of deviation. The continent was aimed at “the lowest element of British society” (White 1981, 16) who was sent there to be punished, either through penal settlements or through hardships of coming to terms with a completely new environment. The image of Australia was vulgarized to the extent that Australia was labelled “the ‘land of convicts and kangaroos’” (qtd. in White 1981, 16).

However, it is necessary to stress that this interpretation of Australia is based on a narrow perception. On the other hand, Australia could also be analysed as a heterotopia of crisis, which would mean that Australia was also a privileged space for settlers and convicts who were, in fact, in a state of crisis in relation to their mother country. Therefore, Australia may as well be represented as a privileged space in terms of Foucault’s philosophy, as a “reality of newness and freedom” (Wright 1965, 11).

When all the atrocities done to convicts and natives are taken into consideration, it is quite unimaginable to see the Australian bush as a privileged space at the time. However, it is not impossible if the perspective is changed. In spite of the “convict stain”, settlers strived towards making Australia their homeland. The Great Australian Dream may also incorporate this notion of Australia as a heterotopia of crisis because it symbolises the freedom that Australia could have represented to newcomers, that is, “an earthly paradise for the common man” (Palmer 1958, 9). The government, and other people in whose interest it was to populate the place, made an effort to alleviate the “bad” image of Australia and make it more enticing. There are undoubtedly economic reasons behind the inauguration of this transition: “Between 1830 and 1850, Hell was turned into Paradise. A gradual shift in the needs of both the British and local economies resulted in a new, more complimentary image of Australia competing with, and eventually overwhelming, the old convict image” (White 1981, 29). Settlers were as well aware of the fact that they would fare better if they accepted the new environment and reaped the benefits. For example, Marilyn Lake, a historian featured in the film *The Floating Brothel*, suggests that convicts – women in the context of the film – should be seen as active characters in their own story, as “rational opportunists” (Lewis 2006). Lake refers to conditions on the ship *Lady Juliana*, but this concept of rational opportunism could as well be pertinent to Australia. More precisely, it was a land of new opportunities, new hope and, in a sense, it could be seen as a privileged place for those

whose prosperity was constantly in jeopardy back in Britain.

Nevertheless, convicts and settlers were not the only ones who had to adapt to a new way of life. The Aborigines of the time were as well challenged "to find meaning in a world where their traditional ways and lands were changed" (Australian Government, n.d.). For them, however, due to a century-long racist policies, Australia will become a heterotopia of deviation.

#### 4. JUXTAPOSITION OF INCOMPATIBLE SITES AND CHANGES IN FUNCTION

As it has been shown, the Australian bush represents a place in which heterotopia of deviation and heterotopia of crisis overlap during a certain period of time. However, juxtaposition of incompatible sites can be found on a smaller scale in Australia as well. The two examples that might justify this presumption are female factories and convict ships. Although convict ships are not in direct connection with Australia as a geographical place, they were crucial element in transportation, and for this reason, they are also taken into account when discussing the heterotopias of Australia

It could be argued that transportation ships were heterotopias of deviation in general. They functioned as floating prisons, and conditions on-board were horrifying and humiliating since discipline was brutal. As it is suggested in the film *Short History of The World: Convict Australia*, even "prior to transportation convicts were kept in rotting warships" (Herring 1998), and during transportation they were often chained up for months, they slept in cramped compartments, and were exposed to diseases like scurvy and sea-sickness (Pilot Guides, n.d.). Furthermore, convict ships transporting women often became "floating brothels". Women were "subjected to varying degrees of degradation. In fact, in 1817, a British judge acknowledged that it was accepted that the younger women be taken to the cabins of the officers each night, or thrown in with the crew" (Pilot Guides, n.d.). As humiliating as it was, there were still several positive things related to "floating brothels". For example, in the film *The Floating Brothel*, it is suggested that, for women, life on Lady Juliana also meant fresh air, and regular food, drink and clothes supply (Lewis 2006). Furthermore, Deborah Oxley adds that the British government in fact signed a contract that guaranteed quality food and medical attendance for women as they were regarded as valuable "cargo" (Lewis 2006).

What is paradoxical is that, even though women were sexually harassed and unfairly objectivized, ships like Lady Juliana offered, to some extent, better life conditions. That is, some aspects of life certainly became



better when compared to those in overcrowded British prisons. For this reason transportation ships can represent juxtaposition of incompatible sites – at the same time they were prisons, purgatories, brothels, and, antithetically, places that fulfilled basic physiological and, in a way, safety needs in terms of Abraham Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs. In fact, Foucault uses ships as the quintessential example of a heterotopia: "The ship is the heterotopia par excellence" (1967, 9).

Another example of heterotopia that juxtaposes incompatible sites is the Parramatta Female Factory which was opened in 1821 and located in New South Wales. It was originally a textile factory, a facility for pregnant women, and also an orphanage (Australian Government, n.d.) or, as Anne Summers puts it in her work *Damned Whores and God's Police*, it was "both a prison and a place of employment" (1975, 280). However, Summers also argues that the factory "functioned as a brothel and as a marriage mart" (1975, 281) as well because "any man, emancipist or free settler, could visit the Factory and choose a wife [...]" (1975, 282). It may even be argued that officials tried to sugar-coat the unjust and inferior position of women in the public eye:

But while the Female Factories would appear to resemble conventional imprisonment, they did not abate the enforced whoredom of the convict women. Rather they removed the women from the sight of the free population – so that they could ignore the ill-treatment and degradation of the convicts – and enabled their systematic abuse to be conducted more efficiently (Summers 1975, 280).

On the other hand, there were certain individuals who were aware of the poor conditions and maltreatment of women convicts:

Lady Jane made frequent visits to the Factory to speak to the women and she was publicly criticized for this. [...] She did not attempt to moralize to the women nor, like Governor Darling's wife in Sydney, try to bribe them to reform. Her concern was that they receive some education and better food and clothing and that conditions within the Factory be improved (Summers 1975, 283).

Therefore, once again, there were positive sides to a primarily notorious place. Moreover, similarly to Lady Juliana, the Parramatta Factory was also a safe place for women since:

There is evidence that many of the women looked upon the Factories as their home and did their best to remain in them. There at least they had the companionship of other women in similar circumstances and, together, they were in a better position to

protect themselves or to initiate things, than if they were isolated within a household as servant and sexual fodder (Summers 1975, 283).

Nevertheless, in 1874, the Parramatta Factory ceased to exist in its previous form (Summers 1975, 285), and the facility, i.e. the already existing heterotopia, changed its function: "The following year the Factory became Convict, Lunatic and Invalid Establishment at Parramatta. [...] the enforced whoredom of women could no longer be so blatantly maintained. It was replaced by the more subtle controls of the institutions of marriage and motherhood" (Summers 1975, 285).

Lastly, what could be concluded is that no matter how harsh the conditions were, the convicts, be they male or female, often sought and found a way to come to terms with their position in the colonies. For this reason, heterotopic sites that juxtapose incompatible, and often negative sites, almost always carry another, positive aspect to them which may be a product of human defence mechanisms.

## **5. HETEROTOPIAS OF INDEFINITELY ACCUMULATING TIME AND HETEROTOPIAS LINKED TO TIME IN ITS TRANSITORY ASPECT**

The above-mentioned heterotopias – ships and factories – also incorporate another principle of heterotopic sites which is temporariness. That is, they are linked to time in its transitory aspect. By the mid-19th century, transportation of convicts to Australia was abolished for two main reasons, one being that only "a small percentage of the convict population was locked up", and the other being "the employment needs of Australia's thriving population" (Australian Government, n.d.). Therefore, Australia slowly became self-sustainable as the ratio between supply and demand in the labour market was balanced.

On the other hand, heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time are more complex, but it could be argued that Australia embodied this principle of heterotopias as well. Even though from the aspect of the Indigenous Australians, Australia has always constituted a heterotopia of accumulation as the country accumulated their stories and formulated their worldview, the convicts view was different.

Australia was initially inhabited by convicts who were discouraged, tortured, and disappointed in the British system. Because of this, it may be said that Australian penal colonies functioned as a place in which their broken hopes and dreams, inner troubles, and desperation indefinitely

accumulated, and for a long time, people struggled to eradicate the “convict stain”. However, as it was previously mentioned, people tend to pursue their dreams and what later emerged was “the Australian dream of a better society under the Southern Cross” (Alomes 1988, 339). This may also represent a type of defence mechanism – reaction formation.

That is, the accumulation of uncertainty and identity questions eventually altered its form and evoked the urge for amelioration and kinship.

## 6. SYSTEMS OF OPENING AND CLOSING

One of the principles of heterotopias is the system of opening and closing which means that they can be both isolated and penetrable. In general, it could be said that Australia itself does not represent a system of opening and closing. However, these systems can be found if a particular point of view is taken into consideration. Despite free settlers and government officials, a great number of early settlers were convicts who did not deliberately and freely enter Australia. For them, it was “necessary” to commit a crime in order to enter Australia, i.e. penal colonies and female factories, and it was mandatory to either serve the given sentence or obtain a ticket of leave, a certificate of freedom, a conditional pardon, or an absolute pardon in order to get out. Since authorities often dehumanised convicts at these sites, convicts soon began forming mateships, i.e. systems of support and loyalty that integrate the principles of opening and closing. Even though the concept itself is not strictly linked to a specific heterotopic site, it is a by-product of heterotopic sites such as penal colonies and transportation ships.

In *The Meanings of Mateship*, Inglis Moore indicates the importance of mateship and maintains that it has “received special colorations of significance from its intimate connection with the idea of democracy, equality, socialism, the brotherhood of man, Marxism, and the Great Australian Dream of an antipodean utopia” (1968, 224). Inglis Moore divides mateship into two broad types – the exclusive, which was a closed system, and the inclusive type which was an open system (1968, 224). More precisely, “the first type is found notably in four groups: convicts, larrikins, trade unionists, and marxists. In each of these groups the loyalty of mateship is directed against another group in the social structure: with the convicts against the system, and, on occasion, against all persons standing outside the fraternity and the felony [...]” (1968, 224). On the other hand, the inclusive type is “directed [...] not against conflicting or alien groups, but against the hazards or hardships of an environment, against loneliness, danger, and death, or is directed towards an ideal. Hence there

is no hostility towards other groups, no bitterness, and little narrowness" (Inglis Moore 1968, 225). Therefore, it can be seen that the exclusive type could not be easily penetrated because its members came from specific social groups that shared the common "enemy", while the inclusive type, which prevailed, does not exhibit neither animosity nor preference of certain social groups or places. It is rather ambitious, but not belligerent.

To a degree, the two types of mateship are analogous to the double aspect of the Australian bush. The exclusive type could be seen as a product of the "reality of exile" since the rough reality of a new environment brought these scattered affiliations of different kinds of people together, starting with transportation ships and penal settlements, while the inclusive type is more forward-looking and affirmative like the "reality of new and freedom". The inclusive type could as well carry elements of the "reality of exile", but it seems that its ultimate objective is more unifying and aimed at raising general awareness, rather than focusing solely on hardships and suffering.

## 7. ILLUSIONS AND COMPENSATIONS

Australia, as a heterotopic site, could have a relation to all the remaining space which means that, according to Foucault, it either creates a place of illusion or a place of compensation:

The last trait of heterotopia is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. [...] Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory (perhaps that is the role that was played by those famous brothels of which we are now deprived). Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled (1967, 8).

It could be argued that Australia functions as both an illusion and a compensation, but in different points of view and timeframes.

Initially, from Britain's point of view, Australia was a land destined for convicts which means that it was likely that it had neither an important nor a favourable place among the British working class: "For them, the image of Australia was summed up by Botany Bay, and later by the even more horrific places of secondary punishment such as Port Arthur, Moreton Bay and that 'dwelling place of devils in the human shape, the refuse of Botany Bay, the doubly damned', Norfolk Island. Such an image of exaggerated horror was

an essential element in the penal system of the day [...]” (White 1981, 17). In fact, it seemed as if people were more afraid of being in contact with someone who had been in Australian penal settlements than being sent to Australia (White 1981, 20). For the next generation, it was quite hard to get rid of the “convict stain”, but the situation improved. The function of Australia, in relation to the rest of the space, slid towards an illusion. More precisely, a group of intellectuals realized that the Australian society would fare better if a good reputation was formed. As White suggests, “They naturally preferred to see themselves as midwives to a culture that would lead rather than deprave the world” (1981, 28). Australia “could now be seen as a land of opportunity for the ex-convict, as well as for England’s ‘surplus population’ and for the sturdy and ambitious men who felt their prospects in England were limited” (White 1981, 28). Australia was no longer blood-curdling, but quite the opposite, it seemed as “perfect” as Britain was “messy”. Stereotypes usually played a great role in forming opinions on Australia, the thing is that they changed in accordance with economic interests of the elite. So, by the mid-19th century, it could be argued that Australia began to represent a place of illusion, a place that was more perfect than the rest of the space, a place that seemed to offer more than Britain could have offered. Surely, certain settlers were quite successful, but not everyone could succeed.

The idea of Australia as a land marked with “convict stain” and the idea of it as a land of opportunities can be looked upon from another perspective which would show that Australia was, in fact, a place of compensation, a place that exposed everything that was wrong with the British system of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, and compensated for it.

Irrespective of Australia’s convict past and many racist policies towards Indigenous Australians, as well as non-white settlers, the position of Anglo-settlers was not their fault; rather, it was the harming mind-set inculcated into some of the members of the Western elite that inflicted discrimination upon vulnerable social groups. The point is that Australia, when analysed through its stereotypes and policies during the country’s settler history, can be interpreted as a heterotopia of compensation.

The colonization began because of British defeats, such as the loss of America due to revolutions, overcrowded prisons, and the need for new trade routes. Therefore, the British may have tried to compensate for their failures by constituting a new nation. Even though the beginnings were harsh, in the end, it was the ultimate attempt at creating an egalitarian democracy, and nowadays, Australia constitutes one “of the best countries to live in the world by international comparisons of wealth, education, health and quality of life” (BBC, 2017).

## 8. CONCLUSION

To sum up, this paper explained how Foucault's principles of heterotopias could be applied to the Australian society of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. during the colonization and establishment of permanent settlements. It is important to stress that the analysis mostly focused on Western perception and that heterotopias are seen as the products of British invasion of Australia.

Since heterotopias are culturally constructed, it was necessary to go back to the earliest days of colonization and exploration of Australia to see how it was "brought into being" in the Western rhetoric. The *worlding* of Australia enabled the creation of heterotopic sites that can be found on a larger and smaller scale. It could be said that Australia as a whole might be seen as a place functioning as a heterotopia of both deviation and crisis which also shows that it is a heterotopia that juxtaposes incompatible sites. In addition, heterotopias of juxtaposition can be found on a smaller scale, for example, in female factories and penal settlements. Such facilities also carry another function, which is temporariness. Even though they were temporary, they also played a role in making Australia a place that indefinitely accumulated time, that is, the hardships of convicts and early settlers seemed to be indefinite. Regarding convicts, they were sent to Australia because of their crimes; therefore, Australia was an isolated system from their perspective. However, for other settlers, Australia was a penetrable system. Mateship also has this dual function, as a system of opening and closing. Firstly, it was formed on transportation ships and in penal settlements so it used to be exclusive. However, throughout the time, the notion of mateship became inclusive as it spread into sites that are penetrable.

Australia could also function as a heterotopia of illusion because at times, it was represented through the notions of the Great Australian Dream, as if the land was as perfect as other space, notably Britain, was messy. On the other hand, it can also be seen as a heterotopia of compensation. Due to unsuccessful colonial ambitions and inability to manage the situation at home, Britain attempted to create a new settlement. More precisely, the colonization may as well represent a mirror reflecting what was wrong with the British system, colonialism, and imperialism. Rather than being a nation marked with the "convict stain", Australia ultimately managed to compensate for the failures, and become a successful Western democracy. Nevertheless, it is still facing problems stemming from colonization, such as discrimination of the Aborigines.

Finally, as a heterotopic palimpsest, it is a reminder of how cruel imperial politics can be, but also of people's abilities to adjust to a new environment, and create an affluent nation that Australia nowadays is.

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