

## From the editors of the issue

It is our pleasure to present a new and exciting issue of the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien*. This year's contributions offer a wide range of disciplinary subjects, including Geography, Literary Studies, Translation Studies, Cultural Criticism and History. As editors of the journal, we try to foster the practice of Australian Studies as a multi-disciplinary endeavour, thereby positioning the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* as a crucial forum for exchanging innovative scholarship.

We are also delighted to announce a change in the production of this journal from the University of Klagenfurt to the *Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier*, an academic publisher based in Trier, one of Germany's oldest cities. Under the new publisher, the journal's traditions of rigorous refereeing policies will continue, while allowing considerable room for substantial review articles and reviews to inform European and Australian readers about trends and innovations in publications relevant to Australian Studies. We regard the bilingual direction of the journal as one of its central strengths and unmistakable sign of plurality. We strongly encourage future submissions in both German and English language. Meanwhile, our Association continues to issue a bi-annual electronic Newsletter which presents news, reports and debates on Australia's current affairs. Australianists can visit the e-Newsletter on **[www.australienstudien.org](http://www.australienstudien.org)**.

As part of our ongoing editorial innovations, we have great pleasure to welcome two distinguished academics as members of the journal's Advisory Board: the former editor of this journal, Adi Wimmer (University of Klagenfurt), and our first representative of Drama Studies, Maryrose Casey (Monash University, Melbourne). In close collaboration with the members of the Advisory Board we continue to position the *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* as a central journal of Australian Studies in Europe. The production of this issue would not have been possible without the efforts of our authors, reviewers and anonymous referees. Many thanks indeed.

*Henriette von Holleuffer & Oliver Haag (November 2013)*

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## ESSAYS

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Mitchell Rolls

### **Flora, Fauna and Concrete: Nature and Development in *Walkabout* magazine (Australia: 1934-1978)**

#### **Abstract**

The popular Australian magazine *Walkabout*, published between 1934 and 1978, appears at first glance an exemplar of robust nationalism; a purveyor of simple messages extolling Australia's beauty, bountifulness, potential for development, and empty spaces lying in wait for peopling by resourceful types. In one of the few critiques of the magazine Glen Ross argues that *Walkabout*'s "narration of the nation" promoted modernisation, particularly of the outback, and a nationalism based on white masculine progress (28; and *passim*).<sup>1</sup> Yet the impressionistic "narrative strategies" and "rhetorical machinery" (Geertz 2) advocating progress are not seamless. There are asides that qualify, annexes where a contrary stance is voiced, even developed, and if not that, the inclusion of concerns and interests that create openings and suggest alternative agendas, all of which mitigate if not guard against a simple, foreclosing boosterish nationalism.

It is the tension in the pages of *Walkabout* between advocacy for industrial progress and its interest in native flora and fauna that this paper addresses. Or more specifically, and using an analytical model developed for interpreting nineteenth-century Victorian novels, the sort of reading practices that might shed light on these tensions. This is foregrounded in discussion challenging Ashcroft's and Salter's privileging of "fictional narratives" in the imagining of Australia (19). It is argued here that *Walkabout* furnished material upon which many readers could imagine a hitherto mostly unknown Australia, and that this imagining predates the imaginative catalyst – the Mabo decision – proposed by Ashcroft and Salter. The concern is not with charting the broader historical and socio-cultural contexts in which *Walkabout* was situated and how this changed over time, but in seeking the significance if any of contributions that appear to sit awkwardly with more dominant themes.

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1 For a critique of Ross's reading of *Walkabout* see Rolls (2010a; 2010b).

## Tension and Contrast

In the lead up to the 2010 Australian federal election, Bob Katter, the idiosyncratic independent member for the seat of Kennedy in north Queensland, seized the opportunity for stump oratory. Unsurprisingly he included one of his perennial interests, that of "turning back the rivers" in order to irrigate the arid regions of western Cape York, the gulf country and beyond (ABC 2010b). The blue print for this scheme, variously described as "The Greatest Scheme of All" and "Australia's Next Great National Project", was drafted by J.J.C. Bradfield, the engineer who amongst much else had input into the design of the Sydney Harbour Bridge and oversaw its construction.<sup>2</sup> Bradfield presented his proposal to the Queensland state government in 1938. In it he advocated harnessing several seasonally monsoon swollen rivers whose waters flow eastwards and "wastefully" into the sea, so as to direct their flow west- and southwards instead. Such a course of action would not only bring the excess river water to this region of arid Australia, but would also precipitate climate change by increasing annual rainfall (through increased evaporation). Bradfield anticipated his scheme would dramatically increase primary production, and allow for rapid growth of Australia's population. Writing for a 1941 edition of the popular magazine *Walkabout* Bradfield opined that in order "to hold what we have ... we must have a vastly greater population – say 40 millions 40 years hence. We must plan now how to get these millions" (15).<sup>3</sup>

Although Bradfield's vision was certainly writ large, faith in the transformational powers of irrigation and its supporting infrastructure (such as large reservoirs) is a recurrent theme throughout much of *Walkabout*. So too, in one way or another, is the understanding that Australia must "populate or perish." To this end *Walkabout* can be read for its passion for boosting primary production and rural development, the latter whether through technology, in-

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- 2 Bradfield laid claim to designing the Sydney Harbour Bridge, but so too did others, and it appears that at the very least the final design bears the influence of a number of people (Spearritt).
  - 3 Some 70 years after Bradfield's proposal the Tasmanian premier announced a similarly grandiose scheme (albeit on a smaller scale) to pipe water to the state's dry midlands in anticipation of it becoming "the food bowl of the nation" (see ABC 2010a).

dustry and / or population growth, particularly in rural, remote and northern Australia. Yet whilst there is a discernible boosterish teleology within the loose constraints – accurately described by Michael Cathcart as “cheery bush nationalism” (215) – shaping *Walkabout’s* miscellany, other concerns and interests are also evident. These are not necessarily different voices, although there are those too, but even in the most tacit form acknowledgments exist of certain costs accompanying economic growth, and more explicitly, the significance of Australia’s native flora and fauna.

*Walkabout* was a monthly magazine launched in November 1934. Save for a combined July-August issue in 1972 it published without interruption until 1974, including throughout the war years when quality paper was hard to source and subject to quota. In 1977 an attempt was made to revive the magazine, but it folded with the October 1978 edition after three consecutive issues. Sold through subscription – to individuals, school libraries and other institutions – and on open sale through newsagencies and bookstores throughout Australia and New Zealand, its zenith was the 1965-66 financial year with average monthly sales of 46,908 copies, the 1965 special Christmas issue selling 65,000 copies, and having subscribers in 100 countries (Australian National Travel Association 1966). Throughout its run it was also distributed internationally to Australian High Commissions, embassies, and overseas tourist offices.

It was an early initiative of the Australian National Travel Association (ANTA). Established on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1929, the association’s purpose was to provide a national body that would oversee and coordinate the promotion of tourism both within and to Australia. A corollary of this promotion was to market Australia as a desirable continent to emigrate to and in which to invest (ANTA 1929).<sup>4</sup> Although *Walkabout* was supposedly one of ANTA’s key promotional strategies, under the editorship of Charles Holmes, who was also ANTA’s director and author of the 1932 book *We Find Australia*, the magazine had from the outset a wider objective. And it was this objective,

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4 Most of the Australian National Travel Association board meeting minutes and *Walkabout* files were uncatalogued and unsorted when this material was read in May 2009 and November 2010. Much of the material was held in forty three boxes marked “Beresford”, after the donor Don Beresford. Thanks to Don Beresford and Mitchell Library staff for arranging access to the uncatalogued collection.

rather than a more overt promotional and touristic focus or nationalist propaganda that took precedence.<sup>5</sup> Chas (Charles) Lloyd Jones, the acting chairman of the ANTA board – and chairman of the David Jones department store – made this explicitly clear in the inaugural edition's editorial:

[I]n publishing "Walkabout," we have embarked on an educational crusade which will enable Australians and the people of other lands to learn more of the romantic Australia that exists beyond the cities and the enchanted South Sea Islands and New Zealand. (Jones)

To this end from the very beginning *Walkabout* lent towards the natural sciences and natural history, albeit in popular form. Cemented by Holmes' lengthy stint as editor – he retired from the editorship in August 1957 – it was an approach that endured throughout most of *Walkabout*'s long run.<sup>6</sup>

Examples in *Walkabout* of the tensions between extolling development and interest in natural features potentially threatened by it are both explicit and implicit. They are found within articles, in the juxtaposition of articles with different emphases in particular issues, and across issues, and in those of differing subject matter. Examples of the latter are the articles promoting extractive industries such as mining, forestry and related commerce, and fishing; as well as assorted pastoral industries and agriculture, including wool-growing and cropping. Such articles are unselfconsciously juxtaposed with those focussing on natural history and describing in detail the specificities of assorted flora and fauna. The following are two typical ex-

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5 In addition to *Walkabout*, the Australian National Travel Association published a vast and varied literature, including booklets, posters, yearbooks, and distributed thousands of photographs, that amply fulfilled ANTA's promotional and touristic charter. This material freed *Walkabout* to pursue interests befitting a geographical magazine, which facilitated the showcasing of Australia through a more educational and less explicitly advertising-come-touristic marketing approach. To some extent it also insulated *Walkabout* from the need to respond to the vicissitudes of tourism trends. But see also fn 6.

6 From the mid to late 1960s, and for a range of reasons, the magazine no longer paid its own way, lost its original focus and was more explicitly geared towards marketing both tourism and travel. See collection of letters from Editor Wally Crouch (ANTA 1971). It is the decades preceding this development that are the principal focus of this paper.

amples of ostensibly conflicting and disparate material. The April 1940 issue amongst other contributions features a goanna as the cover image ("Goanna"), an article on the iron ore deposits at Yampi sound (Ewers), one describing the frogmouth bird (Harvey), another a species of ray (Patterson), and another describing the discovery of shale-oil deposits in Australia and the workings at Glen Davis near Lithgow in New South Wales (Samuel). In a 1942 issue Christopher Barlow writes of forest clearing in New Zealand to ready land for grazing and farming:

For most surely the bushman stands at the head of New Zealand's pioneers. With destruction and fire he blazed the trail for New Zealand's cattle and sheep and wheat. His was the task of wresting the land from the ancient forest strongholds – and his is the victory. (33)

The same issue provides a photographic article on Australian lizards ("Australia and the South Seas") and an illustrated article on Australian possums (Curtis 1942). Contrasts like these within single issues – articles supporting the destruction of habitat and those describing its dependent flora and fauna – are typical of *Walkabout*, not exceptional.

The promotion of progress and extolling the virtues of modernity was of course nothing new and had long antecedents. Even in the early nineteenth century it was already well rehearsed advocacy. In his second annual address to Congress US President Andrew Jackson rhetorically asked:

What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute...? (Jackson)

On a different continent and 118 years later Allan Callaghan, an agricultural scientist, Rhodes Scholar and the then Principal of Roseworthy Agricultural College in South Australia, expounded similar sentiments in the pages of *Walkabout*: His article commends the draining and clearing of 4,500 acres of land in south-eastern South Australia, so as to transform it from uneconomical wasteland to realised potential, or as its title suggests, "From Tea-Tree Swamp to Pasture":

... [S]oon 2,500 cows will graze where once stood impenetrable tea-tree. The transformation from tea-tree swamp to pasture will then be

complete, and thirty-three families in modern homes will be the living testimony to man's triumph over swamp and scrub. (Callaghan 32)

Many contributors, however, were more equivocal than Callaghan when discussing the destruction of flora and fauna. The year before Callaghan (1948) gladly foresaw a prosperous farming community emerging from a tea-tree swamp, R. Emerson Curtis, an artist, illustrator and cartoonist, wrote more generally of the need to better manage and conserve Australia's standing timber in light of its plundering during the war. He argued the urgent need for better forestry management practices, reafforestation projects, and for the cessation of the ringbarking and clearing of trees undertaken by pastoralists. The latter he warned set in train processes that devastate the land's viability:

Flood water and wind, sweeping unchecked over areas of once well-wooded country, have stripped away the rich top soils and rendered barren and useless great stretches of once fertile land. (29)

This warning of consequences is in an article otherwise extolling the virtues of Australian timber and supportive of an expanding albeit better managed forest industry.

In 1950 in an article simply titled "Trees" Bernard Magee describes their beauty, their romantic influence on poets and artists, and their pivotal role in sustaining "countless animals, insects, and birds..." (44). He explains furthermore, that forests need protecting for through their capacity to store water and regulate climate and rainfall, they "spread wealth to a spacious land" (44). Nineteen years after Callaghan urged the clearing of tea-tree the influential landscape designer and author of several books, Edna Walling, writes of being appalled by what she describes as the slaughter of Australia's paperbark and tea-trees, and passionately urges its conservation.

It is regrettable, to say the least, that it is so often slaughtered as so much valueless "scrub", a fate ignorantly meted out to so much of the native beauty of Australia. (24-25)

The relationship between landowners and the wedge-tail eagle provides another example of the equivocation and tensions between supporting the expressed interests of the rural sector and concern for protecting fauna. It was long held by many that wedge-tails were the scourge of young lambs even though contemporary research concluded that eagle predation on healthy lambs was a rare event

(Apgar).<sup>7</sup> Commencing in 1935 *Walkabout* began canvassing this issue. The collector A.F. Embury writes of the eagle's magnificence – "the most picturesque and typically Australian of all the ..." native hawks – and notes a "belief" that the birds "are a menace to flocks and poultry" (16). He records this "belief" had seen many thousands killed, and lists various methods used by farmers and graziers to this end. One grazier boasted of having "trapped and killed one hundred and twenty eagles in twelve weeks". Given there was a bounty on eagles such killing was not without monetary recompense, but financial reward was not the eagle's primary threat.<sup>8</sup> When describing to the grazier how he had found on another's property a nest of nankeen kestrels, whose diet comprises mostly mice and grasshoppers, Embury was surprised when asked if he had killed them. For this grazier all birds of prey were the potential predators of lambs (16-18).

The grazier had laboured hard to eradicate rabbits, and in Embury's day-long walk none were seen. In areas where rabbits were abundant and the number of smaller native animals considerably diminished due to grazing and farming activities – and competition from

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- 7 In the 1960s the school bus of my early childhood followed a stock route. It was mostly sheep droved along this section (and only very occasionally cattle). Several farmers in the district, eking out a living on soldier-settler blocks carved from a formerly large station, raised sheep. On the fence alongside one stretch of the dirt road it was not unusual to see boastfully mounted and always with wings out-stretched a wedge-tail eagle or two, and once three.
  - 8 In 1935 the bounty was 2 shillings 5 pence per eagle (Upfield 26). Relative value is not a straightforward computation, however, using average earnings as the computational measure 2s5d equates to approximately \$38AUD in 2010. For determinations of relative value, see: <http://www.measuringworth.com/>. In Western Australia bounties continued to be paid for eagles until 1968, and in Queensland until 1974. It was only removed from Western Australia's "vermin" list in 1989. Special "damages licences" are still obtainable in Western Australia which permit the destruction or removal of fauna, including the eagle, under certain circumstances. There is, however, no evidence that eagles prey on healthy lambs to any significant extent. A ten year survey in the 1960s by the CSIRO concluded that eagles were responsible for less than 1% of lambs taken, some of which would almost certainly have died of other causes such as abandonment or illness (Apgar 2; see also Eric Rolls 298-299).

more numerous and / or aggressive introduced fauna – rabbits had become a principal food for eagles. In successfully ridding his land of rabbits, Embury argues the grazier was responsible for eagles switching their predatory attention to lambs and poultry. Despite this, Embury does not criticise the grazier:

We can scarcely blame him if, having seen fit to go to the expense of cleaning up the one pest, he should be equally intent upon the extermination of the other. (17)

Although empathising with the lot of the grazier, Embury still cannot support their desired demise of the wedge-tail. He concludes though it might be sensible “to keep their numbers in check, it would certainly be a national sin to allow the species to be exterminated” (18). In contrast, in an article on rabbit and fox fur trappers contemporary with Embury’s, Arthur Upfield, an astute and sensitive observer of the remote landscape and its people, makes little distinction between eagles, foxes and rabbits in his evocative and harrowing description of how each is trapped. Of the eagle Upfield does admit that “It is saddening to see these great birds thus destroyed, but any trapper’s heart has long been hardened by their terrible attacks on newly-born, defenceless lambs” (26).<sup>9</sup>

Over the years *Walkabout* returned to this issue a number of times (see for example J.B.;<sup>10</sup> Chandler; Gigney; Tomkinson). But despite *Walkabout* marketing itself as Australia’s “geographical magazine”, it did not pursue definitive resolution of debates such as these. Its interests were more varied and nuanced than unabashedly throwing its support behind the lot of the farmer, pastoralist or miner, or as instanced above, the wedge-tail. It was inclusive of contradictory and competing concerns. Although generally supportive of development, in attempting to foster familiarity with Australia’s natural beauty and native wildlife, and through that an appreciation for and

9 Such discussion and ambivalence over the extent of eagle predation on lambs was not confined to *Walkabout*. It was a current debate appearing in many fora, including in the early to mid 1930s in the pages of the Australian ornithological journal *Emu* (see Roberts; Anonymous; McGilp; Lansell). Although some writers to *Emu* argued eagles were a menace to even healthy lambs (see for example McGilp), most contributors agreed that such predation was rare.

10 The author used initials only and to date I’ve been unable to find the full name.

love of country, articles urging the conservation of species and the better management of natural resources abound.

It was not just the more readily rhapsodised birdlife and iconic fauna like eagles, emus, koalas and crocodiles that *Walkabout* featured, although these were the subject of many articles and photographs. Numerous articles and notes described the characteristics and habitat of a vast range of flora and fauna, including varied reptiles, amphibians, macropods, monotremes, even fungi. Stanley Breeden's "Close up of a Forest Community" describes a "day in the life of creatures who live on, or under, the bark of trees within nine miles of Brisbane" (15). Spiders, insects and reptiles are the focus of his article.

The desert regions too provoked contrasting discussion. In 1935 in a descriptively titled article "Sand", Ion Idriess writes of the delicate beauty of the Australian desert, the life it nourishes, and of the changes undergone across millennia. Country once well-watered, forested and sweetly grassed, the rangelands of the megafauna, was now

our land of the night-parrot, of the burrowing mole, of the sightless snake, of things so elusive that they are no more than a hiss or a squeak in the night. (22)

His concern was not simply that in disturbing "the balance of nature" (23) through overstocking and the clearance of sparse vegetation that land (even country distant from the point of disturbance) was stripped of its productive potential. It was also that something uniquely valuable in and of itself was being irrevocably destroyed; even things that were "no more than a hiss or a squeak in the night." In 1948 Kathleen Woodburn found in the deserts a finely balanced, sensitive ecosystem checked from expansion by a lightly vegetated fringe. She critiques the pastoral industry for ignoring scientific advice and overstocking this constraining barrier. Woodburn argued its consequential destruction leads inevitably to the rapid desertification of formerly productive and beautiful country (32-34).

In contrast to Idriess and Woodburn, Michael Sawtell, a former drover, union organiser, Emersonian and staunch advocate for Aboriginal rights (Roe), wrote in anticipation of how the discovery of oil and technological intervention would render the Simpson Desert fertile and productive. This was the only arid region that Idriess (22)

believed was still defying attempts to exploit it. Citing the aforementioned Bradfield's vision for watering inland Australia, Sawtell proclaims:

Oil is even more powerful than water. Roads, towns, local irrigation schemes from wells and tanks, and other improvements would follow the discovery of oil in the Simpson. ... [Its] discovery ... would have a great influence upon the dust problem and climatic conditions over an enormous area of eastern inland Australia. (35)

Not for Sawtell the need to rein in the excessive stocking of the pastoralists and the urging of more sympathetic exploitative practices. Instead he had faith in the capacity of the technologies of industrial modernity to overcome even the most challenging environmental constraints.

Four years earlier – in 1944 – the author and playwright Henrietta Drake-Brockman posited that water alone would bring the infrastructure and industry envisaged by Sawtell, and not just to the desert. Drake-Brockman was the wife of Geoffrey Drake-Brockman, who from the early 1920s (until 1941) was based in Broome as Commissioner (and subsequently engineer) for the Department of the North-West. In that capacity he urged the development of agricultural industries in the Kimberley - Ord River region (Cowan). Like Bradfield's vision for watering western Cape York and inland Australia, Henrietta Drake-Brockman wrote of the waters of the Ord emptying wastefully into the sea. Of the then recently proposed Ord River irrigation scheme she expounded:

Water means growth, growth means wealth, wealth means power. To-day water means also hydro-electric power, power means plant, plant means manufacture. The ever-widening circles of a single engineering achievement – however remote – can spread prosperity and comfort throughout an entire continent. (6)

Similarly to Sawtell, Drake-Brockman foresaw any problems that arose realising this prosperity being solved by the application of modern twentieth-century science (9).

A belief in the existence of almost limitless land suitable for irrigation is found throughout *Walkabout*. However, this position was not unchallenged. Gordon Wood, Professor of Commerce at the University of Melbourne (and influential advocate for journalists) warned in an article in 1949 of the cost of development where soil fertility is low and rainfall inadequate. He argued these costs could risk lower-

ing the standard of consumption, and that improving efficiency on lands already in use would be more sensible.

The expensive and extensive development of areas which have been very slenderly endowed by nature for rural or other production would seem to be less justifiable than intensive development of the favoured regions already occupied and in process of development. (18)

Almost twenty years later, in "Water for a Thirsty Land: Bradfield Scheme had Flaws", Rhea Boldery pointed out that irrigation is not viable in arid areas. Further, she correctly described as "absurd" Bradfield's proposition that evaporation from large inland reservoirs created by diverting rivers would produce sufficient atmospheric moisture to bring rainfall to parched areas (Boldery 16-19; 18). Others not so much objected to, or even interjected in, the exhortations for further development. Rather, in gently expressing misgivings they voiced concerns that brought into focus the subtle splendour of extant landscapes; sensory perceptions often overlooked in the bluster advocating progress. Such sensitivities can be found throughout *Walkabout*. They are not coincident with the emergent conservation and environmental movements of the mid to late 1960s. In an early edition of *Walkabout* (1935) and writing of Mildura's environs following the building of the lochs on the Murray River, Alice Lapthorne notes the greater productivity that irrigation brings, but regrets how it has destroyed much of the landscape's prior beauty. The richness of the riverine environment, a land and waterway hosting a profusion of wildflowers, and of ducks, frogs leeches, fish and bird calls and the domain of Aborigines, now grew just grapes and oranges. "The silence that was once unbroken, save for bird-calls and the croaking of frogs, is now shattered by the constant roar of water ..." (28).

### **Literature, Imagining and Nationalism**

The examples above typify the sort of tensions and ambivalences that rattle their way throughout *Walkabout*, and through every single issue one way or another. It is easy to find in *Walkabout* a teleology, in which today's society was an inevitable outcome of and reward for faith in progress and modernity's capacity to deliver prosperity. In such a fashioning other concerns are diminished or contemptuously dismissed (after all, there were only birds and crocodiles in the soon-to-be-flooded gorges of the Ord River (see Drake-

Brockman 10). However, to read *Walkabout* in this way is determinist, and is to ignore the contingent basis of ostensible historical trajectories and the range of possibilities open at any given time. The tensions betwixt advocacy for progress and concern for the environment and conservation, whether that concern be incidental or explicit, raises some of these possibilities.

Moreover, the significance of concerns divergent to more dominant themes should not be overlooked. Ivor Indyk, in his paper "On 'the Land' as a Relative Absolute", observes that in the literature of the "radical nationalists" writing between the wars in the 1930s-40s, "the land" is frequently perceived "as the source and repository of all that was essential about Australian identity and the Australian character." In the novels of Palmer, Prichard, Davison, Herbert, Dark, Eldershaw and Tennant, ostensibly the land represented a "fundamental truth, an absolute beyond which there could be no other reality" (Indyk 105). This work stands in contrast to that of Murnane and Malouf, who Indyk suggests adopt a postmodern outlook to notions of land so as to "challenge the fixity of identity and subjectivity" (105). But as Indyk proceeds to argue, a closer reading of the place of land in the work of the literary novelists of the thirties and forties reveals not the aforementioned fixities and nationalist certainties, but rather a testing of these values in contemporary circumstances. He finds "[t]he land invoked was not, as one might think, a land made fruitful or productive in its coming to nationhood" (106). The land represented an array of possibilities rather than a tableau upon which aggressive nationalist and imperialist agendas were inscribed. It is my contention that *Walkabout* too, whilst seeking to educate Australians and others about the Australian landscape (and its potential for development), was not reproducing hegemonic forms of radical nationalism, but more an ambivalence that was ripe with possibilities.

Indyk was writing about Australian literature. *Walkabout* on the other hand, was not literary in the conventional sense, but rather a magazine comprised of non-fiction "embarked on an educational crusade" to enlighten Australians about that which lay "beyond the cities" (Jones 7). Further, it favoured empirical works over armchair commentary. *Walkabout* then was concerned with facts, and to these ends it promoted itself as a "geographic magazine" presenting "the most interesting features of Australia and the South Seas". Al-

ready leaning towards the natural sciences, in August 1946 it became "the official organ" of the newly formed Australian Geographic Society (AGS) and in 1947, with an interest in enhancing the "authoritative character of the magazine" its title was changed to *Australian Geographical Magazine: Walkabout* (ANPA 1947).<sup>11</sup> Despite this, and anxious not to lose its established readership, *Walkabout* continued to publish articles (and accompanying illustrations) "in popular form" (ANPA 1950: 1).

It remains true, however, that for the most part works of non-fiction are spared the finely textured scrutiny of the literary critic. Non-fiction may be read for its politics, ideology, biases, facts (contested or otherwise) and a host of other things, but rarely for its "narrative strategies" and "rhetorical machinery" (Geertz 2). There are exceptions to this. Since the mid to late 1970s and influenced by Clifford Geertz's (amongst others) application of literary theory to works of anthropology these too have been read (and still are) through this critical apparatus. Anthropologists are now very aware of how the "literary character of anthropology" (Geertz 3) reveals the "imagery, metaphor, phraseology or voice" (Geertz 2) the "author" deploys to weight his or her data with authority.<sup>12</sup> Although *Walkabout* magazine, in bringing knowledge of Australia's interior and remote areas to an urban-based and overseas readership only published non-fiction, many of its article-length contributions were carefully selected on the quality of their rhetorical style. This was important not only because of the intended educational role and reach of the magazine, but also because the majority of its readers (72%) were in professional or skilled categories (ANTA 1961, 4). Despite being "dependent on free-lance writers of varying knowledge, ability and talent" (ANPA 1947), the editorial board consistently strived to maintain the general quality and readability of articles, and actively sought the contributions of some of mid-twentieth century's leading popular Australian writers, including Ernestine Hill, Mary Durack, Ion Idriess, Arthur Upfield, John K. Ewers, George Farwell, Henry Lamond and

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11 The Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) changed its name to the Australian National Publicity Association (ANPA) on 16 December 1940. It reverted to its former name in 1955.

12 It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss why it is that the discipline of anthropology and the works that discipline "authors" are now so self-reflexive.

the naturalist David Fleay.<sup>13</sup> Such contributors amongst many more consciously engaged with the “theatre of language” (Barthes 192). They were not mere “writers” performing “an activity” in order “to give evidence, to explain, to instruct” (Barthes 189). For the purposes of rendering those interests of their concern sensible many of *Walkabout*’s contributors employed the persuasive devices normally associated with literature.

In promoting the opportunity for hitherto unthought-of possibilities for “[w]hat ‘Australia’ means”, Bill Ashcroft and John Salter argue for the primacy of creative writing, of “fictional narratives” (19). According to them, “literary writing is valuable”:

because the “unknown” has yet to be imagined, and it is in that part of the textual fabric of Australia called literature that such an imagining can best be accomplished – imagining the place, imagining the self; imagining the self in place. (19)

Ashcroft and Salter see the 1994 Mabo decision, contemporary with the time they were writing, as producing the conditions in which the “rhizomic structure”, that “concealed *network* of signification” linking various Australian cultural texts, would reveal a new and consequential understanding of Australia.

This reading/writing constitutes not simply the bringing to existence of the (new) text of the place “Australia” (one which supersedes *terra nullius*), but as well, and this is really what the post-Mabo debate is all about, a new awareness of conscious existence *within* this place. (22; their emphasis)

There is of course a tendency to find and privilege what one is looking for, but the sort of imagining that Ashcroft and Salter believe is now possible because of, or perhaps provoked by, the recognition of native title in Australia, can also be found in earlier literature; even in that literature aforementioned that is generally interpreted as being broadly nationalist. Crucially, the tensions apparent in *Walkabout* as discussed here, and for that matter tensions vis-à-vis Aborigines (see Rolls 2010a) and much else are also apparent, are a product of the very imagining desired by Ashcroft and Salter. This is not to try and privilege the critical reading of a popular magazine with its component works of non-fiction over that of literary fiction.

13 These authors alone – and the list is by no means exhaustive – contributed 245 articles to *Walkabout*.

It is to argue the relevance of this and other such work in considerations of how Australia has been and is imagined.

It is ironic that Ashcroft and Salter envisaged an "imagining" of the "unknown" capable of producing new texts founded on the explicitly technical decision of the High Court and the legislative apparatus of the subsequent Native Title Act. These are the necessary instruments founding the imagination they foresaw and desired. In bringing information about the remote and rural regions of Australia, the people who lived there including Aborigines, and accessible details about native flora and fauna to its many urban readers, *Walkabout* too was promoting knowledge instrumental to any imagining of place. Looking back from the perspective of the mid 1960s, the historian Alec Bolton claimed that *Walkabout* "as much as anything else, discovered outback Australia to the popular imagination" (5). Considering the integral position of flora and fauna in Aboriginal epistemologies and the specialised knowledge that Aborigines possess of their environment, the pertinence of facilitating settler knowledge (and imagining) of place inclusive of these other presences (flora and fauna) cannot be underestimated. Ashcroft and Salter called for a fictional "imagining" of the "unknown" based on the belated recognition of factual native title. For decades *Walkabout* had already been providing the resources upon which "unknowns" – remote landscapes, native flora and fauna – could also be imagined, based on a more thorough understanding of presences, which like native title, pre-existed settler society, and which like native title, most were ignorant of.

*Walkabout* therefore provided a glimpse into the disparate constituencies of different environments in which Aborigines had long been "imagining [themselves] in place." This is not to suggest that these glimpses fostered contiguity between settler and Aboriginal imaginings of place, but knowledge of what is actually there is fundamental to any imagining of how to perceive it, and crucial to any awareness of the need for something's conservation. This holds as true for knowing of the existence of native title as it does for knowing of the existence of the night parrot and the burrowing mole. For a start and most obviously, the so-called "dead heart" of Australia was not

quite so dead after all, a reality very familiar to *Walkabout's* readers.<sup>14</sup>

### Genre Shifts and Boundary Lines

In her study of nineteenth-century Victorian novels, Suzanne Keen identifies what she calls "narrative annexes". These function to "allow unexpected characters impermissible subjects, and plot-altering events to appear, in a bounded way, within fictional worlds that might be expected to exclude them" (1). Victorian novelists, therefore, employed the device of the annexe to address issues and anxieties that would be otherwise unacceptable. Narrative annexes differ from satellite and more incidental events and temporary changes of setting in that the former are "consequential for the plot", whereas the latter do not disturb the plot's overall direction (3,6). Keen also distinguishes annexes from other ever present devices such as the inclusion of contrasting voices, or the additional information provided by a second narrator or some other supplementary source (7).

As evidenced above, many of the articles in *Walkabout* in their incidental mention of environmental concern of one sort or another are not utilising an annexe-like device to introduce difficult or impermissible subject matter. A sentence or two, whilst perhaps giving a reader pause for reflection (a contrasting voice?), does not replace the norms otherwise iterated in the body of an article. They are largely inconsequential to the narrative plot. If, however, we con-

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14 By the 1930s a number of popular authors were contesting the metaphor of Australia's "dead heart," most notably the zoologist H.H. Finlayson (1935) in *The Red Centre*, R.H. (Bob) Croll (1937) in *Wide Horizons* and Ernestine Hill (1940) in *The Great Australian Loneliness*. Hill proclaims "[t]he allegedly 'dead heart of Australia' is vitally alive" (247) and her desert section, contained in "Book III", is titled "The Living Heart" (245). Both Croll and Hill amongst many others contributed articles on the centre to *Walkabout*. See for example Croll (1934); Croll (1939); Hill (1935). On the imaginative shift from the "dead heart" to the vibrant "red centre" see also Tom Griffiths (1996: 176-192); Roslynn Haynes (1998: 143-160). Significantly *Walkabout* also included many feature articles about, incidental commentary on and photographs of Australia's Pacific and northern neighbours, thereby assisting the capacity of readers to apprehend Australia's regional location.

sider *Walkabout* in its entirety as a text,<sup>15</sup> and one interested in the rhetorical machinery of narrative in its capacity to drive apperceptions of place, we do find annexes in the form of provocative departures. These furnish strong and clear delineations of alternative ways of seeing the landscape and interventions that breach the championing of progress. There exist narrative structures and rhetorical machinery arguing a different ethic.

These would include, in addition to the more literary contributions in popular style, the many notes on natural science and the letters and responses concerned with the accurate identification of species (snakes to take but one example). For the most part these contributions do not contain imaginative flourishes, but description alone of a variety of Australia's unique flora and fauna. There are notes concerning entomology, ornithology, herpetology, and ichthyology; native bees, geckoes, spiders, angler fish, grass trees, and so on. The act of recognising the presence of these natural features, some conventionally beautiful but others not so, helps pack the landscape with considerations that might prove an impediment to unfettered progress. The inclusion of natural history through these descriptive notes, letters and articles, highlights presences other than gold, coal, silver, oil, osmiridium, copper, tin, iron ore, uranium, mica, tungsten, wool, cattle, fish, wheat, barley, oats, hops, apples, pineapples and bananas, all of which amongst much else also feature in *Walkabout*. Considered with those articles explicitly concerned with conservation, this natural history miscellany constitutes genre shifts in the overall text of *Walkabout* that function in a similar way to the annexes Keen discerns in nineteenth-century Victorian novels.

Annexes are initiated by a combined shift in genre and setting that changes the fictional world of the novel, and they work by interrupting the norms of a story's world, temporarily replacing those norms, and carrying the reader, the perceiving and reporting characters, and the plot-line across a boundary and through an altered,

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15 A significant number of *Walkabout* readers were reading the magazine in its entirety, and were doing so over a number of years. A November 1961 reader survey found that in the preceding seven months 70% of respondents had read every issue. More anecdotally, readers commented that "We read *Walkabout* from cover to cover and enjoy it very much." Some of the respondents had been subscribing to the magazine for nearly two decades (ANTA 1961: 4).

particular, and briefly realised zone of difference. In small spaces and few pages, narrative annexes challenge both cultural and literary norms to form imaginative worlds more variously, in sometimes distracting or dissonant interludes. (1)

This is precisely the role of the material in *Walkabout* discussed here. The ostensible norms of progress, of peopling and watering the continent, of forever increasing primary production, of celebrating instances of winning-the-battle-against-nature and the “thunder of dynamite” and the “fat plop of concrete” (Drake-Brockman 10), are temporarily displaced by a shift in genre to natural history and the foregrounding of concerns for conservation. These “dissonant interludes” challenge cultural norms to “form imaginative worlds more variously”, and in doing so, facilitate a reimagining of place. Keen writes that narrative annexes “reveal not only the effort to employ alternative representational strategies, but also the subjects that instigate that effort” (1-2). Recognition of the delicacy and vulnerability of the Australian environment (prescient in many instances) and all that dwells on, in and above it, was the subject matter propelling the narrative strategies that challenged the norms of the dominant story.

The significance of these “interludes” and their capacity to disturb, disrupt or challenge the dominant story are often misunderstood, ignored or dismissed. Rather than finding disruption, Jillian Barnes finds instead incoherence. Relying extensively on articles in *Walkabout*, she states that “ANTA’s productions were always to some degree incoherent. Some writers, for example, acknowledged modes of Aboriginal spatiality ... while others fostered a non-combative view of Nature” (166). According to Barnes, such “incoherence” ultimately did not disrupt ANTA’s contribution to “a legitimating narrative long used by Europeans around the world to ratify conquest and dignify their possession of land” (156). In a critique of *Walkabout*’s first fifteen years Glen Ross argues that it was a nationalist vehicle promoting an exclusionary form of progress that was white, mono-cultural and masculine (Ross; see also Barnes). Not only does this argument not withstand scrutiny vis-à-vis Aborigines (see Rolls 2010b), the broader sweep of the magazine does not imagine into being such an Australia, or at least, not that alone and not without contention. Indyk, in discussing the novels of the aforementioned “radical nationalists” – or “liberal humanists” as they are also sometimes labelled (see Indyk 110) – of the 1930s-40s, finds their invocation of

the Australian landscape more complex, intricate and responsive to contemporary vicissitudes than many critics allow. He finds "nothing imperial ... and virtually no sense of a national destiny" (113) in their invocation of the landscape. The novels' iterating of the "pioneering condition", sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit, is not to imagine a resplendent future arising from such a foundation, but rather a "testing of the social values" of the pioneering era. As Indyk suggests this was an understandable reaction to the between-the-wars social upheavals being experienced both in Australia and abroad (113).

*Walkabout* too, in its own way, was testing the social values of yesteryear. That it does so is not immediately apparent, for its focus on rural, regional and remote Australia ostensibly places *Walkabout* at a remove from the socio-cultural milieu of the increasingly cosmopolitan cities where these values were more explicitly under challenge. But the novels Indyk is discussing are also concerned with landscape, and some of these "favour the marginal setting, at the edge of settlement, face to the wilderness, the forest, the sea, the saltbush plains" (Indyk 106), which is very much *Walkabout's* terrain. Clearly *Walkabout* was interested in assisting to bring these areas of Australia into productivity, or increasing what little there already was, and in doing so further integrating them into a more aggressive form of socio-political and socioeconomic nationalism (see Indyk 107). However, *Walkabout's* embrace of pastoral and agricultural industrialism, promotion of tourism, and advertisements for luxuries amongst much else, spoke of the need for different social values to those held by man-with-axe subduing his domain. So too did concern for the water rat, the brush turkey, the blind snake, the burrowing mole, the insects and spiders in the forests close to Brisbane, as did concern over expansion of the deserts and general environmental degradation.

## Conclusion

*Walkabout's* focus was more bucolic than urban, and more natural science and history than any of the arts. Its production values (at least until the 1960s) were very high and the quality of included imagery superb (it employed a staff photographer). In character its carriage and conduct was modest and it went about its business without pretension. Although one of its founding aims was to bring

to littoral-dwelling Australians (and others) knowledge of the natural features of the Australian continent, its peoples and varied pastoral industries, and to render the unseen familiar and appreciated, it wore its nationalism lightly. Instead of promoting an insular and strident pride *Walkabout* attempted to foster through education and understanding a more enduring and inclusive delight in one's country. It also promoted development and progress. Articles speaking about the need for a greater population, faith in science to counter all obstacles, grand schemes for water, were all enthusiastically covered. This was especially so in the post war "nation building" era when *Walkabout* began to favour the scientist over the naturalist. As argued by Fetherstonhaugh:

For the naturalist, attention to the living animal or plant in its entirety within its natural surroundings was an end in itself ... [where] a primary focus remained the understanding of a "fellow creature" through direct experience in the field rather than through laboratory work. By the end of the 1940s fewer articles in *Walkabout* presented this perspective and proportionately more exhibited a reverence for the scientist and the power of science to solve "problems" of the natural world. These articles did not have about them the romantic celebration of Australian flora and fauna displayed by the naturalist but instead emphasised the potential of science to arrive at solutions to impediments in the utilisation of Australian natural resources. (310-11)

But the change in emphasis was subtle. Articles by naturalists continued to be included; so too were articles exhorting the conservation of species and greater protection for fragile environments. These interests were not lost on readers. Writing in 1970 from Hampton, Victoria, to the "mail bag" column of *Walkabout* P.S. Corr declared "*Walkabout* has never been quiescent about the need to conserve Australia's natural resources ..." (3). Although *Walkabout* had from the late 1960s adopted a more explicit interest in conservation and environmental protection, one consequence perhaps of a more scientific approach, and Corr's appraisal may have been influenced by more contemporary issues, the magazine had continued to include articles throughout every decade that described in some way Australia's flora and fauna, and concern for its welfare. Even those letters and notes that owed more to scientific description or matters of taxonomy than "romantic celebration" of "fellow creatures" provide a narrative distinctive to those advocating progress and foreseeing the rise of a modern industrialised nation. An instance of this is a series of "Nature Diary" columns by Donald Thomson. The Ja-

nuary 1950 edition, for example, describes under the respective headings of "Pouched Mice", "The Ant Lion" and "More about the Taipan", the small rodents of the Phasogale species found in south-eastern Australia, the larval stage of the ant lion and discussion on the identification of taipan snakes (Thomson). Whilst concerned with accurate description, Thomson nevertheless wrote in a style accessible to the lay reader and frequently leavened the descriptive details with anecdote. This was typical of contributions describing Australia's flora and fauna, even in the post war environment when a more scientific approach gained favour. It is evident throughout the many contributions of the scientist and naturalist David Fleay who wrote for *Walkabout* for over twenty years (1937-1958), covering such topics as gliding "squirrels" (Fleay 1937), breeding the water rat (Fleay 1948) and the red-bellied black snake (Fleay 1953). Personal field experience features to a greater or lesser extent in nearly all such contributions, the like of which can be found throughout the five decades of *Walkabout* magazine.

Discussing the various industries (forestry, mining, tourism, fishing, agriculture, horticulture amongst others) and the multiple ways in which they intersect that are constitutive of Australia's rural economies Gorman-Murray, Darian-Smith and Gibson note that "the cultural construction of the Australian rural must now accommodate a fluid and diverse range of landscapes, livelihoods and industries" (40). From 1934 onwards *Walkabout* certainly captured all of these, both in print, photograph and illustration. The Australia *Walkabout* imagined, therefore, was one of contrasting and conflicting values, where the exhorted vector of progress was recognised as a compromise of competing desires and interests, and where contradiction was not foreclosed but left open. In bringing the ferment of multiple landscapes and the diversity of life they harboured, including human, to urban Australia, *Walkabout* provided the foundation for readers to form their own "imaginative worlds more variously" (Keen 1). For a magazine on an "educational crusade" with the founding objective of informing a predominantly urban, middleclass readership about that which lay beyond the cities, this is a laudable achievement.<sup>16</sup>

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16 The reader survey conducted in 1961 revealed that only 7 per cent of readers fitted the survey's "rural" category, and 72 percent were en-

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Margaret Hamilton

## **Benedict Andrews' *The Seagull*: a meditation on the "Great Australian Emptiness" or a cul-de-sac of the 'real'?**

*Benedict Andrews' 2011 production of Anton Chekhov's The Seagull transposes the provincial isolation of the Russian dramatist's late nineteenth century county estate to coastal Australia. In doing so, the Australian director, influenced by Patrick White's literary assault on the dominant traditions of mid-twentieth century Australia, critiques the aesthetic 'realities' of the local theatre landscape. Chekhov's character Treplev's quest for "new forms" culminates in the realisation of the pragmatic compromises key to building and sustaining a career in an artistic profession. In Andrews' production two large scale signs consisting of fluorescent bulbs forming the words 'REAL LIFE' constitute a graphic, ironic comment on not simply the illusion of life on stage, but the problem of artistic fulfilment in contemporary Australia. Against an iconic image of isolation, the quintessential Australian holiday shack, Andrews' neon reminder of the limits of the theatrical medium raises the question of the internationalist aspirations of a new generation of artists in Australia.*

Chekhov's turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century 'Big Four' – *The Seagull* (1895), *Uncle Vanya* (1896), *Three Sisters* (1900), and *The Cherry Orchard* (1903) – have been subject to aesthetic translation by the most significant, international theatre directors of the twentieth and twenty-first century. For the South Australian director Benedict Andrews (b. 1972) the Russian writer's first major success as a playwright, *The Seagull*, appeared pertinent to stage at a time of generational change in Australian theatre (Chekhov 2011). According to Andrews, Chekhov's play not only presented the opportunity to consider the "interstices of theatre-making [...] and everyday life" and in this respect the junction between Chekhov's pre-Revolutionary Russia and twenty-first century Australia, but raised the question of what he termed in his published notes on the play, Patrick White's "war on Australian conformity" (Chekhov 2011). In citing the Australian Nobel Laureate, Andrews links the challenges specific to contemporary Australian theatre to the parochial preoccupations of mid-twentieth century settler-Australia. In a much criticised return to imported drama, this production of *The Seagull* re-deploys the senti-

ments inherent in White's critique of Australian culture to set up a tension between the nationalist rhetoric intrinsic to Australian drama and theatre and the internationalist aspirations key to a generation of directors that, like Andrews, identify European and in particular German theatre as a significant aesthetic influence on main-stage theatre production. What emerges is an iconic image of Australian isolation in a production that complicates what critic Alison Croggon identifies as theatre that "has grown past [sic] the need to merely perform its national identity" (2010: 62b).

In staging Chekhov's drama, a play that reflects on the artist's quest, ideals of artistic expression, cliché and formula, Andrews' takes up the question of the aesthetic 'realities' determining the local theatre landscape and the potential for artistic fulfilment in this context. *The Seagull* opened at Belvoir on 4 June 2011 as part of Ralph Myers' first season as the new artistic director of the company.<sup>1</sup> Myers, then thirty-two, introduced the program by reaffirming a commitment to scripts by Australian playwrights and pointing out that "[e]very generation rediscovers itself in the classics" (*Belvoir* 2011: 7, 8). According to Myers, the classics "staged here and now by us, become contemporary and Australian" (*Belvoir* 2011: 8). In this respect Myers rejects the traditional notion that Australian content equates to plays written by Australian playwrights and embraces the tendency of directors like Andrews to stage international repertoire in addition to local content. Andrews has had to defend his propensity to direct the canon and work by German playwright Marius von Mayenburg, for example, in Australia.<sup>2</sup> For the playwright Louis Nowra, the South Australian is central to the emergence of "a new breed of directors" led by Barrie Kosky (2001: 2). On the basis of their seeming indifference to collaboration with Australian writers, Nowra accuses these artists of contributing to the decline of the Australian play

1 Myers' first season opened with Simon Stone's acclaimed adaptation of Henrik Ibsen's *The Wild Duck*. Belvoir presented *The Seagull* from 4 June to 17 July 2011. Neil Armfield had been the Artistic Director of Belvoir for seventeen years prior to Myers' appointment. This paper is based on the performance staged on 18 June 2011, an archival recording of the production provided by Belvoir and Andrews' version of the play published by Currency Press (see Chekhov 2011).

2 Andrews' production of von Mayenburg's *Moving Target*, translated by Maja Zade, appeared at the Adelaide Festival, Malthouse Theatre in Melbourne and the Sydney Opera House in 2008.

(2001: 2). In contrast to the 1970s and 1980s, a time characterised by the interdependence of director and playwright, Nowra argues that as part of the “postmodernist ethos” classic texts offer young directors the opportunity to “stamp their authority and ego” over the writer by “dismantling” a play and “interpreting it anew” (2001: 2). Actor Colin Friels, a vocal opponent of Andrews’ work, similarly, objects to what he refers to as “postmodernist stuff from Germany” and claims that director-dominated theatre “has little to say about how we live now” (qtd in Neill 2012).

Andrews, as the comment from Friels suggests, constitutes a key figure not only in debate concerning the declining number of Australian plays staged locally, but the question of aesthetic lineage and cultural geography.<sup>3</sup> For Croggon, the influence of European theatre, as opposed to British or American, on Kosky, currently the Artistic Director of the Komische Oper Berlin, Andrews and Michael Kantor constitute a palpable “sign of a profound cultural realignment” (2010b: 60). What is a distinctly European consciousness in Croggon’s terms cross-pollinates with local practice to create “oeuvres of particular interest”, according to the Melbourne based critic (2010: 4a). Andrews has referred to the local theatre landscape as “pretty prosaic and literal” (qtd in Iaccarino 2004: 27). In his adaptor and director’s note he recognises the “inflection” of his *Seagull* as “distinctly Australian” and in this respect his approach reflects the vernacular tradition that emerged with the new nationalism that accompanied the New Wave of drama and theatre in the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, he points out in the notes accompanying the play that the project reminded him of the “Great Australian Emptiness” White coined to characterise a society “in which the mind is the least of possessions” (Chekhov 2011; White 1989: 15). Why, then, return to White and a mid-twentieth century image of the nation in 2011? According to Croggon, writing in 2010, “the smallness and undeniable provincialism of much of the [Australian] culture has paradoxically sparked a wave of artists who situate themselves aggressively as local artists participating in global culture”, and she identifies Andrews as such a director (2010: 4a). Denise Varney has similarly

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3 For an example of discussion in the press concerning the number of new Australian works staged by government subsidized theatres see Lane 2010.

pointed to the parochial tendencies of main-stage Australian drama (2012: 13).

Chekhov's play *The Seagull* offers a lens through which to consider idealist conceptions of art, the artist and everyday life, that is its materialist 'reality'. Under Andrews' direction the play constituted a platform to reflect on Australian theatre at a time when "mainstream theatre has begun to shake off the conservatism that still rules much Anglo-Saxon theatre practice in the UK and USA".<sup>4</sup> In the original script the Russian dramatist's four principal players are all practising artists dislocated from the distractions of metropolitan life in an intergenerational social comedy that speculates on the ways in which art and life interlock. A series of "unclosed triangles" define the relations central to the play (and I will use the simplified Russian names of Andrews' adaptation based on a literal translation by Karen Vickery in this paper): the aging actress, Arkadina (played by Judy Davis), her son, the suicidal Konstantin (Dylan Young) and her lover, the famous author, Trigorin (David Wenham); Konstantin, at the outset of a career as a playwright at the opening of the play, his young love and aspiring actress, Nina (Maeve Dermody) and Trigorin; Masha (Emily Barclay) and her unrequited love, Konstantin and her pragmatic choice of a husband in the school teacher, Medvedenko (Gareth Davies); local doctor Dorn (Billie Brown) and Polina (Anita Hegh), the wife of Ilya (Terry Serio), the manager of Sorin's (John Gaden) estate (Paperny qtd in Flath 1999: 492). What emerges is a series of discussions about love, literature, the state of theatre and acting as a profession. For Andrews Chekhov's ironic meditation on the process of creating art out of life culminated in the question: "What does it mean to be an artist in Australia?" (qtd in Chekhov 2011) It is a question that concerns, as critic John McCallum notes, the emergence of the auteur, as opposed to the genre director, the emphasis on adaptation rather than new work, and the legitimacy of artistic gestures characteristic of performance art, as distinct from the illusion of fictional representation (2011: 16).

An L-shaped fibro holiday shack designed by Myers transposes the provincial isolation of the Russian dramatist's late nineteenth century country estate to coastal Australia in Andrews' production. In

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4 "Benedict Andrews in conversation": <http://www.belvoir.com.au/productions/everybreath/interview>.

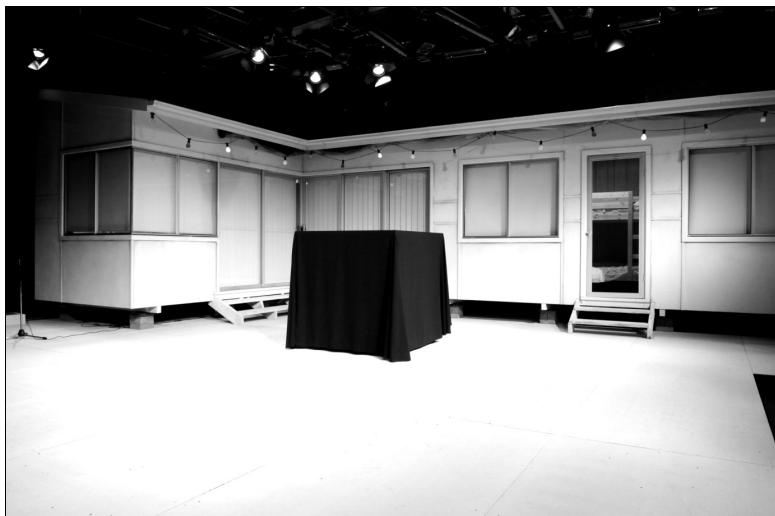
many respects the set for *The Seagull* continued Andrews' engagement with defining images of Australia, the "model suburban house" of his production of White's *The Season at Sarsaparilla*, staged by the Sydney Theatre Company in 2007. Andrews has described this scenographic image as not simply the "monolith of the Dream Home" but "the DNA of the McMansion belt, and, of the neo-conservatism of Australia under John Howard where the fear of a rising interest rate will win elections and continue to breed that Great Australian Emptiness"<sup>5</sup>. Here, Andrews identifies the cultural "void" that inspired White's précis of the mid-century nation as a latent, reactionary presence triggered by the economic circumstances of middle class Australia. Varney's analysis of White's *The Season at Sarsaparilla* sheds light on Andrews' notion of the DNA of the dream home at the heart of the Howard era by pointing out that "Great Australian Emptiness" the novelist "sees as an infection that stymies Australian culture is ready to be filled" by consumer culture (2012: 12-13). According to Varney, White's plays predict that the distraction of Mixmasters and white goods and the prospect of having "everythink now", will offer recompense for the abyss at the crux of an apprehensive settler nation and thereby permit Australia to remain largely introspective and provincial (White qtd in Varney 2012: 10; Varney 2012: 13).<sup>6</sup> In the Australian director's language the McMansion belt emerges as a consequence and emblem of this barren self-absorption. White's condemnation of what Andrews terms the "conservative, monocultural hell" and "cultural disease and spiritual sickness" of suburbia at the heart of the Menzies era (1939 – 1941; 1949 – 1966) re-emerged for the director under Howard's recent, long-term leadership of Australia (1996 – 2007).<sup>7</sup>

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5 Andrews qtd: [www.benedictandrews.com/text\\_basas.html](http://www.benedictandrews.com/text_basas.html)

6 White's spelling of the word everything as 'everythink' is indicative of the Australian working-class accent of the period.

7 Howard's leadership was distinguished by the so-called Pacific Solution, a decision to process the refugee status of 'unauthorised arrivals' on Nauru, a twenty-five square metre island and Manus, a remote island of Papua New Guinea. Designed to inhibit 'boat people' from entering the Australian Migration Zone, the Pacific Solution played a crucial role in the most significant electoral swing to the government since 1966 in the November 2001 election. Andrews qtd: [www.benedictandrews.com/text\\_basas.html](http://www.benedictandrews.com/text_basas.html).



Ralph Myers' set for *The Seagull*, directed by Benedict Andrews, Belvoir.  
Photo: Heidrun Löhr

Chekhov's major dramas are typically set at a distance from urban centres of 'culture', in the country, as opposed to the city. Australia, as McCallum points out, "is a strangely vacant place" and in Andrews' three dimensional stage environment this geographic image of the nation contextualises the artist's predicament and its expression as a disjunction between the European ideal and the 'real' (2009: vii). Here, against the backdrop of 'idyllic' isolation, the aesthetic preoccupations of Konstantin, his quest for a "radical new language", momentarily bring to mind White's earlier literary assault on conformist Australia, if the director's notes to the play are taken into consideration (Chekhov 2011: 4). As a down-market holiday house, Sorin's country estate not simply renders the locale of Chekhov's play accessible to the local spectator, but links Chekhov's dramatic conditions to the iconography of the 'Australian way of life' and the normative traits Howard sought to safeguard as "that golden thread of Australian values that hasn't changed" (Howard qtd in Baringhorst 2004: 151).

What emerges is a central *Bildraum* or image space to borrow from Walter Benjamin, based on the quintessential Australian shack, the bleaching light, searing heat and sound of cicadas localising Chekhov's

trope of isolation (van den Berg 2008: 9). From this focal scenographic image, an ‘authentic’ space that defines cultural memories, shapes characters and performer and audience interaction, Andrews sets up an aesthetic critique of the “myopic complacency” and “small mindedness” he identifies as a legacy of the Howard years in Australia.<sup>8</sup> The sliding doors of the lounge room of the shack conflate interior and exterior spaces, reflecting the changing states of mind of the characters as a fluid or discordant relationship to the ‘great outdoors’ of Australia. Davis as the “self-admiring egoist”, to cite Chekhov’s description of his character Arkadina, dressed in a simple but elegant emerald dress in the first Act, is hard to reconcile with the drab interior of the shack, its wood panelling, old couch, unmade bunk beds, retro TV, and the coloured party lights hanging from the roof (qtd in Gilman 1995: 77). As a result, the gulf distinguishing the rich inner life of the players and the apparent deficiency of the external world characteristic of Chekhov’s work finds expression in a local context (Corrigan 2009: 176).

Andrews immediately foregrounds the disjunction between “on stage (in art)” and “offstage (in life)” and the representational strategies at his disposal (Flath 1999: 495). In the first of a series of dialogic-monologues, Young as Konstantin stands on one of the white plastic outdoor chairs arranged for the audience of family and friends due to gather for the theatre piece he stages in the production, and looks into the audience from the thrust stage as he delivers the line “Now this is what I call theatre” (Chekhov 2011: 2). Andrews situated the lake Chekhov had pictured as a background in and beyond the audience in the auditorium in keeping with a number of notable international productions of the play, including Peter Zadek’s *The Seagull* at Bochum in 1973. Konstantin, then, jumps off the chair, walks downstage and declares, ‘Nothing *fake* ... The lake ... The horizon in the distance ... Pure space ...’ (Chekhov 2011: 2). Here, reality is not the framed natural backdrop of Chekhov’s play, but rather the audience, and in this respect Andrews complicates the non-symbolic status of nature in the production by foregrounding the illusory appeal of the Russian dramatist’s depiction of lake-side Bohemia. Chekhov’s conception of the landscape as “pointing to nothing beyond itself” finds ironic expression in the refracted gaze of

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8 Andrews qtd: <http://www.belvoir.com.au/productions/everybreath/interview>.

the spectator in this production (Corrigan 2009: 173)<sup>9</sup>. Implicit in the fictional lake of Chekhov's drama is the mythography of the ocean, a symbol of despondence and longing at the threshold of the void that defines the tyranny of distance, to use Geoffrey Blainey's seminal term, intrinsic to Australian identity (Corrigan 2009: 173; McLean 1998: 2, 5).

Not only is the Australian director acutely conscious of the Russian dramatist's sceptical treatment of the symbol, but the operation of theatrical and literary representations in Chekhov's play. How love, for example, is defined and experienced through songs and literary and theatrical fiction (Tait 2002: 250). In the Belvoir performance this translates into the transnational cult pop sensibilities of Andrews' generation. As Konstantin enters carrying a shotgun and the bird of the play's title, the "symbol" is literally "dead, stuffed", dumped on the top of the glass cube on wheels that constitutes his makeshift stage (Reid 1998: 617). By the end of the production the image of the seagull is arguably "forgotten" in light of Konstantin's offstage suicide (Reid 1998: 617). "Life", as John Reid argues in relation to Chekhov's text, "does not stop in order to blossom into the radiant significance of a symbol" (1998: 617). In contrast to Paul Schmidt's acclaimed translation of Chekhov's play and the critique of the "easy little moral" (Chekhov 1997: 114) of late nineteenth century Russian theatre in the text, Andrews' Konstantin emphasises the limitations of theatre, its roles and the artificiality of the medium:

When I see actors on stage pretending to be real – pretending to eat, drink, walk, talk, love – wear *jackets* – I want to scream: STOP. STOP TRYING TO MAKE ME FEEL YOUR FAKE FEELINGS. STOP TRYING TO TRICK ME ... YOUR REALITY IS NOT MY REALITY ... When I see the same clichés – the same reheated lies over and over – I want to run screaming from the theatre and bury myself in life. (Chekhov 2011: 4)

The rich immediacy of life that Konstantin seeks to embrace, however, is at odds with the "bloodless abstractions" inherent in the form of the theatre Andrews has him stage in his production (Reid

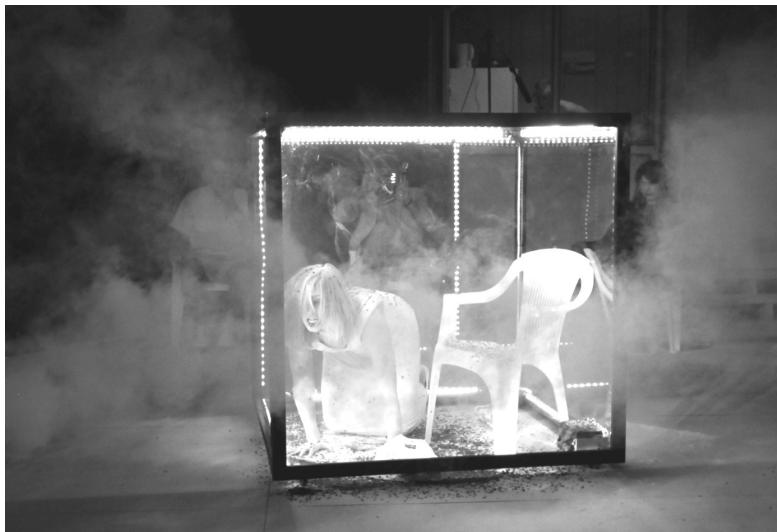
<sup>9</sup> Yuri Corrigan is discussing Chekhov's approach to the symbol and specifically his short story *Happiness* (1887) in this article, but his notion of the non-symbolic status of nature in this story is applicable to *The Seagull*.

1998: 608). Konstantin's unsuccessful drama is often read as a caricature of the Decadents in the Russian's original play. It is worth noting, however, that the first Russian symbolist drama emerged in Nikolay Minsky's *Alma* (1900), after Chekhov had written *The Seagull*. Furthermore, Chekhov points out in his notebooks that "[t]alent destroyed" Treplev (Konstantin) (qtd in Senelick 1977: 213). What, then, does Andrews' adaptation of the 'decadent' play as an example of experimental theatre, or "pseudo-avant-garde drivel" in the words of Andrews' Arkadina, suggest in the context of contemporary Australia (Chekhov 2011: 10)?

Andrews arguably parodies what Hans-Thies Lehmann describes as a dramaturgy no longer subordinated to the text but governed by the image and other forms of conceptual performance in his staging of "cliché-ridden" theatre (2006: 93; Chekhov 2011: 11). From the kitchen, illuminated in red, the sound of Chekhov's hired man Yakov, played by Thomas Unger, rubbing the rim of a glass under a microphone creates an atmosphere that sets up a spoof on performance art. Konstantin pulls the curtain off the cube to reveal Maeve Dermody as Nina in a long, white dress and white tennis shoes on a white plastic outdoor chair, pressing her hands against the side of the cube as she rants:

The earth is dead. All living things are dead. We killed them. We the dead killed them. Humans dead, lions dead, eagles and lizards dead, antlered deer and polar bears dead, starfish, seahorses, carp dead dead dead .... (Chekhov 2011: 8)

Nina's amplified voice fills the space and in a literal realisation of the line "We breathe ash", she grabs a handful of ash from a bag and hurls it over her shoulder (Chekhov 2011: 8). Mel Dyer, Assistant Stage Manager and the Cook of Chekhov's play, adds to the farcical nature of the scene by entering and blowing smoke from a hand-held smoke machine around the glass box. Yakov heightens the comic effect by suddenly smashing the first of several wineglasses under the microphone in the kitchen. Nina rolls the cube in the direction of Arkadina and Trigorin seated downstage left, forming a quasi-first bank of seating with their backs to the spectator. Nina screams 'Listen! I am speaking to YOU!', as Konstantin pushes the cube towards his mother and her lover (Chekhov 2011: 9). Finally, two signs consisting of large-scale letters made of long fluorescent bulbs reading 'REAL LIFE' are wheeled onto the stage in the Upstairs theatre at Belvoir.



Maeve Dermody as Nina acting in Konstantin's play in Chekhov's text. *The Seagull*, directed by Benedict Andrews, Belvoir. Photo: Heidrun Löhr

'Real life' is a tenuous, artistic fiction that finds ironic expression in a drama in which the characters already "self-consciously go about their lives as though they are characters in novels and plays" (Strongin qtd in Tait 2002: 23). The transition between Act III and Act IV of Chekhov's play mirrors the transition between Act I and Act II. Here, the sound of Roy Orbison's *In Dreams* duplicates David Bowie's *Fame* and Barclay as Masha spins round and round, taking up where Nina had left off, as Brown's Dorn did earlier in the production. The songs of pop and capitalist consumer culture frame the characters' emotional and fictional engagement and establish internationalist reference points for the play in the twenty-first century. In Act IV, the ash that Nina had thrown over her shoulder in the glass cube of Konstantin's theatre-within-theatre episode rains onto the stage and the black flakes extinguish the metaphorical promise of Australian sunlight. (Those spectators that had seen Andrews' epic, eight hour 2009 production *War of the Roses* with Cate Blanchett as Richard II would have recognised the ash as a scenographic signature from this production). Andrews staged most of the action in the final Act of *The Seagull* in the insular realm of the shack. Against this backdrop the imposing 'REAL LIFE' neon sign re-appears

and a number of its bulbs, now dysfunctional, flicker on and off and finally out. A kaleidoscopic series of contrasts heighten the straight-jacket of stultification and judgement intrinsic to the character of Konstantin and the ossification of the other characters in the play. It is not the "mongrel aesthetics" of postmodernism, however, that Ross Gibson argues Australian artists are adept at as a result of colonialism that characterises the aesthetic logic of Andrews' production (qtd in McLean 1998: 9). In contrast to the notion of playful indeterminacy, principle reference points emerge in Andrews' Australian-European dialogue, as opposed to the "postmodern nomadology" Gibson identifies in his discussion of the void accompanying the abatement of British authority (McLean 1998: 9-10).



Emily Barclay as Masha and Billie Brown as Dorn. *The Seagull*, directed by Benedict Andrews, Belvoir. Photo: Heidrun Löhr

Andrews' scenic realisation of Konstantin's theatre as histrionic and ultimately an ironic and counterfeit expression of the concept of 'new forms' raises a number of parallels to the aesthetic the German director Thomas Ostermeier objects to as "Capitalist Realism" (Boenisch 2010: 345). According to Peter Boenisch, Ostermeier returned to the model of individual characters and narratives as a political rather than aesthetic act in light of a cultural context that appeared

to defy orientation and coherent narration (2010: 345). Ostermeier's "reinvested" realism counters capitalist realism, and reflects a consciousness of the doctrine of social realism in the East (Boenisch 2010: 345). That is, rejects what he identifies as the self-referential, socially irrelevant and politically impotent ideals of postmodern and postdramatic work and its ostensibly radical appeal (Boenisch 2010: 344). Andrews has directed for Ostermeier's *Schaubühne* in Berlin and his staging of Konstantin's play suggests a similar distrust of the dissolution of character and narration.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, his production could be described as neo-realistic or more accurately "neon-realistic", to borrow from Boenisch, if the lighting effects and the use of cult pop songs are taken into consideration. As critic Jo Litson points out, "Ostermeier [...] has had a profound affect on contemporary Australian theatre" (2011). Andrews, like Ostermeier, has demonstrated an interest in the inconvenient "truths" of contemporary society, and in *The Seagull* these concern the theatre profession.

Chekhov's play, a work of literature that ushers in a new form of theatre just prior to the turn of the twentieth century in Russia, offers a pragmatic picture of artistic 'reality' in that his characters are all ultimately defined by convention. As Laurence Senelick notes, the old forms Konstantin rallies against at the outset of the drama suit Arkadina's public, the audiences for her work, and despite Trigorin's consciousness of his limitations and dissatisfaction he persists by working within the bounds of tradition set by Tolstoy and Turgenev, masters of the form (1997: 212). Nina resolves herself to a life of routine performances as a provincial actress and even Treplev's attempt to break from the old forms culminates in him questioning his capacity to reproduce literary convention: "I always wanted to invent new forms – 'a radical new language' – but now I just sound the same as everyone else [...] Trigorin uses formulas. He's got it all worked out" (Chekhov 2011: 47). Does Chekhov's "negative objectivity", then, manifest as a 'cool' account of the reality of artistic endeavour in an Australian context at the hands of the South Australian director? (Senelick 1997: 213) Or more precisely, is the local theatre landscape, both experimental and main-stage, a blind alley, ultimately subject to formula? While the Belvoir production constitutes a refreshing challenge to stale interpretations of the Russian

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10 Andrews directed Sarah Kane's *Cleansed* and David Harrower's *Blackbird* for the *Schaubühne* in Berlin in 2004 and 2005 respectively.

dramatist's play as psychological realism, the final act emphasises enclosure and the problem of artistic fulfilment or 'REAL LIFE' in contemporary Australia. Andrews' signature black ash arguably functions as not simply an ironic comment on the idea of formula, but the oppressive criticism that 'director's theatre' has attracted in this country.

As a director Andrews sets out to "critique reality", and in this respect he reflects the attitude of Ostermeier, "a self-declared cultural materialist" (qtd in Taylor 2007: 21; Boenisch 2010: 340). For the Australian director, however, the goal is to construct a different vision of reality, an account "that's sometimes more beautiful and more nightmarish" (qtd in Taylor 2007: 21). Or in the words of his character Trigorin, "I have an obligation to describe the present – to *criticise reality* – to have opinions about globalisation and the financial collapse, about popular culture and the death of authenticity" (Chekhov 2011: 25). In writing about these issues, however, Trigorin acknowledges that no matter what he writes "LIFE ITSELF – the one thing I should be writing about – moves further and further away" (Chekhov 2011: 25). He is "left stranded like a passenger on a platform watching the train recede in the distance [...] in the end, I feel that I'm only capable of writing landscapes – everything else I write about is fake – I'm a fraud" (Chekhov 2011: 25). Here, Trigorin points to the landscape as a pure site of expression, as stable and secure and in doing so, reinforces discourses that conceal the interplay of different bodies and histories that constitute the social reality of Australia. For Andrews the question of cultural production concerns a specific trajectory of practice, often subject to critique as white, male and middle class or as what Croggon elaborates on as a Eurocentric intellectualism exemplified by White and "regarded with open hostility" (2010: 8).

In their discussion of the marginalisation of female and Indigenous voices as a result of what they term the "cultural constipation" central to the myth of the New Wave, Maryrose Casey and Jodi Gallagher (2009) raise the question of the dominance of male artistic directors in Australian theatre history. With reference to the painters of the Heidelberg school and the Angry Young Penguins Casey and Gallagher note that "Australian culture constitutes the avant-garde as a group of male friends who are one step ahead of the pack" and point to the notion of "world-class" as an "indefinable" defining

factor in what currently constitutes leading, cutting-edge theatre in Australia (2009). Not only is Andrews key to the current generation of male directors dominating Australian theatre, in Casey and Gallagher's terms, but he arguably maintains a critical distance from Australian culture by directing in Europe, where he has "made work for the best part of the last decade", and like the Nobel Laureate White, has been subject to the influence of the international "shifts and innovations" Simon During attributes to White's early work (qtd in Varney 2012: 9).<sup>11</sup> It is a critical distance that potentially reinvests in the rehabilitation of the faded suburbia of Howard's retrograde image of the country and his appeal to Menzies' "forgotten" middle class, as opposed to the regional concerns of contemporary Australia, its Asian-Pacific 'reality' (Menzies qtd in Johnson 2007: 196). While the "tension between the written language and the theatrical language" – key to productions of classics by a number of directors, including Elizabeth LeCompte's "radical deconstruction" of Chekhov's *Three Sisters*, titled *Brace Up!* – has impressed the director, Andrews' specifically frames his engagement with *The Seagull* with reference to White's image of mid-twentieth century Australia (Andrews 2001: 23).

White's sentiments in his famous essay, 'The Prodigal Son' published in 1958, are directly reproduced in the 'Adaptator and Director's Note' accompanying the published play:<sup>12</sup>

In all directions stretched the Great Australian Emptiness, in which the mind is the least of possessions, in which the rich man is the important man, in which the schoolmaster and the journalist rule what intellectual roost there is, in which beautiful youths and girls stare at life through blind blue eyes, in which human teeth fall like autumn leaves, the buttocks of cars grow hourly glassier, food means cake and steak, muscles prevail, and the march of material ugliness does not raise a quiver from the average nerves. (Chekhov 2011)

According to Andrews "[w]e are the inheritors of this culture"; a culture of backyards and Hills Hoists if Kosky's vision of suburbia is cited as an extension of White's catalogue of images of Australia. Kosky, an artist so often associated with Andrews, presented a mi-

11 Andrews qtd: <http://www.belvoir.com.au/productions/everybreath/interview>.

12 Currency Press published Andrews' version of the play, which went to press before the end of the rehearsal period.

nature Hills Hoist in flames to the Mayor of Adelaide from the back of a Harley Davidson to open his 1996 Adelaide festival that featured the icon across the city (qtd in Chekhov 2011). For the South Australian director the cultural debt White sketches manifests in *The Seagull* not only in the typical Australian holiday shack but in the paradox of Davis and Wenham as Russian literati, in reality arguably more recognisable as high-profile Hollywood success stories than Arkadina and Trigorin. As real life stars of the screen Davis and Wenham literally embody the 'reality' of commercialism, as opposed to the youthful idealism of Young's Konstantin. Barclay as an Emo-inspired Masha that drags on a bong, the daughter of Ilya Shamrayev played by Serio as a brusque Ocker with a Ute in his role as the manager of Sorin's estate, further recasts the repertoire of images and reference points White identified in his essay. Set at a distance from an urban centre Andrews' *The Seagull* ostensibly signifies the freedom of a holiday. Yet, like the rare genre of the Australian beach play, its liberating possibilities are stifled (Tompkins 2006: 29).

Andrews' reference to the Nobel Laureate's seminal critique of Australian writing and the metaphor of Australian literature as barren, as arid as the Australian interior, constructs a point of textual authority with regard to what is increasingly referred to as internationalist theatre in Australia. While he contemporarises Chekhov's play and clearly situates it in Australia he envisions the play as "simultaneously Russia then and Australia now" (qtd in Chekhov 2011). In doing so, his dialogue with the "Great Australian Emptiness" foregrounds Australia's (historical) relation to *somewhere else* – Europe. Like the realisation of Chekhov's character Konstantin in the final Act of the play, the challenge for Andrews is not necessarily a question of new forms, "whether something is new or whether it's been done before" or imaginings of Australia (Chekhov 2011: 48). Instead Andrews' *The Seagull* represents what McCallum terms an "extended theatrical vocabulary" shaped by a sense of Australia's (provincial) nationalism and a conscious internationalism (2009: 105). But does this production as a theatrical hieroglyph fostering a broader cultural realignment, if Croggon's assessment of Australian theatre is correct, infer that the "local cultural topsoil" is "perilously thin; rich in

places [...] but fragile", to cite Deborah Jones' concept of arts practice in contemporary Australia (2008)?<sup>13</sup>

Chekhov is recognised for a dramaturgy that points to the fact that what is not in the play is the reality of the spectator; his characters, for example, are not where they would like to be or what they imagine themselves to be in reality. *The Seagull* consistently points to the artistic life of the capitals beyond the seclusion of Sorin's lake-side estate, and in Andrews' production this raises the question of the relation of a nationalist, as opposed to an internationalist aesthetic and context. From the "special lightness" of the "alternate rhythms" of the opening Act set in an "Australian dreaming place" *The Seagull*, as it is staged at Belvoir, concludes in the claustrophobic space of the shack (Andrews qtd in Chekhov 2011). It is a conclusion that points to the potential outcome for Australian theatre if the opportunity Andrews has identified for a new generation of artists to develop work that resists the "middle road" is lost.<sup>14</sup> For the director "artists must be given the conditions where they can make work that is ambitious, personal, and not always slave to first ideas or the dumb drug of fame".<sup>15</sup> In staging the Russian dramatist's exploration of the balance between artistic integrity and pragmatism, Andrews asks questions of main-stage theatre and its ability to deliver this artistic platform in Australia. Ultimately, Andrews' role as a director is shaped by the international theatre landscape and from this perspective, perhaps the neon sign that reminds the spectator of 'REAL LIFE' amidst the signature black ash can be read as comic recognition of the need to "sell" the image of the director. Andrews' scenographic engagement arguably neglects Australia's socio-geographical reality in so far as the island-continent distinguished by Indigenous history is ultimately 'marooned' in the Asia-Pacific region. However, his production of *The Seagull* constitutes an important contribution to aesthetic and cultural debate regarding theatre in twenty-first century Australia.

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13 Deborah Jones is the former arts editor of *The Australian*.

14 <http://belvoir.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Benedict-Andrews-Interview.pdf>.

15 Ibid.

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Elisabeth Bähr

## **Political Iconography in Indigenous Art**

It is manifest, from studying the last two decades of Australian Indigenous art monographs, exhibition catalogues, journal articles, and biographies, that a large number of Indigenous urban artists devote much of their art to a protest against racism and neo-colonial policies, or indeed to exposés thereof, or to chronicling of historical events.

The general topic of political iconography has been explored in various national and global contexts (Araeen; Warburg; Warnke), however there seems to be no body of work focusing on the ways in which Australian Indigenous artists use icons to connote, imply or explore political themes.

This article will describe ways and show examples of how artists (both within cities and in remote communities) emphasize political aspects using visual icons. Further examples will be given of artworks which from their content seem to be politically driven, but which are actually intended purely as historical chronicles.

Concerning icons and iconography, this article dares no definitions. For the following analysis of artworks, any visual element which has an associated meaning or connotation is considered to be an icon.

## **Political Demands and Indigenous Art**

“The Bark Petition” of 1963 can be interpreted as one of the first artworks to be recognized as a direct link between modern political demands and contemporary Indigenous art.

Mounted on a bark painting showing the symbols of the respective clans, which authenticates their immemorial relationship to their country, is a typed petition signed by the Elders of Yirrkala. The authors of the petition denounced the annexation of a part of their country for mining, and especially objected to the lack of any consultation process. They appealed to the Parliament and the House of Representatives to establish a commission to consult with the Indigenous inhabitants from Yirrkala before allowing partitioning of their country. Furthermore, they requested that any resulting agree-

ment with mining companies should protect the people of Yirrkala and their independence. No agreement was provided; their land and independence was taken; their country was demolished.

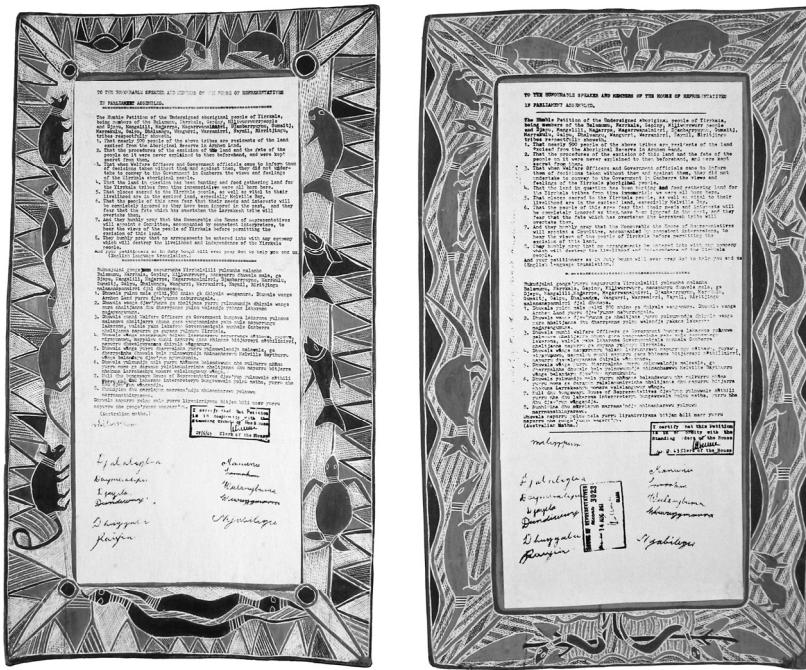


Plate 1: Yirrkala Artists, The Bark Petition, 1963, ochre on bark, with collage of printed text on paper, 59.1 x 34 cm

The paintings on the bark are symbols associated with those clans which belong to this part of the country. They are intended as an integral component of the petition, as authentication of the fact that the Indigenous inhabitants have an immemorial right to their country.

"The Bark Petition" corresponds completely, both in its form and its phrasing of requests, to Indigenous traditions of negotiation and compromise, referencing their law, making points politely, and requesting respectful discussions, avoiding confrontation.

## The People of Maralinga: Mute Accusation and Mourning

When considering political iconography in Indigenous art, Maralinga in South Australia is an important topic. Between 1955 and 1963, the British set off seven large nuclear explosions and many hundreds of so-called 'safety' tests resulting in explosive dispersal of tens of kilograms of plutonium, uranium and other radionuclides (Maralinga 11). Before the atomic explosions, inadequate checks were made on the numbers and locations of the Indigenous inhabitants of these Pitjantjatjara lands (Mattingley 90-91). The result was the death or illness of an unknown number of Indigenous people.

Four artworks concerning Maralinga are presented below. The first is from Kunmanara Queama (1947-2009) and Hilda Moodoo (\*1952), both of Pitjantjatjara language group.

The painting "Destruction I" depicts the atomic mushroom cloud in the typical style of dot paintings, with coloured fields of white, yellow and red shading into brown, as well as dotted bands of blue, yellow and brown, separated by white dotted lines which outline the mushroom cloud.

This style of dot painting is quite common in Western Desert Art and differs only in that the painting's content is represented by a symbol, the mushroom cloud, which is recognizable also in the Western world. The painting gives no hints of outrage or protest against the expulsion of the Pitjantjatjara people from their country, against the destruction of their land or about the two generations' long fight for restitution, in which Kunmanara Queama was deeply involved.

The painting is a pure representation of a historical event. It is part of a series of works by different artists whose intention was "to pass on their knowledge through their paintings and leave their history behind for others" (cited in Cumpston 130).



Plate 2: Kunmanara Queama and Hilda Moodoo, *Destruction I*, 2002,  
synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 112 x 101.2 cm

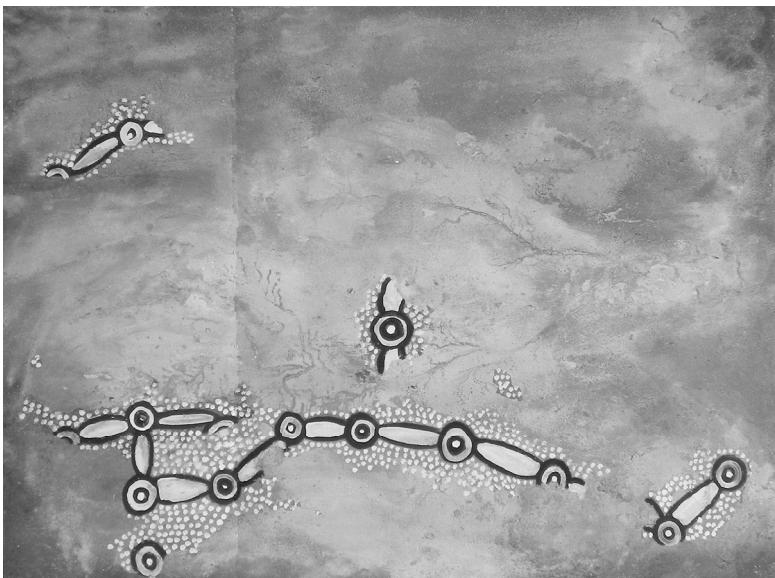


Plate 3: Jonathan Kumintjara Brown, Old Country – Maralinga Atomic Test, 1995, natural ochres, sand on canvas, 92 x 122 cm

The second painting about Maralinga is from Jonathan Kumintjara Brown (1960-1997), likewise a Pitjantjatjara man. Brown was abducted from his mother when only a few weeks old and grew up in a foster family in various cities. As an adult he was able to find his Indigenous mother and other relatives in Oak Valley, Ooldea and Maralinga. His education included Aboriginal Studies and his relatives instructed him about Tjukurrpa, the world view (*Weltanschauung*) of the Pitjantjatjara people.

His painting contains symbols of concentric circles in black and white, connected by lines and dotted areas, a typical representation of the Pitjantjatjara country. However, the country is devastated, nearly completely obliterated, which the artist portrays by covering the classical symbolism with ochre and sand, obscuring them nearly completely. Nevertheless, the artist says of his work: "There is beauty as well as the other side of it. There is life" (Kleinert 549). Moreover, Jonathan Kumintjara Brown portrays hope appearing through the desolation by structuring the over-painting so that several life-giving river courses are revealed.



Plate 4: Jonathan Kumintjara Brown, *Poison Country*, 1995, synthetic polymer paint, natural ochres on canvas, 225 x 175 cm

A second work entitled "Poison Country" shows again the icons of concentric circles connected by lines. However, here the country is almost expunged by the formless brown ochre. It is a representation of destruction - not only of the country, but also of human life and culture.

Nevertheless, Jonathan Kumintjara Brown said of this painting series: "It is not a protest (...) But I am asking: why did they do this damage to my grandfather's land?" (Cumpston 128).

These are paintings of mute accusation and mourning, unique in Indigenous art in their obliteration of symbols, transforming their absence into a powerful message. The symbols, the Tjukurrrpa, are nearly lost, yet still the country – represented by the use of ochre – is present. Anyone confronted by such a portrayal of loss must ask not only *why did they do this*, but also *who ordered it and where is justice?*

The final artwork about Maralinga is from Lin Onus (1948-1996). He lived in Melbourne, belonging on the paternal side to the Yorta Yorta people.



Plate 5: Lin Onus, Maralinga, 1990, fibreglass, pigment, plexiglass, paper stickers, 163 x 56 x 62 (figure), 125 x 119 x 45 cm (cloud)

The artist began with the well-known (in Australia) historical event of atomic tests at Maralinga and formed it into an attack on the callous indifference to the fate of the Indigenous inhabitants.

The face of the mother, who protects the child in her arms from the invisible atomic cloud, is distorted by a grimace of horror and fear; the hair and clothes of the figures stream in the storm of the nuclear explosion; they stand alone and defenseless. The symbols for radioactivity, which adhere to the cloud, are shown in the colours of the British flag: blue, red and white. They become the colours of death. This emotionally loaded installation is directed against the disdain and contempt shown to the Indigenous Australians; the British and Australian governments were indifferent to the potential death or sickness of Indigenous people remaining in the area. The artwork shows not the event, but the human tragedy. It is thus an artwork of protest and not of historiography.

From these artworks about Maralinga it becomes clear that, within the range of Indigenous artworks about a specific topic, which initially all seem straight-forwardly political, it is necessary to distinguish between various approaches. Some works are purely historical, rendering the event as something to be documented, in order to be able to communicate it to future generations. Other artworks are indeed an accusation against ignorance, colonialism and exploitation, as in Jonathan Kumintjara Brown's works. Still others are a powerful call to protest, to political action, as is implicit in Lin Onus' installation.

### **Political Statements or Historiography**

Fiona Foley (\*1964) goes a step further with her installation "Witnessing to Silence". This talented and multifaceted artist imbues her works with references – both overt and enigmatic – to political issues (race relations, indentured labour, dispossession, massacres, land rights, marginalization).

"Witnessing to Silence", from 2004, is one of 14 works by Queensland artists commissioned for the newly built Brisbane Magistrates Court. Fiona Foley created an installation consisting of bronze lotus lilies, enfolded in mist, accompanied by shining steel columns and by pavement stones set into the courtyard. Each of the pavement

stones was engraved with names of Queensland townships. One side of each column is open, showing tall insets of laminated ashes.



Plate 6: Fiona Foley, *Witnessing to Silence*, 2004, bronze, water feature, pavement stone, laminated ash and stainless steel

Fiona Foley informed the art selection commission for the Brisbane Magistrates Court that her installation refers to bushfires and floods in Queensland (Public Art Agency 17). Some months after the opening of the building, the artist revealed the true meaning of her artwork (Cosic). She had hired a researcher to investigate state archives as well as the available literature on 94 massacres of Indigenous people in Queensland (Allas 58, Foley 64). Fiona Foley engraved the 94 place names on the pavement stones of the installation. Furthermore, the ashes symbolizing fire actually refer to various attempts to conceal massacres by the burning of the bodies. The lotus lilies, which are common in Queensland, represent a second way to eliminate the bodies of murder victims: disposal in rivers or ponds.

The installation is not only an implacable indictment of massacres, it is an accusation which – due to its materials – will adamantly endure and stand like a monument confronting the Magistrates Court. The installation is even more: the artist does not just censure, she reveals a part of Indigenous history which was hidden, buried. And she explores new metaphors to implant knowledge of the persecution into the collective consciousness. She seeks to give Indigenous history an image, a haunting icon.

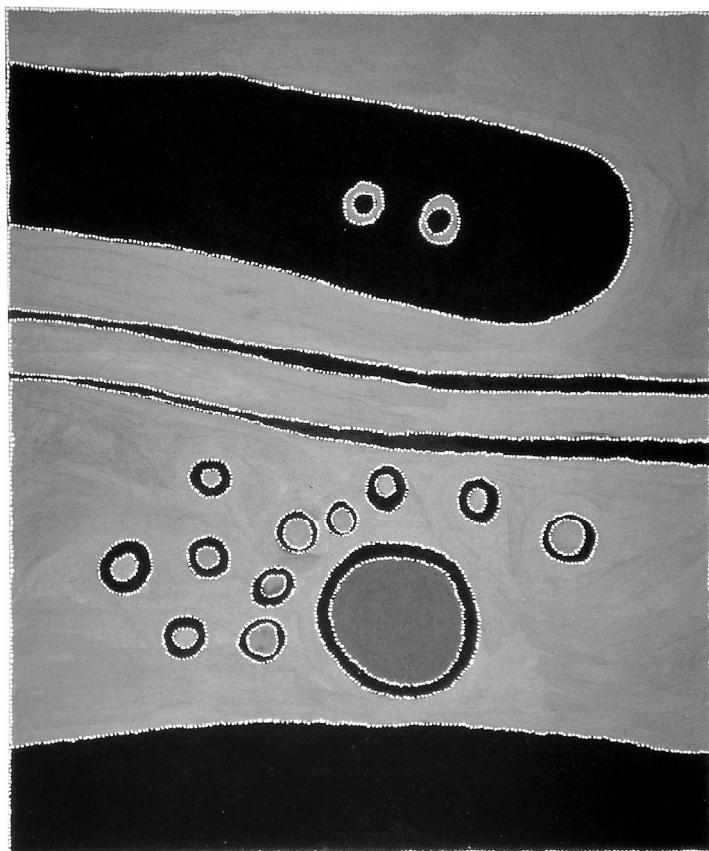


Plate 7: Paddy Bedford, Two women looking at the Bedford Downs Massacre burning place, 2002, ochres and pigment with acrylic binder on canvas, 180 x 150 cm

In that endeavour, Fiona Foley's installation corresponds with the paintings of the Gija artist Paddy Bedford (c. 1922-2007) and other artists who likewise explored the theme of massacres. Those paintings also reflect on aspects of Indigenous history, but not as images of protest or denunciation. Rather, their representation of the events is to be understood as a historical chronicle, a quasi-impartial description.

Furthermore, such portrayals are often directly and inseparably connected with the location of the incident; the event becomes part of the land and hence part of the Ngarrangkarni – the Gija name for their world view – which is the heritage held in trust for future generations. This particular painting by Paddy Bedford represents the Bedford Downs massacre, whereby as retribution for the killing of a bullock a number of Indigenous men were given poisoned food and their corpses were incinerated.

The installation by Fiona Foley and the paintings of Paddy Bedford are examples of how completely different iconographies can reflect the same theme, influenced by the varied cultural understanding: political activism on the one hand and historical rendering or incorporation into the Ngarrangkarni on the other hand.

### **Appropriation Art**

Consider Appropriation Art, an art genre whereby another artist's photographs, texts or works are included in one's own. The technique was developed in Western Art at the end of the 1970s and achieved some prevalence during the 1980s. The purposes of Appropriation Art were manifold: the ironic modification of the original, the exposition of the problem of originality and creativity, a criticism of events in the art market, or even as a reference and homage to the original artist. Whether the original artwork is faithfully reproduced or modified is irrelevant to the genre.

Richard Bell (\*1953) was politically influenced in his early adult life by the controversies surrounding the Tent Embassy (1972) as well as later by the 1988 Invasion Day (Bicentenary) events. He created his own form of Appropriation Art, which exhibited such a strong modification of the original artwork that he retained only *allusions* to a certain *kind* of painting, to a certain art genre. As an Indigenous artist he incorporated into his paintings the characteristic iconography of Western Desert art, including repetitive rasters in glowing colours or sometimes concentric circles, but he appropriated also the paint trails and paint splatter typical of Jackson Pollock. In this way, he opposed the oblivious absorption of Indigenous art by the white-dominated art market and reacted against the government policy of preferring to market all Indigenous art and culture as ethno-tourism rather than accepting and promoting Indigenous life and culture.

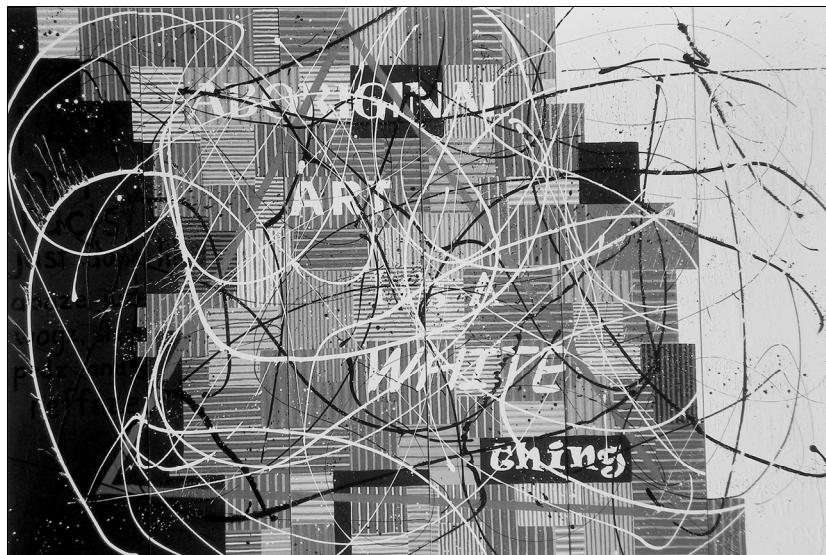


Plate 8: Richard Bell, *Scientia E Metaphysica (Bell's Theorem)*, 2003,  
synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 240 x 540 cm

One of his most well-known paintings won the prestigious National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Art Award in 2003. It is entitled "Scientia E Metaphysica (Bell's Theorem)". Immediately apparent is the text "Aboriginal Art it's a White Thing", which is deliberately confrontational to a white audience interested in Indigenous art. The text highlights the overpowering role of whites in the marketing and valuation of Aboriginal Art. When closely examined, further texts are decipherable in the black and white areas. Written in the white area is:

I am humiliated

I am sorry

Your ancestors were the kindest the most humane colonising power in the history of the world. They didn't steal our lands. You did in 1992. Your ancestors were very kind to Aboriginal people all over Australia. They gave work rations of flour, tea, sugar and even tobacco. And it is quite silly to think that work for ration was slavery minus the accommodation. You didn't commit genocide. You didn't even steal our children...

I was wrong. You can justify everything.

Written in the black zone of the painting is:

I am not a racist

I just don't like aboze, juze, wogz, slow pedz and reffoze

The confusion Richard Bell incites with these texts, where the stand-point of the writer is not immediately clear, is premeditated. It is crafted to provoke a complacent, white audience – which appreciates Indigenous art yet ignores or discriminates against Indigenous culture, sovereignty and history – out of its lethargy and into a considered judgment. He does not suggest the direction of thinking, only that people do so. Richard Bell succeeds in his goal of provoking viewers to reassess policies towards Indigenous people, and to reconsider their own privileged positions and comfortable assumptions.

Richard Bell created a scandal, not with this painting, but with the T-Shirt he wore when accepting the art award: the bold text on the chest proclaimed "White girls can't hump". With this he held a mirror to white Australia by exchanging the racial roles. In ironical form, he reflected what Indigenous people hear daily:

(...) they fight too much, drink too much, fuck too much, waste their money and destroy property; they are unemployable, irresponsible, primitive, spiritual, close-to-nature, parasitic, disappearing, not black enough, violent, opportunistic. (Leonard 24)

Richard Bell commentated on the indignation about "White girls can't hump" as follows: "My art (...) is an in-joke for smart people, the smart people will get it and the rest of the morons won't" (Leonard 5). Richard Bell uses satire, humor and absurdity, to censure the huge discrepancy between the sham-egalitarianism of the art market, the allegedly "lucky country" myth of the white Australian world and the reality of discrimination and patronization experienced by Indigenous people.

## **Re-Appropriation**

Gordon Bennett dares the further step, discussed below, of creating Appropriation Art from previously appropriated artworks. Examples of his work were exhibited in the 2012 dOCUMENTA 13 in Kassel, incited by works of Margaret Preston.

The Australian non-Indigenous artist Margaret Preston lived from 1875 to 1963 and is famous for promoting use of the symbolism and aesthetics of Indigenous art in developing a national Australian art movement. This was a complete annexation and re-definition of Indigenous iconography. Since Preston believed a national aesthetics could only develop on a foundation of broad acceptance, she proposed that Indigenous symbolism should be promoted in decorative design. Margaret Preston made corresponding design drawings in 1925.

Gordon Bennett (\*1955) took those designs, then magnified them a hundred times in size and painted them in prominent acrylic colours on large canvases. The artist – who is an acknowledged master of Appropriation Art – thus achieves the unique strength of expression for which many artworks of the Western Desert Art are famous.

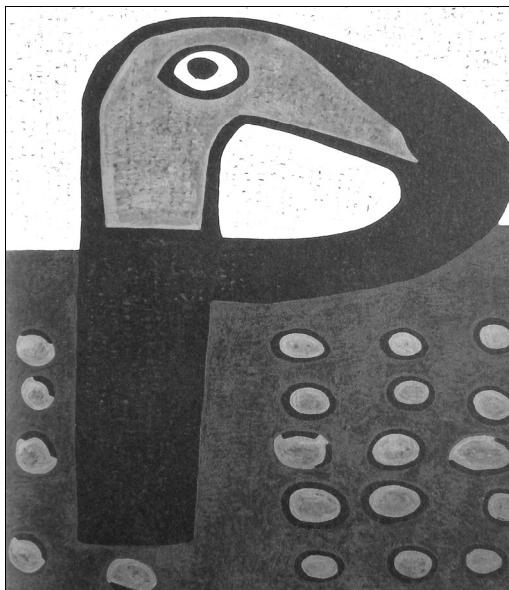


Plate 9: Gordon Bennett, Home Décor (after Margaret Preston) # 8, 2010,  
acrylic on canvas, 182,5 x 152 cm

The essential point, however, is that Gordon Bennett redeems the designs which were exploited for decorative purposes, reuniting

them with contemporary art. Moreover, he re-appropriates the Indigenous symbolism once appropriated by Margaret Preston, returning control and ownership to Indigenous hands.

## Conclusion

The examples discussed show that Australian Indigenous artworks can be strongly political in character. The sampling was chosen to be in some way indicative. The impression that urban artists often use their art to protest past genocide or denounce ongoing discrimination is generally true, as is the impression that artists of the Western Desert area often restrict themselves to *documenting* past or present tragedies. The examples of Fiona Foley's "Witnessing to Silence" and the work "Destruction I" concerning Maralinga by Kunmanara Queama and Hilda Moodoo, come immediately to mind. It is beyond all doubt that Kunmanara Queama made his artistic choices in the direction of chronicling, based on his cultural and artistic convictions, given that he dedicated much of his active life to political protest for land rights. Likewise, Fiona Foley's dedication of her art to socio-political protest is reflected in her own writings.

However, it is not possible to generalize the iconography and visual semantics found across the full spectrum of such political artworks. Each artist, and even each artwork, adopts and adapts visual symbols and icons from the artist's personal history and – through the genre of Appropriation Art – even from other artists, sometimes of opposite political conviction. The example of Gordon Bennett and Margaret Preston springs to mind. Furthermore, even a basic icon such as concentric circles representing an important place may have its imbued meaning metamorphosed from *this is Pitjantjatjara country to this country has been obliterated to our culture has been absorbed.*

While politics and icons are both hugely important in Indigenous art, it is the experience, insight and inspiration of the individual artist that determines how the two aspects are connected and what interpretations can be made.

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- Plate 1: Yirrkala Artists, The Bark Petition, 1963, ochre on bark, with collage of printed text on paper, 59.1 x 34 cm; printed in: Lüthi, B., ed., 1993. *Aratjara. Kunst der ersten Australier.* Köln: DuMont, 178.
- Plate 2: Kunmanara Queama and Hilda Moodoo, Destruction I, 2002, synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 112 x 101.2 cm; printed in: Cumpston, Nici, and Barry Patton, 2010. *Desert Country.* Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 131.
- Plate 3: Jonathan Kumintjara Brown, Old Country – Maralinga Atomic Test, 1995, natural ochres, sand on canvas, 92 x 122 cm; printed in: Sammlung Essl, ed., 2001. *Dreamtime. Zeitgenössische Aboriginal Art.* Klosterneuburg: Edition Sammlung Essl, 100-101.
- Plate 4: Jonathan Kumintjara Brown, Poison Country, 1995, synthetic polymer paint, natural ochres on canvas, 225 x 175 cm; printed in: Cumpston, Nici, and Barry Patton, 2010. *Desert Country.* Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 129.
- Plate 5: Lin Onus, Maralinga, 1990, fibreglass, pigment, plexiglass, paper stickers, 163 x 56 x 62 (figure), 125 x 119 x 45 cm (cloud); printed in: Neale, Margo, ed., 2000. *Urban Dingo – The Art and Life of Lin Onus 1948-1996.* Brisbane: Craftsman House, 88.
- Plate 6a: Fiona Foley, Witnessing to Silence, 2004, bronze, water feature, pavement stone, laminated ash and stainless steel (detail); printed in: Foley, Fiona, 2012. "The Elephant in the Room – Public Art in Brisbane". *Artlink*, 32(2) 67.

- Plate 6b: Fiona Foley, Witnessing to Silence, 2004, bronze, water feature, pavement stone, laminated ash and stainless steel (detail); printed in: <http://jayyoung.com/?portfolio=fiona-foley-witnessing-to-silence> from September 15, 2012.
- Plate 7: Paddy Bedford, Two women looking at the Bedford Downs Massacre burning place, 2002, ochres and pigment with acrylic binder on canvas, 180 x 150 cm; printed in: Museum of Contemporary Art, ed., 2006. *Paddy Bedford*. Sydney: Museum of Contemporary Art, 89.
- Plate 8: Richard Bell, Scientia E Metaphysica (Bell's Theorem), 2003, synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 240 x 540 cm; printed in: Leonard, Robert, ed., 2007. *Richard Bell: Positivity*. Brisbane: Institute of Modern Art, 57.
- Plate 9: Gordon Bennett, Home Décor (after Margaret Preston) # 8, 2010, acrylic on canvas, 182.5 x 152 cm; printed in: DOCUMENTA (13), 2012. *Das Begleitbuch/The Guidebook, Katalog/Catalog 3/3*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 143

Alexandra Ludewig

## **Versuche einer Visualisierung: Deutsch-Australische Bilder aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Westaustralien**

### **Historischer Bezug**

Frank. Franz. She [his widow Hannah Roennfeldt] recalls the gentle man whose life was turned upside down so many times [...]. The first reverse saw him ripped from his life of privilege in Vienna as a boy of sixteen, as his father's gambling debts drove them all the way to relatives in Kalgoorlie, a place so remote from Austria that even the most ardent creditor would give up the chase. From luxury to austerity, the son taking on the trade of baker in the shop run by his uncle and aunt, who since their arrival years before had changed from Fritz and Mitzie to Clive and Millie. It was important to blend in, they said. His mother understood this, but his father, with the pride and stubbornness that had triggered his financial ruin, resisted adaptation, and within a year had thrown himself under a train bound for Perth, leaving Frank as head of the household. Months later, war brought internment as an enemy alien – first on Rottnest Island, then over East – for this boy who was now not simply uprooted and bereaved, but despised, for things done far away and beyond his control. (Stedman 157)

Diese kleine Episode in M.L. Stedmans Bestseller *The Light Between Oceans* (2012), einem Roman, der in Stedmans Heimatstaat Westaustralien in der Zeit um den Ersten Weltkrieg angesiedelt ist, wirft das Schlaglicht in wenigen Sätzen auf einen gehassten "Hun", den die kleine Gemeinde aus ihren Reihen vertreibt. In Stedmans Roman taucht er nur noch als Leiche auf, doch die Einblicke, die andere Charaktere auf seine Biographie zulassen, insbesondere seine Internierung auf Rottnest Island, machen neugierig auf die tragische und wahre Geschichte hinter seinem Schicksal.

Die Internierung der deutschen Zivilbevölkerung im Ersten Weltkrieg ist kaum mehr als eine Fußnote in der Geschichtsschreibung Australiens. Ausnahmen sind Helmi et al. (2011), Simons (1999) und Fischer (1989), wobei der Westen des Kontinents meist nur am Rande behandelt wird. Im Folgenden soll erstmals die Situation in Westaustralien anhand von authentischen "Bildern" zumindest annähernd erfasst werden.

Im August 1914, wenige Stunden nach Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges, wurde Westaustralien zum Kriegsschauplatz im Indisch-Pazifischen Raum. Ein deutsches Handelsschiff wurde beschossen, seine deutsche Mannschaft festgenommen, das Schiff beschlagnahmt und die Internierung der Besatzung vorbereitet. Auf diese Menschen warteten Monate der Unsicherheit und Jahre der Internierung – ein Leben im Schwebezustand. In diesem Aufsatz möchte ich einige der dramatischen Ereignisse näher beleuchten, die von drei Seemannern visuell festgehalten wurden: von einem Hobby-Fotografen, einem Amateur-Maler und einem Laien-Kartografen. Ihre Zeitzeugnisse sind die einzigen Visualisierungen, die uns diese Geschichte heute noch nahebringen können.

## **Der Ausbruch des Krieges**

Noch kurz vor der Kriegserklärung lag die *Stolberg*, ein neu gebautes Schiff aus Hamburg, im Hafen von Fremantle, verließ jedoch alarmiert durch Gerüchte, der Kriegsausbruch stehe unmittelbar bevor, in der Nacht vom vierten auf den fünften August hastig die australischen Gewässer (Minute Paper). Anstatt wie geplant nach Adelaide weiterzufahren, machte sich die *Stolberg* auf den Weg nach Java, um dort Schutz zu suchen. Sie fuhr also Richtung Nord/Nordwesten. Deshalb kreuzte sie unterwegs auch nicht den Pfad eines anderen deutschen Schiffes, das auf Fremantle zuhielt: die *Greifswald*.

An Bord der SS *Greifswald* war Karl Lehmann, der 1886 als einer von sieben Söhnen einer wohlhabenden deutsch-japanischen Familie in Tokio geboren wurde. Sein Vater Rudolph Lehmann und sein Onkel Carl, die aus Oldenburg stammten, waren in den 70er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts unter den ersten Schiffsbauern gewesen, die nach Japan gingen. Rudolph hatte dort ein fünfzehnjähriges japanisches Mädchen kennengelernt, mit der er insgesamt acht Kinder hatte. Die Söhne wurden für ihre Schulausbildung nach Deutschland geschickt. Karl Lehmann absolvierte seinen Militärdienst in Deutschland, heiratete eine deutsche Frau und visierte eine Karriere auf hoher See an. Aufgrund privater Schicksalsschläge nahmen seine Pläne jedoch einen anderen Verlauf (1911 starb sein älterer Bruder, 1913 wurde seine erste Ehe geschieden und 1914 verstarb sein Vater in Tokio).

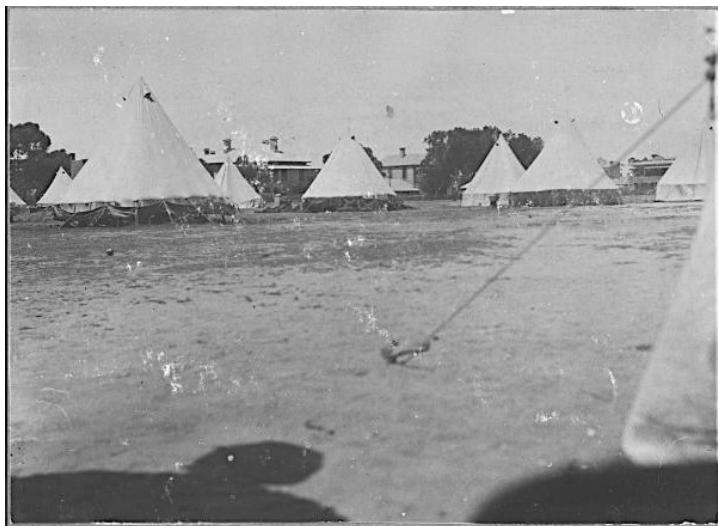
Am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkriegs befand sich Lehmann als dritter Offizier auf der *Greifswald* auf dem Weg nach Australien und hielt die wichtigsten Stationen der Reise mit einer Kamera fest: beispielsweise den Hafen von Antwerpen, den Hafen von Genua und die Anfahrt auf Australien. In den frühen Morgenstunden des 6. August lief die *Greifswald* im Hafen von Fremantle ein. Eigentliches Ziel war Adelaide. Der Kapitän wurde

...vor Rottnest von einem Untersuchungsdampfer angesprochen, der den Kapitän anhielt, wie üblich vor dem Hafen zu ankern. Der Kapitän der *Greifswald* kam den Befehlen nichtsahnend nach. Kurz nach Tagesanbruch lichtete er den Anker und fuhr in den Hafen ein, während die Mannschaft und Offiziere damit beschäftigt waren, die Luken zu öffnen, damit die Ladung gelöscht werden konnte. Nachdem das Schiff an der Mole festgemacht hatte, kam der örtliche Handelsvertreter an Bord und informierte den ahnungslosen Kapitän, dass der Krieg begonnen hatte. Dieser war völlig verblüfft und brach in Tränen aus, als er die Neuigkeit hörte. ("The censors" 15)

Der Verlust ihrer Freiheit traf Besatzung und Kapitän vollkommen unvorbereitet. Genauso wenig waren allerdings die örtlichen Behörden darauf vorbereitet, das Schiff in Besitz zu nehmen. Die Soldaten, die in aller Eile den Befehl erhalten hatten, die Besatzung gefangen zu nehmen, waren flugs eingezogene Reservisten, denn Australien hatte zu dieser Zeit keine Berufsarmee. Einige dieser Rekruten hatte man schnell in eine Uniform gesteckt, mit einem Gewehr ausgerüstet und an die Gangway gestellt. Sie sollten Wache halten und verhindern, dass unbefugte Personen das Schiff betraten oder jemand es verließ. Zu Anfang wurden die 46 Besatzungsmitglieder nämlich auf ihrem Schiff festgehalten. Da Lehmann nicht viel zu tun hatte, experimentierte er mit seiner Kamera. Auf diese Weise entstanden in den folgenden Monaten über 300 Fotos in Westaustralien.

Obwohl die Offiziere und der Kapitän selbst Reservisten waren und ihren Dienst in der deutschen Armee abgeleistet hatten, durften sie sich im Gegensatz zum Rest der Besatzung nach einer Weile relativ frei bewegen. Sie wurden als Ehrenmänner behandelt, und der Ton zwischen den australischen Behörden und dieser Gruppe der Gefangenen war freundlich. Man hatte ihr Wohlergehen und ihre seelische Gesundheit im Sinn, als man ihnen erlaubte, sich in Fremantle und Umgebung umzusehen. Auf diese Weise konnte Lehmann viele Sehenswürdigkeiten der Hafenstadt fotografieren. Die Offiziere aßen auch regelmäßig mit ihren australischen Kollegen in deren Militärzel-

ten im Fremantle Park zu Mittag. Lehmann muss sich bewusst gewesen sein, dass die Anwesenheit eines *enemy aliens* unter Australiern jederzeit feindselige Reaktionen hervorrufen konnte und dass es untersagt war, als Angehöriger einer Feindnation mit seinem Fotoapparat Bilder von Militärzelten und dem Hafen zu machen. Wohl deshalb schoss er ein Foto des Militärlagers im Fremantle Park aus der Hüfte. Auf keinem seiner anderen Fotos ist es Lehmann, der sonst einen ausgeprägten Sinn für Gestaltung, Komposition und Beleuchtung besaß, unterlaufen, dass man seinen eigenen Schatten auf dem Bild sehen kann oder dass sein Motiv nicht mittig platziert ist, so wie bei diesem Bild:



Karl Lehmann, Militärlager in Fremantle, Westaustralien, 1914,  
National Library of Australia, Bib ID 4864920.

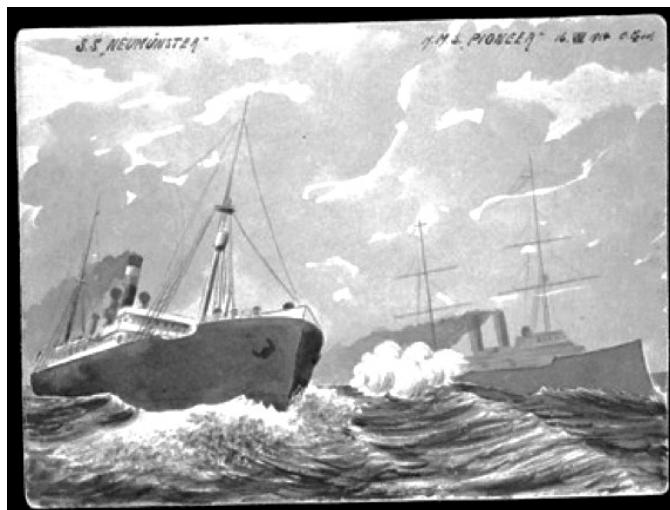
### **Die Registrierung und Festsetzung der *enemy aliens***

Am 10. August 1914 war eine Regierungserklärung abgegeben worden, die von allen deutschen Staatsbürgern in Australien verlangte, sich bei der Polizei zu melden. Drei Tage später erließ der Generalgouverneur Sir Ronald Craufurd Munro Ferguson eine weitere Verlautbarung, die alle im Commonwealth lebenden Untertanen des Kaisers von Österreich (und gleichzeitigen Königs von Ungarn) auf-

forderte, sich gleichermaßen wie die deutschen *enemy aliens* zur nächsten Polizeidienststelle zu begeben und dem diensthabenden Beamten Namen, Wohnort und Beschäftigung bekanntzugeben sowie den Behörden jedwede Änderungen der Personalien mitzuteilen (*Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* 56). In Fremantles Polizeistation und Kaserne war daraufhin viel los: Geheimdienstoffiziere führten Gespräche mit *enemy aliens* und kalkulierten den Grad der Bedrohung, der von ihnen ausging. Der Zugang zum Kai wurde eingeschränkt, ebenso der Besitz von Waffen oder Fotoapparaten.

Lehmann kann nicht entgangen sein, dass immer mehr Deutsche und Österreicher nach ihrer Registrierung – unabhängig davon, ob sie erst kürzlich im Land angekommen waren oder schon lange dort wohnten – als *enemy aliens* festgenommen und an verschiedenen Orten innerhalb Fremantles interniert wurden: z.B. im Esplanade Hotel und dem ihm vorgelagerten Park, im nahe gelegenen Fremantle Park und in den Kasernen der Artillerie. Die Behörden waren aber darauf aus, die Gefangenen an Orte zu verlegen, die nicht von militärischer Bedeutung waren. Trotz der Pressezensur, die es verbot, über die Internierung der *enemy aliens* zu berichten (Scott 66), fanden hier und da Bruchstücke dieser Nachricht ihren Weg in die Zeitungen. Daraus geht hervor, dass bereits am 14. August bekannt war, dass mehrere Deutsche „auf der bekannten Ferieninsel Rottnest“ festgesetzt worden waren („Timber topics“ 4). Die Insel war wenige Tage nach Ausbruch des Krieges unter Militärverwaltung gestellt und als Internierungslager hergerichtet worden. Nun wurden Wachen mobilisiert, Vorräte zusammengetragen und alles Notwendige mit kleinen Passagierdampfern auf die neun Meilen vom Festland entfernte Insel transportiert.

Sonst war der Hafen wenig geschäftig und die Hafenanlage nahezu menschenleer. Die örtliche Wochenzeitung der Labor Party, *The Westralian Worker*, berichtete: „In der letzten Woche war es am Kai außergewöhnlich ruhig. Kein Ozeandampfer wurde beladen und das Ausbleiben der deutschen Dampfschiffe ist deutlich zu spüren.“ („Notes from the sea“ 10).



Fotografie einer Zeichnung von Erich Czech 1914, State Library of Western Australia, Picture 280261PD.

An der gesamten Westküste war es friedlich, bis völlig unerwartet ein weiteres deutsches Schiff auftauchte, die *Neumünster*. An Bord dieses Schiffes war Erich Czech, damals 31 Jahre alt, ein Vollmatrose. Im Gegensatz zu Lehmann hatte Czech zwar keine Kamera dabei, dafür war er mit Leinwand und Pinsel ausgerüstet. Die folgende Begegnung hat er in Wasserfarben festgehalten.

Am frühen Morgen des 16. August entdeckte die H.M.A.S. *Pioneer* etwa 9 Meilen vor Rottnest die Lichter eines sich nähерnden Schiffes. Das Kriegsschiff fuhr ohne Licht auf das unbekannte Schiff zu. Erst als es sich bis auf eine Dreiviertelmeile genähert hatte, schaltete die *Pioneer* die Schiffsbeleuchtung an, umrundete das abgefangene Boot von Steuerbord nach Backbord und sandte eine Botschaft, in der nach dem Namen des Schiffes gefragt wurde. Außerdem wurde ein Schuss über Bug gefeuert, verbunden mit der Aufforderung anzuhalten. Als keine Reaktion erfolgte, wurde ein zweites Mal gefeuert. Erst darauf hielt das Dampfschiff an. (Unmack quoted in "Prize court" 7)

Da die *Neumünster* nicht mit einem Funkradio ausgestattet war, hatte der Kapitän Karl Hermann noch nichts von der Kriegserklärung gehört und mutmaßte, dass die Warnschüsse etwas damit zu tun haben könnten, dass er sich bei der Anfahrt auf Fremantle gefährlichen Riffen und Felsen angenähert habe. Sein Schiff war voll beladen mit

Waren aus Antwerpen (wovon 600 Tonnen in Fremantle gelöscht werden sollten) und Hermann wollte seine Jungfernreise als Kapitän unbedingt ohne Zwischenfall hinter sich bringen ("Captured off Fremantle" 14).

Auch vor Rottnest Island war es schwierig, den Kontakt zu dem Schiff herzustellen. In Ermangelung anderer Möglichkeiten wurde ein Megaphon benutzt, um den Kapitän darüber in Kenntnis zu setzen, dass ein Boot zu ihm hinübergeschickt werde ("Prize court" 7). Als sich dies aufgrund der rauen See als unmöglich erwies, signalisierte die *Pioneer*: "Maschinen stoppen. Sie werden eskortiert" ("Rottnest Island" 2). Zu diesem Zeitpunkt – es war ein dunkler, stürmischer Wintermorgen – konnten der Kapitän und seine Mannschaft unmöglich erkennen, dass die *Pioneer* ein Kriegsschiff war. Schließlich setzte der Lotse Alexander Williamson aus Fremantle über, der das Schiff in den Hafen steuerte und dort vertäute. Daraufhin wurde das Schiff offiziell beschlagnahmt und weitere bewaffnete Wachen abgestellt. Erst dann war die Nachricht vom Kriegsausbruch bis zur Besatzung durchgedrungen. Der letzte Befehl, nachdem das Schiff am Viktoria Kai festgemacht worden war, lautete: "Alle an Bord bleiben!" Die 42-köpfige Besatzung der *Neumünster*, unter ihr der Seefahrer Erich Czech, wurde auf dem Frachtdampfer festgehalten, bis sie am 21. August 1914 mit einem anderen Boot nach Rottnest Island gebracht wurde. Czech war ein geschickter Maler und Musiker, und für beide Hobbys sollte er in den kommenden Jahren noch viel Zeit haben. Sowohl er als auch Karl Lehmann gehörten zu den Deutschen, die erst im Hafen festsäßen, bevor sie auf Rottnest Island interniert wurden, wo sie Ende August als Gefangene Nr. 190 und Nr. 33 registriert wurden.

### **Die Internierung auf Rottnest Island**

Bereits am 13. August, kaum eine Woche nach Ausbruch des Krieges, entschieden sich die Militärbehörden für Rottnest Island als Internierungslager, vor allem weil es dort "vielfältige Unterkunftsmöglichkeiten" gab ("Western Australia" 14). Die Schiffsoffiziere wurden im State Hostel untergebracht, einer ehemaligen Erziehungsanstalt für Jungen, und auf dem Gelände des früheren Aboriginal-Gefängnisses (*The Quod*), das erst kurz zuvor in eine Touristenunterkunft umgebaut worden war.



National Library of Australia

nla.pic-vn4703393-s5-b2-v

Karl Lehmann, Offiziere der SS *Greifswald* in Fremantle, Westaustralien, 1914. National Library of Australia, Bib ID 4703393  
(Karl Lehmann sitzt in der ersten Reihe ganz rechts).

Die Mitglieder der Schiffsbesetzungen und die Zivilisten kamen in quadratischen Zelthütten unter, die mit Holzrahmen verstärkt und mit einem Holzfußboden und einem hölzernen Umlauf ausgestattet worden waren (Mennicken-Coley 55).

Czech hat auf diesem Aquarell das Zelt Nr. 31, in dem er untergebracht war, gezeichnet. Es befand sich direkt neben dem Lagereingang. Alle diese Zeltunterkünfte waren „von den Deutschen belegt, da sie die ersten waren, die eingesperrt wurden“ (Splivalo 67). Tatsächlich waren die ersten 300 Internierten mehrheitlich Matrosen. Sie alle entstammten deutschen Mannschaften, denn noch am 28. August 1914 hatte ein ahnungsloser Kapitän sein Schiff, die *Thüringen*, in den Hafen von Fremantle gesteuert, so dass drei große deutsche Handelsschiffe, die *Greifswald*, die *Neumünster* und die *Thüringen* in Fremantle festlagen.



Fotografie einer Zeichnung von Erich Czech 1914, State Library of Western Australia, Picture 280256PD.

Diejenigen Internierten, die erst nach Weihnachten 1914 auf die Insel überführt wurden, waren größtenteils Westaustralier deutscher oder österreichischer Herkunft. Sie hatten nicht mehr das Glück, bereits fertiggestellte Unterkünfte vorzufinden. Einer der australischen Wachhabenden, Rupert Secombe, gab später an, dass den meisten Gefangenen einfach das nötige Material übergeben wurde und sie sich die Zelte selbst aufbauen mussten (28). Einer dieser "Nachzügler" unter den Internierten erinnert sich daran, dass Mitte 1915 eine große Zahl von Österreichern ankam, die den Deutschen bald zahlenmäßig überlegen waren. Darunter gab es viele Kroaten aus Dalmatien, die "in Zelten der australischen Armee oder gar in Freizeitzelten, die in Perth bestellt wurden, untergebracht wurden" (Splivalo 67). Wie Stedmans fiktionaler Internierter war auch Anthony Splivalo gerade 16 Jahre alt, und erst wenige Jahre zuvor aus Österreich-Ungarn nach Kalgoorlie gekommen, wo sein älterer Bruder unlängst Fuß gefasst hatte. Splivalo besuchte in diesem Goldgräberstädtchen zuerst die Schule und arbeitete dann als Büroangestellter. Obschon er sich gut integriert hatte und perfekt Englisch sprach, wurde auch er 1915 interniert, als die ortsansässigen Minenarbeiter sich der konkurrierenden Arbeitnehmerschaft entledigen wollten und

in großer Zahl Österreicher und Angehörige der Balkannationen als Feinde isolierten und nach Rottnest Island verbannten. Dies geschah, wenngleich viele von ihnen dem Krieg und den Aggressoren vollkommen unbeteiligt gegenüberstanden. In seiner Autobiographie reflektierte Splivalo die Ereignisse viele Jahre später mit einem sehr verständnisvollen Blick. Er war eindeutig einer der Internierten, die damals wie später das Beste aus ihrer Situation machten. An sie erinnerte sich einer der Wächter wohlwollend:

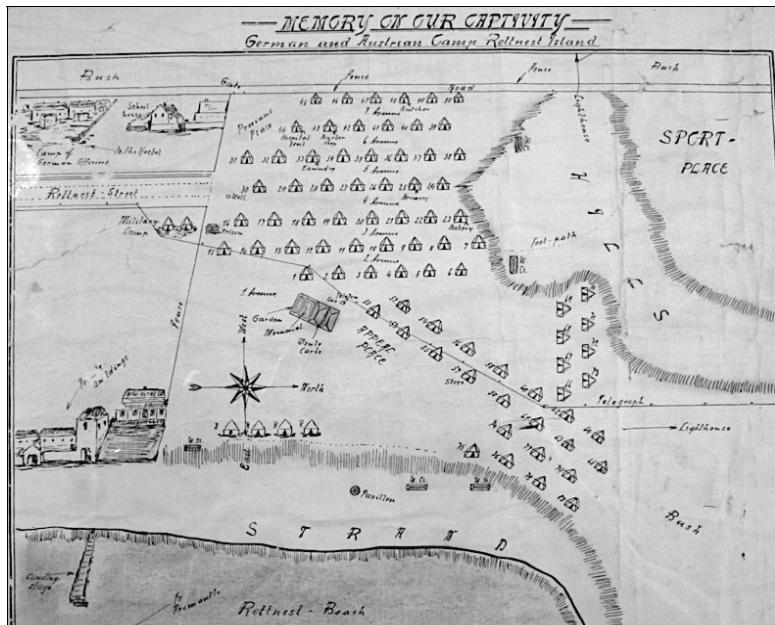
Sie bauten sich sogar eine Art Kursaal, in dem abends Tanz und Musik stattfand, denn sie hatten eine richtig gute Musikkapelle. Sie bekamen Musikinstrumente und gaben Konzerte und so weiter. (Secombe 28)

Einige der Wachmänner und Sanitäter, beispielsweise Captain Maggs Randall und Gefreiter John Secombe, wurden oft zu diesen Veranstaltungen eingeladen und verschafften sich Zugang zu dem eingezäunten Gelände, indem sie sich als diensthabende Angehörige des Australian Medical Corps ausgaben. Es gab anscheinend viele Kontakte zwischen Wärtern, Wachmännern und Gefangenen. Einer dieser Wachmänner, Jack O'Donoghue, erzählte, dass zwei oder drei der Wärter einen großen Bottich besaßen, in dem sie Bier brauten, für das sie auf der Insel angebaute Gerste verwendeten sowie Hefe, die sie aus Kartoffeln und Gerste selbst hergestellt hatten (9). Auch die Gefangenen auf der anderen Seite waren damit beschäftigt, sich heimlich eine Lager-Brauerei einzurichten.

Die von einem weiteren deutschen Internierten, Otto Ferdinand Dreissig, gezeichnete Karte (siehe unten) zeigt deutlich, dass sich eine Art Schicksalsgemeinschaft gebildet hatte. Die Internierten versuchten, eine Dorfatmosphäre zu schaffen und selbst für die wichtigsten Dienstleistungen zu sorgen. Ein Zelt wird auf der Karte als Brauerei bezeichnet, andere wurden mit Bäckerei, Metzgerei, Krankenhaus, Wäscherei, Laden und Barbier beschriftet. Die Wasserklosetts markierte Dreissig mit roter Farbe, genauso wie das Gefängnis, den Strandpavillon und den Kursaal, der *Monte Carlo* getauft wurde.

Der 24-jährige Matrose Dreissig war Rottnest-Gefangener Nr. 63. Wie viele seiner Mitgefangenen war auch er Reservesoldat der Marine (NAA: PP14/2; 753016). Dreissig war schon einige Zeit in Australien heimisch und auf dem Dampfer *Western Australia* tätig gewesen, als er am 14. August 1914 in einem Hafen im Nordwesten von Australien, in Wyndham, festgenommen und als Passagier Zweiter

Klasse nach Fremantle verfrachtet worden war (NAA: PP14/2, PF/110; 752065). Wie Lehmann und Czech gehörte er zu der ersten Gruppe von Internierten, die nach Rottnest Island gebracht wurden. Dreissig kam aber nicht wie der privilegierte Lehmann im Hostel unter, das in der linken oberen Ecke der Karte zu erkennen ist. Er kannte sich als einfacher Matrose offensichtlich gut in dem unablässig wachsenden Zeltdorf aus, das sich auf einem fünf Hektar großen Gebiet in der nördlichen Thomson-Bucht ausbreitete. Auf seiner relativ unüblich nach Westen ausgerichteten Karte erkennt man 80 ordentlich aufgereihte Zelte aus Planen, die sich zwischen der Thomson-Bay-Siedlung im Süden, den Hügeln mit dahinterliegendem Sportplatz im Norden, den Sandstränden der Thomson-Bucht im Osten und einem Zaun im Westen erstrecken. Wenn man bedenkt, dass in dem Hostel etwa 40 Offiziere wohnten und in jedem Zelt sechs bis acht Männer untergebracht waren, dann muss die Zahl der Lagerinsassen zur Entstehungszeit der Karte, im Mai 1915, ungefähr 600 betragen haben.



Otto Ferdinand Dreissigs Karte des Lagers von 1915, State Library of Western Australia, Map Collection, Map B/12/33.

Die Internierten durften außerhalb des Lagers schwimmen und angeln oder im Laden der Siedlung einkaufen, eine Freiheit, die schon allein deshalb notwendig war, weil sich die Gefangenen weitgehend selbst versorgen mussten. In den Anfangszeiten des Internierungslagers wurden die abgezählten Lebensmittel, darunter auch Fleisch (Hammel) und Gemüse, vor jedem Zelt abgelegt, und die Gefangenen mussten selbst kochen. Einige Monate später wurden die Vorräte auf den Proviantplatz in der Nähe des Haupteingangs gebracht und pro Zelt wurde eine Person abgestellt, die den jeweiligen Anteil abholen sollte. Darüber hinaus gab es einen Gefangenen, "der Bäcker war" und das Lager mit Brot versorgte (O'Donoghue 9).

Anthony Splivalo erinnert sich: "Die einzige Zeitung, die uns täglich zur Verfügung gestellt wurde, war der *Western Australian* aus Perth, aber mein Bruder, der im Palace Hotel wohnte, sandte mir oft Ausgaben des *Kalgoorlie Miners* und des *Western Argus*" (74-75). Zweisprachige Internierte durchforsteten die verfügbaren Zeitungen nach Neuigkeiten über den Krieg oder die jeweilige Heimat und übersetzten sie für diejenigen der Lagerinsassen, die entweder Analphabeten oder des Englischen nicht mächtig waren.

Zensur war weit verbreitet und betraf nicht nur die Lagerinsassen auf Rottnest Island, sondern die gesamte Bevölkerung und vor allem die Journalisten. Daher wussten die meisten Westaustralier kaum etwas über die Situation auf der Insel. Das Leben ging für sie nach Kriegsbeginn relativ ungestört weiter. Selbst auf Rottnest Island etablierte sich erstaunlich schnell eine gewisse Alltagsroutine. Schon wenige Wochen nach Einrichtung des Lagers hatte sich eine Art "Lagerkultur" entwickelt, die hinsichtlich der sozialen Struktur und ethnischen Zugehörigkeit ein Spiegelbild der Gesellschaft außerhalb des Lagers bildete. Das heißt also, dass die Internierten im Lager sowohl nach Klassen- als auch nach Volksgruppenzugehörigkeit getrennt waren. Neben den Deutschen und den Deutsch-Österreichern gab es die Dalmatiner und Kroaten, die zusammen mit anderen Balkanvölkern die größte Volksgruppe im Lager bildeten. Es gab eindeutig soziale Unterschiede und die Rollen wurden je nach persönlichen Fähigkeiten und Qualifikationen verteilt. Diejenigen, die es sich leisten konnten, versuchten ihr Leben so angenehm wie möglich zu gestalten.

Von Anfang an gab es zwei deutlich getrennte Gruppen: die der Fremden und die der Ortsansässigen. Auf der einen Seite waren die

Schiffsbesatzungen aus Übersee, die innerhalb Australiens keine oder nur sehr wenige Kontakte hatten, auf der anderen Seite diejenigen *enemy aliens*, die aus der westaustralischen Bevölkerung stammten. Viele der letzteren konnten auf die Unterstützung von Freunden zählen, einige sogar auf die Hilfe von Familienmitgliedern, vor allem diejenigen, die bereits ihr ganzes Leben in Australien verbracht hatten. Neben diesen Unterschieden in den Helfernetzwerken spielten weitere Faktoren für die Spaltung der Lagerbevölkerung in einzelne Gruppen eine Rolle. Vor allem die Schiffsbesatzungen hielten zum Missfallen vieler auch unter den Lagerbedingungen an ihren alten Rängen fest und waren klar nach sozialen Klassen bzw. beruflicher Ordnung getrennt.

Auch die einheimischen *enemy aliens* waren keine homogene Gruppe, sondern gehörten verschiedenen Ethnien an. Den Deutschen und Österreichern standen die große Gruppe der Dalmatiner und Kroaten, sowie einige wenige Serben, Bulgaren, Tschechen, Ungarn, Slowaken und andere Bewohner Osteuropas gegenüber (zeitweise insgesamt fast 600 Männer), die zwar offiziell als "Österreicher" galten, weil ihr Heimatland Teil der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie war, von ihrer inneren Überzeugung her der österreichischen Sache aber alles andere als freundlich gesinnt waren. Je nachdem, wo ihre Wurzeln in der Donaumonarchie lagen, taten sie sich mit denjenigen zusammen, die von derselben Insel, demselben Dorf, derselben Region oder derselben Volksgruppe stammten. Nach Angaben eines Internierten aus der Gruppe der Dalmatiner hatten viele von ihnen vorher in denselben Berufen gearbeitet, als Minenarbeiter oder Holzfäller (Splivalo 76). Die meisten Angehörigen der Balkanvölker kamen von den australischen Goldfeldern, wo der Krieg bisweilen ein willkommener Anlass war, Konkurrenz auf dem Arbeitsmarkt loszuwerden (Fischer 1988).

Die Stimmung unter den deutschen Schiffsbesatzungen war anfangs gut, waren sie doch vom unmittelbar bevorstehenden Sieg und von ihrer Rückkehr nach Deutschland noch vor Weihnachten überzeugt. Selbstbewusst trugen sie ihren Glauben an eine militärische und völkische Überlegenheit zur Schau. Als einige der deutschen Gefangenen am 2. September 1914 den Sedanstag feierten – die Erinnerung an die entscheidende Schlacht des deutsch-französischen Krieges, bei der die Preußen 1870 den französischen Kaiser Napoléon III und große Teile seiner Truppen gefangen setzten – sangen die Ma-

troßen laut "Die Wacht am Rhein" und "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles". Als der zuständige Wachmann fragte, was los sei, antworteten sie nur: "Da musst du die Franzosen fragen!" (Penck 85). Der Lagerkommandant Major E. Summerhayes erinnerte sich 15 Jahre nach den Ereignissen, dass die Mehrheit der Deutschen im Lager kriegstauglich war.

Wären sie nach Deutschland zurückgekehrt, wären sie rekrutiert worden. Sie hatten es hier so gut getroffen, dass mehrere mir erzählten, dass sie Gott dankten, dass sie nicht nach Deutschland zurückkonden. (7)

Viele der gefangenen Deutschen hatten nämlich einen militärischen Grad und wären auf jeden Fall eingezogen worden, hätten sie sich bei Kriegsbeginn in Deutschland befunden. Zwischen ihnen und ihren Aufsehern kam es gleichwohl zu angespannten Situationen, da "einige unter den deutschen Offizieren glaubten, ihnen gehöre die Welt" (Summerhayes 7). Die Nachricht vom Ende des Kreuzers *Emden* und der Anblick ihrer Schiffe, die nun ohne sie ausliefen, wird einige ihrer Hoffnungen zerstört haben. "Anfang September 1914 wurden die Dampfer *Greifswald*, *Neumünster* und *Thüringen* von ihrem Ankerplatz am südlichen Kai zur gegenüberliegenden Hafenseite gebracht" ("Port paragraphs" 15). Kurz danach wurden die konfisierten Schiffe umbenannt und von der Regierung des Commonwealth für den Kriegsdienst genutzt. Die *Greifswald* fuhr am 16. Oktober 1914 an Rottnest Island vorbei, die *Thüringen* am 21. Oktober 1914 und die *Neumünster* am 30. Oktober 1914, alle in Richtung Osten (Signal Station Log Book 11).

Der Wunsch ihrer früheren Besetzungen, selbst in See zu stechen, mag ihren Ausdruck in der Beschäftigung mit Modellschiffbau gefunden haben. Im Gegensatz zu anderen Lagern (z.B. Holsworthy und Trial Bay), wo die Veröffentlichung von Zeitschriften und Konzertprogrammen vom intellektuellen Leben der Internierten zeugen, haben die Insassen von Rottnest Island kein derartiges Quellenmaterial hinterlassen. Die Insassen verfolgten offensichtlich andere Ziele, und das Lagerleben war eher von Naturerlebnissen und Freiluftaktivitäten geprägt. "Eine Art Robinson-Crusoe-Erfahrung muss Teil ihres Alltags gewesen sein, schließlich war die Insel ein Paradies für Jäger und Angler" ("Rottnest Island" 2). Als einzige Zeugnisse von Internierten sind uns die Fotos Lehmanns, die Zeichnungen Czechs und die Karte Dreissigs überliefert. Nicht einmal die Modellschiffe, welche

die deutschen Seeleute bauten und auf den Salzseen der Insel fahren ließen, sind erhalten geblieben.

### **Der Abschied von Westaustralien**

Als das Internierungslager von Rottnest Island bereits 15 Monate nach Kriegsbeginn wieder geschlossen wurde und alle Internierten zu anderen Lagern im Osten des Kontinents transferiert wurden, waren die Gepäckbestimmungen nicht sehr großzügig, sodass viele Dinge zurückgelassen werden mussten. Die Hauptgründe für die Schließung waren die Überbelegung und dadurch hervorgerufene Versorgungsprobleme. Die Zahl der Internierten war bis dahin stetig angewachsen: Im März 1915 gab es 412 Lagerbewohner, im Mai desselben Jahres war die Zahl auf 628 Internierte angestiegen, Ende Juli auf 887 und Ende August wurden sogar 1100 Personen auf Rottnest Island festgehalten (NAA, CRS 172, 1917/4052, 47835). Die Infrastruktur auf Rottnest Island war für einen solchen Zuwachs der Bevölkerung nicht ausgerichtet, und da jedes einzelne Ausrüstungs teil mit dem Schiff herangebracht werden musste, konnte eine lückenlose Versorgung nur schwer erzielt werden. Deshalb wurde nach anderen Orten für ein Internierungslager gesucht, und man beschloss, die etwa 1000 Männer nach New South Wales zu verlegen.



Zeichnung von Erich Czech 1914; State Library of Western Australia: no. 004543D; Fotografie von Karl Lehmann, National Library of Australia, Bib ID 4703393.

Der aus Dalmatien stammende Gefangene Splivalo gab folgende Erinnerung zu Protokoll:

Ende 1915 überschlugen sich die Gerüchte. Wir hörten, dass die Behörden beschlossen hatten, das Lager aufzulösen und uns in ein großes Internierungslager in der Nähe von Sydney in New South Wales zu verlegen. Die Aussicht, Rottnest Island verlassen zu müssen, traf uns hart. Wir waren zwar offiziell Kriegsgefangene und lebten hinter einem Zaun, hatten auf Rottnest aber sonst keinerlei belastende Einschränkungen zu erdulden. Wir wurden nicht schlecht behandelt, und jeder, der diese zauberhafte Insel nach Herzenslust erkunden wollte, bekam dafür einen Passierschein. Wir fühlten uns inzwischen heimisch hier und hatten uns alle ausnahmslos in die Insel verliebt. Jeden Morgen konnten wir es kaum erwarten, die Insel zu durchforsten, barfuß über die silberglänzenden Strände zu wandern und die frische, saubere Luft einzutauen. (80)

Erst wenige Tage vor dem geplanten Transfer wurden Pläne bekannt gegeben, wonach die auf Rottnest Island internierten Deutschen und Österreicher an die Ostküste Australiens verlegt und die Insel wieder den einheimischen Weihnachtsurlaubern zur Verfügung gestellt werden sollte. Diese Nachricht kam sowohl für die Lagerinsassen als auch für ihre Verwandten und die breite Öffentlichkeit mehr als überraschend. Um Unruhe und Proteste zu vermeiden, hatten die Behörden ihre Pläne so lange wie möglich geheim gehalten; auch die Evakuierung der Insassen und ihr Transfer auf einen Ozeandampfer wurde "ohne unnötiges Gedöns" ausgeführt ("Restoration of Rottnest" 1).

Am 22. November 1915 legte das Linienschiff SS *Demosthenes* abends um 21 Uhr ab (Splivalo 82). Die meisten der Insassen von Rottnest Island wurden nach Sydney gebracht (Mennicken-Coley 64). Czech und Dreissig kamen in das Lager von Holsworthy, während einige Privilegierte, darunter Lehmann, nach Trial Bay überführt wurden. Erst 1919 sollten diese Männer wieder in See stechen, als sie auf einem der zwischen 1919 und 1920 speziell dafür bereitgestellten Schiffe zurück nach Deutschland geschickt wurden (Scott 137). Zusammen mit den vielen Seemännern, die auf der Durchreise gefangengenommen worden waren, wurden auch viele tausend Deutsche und Österreicher repatriiert, die teilweise schon sehr lange in Australien lebten. Es machte keinen Unterschied, ob man eingebürgert war (naturalisiert) oder gar sein Leben lang in Australien wohnte. Das Kriegsende bot die Möglichkeit, das Land "britischer" zu machen, und viele Familien deutschen und österreichischen Ursprungs verließen nun, teils gezwungenermaßen, teils freiwillig, das Land.

Bevor die Internierten abgeschoben wurden, fotografierte man die Männer, wohl auch, um sie bei dem unerlaubten Versuch der Wiedereinreise leichter identifizieren zu können. Lehmann wurde auf der *Kursk* repatriiert, die Sydney am 29. März 1919 verließ, Erich Czech und Otto Dreissig wurden sechs Wochen später, am 9. Juli 1919 auf der *Tras-os-Montes* deportiert. Beide Schiffe fuhren auf ihrem Weg nach Europa nicht über Fremantle, sondern liefen vor der Überfahrt des Indischen Ozeans nur noch den Hafen von Albany an, sodass die Männer keinen Blick auf die mittlerweile wieder für den Tourismus freigegebene Insel Rottnest werfen konnten.

Anthony Splivalo war, wie in Stedmans Roman, einer der wenigen "Österreicher", die in Westaustralien bleiben durften. Doch auch er entzog sich der feindseligen Atmosphäre dieser Jahre und emigrierte in die USA. Dank Splivalos Autobiographie, Lehmanns Fotos, Dreissigs Landkarte und Czechs Zeichnungen können wir uns heute immer noch ein gutes Bild von dem Moment in der Geschichte Australiens machen, als sich auch hier unter dem Eindruck der Weltpolitik die unterschiedlichen Einwanderergruppen voneinander distanzierten und untereinander alte Ressentiments neu aufbrachen.

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Mandy Kretzschmar

## **Still Europeans? – Australian Self-Understandings in the Administration of Papua New Guinea in the 1960s**

This article is concerned with the correlation between the fabric of Australia's national identity (or multiple identities) and the country's foreign and colonial policy in the 1960s, and critically reconsiders the interrelations between Australian expatriate and indigenous communities in Papua New Guinea (PNG) through an analysis of modes of representation.

The post-war period was characterised by an anxious rearticulation of what it meant to be distinctively Australian. This process took place not only within Australia's geographical borders, but also beyond, in Australia's external territories. Surprisingly, it was in the colonial context of bringing Australia's administrative role in Papua New Guinea (PNG) to a close that Australians continued to envision themselves primarily as 'Europeans'. International pressures, as much as the domestic government's intention, had induced a push to assume a new role in the Pacific region. The 1950s marked an end to imperial consolidation, and triggered a successive wave of decolonisation in Asia and Africa. As a result, Australia's 'white' and mainly British self-definition dwindled in importance and potency (Meaney 2008: 383). The traditional Anglo-Australian relationship declined as Britain turned to its immediate European neighbourhood. Moreover, on the national level, there emerged a greater sense of ethnic and cultural plurality with mounting pressures to provide indigenous Australians with equal rights. Forced to react to these changes – at both international and national level – Australian policy-makers, the press, and other key players, were tied into the struggle over national re-definition abandoning the idea of racial exclusivity. These processes of moulding and publicising new national identities can be retraced in regard to Australia's continued responsibilities in PNG.

If Australia was as occupied with its self-definition as suggested, why then was the category 'European' still frequently deployed as a self-definition? This contradiction might be partially explained by the

fact that racial categorisation had become dangerously provocative. The experience of the Holocaust was a reminder to how ideas of race had been misused to legitimise discrimination, slavery, and even genocide. Thus, race lost its value as an organising principle that explained differences in appearance, character and behaviour. This renunciation initiated a search for substitutes and the invention of new labels of identification. Rather unexpectedly, the 'European' emerged as an essential category in the Australian context. Although the self-label had previously held a decisive role in an empowering framework of identification that was articulated and sustained in Australian mainland press coverage, it had always remained just one among a variety of identifications for Australians and their perceived *Others*. Racial categories of 'white' and 'coloured' had proven more essential in substantiating claims of privilege in its external territories. By the 1960s, the term 'European' was almost exclusively applied to the expatriate community. This finding is in need of historical investigation, as the exclusive deployment cannot be explained through the obsolescence of racial categories alone. The term offered flexibility of interpretation, the capacity to express a common sense of belonging, and even a means to consolidate authority.

Historical research has assessed the nature of Australia's colonial governance, the impact of imperial rule on PNG and its indigenous peoples, and the territories' subsequent development as a self-governing nation. Both Nelson (2000) and Denoon (2005) argue that strategic interests impinged on the relations between the indigenous population and Australian settlers, affecting the settlers' self-understanding as Australians. Further, Clive Moore, Doug Munro and Jacqueline Leckie have been written on the colonial conditions of employment and the subsistence of paternalistic attitudes in managing indigenous labour (Moore et al. 1990). These inequalities were expressed in social categories of belonging as with the 'European'. More recently, scholars have been concerned with how social knowledge has been produced by means of representing, in detail, the perception of Pacific Islanders through Western eyes and the functionality of these images in the interest of the coloniser (e.g. Stella 2007).

This article feeds into this vein of scholarship. It aligns with postcolonial studies concerned with the discursive framing of the indigen-

ous *Others* as opposed to the European (or Australian) *Self* (*Selves*). The article draws on the analysis of untapped primary sources from the Australian mainland press which provide an exceptional, 'double-distanced' perspective on the *Other*, since the contributions were written by Australian correspondents (predominantly) located on the mainland about their fellow countrymen governing PNG and its indigenous peoples on-site.

### **Australia's Post-War Administration of Papua New Guinea**

The post-war decade marked a crucial turn in Australia's policy towards its external territories. The collaboration between Australians and Indigenouss against the Japanese had evoked a sense of obligation toward the indigenous population in the aftermath of the war. The Menzies government was willing to take on greater responsibility to precipitate political, economic and educational development. Australia's new portfolio entailed financial support to pave the way towards self-determination. This turning course of action manifested a will to enhance the situation of PNG's indigenous peoples, without setting a target date for independence. Australia's *modus operandi* was also guided by its own interests – for security in the surrounding Pacific area, a stable government in the territories, and nationally determined interests in agriculture and mining (Denoon 2005: 26). To enforce these interests, Australian policy makers preserved as much flexibility as possible with regard to the territories' future.

Indigenous participation in politics constituted a key component in preparing PNG to manage its own affairs but access to political affairs was slow to evolve. Illiteracy and limited access to education impeded on the creation of an indigenous intelligentsia in the western sense. The Australian government extended educational expenditure, but not until the late 1960s did secondary education and tertiary training become available to a larger number of Papua New Guineans. While indigenous involvement in high-skilled positions occurred at a modest pace, the rapid increase in the establishment of local government councils marked a watershed in the preparation for future autonomy. Set out in the *Native Local Government Councils Ordinance* (1949-60), local councils introduced a large part of the indigenous population at a grassroots level to ideas of political authority and democratic politics.

Apart from internal obstacles, external developments affected the move toward self-government. In the late 1950s, the Dutch departure from West New Guinea became imminent. As the dispute with Indonesia intensified, the Dutch hastened the decolonising process in their administered part of the island. This change in policy held major implications for Australian rule in the eastern part. Menzies had a vital interest in helping to secure Dutch control of West New Guinea (renamed Papua), as the territory constituted a strategic buffer against South-East Asia. A takeover of Papua would translate into sharing a large land border with a politically unstable Indonesia that displayed strong communist influences, which might spread into the Australian controlled part. The West New Guinea crisis raised Australian awareness that PNG's progression towards independence had to be quickened. This sense of urgency promoted a policy shift when West New Guinea passed into Indonesian control in 1962.

PNG's path toward self-government was marked by Australian decolonisation, international pressures as well as the increasing indigenous participation in politics. Bearing witness to these developments, the portrayal of the indigenous peoples and the articulation of self-understandings as Australians (or alternatively, 'Europeans') were subject to shifts. New political and social structures were instrumental in challenging traditional preconceptions and biases (Stella 2007: 208).

Two intertwined threads of discussion in the Australian media coverage of PNG will be examined: the repeal of legally enforced discrimination, with an additional section dealing in detail with the revision of the liquor laws, and the preliminary steps towards self-government, including perspectives on indigenous political participation.

### **The End of Discriminatory Legislation – The 'European' as Abandoned Role Model**

Discrimination – cultural, racial or administrative – was a precondition of colonial authority. To assert power and control, social hierarchies had to be established by means of differentiation and representation, and by articulating understandings of both the Australian *Self* and the indigenous *Others* (e.g. JanMohamed 1986; Spivak 1988). The implementation and enforcement of discriminatory legis-

lation against the indigenous populaces, and their spatial segregation in urban areas, was once seen as crucial to maintaining these social hierarchies and alleviating fears of violent resistance. Supposedly, this attitude became obsolete as the post-war period saw the development of a new awareness that colonised peoples had the right to self-determination. Australian policymakers were faced with the challenge to develop policies and to manage local change that would allow for their gradual withdrawal. In theory, legally enforced discrimination was irreconcilable with the aim to grant the indigenous peoples equal rights. Still, the Australian government remained reluctant to rescind regulations that ensured social boundaries that benefited the expatriate community.

In the mainland Australian press, the government's reluctance to abandon discriminatory legislation provoked considerable controversy. The left-leaning *Nation* criticised the Menzies Government for its "arrogant dogmatism" and paternalism. Reiterating the position of *The Australian Worker*, *Nation* argued that Paul Hasluck, Minister for Territories, acted in the settler community's interests. The *Nation* critically condemned the region's cultural inequalities and identified them as a core obstacle in the development toward self-government:

The major divisions of interest in New Guinea, such as those between employers and employees, between government and the governed, between the privileged and the unprivileged, [...] still coincide to a great degree with the basic distinction between European and Papuan. [...] (T)here remains a whole large body of restrictive statute law which applies only to Papuans, denying them basic liberties and rights which Europeans freely enjoy. (Groves 1962: 7-9)

The division between the colonial community of PNG as 'European' and the indigenous population as 'Papuan' was common practice. These distinctions generalised the cultural and ethnic diversity of the indigenous populations, while neglecting the contours and composition of each segment of society. The use of 'European' as a category of belonging can be attributed to its flexibility in describing a stratified society and its capacity to neutralise differences in ethnicity, class, gender and nationality. This act of artificial collectivisation emphasised a shared cultural and racial heritage that set 'Europeans' apart from the indigenous populations. The article understands this category as a signifier of supervisory authority over both the public and domestic aspects of indigenous lives. More specifi-

cally, the category 'European' gestured to the main objective of colonial rule in PNG – that of controlled change (Wolfers in Latukefu 1989: 430).

This mode of deployment coincided with the general attitude that the concession of political autonomy to the indigenous community was to occur as a gradual transference of power. In this respect, the Australian government followed a dual strategy, changing discriminatory legislation and allowing indigenous participation in the political sphere, while simultaneously suppressing civil disobedience. Tensions over the alignment and agreement between political authorities in Canberra and residents in Port Moresby complicated these processes. Policymakers were aware that the regulations constituted an obstacle to indigenous development, but had reservations about ramifications once these organising principles of daily life were abandoned. In their view, Indigenous were not yet ready to be trusted with responsible government. This assertion justified the paternalistic interference in indigenous lives through the regulation of sexual interrelations, the implementation of curfews, the banning of alcohol, and other measures.

The Australian presses' ambivalence towards these interferences displayed in competing representation of the 'European'. The category's assigned attributions circled around the question of whether or not the indigenous peoples were to be considered mature enough for self-governance. By the late 1950s, the system of legal discrimination had come under review by international and domestic forces. As the pace of decolonisation accelerated worldwide, Australian politicians felt increasingly uneasy about their policy of institutionalised racism. Regulations such as the night curfew were gradually relaxed or completely abandoned.

The image of the ignorant, uncivilised Indigenous, unfit for self-government still prevailed in sections of the press. It served to reinforce the idea of Australia as a responsible power guiding the process of decolonisation. Cultural diversity and a lack of education legitimated the view of the nationalist *Bulletin* that self-governance in the near future was impossible. However, as one of the articles favourably emphasised, progress had been achieved as a result of 'European' intervention:

The two areas have only one thing in common: they owe everything they have in way of law and order, progress, commerce, industry and

transport (sea, land and air), to European initiative, organization and finance. (N.N. 1960:4)

Highlighting the benefits of Australia's colonial rule, while disregarding the policies of racial segregation, another *Bulletin* article argued that

(t)he natives of Papua-New Guinea are among the best-treated in the world today – if not the best. They have a free medical service [...]. They have free education [...] Europeans also pay the head-tax, medical and hospital fees, transport costs, education costs, legal and other costs. (Daika 1960: 16)

The benevolent undertone of being obligated to assist the movement toward independence is indicative of a greater desire to preserve the colonial hierarchy. Moreover, it reiterates an image of Australia as a mature, civilised nation.

After changes to the paper's editorial board had been implemented in 1961, *The Bulletin* gradually included critical commentaries that canvassed the adverse effects of racist attitudes on both the indigenous and the expatriate community. Assumptions about 'European superiority' and 'universal European literacy' were challenged because an indigenous educated elite gradually evolved. Expatriates' reluctance to arbitrate with Papuans, and their ignorance of indigenous customs and traditions, were charted as obstacles to be bridged to disintegrate the (racially motivated) segmentation of society. Wooten's editorial "The World's Most Generous Coloniser" (1965: 41-43) highlights a relapse into pre-war systems of racial organisation in PNG, but also discerns tendencies of transition in the socialising between Indigenous and expatriates:

In their hearts most Europeans in the Territory [...] have probably disliked the situation. [...] The number of natives who can count (on) real European friendships, backed by visiting between families, is still small, but is increasing. [...] As between Australia and New Guinea, the implication is that Australia is prepared to assist the people of New Guinea only to a standard of living markedly below its own.

Although Wooten aims to dismantle the idea of colonial benevolence attributed to the 'European' by emphasising a common humanity, traces of paternalistic dominance still persist. The figure of the 'European' still constitutes the driving force for social change. Those falling under the label are bestowed with a responsibility to bring about equality with the indigenous community, while the latter remain passive recipients. Thus, the discourse derives its power from

how it continues to position the indigenous Papuans as in need of assistance. This article exemplifies the fact that politics of repression continued, as the 'European' held power over the course and pace of self-government. Interestingly, the category 'European' was preferably utilised as a substitute to the national label 'Australian', even though it was Australian policymakers who deliberated over PNG's political future.

The 'European' in PNG remained predominantly a bearer of authority and knowledge, both in the conservative and liberal press. However, the agenda of each paper determined the category's proposed deployment and its either predominantly positive or negative connotation. Whereas *The Bulletin* marginally conceded the problem of class and 'colour' divisions, *The Australian Worker* editorialised against the paternalistic administration of the Menzies government, warning that:

The argument that the Papuans are not ready for self-government is a dangerous one. The fatherly idea of giving them freedom when they are ready is very much like the dictator's line. (N.N. 1962:3)

Similarly, in the *Nation*, the 'European' was regarded with contempt, as the initiator of inequalities, who intended to maintain a culturally superior position. Between February and May 1964, anthropologist Murray Groves addressed these issues in a series of editorials. The author details the nature of relations between 'Europeans' and 'Papuans':

Papuans mingle with Europeans at official cocktail parties [...] Privately, however, almost all Europeans prefer to keep themselves apart. [...] Europeans have retreated to their private clubs, almost all of which still maintain the colour bar. [...] (t)he only relations between the races are those between master and domestic servant. (Groves 1964: 7-8)

Groves reiterates the growth of mutual friendships between both communities. In a similar way to Wooten, he approves of these tendencies, amidst prevailing racist attitudes towards the Indigenous. Both editorials invert the behaviour and attitude of the 'European', but their phrasing discerns a varying degree of rejection. The conservative press appears to be less concerned about the slow progress in creating a multiracial society. In contrast, the *Nation*'s employment of the category and its besetting with meaning entailed

vehement criticism against the preservation of colonial hierarchies of power.

### **Lifting the Ban on Alcohol – Beware “European(s) of Low Moral Character”**

The discourse around public drinking was part of the general repeal of discriminatory laws that demonstrated the mounting support for Indigenes. An examination of the coverage of this contested issue reveals the social stratification concealed in the category ‘European’. Prohibition for Indigenes was propagated with a focus on the morally corrosive features and health risks of drinking. The reasoning for denying Papuans access to alcohol exemplified this double standard. The expatriate community consumed more than double the amount of alcohol per capita than the Australian mainland population (Wolfers 1975:136-137). However, it was drunkenness among the indigenous population that was feared to cause violence and disorder. Papuans were regarded as unable to moderate their consumption. Blame for unrestrained and immoral behaviour on behalf of the Indigenes, as a result of alcohol abuse, was however also assigned to ‘poor whites’. In July 1962, *The Bulletin* editorialised:

Many ‘poor whites’ on the fringes of both native and European society are not above sharing and selling their liquor with natives. [...] He (a senior native clerk) acquired a taste from surreptitious handouts from a European of low moral character in return for his services as go-between procuring girls. [...] In Melanesian eyes alcohol is a status symbol just as much as the wearing of shoes. (Bogobada 1962: 17-18)

‘White pauperism’ was a problem that occurred in colonies across the globe, for instance in India and South Africa, attracting considerable scholarly attention (e.g. Stoler 2002; Lange 2003; Mizutani 2006). In PNG, the actual presence of ‘impoverished whites’ was scarcely addressed in public. As Stoler (2002:26) discusses with relation to India, the fact that a section of the ‘European community’ lived on the edge, discloses how European lower class communities tangibly occupied the “limits of white prestige” and posed an imminent threat to “colonial control”. Whereas the category ‘European’ emphasised unity, the distinction of ‘poor whites’ unveiled social tensions and cleavages within the expatriate community. ‘Poor whites’ could transgress colonial normativity. In the above-men-

tioned editorial, the “European of low moral character” supplied alcohol to the ‘natives’. In so doing, they undermined the project of imperial education and violated the laws implemented to uphold a hierarchically organised social order. Moreover, in possibly accepting sexual favours in return for providing Indigenouss with alcohol, these ‘Europeans’ further infringed on ideas of morality and racial segregation.

Legal access to alcohol marked a symbolic step in the lead-up to self-government. The relaxation of laws in November 1962 would further relieve the indigenous community of the remnants of colonial paternalism. The media coverage of the debate over allowing Papuans to consume alcohol legally illustrates the instability of attributions underlying the classification of the ‘European’. Shifts in meaning disclose its function as a site of negotiating different opinions. Between November 1961 and March 1963, *The Bulletin* published a series of articles that addressed the lifting of prohibition. “Near-Beer for New Guinea” (1961:26) discussed first proposals of how to introduce Indigenouss to alcohol. Employing images of racist ridicule, objections were raised as “some natives are still eating each other and beer would increase their appetite”. This propagation of stereotypes of cannibalism operated to dehumanise Indigenouss and to emphasise their assumed immaturity. The same editorial rebuked “Europeans” for profiting by illegally supplying Indigenouss with alcohol. The acknowledgement of the social stratification among those subsumed under the category, discloses that some ‘Europeans’ defied the law and themselves were as much in need of ‘disciplining’ as the ‘natives’.

Despite earlier objections, *The Bulletin* endorsed the decision to grant Indigenouss access to alcohol, while appealing to them to display repression and responsibility in their consumption. In September 1963, the editorial “Drinking or Discrimination” revisited the topic, concluding that although discriminatory laws had been repealed, “the sense and practice of racial discrimination” had not been removed. Incidentally, *The Bulletin* reverts to traditional stereotypes in this article, sympathising with the ‘European’ reasoning that

(i)t would be foolish and unreasonable to expect a European to sit in an hotel lounge and drink next to an unwashed primitive bush native. [...] most Europeans have taken refuge in their clubs [...] (1963:9).

Again, 'natives' are flagged as *Others*, portrayed as incapable of complying with 'European' criteria of cleanliness and civilisation. This evoked incapability works to justify prevailing racist attitudes and the 'European's' aversion to socialising with the indigenous population. Moreover, this mode of reporting displays the replacement of one set of stereotypes with another that proves more efficient. The portrayal of Papua New Guineans as severe drinkers could not be sustained, thus the text reverts to other derogatory stereotypes of the uncivilised, unclean savage.

In sharp contrast, another editorial in *Bulletin* posits that the 'Europeans' refusal to accept 'native drinking' was at the core of extant discrimination. As the article's author and the paper's editor, Peter Hastings, notes:

New Guineans wanted to prove to Europeans that they could be trusted with their newly granted privilege [...] (T)he European has not accepted native drinking in any way at all. [...] The real answer lies with the Europeans themselves. What is needed is apparently the impossible – a change of heart. (1963:20)

Ambivalent representations of the 'European' within the discourse on public drinking are testament to the functionality of this category in marking social boundaries, setting a political agenda, and framing responsibilities. The dichotomy between 'European' and 'native' was maintained, yet these categories were fluid. This is evident in the changing portrayal of both groups in the 1960s. Through the lens of the Australian conservative mainland press, Papua New Guineans became portrayed in less derogatory terms, discussed as being capable of civilised moral alignment, as exemplified by their moderate drinking behaviour. This new terminology represented a change in the colonial discourse, which had once relied on an antithetical fixed *Other* (Bhabha 1994: 94). Past attributions of racial superiority, morality and intellect were partially abandoned and other characteristics were constructed in the process of assuming a new political agenda.

The fluid and contradictory meanings of the category 'European' reveal the realignment of social relations and the accoutrement of new responsibilities in preparing the indigenous community for self-government. The category could be linked to ideas of paternalism while simultaneously describing those people subsumed under the classification as holding onto out-dated racist attitudes. This ambiguity ex-

poses the fragility and social cohesiveness among those people categorised under this contested term. The softening of the category 'European' did not evoke an apparent strengthening of 'Australian' as a more self-conscious, national category. Instead, it marked a tendency in the Australian mainland press to distance itself from the settler community in PNG.

### **Indigenous Political Participation – Maintaining "Private Interests of the European"**

Australia was unable to prevent the Territory's political development as the international community was closely watching PNG's progress. The mainland press addressed the hesitancy of Australian policymakers in line with the existing political position of the respective papers. *The Australian Worker* and the *Nation* criticised the policymaker's reluctance to embrace change at a quicker pace. Their reporting agenda was directed at displaying the prejudices of the expatriate community and criticising their *de facto* prolongation of colonial practices. In contrast, *The Bulletin* de-emphasised governmental shortcomings in the gradual transfer of authority by clinging to colonialist representations. Thereby, notions of the 'European' as instructor and role model for the Indigene perpetuated questionable ideas of benevolence and humanitarian obligation. The expatriate's positive effect on the 'native' is addressed in "Forthrightness on New Guinea" (Fuzzy-Wuzzy, *The Bulletin*, 1960):

Every European plantation or farm is an unofficial demonstration-centre for the natives of the area, and native interest in cash-cropping is best stimulated by establishment of European properties in the area.

The seeming dedication to acting in the Indigene's interest diverts from the intention to expand 'European' influence and investment. Here, the focus is upon illustrating the 'European's' willingness to provide knowledge and training to induce economic growth. The subtext implies that the Australian government prioritised controlled economic advancement over political development. A major reason for this prioritisation was that influential trading and mining companies were Australian-owned, and substantially contributed to the Australian economy (Lal et al. 2000: 331). The gradual relinquishment of political power fuelled economic anxieties over whether the "private interests of the Europeans would be maintained", a topic

raised by "Fuzzy Wuzzy" in a subsequent article in *The Bulletin* entitled "Insecurity in New Guinea" (1960). The public dialogue over those fears of takeover and loss of control indicates that governmental provisions to broaden indigenous rights were tangibly impinging on the lives of the expatriate settlers unwilling to relinquish their status. This was severely criticised in the liberal media. The *Nation* conceptualised the image of "European pressure groups" who "compete for economic resources, such as land, labour and capital" with Papuans, but receive preferential treatment by Hasluck's policy (Groves 1962: 7-9). Their exertion of political influence is understood as contributing to the maintenance of the cleft between the Papuans and the expatriates in terms of access to wealth, education and power. Several parallels can be drawn between the coverage of the *Nation* and *The Australian Worker*, both emphasising the need to promote indigenous political involvement. Nevertheless, the label's almost complete absence in the coverage of *The Australian Worker* is striking. The 'European' barely featured as a minor character; nor was it an intermediary between the 'Papuan' (as worker or employer) and the 'Australian Government'.

International intervention in the form of UN Visiting Missions, local pressures, and the unfolding West New Guinea conflict added a sense of urgency to the project of decolonising PNG, and animated discussion in the mainland press. *The Bulletin* generally advocated indigenous political participation, albeit at a gradual pace. In reporting on the upcoming election of the first House of Assembly (1964), the paper repeatedly called attention to political inexperience among the indigenous electorate, speaking of a possible "future administrative embarrassment". However, they also addressed the possibility that

the more experienced European politicians, both official and elected, may be expected to exploit to the optimum the distrust of the Highlanders for the Islanders, and the latent contempt with which the Papuans and New Guineans regard each other.

The tone of the article "New Guinea's Election" (1964:22-26) vacillates between affirming the idea of 'European superiority' and evoking sincere concerns that educational inequalities will make the elected indigenous members of the new House of Assembly vulnerable to political corruption by 'European politicians'. It illustrates a tension between propagating Australia's willingness to transfer legal

power – a gambit to indicate the nation's realignment in the Asia-Pacific region – and an unaffected superiority complex with regard to the indigenous population.

From the early 1960s, the Australian government took measures to quicken the pace of indigenous participation in politics. Further steps toward self-government were taken after Charles Barnes succeeded Hasluck as Minister for Territories (1963), such as the World Bank Seminar (1965) and the election of the second House of Assembly (1968). However, none of these received considerable media attention. The inevitability of the decolonising process seemed to turn press interest to other, more immediate, domestic matters. Following this, reports on PNG in the second half of the decade declined both in the conservative and the liberal press. Coverage predominantly emphasised the injustice of the two-wage policy and the appreciation of indigenous mimicry of 'European' habits and behaviour. The *Nation's* intellectual contributors targeted the continued existence of discriminatory legislation and the practice of segregation, dissecting the society of PNG as one of

two worlds: the world of white skins (expatriates; Europeans or overseas officers are some of the euphemisms used) and the world of dark-skinned (natives, indigene or local officers). For the most part the worlds are completely separate. (Inglis 1968: 5-7)

On a similar note, Hank Nelson summarised the observations of a meeting held on race relations in 1966:

Presumably the European, who thought he earned his privileges and now it was up to the Papuans to develop their own material environment, was representative of a large number of Europeans not at the meeting. (Nelson 1966: 8-9)

Both articles scrutinised the social and economic cleavages between the expatriate and indigenous populations, divisions that continued to coincide with patterns of racial relations in colonial society. However, the press tendency to deliberately choose a vocabulary of deviance and affinity that largely refrained from references to national affiliation is in need of clarification. In the *Nation's* reporting the deployment of the category 'European' can be conceived of as part of a process of exposing the discursive reaffirmation of ideas of racial differences. 'European' is not synonymous with 'white'; however, the category implies a racial coherence and cultural closeness among its subsumed members. The self-aggrandising narrative of the 'Euro-

pean' as intellectually and morally superior, as much as prevailing attitudes of high-mindedness and arrogance, are exposed as myth, and condemned as a means to retain control over the indigenous *Other*. The unmasking of these earlier attributions and their assignment to the category 'European' in both the *Nation*, and, later, *The Bulletin*, evinced changed social orders as PNG moved towards independence.

## **Conclusion**

Australia's unease about the direction and pace in leading Papua New Guineans to self-government, coupled with aspirations to secure its future in the Asian-Pacific region, reverberated in a versatile deployment of the category 'European' in the press. The comprehensive term was frequently applied as a figuration of identity for the expatriate community, presumably as a consequence of the renunciation of racial categorisations. In the search for substitutes to negotiate affinity and assert difference, the term 'European' gained in significance as an essential category that offered enough flexibility and plasticity to manage different sections of the settler community. Simultaneously, the broadness of the category facilitated distancing from the Australian mainland population by deliberately refraining from emphasising national affiliation. The diverse and contradictory attributions employed across the mainland press illustrate the functionality of the 'European' as a signifier of power, which was either juxtaposed with an image of the needy Papuan/native, or condemned as a remnant of colonialism. Whereas positive connotations of the 'European' – as role model and instructor for the Indigene – operated to justify Australia's gradual pace in decolonising PNG, negative attributions served to challenge western notions of dominance. The presence of competing representations, linked to the political view of the respective papers, displays how changes in the contours of belonging were slow to evolve. In the conservative press, the 'European' remained linked to ideas of paternalism, benevolence, morality and intellectual superiority. These colonialist representations were subject to vehement criticism in the left-leaning press, which increasingly challenged an out-dated understanding that still underpinned politics of exclusion. Left-leaning papers, contrasted them with representations of the exploitative 'European businessman', the arrogant 'European settler', or, as in the case of *The*

*Australian Worker*, by abstaining from using the category 'European' almost completely. The *Nation's* editorial board was sympathetic to anti-colonialism, and argued that if Australia wanted to become a partner in the Asia-Pacific region it needed to change its foreign policy and redefine its white British self-understanding. Reluctance and anxiety marked both the process of transferring power to the indigenous peoples of PNG and the gradual shift towards a new understanding of the 'European' in the Australian mainland press.

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Lorna Kaino

## **On-board 'Train Australia': Some Contexts of the Works of Kanamori and Murakami**

This article is concerned with two Japanese Australian photographers: Mayu Kanamori and Yasukichi Murakami. Kanamori has been working as a commercial and editorial photographer and a photographic artist since arriving in Australia at the end of the twentieth century. Nearly one hundred years before then, Yasukichi Murakami began working as a commercial photographer in an inhospitable Australia where Asians were marginalised and discriminated against. Conditions have improved today. However, one aspect of that cultural climate remains: a cultural anxiety about Asians living in Australia (Ang 2003).

The concept of 'Train Australia' is from Ien Ang's article, "Passengers on Train Australia" (2007). She in turn, borrowed it from a first generation 18 years old Indian Australian student who wrote that "Australia is like a train picking up passengers from all these different countries, but it doesn't really have a destination". Speaking in the context of Australia's geo-political location as an island continent in Asia, Ang extends this metaphor to describe typical Asian Australian expressions of a sense of living *in* but not *of* Australia. She points out that the annexation of Australia by the British in 1829 and subsequent "transplanted British homogeneity" that pervaded Australia from its Federation in 1901 to the mid twentieth century

provided the fledgling settler society with a singular sense of spatial identity. Outside the island continent our Asian neighbours have always been regarded as a threat – particularly by those living outside of Australia's cities. (2003:55)

Not only was there a cultural divide between the British ethos held by Anglo Australian settlers and the geo-politics of their Asian neighbours but city and bush dwellers in Australia were also divided. In this analysis I examine these divisions in relation to the contemporary concepts of cosmopolitanism proposed by Jakubowicz (2011), Szersynski and Urry (2002) and Ang (2003). Jakubowicz triangulates cosmopolitanism with cultural and social capital. The author investigates levels of social connectedness and inclusion of all ethnic groups in relation to what he refers to as the antagonists of cosmo-

politanism: nationalism, prejudice and localism. Szersynski and Urry examine cosmopolitanism in relation to wide ranging aspects of globalisation. Ang extends the concept and uses cosmopolitan multiculturalism to explore the possibilities of a more inclusive disposition towards migrant groups that dispenses with the present position of using the dominant settler population as a frame of reference for desired goals of integration (2003, 2007). To this end Jayasuriya (2003:196-197) argues that Australians should progress to a nation that works towards a political rather than national culture that recognises a "differentiated citizenship" rather than the current "liberal individualist model".

Murakami and Kanamori worked in different geographical locations and in different historical periods. The experience was more severe for Murakami on at least two counts: Firstly, he worked in the sparsely populated north of Australia where the threat of 'Asian invasion' was a recurrent theme in literary and popular discourse. Secondly, while Murakami came to Australia before the Asian Immigration Restriction Act was introduced in 1901, he nevertheless suffered discrimination because of it. After World War II immigration authorities sought to recruit British and/or blonde, blue eyed immigrants. It soon became apparent that this strategy would become unworkable as labour shortages had impelled them to broaden their ambit and accept southern Europeans. Thus, despite their best efforts, national visions of a 'White Australia' (albeit impossible anyway given the persistent presence of Australia's Indigenous population) fell away. Later, the abolition of the Immigration Restriction Act (1973) by the Whitlam Labor Government heralded successive waves of Asian and other migrant groups. However, while racially based discrimination has been legislated against today, a residual fear of Asians in Australia remains (Ang 2003).

Ang (2003:52) reflects that culture is the *longue durée* of history and hence, it is more resilient to change than are politics and law. In mapping the "deep structures of resilience" (Ang 2003:52) it is clear that Kanamori is working in a different cultural context to Murakami. By the 1990s Australia had transformed into a multicultural society that was firmly located in a global economy. However, while its cities – Melbourne and Sydney in particular – could boast an urban cosmopolitanism, the 'bush' (a term that refers to rural or remote Australia) clung resolutely to its "self-righteous, self-protective parochialism,

and a determined commitment to provincialism and anti-cosmopolitanism" (Ang 2003:58). This bush ethos continues to be valorised in Australian cultural mythology, as attested in Olivia Khoo's perspective article about the "sacrificial Asian" in Australian cinema (2007), discussed later.

Seventeen year old Murakami arrived in Cossack, a small pearl fishing town in the remote north-west of Western Australia, in 1897, prior to the introduction of the 1901 Asian Immigration Restriction Act. He began work as a labourer but was soon employed in the photography studio of Tomasi and Eki Nishioka.<sup>1</sup> Thus began his life-long interest in photography. During this time he also learnt to speak English and he taught himself bookkeeping and aspects of maritime law (Kilgariff, cited in Carment et al. 1990: 217).

After 1901, the majority of the Japanese and other Asians living in the north, including Chinese, Indonesians, Malays, Kupangers and Filipinos, worked on the pearl luggers under a system of indenture in which their contracts were renewed every two or three years. The pearl masters paid a bond of 250 pounds for ten men, to be reimbursed when the men returned to their home country. Indentured labourers could be jailed or repatriated for breach of condition or insubordination (Martinez 2005:125). Having arrived in Australia before the 1901 Immigration Act was promulgated, Murakami's status as a non-indentured worker enabled him to instigate some entrepreneurial ventures, but not to gain Australian citizenship. His application for this was rejected in 1939.

Murakami and the Nishiokas moved further north to Broome in the early twentieth century. By this time the Japanese, who in 1901 comprised twenty four per cent of the Asians working in Broome (Statistics re. Pearl Shell Fisheries, 1901-1912) had established themselves as the principal divers and tenders on the pearl luggers because of their ability to work hard under often hazardous conditions (Sissons 1974:17) and to work as a collective: an essential attribute for pearl divers whose lives, when diving 25 or more fathoms deep, depended upon the support of the tenders, who were

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1 Murakami sometimes signed his photographs as Y. Nishioka. This is because he was informally adopted by Tomasi and Eki Nishioka on arriving in Australia.

responsible for administering the lifeline of oxygen to them (Kaino 2009:41).

When Murakami established his photography studio in Japtown, where Chinatown, now a tourist precinct, is currently located, there were 303 Japanese men in Broome, the majority working in the pearl mining industry (Statistics re. Pearl Shell Fisheries). Murakami soon became a leader in a community that supported several boarding houses, gambling houses, billiard halls, brothels, Asian eating houses, market gardens, opium dens, tennis courts, Japanese language newspapers, Japanese hot baths, Chinese laundries, six pubs, a soy sauce factory, a racecourse and two outdoor 'picture domes' (Jones 2002: 93-108; Sickert 2003: 119-121). Murakami and other businessmen in this community established themselves as bankers for the growing population of Japanese (Bain 1982:302) whose numbers swelled to 1,166 in 1933, when they comprised 51 per cent of the Asian indentured labour force (Sissons 1974:9-16).

Drinking and gambling were popular pastimes in the 'Asian Quarter'. However, Jones and Sickert describe other forms of entertainment, such as the gala performances of traditional Japanese theatre, picnics and races for the children and sumo wrestling competitions. The annual Obon Matsuri, which commemorated the dead, continued to be organised by the Japanese community until 1970 when a more commercial festival titled Shinju Matsuri relegated this significant commemoration to a more private celebration organised by the few remaining Japanese at that time (Kaino 2005: 165-175). The Japanese community were also generous donors to public causes. For instance, Jones records that in 1924 they contributed fifty pounds to an x-ray fund, a sizable contribution compared to the thirty-two pounds donated by the rest of Broome's population (2002:131).

Census data records that the majority the 63 Japanese women who lived in Broome in 1901 would have been *karayuki*, a term that initially applied to anyone who worked overseas but was later used to refer to prostitutes (Jones 2002:53). However, this data may be incorrect. Ganter (1999) proposes that it was moral anxiety that caused authorities in Queensland to cast all single Japanese women as prostitutes. This was probably also the case in Western Australia. Jones' research supports this proposition: she cites a table composed by the Consulate General in Sydney (1901) that shows a total of 84 known prostitutes in Western Australia out of a total of 166

Japanese women living there. Others worked in domestic service industries, dress-making and laundries. Many married or formed de-facto relations with businessmen and pearling crew. Some formed business partnerships with their husbands in running stores and boarding houses (Jones 2002:62; Sickert 2003:124). Nagata observes that the prostitutes in Thursday Island who started domestic service businesses played a “uniquely maternal role for the Japanese community”. This was presumably also the case in Broome. Sone (2009:37) records twenty Japanese prostitutes living in Broome in 1916. In a climate where prostitution was prohibited under the Western Australian Police Act of 1897 (2009:32), but generally tolerated, she notes that the Japanese prostitutes, renowned for their “genteel manner and invisibility”, received minimal harassment from the police (2009:31).

In 1908 Murakami lent about twenty pounds to Captain Ancil Gregory, whose schooner had been marooned in a cyclone. Although it was illegal for Japanese to own luggers, Murakami later assisted Gregory and his brother to buy four luggers. Asians were prohibited from establishing businesses in Broome and these luggers would have been worked under a system called dummying, whereby the vessel was owned by a white person but financed by an Asian. The unlikely partnership between Murakami and Gregory developed into a lifelong friendship that “calmly flout[ed] every racial barrier of Broome society” (Lance 2004:30). After all, Broome was a town marked by spatial, racial and cultural divisions. Sickert (2003:1612) describes the “Asiatic Quarter” as such:

Hand in hand with the social hierarchy of Broome was a hierarchy of comfort in living conditions. At the bottom were the impoverished fringe camp dwellers subsisting in humpies. Then came the cramped foreshore camps which provided shelter for many of the indentured lugger crews. The mixed-race and other poorly paid workers lived at the edge of town, in small, basic cottages. Next were the modest buildings of Japtown where the predominantly Asian population lived and worked. And finally were the comfortable and spacious bungalows of the white bosses.

Asian labourers worked in these bungalows as cooks, servants, cleaners and gardeners. As with Indigenous Australians they were routinely excluded from the places of formal entertainment enjoyed by the dominant white hegemony, such as horse racing and the

formal tea parties favoured by the pearl masters' wives (Schaper 1995:18).

The context of ethnic division in Broome is historically symbolised in the seating arrangements of the Sun Picture Theatre, which, originally a Japanese playhouse owned by a Japanese merchant, became a theatre in 1916. Until 1975 Sun Pictures maintained a strict regime of hierarchical segregation: Whites were seated at the back, 'coloured' and whites who associated with them around the middle, and Aborigines in the front, with hierarchies within these broad categories (Kaino 2005:170; Sickert 2003: 108-111).

Undeterred by these discriminatory practices, Murakami took his bold incursion into Broome's closed society one step further: not only did he stay in Gregory's home when his friend and business partner went overseas, but he later bought a bungalow in the white quarter. Not even professional and affluent Japanese, such as the Japanese doctor and Japanese businessmen, would have contemplated such a move.

Murakami and Gregory later entered a secret agreement in which they jointly owned a hotel. At first this venture was successful, not only for the hotel trade, but because Murakami was able to solicit from its Japanese clientele the best divers for Gregory's luggers (Bain 1982: 306). However, Murakami withdrew after he was bankrupted in 1918 (*ibid.*). The following letter from Sergeant Spry to the Official Receiver reflects the racial division described above:

If Murakami persists in his present attitude, you should not have any difficulty in pulling him to pieces. I would suggest that Gregory be not allowed to be present when Murakami is under cross examination. (National Australian Archives, Item 1918/10)

Racial barriers towards Asians were a dominant theme in popular culture at this time. People living in the bush were particularly apprehensive about Australia's official status under the 1902 alliance between Japan and Britain (Meaney 2006:104). Popular literature and magazines, and the cartoons of the acclaimed artists, Norman and Lionel Lindsay, fuelled these apprehensions. Wotherspoon (2010) cites an example here of the "racist, isolationist, protectionist and masculine" ethos popularised through *The Bulletin* magazine, which was circulated to 80,000 people in 1900, when Australia's population was 3.7 million. Widely read in the bush, *The Bulletin* retained its masthead "Australia for the White Man" until 1961. Such

literature typically set up dichotomies whereby the masculine bushmen derided their city cousins' proclivities toward feminism and "suspect modernism", as well as "equivocating politicians" and "intellectual males" in the cities (Walker 2009:5). The men of the bush did not equivocate, and they feared that city men were far too comfortable with the "femininity" of Asian men (Walker 2009:3). Moreover, they feared that city men and politicians were complacent about the omnipresent threat of an Asian incursion. After all, in 1876-77 the South Australian government, which administered the Northern Territory, had unsuccessfully negotiated with the Japanese government to establish a Japanese colony in the Territory (Kilgariff, cited in Carment et al 1990:217) and by 1907 it was rumoured that Japanese settlers had illegally landed in there and established a colony (Meaney 2006:252).

This scenario was the theme of Randolph Bedford's play *White Australia and the Empty North*, staged in Melbourne in 1909 (106). Kirmess's popular novel, *The Australian Crisis* (1909) warns its readers that it was not war that the Japanese contemplated. Rather, he suggests that they would leverage their relationship with Britain to persuade Australians that "the new citizens of their empire were not standard bearers of militant conquest, but of patient civilisation" (1909:40). Thus, warns Kirmess, the Australian government

might soon see its way to open schools, in which [the Japanese] could be taught the language and the customs of their adopted country, so that they might quickly become Australian citizens. (1909:53)

His warning represented a catastrophic corruption to Australia's much vaunted ambition for racial purity.

This masculine bush ethos was at the core of Broome's social fabric in the early part of the twentieth century where, as stated earlier, gambling and drinking were popular pastimes. 2,000 kilometres north of Perth, Broome was a remote, oppressively hot outpost in an already isolated state. In this social climate, it is conceivable that popular literature had significant sway on people's ideas. Here, as Kato (2003:47) observes, Japanese were rarely depicted as individuals but rather, "as a group or mass which forms a threatening and uncanny figure that harasses the Australians".

Murakami stood out in the Broome community as an individual. A leader in the Japanese community and at times president of both the Japanese and Malay Clubs (Drewry 1920) he was generally

called upon by the white hegemony to mediate between Japanese and Australian men in Broome, including in the 1907 and 1920 riots between Japanese and Kupang workers. However, this group of pearlers, businessmen and members of local and state government consistently blocked his entrepreneurial ventures. For example, his attempt to set up a pearl farm with Gregory in 1922 was vehemently opposed. The editor of the *Nor-West Echo* contends that "the temper of the people won't tolerate armed Japanese guarding the beds". Subsequently, prominent businessmen from the Pearlers' Association, supported by the Returned Soldiers' League, persuaded the Minister of Fisheries to legislate against culture pearling (Kaino 2009:42). Undeterred, and fuelled by his desire to reduce the high fatality rate of divers, Murakami designed and then attempted to patent an improved diving dress. His efforts were thwarted when he was falsely accused of spying (Kilgariff cited in Carment et al 1990: 217; Bain 1982:310-311; Jones 2002:138-140). In 1943 Emile Gagnan and Jacques Cousteau patented scuba gear of a similar design.



Yasukichi  
Murakami, A self  
portrait



Workers on a lugger by  
Y. Nishioka alias  
Y. Murakami



Unidentified portrait  
by Y. Murakami  
(Mise Collection  
as part of Noreen  
Jones collection)

In the early twentieth century, Broome's Japanese shared the enthusiasm for the burgeoning commercial photography industry in Japan. These photos, and the postcards of Broome that the Japanese produced, record working life on the luggers, business partner-

ships, cultural and sporting events, the Japanese school and hospital, and portraiture. Murakami was one of about seven photographers in Broome (Jones 2002:135). His portraiture is typical of the formal 'master narratives' of the period. They are what Zemal (2000:196) terms self-formulations of an identity. Taken in Murakami's studio, the women and children are dressed in traditional Japanese kimonos, and the men in three-piece suits. These portraits could well have been taken in Japan and one imagines that they were sent home to assure relatives of prosperous and stable lifestyles in Broome.

Murakami's self portrait in his three-piece suit with fob-watch gold chain, his hand resting on an ornate chair and his gaze directly ahead, clearly identifies him as a respectable and prosperous businessman. Any doubts about his status are dispelled in another self image of a white suited Murakami in front of his beautifully maintained car, a clear status symbol when few owned cars, and in the dusty outpost of Broome, conceivably few kept them in such immaculate condition.



Unidentified couple  
by Y. Nishioka alias  
Y. Murakami,  
Yamamoto Collection  
(Donated to Noreen  
Jones, by N.  
Yamamoto in 1999)



Barbara and Bella  
Linnet by Y.  
Murakami  
(Donated by  
Pearl Hamaguchi)



Mayu Kanamori

Murakami's photos also document working lives in the Broome community: the lugger crews, celebrations by large gatherings of Japanese men in formal elaborately decorated settings, smaller formal portraits of Japanese men in white suits and family portraits. Whether

or not Murakami took photographs of the Japanese prostitutes is not known. As mentioned above, these women were a discreet presence in the town. Moreover, Joe Murakami has related, only a few of his father's photographs survived, and many of these are family photos held by his descendants.

The photograph of Pearl Hamaguchi's Scottish-Aboriginal mother and aunt is different. Formally dressed, the close profile of their direct gaze into the camera suggests empathy between photographer and subject. Hamaguchi recalls her mother claiming that she was "one of Murakami's favourite subjects" (personal communication 2009). Here, as in his other portraits, Murakami's works reflect a dignity that is contrary to images evoked in the popular Australian literature.

Unlike his other entrepreneurial ventures, Murakami's petit-bourgeoisie status as a photographer appears to pose no threats to similar enterprises in Australia's north. Upon moving to Darwin in 1934 he and his family socialised in the wider Darwin society (Kilgariff 1984:10). His clientele included troops stationed in Darwin and he gave Japanese language lessons to some soldiers. As well as social events, Murakami photographed specimens for visiting scientists and forensic evidence for police (Kilgariff cited in Carment et al 1990: 218). However, after the bombing of Pearl Harbour in 1941 he and fifteen of his extended family members were interned (Jones 2002: 177). Murakami died of pleurisy at Tatura Camp 1944. He was 64 years old. Conceivably, if he had been able to continue his career, cultural historians would have acknowledged him as an important ethnographer in Australia's north.

Mayu Kanamori lives and works in cosmopolitan Sydney, which has the highest percentage of Asian immigrants of all Australian cities (Ang 2003:66).<sup>2</sup> In 2013 Kanamori is facilitating youth workshops concerning civilian internment that will culminate in a performance at the Cowra Festival of International Understanding in 2014. Kanamori is also working on a new performance titled *Murakami* with Annette Shun Wah from Performance 4A, which is a not-for-profit performance group devoted to exploring contexts of Asian Australian

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2 In 2012 Kanamori and I presented a joint performance/paper at the German Australian Studies conference in Stuttgart on the subject of this paper.

experiences. Kanamori is among a growing number of Japanese researchers who are keen to find out more about their forbearers, and who are cognizant of certain sensitivities about conducting this research.

When Kanamori began working for the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1992, the Keating Labor Government was doing its best to shed Australia of its "dull, conformist Anglo-Celtic parochialism" (cited in G. Jones 2003:116). It wanted Australia to become a republic that embraced the ethnic diversity of its Asian geographical region. As Myers (1993:10) points out, this was not "the result of a sudden flash of moral vision" but to advance Australia's economic interests. Nevertheless, Keating's vision was countered by the conservative historian Geoffrey Blainey and the soon to be incumbent Howard Liberal Government which expressed concerns about Asian immigration, a position emphatically endorsed in the populist manifestation of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party (Jones 2003:117). Like her racist counterparts in popular literature one hundred years earlier, Hanson (1998), who warned her support base in the bush that Australia's Asian population would increase to 27 per cent by 2023, claimed that her bush constituents were the most threatened by the different cultures and ethnicities of the largely Asian cities on the coast. While not formally endorsed by the Liberal-National Coalition, Hanson's jingoism resonated with their 1990 campaign for flag raising ceremonies in schools and the singing of the new national anthem which, *inter alia*, is derived from a late 19<sup>th</sup> century patriotic song celebrating Australia's 'British soul' (Meaney 2007:60). Meaney notes a similar campaign for flag raising in Japanese schools in the 1990s and argues that

Reminiscent of the Japanese case this search for an Australian identity was also given a military dimension centred on the mateship of digger tradition of Australia's wars. (2007:60-61)

The neo-nationalism of the period finds no reference in Kanamori's work. Rather, she is concerned with Japanese identity as expressed in a wider body of Australian photography, art and literature. Along with cultural historians such as Yuriko Nagata (1996) in Australia, Stanley Fukuwa (2010) in Canada and Patricia Afable (2004) in the Philippines, Kanamori seeks to restore the identity of World War II

internees; in her case, Murakami.<sup>3</sup> However, she has less documentary evidence than her counterparts to work with. Kanamori believes that a kind of "national amnesia" has contributed to the paucity of cultural production concerning Japanese working lives in Australia. She explains the situation as follows:

Despite Japanese people having lived and worked in Australia since the 1880s and despite their significant contribution to northern Australia, because of the violence of war, it is as if our memory of the Japanese prior to the Pacific War has been wiped out. It is as if the news of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour is where the Australian popular memory of Japan begins, and deteriorates rapidly hereon after – the bombing raids on Darwin, Broome, Townsville, the attack on Sydney Harbour, followed by the horrific memories of the POWs who suffered greatly. (email communication 2013)

Nagata asserts that historical research has recorded little of the Japanese in Australia (1996). Unlike those in the USA and Canada, Japanese in Australia had fewer opportunities for residency. As stated earlier, Murakami was among a minority of Japanese in Australia with longer term residency who was able to establish a family here. The majority were indentured labourers whose wives were prevented from joining them under the 1901 Australian Immigration Restriction Act. Further, it is difficult for contemporary researchers to establish Japanese perspectives on the context of their lives in Australia prior to World War II. For example, while there are copious archival records written by White Australians, there are a bare handful extant in Australia that have been written by Japanese involved in Broome's early pearling industry (Kaino 2009:44).

Japanese in Australia and America lost all or most of their possessions after the war. Many recovered financially, but all suffered a loss of identity. Herley (1988:4) recounts the stories of Japanese Americans:

My husband came home with twenty tags, all numbered 10710, tags to be attached to each piece of baggage, and one to hang from our coat lapels. From then on, we were known as family #10710. I lost my identity... I lost my identity and my privacy.

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3 See Kanamori's blog titled About Murakami on <http://aboutmurakami.wordpress.com> for more information about her role as a researcher/photographer in this project.

In Australia, Murakami would have been identified as NJ, indicating that he was a Japanese previously residing in the Northern Territory (Nagata 1996:129).

Upon release from their respective internment camps American Japanese who had previously regarded themselves as citizens of their countries were considered to be aliens, including second and third generation people who had never been to Japan (Wakatsuki-Houston & Houston 1973; Fukuwa, Afable 2004, Nagata 1996). Most suffered social isolation. The same was the case in Australia. By 1954 only 966 Japanese born in Japan remained in Australia (Nagata 1996: 239). As Nagata records of Murakami's son, Joe, who was eighteen when he returned to Darwin after internment:

Being subjected to such mental trauma in the formative years of our lives, in constant fear of being about our ancestry, having no others around us for mutual consolation, have left us socially incapacitated and unfulfilled to this day (229).

Like their American counterparts, many Japanese in Australia anglicised their names. Some, such as Evelyn Suzuki, who shortened her family name to Yama, gained work because their employees mistook them for Chinese (Nagata 1996:231).

Unlike their Australian compatriots, documenters of the internment experience in the USA such as Armor and Wright and Herley were able to research the photography of Ansel Adams, one of America's most famous photographers, and photos of the interned photographer, Toyo Miyatake. They were also able to access works by some of the Japanese internees, such as the *Manzanar Free Press* and the Manzanar High School Year book (Herley 1988; Wakatsuki-Houston & Houston 1973). In Australia, internees were not allowed to write about camp matters, and they were restricted to writing two letters a week, to be delivered within Australia (Nagata 1996:147). As with the USA internees, their cameras were confiscated and descendants of the internees have only been able to access photographs, local histories and artefacts donated by former workers or exhibited in regional museums, such as the Tatura Museum (Piper 2012). Thus Murakami could not photograph his daughter's wedding at Tatura Internment Camp; nor could he record the birth of his three grandchildren (Jones 2002, 177). Some fellow internees in America were more fortunate when exceptions were granted to the 'no camera' rule. For example, photographer Toyo Miyatake actually

built a camera while interned at Manzanar, and was eventually able to bring his camera equipment out of storage and use it at the camp (Armor & Wright 1988: xviii).

Although Kanamori is working in a social climate where many Asian Australians are being encouraged to document the heritage of their forbearers, archival material on the Japanese is scarce. For example, Kanamori has worked assiduously to locate Murakami's photos in Australian archives, during research in Perth and Darwin and trips to Japan to visit the two surviving Murakami siblings. She has uncovered and digitised many family photos but also believes that Australian archives hold many unattributed photos of Murakami that the conventional name-based search engine will not reveal (email communication 2013).

Finally, and most critical to the ethos of Kanamori's work is Nagata's assessment that the experience of war with Japan has made it difficult for Japanese Australians in the post-war years to be positive about their ancestry because of the trauma of internment (1996: 278). In 1989 Joe Murakami wrote:

[...] we tend to withdraw instinctively when such a subject is brought up. This withdrawal is sort of a conditioned reflex attributable to our experience in the early post-war era. (cited in Nagata 1996:236)

Noting Nagata's assessment, Tseen Khoo argues that

Until these groups in Australia have the confidence to deliberate openly about these issues, they remain trapped in self-effacement and without the full quota of their civic entitlements. (2003:179)

Her argument resonates with the experiences of contemporary researchers such as Kanamori, Jones and Nagata who record reluctant engagement from older Japanese who still harbour sensitivities about the war experiences (personal communication, Kanamori, Jones, Nagata). After all, there was no reparation of land and properties confiscated by the government during World War II, as occurred in the USA and Canada. Nor have the Japanese internees been extended a formal government apology, while German and Italian internees have.

This social climate resonates with examples of contemporary popular culture. For instance, Khoo (2006:45) argues convincingly that in Australian film there is a "reluctance, or an inability, to make space for Asians within [...] a seemingly levelling discourse or marginality".

Khoo argues that the trope of "sacrificial Asians" in contemporary Australian film is tied to discourses of Australian national identity based on residual myths of Anglo-Celtic settler masculinity. For example, *Japanese Story* (2003) set in Australia's remote northwest, almost completely elides a Japanese perspective. Here, Sandy (Toni Collette) is a tertiary educated female white geologist who is accompanying Hiro (Gotaro Tsunashima) on a visit to a mine site. Sandy espouses racial stereotypes and 'feminises' the male Japanese protagonist (reprising the 'suspect feminism' of Asians in 1900s Australia). When Hiro (the 'sacrificial Asian') dies in an accident, this incident is objectified in terms of her colleague's Freudian slip (he refers to the corpse as "it") and Hiro's wife's stereotypical "inscrutable and self sacrificing" role in which she responds to Sandy's faltering apology with the only line in the film accorded her: "Thank you".

In 2010 a highly acclaimed box-office hit titled *Tomorrow When the War Began* was adapted from John Marsden's series of novels for teenage readers written in the 1990s. Set in the Australian bush this popular fiction valorises the racist bush myths of the early twentieth century through the guerrilla exploits of a group of teenagers from ethnically diverse backgrounds, including an Asian-Australian whose sexuality, inscrutability and exoticism reprise earlier stereotypes. These teenagers band together in the bush to fight an unnamed but clearly Asian threat of invasion from Australia's north. Disturbingly, as Caesar (1999:49) notes, the majority of reviewers of this series seem unaware that it draws from an implicitly racist and militaristic tradition of early twentieth century literature. Ross shares his concerns, particularly given the fact that *Tomorrow When the War Began* has been printed 33 times and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation *Australia Talks Books* radio programme has deemed it "a classic for a generation of Australians" (Ross 2006).

In light of what Ross (2006) has termed "the pervasive racial ambivalence" and Asian anxiety in representations of Asians in Australian narratives, it is not surprising that many Asian Australians still regard themselves as *in* Australia but not *of* Australia. In effect they are still 'passengers on train Australia' who exist outside an already defined Australia (T. Khoo 2003:156). In the face of this perception, contemporary Asian Australian Studies strives for a more accurate representation of Asians in Australia; towards which the critical works of Asian Australian cultural producers have made significant

contributions (T. Khoo 2006: 6). Olivia Khoo cites examples of contemporary Asian Australian filmmakers who are "attending more to the specificities of what it means to be Asian and the constituencies that comprise it" (2006:10-11). Ross (2006) contends that with current anxieties about border protection and mandatory detention of asylum seekers, it is

imperative to examine what is repressed by these narratives of disavowal, and bring to the fore the underlying configurations of white settler anxieties so as to better understand and facilitate the move beyond them.

Ross's assertion segues into Ang's vision of a multicultural cosmopolitanism where Ang contends that Australia's national conversation is not meant to work towards shared values, but to learn more about each other (2007). Kanamori (2011) reflects that listening is an important part of this process. In her view, in order to give humility to photography, "listening is perhaps the most respectful act we do". Jakubowicz's research on Chinese and Muslim migrant youth reflects the ethnic, social and cultural diversity of these groups who nevertheless share an awareness of how marginalising processes have impacted on their lives. He also notes some optimistic developments of awareness among some Chinese immigrants who have articulated the benefits of building inter-ethnic social and cultural capital (88). Fensham's analysis of contemporary Asian Australian performances deals with how Kha's performance uses the metaphor of sport to subvert dominant cultural representations, but also to demonstrate how cultural difference can be transformed into "gift[s] of reconciliation" (2000:178). Finally, Ang (2007) proposes that Asian-Australians' continued participation and intervention in Australian public culture should contribute to the transformation of Australian culture.

To return to Murakami, at first glance his photography appears to elide the 'deep structures of Australian society'. However, this observation should be contextualised within the cultural constraints in which he worked. As noted earlier only a few of Murakami's photographs that survived his internment at Tatura Camp in 1941 are able to be located in Australian archives. If it were not for them, little if any visual history of Japanese pioneers in Northern Australia would be extant. Thus Murakami's photography remains a very valuable resource.

Today there are 51,000 Japanese living in Australia (joshuaproject 2013) – a vastly increased population from the 966 who remained after World War II. Within this context, Kanamori's work on Murakami invites critical insights into the role of the Japanese in Australian cultural history; in particular it refers to the 'national amnesia' of the working lives of Japanese Australians and associated 'cultural anxieties'.

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## ANALYSEN

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Reinhold Grotz

# Der Klimawandel in Australien und die Folgen

## 1. Australien im Klimasystem des Südpazifik

### 1.1 Das Durchschnittsklima

Gemessen an seinem Durchschnittsklima ist Australien der trockenste der bewohnten Kontinente der Erde. Dies ist klimatologisch zu erwarten, denn es entspricht der globalen Lage Australiens am südlichen Wendekreis, der durch den Kontinent zieht. Dennoch gibt es Schlagzeilen wie diese: Überschwemmungen in der Region Brisbane im Januar 2011 mit 35 Toten oder Überschwemmungen in und bei Bundaberg im Januar 2013 mit vier Toten.

Um den Widerspruch zu verstehen, ist es hilfreich, einige Grundlagen über die Klimatologie Australiens zu kennen. Im Norden hat Australien Anteil an den wechselfeuchten Tropen mit ausgeprägten Sommerregen zwischen November und März (Zenitalregen). Im Innern des Kontinents herrscht dagegen wegen der Lage des subtropischen Hochdruckgürtels ein weitflächig ausgedehntes Trockenklima, das Halbwüsten schafft. Nur der Süden des Kontinents gehört der warm gemäßigten Klimazone an, wo Winterregen vorherrschen, wenn das subtropische Hochdrucksystem nach Norden rückt und der Südteil des Kontinents in die Westwinddrift mit ihren eingelagerten Tiefs gelangt. Die Insel Tasmanien profitiert fast ganzjährig von ihrer Lage in dieser Westwindzone.

Besonders bevorzugt sind der Südosten und die Ostküste des Kontinents. Diese Bereiche empfangen außer den Winterniederschlägen aus dem Westen auch noch Steigungsregen aus den Südost-Passaten, so dass dort neun und mehr humide (feuchte) Monate verzeichnet werden können. Hier im Süden und entlang der Ostküste liegen die wichtigsten Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsräume, die sich weit bis in den Norden Queenslands hinein ziehen.

## 1.2 Besondere Ereignisse im Klimageschehen

Der durchschnittliche physikalische Befund beschreibt jedoch nur die halbe Wahrheit. Seitdem es systematische Aufzeichnungen über Wetterdaten gibt, kennt man auch immer wiederkehrende außergewöhnliche Ereignisse großen Ausmaßes. Sie können sich einerseits in extremen und langen Trockenperioden mit verheerenden Busch- und Waldbränden und andererseits in Intensivniederschlägen mit großflächigen Überschwemmungen äußern. Dadurch entstehen nicht nur enorm hohe wirtschaftliche Schäden, sehr oft sind auch Menschenleben zu beklagen.

Diese Extremereignisse hängen mit Abweichungen von den normalerweise vorherrschenden Windsystemen (*Walker-Zirkulation*) im Südpazifik zusammen (Hilgers 2012). Der Südost-Passat treibt in der Mehrzahl der Jahre Oberflächenwasser südlich des Äquators von Südamerika aus westwärts. Auf seinem langen Weg erwärmt es sich und sorgt durch zunehmende Verdunstung im indonesisch-australischen Raum für ergiebige Konvektionsniederschläge. Man misst diese Zirkulation durch Luftdruckunterschiede zwischen Tahiti und Darwin. Der *Southern Oscillation Index* (SOI) ist für das langjährige Mittel des Druckunterschieds zwischen den beiden Wetterstationen auf Null gesetzt (Standardisierung). Länger anhaltende Abweichungen des SOI in den positiven oder negativen Bereich sind Vorboten für Witterungsanomalien.

Aus Gründen, die nicht vollständig erforscht sind, kann es vorkommen, dass sich die Passatwinde abschwächen oder ganz einschlafen, weil die Luftdruckunterschiede deutlich geringer sind als normal und sich ein Tiefdruckgebiet über dem Mittel- oder Ostpazifik bildet. Der Meeresstrom wird schwächer und dreht sich teilweise sogar um. Die hohen Oberflächentemperaturen des Wassers führen bereits im Mittelpazifik zu Konvektionsniederschlägen. Der westpazifische Raum mit Indonesien und Australien bleibt dagegen trocken, weil das nach Osten weggeföhrte warme Oberflächenwasser durch kühleres Tiefenwasser ersetzt wird. Die Luftdruckverhältnisse haben sich also umgedreht und der SOI ist negativ (kleiner -8). Dies ist ein sogenanntes *El Niño-Ereignis* mit ausgeprägter Trockenheit im Norden und Osten Australiens (Hilgers 2012).

Wenn nun umgekehrt sehr starke Passatwinde überdurchschnittlich viel warmes Wasser vor die australische Ostküste treiben, kommt es

dort zu besonders hohen Niederschlägen. Der SOI ist in diesem Fall stark positiv (über +8), weil das Druckgefälle in Richtung Australien sehr hoch ist. Dann spricht man von einem *La Niña Ereignis*. Jetzt kommt es zu lang anhaltenden und auch sehr heftigen Regenfällen, die ausgedehnte Überschwemmungen zur Folge haben können. Im Januar 2011 musste in Queensland und New South Wales eine Fläche so groß wie Deutschland und Frankreich zusammen zum Katastrophengebiet erklärt werden. Erschwerend kam hinzu, dass sich, eingebettet in eine starke Ost-West Strömung, noch ein tropischer Zyklon der höchsten Kategorie 5 (*Yasi*) eingereiht hatte.

Solche *tropical cyclones* bringen ebenfalls riesige Regenmengen. Sie sind den amerikanischen *hurricanes* vergleichbar und entstehen über dem warmen Meer. Ihre Windenergie beziehen sie aus der Freisetzung von Kondensationsenergie bei der Wolkenbildung. Über Land verlieren sie daher bald an Stärke. Aber in Küstennähe entstehen durch hohe Windgeschwindigkeiten (bis über 250 km/h) und extrem hohe Niederschläge innerhalb weniger Stunden (bis 300 mm) Zerstörungen mit katastrophalen Ausmaßen.

Die El Niño-La Niña-Geschehen reichen selten bis nach Western Australia. Die Westküste Australiens scheint jedoch durch eine ähnliche "Luftdruck-Schaukel" im Indischen Ozean bestimmt zu sein. Derzeit wird intensiv über dieses Phänomen geforscht, genaue Erkenntnisse gibt es aber noch nicht.

### 1.3 Fazit

Klimatologisch gesehen gehören also auch diese beschriebenen Wetterextreme zum Normalzustand der Atmosphäre. Bereits in kolonialer Zeit wurde von katastrophalen Wettergeschehen mit ihren Folgen berichtet: ausgedehnte Überflutungen, verheerende Stürme und jahrelange Dürren mit großflächigen Bränden.

Es stellt sich daher die Frage, wie sich unter diesen Umständen die Einflüsse eines erst seit wenigen Jahrzehnten diskutierten globalen Klimawandels herausfiltern lassen. In Australien stritt man sich lange über die Realität eines Klimawandels, was dazu führte, dass Australien erst Ende 2007 nach einem Regierungswechsel das Kyoto-Protokoll unterzeichnete.

Inzwischen haben jedoch sowohl das Bureau of Meteorology (BoM) als auch die Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) viele Grundlagen erarbeitet, die einen Klimawandel für Australien wahrscheinlich machen. Einige Fakten seien im Folgenden vorgestellt.

## **2. Meßbare Zeichen für einen Klimawandel**

### **2.1 Die Zunahme der Durchschnittstemperaturen**

Bei den jährlichen Durchschnittstemperaturen zwischen 1910 und 2012 ergibt sich für die letzten vier Jahrzehnte ein durchschnittlicher Temperaturanstieg von etwa 1°C. Der Anstieg erfolgte räumlich nicht gleichmäßig. Betroffen sind auch die wichtigsten Siedlungs- und Agrarräume im Südosten und entlang der Ostküste (Grotz 2010: 39). Ab 1970 nahm die Zahl der außergewöhnlich heißen Jahre zu, die sich unter die höchsten 5% der jemals gemessenen Werte einreihen.

Ein Bericht vom BoM und CSIRO sagt für den Zeitraum 2010 bis 2040 in mindestens jedem zweiten Jahr sehr hohe Temperaturen voraus, die 60-80% der Landesfläche betreffen werden. Der Sommer 2012/13 war der heißeste in der 102-jährigen Geschichte der genauen Wetterbeobachtungen in Australien (Cubby 2013). Am 18. Januar 2013 gab es in Sydneys Observatory Hill mit knapp 46°C einen neuen Hitzerekord, am Flughafen und in anderen Stadtteilen wurde die 46-Grad-Marke sogar überschritten. Die Folgen waren Zugausfälle wegen Gleisverwerfungen, Kurzschlüsse wegen durchhängender Strom- und Telefonleitungen, andere technische Defekte, Hunderte von Notaufnahmen in den Krankenhäusern und überdurchschnittlich viele Tote unter der älteren Bevölkerung.

Mit der Hitze steigt auch die Wald- und Buschbrandgefahr. Die katastrophalen Brände in Victoria im Februar 2009 mit 173 Toten sind ohne Vergleich. Vorausgegangen waren Hitzewellen mit über 40°C. Der Erwärmungstrend auf dem Kontinent hält an, denn im Januar 2013 betrug die Temperaturanomalie für ganz Australien +2,28°. Dies ist ein neuer Rekord (BoM 2013).

## 2.2 Die Veränderung der jährlichen Niederschläge

Parallel zu den Temperaturerhöhungen beobachtet man innerhalb der stark oszillierenden Jahresniederschlagswerte seit den 1970er Jahren, dass die wichtigsten Agrargebiete im Südosten und im Südwesten tendenziell trockener werden. Dieser Trend ist eindeutig, wenn man kurzfristige Schwankungen durch die Angabe von 10-Jahreswerten glättet (Grotz 2010: 38). Die im Norden und im Zentrum von Western Australia feuchter gewordenen Landesteile sind für den wirtschaftenden Menschen kaum von Bedeutung.

Treffen in einer Region geringere Niederschläge mit höheren Temperaturen zusammen, können bei längerer Dauer Dürren (*droughts*) auftreten. Diese Kombination verursachte und verschlimmerte die *droughts* im letzten Jahrzehnt vor allem im Murray-Darling Becken. Dieses Flusssystem entwässert ca. 1 Mio. km<sup>2</sup> (etwa dreimal die Fläche Deutschlands). Hier werden fast 40% aller Agrarwerte erzeugt, etwa die Hälfte der Getreideernte kommt von hier, ebenso weiden hier 45% aller Schafe und die größten Mengen Obst und Gemüse sowie viele andere Produkte werden hier geerntet.

Entlang der Flüsse wurden Dämme, Kanäle und andere Bewässerungseinrichtungen geschaffen, aber das bewässerbare Land macht nur etwa 2% des Agrarlandes aus. Es ist jedoch für die ertragreichen Kulturen wie Reis, Baumwolle, Obst, Gemüse und Wein unbedingt nötig.

Die Niederschlagsdefizite im letzten Jahrzehnt ließen die Zuflüsse zum Murray drastisch zurückgehen (Grotz 2010: 41). Der Fluss erreichte viele Jahre lang nicht mehr das Meer. Dafür war zudem die um 15% erhöhte Verdunstung durch den Temperaturanstieg verantwortlich. Auch die Speicher des Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme waren weitgehend geleert. Um die vertraglich vereinbarte Stromversorgung für Victoria dennoch zu sichern, installierte das Hydro-Electric Scheme Gasturbinen mit einer Leistung von 620 MW. Die Wasserversorgung von Adelaide war ebenfalls in Gefahr und die nach der *Ramsar Convention* als schützenswert eingestuften Habitate in Feuchtgebieten für endemische Pflanzen- und Tierarten trockneten aus (z.B. river red gum, black box tree, Murray Karpfen).

## 2.3 Extremereignisse

Listet man die Folgen der außergewöhnlichen Wetterereignisse der letzten Jahre mit ihren Schäden – soweit sie überhaupt feststellbar waren – auf, dann ergibt sich eine eindrucksvolle Liste (Tabelle 1).

Tabelle 1: Katastrophale Wetterereignisse

Zeit	Region	Ursache	Tote	Schäden Mrd. AUD	Bemer- kungen
April 1999	Sydney	Hagel	?	4,3	nur Ver- sicherungen (Preise 2011)
2002- 2010	Südost- Australien	Dürre	?	4,5	nur Staats- ausgaben
Febr. 2009	Victoria	Feuer	173	4,4	
Jan. 2011	Ost- Queensland	Überschwem- mungen	35	4,7	
Jan. 2013	Nordost- Queensland	Überschwem- mungen	4	2,4	

Quelle: Eigene Zusammenstellung

Die mittleren und kleineren Katastrophen mit weniger als 2 Mrd. AUD Schaden (etwa 1,5 Mrd. €) sind hier nicht aufgeführt. Produktionsausfälle in der Landwirtschaft und im Bergbau sind ebenfalls nicht berücksichtigt. Beispielsweise schmälerten die Wirkungen des *Cyclones Yasi* mit anschließenden Überschwemmungen in Queensland im Januar 2011 die gesamte Volkswirtschaft um ein halbes Prozent (etwa 65 Mrd. AUD), weil Kohletagebaue monatelang unter Wasser standen, Straßen und Bahnlinien weggeschwemmt wurden und beispielsweise 95% der australischen Bananenfelder vernichtet waren. Paradoxerweise rechnet die volkswirtschaftliche Gesamtrechnung die Leistungen für die Schadensbehebung auf der positiven Seite. In Wirklichkeit waren die volkswirtschaftlichen Einbußen viel höher als ein halbes Prozent. Schätzungen ergaben 100 Mrd. AUD (ca. 75 Mrd. €).

Zum Vergleich verursachte das Elbehochwasser 2002 materielle Schäden einschließlich Katastrophenbekämpfung und Produktionsausfällen in Höhe von ca. 11,4 Mrd. € (etwa 15,2 Mrd. AUD). Damals hatten Sachsen 21 und Tschechien 17 Todesopfer zu beklagen. Möglicherweise übertreffen die Schäden des Hochwassers von 2013 die früheren Werte.

Naturbedingte Schäden kleineren oder mittleren Ausmaßes ereignen sich in Australien häufig, ohne dass die Weltöffentlichkeit große Notiz davon nimmt. Im Februar 2013 erzwang der *Cyclone Rusty* (Kategorie 3) im Pilbara-Gebiet einen kurzen Stopp der Eisenerzförderung, die Erzschiffe wurden zu ihrer Sicherheit aus den Häfen Port Hedland und Umgebung auf den Indischen Ozean hinaus gesandt. Die Erzverladung ruhte drei Tage lang. Obwohl sich *Rusty* an Land rasch abschwächte, war die Stromversorgung teilweise unterbrochen und Hunderte Menschen mussten in Schutzräume fliehen. Kurz zuvor hatten die Ausläufer des *Cyclone Oswald* in Queensland Schäden in Höhe von 2,4 Mrd. AUD (1,8 Mrd. €) verursacht.

Gegen solche Naturereignisse können sich Menschen nur mit einem sehr hohen Aufwand schützen. Versicherungen helfen nur bedingt, denn die Prämien steigen mit jeder Katastrophe stark an. Sie wurden von September 2011 bis September 2012 um 16% angehoben. Ein Beispiel: Für Häuser mit einem Überschwemmungsrisiko bis maximal einem Schadensfall in 50 Jahren und einem Versicherungswert von 390 000 AUD fordert Allianz eine Jahresprämie von 4 700 AUD (etwa 3 500 €) in New South Wales und von 8 000 AUD (ca. 6 000 €) in Queensland. Allianz berichtet, dass 98% der potentiellen Kunden dieses Angebot ablehnen. Man hofft, dass es schon gut gehen wird.

Aufgrund der vielen Schadensfälle in den letzten Jahren wurde Australien zu Beginn 2013 im Markt der international tätigen Rückversicherer zurück gestuft. Australische Versicherungen müssen nun für ihre eigene Rückversicherung höhere Prämien bezahlen, die sie natürlich an ihre Kunden weitergeben.

Weil die Schäden an der öffentlichen Infrastruktur oftmals die finanziellen Möglichkeiten staatlicher Institutionen übersteigen, gab es 2011 für nicht geschädigte Steuerzahler eine Sondersteuer für Beserverdiener über 50 000 AUD Jahreseinkommen (ca. 38 000 €) in

Höhe von 0,5% des Einkommens. So wurden etwa 1,8 Mrd. AUD erhoben.

Nach der Vielzahl der geschilderten Extremereignisse mit Hitzewellen, Dürren, Zyklonen und Überschwemmungen mit ihren Folgen liegt es nahe, auf einen Klimawandel zu schließen. Die 2012 veröffentlichten Ergebnisse des IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) stützen diese Ansicht aber nur zum Teil. Wie bereits erwähnt, gehört *wild weather* zur Natur des Kontinents. Nach den Erkenntnissen des IPCC werde es in Zukunft zwar quantitativ nicht mehr Extremereignisse geben, jedoch werde ihre Intensität zunehmen.

Die Temperaturerhöhung verschärft die Dürre- und Brandgefahr an Land. Da die höheren Temperaturen ebenso über den Meeren gemessen werden, führen sie dort zu einer stärkeren Verdunstung. Trotz der beobachteten insgesamt geringeren Landniederschläge kommt es je nach Berechnungsmethode zu einer um 5,9 bis 7,7% höheren Niederschlagsintensität. Dies sowie eine steigende Besiedlungsdichte in gefährdeten Gebieten und mehr Investitionen durch größeren Wohlstand verursachen die enorm hohen Schadenssummen. Wenn sich die Atmosphäre bis 2030 um ein weiteres Grad erwärmt – wovon auszugehen ist – stehen Australien viel größere Katastrophen bevor als die bisher erlebten (CSIRO 2013).

Dessen ist man sich inzwischen in Australien bewußt und man beginnt, sich für die neuen Entwicklungen zu wappnen (PMSEIC 2007). Seit einigen Jahren gibt es einen für die Klimaänderung zuständigen Minister in Canberra (heutige Bezeichnung: Minister for Climate Change, Industry and Innovation). Es werden Forschungen initiiert, finanziert und koordiniert. Im Jahre 2006 wurde zusammen mit den Regierungen der Bundesstaaten beschlossen, einen Plan zur Anpassung an den Klimawandel zu entwickeln, an dem auf verschiedenen Teilgebieten laufend gearbeitet wird (Department of Climate Change 2010, 2011a). Im Folgenden sollen einige Themenbereiche mit ihren Einflüssen aus dem Klimawandel angesprochen werden.

### **3. Folgen des Klimawandels und mögliche Anpassungen**

#### **3.1 Biosphäre und Gesundheit**

Die aus globaler Sicht größte Gefährdung betrifft das Great Barrier Reef. Das über 2000km lange Riff vor der Küste Nordost-Queenslands, das als eines der ersten zum Weltnaturerbe erklärt wurde, ist von 400 Arten von Korallen, 1500 Fischarten und 240 Vogelarten bevölkert. Dieses Ökosystem gerät durch steigende Wassertemperaturen, die zunehmende Versauerung des Wassers durch CO<sub>2</sub>, also Kohlensäure, sowie durch Schlamm- und chemische Einträge vom Festland her in Gefahr. Gestiegene Temperaturen und saures Wasser erschweren die Abscheidung von Kalk durch die winzigen Korallenpolypen und auch die wichtigen Symbiosen mit anderen Organismen, die zudem für die oft leuchtenden Farben verantwortlich sind, leiden. Die Riffe bleichen aus und schließlich sterben sie ab. Die abfließenden Hochwässer vom Festland bringen aus den Agrargebieten nicht nur Schlamm, sondern auch Düngemittel und Pesticide mit sich. Durch die Düngung des Meeres überwuchern Großalgen die Korallenstöcke und bringen sie zum Absterben.

Die Temperaturerhöhung des Wassers begünstigt die Ausbreitung von tropischen und subtropischen Tieren nach Süden, u. a. sind die für manche Badegäste sogar tödlichen Nesseltentakelquallen auf dem Weg nach Süden. Auch an Land breiten sich tropische Tiere und Pflanzen südwärts aus. Andererseits finden Tier- und Pflanzenarten der gemäßigten Zone keine neuen Ausweichräume mehr. Insbesondere Biotope in den Snowy Mountains sind vom Aussterben bedroht.

Auf eine auch für Touristen unangenehme Folge des Klimawandels sei hingewiesen. Tropische Erkrankungen fassen bereits auf dem Fünften Kontinent Fuß. Zwar gibt es noch keine endemischen Malaria-Fälle oder Gelbfieber, aber das Dengue-Fieber, eine Viruserkrankung mit hohem Fieber, heftigen Kopf- und Gliederschmerzen und inneren Blutungen, ist nach Queensland eingewandert. Es wird durch Stechmücken übertragen und kommt entlang fast der gesamten Queensland-Küste vor. Zwischen 2011 und 2012 verdoppelte sich die Zahl der Erkrankungen. Aber noch ist die Fallzahl etwa im Vergleich zu Brasilien gering.

Wie zu erwarten war, verbreiten sich jetzt auch tropische Tierkrankheiten schneller und weiter. Beispielsweise ist das Tick-Fieber bei

Rindern an der Ostküste rasch im Vormarsch (Übertragung durch Zecken) und hat bereits New South Wales erreicht. 20% der erkrankten Tiere bei europäischen und nordamerikanischen Rassen verenden. Die Einkreuzung von Erbgut aus Brahman-Rassen soll die Resistenz erhöhen.

### **3.2 Landwirtschaft**

Naturgemäß ist dieser Wirtschaftszweig am meisten von einem Klimawandel betroffen. Wenn die Veränderungen bei Temperaturen und Niederschlägen nicht zu rasch ablaufen, kann sich eine auf Wissenschaft basierte Landwirtschaft auf die neuen Verhältnisse einstellen. Dazu müssen allerdings die Akteure das nötige Wissen erwerben. Tatsächlich besitzt in Australien ein Drittel der in der Landwirtschaft Tätigen eine Hochschul- oder andere Spezialausbildung. Daher sollte die Verbreitung und Anwendung neuen Wissens kein großes Problem sein. Wenn jedoch zu den schleichenden Veränderungen Extremereignisse, z.B. mehrjährige Dürren, Brände, tropische Zyklone und andere wolkenbruchartige Regenfälle – und das mit steigender Intensität – hinzu kommen, helfen wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse einer modernen Farmbewirtschaftung kaum weiter. Die Farmer müssen zukünftig mit noch höheren und unkalkulierbaren Risiken wirtschaften.

Gesamtwirtschaftlich gesehen ist die Landwirtschaft in Australien kein wichtiger Wirtschaftszweig mehr und ihre Bedeutung nimmt weiter ab. Die Beiträge zum Bruttoinlandsprodukt (BIP) wie zur Beschäftigung liegen zwischen 2,5 und 3%. Obwohl die Arbeits- und Kapitalproduktivität allgemein hoch sind und daher rund 60% des erzeugten Wertes exportiert werden können (Getreide, Ölsaaten, Fleisch, Baumwolle, Wolle), machen diese Exporte nur noch 10–11% der gesamten Exportleistung aus (2011/12). Etwa 60% der Ausfuhren stammen aus dem Bergbau.

Die Landwirtschaft durchläuft nicht zuletzt wegen der Auswirkungen der langen Dürre im letzten Jahrzehnt einen raschen Wandel.

Tabelle 2: Merkmale der Landwirtschaft in Australien und ihre Veränderungen

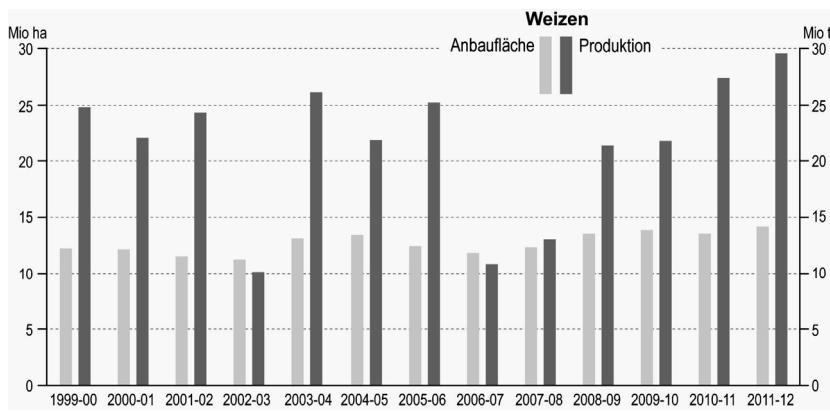
	<b>2001</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>Veränderungen</b>	
			<b>absolut</b>	<b>in %</b>
Agrarbetriebe in 1000	141	136	-5	-3,6
Nutzfläche in Mio. ha	456	410	-46	-10,1
davon Ackerfläche, Obst usw. in Mio. ha	25	32	+7	+30,8
Bewässerungsfläche in Mio. ha	2,6	2,0	-0,6	-24,5

Quelle: Australian Bureau of Statistics, No. 7106.0, 2012  
(verändert; Zahlen gerundet)

Während der letzten Dekade erlebte Australien wegen der lang anhaltenden Dürre in einigen Jahren fast völlige Ernteausfälle in wichtigen Anbaugebieten. Nur weil in anderen Regionen etwas bessere Bedingungen herrschten, verzeichneten die Statistiken noch Erntemengen, wenn auch geringere.

Beispielhaft soll dies an den Anbauflächen und den Ernteerträgen von Weizen ab dem Wirtschaftsjahr 1999-2000 gezeigt werden.

Abbildung 1: Anbauflächen und Erntemengen von Weizen



Quelle: Australian Bureau of Statistics

In guten Jahren können 25 Mio.t Weizen geerntet werden, von denen 15-20 Mio.t auf den Weltmarkt gelangen. Die Mengen im relativ trockenen Jahr 2003-04 waren nur deshalb so gut, weil es in Western Australia und Victoria Rekordernten gab, während die Farmer in New South Wales und im Süden von Queensland Missernten verzeichneten bzw. wegen der Trockenheit gar nicht aussäen konnten. In den beiden Wirtschaftsjahren 2006-07 und 2007-08 waren die durchschnittlichen Hektarerträge nur etwa halb so hoch wie in den Jahren zuvor und danach.

Trotz der immer wiederkehrenden Ernteeinbrüche lässt sich eine erstaunliche Beobachtung machen. Vergleicht man die ha-Erträge ganzer Jahrzehnte miteinander, so dass einzelne El Niño-Jahre und andere Wetterkatastrophen nicht so sehr hervortreten, dann lassen sich von Jahrzehnt zu Jahrzehnt trotz höherer Temperaturen und niedrigerer Niederschläge dennoch höhere Ernten pro Hektar errechnen. Lagen sie in den 1960er Jahren erst bei 12 dt/ha (1dt = 100kg), stiegen sie bis in die 1990er Jahre auf durchschnittlich 16,5dt/ha. Selbst im letzten Dürrejahrzehnt sank der Mittelwert nur wenig auf 15,9. In den Erntejahren 2009-10 bis 2011-12 ergaben sich nochmals Steigerungen bis nahe 20dt/ha. Dies bedeutet: Trotz erschwarter Umweltbedingungen erzielten die Weizenfarmer eine Steigerung der Flächenerträge von über 50%. Das sind Erfolge von Neuzüchtungen, besseren Fruchtfolgen, Feuchtigkeit konservierender Bodenbearbeitung sowie einer gezielten Düngung.

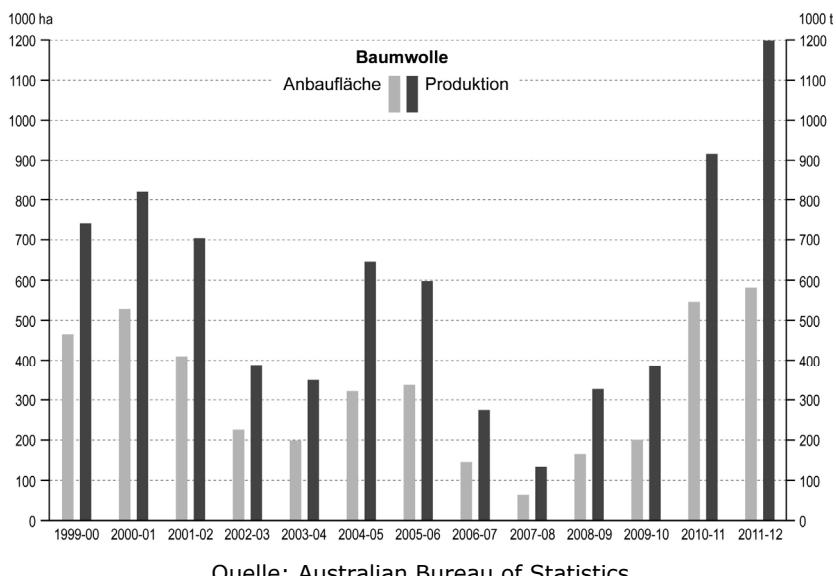
Bisher ist es den Farmern mit Hilfe der Forschung offensichtlich gelungen, in der Summe die negativen Effekte des Klimawandels aufzufangen. Daher empfiehlt der CSIRO den Farmern als Anpassungsstrategie keinen radikalen Wandel ihrer Wirtschaftsweise, sondern konsequent best practice-Methoden anzuwenden. Dies erfordert eine sehr flexible Betriebsführung, die zunehmend vom jeweiligen Wetter- und Klimarisiko bestimmt sein wird (CSIRO 2011). Alle Risiken lassen sich nicht berechnen oder durch Vorsorge ausschalten. Sie können einzelne Farmer oder ganze Regionen hart bis zur Gefährdung ihrer Existenzgrundlagen treffen (Brände, Dürren, Stürme und Überschwemmungen).

Auf Dauer werden kleine, schrittweise Anpassungen für manche Betriebe nicht ausreichen. Auch der CSIRO sieht die Notwendigkeit, dass ökonomisch schwache Weizenfarmen aufgeben. Man schätzt bis

2030 einen Rückgang der gesamten Weizenproduktion um 8-10%. Eine Aufgabe von Grenzertragsbetrieben ist schon deshalb erforderlich, weil die Bodendegradation bei stark geschädigter oder fehlender Vegetation riesige Ausmaße annimmt. Dies betrifft sowohl die Windausblasung von fruchtbarem Oberboden als auch die Rinnenerosion bei Starkregen. Ein Rückzug der Landwirtschaft aus Problemgebieten ist daher sehr erwünscht, denn bereits heute verursachen ökologische Schäden enorm hohe Landwertverluste und Ernteausfälle, die sich unter den Bedingungen des Klimawandels nochmals steigern.

Abschließend noch einige Bemerkungen zur Bewässerung. Sie kann in einem wärmer werdenden Klima die Erträge sichern. Im Murray-Darling Becken, wo etwa zwei Fünftel der Agrarproduktion herkommen, sind Felder mit Reis, Baumwolle, Wein, Obst, Gemüse und selbst Fettweiden für Milch- und Mastvieh bewässert. Bei abnehmendem Wasserangebot sind zukünftig zwangsweise hohe Produktions-einbußen zu erwarten.

Abbildung 2: Anbauflächen und Erntemengen von Baumwolle



Quelle: Australian Bureau of Statistics

Abbildung 2 zeigt die Schwankungen bei den Anbauflächen und der Produktion von Baumwolle während des letzten Jahrzehnts. Baumwolle ist als *cash crop* für die Farmer sehr wichtig, sie wird fast völlig exportiert und erbringt gute Preise. Daher ist Baumwolle statistisch eine der wichtigsten Anbaufrüchte. Obwohl die ha-Erträge in 40 Jahren fast verdoppelt werden konnten, droht dem Anbau das Aus, wenn kein Bewässerungswasser mehr zur Verfügung steht.

Der Kampf um die Verteilung des Wassers im Murray-Darling Basin zwischen den Bundesstaaten und verschiedenen Nutzungsarten ist längst entbrannt. Regierungen kaufen mit Milliarden-Programmen Wasserrechte von Farmern auf. Doch immer wieder regt sich Widerstand, wenn Farmer nicht nur zur Sicherung der Trinkwasserversorgung von Städten, sondern auch zugunsten der Wasserqualität von Flüssen oder zur Lebenserhaltung von wertvollen Feuchtbiotopen auf Wasserrechte verzichten sollen. Fisch- und Baumsterben, giftige Algenblüten im Wasser und das Verschwinden ganzer Ökosysteme sind zwar Nachrichten wert, doch wirtschaftliche Eigeninteressen verhindern oft ein notwendiges Handeln. Nach vielen Jahren intensiver Forschungen und Verhandlungen mit Beteiligten ist es der Murray-Darling Basin Authority bis heute nicht gelungen, ein allgemein akzeptiertes neues Gleichgewicht der Wasserverteilung zu finden. Andererseits gehen immer noch viele Bewässerungsmethoden sehr verschwenderisch mit dem knappen Gut Wasser um, was an manchen Stellen zu sehr negativen Bodenversalzungen führt.

### 3.3 Siedlungen

Die lange Niederschlagsarmut im letzten Jahrzehnt brachte für die fünf Millionenstädte – Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth und Adelaide – in der Wasserversorgung große Engpässe. Alle diese Städte verfügen über große Wasserspeicher in Form von Staauseen, die aber nicht mehr den Bedarf decken konnten. Überall musste ein gestuftes System der Wasserrationierung eingeführt werden. Zusätzlich mussten innerhalb weniger Jahre Meerwasser-Entsalzungsanlagen geplant und gebaut werden, die je nach Stadt 15-50% des Bedarfs decken können. In Brisbane sieht man im Notfall sogar die Aufbereitung von Schmutzwasser als Trinkwasser vor. Um generell den Wasserverbrauch in den Haushalten zu senken, machen öffentliche Kampagnen und Förderanreize auf Wasser sparende Installationen aufmerksam.

Dazu gehört auch die Einrichtung von Regenwassertanks, die wenigstens teilweise den Bedarf für Rasen und Garten decken sollen.

Die Wasserfrage ist in hoch entwickelten Staaten weniger eine Existenz- als eine Kostenfrage. Die fünf bisher gebauten großen Meerwasser-Entsalzungsanlagen kosteten etwa 10 Mrd. AUD (7,5 Mrd. €). Da sie laufend hohe Energiemengen benötigen, klingt es paradox, dass erst ein kleiner Teil dieser Energie aus erneuerbaren Quellen stammt.

Größere Probleme werden vor allem die großen Städte mit dem *Hitzestress* bekommen. Australienweit war der Sommer 2012-13 der heißeste seit 1910, wobei sechs der zehn heißesten Sommer erst innerhalb der letzten zehn Jahre gemessen wurden. In den Städten ist die Hitzeentwicklung durch die wenig reflektierenden, Wärme speichernden Baumassen besonders hoch und auch die Nächte sind immer öfter wärmer als 30°. Der Chefmeteorologe des australischen Wetterdienstes sagte voraus, dass Sommer mit Tagestemperaturen über 40°C in etwa 40 Jahren "normal" wären (Hannam 2013).

Solange die Wohnhäuser – traditionell Einfamilienhäuser – auf großen Grundstücken mit hohen Schattenbäumen stehen, waren für die Bewohner auch hohe Temperaturen bisher noch erträglich. In den zunehmend verdichteten Stadtzentren mit Büro- und Wohnhochhäusern entwickeln sich Hitzepole, die das Leben ohne Klimatisierung unmöglich machen. Die kühlende Wirkung von Seewinden endet nach wenigen Kilometern landeinwärts; sie hat in den dicht bebauten Innenstädten ohnehin nur wenig Wirkung. Weniger natürliche Kühlung gibt es auch in den Neubaugebieten der Vororte. Dort stehen die neuen, mittlerweile über 250 m<sup>2</sup> Wohnfläche großen Einfamilienhäuser auf kleineren Grundstücken als früher mit zwangsweise kleineren Grünflächen und nur wenigen oder gar keinen Schattenbäumen.

Eine sehr große Herausforderung wird die nachträgliche bessere Thermoisolierung und Klimatisierung von Wohngebäuden sein, die älter als 20-30 Jahre alt sind. Auf Hausbesitzer kommen hohe Investitionen zu. Die Elektrizität für die Kühlung sowie für die Heizung im Winter kommt bisher weit überwiegend aus der Kohle. Die Kohle-Lobby – Minenbetreiber und Bergarbeiter – konnten bis vor wenigen Jahren erfolgreich den Ausbau alternativer Stromquellen verhindern. 2012 stammten erst 13% der Elektrizität aus erneuerbaren Energien, überwiegend aus Wasserkraft und Biomasse (im Wesentlichen

Verbrennung von Zuckerrohr-Rückständen) – und das in einem Land mit riesigen Potentialen der Solar- und Windenergieerzeugung. Auch bei der Grün- und Freiraumplanung in Städten muss wegen der jetzt höheren Baudichten und kleineren Gärten umgedacht werden.

Städter werden unter dem Klimawandel am meisten zu leiden haben. Von den fast 23 Millionen Australiern leben bereits 60% in den fünf Millionenstädten. Zählt man die wenigen weiteren großstädtischen Agglomerationen hinzu (Canberra, Newcastle, Gold Coast usw.), dann kommt man bereits auf über 70% der Gesamtbevölkerung. Dabei wächst die Einwohnerzahl nach den Maßstäben hoch entwickelter Staaten rasch weiter an. In den letzten Jahren waren es 1,5-1,7% pro Jahr. Zu einer leicht gestiegenen Geburtenrate kommen wieder deutlich gestiegene Einwanderungszahlen. 85% der Einwanderer lassen sich in einer der wenigen Großstädte nieder. Dort tragen sie auch zum *urban sprawl* bei, denn der Wachstumsdruck für Wohnungsbau und neue Infrastrukturen ist enorm hoch (Searle und Braun 2012).

Auf ein spezielles Problem sei besonders hingewiesen. Aus Unachtsamkeit, Unwissenheit oder auf wirtschaftlichen Druck hin sind große durch Hochwässer gefährdete Flächen entlang von Flüssen mit Gebäuden und Verkehrsinfrastruktur bebaut worden. Da über Jahrzehnte keine Fluten zu verzeichnen waren, glaubte man sich dort sicher. Die zunehmende Intensität extremer Wetterereignisse strafte jedoch solche optimistischen Annahmen in den letzten Jahren Lügen.

Die bereits seit ihrer Frühzeit immer wieder von Hochwassern heimgesuchte Stadt Grafton an der Nordküste von New South Wales schützte sich früh durch Dämme und Hochwassermauern. So überstand die Stadt im Januar 2013 ein 8-Meter-Hochwasser nahezu unbeschadet. Andere Städte bauten ohne Schutzmaßnahmen nahe an ihre Flüsse und mussten kostspielige Schäden und sogar Todesfälle in Kauf nehmen. Ein Teil der Schäden geht auf Planungsversagen zurück, daher sind im Hochwasserschutz selbst im Binnenland noch riesige Aufgaben zu bewältigen.

Die Vorsorge für die Brandgefahr bei langen und intensiven Trockenperioden benötigt ebenfalls deutlich mehr Aufmerksamkeit. Die Brandbekämpfung außerhalb größerer Städte basiert bis heute überwiegend auf freiwilligen Diensten. Künftig werden noch mehr Professionalität und eine noch bessere Ausrüstung erforderlich sein. Bilder

eines Hubschraubers, der Löschwasser aus einem *swimming pool* zieht, sind zwar spektakulär, wirken aber etwas hilflos angesichts großflächiger Brände.

### 3.4 Küstenschutz

Eines der größten Probleme, das bis heute kaum wahrgenommen wird, betrifft den Küstenschutz. Durch die global höheren Durchschnittstemperaturen kommt es zur Ausdehnung des Wassers und die Eismassen an den Polkappen und auf Grönland schmelzen. Der Meeresspiegel steigt. Für Australien wurden zwischen 1990 und 2010 *pro Jahr* Werte im einstelligen Millimeterbereich gemessen (Department of Climate Change 2011b). Dabei fallen je nach Seewassertemperatur, Meeresströmungen, Ebbe- und Flutverhältnissen die Anstiege entlang der Küste verschieden hoch aus. Die Gefahrenlage an den Küsten wird sich deutlich erhöhen. Andererseits ist der Zug der Menschen zum Meer ungebrochen. Die neuesten IPCC-Ergebnisse halten einen durchschnittlichen Anstieg der Randmeere um Australien bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts in Höhe von 1-1,5 m für sehr wahrscheinlich.

Für Australien wird derzeit eine Risikoabschätzung vorgenommen, der ein Meeresspiegelanstieg von 110 cm zugrunde liegt. Hinzu kommen noch die Einflüsse von Springtiden und Sturmfluten. Ziel dieser Risikobewertung ist es, Planungsentscheidungen auf allen Planungsebenen bis herab zu den Kommunen zu beeinflussen und Vorsorgemaßnahmen einzuleiten.

Die entwickelten Überflutungsmodelle sind zwar noch vorläufig, die ersten Ergebnisse sind jedoch teilweise erschreckend. Bedeutende Küstenstädte, wie Adelaide oder Brisbane, könnten ohne Schutzmaßnahmen großflächig überflutet werden.

Das Ministerium stellte die Anzahl und den Wert der gefährdeten Wohn- und Gewerbegebäude sowie der Straßen und Bahnlinien zusammen. Wegen der Unsicherheiten wurden eine obere und eine untere Grenze der Gefährdung festgelegt. Selbst die optimistische untere Schätzung ergibt ein Risiko für Bauwerke nach dem Preisstand von 2008 in Höhe von mindestens 226 Mrd. AUD (170 Mrd. €). Die Bundesstaaten Queensland und South Australia sind am meisten betroffen (Department of Climate Change 2011b). Wie real solche Ge-

fährdungen vom Meer her heute bereits sind, lässt sich aus Fotos jüngerer Sturmfluten erahnen.

#### **4. Fazit und Ausblick**

In Australien beginnen die letzten Skeptiker, den Klimawandel auch auf ihrem Kontinent als Realität anzuerkennen. Der Direktor des Climate Change Institute an der Australian National University berechnete eine statistische Chance von 1:500, dass das Wettergeschehen der letzten Jahre noch innerhalb der bisherigen natürlichen Variationsbreite liegt. Zur allgemeinen Akzeptanz des Klimawandels trug auch der heiße Sommer 2012-13 bei. Von den 21 Tagen mit Rekordhitzen von über 39°C kontinentaler Durchschnittstemperatur, die in 102 Jahren gemessen wurden, lagen acht im Jahre 2013 (Cubby 2013). Auch die Regenextreme stellten immer neue Rekorde auf. Sie trugen aber mehr zur Landdegradation bei als zum Pflanzenwachstum.

Eine interdisziplinäre Arbeitsgruppe von Wissenschaftlern machte 2010 für das Weltwirtschaftsforum in Davos den Versuch, die für Australien zu erwartenden Schäden aus Umweltrisiken für das laufende Jahrzehnt bis 2020 zusammenzustellen (Grotz 2012: 77). Dabei ergaben sich sehr hohe Geldsummen hauptsächlich aus Extremereignissen. Der für Flussüberschwemmungen angegebene Schätzwert wurde bereits Anfang 2013 überschritten. Dabei lassen sich dauerhafte Schäden aus dem Verlust von Biodiversität und Bodenzerstörung monetär schlecht beziffern. Ursächlich verhindernde Maßnahmen sind den Australiern – außer einer drastischen Reduzierung des Ausstoßes von Treibhausgasen – kaum möglich. Australier können eigentlich nur die schädlichen Auswirkungen abmildern.

Auch das Bureau of Meteorology musste sich dem Klimawandel anpassen. Im Mai 2013 wurde ein neues Wettervorhersagemodell eingeführt, in dem die Erfahrungen aus dem geschichtlichen Wettergeschehen ein deutlich geringeres Gewicht erhalten als bisher. Mehr aktuelle Messdaten, z. B. aus Satelliten und Messbojen in den Meeren um Australien sowie neue Modelle sollen bessere Vorhersagen auch für Extremereignisse ermöglichen.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass Australien durch den Klimawandel in viel stärkerem Maße betroffen ist als etwa Mitteleuropa. Australien kann sich als hoch entwickeltes und vergleichsweise

reiches Land – wenn auch nur in begrenztem Maße – vor den negativen Folgen des Klimawandels schützen und mit den Schäden fertig werden. Doch abschließend sei die Frage gestellt: Welche Möglichkeiten des Schutzes und der Schadensbewältigung besitzen andere, weniger hoch entwickelte Staaten im südpazifischen Raum?

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Fabian Sonnenburg

## **The Effects of Airports on Industrial and Commercial Property Development: The Case of Brisbane Airport<sup>1</sup>**

Within the last three decades, many large airports have experienced high growth rates in passengers handled and freight. As a result, airports have often extended their airside capacities to gain market share. Airside includes all facilities on airport land (within the airport boundaries) which are directly linked to air transport operations such as runways and aprons. In particular, major hub airports have evolved into important nodes for global air transportation networks.

However, growth has recently cooled due to critical events (e.g., terrorist attacks, volcanic eruptions), rendering aviation and the revenues of airport operators more volatile (Graham 109). To spread risk as well as to raise non-aviation revenues and meet the demand for commercial and industrial space, many airport operators have also developed and marketed extensive landside facilities. Landside comprises all facilities on airport land which are not directly linked to airside operations such as car parks, shopping centres and logistics buildings. Often, this expansive strategy is part of an implementation of the airport city business model (Baker and Freestone 151). In recent years, this model has been adopted by many airport operators to promote their visions of airports as multifaceted business enterprises to maximise shareholder value (Jarach 119). Research characterises the model as "the more or less dense cluster of operational, airport-related activities, plus other commercial and business concerns, on and around the airport platform" (Güller and Güller 70). At airports with very limited land reserves on-site, it has increasingly become common for operators to invest off-site to exploit additional revenue sources.

Frequently, local real estate market participants play a key role in the development process. Due to their comprehensive experience in the property business, they have provided support to airport opera-

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<sup>1</sup> This essay is based on the main findings of the author's MSc thesis (Sonnenburg 2012).

tors to finance and manage their on-site development projects. Innovative cooperation approaches have been adopted, including ground lease, direct development and shared investment in joint venture development projects (Reiss 290).

In many cases, airport-affine companies from different sectors have started to relocate in spatial proximity to major hub airports. In particular, time-sensitive, inter-regionally or internationally-oriented companies have been attracted due to optimal accessibility and high-speed transportation opportunities (Kasarda 2008:52). Different academic models have conceptualised these developments. With regard to spatial analyses, the *aerotropolis* (Kasarda 2006:35), the *airport corridor* (Schaafsmma 35) and the *airea* models (Schlaack 17) are the most advantageous. However, these models cannot explain all the location decisions of companies settled on and around airport land. A considerable number of companies have been attracted by moderate prices and the availability of land and properties rather than the airport's service provision. In addition, land tenure restrictions and the extent of government and community support have been critical factors for relocation processes (Güller and Güller 62-69).

The high attractiveness of airport land and adjacent areas for both airport operators and real estate market participants has had important implications for the dynamics of commercial and industrial submarkets. The interdependencies between market participants, their different spatial orientations and interests, and the overlapping and multidimensionality of submarkets as well as the significant impact of regulations and market interventions have led to a complex structure of effects with various local outcomes (Heeg 77).

The real estate development activities at airports have caused a shift in the spatial patterns of investment in surrounding areas. Many airports have started to compete with traditional areas of office development, such as the Central Business District (CBD), the surrounding fringe areas or suburban centres. In addition to the already established logistics facilities, investments in industrial and commercial facilities have been conducted in areas adjacent to airports. These effects appear particularly worthwhile for all fields of spatial research.

## Methodology

Geographers commenced studying airport development already in the 1930s. However, it was not until the 1990s that the number of studies on air transport and airports increased dramatically and the scope of topics was expanded (Vowles 13). This article provides detailed empirical analysis for Brisbane Airport, focussing explicitly on the effects on industrial and commercial real estate development. This airport has been chosen as a case study because of:

- its extensive land reserves for non-aeronautical developments (the largest in Australia);
- the strong desire of the operator to market land and develop properties;
- the strong preference of the operator for implementation of an airport city strategy;
- and the fast growth of both the population and economy in Brisbane and the region of South East Queensland.

There is good availability of statistical data on property development in Australia. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) publishes a monthly building approvals survey. It collects and aggregates the estimated value of buildings after completion which is specified by the applicants. The technical term for this value is "non-residential building value approved" (NRBVA). It is considered the best indicator for the activities of the building industry in Australia (OESR 1) and is available on a Statistical Local Area basis. Within capital city areas, a Statistical Local Area normally includes one or a few suburbs. Therefore, it is possible to measure spatial patterns of property investment on a small scale.

This study rests on quantitative and qualitative analyses, partly based on fieldwork in Australia. Five semi-structured, qualitative expert interviews with professionals were undertaken to prepare the cartographic and long-term time series analyses of the building approvals survey. In addition, the following methods were applied: mapping and analysis of land use data and planning documents, interpretation of maps and satellite images, and two background discussions with local researchers. As for the research strategy of triangulation, the results were synthesised to achieve a high degree of detail and causality.

## **Development of Brisbane Airport**

Air transportation in Australia has experienced strong growth over the last decades. It has mainly been driven by the deregulation of the airline industry, the increase in international tourism, the concentration of both population and activity in the capital city metropolitan areas and the trends towards service-related and high-value export products. Brisbane Airport has been able to profit disproportionately from the rising number of passengers and the amount of air cargo, owing to its location within South East Queensland. In terms of population and economic growth, this is one of the fastest growing regions in Australia. Over the last three decades, it has experienced several major extensions of its airside capacity. The most important step within this process was the replacement of the old airport by the current international airport. The latter was built close to the old site and commenced operations in 1988. As air traffic continued to grow in the 1990s and 2000s, the construction of a new parallel runway has recently started. In 2011-12, approximately 20 million passengers arrived at and departed from Brisbane Airport (BITRE 90). In international terms, it is a mid-sized but fast-growing airport.

Over the last thirty years, the commercial orientation of Brisbane Airport's operators has changed significantly. Until its privatisation in 1997, both airport operators (the Department of Aviation and the Federal Airports Corporation) developed only a few new landside facilities. After privatisation, the airport saw a considerable amount of non-aviation-related property development by the Brisbane Airport Corporation (BAC). The landside expansion activities peaked in the mid-2000s and dropped recently when the financial crisis caused serious uncertainties in both the aviation and financial markets (BAC 2003:7-8; 2009a:14; 2009b:11). In 2005, BAC dedicated more than one third of its extensive land reserves to non-aeronautical land use. In comparison to the other major Australian airports, this was the highest proportion (Freestone et al. 501; Stevens and Walker 4).

Private real estate developers and institutional investors participated in the development process by reaching a variety of cooperation agreements with BAC, including the release of unapproved land or fully-serviced sites, the building and leasing of a complete facility and sharing the risks in a joint partnering approach. The type of co-

operation depended on the type of facility (Interviewee 2). An example of a successful cooperation project was the development of a new hotel at the Airport Village (see Figure 1). It met a shortage of available hotel rooms in Brisbane, complemented the offerings of existing hotels and was, therefore, welcomed by planning authorities (Interviewee 4). In spite of the successful conduct of development projects at the airport, BAC was not active as an off-site developer (Interviewee 2).

Car parking charges contribute significantly to the non-aviation revenues of BAC. Its extensive car parking opportunities were a competitive advantage compared to other business locations in Brisbane. However, the charges for car parking at Brisbane Airport were relatively high. Therefore, some competitors developed car parking facilities off-site at the airport entrance to take advantage of the price differential. These companies offer shuttle services to the terminals. In addition, taxi companies also benefit (Interviewee 2, 3).

BAC has played a key role as a landholder (the biggest in Brisbane) and property developer. However, the scope of development on airport land was limited by several factors such as the inability of BAC to sell the land (only leasing is possible) or relatively high leasing rates and rents in comparison to other suburban locations. In 2011, BAC expected to develop 50-70% of its land by 2030 to avoid flooding the market and a decrease in property prices (Interviewee 2). Therefore, general developments on the demand side of the real estate market had a strong impact on the speed of delivery of properties onto the market.

Property development at Brisbane Airport was a crucial requirement for economic growth. In 2008, Brisbane Airport contributed A\$ 3.2 billion in output to South East Queensland's economy; A\$ 1.4 billion spending in the wider community; A\$ 840 million in total wages for people employed on airport land; and 16,000 full-time equivalent jobs. By 2029, the number of jobs on-site is estimated to rise to more than 50,000 (BAC 2009b:49).

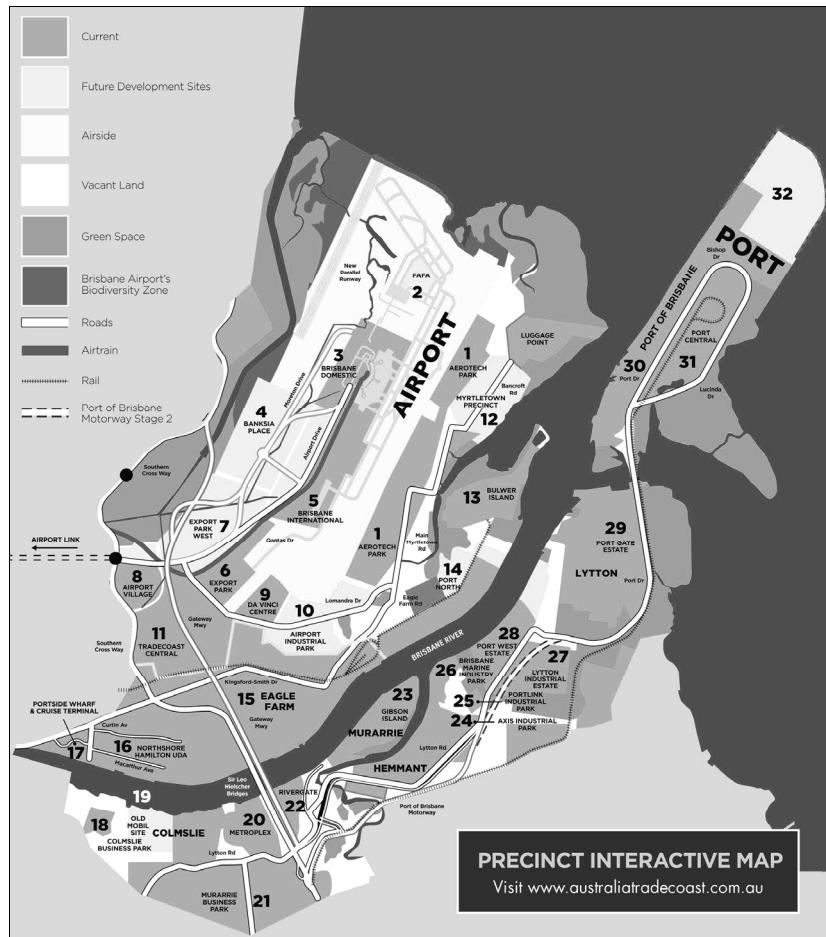


Figure 1: ATC precinct interactive map (ATC 2011d).

The business activities at Brisbane Airport were closely connected to those within the adjoining Australia TradeCoast region (ATC region) (see Figure 1). It includes the airport, the sea port and various commercial and industrial precincts in spatial proximity. In addition, it is connected to the south arterial road and the important Gateway Motorway. Due to the spatial proximity to Brisbane, there was suffi-

cient access to skilled employees and a relatively low cost base compared to other sites in Southeast Queensland.

The region was marketed by Australia TradeCoast (ATC), an agency for business promotion. It was founded in 1999 by BAC, Brisbane City Council (BCC), Port of Brisbane Pty Ltd and Queensland State Government. ATC's objective is to increase the economic value of the region by attracting and retaining investments, promoting the region, and coordinating long-term land use and infrastructure planning (ATC 2011b).

### **Spatial and Temporal Patterns of Real Estate Development**

The local government area of Brisbane was chosen for the spatial analysis. Its closest border is more than 10 kilometres away from the ATC region. Thus, all airport-related developments were expected to be found within the local government area. To provide an analytical structure for the quantitative analysis, several regions were demarcated by analysing spatial patterns of land use and non-residential property development. The results of the spatial analysis show that Inner Brisbane, the ATC region and the Southwest Corridor were foci of non-residential property development (see Figure 2).

A comparative time series analysis for the ATC region and the Southwest Corridor was conducted to analyse the correlation between the commercial orientation and the amount of NRBVA within the ATC region. The period of interest was divided into three distinct phases:

1. before the construction of the new airport (1980/81 to 1986/87)
2. immediately after the opening of the new airport (1987/88 to 1996/97) and
3. after privatisation (1997/98 to 2010/11)

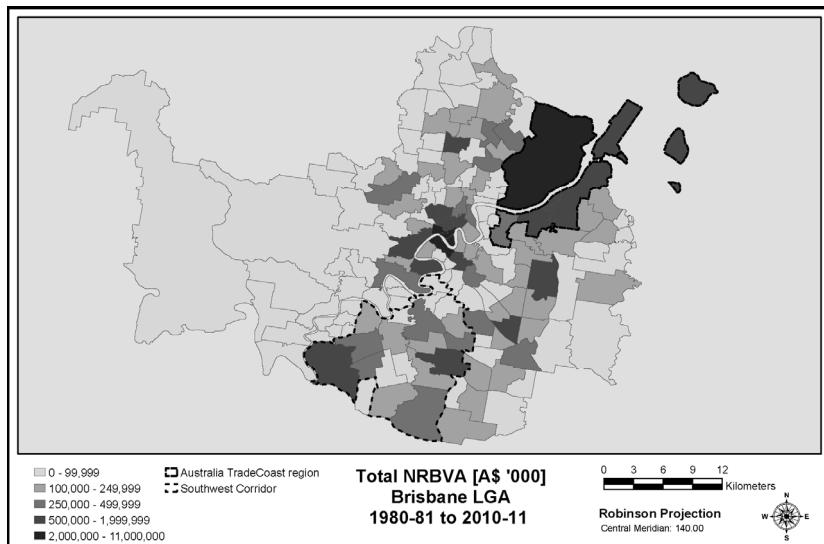


Figure 2: Total NRBVA [A\$ '000], Brisbane Local Government Area, 1980-81 to 2010-11; own illustration based on data from ABS (2011a, 2011b).

Both time series are shown in Figure 3. In the first phase (1980/81 to 1986/87), the NRBVA in both regions fluctuated at a relatively low level. This was mainly because both regions were characterised by industrial land use and by the circumstance that the tertiarisation of the urban economy caused a relatively low demand for industrial properties. Within the first phase, the focus of non-residential property development was mainly on the CBD and the inner city suburbs (Stimson and Taylor 208).

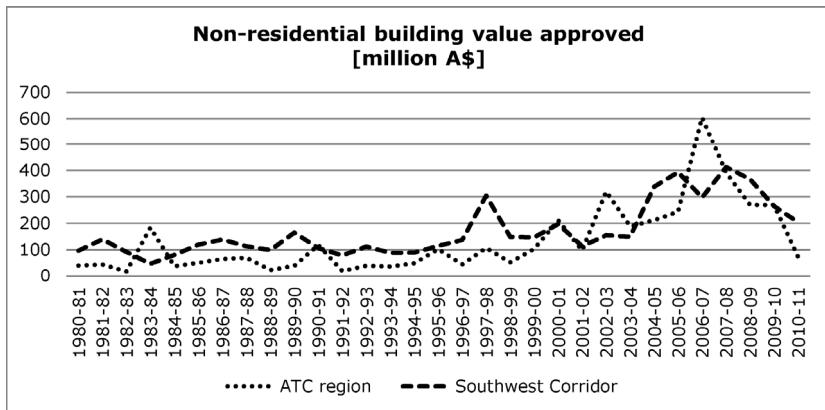


Figure 3: NRBVA, ATC region and Southwest Corridor; own illustration based on data from ABS (2011a, 2011b).

According to the comparison of both time series, the small existing airport did not cause disproportionate growth effects in the ATC region. A second reason for the relatively low NRBVA was the construction of the new airport in the second half of the 1980s. The construction site covered a large amount of the existing land reserves. Accordingly, this land was not available for potential property development in the ATC region.

Region	1980-81 to 1986-87	1987-88 to 1996-97	1997-98 to 2010-11
ATC region	436,156	376,241	1,569,469
Southwest Corridor	710,345	769,829	1,744,755

Table 1: NRBVA, ATC region and Southwest Corridor [A\$ '000]; source: own illustration based on data from ABS (2011b).

Table 1 illustrates that the level of investment in the Southwest Corridor was considerably higher than in the ATC region in the first phase. Obviously, the greenfield sites in the Southwest Corridor were more attractive for developers than the established precincts around the airport. These industrial precincts also had access to the regional road network and interstate rail (BCC 1998:vi; 2000:20-21).

In comparison to the first period, the second phase (1987/88-1996/97) was characterised by a moderate decrease of NRBVA in the ATC region and a slight increase in the Southwest Corridor (see Table 1). The latter was driven by the ongoing suburbanisation of manufacturing companies from inner city suburbs to main growth corridors along major traffic arteries. These companies mainly produced for the local market to meet the increasing demand of the growing population (Stimson and Taylor 208). In contrast, the relative loss of NRBVA in the ATC region indicates that the opening of the new airport did not immediately attract additional property investments. However, major developments by the Federal Airports Corporation at the airport were the building of several logistics facilities as well as car rental and parking facilities in spatial proximity to the domestic terminal (BAC 2009b:151).

The relative stability of the level of NRBVA in both regions was a common phenomenon of the 1990s and not due to specific conditions. The boom of the late 1980s had produced a huge amount of office space. Vacancy rates were high and it took several years until investment activity started to recover. The first sign of market recovery was the increase in the average take-up rate for industrial land in the ATC region. From 1981 to 1996, the value rose from 15.9 to 30.8 hectares per annum (BCC 1998:14). This increase indicated a rising demand for industrial land.

Since a privately managed airport is more likely to develop extensive landside facilities, this study expected to find a significant increase in property investment in the ATC region after the privatisation of Brisbane Airport. Accordingly, in the third phase (1997/98 to 2010/11), the level of NRBVA dramatically increased in both regions. This is mainly because Brisbane's office and industrial property markets experienced a long-lasting boom in the 2000s. Figure 4 shows the development of the vacancy rate in Brisbane's CBD office market. The vacancy rate is an adequate indicator for the general market trend in the office property market. As Figure 4 shows, the vacancy rate dropped steadily from 2001, being at its lowest level in 2007. Finally, the increase was halted by the negative impact of the world economic crisis in 2008 and 2009. However, this market bust was only short-term as in 2010 market forecasts already predicted a recovery of the market for 2011. The industrial property market evinced a similar cyclical development (Jones Lang LaSalle 23, 28).

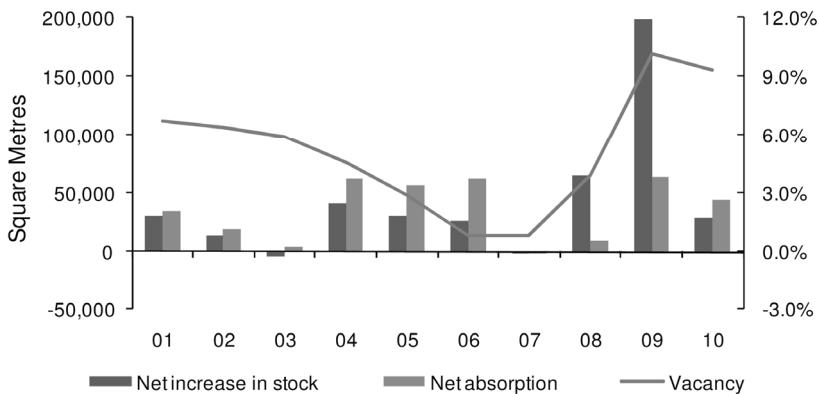


Figure 4: Brisbane CBD office property market – market balance  
(Jones Lang LaSalle 2011: 23).

This time series analysis shows that the general fluctuation of NRBVA in both regions was strongly influenced by general market dynamics. The extensive growth of landside facilities at Brisbane Airport contributed significantly to the perceptible increase in NRBVA in the third phase, even if the development boom itself must be interpreted as a result of favourable market conditions during the 2000s.

### **Property and Economic Development within the ATC Region**

To gain a deeper understanding of the airport's effects on development within the ATC region, various small-scale analyses were carried out. These were mainly based on a comparative satellite image interpretation of two Google Earth pictures from 2001 and 2009 as well as five expert interviews. The core areas of new industrial and commercial property development within that period were the following precincts (see Figure 1): the Airport Village, Export Park, Da Vinci Centre, TradeCoast Central, the area between Port North and the Brisbane River and the Myrtletown Precinct. Each precinct of the region is characterised by an individual mix of properties and functions. The Airport Village, Export Park and Da Vinci Centre are all located at Brisbane Airport. They include a variety of different industrial and commercial facilities. The Direct Factory Outlet at Airport Village is the dominating retail facility. The Export Park is char-

acterised by a high concentration of logistics companies, such as local subsidiaries of DB Schenker, Qantas Freight and Fedex. The Da Vinci Centre is divided into a logistics-oriented part with immediate airside access and an area including aviation educational facilities. TradeCoast Central is the old airport site which was originally owned by the Federal Government and later gifted to the BCC. It is currently owned and developed by 'TradeCoast Central', a development company and major competitor of BAC on the property market. The area contains 135 hectares of land and was a "fully integrated master planned corporate office park and industrial community" (ATC 2011c). The area between Port North and the Brisbane River is developed as a relief area for port infrastructure, for example, the storage of bulk commodities or the handling of import-export cargo. The Myrtletoft Precinct is a general industrial area. As it is very close to the airport, building height is restricted by the authorities to protect the airspace for arriving and departing aircraft (Interviewee 1).

The long-term establishment of many manufacturing companies has led to both advantages of localisation and urbanisation within the ATC region. Aviation, marine and manufacturing companies created local networks to increase efficiency. These advantages of agglomeration promoted the settlement of further companies from different sectors. Whereas the area has ever since been a strong manufacturing base, comprising petroleum, food and beverage industries, the share of service-oriented transport, logistics, and warehousing companies have significantly increased in recent years (Interviewee 1). In 2011, the number of service-related businesses in the ATC region was already slightly higher than that of manufacturing, wholesaling, storage, supply and production (Daoud and O'Sullivan 11). Accordingly, the demand for office space increased significantly.

In 2011, 184 businesses based within the ATC region were planning to relocate in the course of the next three years (ATC 2011a:1), with 61% of these companies intending to remain within the ATC region. There were basically three reasons for the relocation decisions: the need for a larger site, changing requirements regarding the technical configuration of their buildings and a strong increase in land and property prices. The latter was significant in Eagle Farm and the suburb of Colmslie and was caused mainly by high property demand and nearby infrastructure upgrades. This led to a displacement pro-

cess of companies which did not necessarily need fast access to the airport (Interviewee 1, Interviewee 5).

The main result of the small-scale analysis is that the competitive advantages of the ATC region (for example, airport proximity), land and property prices as well as land availability were crucial factors for the location decisions of companies and, in a second step, for the spatial patterns of their property demand.

### **The Impact of Local Planning and State Transport Authorities**

A critical factor for economic and property development is the planning framework. Both the Queensland Government and Brisbane City Council released mandatory planning schemes. On the one hand, property market participants made their location decisions within these constraints. Industrial and commercial activities were restricted to areas which can be serviced by transport rather than areas where large plots of land are randomly owned. On the other hand, the ATC region was promoted as the main initiator of economic development in the future.

Growth in the ATC region was supported by infrastructure investments from different levels of government. There were several key infrastructure projects, enhancing the accessibility of the ATC region significantly: in March 2010, a new tunnel under the Brisbane River opened (Clem Jones Tunnel). It linked several major roads north and south of the river. Moreover, the A\$ 2.12 billion 'Gateway Upgrade Project' was completed in 2011 which included several major road infrastructure projects. In addition, the 'Airport Link Project' was finished in 2012 (Queensland Government 2010:6-28). It included a 6.7 kilometre tunnel, directly connecting Brisbane's CBD with the northern suburbs and the airport. Combined with the 'Airport Roundabout Upgrade' at the airport entrance and several smaller projects within the same area, it was the largest infrastructure project in Australia in 2012 (Department of Infrastructure and Planning 71). Due to the steadily increasing workforce, the region experienced an improvement in public transport infrastructure such as trains, on-airport shuttle systems and public buses (Interviewee 2).

## The Impact of the Commonwealth Government

In Australia, airport development is regulated by the Federal Government. It passed and implemented the Airports Act 1996. Airport land is leased by airport corporations from the Commonwealth but remains federal territory because airports are critical national assets. There is an obligation for airport operators to prepare a draft airport master plan which can be commented on by airport stakeholders. This plan is the basis for all developments on airport land and has to be approved by the Minister for Infrastructure and Transport (Australian Government 1996a:70). Moreover, major development plans are required for significant developments at airports. These plans also need to be publicly commented on (Australian Government 1996a:84). Accordingly, the Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Local Government (2007) has published Airport Development Consultation Guidelines to promote a shared understanding of consultation management. In addition, all building activities at airport sites need to be approved by an airport building controller and be certified as complying with the 'Airports (Building Control) Regulations 1996' (Australian Government 1996b: 96).

This legal situation has been criticized extensively by different airport stakeholders. Ongoing concerns on the local level, such as noise exposure in residential areas or the amount of general commercial development on the airport site were not "effectively integrated into state local decision-making machinery" (Freestone 116). As a result, the concerns expressed by state governments, local councils, community groups, industry and professional associations about commercial developments on airport land were mainly ignored or were at least not crucial to the Federal Government's decisions (Freestone 115; Stevens et al. 279). This situation is not expected to change in the foreseeable future: the Australian Government has recently emphasised that "there will be no substantial review of the Airports Act to accommodate reciprocal output" (Stevens and Walker 2). Therefore, the input of local stakeholders will remain as external comments, rather than real cooperation (*ibid.*). Freestone interpreted the outcome of airport governance in Australia as the manifestation of a "neoliberal urbanism" (Freestone 123). The results were profitable for the private sector but reduce "total network efficiency" (Searle 111).

## Critical Reflections on the Effects on Property Development

Airport development does not only produce socially desirable outcomes. Freestone et al. (2006:503) expressed various concerns about the development of non-aeronautical facilities at Australian airports. Firstly, they criticised that the lower number of planning controls for on-site developments is an unfair competitive advantage for the airport operator compared to regular real estate developers. In addition, documentation requirements for landside developments were lower than for off-site developments. Secondly, the diversification of use and the concentration of employment led to the emergence of Australian airports as new urban centres isolated from local planning policies. Thirdly, employment growth caused additional traffic and further needs for public traffic infrastructure investment. There were no legally required contributions to the upgrade costs by airport operators or involved private developers. Fourthly, the rules for land use and consultation of the Airports Act 1996 were insufficient. Airport operators strategically prepare Master Plans which contain different broad scenarios to maximise the variety of consistent future developments. Moreover, they were able to split large projects into several smaller segments to avoid exceeding the A\$ 10 million threshold for the preparation of Major Development Plans. This ultimately subverted the opportunities for critical comments by airport stakeholders (Freestone and Baker 267; Freestone et al. 504-505). These aspects can be interpreted as additional incentives for the private sector to participate in the property development activities on airport land.

To avoid costly conflicts, all development stakeholders have established informal consultation processes (Stevens and Walker 2). However, amicable arrangements have sometimes not been successful in resolving conflict. As for the problematic non-consideration of stakeholder interests by the Federal Government, there was one major legal action by the major shopping centre operating business Westfield Management Ltd against BAC with regard to the intended development of the Direct Factory Outlet at Brisbane Airport in 2003. Westfield argued that the project would contravene the Major Development Plan related to land use, planning and building controls determinations of the Airports Act 1996. However, the Federal Court of Australia ultimately confirmed the right of BAC to develop large-scale non-aviation projects in 2005. Until today, this court case is

deemed a precedent in Australia (Stevens et al. 278; Freestone et al. 505).

## **Conclusion**

Brisbane Airport is a good example of a medium-sized, fast-growing airport. The liberal regulation by the Federal Government and the huge land reserves offered BAC unique opportunities for on-site industrial and commercial property development. BAC has taken advantage of this situation by realising its airport city vision and marketing its land. It became active as a de-facto real estate developer and established different cooperation arrangements with local property market participants and international investors.

The engagement by BAC has had manifold small-scale effects on the development of surrounding areas. The ATC region has been one of the core areas of industrial and commercial property development in the last three decades. Today, it is characterised by a high concentration of companies and employment opportunities and is also promoted and marketed by BCC, the Queensland Government and Australia TradeCoast. Therefore, it is very likely that the region will experience further growth. The locations of airport-affine companies, serving the needs of the local economy, are concentrated in the industrial areas in immediate spatial proximity to the airport entrance.

A comparison of NRBVA with the Southwest Corridor and the ATC region in different periods showed that the regions grew moderately during the 1980s and 1990s and experienced strong growth in the last decade. This was mainly due to the general trend towards tertiarisation in the 1980s, a significant deterioration of general property market conditions in the 1990s and a common improvement of both property market and general economic conditions in the 2000s. Due to these macroeconomic developments, the time series analyses could not establish to what extent privatisation of the airport and the following property development by BAC promoted further development within the ATC region in comparison to other areas in Brisbane.

In addition, the strength of airport-related activities of each individual company in the region has remained unknown. Whereas interviewees have reported some cases of strong airport affinity, other

factors have often been more important for the location choice of companies.

The main finding of this study is that in spite of strong international trends towards the development of extensive landside facilities, local conditions have remained very important for property development around Brisbane Airport. The effects on the local property markets in Brisbane have been dominated by land availability in the airport surroundings, the prices of existing properties and land in spatial proximity to the airport, infrastructure capacities for both private and public transport and the local planning schemes of Brisbane City Council and the Queensland Government. In addition, the strong segmentation of real estate markets and submarket-specific property cycles have played an important role. Further research is required to provide profound empirical evidence on the quantity and quality of airport-induced effects on property development.

## **List of abbreviations**

ABS – Australian Bureau of Statistics

ATC – Australia TradeCoast

BAC – Brisbane Airport Corporation

BCC – Brisbane City Council

BITRE – Bureau of Infrastructure, Transport and Regional Economics

CBD – Central Business District

NRBVA - non-residential building value approved

OESR – Office of Economic and Statistical Research

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## ÜBERSETZUNG / TRANSLATION

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Jeanine Leane

### Schwarze Geheimnisse – Dark Secrets

*Translated by Oliver Haag*

*The German Australian Studies Journal – Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* introduces in its present issue an emerging Aboriginal writer to a German-speaking public. Jeanine Leane is a Wiradjuri woman from South-west New South Wales. A Doctorate in the literature of Aboriginal representation followed a long teaching career at secondary and tertiary levels. Formerly a Research Fellow at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, she currently holds a post-doctoral fellowship in the Australian Centre for Indigenous History at the Australian National University. In 2010, Leane's first volume of poetry, *Dark Secrets: After Dreaming (AD) 1887-1961*, won the 'Scanlon Prize for Indigenous Poetry' from the Australian Poets' Union and her manuscript, *Purple Threads* won the 'David Unaipon Award' at the Queensland Premier's Literary Awards and was shortlisted for the 2012 'Commonwealth Book Prize' and the 2012 'Victorian Premier's Award for Indigenous Writing'. Jeanine Leane serves on the editorial advisory board of this journal.

With Leane's poems already published in Slovene translation, the following translations are taken from the collection *Dark Secrets: After Dreaming (AD) 1887-1961* (Leane 2010). The poems tell of Wiradjuri women's experiences in nineteenth and twentieth century colonialism. Scholarship has recently engaged in a cultural critique of European translations of Aboriginal texts and identified the need of a close collaboration between translator and author in the production of Aboriginal literature in European translation (Cerce and Haag 2013). The present translations offer an innovative way of translating Aboriginal texts by presenting foreign language translations alongside the source texts.

**From Black to White**

World was full of colour  
 red of blood of earth of bird  
 blue of water of sky of flower  
 brown of ochre of grass of  
 animal  
 black of skin of people of life  
 yellow of sun of sand of wattle  
 white of surf of tree of moon  
 green of hill of plain of wave  
 orange of summer of sunset  
 grey of fish of cloud of rain  
 purple of spring of morning of  
 haze...

White washed everywhere.  
 No more red, no more blue,  
 no more yellow, green,  
 purple orange or brown.  
 No more grey.

Only black and white now only

**Von Schwarz zu Weiß**

Die Welt war voll von Farbe  
 Rot von Blut, von Erde, von Vögeln  
 Blau von Wasser, vom Himmel, von  
 Blumen  
 Braun von Ocker, von Gräsern, von  
 Tieren  
 Schwarz von der Haut, von den  
 Menschen, vom Leben<sup>1</sup>  
 Gelb von der Sonne, vom Sand, von  
 Akazienblüten  
 Weiß von der Gischt, von Bäumen,  
 vom Mond  
 Grün von den Hügeln, den Ebenen,  
 den Wellen  
 Orange vom Sommer, vom Sonnen-  
 untergang  
 Grau von den Fischen, von Wolken,  
 vom Regen  
 Purpur vom Frühling, vom Morgen,  
 vom Nebel...  
 Überall weiß gewaschen.  
 Nicht länger ein Rot, nicht länger ein  
 Blau, nicht länger ein Gelb, Grün,  
 Purpur, Orange oder Braun.  
 Kein Grau.  
 Jetzt nur noch Schwarz und Weiß,

---

1 'Black of skin of people of life' meint wörtlich *Schwarz von der Haut, von Menschen, vom Leben* und bringt Schwarzsein mit einem positiven Lebensaspekt in Verbindung (Schwarz als Ausdruck für Leben). Zugleich ist der Zusammenhang von 'skin' und 'people' aufgrund fehlender Bindeworte bewusst vage gehalten, da sich Schwarz zugleich auf die Hautfarbe und die Menschen bezieht, ohne Schwarzsein dabei zwangsläufig auf eine Hautfarbe zu reduzieren. Diese Offenheit in der Deutung spiegelt die Zerrissenheit im Umgang Australiens mit der Assimilationsproblematik wider.

white and black	Weiß und Schwarz
Only good and evil, free and captive, master and slave	Nur gut und böse, frei und unfrei, Herr und Sklave
Rich and poor, better and worse, have and have-nots	Reich und arm, besser und schlechter, Besitzer und Besitzlose
Propertied and dispossessed, us and them	Begütert und enteignet, wir und sie
Black and White	Schwarz und Weiß
White and Black	Weiß und Schwarz
White supremacy, black destruction	Weiße Vorherrschaft, schwarze Zerstörung
White nation, black burial ground	Weiße Nation, schwarzes Gräberfeld
White power, black oppression	Weiße Macht, schwarze Unterdrückung
White life, black death	Weißen Leben, schwarzer Tod
White lies dark secrets	Weiße Lügen dunkle Geheimnisse
Black values, white problems	Schwarze Werte, weiße Probleme
Black dreams, white nightmares	Schwarze Träume, weiße Albträume
White dreams, black white-mares	Weiß Träume, schwarze Albträume <sup>2</sup>

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2 Das Kunstwort 'white-mares' spielt mit dem englischen Wort 'nightmares' (*Albtraum*), indem es den Albtraum weißer Kolonisation für schwarze Menschen verdeutlicht. Die Konnotation von Dunkelheit bzw. Schwarzsein in *nightmare* wird durch das Wortelement 'white' zusätzlich konterkariert.

**Snake Children**

White women say that  
 God created the world and all  
 the people, animals, birds and  
 plants  
 in just seven days.  
 They call *this* the beginning.  
 Not what Mother and  
 Grandmother say.

They say all was well till  
 a snake made woman do  
 the wrong thing  
 and eat an apple that tasted  
 sweet and  
 helped her know that  
 God is not the only one  
 with wisdom and power.

They say we talk to snakes  
 whose  
 forked tongues make pacts  
 with the  
 Devil and can tempt  
 even angels to fall.

God was angry and  
 Plunged the world into  
 darkness.  
 Cast the people out into the  
 wilderness for thousands of  
 years but that snake crawled

**Schlängenkinder**

Weiße Frauen sagen,  
 Gott habe die Erde und alle  
 Menschen, Tiere, Vögel und Pflanzen  
 In nur sieben Tagen erschaffen.  
 Sie nennen *dies* den Anbeginn.  
 Nicht das, was Mutter und  
 Großmutter sagen.

Sie sagen, alles sei gut gewesen bis  
 eine Schlange die Frau dazu trieb,  
 das Falsche zu tun  
 und einen Apfel zu essen, der süß  
 schmeckte und  
 ihr half herauszufinden, dass  
 Gott nicht der einzige mit Weisheit  
 und Macht ist.

Sie sagen, wir sprächen mit  
 Schlangen, deren gespaltene Zungen  
 mit dem Teufel paktieren und  
 sogar Engel zum Fall verführen  
 können.

Gott war verärgert und  
 Stürzte die Welt in Dunkelheit.  
 Verbannte die Menschen aus dem  
 Paradies<sup>3</sup> für Jahrtausende, aber  
 diese Schlange kroch  
 den ganzen Weg bis hier hinab

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3 'Cast the people out into the wilderness' meint wörtlich *die Menschen in die Wildnis vertreiben*, beschreibt also sinngemäß die Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.

all the way down here  
With us in its belly  
To defy God and all his  
goodness.  
We are snake children.

White women say that we  
thought we escaped God's  
wrath  
In that snake's belly in this far  
land.  
We got sinful, lazy,  
disrespectful,  
walked naked, ate and drank  
all the fruits of the earth.  
Saw not one God but many in  
Earth, water, sky, and animal.  
Built no temples to honour  
him,  
made no sacrifices to appease  
him,  
said no prayers of repentance.

We are snake children  
eating of the devil's flesh while  
white women are enlightened  
by the body  
and blood of Jesus.

The white women say  
such was our depravity,  
licentiousness and lust  
that god could no longer ignore  
the  
offspring of the snake.

Mit uns in ihrem Bauch,  
um Gott und all seiner Güte zu  
trotzen.  
Wir sind Schlangenkinder.

Weiße Frauen sagen, wir dächten,  
wir wären Gottes Zorn entkommen  
Im Bauch dieser Schlange in diesem  
fernen Land.  
Wir wurden sündig, faul, respektlos,  
gingen nackt, aßen und tranken alle  
Früchte der Erde.  
Sahen nicht einen Gott sondern  
sahen viele in Erde, Wasser, Himmel  
und den Tieren.  
Bauten keine Tempel, ihn zu ehren,  
leisteten keine Opfer, ihn zu  
besänftigen,  
beteten nicht für Umkehr.

Wir sind Schlangenkinder  
Zehren vom Fleisch des Teufels,  
während weiße Frauen  
durch Leib und Blut Jesu *erhellt* sind.

Die weißen Frauen sagen,  
so groß war unsere Verderbtheit,  
Zügellosigkeit und Lüsternheit,  
dass Gott nicht länger über den  
Spross der Schlange hinwegsehen  
konnte.

Fleets of Christians sailed  
across many seas  
dutifully bound to seek out and  
strangle the life out of that  
snake  
to make all the dark children  
suffer for the  
sins of their Mothers and  
Grandmothers  
in the true tradition of an  
all loving, all knowing Christian  
God.

Christliche Flotten segelten über die  
Meere  
Pflichtbewusst dem Auftrag folgend  
das Leben in dieser Schlange  
aufzuspüren und aus ihr  
herauszuwürgen,  
Um alle dunklen Kinder für die  
Sünden ihrer Mütter und Großmütter  
leiden zu lassen  
Gemäß der wahren Tradition eines  
allliebenden, allwissenden  
christlichen Gottes.

**Black Woman's Privilege**

Black woman's privilege is to serve.  
 She serves to live.  
 She lives to serve.  
 She washes the finest, delicate underwear—stays, corsets, petticoats, stockings.  
 Nurses crying teething babies through the night, changes soiled nappies and scalds them white.  
 Sweeps, dusts, polishes, shines!  
 Lies cold and lonely at the end of the day.

*Go fetch!*

Lie like a dog in the dirt when the work is done.  
 Feed only on scraps from the Master's table.

*Sit! Stay! Jump! Roll over!*  
 Take a bone to gnaw and a pat on the head.

*Good girl!*

It's your privilege.  
 Be careful not to bite the hand that feeds you.

**Das Privileg  
der schwarzen Frau**

Das Privileg der schwarzen Frau ist, zu dienen.  
 Sie dient um zu leben.  
 Sie lebt um zu dienen.  
 Sie wäscht die feinste edelste Unterwäsche – Mieder, Korsette, Petticoats, Nylonstrümpfe.  
 Wiegt schreiende zahnende Babys durch die Nacht, wechselt schmutzige Windeln und kocht sie weiß.  
 Fegt, wischt Staub, poliert, macht glänzen!  
 Liegt da, kalt und allein, am Ende des Tages.

*Hol es!*

Lieg wie ein Hund im Schmutz, wenn die Arbeit getan ist.  
 Ernähr dich nur von den Resten vom Tisch deines Herrn.

*Sitz! Bei Fuß! Spring! Dreh dich!*  
 Hier, nimm den Knochen zum Nagen und einen Klaps auf den Kopf.

*Gutes Mädchen!*

Das ist dein Privileg.  
 Sei vorsichtig, dass du nicht die Hand beißt, die dich füttert.

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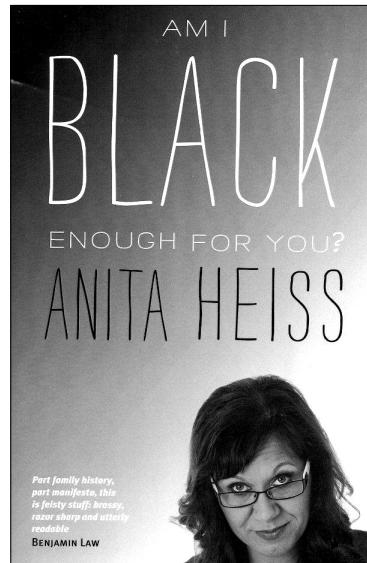
## REVIEW ESSAYS

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**Anita Heiss: *Am I Black Enough for You?*** North Sydney: Random House Australia, 2012. 346 pp. ISBN: 9781742751924. AUD 34,95.

**Rezensiert von Stefanie Land-Hilbert**, Freie Universität Berlin.

Die Entstehung und Rezeption von *Am I Black Enough for You?* ist untrennbar mit einer gerichtlichen Auseinandersetzung verbunden, die sich an Äußerungen des Herald Sun-Journalisten Andrew Bolt entfachte. Bolt veröffentlichte 2009 drei Artikel, in denen er "fair-skinned Aborigines" ins Visier der Kritik nahm und ihnen vorwarf, sich zu Karrierezwecken oder aus politischem Aktivismus heraus zu Unrecht als *Aboriginal* zu identifizieren – darunter Larissa Behrendt, Kim Scott und Anita Heiss. Neun der namentlich beschuldigten Personen des öffentlichen Lebens mit sowohl indigenen als auch europäischen Vorfahren klagten gegen Bolt – und bekamen Recht: Der Federal Court of Australia stellte fest, dass die Artikel "It's so hip to be black", "White is the new black" und "White fellas in the black" gegen Paragraph 18C des Racial Discrimination Act von 1975 verstießen. Begründet wurde dies unter anderem mit der Tatsache, dass Bolt suggeriere, "[that] fair skin colour indicates a person who is not sufficiently Aboriginal to be genuinely identifying as an Aboriginal person."<sup>1</sup>




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1 "Eatoek v Bolt and the Herald & Weekly Times PTY LTD – Corrective Notice – Ordered by the Federal Court of Australia." *Herald Sun*, 19 Oct. 2011.

Die richterliche Entscheidung erging im September 2011; Anita Heiss zählte zu den KlägerInnen. Heiss hatte zuvor als Verfasserin von Lyrik (*Token Koori; I'm not Racist, but...* [Scanlon Prize for Indigenous Poetry]), Kinderbüchern (*Who am I? The Diary of Mary Talence; Yirra and Her Deadly Dog, Demon*), und zuletzt vor allem von "Chic lit" – bzw. "Choc lit", wie Koori Radio ihre Werke aufgrund der indigenen Protagonistinnen taufte – Bekanntheit erlangt (*Not Meeting Mr. Right; Avoiding Mr. Right; Manhattan Dreaming; Paris Dreaming* [drei der vier Werke ausgezeichnet mit dem Deadly Award]). Sie war zudem als Associate Professor an der Macquarie University tätig und Mitherausgeberin der *Macquarie PEN Anthology of Aboriginal Literature*; ihre Dissertation hatte sie als erste Doktorandin indigener Herkunft der University of Western Sydney im Jahr 2001 abgeschlossen (später veröffentlicht unter dem Titel *Dhuuluu-Yala, To Talk Straight: Publishing Indigenous Literature*).

Ein halbes Jahr nach der Urteilsverkündung, im April 2012, erschien *Am I Black Enough for You?* Der Grund für die Klage gegen Bolt fungiert als – nur lose gesponnener – roter Faden des Buches, als Anlass für die Klarstellung von Heiss' politischem Standpunkt vor dem Hintergrund ihrer Familiengeschichte und der Erfahrungen mit alltäglichem Rassismus. Heiss' Werk ist jedoch nur teilweise politisches Manifest: Es ist vor allem eine mäandernde autobiografische Erzählung, die mit einer starken und persönlichen Familiengeschichte beginnt, daraufhin den Berufsweg der Autorin nachzeichnet und sich gegen Ende mitunter in trivialen Episoden verliert.

Heiss stellt zu Beginn ihres Werkes klar, welche Ziele sie mit ihrer Publikation verfolgt: die Diversität indigenen Lebens in der australischen Gegenwart darzustellen, ihre Identität als *Aboriginal Australian* zu bekräftigen und zu einem besseren Verständnis kollektiver australischer Identität beizutragen (6). Sie sieht sich dabei in der Tradition indigener SchriftstellerInnen wie Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker), "[who] have been using our literature as a means of publicly defining ourselves and as a tool to defend our right to our identity" (5).

Der Frage indigener Identität nähert sich Heiss über ihre Familiengeschichte und Erfahrungen als Schülerin im suburbanen Sydney der 1970er-Jahre an. Sie berichtet von ihrer Großmutter mütterlicherseits, Amy Talence, die der Stolen Generation angehörte: Als Kind wurde sie ihrer Familie entrissen, in einem Heim zur Hausangestell-

ten ausgebildet und für mehrere Jahre von einer wohlhabenden englischen Familie verpflichtet. Von Heiss' Großvater James Williams erfahren wir wenig. Aufgewachsen in Brungle, wird er als "Wiradjuri warrior" beschrieben (14) und man erahnt ein durch harte körperliche Arbeit gezeichnetes Leben, das er nach langer (erzwungener und mit Briefen überbrückter) Fernbeziehung an der Seite Amys verbrachte. Die beiden bekamen acht gemeinsame Kinder, das jüngste Überlebende ist Heiss' Mutter Elsie. Heiss skizziert deren Lebensweg bis zum Teenageralter, ihre Erfahrungen als *Aboriginal Australian* in einer segregierten und von "Weißen" dominierten Schule sowie den frühen Beginn ihres Arbeitslebens als Dienstmädchen. Am ausführlichsten aber widmet sich die Autorin dem gemeinsamen Leben ihrer Eltern und betont dabei immer wieder, wie diese in ihrer Beziehung ethnischen Unterschieden keine Bedeutung beimaßen.

Ein Kapitel über Heiss' Vater Joe, der im Jahr 2005 an Krebs verstarb, ist das wohl persönlichste des Buches. Es charakterisiert den Tischler, der Ende der 1950er-Jahre ohne Englischkenntnisse aus einem kleinen Dorf in der österreichischen Region Lungau nach Australien auswanderte, als bescheiden, zurückhaltend, hart arbeitend und achtsam. Man mag Heiss nicht in allen Wertungen zustimmen, so etwa in der Idealisierung der klassischen Rollenverteilung ihrer Eltern, aus der die Autorin u.a. Folgendes ableitet:

[Dad] believed that every woman should have a man to look after her. Turn away right now you feminists reading this, because while I don't think any woman needs a bloke to take care of her, I do, at the age of forty-three, believe that life would be easier if you had someone to take the garbage out, change the light bulbs, empty the vacuum cleaner and kill spiders. Quite frankly, I'm over it, and I do happen to believe in blue jobs and pink jobs. (62)<sup>2</sup>

Dennoch gelingt es Heiss, ihren LeserInnen nachvollziehbar zu vermitteln, wie die Wertevorstellungen ihrer Eltern und deren Umgang mit der eigenen Familiengeschichte ihr weiteres Leben prägten.

An späterer Stelle schreibt Heiss in Erinnerung an ihren Vater:

I still cringe recalling the times in my late teens and early twenties when the tone of my voice sounded almost apologetic as I talked

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2 Für eine kritisch-feministische indigene Perspektive hinsichtlich der Traditionierung klassischer Geschlechterrollen siehe u.a. Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *Talkin' Up to the White Woman: Indigenous Women and Feminism* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000).

about my family to other Blackfellas. 'Mum's Wiradjuri,' I would say proudly and then almost whisper, 'Oh, my dad's a whitefella,' as it was something to be embarrassed about. I hate myself for that now. My father was my hero. But I knew the way some Blacks talked: those who would never date a whitefella, would never have a child with a whitefella, could never imagine falling in love with a whitefella. (191)

Dass ethnisch begründete Ressentiments auch von Teilen der *Aboriginal community* formuliert werden, problematisiert Heiss mehrfach. So berichtet sie von ihrer Tante, die Elsie vor einer Verabredung mit Joe den Rat auf den Weg gab: "Be careful of those *New Australians*. They carry knifes; you don't know what they'll do" (23). Und sie stellt fest: "As painful as it is to write it here, my grandfather [...] did not walk my Mum down the aisle. [...] Mum was the only one of the six children to not marry, or get 'married up' [...] to a Blackfella, and to make matters worse in my grandfather's eyes, she was marrying a New Australian" (24).

Alltagsrassismus schildert Heiss als omnipräsent im Australien der 1970er-Jahre – sie berichtet von Kindern, die sie als "abo" beschimpften, und von einer Nachbarin, die ihr empfahl, ihre indigene Herkunft zu verschweigen und sich stattdessen als Spanierin oder Tahitianerin auszugeben – denn "Aborigines" seien weniger intelligent (9). Bezogen auf ihre eigene Identität konstatiert Heiss:

Aboriginal identity is complex and rarely, if ever, by choice. Identity in my case came from being told by whitefellas as a child that I was Aboriginal (or 'abo', as they most eloquently put it); from only having my Aboriginal family (the Williams) around me [...]; and from always being the darker kid [...] at school. (10)

Nicht "race, [...] blood quantum or [skin colour]", sondern ihre Familiengeschichte und soziale Prägung begründeten ihre Identität als *Aboriginal person* (80). Das häufig – auch von Andrew Bolt – angeführte Argument, *Aboriginal Australians* könnten wählen, ob sie sich als solche identifizierten oder nicht, weist Heiss zurück und stellt fest: "I've heard [this argument] in every city, every town, here and abroad, all from Anglo-Australians who don't believe racism exists" (9).

Heiss stellt neben der Hautfarbe zwei weitere vermeintliche Identifikationsmerkmale von *Aboriginality* in Frage: "education and economics" (196). "I feel we are often still regarded by many in the broader community (propelled by the media) as only being *really*

Aboriginal, or *really* Black, if we are desert-dwellers, poor, uneducated, at risk" (81), argumentiert Heiss. Auch viele australische SchülerInnen, die sie in Workshops unterrichte, hätten die falsche Vorstellung "[that] if you are fair, educated and financially well-off you can't possibly be Black" (196).

Die Autorin erzählt zugleich von der Schwierigkeit, als privilegiertes Mitglied einer Minderheit gebildeter, materiell der australischen Mittelschicht zugehöriger indigener AustralierInnen von der *Aboriginal community* als *Aboriginal person* akzeptiert zu werden. Während eines von ihr geleiteten Workshops für junge Indigene habe ein Teilnehmer ihr vorgeworfen: "You're not even Black. You wear lipstick and your mum drives a Pajero!" (183). Sie selbst sei zwar niemals öffentlich als "coconut" bezeichnet worden – ein Begriff, der innerhalb der *Aboriginal community* als "ultimate insult" (165) für materiell bessergestellte indigene Australier gelte und jene als "brown on the outside and white on the inside" definiere (ebd.). Sie habe diesen aber mehrfach an andere gerichtet vernommen.

Zur Darstellung der Komplexität indigener Identität in Heiss' Werk gehört auch der Fokus ihrer Selbstdefinition im Rahmen eines Einführungskurses zu *Indigenous Australia*, welchen sie an der Macquarie University unterrichtete. Heiss zitiert einen langen Auszug aus ihrer Vorstellung an die Studierenden:

I don't wear ochre, I wear Revlon or Avon, or Clinique or whatever is on special when I enter the department store. I don't go walkabout for work or social/cultural reasons, because I drive a sports car; it's faster. [...]

I don't tell time by using the sun; rather, I tell time by Dolce and Gabbana, a gift from my late father on the first Christmas after his passing. [...]

I don't collect berries either, but I am collecting something from every Tiffany's store around the world. (120-121)

Heiss entlarvt hier gängige Stereotypen von *Aboriginality* (wearing ochre, telling the time by the sun, hunting and gathering), definiert ihre Identität hierbei aber zugleich in erster Linie über ihren Konsum. Ihren eigenen Materialismus stellt Heiss auch an anderer Stelle nicht in Frage – stattdessen wird dieser im Buch verschiedentlich zelebriert. Bereits zu Beginn führt sich Heiss als Fan der Einkaufscenter-Kette Westfield ein, indem sie sich als "an urban, beachside Blackfella, a concrete Koori with Westfield Dreaming" definiert (1). Den gemeinsamen Einkaufsbummel am Zweiten Weihnachtsfeiertag

beschreibt sie als das wichtigste Ritual, das sie mit ihrer Mutter verbinde (28), schwärmt von "Sex and the City" (212), Selbstbelohnungskäufen (284) und den Shopping-Möglichkeiten New Yorks (220). Michael McGirr spekuliert in seiner Rezension des Werkes, dass der Überhöhung des Konsums bei Heiss die Ablehnung einer Opferrolle zugrunde liege.<sup>3</sup> Auch wenn man dieser durchaus überzeugenden These folgt, möchte man beim Lesen der entsprechenden Passagen doch manches Mal zurückblättern zum Kapitel über "Joe the Carpenter", der Marken keine Bedeutung beimaß und so lange keine neue Kleidung kaufte, wie die alte nicht aufgetragen war (64) – und der seine Tochter ermahnte: "[You've] only got one pair of feet. How many pairs of shoes do you need for two feet?" (Ebd.)

Dem Themenbereich Bildung kommt in Heiss' Werk eine große Bedeutung zu. Es wird sowohl deren Potential thematisiert, die gesellschaftlichen Mitbestimmungsmöglichkeiten von *Aboriginal Australians* zu verbessern, als auch ihre Rolle im Rahmen einer Sensibilisierung der australischen Mehrheitsgesellschaft für indigene Belange. Heiss betont, dass sie ihre eigene Bildung als großes Privileg empfindet, und berichtet von ihrem Engagement für die Leseförderung und von ihrer Arbeit mit Schulkindern in indigenen Gemeinden.

Mit Blick auf ihre eigene Schulzeit resümiert die Autorin, sie habe mehr über die indigene Geschichte Australiens gewusst als ihre LehrerInnen. Im Übrigen wären "Aborigines" nur in der Vergangenheitsform besprochen worden; ein Indiz für die Verdrängung einer indigenen Präsenz in der australischen Gegenwart (93-94). Noch heute herrsche vielerorts Unkenntnis über das Unrecht, das *Aboriginal Australians* widerfahren ist. So berichtet Heiss von einer Reise nach Tasmanien, auf der sie sich mit einer Gruppe Einheimischer unterhielt, die nie von Massakern an der indigenen Bevölkerung ihrer Insel gehört haben wollten (182). Heiss fordert in der Folge die fächerübergreifende Einbeziehung indigener Perspektiven in den Schulunterricht (196-197), ebenso Pflichtkurse zu *Indigenous Australia* an Universitäten – unabhängig vom Studienfach (118).

Als politisch prägend beschreibt Heiss das Aboriginal Students' Centre der University of New South Wales, das für sie während ihres Stu-

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3 Michael McGirr, "Challenging the Belief that Aboriginal Stories Are All Sad." Rev. of *Am I Black Enough for You*, by Anita Heiss. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 Apr. 2012.

diums zum wichtigen Sozialisationspunkt wurde (94-96). Hier sei sie erstmals auf Dozenten getroffen, die mehr über die australische Geschichte und deren indigene Komponente wussten als sie selbst (101). Sie schrieb schließlich ihre Abschlussarbeit zum Referendum von 1967 und kehrte nach einigen Jahren der Berufstätigkeit an die Hochschule zurück, um eine Promotion zur indigenen Literatur zu beginnen.

Der Blick der Autorin auf die akademische Welt ist besonders spannend. Sie kritisiert die Deutungsmacht der nicht-indigenen WissenschaftlerInnen im Diskurs über *Aboriginal Australians* – wobei sie den Begriff „Diskurs“ jedoch ablehnt, da er artifiziell und für die Mehrheit indigener Australier unverständlich sei (131). Heiss betont, sie habe mit ihrer wissenschaftlichen Arbeit den Indigenen selbst eine Stimme geben wollen. Ihre anfänglichen Schwierigkeiten, einen Betreuer für die Doktorarbeit zu finden, führt sie auch darauf zurück, dass man sie nicht habe teilhaben lassen wollen: „I realised [...] that I would be encroaching on their ‘turf’, an area they had been teaching and publishing in for over a decade“ (106-107). Die Autorin kritisiert die „Desktop-Analysen“ (107; 137) „weißer“ Wissenschaftler und deren fehlenden Respekt vor indigener Urheberschaft, insbesondere im Kontext anthropologischer Forschung (138; 186; 277-278). Die schärfste Kritik aber äußert sie an nicht-indigenen Wissenschaftlern, die sich selbst als „Aboriginalists“ beschreiben oder von anderen als solche bezeichnet werden – eine Kritik, die sie auch auf der Zweijahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Australienstudien in Hamburg im Jahr 2004 mit Vehemenz vortrug:

Only a white person would give themselves a title like this. I've been Aboriginal for forty-three years and am still learning. I would *never* consider myself an *expert* in anything, least of all 'everything Aboriginal'. So there we have it: non-Aboriginal career-makers who are 'Aboriginalists', and those of us who are just 'Aboriginal'. (140)

Heiss' Kritik an einer noch immer von nicht-indigenen Wissenschaftlern dominierten australischen Forschung scheint einerseits nachvollziehbar. Andererseits lässt sie ihre Leser im Unklaren darüber, wie Nicht-Indigene solche Belange, die (auch) Indigene berühren, wissenschaftlich thematisieren könnten und sollten. Für den Bereich der Literatur verweist sie auf „Writing Cultures: Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Literature“ von Terri Janke and Robynne

Quiggin als ethischen Kodex (141),<sup>4</sup> geht hier aber neben der Literaturproduktion leider auf keinen weiteren Themenbereich ein. An anderer Stelle prangert Heiss dann jedoch an, dass sie aufgrund ihrer ethnischen Zugehörigkeit häufig als "Walking, Talking Aboriginal Encyclopaedia" (132) angesehen werde, die zu allen indigenen Belangen – vom frühen politischen System über indigenen Feminismus bis zur Lebenserwartung von *Aboriginal Australians* – Stellung beziehen solle, und fordert, "Weiße" sollten sich ebenso mit Themen wie der Lebenserwartung von *Aboriginal Australians* auseinandersetzen – denn dies seien "*Australian issues*, not simply *Aboriginal issues*" (134). Durch diese auf den ersten Blick inkompatibel erscheinenden Forderungen hinsichtlich der Rolle Nicht-Indigener ergibt sich für Heiss' Leser eine komplexe Rezeptionssituation. Sie deutet beispielhaft auf die Komplexität indigen- "weißer" Beziehungen insgesamt hin und wirft Fragen zum zukünftigen verantwortlichen Umgang nicht-indigener Wissenschaftler mit indigenem Wissen auf.

Auf einen insgesamt nachvollziehbar argumentierten ersten Teil und die Aufzählung beruflicher Stationen im zweiten folgen in den letzten Kapiteln des Buches einige Episoden, die sich nicht in die in der Einleitung umrissenen Ziele des Werkes einfügen und deren sexualisierte Sprache aus dem Rahmen fällt. So erläutert Heiss im Kapitel "Sleeping under the Stars" ausführlich, wie sehr sie Camping hasst. Sie mag damit einem gängigen Klischee widersprechen, das indigene Australier im Outback verortet, die Logik von Länge und Vehemenz der Ausführungen ("I can't sleep when I'm on the ground freezing my tits off" [243]) erschließt sich jedoch nicht.

Interessante Vergleichsebenen deutet Heiss im letzten Teil des Buches im Rahmen ihres Berichts über eine USA-Reise an, wenn sie auf Unterschiede, Gemeinsamkeiten und Verflechtungen der Situation und des Selbstverständnisses von *Aboriginal Australians*, *African Americans* und *Native Americans* hinweist:

It is an interesting space I find myself in as an Aboriginal Australian part of the First Nations community, but also part of an international Black writing community in the US where I am regarded as a 'Black Australian'. Somehow the two communities in America didn't seem to meet. (287)

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<sup>4</sup> Australian Council for the Arts, "Writing Cultures: Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Literature" (Sydney, 2007).

Eine weitere Vertiefung dieses Themas wäre überaus spannend gewesen. Der Hinweis, "the US [government appears] to hold [its] indigenous [population] in higher esteem, defining them in official documentation as 'First Peoples' as opposed to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander or Indigenous in Australian documentation" (159) lässt ihre Leser etwas verwirrt zurück, gibt es diese Bezeichnung im offiziellen Kontext zwar in Kanada, was Heiss auch erwähnt (ebd.), aber kaum in den USA.

Heiss' Bericht über eine Recherchereise für *Manhattan Dreaming* schließt mit ihrer Teilnahme an einer Feier, die im afroamerikanisch geprägten Harlem anlässlich der Amtseinführung von Präsident Barack Obama stattfand. Während Heiss hier die emotionale Ergriffenheit der Bewohner ebenso eindringlich beschreibt wie ihre eigene (300), verwundert doch, dass sie in ihren Ausführungen zu Obama in einem Buch mit dem Titel *Am I Black Enough For You?* nicht Stellung nimmt zu den im US-Präsidentenschaftswahlkampf immer wieder geäußerten Vorwürfen, dieser sei "nicht schwarz genug", um als *African American* zu gelten. Eine solche Diskussion wäre gerade vor dem Hintergrund des Bolt-Falls erhellend gewesen, denn es lassen sich Parallelen ziehen zwischen Bolts Anschuldigungen und der Einschätzung von Obamas familiärem Hintergrund (als Sohn einer weißen Amerikanerin und eines schwarzen Kenianers ist er kein direkter Nachfahre afro-amerikanischer Sklaven) und seiner Ivy-League-Ausbildung als "nicht authentisch schwarz" im US-amerikanischen Kontext. Ebenfalls ungewöhnlich ist, dass Heiss nicht auf Todd Boyds 1997 erschienenes Buch zur afroamerikanischen Populärkultur mit dem identischen Titel *Am I Black Enough for You?* verweist,<sup>5</sup> wengleich sich auch hier zahlreiche Anknüpfungspunkte angeboten hätten. Hierzu gehört Boyds Selbstreflexion seiner Rolle als schwarzer Wissenschaftler im von "Weißen" dominierten Forschungsumfeld der American Cultural Studies und seines Anspruches, Forschungsergebnisse einer großen Leserschaft zugänglich zu machen (2-3; 7-8) ebenso wie die Thematisierung von Diskursen zu schwarzer Authentizität (14-15; 40; 69-70; 100) und der Bedeutung von Klassenunterschieden innerhalb der *Black Community* in den USA, welche Boyd insbesondere anhand der Beispiele des Films, des Rap und des

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<sup>5</sup> Todd Boyd, *Am I Black Enough for You? Popular Culture from the 'Hood and Beyond* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

Profi-Basketballs und deren Ästhetik verdeutlicht (u.a. 10-11; 21-24; 33-35; 39-43; 120-127).

Insgesamt gelingt es Heiss, ihre Leser für die Verschiedenheit indigener Erfahrungen im heutigen Australien zu sensibilisieren, indem sie das Leben einer indigenen, gebildeten, urbanen Mittelschicht porträtiert und zugleich, etwa in Berichten über Bildungsprojekte, immer wieder schlechte Startchancen und desaströse Bedingungen thematisiert, denen sich viele indigene Australier nach wie vor gegenüber sehen. Sie knüpft dabei an Debatten über die australische nationale Identität an, so etwa in ihren Ausführungen zur Gerichtsverhandlung gegen Bolt oder zu den Cronulla Riots von 2005 (152-158). Die direkte, alltagssprachliche und teils saloppe Ausdrucks- und Erzählweise, die aufgrund der zahlreichen akademischen Passagen ihrer Autobiographie irritieren mag, ist Ausdruck des Bestrebens, ein breites Publikum zu erreichen – so auch jene Leser, die sich nicht spezifisch für indigene Themen interessieren. Einen ähnlichen Ansatz hat Heiss bereits mit der kommerziell vertriebenen "Choc Lit" verfolgt (vgl. 214).

Inwieweit es der *Aboriginal community* bzw. der australischen Gesellschaft insgesamt gelingen wird, mittelfristig ein integratives Verständnis von *Aboriginality* ebenso wie von *Australian identity* bzw. *Aboriginality* als Teil australischer Identität zu etablieren, ist offen. Boyd zitiert in seinem *Am I Black Enough for You?* Malcom X, "[who] used to ask 'What do you call a black man with a Ph.D.?' His answer was, 'A nigger.'" (xii). Im australischen Kontext scheinen die Bolt-Artikel und ihre zahlreichen Unterstützer, die Bolts Anschuldigungen in diversen Internetforen bekräftigten und verstärkten, auf die Frage "What do you call a black person with a PhD?" die Antwort "fair-skinned" nahezulegen. Heiss schreibt, die für sie überraschendste Auswirkung der Bolt-Artikel habe darin bestanden, dass sie seit deren Veröffentlichung immer wieder als "light-skinned" oder "white Aborigine" bezeichnet wird (80). Sie resümiert: "I was always the dark one when compared to whitefellas. Now whitefellas are not comparing me to themselves but to other Blackfellas" (Ebd.). Es bleibt abzuwarten, ob die Terminologie der "fair-skinned Aborigines" nach dem Gerichtsurteil gegen die Herald and Weekly Times Limited und Andrew Bolt auch weiterhin im öffentlichen Diskurs Bestand haben wird. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass Bolts Unterstützer das Urteil als Angriff auf die Redefreiheit verstehen, ist dies aber zu vermuten.

Auch die jüngsten Debattenbeiträge von Bess Nungarrayi Price, Kerryn Pholi und Marcia Langton legen nahe, dass die Definition von *Aboriginality* weiterhin umkämpft sein wird.<sup>6</sup> Prominente Vorläufer solcher Debatten werden von Heiss in ihrem Werk nicht kommentiert – etwa die Frage nach der indigenen Authentizität bzw. ethnischen Identität der Bestsellerautorin Sally Morgan (*My Place*) und des Schriftstellers Mudrooroo (Colin Johnson).<sup>7</sup> Die "Behrendt-Kontro-

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- 6 Price bezeichnete laut *The Australian* im August 2012 im Zuge ihrer Kritik an der Haltung von Amnesty International (AI) zur *Northern Territory Intervention* den indigenen AI-Aktivisten Rodney Dillon als "white blackfella," um aufzuzeigen, dass zwar indigene Stimmen zu Fragen der Intervention gehört würden, kaum aber die der betroffenen *Aboriginal Australians* vor Ort. Gegenüber dem Juristen Mark McMillan, einem der neun Kläger im Bolt-Fall, äußerte sie in der Fernsehsendung *Insight SBS* "you totally look like a whitefella to me" und forderte *Aboriginal persons* mit sowohl indigenen als auch europäischen Vorfahren auf, beide Hintergründe anzuerkennen. Pholi griff die von Bolt geäußerte Kritik direkt auf: Sie selbst kündigte ihre speziell für indigene Australier vorgesehene Stelle innerhalb der staatlichen Bürokratie, verbrannte ihren *proof of Aboriginality* und prangert heute (u.a. im *Quadrant*) den Rassismus an, der ihr die damalige Position verschafft habe. Langton stellt in einem Artikel mit dem Titel "Get rid of race to stop racism" fest: "There is a growing Aboriginal middle class. For them, no special measures are required. They should continue to identify as Aboriginal, they should learn and practise their culture, but there are no human rights grounds for them to receive any special assistance."
- 7 Mudrooroo hatte Sally Morgan für ihre Identifikation als *Aboriginal person* bzw. vor allem die Verortung von *My Place* als *Aboriginal literature* kritisiert. Er konstatierte, Morgan, die ihre indigene Herkunft erst im Teenageralter entdeckt hatte und die Suche nach ihren familiären Wurzeln in ihrer auf dem Buchmarkt enorm erfolgreichen Autobiographie *My Place* (1987) thematisiert, würde nur deshalb von der australischen Mehrheitsgesellschaft akzeptiert, da sie als "young, gifted and not very black" angesehen werde (Mudrooroo zitiert nach Maureen Clark, *Mudrooroo – A Likely Story* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2007), 47). Schließlich geriet der einflussreiche Schriftsteller, Kritiker und Aktivist Mudrooroo, der sich als *Nyoongah* definierte, selbst in die Kritik, als seine indigene Abstammung in Frage gestellt wurde: Seine Schwester behauptete auf der Grundlage genealogischer Nachforschungen, Mudrooroo habe afroamerikanische, nicht aber indigene Vorfahren; seine Identität als indigener Schriftsteller sei somit nicht authentisch. Mudrooroo wies dies zurück und verwies in der folgenden Debatte – ähnlich wie Heiss – u.a. darauf, dass er aufgrund sei-

verse", die 2011 für Furore sorgte, nachdem die ebenfalls im Fall Bolt klagende Larissa Behrendt in einem Tweet die indigene politische Aktivistin und Befürworterin der *Northern Territory Intervention* Price angegriffen hatte, erwähnt Heiss ebenfalls nicht. Diese Kontroversen innerhalb der *Aboriginal community* sind aber zentraler Ausdruck für deren unterschiedliche politische Einschätzungen entlang der Grenzen von *class*. Grenzen, die im Falle urbaner, gebildeter *Aboriginal Australians* nicht selten mit Fragen der Herkunft (und damit auch von *race*) korrelieren.

Heiss' Text kann für Forschungsfragestellungen im Kontext der australischen bzw. transnationalen indigenen Historie des Genres der Autobiographie von Interesse sein. Dieser eignet sich zudem in Auszügen zum Einsatz im universitären und schulischen Unterricht, der sich mit Fragen der australischen Zeitgeschichte sowie von *race*

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ner Hautfarbe von der australischen Gesellschaft als *Aboriginal* angesehen wurde und seine Lebenserfahrung (und Identität) dementsprechend die eines *Aboriginal Australians* sei ("Mudrooroo," *The Academy – Literature and Drama Website*, n.d. <<http://dlibrary.acu.edu.au/staffhome/siryan/academy/-author%20pages/mudrooroo.htm>>). Gary Foley ergänzt in seinem Essay "Muddy Waters: Archie, Mudrooroo & Aboriginality" (1997) folgenden Gedanken: "What the critics of Mudrooroo seem not to appreciate is that to acquire an Aboriginal identity (regardless of how) in 1965 was not exactly something that people were queuing up to do. To be regarded by the dominant society of Australia 1965 as being a 'boong', 'coon' or 'Abo' was a passport to discrimination, prejudice and poverty, and many light-skinned Aboriginal people opted to assume a non-Aboriginal identity (Indian, [A]fghan, Maori, etc[.]) to escape the extreme difficulty of life as an Aboriginal person." Als weiteren Hintergrund der öffentlichen Diskussion um die Authentizität bzw. das vermeintliche "passing" von Mudrooroo, siehe insbesondere auch Lucy Frost, "Fear of Passing," *Australian Humanities Review*, Mar. 1997, <<http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-March-1997/frost.html>> und Maureen Clark, "A Question of Belonging Somewhere," *Mudrooroo – A Likely Story* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2007), 37-66. Für eine tiefergehende Diskussion zum Thema indigene Authentizität im australischen Kontext siehe u.a. Kevin Keeffe, *From the Centre to the City: Aboriginal Education, Culture and Power* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1992) und Scott Gorrige, Joe Ross und Cressida Fforde, "'Will the Real Aborigine Please Stand Up': Strategies for Breaking the Stereotypes and Changing the Conversation," AIATSIS Research Discussion Paper No. 28. (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2011).

und *Indigeneity* (etwa aus dem Blickwinkel der Postcolonial bzw. Critical Whiteness Studies) auseinandersetzt.

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REZENSIONEN / REVIEWS

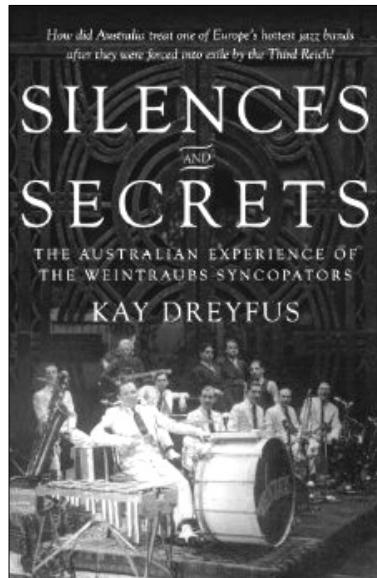
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**Kay Dreyfus: *Silences and Secrets. The Australian Experience of the Weintraubs Syncopators*.** Clayton, Vic.: Monash University Publishing, 2013. 305 pp. ISBN 9781921867804. AUD 29.22.

**Reviewed by Norbert H. Platz.**

This book is a rewarding read for everyone who is interested in Australian cultural history and its links with Germany. It is divided into three major sections, each subdivided into several 'parts' and organising their material under stimulating headings. The knowledgeable introduction to each 'part' offers readers a navigational line to orient themselves in the considerable diversity of details and arguments.

In Part I, "Silences and Secrets", Dreyfus offers a lively survey of the Weintraubs' achievements as a band in Berlin throughout the 1920s and in the early 1930s. Their outstanding skills are vividly recalled here (as well as in various subsequent passages of the book). The German musical conventions and cultural context, plus the innovative arrival of 'jazz' in Berlin, are given due and knowledgeable consideration. Readers are also informed about the genesis of this study. Significantly the first chapter is titled "*'Truth' and the telling of the past in the Bio-Documentary film WEINTRAUBS SYNCOPATORS: BIS ANS ANDERE ENDE DER WELT*". Having watched this movie, the author developed a keen interest in the Weintraubs' story as a whole. She could not ward off critical questions about the film's historical truth. In her view, the "film succeeds as a tribute film because the musicians it celebrates were first class entertainers and because the European context in



which the band lavished is lovingly recreated through period footage .... The account of the band's story, however, and in particular its Australian wartime experience, is less convincingly handled" (28).

Consequently she devotes the following parts of her study to what the Weintraubs experienced in Australia after their arrival in 1937.

Part II, "The Encounter with the Musicians' Union", clarifies that one major zone of conflict sprang up because the Musicians' Union of Australia attempted to do everything in its power to protect the jobs of its traditional members, and to prevent the employment of foreign musicians. Foreign musicians were not wanted even though they were often better skilled as was the case with the Weintraubs syncopators. The latter were considered "One of the finest small bands in Australia" (89). A noteworthy subchapter deals with the treatment of Jews in relation to the Musicians' Union and the general psychological climate. Some light is thrown on the post war development of the music industry. It still seemed to be important that musicians were Australian-born, but the rules were rewritten. After ABC had established professional orchestras in six cities, foreign musicians were required. Thus the nationality quota was gradually given up. The opportunity of citizenship through naturalisation was opened for all immigrants.

Part III, "The Encounter with the State", explores the thorny issue of how all the members of the band were individually under surveillance from Australian intelligence services. Dossiers had been established, and police interrogations were also conducted. Being enemy aliens some of the Weintraubs could not avoid falling victim to private denunciation as well. The author makes an admirable effort to get access to the files held in the National Archives of Australia. Her aim is to come closer to what she calls "a file biography" (189). She is intrigued by the 'file selves' that are documented in bureaucratic dossiers labelled with a person's name. The filed person could not comment on the collected statements or their arbitrariness. Dreyfus analyses in detail the files relating to the internment process of Graff and Weintraub. It was as late as 1946 that a member of the Government spoke in Parliament about the stored transcripts of Committees and Tribunals: "... one has the feeling of utter despair at the lack of not only humanity but also of common sense" (252-3).

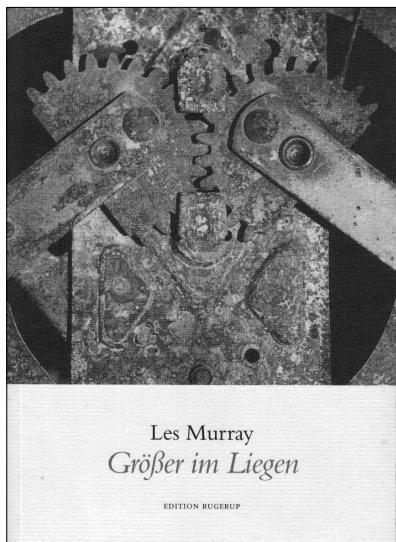
Chapter 6 deals with Buchan's denunciation. In this connection some light is thrown on the circumstances of war overshadowing the relationship between Australians and aliens. The procedure of internment and its complicated legal mechanisms are made clear through the inclusion of much detail. To the reader's benefit, the threatening scheme of denunciation is also explained, and in historical terms to boot: "...denunciation fed into complex ideologies, uncertainties, paranoia and legitimate fears, with profound and often damaging effects for the individuals concerned" (227).

Part IV, the conclusion, raises the question: "What destroyed the Weintraubs?" The author testifies to "the discrepancies between the musicians' self-representation and the designations that were ascribed to them" (264). The fact that some of the members were Jewish was not to their disadvantage. They all had been caught in a maze of socio-historical tensions and perplexities.

As a reader one is impressed by the storehouse of knowledge and the fecundity of ideas displayed by the author. She manifests a strong endeavour to familiarize herself with hitherto disregarded aspects of the Weintraubs' story. Dreyfus breaks new ground by heuristically developing her own method. The presentation of controversial issues that needed discussing is sharp and extensive. The handling of the great variety of ideas is systematic. This shows mainly in the structuring of the individual chapters. The links between the many varying threads and diversive themes are developed by way of explicit reasoning. One cannot but acknowledge the mammoth task the author undertook to unearth and scrutinize the huge amount of archival sources. Last but not least, a major asset of the book is the presentation of eye-catching pictorial material. The book is to be recommended to both Australian and German readers.

**Les Murray: Größer im Liegen.** Aus dem Englischen von Margitt Lehbert. Berlin/Hörby: Rugerup, 2011. 161 Seiten. ISBN: 978-3-942955-04-1. Kartoniert. EUR 19.90.

**Rezensiert von Norbert H. Platz.**



Weltweit genießt der australische Autor Les Murray, geboren 1937, den Ruf, zu den größten zeitgenössischen Dichtern in englischer Sprache zu gehören. Er veröffentlichte etwa 22 nach Themen gegliederte eigenständige Bände seiner Lyrik. Viele seiner Gedichte wurden später in größeren Sammlungen als *Selected Poems* und *Collected Poems* zugänglich gemacht. Ihm wurden viele Preise für sein vorliegendes Oeuvre verliehen. Auch die Literaturwissenschaft hat sich inzwischen ausführlich mit verschiedenen Aspekten seines bis dato bestehenden Gesamtwerks beschäftigt.

Über Murray haben sich mehrere Dichterkollegen lobend geäußert, die selbst ein respektables internationales Renommee genießen. Zu ihnen gehören die Literatur-Nobelpreisträger Seamus Heaney, Derek Walcott und J.M. Coetzee. Sie bewundern Murrays poetische Brillanz und internationalen Erfolg. Manchmal wird beklagt, dass er außerhalb Australiens wohl mehr Anerkennung finde als in Australien selbst. Eine beachtliche Anzahl seiner Werke ist erfreulicherweise bereits in andere Sprachen übersetzt worden.

Nicht zuletzt hat Murray auch im deutschsprachigen Raum die ihm gebührende Beachtung gefunden. Hier sei zunächst sein ungewöhnlicher, sozusagen gegen den Strich gebürsteter Versroman *Fredy Neptune* erwähnt. Dieser wurde 2004 in einer Deutsch-Englischen Ausgabe in der Übersetzung von Thomas Eichhorn veröffentlicht und erhielt in der Presse ein respektvolles kritisches Echo. Was jedoch speziell die Lyrik anbelangt, so hat sich Michael Krüger mit seiner Rede zur Verleihung des Petrarca-Preises an Les Murray im Juni

1995 in Avignon um die Anerkennung des Dichters verdient gemacht. Er zitierte u.a. Übersetzungen durch Beate Josephi und Margitt Lehberty. Die letztere verdient neuerdings bevorzugt Beachtung, weil sie in mehreren Bänden mit je eigenen Übersetzungen Les Murray den deutschsprachigen Lesern überzeugend vorzustellen vermochte. Die deutsche Übersetzung von *An Absolutely Ordinary Rainbow* erschien 1996 im Hanser Verlag München unter dem Titel *Ein ganz gewöhnlicher Regenbogen*. 2005 folgte im Ammanverlag Zürich *Traumbabwe*. Weitere Veröffentlichungen erfolgten in Lehberts eigenem Verlag Edition Rugerup: *Gedichte, groß wie Photos* (2006); *Übersetzungen aus der Natur* (2007) [auch als Audio-CD 'Les Murray reads from his poems *Translations from Nature*' verfügbar]; *Größer im Liegen* (2011) sowie *Der Schwarze Hund, Eine Denkschrift über die Depression* (2012).

Die Auswahl der Gedichte in *Größer im Liegen* beruht auf *The Big-plane Houses* (2006) und *Taller when Prone* (2010). Die vorliegende zweisprachige Ausgabe vermittelt dem deutschsprachigen Leser einen vielseitigen Eindruck von der Thematik und dem Schreibstil des Autors. Die deutsche Version der jeweiligen Gedichte erleichtert den Zugang zu den englischsprachigen Originalen. Sowohl der Rhythmus der einzelnen Verszeilen als auch die sprachlichen Besonderheiten und die vom Autor gewählten Bilder werden in der deutschen Übersetzung veranschaulicht. Dabei zeigt sich, dass Margitt Lehberty dem Sinn und der intendierten Wirkung einzelner Wörter und Verszeilen gekonnt und behutsam Rechnung trägt. Die englischen Zeilen in 'Twelve Poems' (10-13)

Lying back so smugly  
Phallic, the ampersand  
In the deckchair of itself

werden beispielsweise folgendermaßen übersetzt:

Es lümmelt sich so selbstgefällig  
phallisch, das Kaufmanns-Und  
im Liegestuhl seiner selbst

Für die Floskel *ampersand* aus der Kaufmannssprache wird hier geschickt ein deutsches Äquivalent gefunden. Die Ironie im Bild vom arrivierten selbstzufriedenen Farmer ist somit leicht zu erkennen. Im

selbstgefälligen *Liegen* kommt sich die Persona *größer*<sup>1</sup> vor. Mehrere Gedichte in diesem Bändchen nehmen thematisch auf das Landleben Bezug. Hier wäre etwa 'Zu einem 80. Geburtstag' (19) zu nennen. Das Gedicht betont die Bodenständigkeit des Farmers als Ausweis seines gelungenen Lebens. 'Die Kuhleiterstrophen' (122-125) hingegen vermitteln ein komplexeres Bild vom Aussehen und Zustand einer Farm: Einerseits gibt es *Junge Hunde, Nachbarshunde/ am anderen Ufer*, die gegen angekettete Kühe bellen. Das ist das realistische Bild eines arbeitsamen Betriebs, dem jedoch andererseits das Bild eines ästhetisch geadelten Landguts gegenübergestellt wird: *Fackellilien aufrecht und aus/ ihren Büscheln heraus. Ihre Blüten/ überlappen viele scharlachrote Lettner,/ bilden Raketen am Stiel.* Der nachfolgende Text artikuliert ein für Murray typisches Unbehagen am städtischen Leben. Er stellt fest:

Der Farm Cousin meiner Kindheit sprach  
Französisch, und ich verstand es fließend,  
doch nicht in dieser Welt.  
Es geschah nur einmal  
in meinem frühen Stadtschlaf.

Hier bezieht der Autor sich auf die von ihm persönlich erfahrene Bildungsferne der Landbevölkerung. Erstaunlich ist es jedoch, dass ihm die urbane Erziehung, an welcher er im Verlauf seines Lebens teilhaben konnte, es ihm ermöglichte, eine eigenständige poetische Diktion zu finden.

Seine besondere Stärke zeigt sich in seiner Bildersprache. Es ist bewundernswert, wie Murray visuelle Eindrücke zu einem Sinngeflecht verdichtet. Besonders haben es ihm die Farben angetan, die er im Naturraum vorfindet. Man kann dies deutlich in seinem Gedicht 'Garten auf der Südhalbkugel' sehen, wo es heißt:

Dieser herbstliche Hain, auf der Welthälfte,  
die keinen Herbst kennt, zeigt einen blasslila  
Dunst durch all seine Zweigbündel  
und über einem reich geschmückten Teppich  
aus persischen Blättern.  
Sonnenüberfälle  
sind Goldtumult und Textilblond

1 Die sprachliche Wendung *Größer im Liegen* wird in dem Gedicht 'Die Unterhaltungen' auf S. 75 verwendet: "und ein Mensch ist größer im Liegen".

bis hin zu Grüntönen und Blutgrasbarrieren,  
die in der Dürrezeit gemäht wurden. (103)

'Wollhaargras' ist ein weiteres Gedicht, welches in der Bewunderung der Formen und Farben der Natur schwelgt:

Einfach wie Flechtwerk fast das ganze Jahr  
erwacht das zerzauste Gras im Oktober  
entlang den Landstraßen in einer Wolke von  
Sagoblüten, von rötlich-braunen Knoten  
geknüpft in einem formlos wolligen Plasma

doch bring das Gespinst vor die Sonne  
und es entflammt rosé geschliffene  
Kelche und Krüge. In Gottes Namen  
flüssiger Opal von einem Parallelufer,  
blendender Tau zu jeder Tageszeit. (143)

Erfreulicherweise enthält dieser Gedichtband auch Texte, die Rückschlüsse auf die poetische Programmatik des Autors erlauben. Zu nennen wäre hier 'Hesiod über Buschfeuer' (132-135), weil ein indirekter Hinweis erfolgt auf das 'böötische' Denken, welches im antiken Griechenland dem Landleben und dessen Sprache den Vorzug erteilte gegenüber der urbanen 'athenischen' Praxis, die von Intellektualität bestimmt war. Dieses Erklärungsmodell wurde in den 1970er Jahren auch auf damalige Tendenzen der australischen Dichtung übertragen. Murray bevorzugt ihm nahe liegende ästhetische Prinzipien, wie er sie bei den englischen Romantikern in *Preface to Lyrical Ballads* (1800) und den australischen Jindiworobacks (zwischen 1930-1940) vorgefunden haben mag.

Jedoch gibt es bei ihm paradoxalementerweise erstaunlich viele Anlehnungen an die Schreibpraxis der Moderne. Mit ihr verbindet ihn vor allem die hohe Intellektualität seiner Texte. Letztere kann man nicht so leicht lesen wie etwa die *Lyrical Ballads*. Denn bei Murray begegnen uns mancherlei "verrätselte" Anspielungen gepaart mit einer ausgefeilten poetischen Syntax. Kraft dieser ergeben die einzelnen Wörter und Bildfragmente ein poetisches System von Konterdeterminationen, welche sich manchmal nur schwer entschlüsseln lassen. Einige seiner Natur- und sozialkritischen Gedichte hingegen sind indessen leichter zugänglich; man denke etwa an "Winterwinde" (16-17) oder "Moos" (48-51). In letzterem Text wird die Macht des Geldes satirisch hinterfragt. Die Eingangsfrage "Geld nur ein Mittel zu unserem Zweck?" erhält u.a. folgende Antwort:

Je unsichtbarer das Geld ist,  
desto mächtiger und schneller fließt es,  
es tauscht uns ein gegen Einkaufszentren,  
schreibt uns neu als Städte und Stil.

An das Leben einfacher Menschen und alltäglicher Lebenserfahrungen erinnert 'Durch die Gittertür' (20-21). Man betritt als Leser die "gestrichenen Räum[e]" eines "einstigen Spitals" und erlebt, wie "Krisen unter Lampenlicht zu Trauer zerstaubt" sind. Ein weiteres Beispiel wäre 'Pflegeheim' (86-87). Eine an Demenz erkrankte Dame "sitzt und hält die Hände/ einer uralten Dame in den ihren,/ die sie Bruder nennt und George".

Man freut sich darüber, dass sich in der vorgelegten Textauswahl auch erheiternde Szenen und Zeilen finden wie z.B. in 'Den stummen Kater beobachten' (80-83). Zum Schmunzeln regt auch 'Mondfinsternis' (118-119) an. Der Mond steigt auf über Meeresfelsen, die "hoch gestapelt [sind] wie eine britische Adresse", und wird wahrgenommen als "eine Erscheinung/ gebrannten Zuckers mit eigenen Wolken"; er "verdunkelte [...] sein Gesicht über der Stadt".

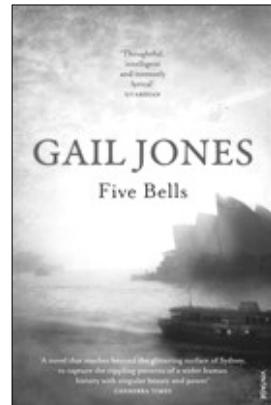
Die poetische Impulsdichte von Les Murray und dessen manchmal querständige und barock-bizarre Vorstellungswelten werden in der deutschen Übersetzung einfühlsam konturiert. Die deutsche Version erschließt einerseits die semantischen Grundbedeutungen und andererseits die verborgenen Ambiguitäten des Ausgangstextes. Auf diesen greift man als Leser gerne zurück. Denn Margitt Lehbert glückt eine anerkennenswerte Bestandsaufnahme des im Originaltext Ungesagten und schwer Verständlichen. Deshalb wird man an vielen Stellen den Ausgangstext auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite mit Wohlgefallen nochmals lesen, um die eigene Sinsuche entsprechend leichter befriedigen zu können.

Die zweisprachige Edition *Größer im Liegen* ist ein nennenswerter Beitrag zu den literarischen Beziehungen zwischen Australien und dem deutschsprachigen Raum. Während die australische Erzählliteratur bereits mit Hilfe einiger repräsentativer Übersetzungen umrisshaft bekannt wurde, ist die australische Lyrik leider ein kaum beachtetes Genre geblieben. Deshalb ist sehr zu wünschen, dass dieser Band möglichst viele literarisch interessierte Leser erreichen möge. Vielleicht wird Les Murray eines Tages den Nobelpreis erhalten.

**Gail Jones: *Five Bells*.** London: Vintage Australia, 2012. 224 pp.  
ISBN 9781864710830. AUD 19.95.

**Reviewed by Liesel Hermes**, Mirrabooka WA.

This is Gail Jones' fifth novel and just as fascinating as the previous ones. The author acknowledges that she owes the title to the Australian poet Kenneth Slessor's poem of the same title. Slessor lived from 1901-1971. The elegiac poem about mortality, mourning and memories, which was published in 1939, describes the death by drowning of a friend in Sydney Harbour and is full of reminiscences of him. The title refers to ships' bells, which announced the individual four-hour watches on ships, which meant six shifts over 24 hours. After the first half hour there was one bell, after another half hour there were two, and so on, till at eight bells the watch (= four hours) was over, and a new cycle started. The fifth bell rang out at 2.30, 6.30 and 10.30 in the morning and in the afternoon.



Four individuals converge on Sydney Harbour and the Circular Quay on a warm and bright Saturday morning in January. They are Ellie, a young woman, who lives in an apartment and has gone back to university to get a degree, James, her boyfriend from the days of school many years ago, who has come to Sydney to see her again. They are joined by Catherine, an Irish journalist who is on a visit and to find work, and Pei Xing, a Chinese woman who lived through the Cultural Revolution of Mao, whose parents were killed in the upheaval, and who came to Sydney as a political refugee. Whereas Ellie and Jamie have come with the express intention of seeing each other, the two others are in no way connected to the first two nor to each other. Each spends the day more or less in isolation.

What connects the four very different characters is that they are all haunted by diverse memories. These memories, the presentation of which accounts for a substantial portion of the action, also account for the highly fragmentary structure of the novel. As the day progresses, each of the four characters enjoys the brilliant summer day, but is at the same time again and again overwhelmed by dark

thoughts of the past, which in each case overshadow the day's events and the weekend atmosphere. The reader follows each of them through Sydney, mostly near the Circular Quay, and their invariably sad memories of times past, of persons loved and lost.

The exclusive geographical setting of the plot in Sydney with a lot of clearly marked locations (Opera House, Harbour Bridge, Museum of Contemporary Art, Mrs Macquarie's Chair, George Street and others), is reminiscent of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, as is the concentration on one single day, and also of Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*, set in London and also comprising no more than one day.

Ellie, who is looking forward to seeing James again, is haunted by her memories of her intimate friendship with James, which started when both were nine years of age and had the first sex at the age of 14, both young and inexperienced, but full of youthful vibrancy. What might have made James attractive to her among other things was his Italian family. His original name was Gennaro DeMello, with the first named changed to James to accommodate Australians, when they immigrated to Western Australia. James is likewise haunted by the past, but he is a much more introverted character, in a way a loner. After dropping out of university medical school, he changed his mind and career to become a school teacher, but at the same time dreamed of becoming an artist, and René Magritte is his favourite painter. He is especially impressed by his painting *The Lovers*, showing "two enshrouded heads" (36) which of course evokes his love for Ellie and symbolizes their situation.

When the two meet around half way through the novel in a restaurant, they assure each other that each has not changed, but Ellie feels uncomfortable right from the start and regrets having come at all, whereas James feels he has chosen the wrong place for such a reunion. The two have a meal together; he talks about his mother's terminal illness and death while Ellie lost and mourned her father. The two find out that neither of them got married, and then they depart after exchanging phone numbers. Typically at the moment of parting James thinks again of Magritte's enshrouded heads. Both are acutely aware that the reunion was an utter failure, barely covered up by the exchange of phone numbers. They have become strangers to each other. James never mentioned to Ellie that he is still haunted by an especially tragic experience as a school teacher when he took a class to the sea and one of the girls went out to swim for herself

and drowned. This tragedy has stayed with him throughout the years and may explain his apparent state of depression.

Catherine from Dublin is a different situation. She intends to spend a happy day in the CBD as a tourist. She moved from Dublin to London, from there to Paris, where she had a brief affair with Luc, a Frenchman and translator from Russian into French, before again leaving. A reunion with Luc eight years after her leaving Paris proved to be a success and can thus be seen in sharp contrast to Ellie's and James' reunion. She intends to phone him time and again, which demonstrates how people apart long for each other if only in indirect contact through a mobile.

In a way Dublin was too narrow for Catherine, symbolized by her mother's Catholic affinity to saints and saints' miracles. (Again one thinks of James Joyce.) Whereas her memories of Luc have positive connotations, she is haunted by her brother Brendan's death in a car accident. She and her brother, who had a doctorate degree in literature, were very close, especially after their mother's death. It transpires in her reminiscences of him that she never overcame this tragic loss.

The fourth character is Pei Xing from China. She is still haunted by Mao's Cultural Revolution and her parents' deaths. Her father was a literary translator from Russian into Chinese, his most acclaimed translation being Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*, which made him a reactionary and a traitor in the eyes of the communists. Pei Xing lives through those hard years again, last but not least because she herself was in prison for a number of years and was harassed by a female guard; she later met again in Sydney. This guard abjectly tried to apologize for the atrocities and her own role as a cruel prison guard. Pei Xing has made her own peace with the past, sees their former tormentor in a hospital and reads *Dr. Zhivago* to her.

These four characters who seem so different at the outset, do have a lot in common, not only the haunting memories, each has to cope with. They are also constantly on the move throughout the whole day. They change from a train or a bus onto a ferry and take a ride through Sydney Harbour. On the one hand they are influenced by the brilliant atmosphere of the glorious summer day, but on the other their memories prevail. The past keeps intruding, for they all have experienced personal losses, and death is their constant com-

panion, and they cannot escape their dark thoughts. In a way they are, perhaps except for Ellie, all ex-pats, uprooted and alone. That is why they intend to phone other people, friends, lovers. But phoning is just not enough, and they know it.

It is fairly near the end that the author gives the plot a surprising turn. A girl, who has gone missing, may have been abducted by her father, and both Ellie and Pei Xing find themselves on CCTV that is shown on TV at news time, because they were somewhere near the girl and her father. When both decide to inform the police and are taken to a police station to give testimony that they did not see anything suspicious, Ellie and Pei Xing are actually seeing each other apparently for the third time, but this time briefly taking note of each other. However, this episode remains a little inconsequential, and the two drift apart again, and this strand of the plot remains unresolved.

To complete the circle back to Slessor's poem, James, who wanders around the Botanic Garden and has become more and more depressed through the afternoon, also boards a ferry through Sydney Harbour and – when night falls – commits suicide by drowning. I was reminded of Kate Chopin's ending of her novel *The Awakening* (published in 1899), in which the protagonist Edna Pontellier actually walks into the sea and drowns, a suicide that is more aesthetic in its presentation than a tragic end.

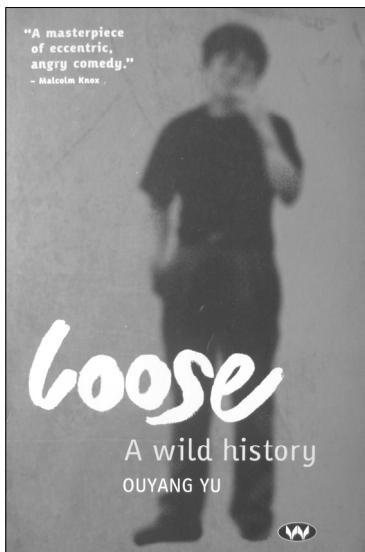
At the end a storm and rain sweep over the town. The last three paragraphs summarize the female characters' situations, the author here using the present tense. Ellie ends her thoughts of James with her firm intention to ring him the next day. In a way the novel is a celebration of multi-cultural Australia. All the characters in the story plus a number of others that are mentioned and/or remembered have different roots, may have been uprooted and/or moved from one country to another. And as the plot unfolds, the four main characters congregate in the multi-cultural and international atmosphere of Sydney.

Gail Jones continues writing in her highly elaborate lyrical style. Her presentation abounds in metaphors and similes. Her detailed descriptions can be lyrical (Ellie's and James' first sexual contact) or downright gruesome, such as an anatomy session, as perceived by James. Politics (beyond dealing with the Chinese Cultural Revolu-

tion), the visual arts, music and literature (beyond *Dr. Zhivago*) are woven into the plot and affect the characters in different ways and supply an additional intertextual dimension. In order to really appreciate the multiple references it would be necessary to read the novel a second time. I am going to do it.

**Ouyang Yu: *Loose. A Wild History*.** Kenttown: Wakefield Press, 2012. 413 pp. ISBN 978-1-86254-828-2. AUD 32.95.

**Reviewed by Juliane Lochner**, Leipzig.



Ouyang Yu, a national Chinese who was awarded a scholarship in Australia back in 1991 and granted Australian citizenship in 1998, calls himself an "Australian poet". He is the prolific author of a vast oeuvre comprising poetry, novels, criticism, and translations from English to Chinese and vice-versa.

In his "documentary novel" (411) Ouyang Yu recalls two closely spaced episodes from his past: a three-month-journey for a work-stay in China and its post-processing in Melbourne, his place of residence.

Numerous meticulously dated diary entries unleash a torrent of memories and associations for the first-

person narrator, who is clearly identifiable as the author himself. The details very soon tend to jumble the chronology of the story being told. The narrator gets increasingly bogged down in details and mental leaps, the outcome of his narrative becoming a patchwork quilt consisting of memos, dialogues, poems, aphoristic reflections on language, political and artistic freedom and constraints, sex, civilization, the literary scene and identity.

The narrator makes a virtue of necessity: He makes the role of retrospection, of imagination, and of the immediate present in the writing process a subject of contemplation. For him all those aspects are inevitably merged in his narrative process: "Life keeps interrupting the normal process of writing and I have no intention of taking that life away from writing" (127).

No wonder the book has an impressive scope of more than 400 pages. It is divided and subdivided into two main chapters and quite a few subchapters and paragraphs which become even more com-

plex towards the end. Trying to make sense of the paragraph numbering system would be pointless, though. And the narrator confesses that omissions in paragraph numbers are due to the deletion of certain text segments, because they were "culturally insensitive, gender biased, literature-wise vulgar, descriptively obscene, extremely offensive to elegance-loving people, low-brow, instigating hatred, although they can all be found in the original manuscript, to be auctioned only after the author's death, 100 years from the time of writing" (378). Aren't these words a broad hint at the unrecognized genius's vain aspirations for eternal fame? Are these words aspirations of an artist who doesn't give a damn about success? "Success is just like having a good shit" (214). Still, he evidently enjoys "the absolute power of producing truthful knowledge and falsehood, even memory" (217).

We make the acquaintance of a facetious and endearingly self-obsessed narrator who is far from currying favour with the public's need for entertainment including that of the "postmodern consumer socialism" (300) in China and whatever hidden or open censorship may furthermore exist: "Praise, always praise is what O has never learnt, which is part of his tragedy" (355).

The author-narrator observes the country of his origin and the one of his residence with their diametrically opposed political systems and cultural idiosyncrasies (and, by the way, he savours a good deal of culinary and sexual treats on both sides) which prompts abundant deductions in political and human understanding, such as: "Nationalities do not matter. At heart they are the same when it comes to meat" (88). He maintains an incorruptible brittle sense of detachment towards both sides, yet as a matter of course the reader is aware of Ouyang Yu having turned his back on China long ago and not without reason. Some years ago he had to stand by and watch from afar as his brother Ming died as a result of torture in China because he would not renounce his being a member of the forbidden and persecuted Falun Gong sect. These facts belong to the bitter experience of Ouyang Yu's life so far.

He has knowingly compromised and lives at peace with his adopted country in spite of its shortcomings. "I feel unwanted by this country, in this country and for this country. It's a constant feeling if you want to know. Perhaps it's the cost of freedom. Perhaps it's better than being wanted. Being wanted means being controlled" (342).

One of the habits he easily and fittingly adopted after switching sides is "the Western notion and practice of keeping a diary" (286) – in fact how could we otherwise share in the author's clever and self-mocking observations of our confusing and vexing world?

On the positive side of the balance sheet the author-narrator luxuriates in the advantages of bilingualism, which bestow upon him and the reader delightful and stunning discoveries. Having at his disposal the Chinese as well as the English language proves to be an inexhaustible well of undiluted joy. "It's like two mistresses I have (...) If you have two languages you have two kinds of self-awareness" (394). Detecting the pictorial composition of Chinese syllables constituting words, translating them into English and browsing through dictionaries on the scent of interesting expressions is like "mindsex" (394) for the narrator who delights in toying with the language. He obviously relishes puns and wordplay and blatantly shares his joy with the reader, unafraid of any taboos. "Writing should be a pleasure, as well as reading" (104). – Mind you, the reader plays an ambivalent roll: "Hateful, lovely readers. Whenever I think of them, my writing stops. They are my devils. They kill me. Honesty. No imagination" (111).

Regardless of this disrespect for mainstream taste, he is anything but isolated from the daily life of common people, be it in China or Australia. "While others move to the edge he is moving inside towards the centre, the centre of the crowd" (346). Indeed, this inclination ranks among the virtues of this opinionated and edgy narrator who declaredly does not want to please. Positioning and repositioning himself continuously and relentlessly on the basis of talks with the ordinary man in the street as well as with high-brow intellectual is one of his most notable features. Thanks to his readiness to let other individuals speak, their utterances keep trickling in and being processed by the narrator's open mind, which brings special pleasure to the reader.

The book's subtitle is derived from the Chinese word for "fiction" and "refers to small officials in ancient times who specialize in telling anecdotes and gossip to the kings and emperors" (n.p.), as the author tells us in the forward of the book. Needless to say, it alludes to the way Ouyang Yu presents his own unclassified utterances ranging from petty chinwag to abrasive complaints and accusations addressed to the modern societies of China and Australia. His idio-

syncretic working process itself becomes the subject of scrupulous analysis. The author declaredly leaves the last word to those readers who have the patience to wrestle through his erratic book. They can judge the importance and weight of the narrator's flow of words and have the final say.

Due to the author's maverick way of cobbling up his scribbling, the book's artistic quality is not perceivable at first sight, but it is soon highlighted by witty and compelling comments on everybody and his mother. The narrative, which holds the reader's attention at times more, at other times less, unexpectedly takes a sweeping turn when a fictional biographer is introduced (276) who disengages himself from the narrator "O" as his own exuberant imagination is unwilling to be restrained by the scattered mundane facts that the narrator "O" is offering. Now he can give it free rein.

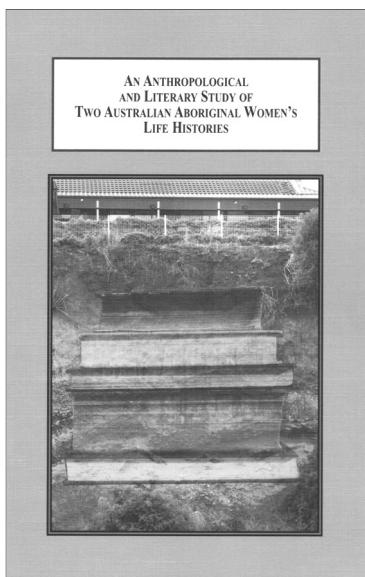
Thus this fictional biographer is yet another character pulling the strings on the mingling genres of "nonfiction or fictional nonfiction or nonfictional fiction" (21). This unstoppable process of eroding literary forms brings in its wake this insight: "This thing, the so-called documentary novel, is getting way beyond my control, too long, too loose, too lethargic, too wild" (411). "O" as well as the "biographer" – are getting more and more involved with the topic of identity.

However uneasy "O" and the biographer may feel as a neglected Australian or an unwanted Chinese (both approaches being called a kind of censorship), "the two big rivers" of the English and the Chinese language (246) definitely help them to tackle the problem of being caught between two stools.

One should think as long as "Two big rivers are running in my body, an English river and a Chinese river" (245), the author won't stop rebelling "against the tradition, the ideology, the art, but, more importantly, (...) against the language" (246) which will grant him the freedom to do what he likes and enjoy it, a quality which he is afraid "is totally lost in the West and China" (324) – as far as Ouyang Yu is concerned, don't worry.

**Linda Westphalen: *An Anthropological and Literary Study of Two Australian Aboriginal Women's Life Histories. The Impacts of Enforced Child Removal and Policies of Assimilation.*** Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2012. ISBN 978-0-7734-1593-5. 452 pp. USD 49.95.

**Reviewed by Oliver Haag**, University of Edinburgh.



It is rare that a cover illustration reflects so well the content of an academic study as in this case. Knowledge buried deep in earth, uncovered in a cross-sectional view as consisting of layers of different books. Linda Westphalen's study unearths such layers in published Aboriginal life histories. Her central argument runs that Aboriginal life histories follow their origin in discourse of Dreaming and re-connection with Country, thus constituting an Aboriginal practice of documenting histories and cultural narratives rather than emanating from a European tradition of documenting individualised trajectories. Aboriginal life histories, Westphalen contends, are

more than personal histories but interweaving with wider contexts of inter-generational story-telling and identity structures relating to Country, hence the author's preference to designate Aboriginal life writing as life histories rather than autobiographies, the latter associating them with European literary traditions and genre conventions.

This book challenges the view to consider Aboriginal life histories a European genre. Although scholarship has applied more than ten different genre categories to Aboriginal life histories, the question of a sovereign Aboriginal intellectual origin of this genre has not been rigorously addressed so far (Moreton-Robinson 2000:1; Haag 2011: 69-72). The continuity between so-called traditional story-telling and contemporary life histories counts among one of the most difficult

fields in Indigenous literary studies. Not only does it cover an array of different issues – including the continuity of form, content and style – but it is also complicated by various modes of both pre-contact and contemporary story-telling. Next to this, there are also two highly political questions relating to the issue of continuity. On the one hand, there is a discourse claiming that urban, so-called assimilated Aboriginal people would have lost their traditions, such as the links to their Dreamings and languages, and would therefore be lacking of cultural differences from settler society. On the other hand, there is a conservative discourse striving to represent and maintain Aboriginal communities and cultures as pristine as possible. Indicative of this is a fear of alien genres falsifying Indigenous knowledge and authenticity (Narogin 1990:14). In the light of assimilation policies, cultural conservatism did indeed help immensely in cultural survival. Yet at its most extreme, this view also runs the risk of disregarding Aboriginal literary cultures as fluid, living and innovative.

Westphalen is aware of these thorny discourses and does not try to negate European influences on published life histories but to detect their strong, yet often erased Aboriginal genealogical background, hence the palimpsest metaphor employed in her study. Focussing on the life histories of Ruby Langford Ginibi (Bundjalung Nation, NSW) and Alice Nannup (Yindjibarndi Nation, WA), she uncovers three major features indicating that Ruby Langford Ginibi's and Alice Nannup's stories were emanating from the discourses of the Dreamings (17, 77, 229, 243-244). First, they had the same underlying *intentions* as Dreamings, that is, education, connecting people with each other and their lands, and identification with the past (92-101); second, just as Dreamings are stories of the *creation* of landscape, so are the authors (re)creating landscape in a colonised space. Thus, the self-creation, how an author has survived invasion as an Indigenous person, has a parallel in creation stories (30-32, 100). Third, the process of story-telling, Westphalen's argument runs in this way, can be considered a form of *journey*, thus resembling creation movements (101-103). These journeys could be either real movements, as in the frequent theme of re-joining with the ancestral lands, or virtual movements, in the sense that both reader and author undertake a journey through story-telling (104).

Westphalen's arguments are well-considered and provide an innovative view to decipher the Aboriginal origin in life history texts. These texts are different from European conventions of the autobiography and, so the author furthers, need to be theorised according to Aboriginal intellectual discourses in order to be understood in their proper context, including history, re-connection with Country and genealogy. Aboriginal life histories are indeed not only histories in their own right but also distinct documents of cultural change, innovation and adaptation. With the palimpsest metaphor, Westphalen has devised a useful theoretical framework to understanding individual Aboriginal women's life histories in Aboriginal intellectual contexts. *An Anthropological and Literary Study of Two Australian Aboriginal Women's Life Histories* indeed lives up to Westphalen's strident critique of Eurocentric approaches to studies of Aboriginal literature.

The only problematic reading experience relates to the terminology. The term 'First Nation' is employed to refer to Indigenous people outside of Australia, but this is explained only on page 46, resulting in a confusion when reading about the differences between 'Aboriginal' and 'First Nation' discourses in the First Chapter. This could have been remedied by explanation of the differences in meaning between these terms right at the beginning of the book. Apart from this minor critique, Westphalen's analysis is a culturally sensitive and intriguing read which can be highly recommended as a guide for practicing research on Aboriginal life histories – or however this complex genre is called.

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**Sibylle Kästner: Jagende Sammlerinnen und sammelnde Jägerinnen. Wie australische Aborigines-Frauen Tiere erbeuten.**

Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012. 599 S. ISBN 978-3-643-10903-3 (pbk). Dissertation Universität Tübingen 2009.

**Rezensiert von Corinna Erckenbrecht**, Köln.

Es bedarf viel, sich von überkommenen und damit bequemen Denkmodellen zu lösen. Jemand hat mal etwas beobachtet und es in seinen Erfahrungshorizont eingeordnet; ein Anderer hat etwas notiert; ein Dritter hat dies übernommen und viele Weitere haben es unhinterfragt stehen lassen. Mancher hat sich um differenziertere Definitionen und Beurteilungen bemüht, doch vielfach wurde das als bekannt Geltende übernommen oder, schlimmstenfalls, immer wieder abgeschrieben. So entstehen selbst-referentielle Modelle, die lange Zeit Bestand haben (können).

Um ein solches Modell handelt es sich bei der Jäger-Sammler-Dichotomie in Wildbeutergesellschaften, die allein Männer zu Jägern, allein Frauen zu Sammlerinnen mache. Es dauerte lange, bis Einigen nicht nur in der Praxis, sondern auch in der wissenschaftlichen Theoriebildung dämmerte, dass hier etwas nicht stimmen konnte und dies auch zu artikulieren war. Nach der für den wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisstand sehr wichtigen Konferenz "man the hunter" 1966 (publ. 1968), auf der mit verschiedenen Mythen über die jägerische Subsistenz aufgeräumt worden war, folgte erst 1981 die Publikation "woman the gatherer". Hier wurde die sammlerische Relevanz und prinzipielle ökonomische Autarkie von Frauen betont, was indes zunächst auch zur Verfestigung der Jäger-Sammlerinnen-Dichotomie führte. Allerdings entstanden im Zuge dieser Entwicklung auch eine Reihe von Einzelstudien, die gegenläufige Beispiele zum herkömmlichen geschlechterdichotomen Modell boten. Und erst im vergangenen Jahrzehnt entstanden umfassendere Studien wie z.B. die vorliegende Doktorarbeit, die das 'Mann,



Sibylle Kästner

JAGENDE SAMMLERINNEN UND  
SAMMELNDE JÄGERINNEN  
Wie australische Aborigines-Frauen Tiere erbeuten

LIT

der Jäger/Frau die Sammlerin-Modell', hier am Beispiel der australischen Aborigines, generell hinterfragten und erneuerten. Allein für diesen Beitrag zur Forschung sei der Archäologin und Ethnologin Sibylle Kästner gedankt.

Zwei wichtige Leitthesen prägen ihr Werk. Erstens die Verabschiedung von der These, dass das einzig signifikante Objekt der Jagd, das Großwild, angeblich allein "die Jagd" definiert. Dem stellt Kästner eine gerade in Australien vorhandene große Fülle von Kleinwild und anderen tierischen Nahrungsquellen gegenüber, die je nach Saison in großen Mengen von den Aborigines verzehrt werden, was ihnen einen abwechslungsreichen Speisekatalog und eine nahrhafte, proteinreiche Ernährung ermöglicht. Und gerade dieses Kleinwild wurde und wird in großem Maße von Aborigines-Frauen zur Ernährung beigesteuert. Neben die vegetable tritt also eine vielfältige tierische Nahrung, die auch die Frauen zu Erbeuterinnen von Jagdwild macht. Und zweitens propagiert Kästner die Verabschiedung von der Jagd als monolithischem Modell. Vielmehr sei der Jagdvorhang als ein Prozess zu sehen, in den viele Personen und Arbeitsschritte involviert seien. Als Leitfaden dient dabei das in Kapitel 2 entwickelte Konzept vom Beutebeschaffungsprozess, der, zusammengefasst, "alle Arten der tierischen Beutebeschaffung, d.h. Sammeln, Fang und Jagd, als einen dreiphasigen Prozess aufeinander bezogener Handlungen betrachtet, an denen beide Geschlechter je nach Gruppenzugehörigkeit und Alter in ganz unterschiedlicher Weise beteiligt sein können" (S. 453). Zudem gibt es ganz verschiedene Jagdmethoden, Waffen und Werkzeuge, Hilfsmittel und mit der Jagd in Zusammenhang stehende Rituale. Zusammen mit der einzigartigen kompilarischen Mühe, der sich Kästner unterzogen hat, um das Belegmaterial zusammenzutragen, macht dies ihr Werk zu einer innovativen, herausragenden Arbeit, die eine lange bestandene Forschungslücke füllt und zu Recht mit "summa cum laude" von der Universität Tübingen bewertet wurde.

In ihrer methodischen Herangehensweise hat sich die Forscherin zunächst bewusst auf die quellenorientierte Schreibtischarbeit konzentriert, um die vielen bislang vernachlässigten schriftlichen Quellen und Hinweise zu lokalisieren, zusammenzutragen, kritisch zu hinterfragen und einer neuen Bewertung und Einordnung zu unterziehen. Bereichert wurden ihre Studien allerdings auch durch eigene Feldforschungserfahrung in einer *Aboriginal community* in Australien, bei

der Kästner Aborigines-Frauen bei ihrer Beutebeschaffung begleiten, sich an Ritualen beteiligen und viele Gespräche führen konnte.

Die Bearbeitung des solcherart zusammengetragenen Stoffes erfolgt in verschiedenen Schritten. In Kapitel 1 diskutiert Kästner zunächst kritisch die herkömmlichen Definitionen des Jagd- und Beutebegriffs sowie die Methoden der Beutebeschaffung und stellt neue Ansätze in Bezug auf die Beutebeschaffung vor (Kapitel 2.1). Darauf folgt ein Abschnitt über die Jagd im Spiegel der paläoanthropologischen, primatologischen, archäologischen und ethnologischen Forschung (Kapitel 2.2) – eine Umschau, die der Herkunft der Autorin aus der Archäologie Rechnung zollt und die Perspektiven auf das Untersuchungsthema stark erweitert. Hier werden auch die verschiedenen Einwände gegen Frauen als Jägerinnen, die seit jeher existierten, thematisiert.

In Kapitel 3 stellt Kästner zunächst den australischen Lebenshintergrund der Aborigines generell vor (Kapitel 3.1), ehe sie auf die Quellenlage zu Aborigines-Frauen und die ethnologische Frauenforschung in Australien eingehet (Kapitel 3.2). Der geschlechterspezifische Beitrag zur Subsistenz leitet dann zu emischen Geschlechterrollenkonzepten der Nahrungsbeschaffung über, die schon die enorme Bandbreite des zur Verfügung stehenden Jagdwilds und der entsprechenden Nahrungsbewertungen eröffnet.

Kapitel 3.3 stellt das Herzstück der Arbeit dar. Aborigines-Frauen im Prozess der Beschaffung tierischer Beute werden ausführlich und detailliert vorgestellt. Zunächst geht es um die Planung, Häufigkeit und Dauer der Beutezüge, um die Beuteauswahl sowie die Entfernung zu den Beutegründen. Dann steht die Herstellung, Verwendung und Pflege der Ausrüstung zur Beutebeschaffung im Vordergrund, die von Multifunktionsgeräten wie Grabstöcken, Holzmulden und Beilen über Waffen wie Keulen, Speere, Bumerangs, Wurfstöcke oder auch – heutzutage – Gewehre bis hin zu speziellen Geräten und Hilfsmitteln wie Netzen, Seilen, Schlingen, Fallen und Raupenhaken reicht. Darüber hinaus wird der Zuhilfenahme von Tieren wie Dingos oder Hunden und dem überaus wichtigen Feuer als Jagdmethodik Rechnung getragen. Anschließend erörtert Kästner die tierische Nahrung sowie die dazugehörigen Beschaffungsmethoden im Einzelnen. Diese decken eine enorme Bandbreite ab. Sie reichen von Insekten (wie z.B. Honigameisen oder Honigbienen) und Raupen über Kleinwild wie Echsen, Schlangen, Bandikuts, Bilbys, Kaninchen, Opossums und

Wombats bis hin zu Großwild wie Kängurus oder Emus und, aus dem Bereich der aquatischen Subsistenz, auch Seehunden. Danach werden Verteilung, Transport, Zubereitung und die Verarbeitung der tierischen Beute erläutert. Dieses ganze Spektrum verdeutlicht schon in der groben Zusammenfassung, dass Aborigines-Frauen eine Vielzahl tierischer Nahrung erbeuten, ja, dass unter dem Strich Kleintiere nach pflanzlicher Nahrung das zweitwichtigste von Aborigines-Frauen beschaffte Grundnahrungsmittel darstellen. Die rein quantitative Menge und Diversität an Kleintiernahrung ist jedoch nicht die alleinige, wiewohl wichtige Erkenntnis von Kästners Zusammen schau. Aborigines-Frauen beteiligen sich vielerorts auch direkt und indirekt an der Jagd auf Großwild und führen sie teilweise auch eigenständig durch, wie z.B. die Jagd auf Kängurus (mit oder ohne Zuhilfenahme von Dingos) beweist. Auch das Großwild stellt also nicht das alleinige Terrain der Aborigines-Männer dar, wenngleich Aborigines-Frauen sich nicht vorrangig auf diese Jagdbeute konzentrieren. Aber sie können Großwildjagd je nach Vorkommen, eigener Erfahrung und Bedarf auch selbst durchführen, wie die Beispiele in Kästners Werk zeigen.

Ein wichtiger, nicht zu vernachlässigender Bestandteil ist dabei auch die Betrachtung der Beutebeschaffung im Rahmen des weiblichen Lebenszyklus. Alter und Reifeprozess im Leben einer Frau angefangen bei Kinder- und Jugendzeit über Menstruation, Schwangerschaft und die Geburt eigener Kinder sowie die Phasen während und nach der Menopause sind hier relevante Faktoren. Auch die Betreuung der Kinder bei den Beutezügen sowie die generelle Rolle und Bedeutung der Frauen nicht nur als Jägerinnen insbesondere nach der Menopause werden beleuchtet. Abschließend wird auch die Beutebeschaffung durch Aborigines-Frauen in der Mythologie und die Rolle der Aborigines-Frauen bei den rituellen Handlungen rund um den Beutebeschaffungsprozess beschrieben.

Eine ausführliche Literaturliste und ein Sachregister, ein Ethnien- und Sprachgruppenregister, ein Institutionen- und Personenregister sowie ein Kulturreal- und Ortsregister runden die umfangreiche Arbeit ab. Besonders hinzzuweisen ist auch auf den Tabellenteil mit Übersichten über die von Aborigines-Frauen eingesetzten Geräte und Mittel zur Beschaffung tierischer Beute sowie über die Beschaffung der einzelnen Tierarten durch Aborigines-Frauen und die Beteiligung von Aborigines-Frauen an verschiedenen Jagdarrangements. Dies er-

möglich einen schnellen Zugriff auf alle von Kästner erhobenen und eingeordneten Daten. Auch an eine englischsprachige Kurzzusammenfassung ihrer Arbeit ist in diesem Anhang gedacht.

Die Fülle und Variabilität von Tätigkeiten, Beuteobjekten, Jagdmethoden und Hilfsmitteln sowie die Betrachtung im Rahmen des sozialen Kontexts, des Lebenszyklus', der Mythologie sowie der Jagdrituale zeigt, wie komplex die ökonomische, soziale und religiöse Rolle der Aborigines-Frauen war und streckenweise auch noch ist. Dies spiegelt die tatsächliche vielfältige soziale und ökonomische Beteiligungsweise der Aborigines-Frauen Australiens sehr viel genauer wider als die Vorstellung einer allein Früchte, Wurzeln und Kräuter pflückenden Sammlerin – eine Vorstellung, die endgültig in den Bereich der Fabel verwiesen werden muss.

Die komplexe und gleichzeitig spezifische Rolle der Aborigines-Frauen zeigt allerdings auch, dass ein Vergleich mit der Jagd, wie sie die Männer pflegen, nur teilweise möglich ist, und ihre Form der tierischen Beutebeschaffung eine andere Struktur und Qualität hat. Denn die Suche der Frauen nach tierischer Nahrung war und ist vielfach in die gesamte Beutebeschaffung eingebunden, d.h. "Beutezüge für pflanzliche und tierische Nahrung wurden oft miteinander kombiniert. Hieraus ergaben sich frauenspezifische Strategien der Nahrungssuche, die sich von denen der Männer deutlich unterschieden" (S. 457). Wie schon frühere Forscherinnen betonten (z.B. Kaberry 1939; Berndt 1981), ist die Arbeits- und Lebensweise der Aborigines-Frauen ein lebendiger Mix aus täglicher Sammelwanderung, Jagd auf Kleintiere, abwechselnder Kinderaufsicht, gemeinsamer Rast und gelegentlicher Großwildjagd, – auch vornehmlich unter älteren Frauen. Catherine Berndt nannte dies die "Aboriginal work situation", die eine abwechslungsreiche und autonome Tagesgestaltung bot (Berndt 1981: S. 163, 181). Da wundert es nicht, dass Aborigines-Frauen die weiße Hausfrau bemitleideten, die im Haus eingeschlossen sei und jeden Tag dieselben stupiden Tätigkeiten ausüben müsse.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten, dass durch einfache und mechanistische Modelle der geschlechtsspezifischen Arbeitsteilung und durch eine einseitige Jagddefinition und -betrachtung die ökonomische wie soziale Praxis der Aborigines-Frauen künstlich reduziert und ihre tatsächliche Lebensrealität wesentlich eingeschränkter und schematischer dargestellt wurde als sie tatsächlich ist. Gründe dafür

gab und gibt es sicherlich viele. In erster Linie ist die Herkunft der zunächst ausschließlich männlichen Beobachter aus einer noch feudal strukturierten Gesellschaft wie jener Großbritanniens, in der die Jagd als das Privileg des männlichen Adels galt, dafür verantwortlich. Daher erschienen die Jagd und das Großwild als etwas Wichtiges und Prestigeträchtiges, zumal die Großwildjagd große Nahrungsmengen versprach. Die tatsächliche Häufigkeit und Regelmäßigkeit der erfolgreichen Großwildbeschaffung sowie die anschließende Verteilung der Beute unter vielen Gruppenmitgliedern wurde jedoch nicht kritisch hinterfragt. Der mühsamen, stets aufs Neue zusammenzutragenden Pflanzen- und Kleintiernahrung, die aufgrund der Andersartigkeit und der Unkenntnis von Geschmack und Nährwert oft auch als unappetitlich empfunden wurde, kam dagegen keine besondere Aufmerksamkeit seitens der aus Übersee zugereisten Beobachter zu. So kam es, dass dieser Bereich sträflich vernachlässigt wurde. Erst durch Kästners Arbeit konnten herkömmliche Betrachtungsweisen entscheidend überwunden, vernachlässigte Quellen mithilfe innovativer Leitthesen neu erfasst und so die Forschung von selbst auferlegten Fesseln befreit werden.

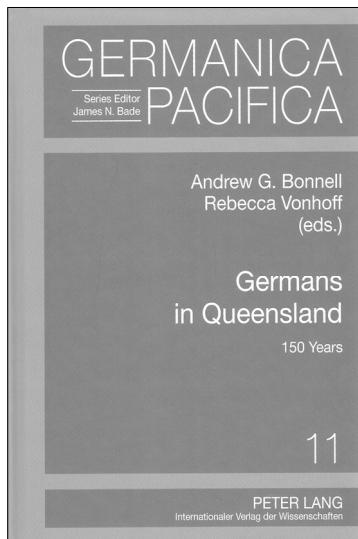
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**Andrew G. Bonnell and Rebecca Vonhoff, eds.: *Germans in Queensland: 150 Years.*** Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012. Germanica Pacifica, 11. 164 pp. ISBN 978-3-631-63389-2. Hard-cover. EUR 36.95.

**Reviewed by Gerhard Stilz**, University of Tübingen.

Das vorliegende Bändchen versammelt neun Aufsätze zur Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Queensland. Es handelt sich dabei überwiegend um Beiträge zu einem Workshop, der im Jahr 2009 von der School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics der University of Queensland organisiert wurde, anlässlich der hundertfünfzigsten Wiederkehr des Gründungsdatums dieser ehemaligen britischen Kolonie. Die handliche englischsprachige Publikation soll hier mit Blick auf ihre hiesigen Interessenten eine Besprechung auf Deutsch erhalten. Sie ist im Rahmen und vor dem Hintergrund von rund einem Dutzend substanzuellen Überblicksdarstellungen und Sammelbänden zur deutschen Einwanderung in Australien zu verorten, die sich seit dem Pionierwerk des in Melbourne tätigen flämischen Germanisten Augustin Lodewyckx (*Die Deutschen in Australien*, Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat, 1932, 272 S.) dem Leben und Überleben einer sprachlichen und kulturellen Minorität im kolonialen und postkolonialen Kontext zugewandt haben. Zu ihnen gehören namentlich (und zumeist im vorgelegten Bändchen auch hier und dort genannt): Josef Vondra, *German Speaking Settlers in Australia* (Melbourne: Cavalier Press, 1981), 286 S.; Johannes Voigt (ed.), *New Beginnings: Germans in New South Wales and Queensland / Neuanfänge: Deutsche in New South Wales und Queensland* (Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1983), 290 S. – ein umfänglicher Sammelband mit dreißig wissenschaftlichen Beiträgen; Ian Harmstorf & Michael Cigler, *The Germans in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1985), 183 S.; Johannes Voigt, *Australia – Germany: Two Hundred Years of Contacts, Relations and*



*Connections* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1987), 160 S.; Manfred Jürgensen & Alan Corkhill, eds., *The German Presence in Queensland over the Last 150 Years* (St Lucia: Department of German, University of Queensland), 414 S. – die Ergebnisse eines breit angelegten Internationalen Symposiums; Jürgen Tampke & Colin Doxford, *Australia, Willkommen: A History of the Germans in Australia* (Kensington: New South Wales UP, 1990), 282 S. – ein reich illustrierter Überblick; Alan Corkhill, *Queensland and Germany: Ethnic, Socio-Cultural, Political and Trade Relations 1838-1991* (Melbourne: Academia Press, 1992), 322 S.; Manfred Jürgensen, ed., *German-Australian Cultural Relations since 1945* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1995), 347 S. – eine Auswahl der Beiträge zu einer internationalen Konferenz in Brisbane; Jürgen Tampke, *The Germans in Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge UP, 2006) 188 S. – eine gekürzte und aktuell ergänzte Neufassung des früheren Gemeinschaftswerks Tampke/Doxford (1990).

Darstellungen des Lebens und Überlebens ethnischer Minderheiten müssen sich seit jeher mit dem zumindest latenten Verdacht untergründiger vaterländischer Rückbindung und kultureller Nostalgie herumschlagen. In Zeiten nationaler oder gar nationalistischer Aufwallung verzichten daher die Minoritäten weithin auf eine öffentliche Beschäftigung mit ihrer Herkunft und ihren Pionieren, seien sie auch noch so verdienstvoll für das Gemeinwohl der Gesellschaft gewesen. Im Zeichen eines politisch inszenierten oder tolerierten Multikulturalismus hingegen erhalten entsprechende Initiativen bereitwillige Unterstützung. Eine ganze Anzahl der vorgenannten Bände demonstriert dies in ihren Vor- und Geleitworten. Dass mittlerweile die Euphorie des Multikulturalismus, wie sie auch in Australien in den achtziger und frühen neunziger Jahren zum politischen Credo (und in erheblichem Umfang zur effektiven Praxis) geworden ist, weltweit einen Dämpfer erhalten hat, zeigt sich auch in der vorliegenden Aufsatzsammlung. Die Herausgeberschaft legitimiert ihr Büchlein vorsichtig als Beitrag zur Bestandsaufnahme einer “lived reality of multiculturalism, whatever the official name of government policy of the day might be”, und sie bekennt sich zum “lebhaften gegenwärtigen Interesse” von Historikern an einer “transnationalen Geschichte” und den “wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen Europa und der weiten Welt” (S. 7; übersetzte Zitate: GS). Wie in den Humanwissenschaften insgesamt treten damit die exemplarischen Abläufe und Prozesse in den Vordergrund, während die Pioniere und Exponenten

ihren Vorbildcharakter verlieren und als historische Exempel vorgeführt oder auch entthront werden.

Den meisten der Essays gelingt es, dieses kritische Paradigma in eindrucks voller und lebhafter Weise umzusetzen. Barbara Poniewierski, "J.C. Godeffroy and German Migration to Queensland" (S. 9-23) bietet eine anschauliche, sachlich gut in den Queensland State Archives recherchierte Geschichte des ebenso lukrativen wie misslichen Transportgeschäfts der in Mittel- und Südamerika und ab 1848 im Südseeraum tätigen, hugenottisch-hamburgischen Reederei, die nicht nur deutsche Emigranten unter zum Teil miserablen Bedingungen nach Australien gebracht, sondern auch bis zu ihrem Bankrott 1880 umfangreiche Sammlungen von Natur- und Kulturobjekten nach Deutschland schaffen lassen hat.

Chris Herde, "German Liberalism in Queensland" (S. 25-45) verfolgt sorgsam anhand der Queenslander Parlamentsprotokolle die politischen Karrieren dreier Liberaler, die vom deutschen Vormärz geprägt waren und nachmals nach Australien ausgewandert sind: John Heussler, Isidor Lissner und Jean Baptiste Isambert. Als Emigranten und Parlamentsmitglieder haben sie in Queensland unterschiedliche Ziele verfolgt und vermittelnde Positionen zwischen dem "klassischen" (individualistischen) Liberalismus und einem neuen Sozial-Liberalismus eingenommen, wie er unter dem Eindruck der australischen Arbeiterbewegung entstand. Vereint waren aber diese deutsch-australischen Liberalen immerhin gegen die aristokratische Privilegiengewirtschaft und gegen den Arbeiter-Radikalismus.

Birgit Scheps fasziniert mit ihrer Kompetenz als Kuratorin der Australien- und Pazifiksammlungen des Museums für Völkerkunde in Leipzig (wohin 1885 die Sammlungen aus dem Hause Godeffroy verkauft wurden). In ihrem Beitrag "Amalie Dietrich (1821-1891) and Queensland" (S. 47-60) gibt sie einen kurzen Lebensabriss und einen knappen Überblick über den zehnjährigen australischen Aufenthalt der von Johan Cesar Godeffroy unterstützten, biologischen und ethnographischen Forschungsreisenden, dieser ungewöhnlich couragierten und erfolgreichen wissenschaftlichen Sammlerin. Dabei orientiert sie sich an der von Ray Sumner (1993 und zuvor) problematisierten und zurechtgerückten biographischen Quellenlage.

Henriette von Holleuffer, "Studios, Music Halls, Hospitals: Young, Urban and Professional – The Unknown Germans in Queensland" (S.

61-80), arbeitet trotz ihrer anfänglichen Relativierung der Bedeutung intellektueller und künstlerischer Einwanderer für die Anfänge einer Kolonie einige bedeutende Porträts heraus: Sie würdigt lebhaft die Fotografen Heinrich Müller und die Brüder Roggenkamp, weiterhin den vielseitigen Komponisten und Dirigenten Andreas Siegel alias Seal samt der Resonanz der Genannten in der Presse von Brisbane sowie schließlich den Mediziner Edward Albert Koch, der im Pionierstädtchen Cairns Tabletten gegen Malaria erfand.

Regina Ganter, "The Trouble with Women – Lutherans and Missions in North Queensland" (S. 81-100), informiert zunächst über die Anfänge, Lage und Finanzierung der deutschsprachigen Missionen im australischen Norden – unweit von (Deutsch-)Neuguinea – und deren spröde Unterstützung durch die britische Kolonialregierung. Doch dann bekommt man die Einsicht, dass die persönlichen Probleme zwischen den Missionaren und ihren Helfern mit ihren emotionalen Notlagen zwischen Einsamkeit, Eifersucht, Sexualität und Drang zur Selbstdarstellung noch ungleich wichtiger waren für den Misserfolg oder den Erfolg einer Missionsstation. Der Vergleich zwischen der Bloomfield River Mission und der Hope Vale/Mapoon Mission, gestützt auf Originalrecherchen in Archiven, Zeitungen und persönlichen Briefen, vermittelt ausgezeichnete Differenzierungen zu der scheinbar trivialen Formel, dass es eben ohne Frauen nicht geht.

Rebecca Vonhoff, "Queensland and the Pan-German League: Implications for German-Australian Identity" (S. 101-114) versucht, auf der Grundlage der deutschen Presse in Queensland im späten 19. Jahrhundert sowie anhand von Briefen zwischen den dortigen vaterländischen Vereinen und der Alldeutschen Bewegung in Deutschland (Bundesarchiv) der schillernden Persönlichkeit des Heinrich Ludwig Eduard Rüthning (1841-1916) gerecht zu werden. Die Rolle und das Verdienst dieses gebürtigen deutschen Juristen, der sich zunächst in Adelaide und Brisbane um bessere Bedingungen auf deutschen Auswandererschiffen bemühte, dann aber mit seinen vielseitigen Kontakten zu einem "Champion of the German Cause" entwickelte, bleibt letztlich ein Rätsel. Das Verdienst des Beitrags ist es immerhin, dass hier vorsichtig und sorgsam die Zwischentöne und die Vielfalt der Optionen und Obligationen der Deutschen in der komplexen politischen Situation Queenslands im späten 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts ausgeleuchtet werden.

Andrew G. Bonnells Beitrag "Missing Links? The Queensland Labour Movement and German Social Democracy before 1914" (S. 115-127) bewegt sich ebenfalls an die Grenzen des historisch Greifbaren, hier in der übergeordneten Frage, wie die deutsche Sozialdemokratie des späten 19. Jahrhunderts und das Labour Movement in Queensland in Verbindung gestanden haben könnten. Zunächst wird erörtert, ob "Heinrich Bauer", der als früher Vertrauter von Karl Marx gilt (und dann angeblich nach Australien verschwand), identisch ist mit dem gleichnamigen, 1855 in Moreton Bay gelandeten und 1874 gestorbenen Vertragsarbeiter und Gärtner. Die Frage bleibt offenbar auf der Basis der einschlägigen Archive sowie der deutschen sozialistischen Presse über Australien unlösbar. Mit deutlicherem Erfolg wird dann herausgestellt, dass Ernst Hugo Kunze, ein 1892 in Adelaide eingewanderter Malermeister, nachmals gemeinsam mit Ernest Lane in Brisbane das "Manifest der Sozialdemokratischen Vanguard" herausbrachte und dort unter dem Akronym "Eznuk" politisch aktiv war. Doch die Schlüsselfrage im Titel behält ihr Fragezeichen nicht ohne Grund.

Emily Turner-Graham, "Dr. Rudolf Asmis, the Tropical North and 'a new breed of German'" (S. 129-142) versucht, die Parallelen und Übertragungen von Alfred Ploetz' Konzept der 'Rassenhygiene' in den Äußerungen und Vorhaben von Rudolf Asmis (1879-1945), dem wilhelminischen Kolonialverwalter und späteren Diplomaten (Togo, Belgisch-Kongo, Belgien, Äußere Mongolei, Moskau, Bangkok; 1932-1939: Deutscher Generalkonsul in Sydney; schließlich in leitender Stellung im Amt für Kolonialpolitik in Berlin) herauszustellen. Auch wenn der enge Bezug zu Queensland in diesem Beitrag nicht deutlich wird, ist das Porträt dieses deutschen Altkolonialisten und seine opportunistische Hinwendung zur NSDAP im Zeichen der Mythen-Trias von Urgermanen, deutschem Sendungsbewusstsein und Rassengesundheit stringent, überzeugend und lesenswert, zumal Asmis' Rolle auch im letzten Beitrag des Buchs von Bedeutung ist.

Christine Winter schließlich, die zugleich 2012 ihre größere Studie zur Neuendettelsauer Mission abgeschlossen und im gleichen Verlag publiziert hat,<sup>1</sup> berichtet in "Interwar Transformation of German-Australian Identity: the Case of Queensland Pastor Friedrich Otto

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1 *Looking after One's Own: The Rise of Nationalism and the Politics of the Neuendettelsauer Mission in Australia, New Guinea and Germany (1921-1933).*

Theile" (S. 143-157) von einem jetzt vergessenen, zu Lebzeiten aber durchaus berühmtem Mann. Theile, vormals Missionar in Neuguinea, so wird geltend gemacht, bemühte sich in Australien zwischen den Kriegen einen "mittleren Kurs" zu steuern zwischen dem Bekenntnis zur deutschen Sprache und zu einem lutheranisch verstandenen Deutschtum und der Abwehr der rigorosen Aufsicht des Neuendettelsauer Mutterhauses über die Missionen in Neuguinea und Australien. Er war zunächst erfolgreich in seinen Verhandlungen mit australischen Politikern, geriet aber bei den wachsenden politischen Antagonismen zwischen alle Stühle und galt schließlich als "hinterhältig" für beide Seiten. Die fein differenzierende Studie ist packend und verdienstvoll. Hier zeigt sich mustergültig, was eine transnationale, kritische Historiographie leisten kann: die verständige Würdigung einer komplexen Vita zwischen allen nationalistischen Fronten, jenseits von Heldenverehrung und Bildersturm.

Lobenswert ist das attraktive Äußere der Reihe. Nur wenige Druckfehler sind der Lektorierung entgangen. Sehr verdienstvoll ist im Appendix die Auflistung der Hochschulschriften (B.A., M.A., Ph.D.) zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Queensland, zumal diese Schriften kaum in den Druck gelangt sind. Zweierlei wäre aber wünschenswert und durchaus leicht zu erstellen gewesen: eine Überblicks-Bibliographie, die die Auswahl von Tampke (2006) fortführt – und ein Index, der es leichter gemacht hätte, die Kontinuitäten und Querverbindungen zwischen den einzelnen Beiträgen zu verfolgen.

Natürlich kann sich die vorgelegte Sammlung weder an Umfang noch an Geschlossenheit mit den eingangs genannten Standardwerken zur deutsch-australischen Geschichte messen. Neun Einzelstudien können nicht das gesamte Feld der deutsch-australischen Beziehungen abdecken. Doch ist es bemerkenswert, wie häufig Querverbindungen angesprochen, Zusammenhänge sichtbar gemacht und vormals bearbeitete Felder und vorgestellte Persönlichkeiten ergänzt und deutlicher profiliert werden. Wer die Geschichte deutsch-australischer Verhältnisse besser und gründlicher verstehen will, muss diese Publikation lesen.

**Bettina Biedermann und Heribert Dieter, Hrsg.: *Länderbericht Australien*.**

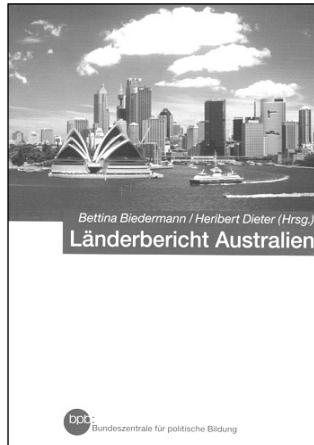
Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2012. 450 S. ISBN 978-3-8389-0175-6.

**Rezensiert von Fabian Sonnenburg**, Universität Köln.

Die Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung bewirbt ihre Länderberichte mit dem Slogan "Die Welt zu sich nach Hause holen". In den bisher erschienenen Sammelbänden geben ausgewählte Autoren dem Leser in verständlicher Sprache umfassende Informationen über Gesellschaft, Mentalität, Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur des jeweiligen Landes. Der im März 2012 in Bonn von Bettina Biedermann (Kulturanthropologin) und Heribert Dieter (Politikwissenschaftler) herausgegebene *Länderbericht Australien* folgt diesem Muster. Es ist Ziel des Buchs "Lücken im Kenntnisstand zu schließen und den an Australien interessierten Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern, aber auch länger nach Australien Reisenden und sich mit Australien beschäftigenden Menschen einen fundierten Einstieg in die Untersuchung der australischen Politik und Gesellschaft [zu] bieten" (18).

Der Band ist in elf Kapitel gegliedert, die sich inhaltlich teilweise überlappen und ergänzen. Da jedes Kapitel ein breites Spektrum an untergeordneten Themen behandelt, können im Rahmen dieser Rezension nur ausgewählte Aspekte Berücksichtigung finden. Den Kern des ersten Kapitels bilden Tabellen, die statistische Kennzahlen der Entwicklung Australiens im internationalen Vergleich zeigen und von Heribert Dieter in groben Zügen interpretiert werden.

Die beiden Herausgeber beschäftigen sich im zweiten Kapitel mit der australischen Geschichte. Nach einem kurzen Abschnitt zur indigenen Bevölkerung geben die Autoren dem Leser Einblicke in die Frühphase der europäischen Besiedlung, die Entwicklung der Strafkolonien und die Erschließung des Landesinneren. Zudem werden historische Meilensteine, wie der Goldrausch, die Gründung des australischen Bundes und Australiens Rolle in den beiden Weltkriegen be-



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Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung

handelt. Die Darstellung der Entwicklungen nach 1945 ist auf Einwanderungs-, Wirtschafts- und Außenpolitik beschränkt.

Kate Darian-Smith, eine australische Historikerin, beschreibt im dritten Kapitel die Geschichte und Kultur der beiden indigenen Völker Australiens, der Aborigines und Torres-Strait-Islander, von der britischen Besiedelung bis zur Gegenwart. Diese beiden über Jahrhunderte weitgehend marginalisierten Bevölkerungsgruppen emanzipierten sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zunehmend und konnten im Kampf um mehr Selbstbestimmung und Landrechte politische Erfolge verzeichnen. Neuere Gesten der Versöhnung zwischen indigener und nicht-indigener Bevölkerung, wie das Entzünden des Olympischen Feuers durch Cathy Freeman bei den Olympischen Spielen in Sydney 2000 und die offizielle Entschuldigung der australischen Regierung durch den ehemaligen Premierminister Kevin Rudd 2008, berücksichtigt Darian-Smith ebenfalls in ihrem Beitrag.

Im vierten Kapitel erläutert Heribert Dieter die Besonderheiten des politischen Systems. Dabei betont er den Einfluss der britischen und US-amerikanischen Verfassungstradition auf die australische Verfassung. Zudem konkretisiert der Autor die Folgen der relativ schwachen Stellung des australischen Premierministers. Das Rechts- und Regierungssystem, das Wahlsystem und die politischen Parteien bezieht Dieter ebenfalls in seine Ausführungen ein.

Gesellschaft und Kultur Australiens sind Gegenstand des fünften Kapitels von Bettina Biedermaier. Sie erörtert die im Ausland wenig wahrgenommenen Selbstdarstellungen und Mythen, die Geschichte der Frauenbewegung, die Vereinbarkeit von Beruf und Familie, die Freizeitgestaltung, das kulturelle Leben sowie Urbanität und Alltag.

Das sechste Kapitel von Heribert Dieter präsentiert die wichtigsten Leitlinien der australischen Bildungs- und Sozialpolitik. Der Autor analysiert die Struktur der staatlichen und privaten Finanzierung des Bildungssystems von der Vorschule bis zur Universität und ordnet seine Leistungsfähigkeit in den internationalen und historischen Kontext ein. Im Bereich der tertiären Ausbildung hebt er die Bedeutung der großen Anzahl an ausländischen Studierenden für die Finanzierung der Universitäten hervor. Der zweite Teil des Kapitels behandelt die Entwicklung des australischen Wohlfahrtsstaats, der sich durch eine minimale Grundsicherung auszeichnet und hohe Anforderungen an die private Absicherung stellt.

Die Geschichte und aktuelle Entwicklung der Migration und Integration von Einwanderern nach Australien analysiert Bettina Biedermann im siebten Kapitel. Sie erläutert zunächst die Rolle von Häftlingen und freien Siedlern. Ferner geht sie auf die Bedeutung des Goldrausches in den 1850er Jahren ein. Schwerpunkt des Beitrags ist jedoch die traditionell durch starke staatliche Organisation, Finanzierung und Steuerung bestimmte Einwanderungspolitik, welche die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung des Kontinents nachhaltig prägte.

Im Rahmen des achten Kapitels charakterisiert Heribert Dieter aktuelle Strukturen und Entwicklungen der australischen Wirtschaft. Neben Chancen und Risiken des anhaltenden Rohstoffbooms, der Schwäche der verarbeitenden Industrie, dem stabilen Finanz- und dem wachsenden Tourismussektor diskutiert der Autor auch die Reaktionen der australischen Finanzpolitik auf die Weltwirtschaftskrise.

Die Umwelt und Ökologie Australiens ist das Thema des neunten Kapitels. Frank Stilwell, ein australischer Ökonom, geht auf das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Verstädterung und rohstoffbasiertem Wirtschaftswachstum auf der einen und der Verschärfung umweltpolitischer Maßnahmen auf der anderen Seite ein. Zudem stellt er zentrale umweltbezogene Diskurse und Konflikte vor, weist auf konkrete Fortschritte hin und diskutiert mögliche Entwicklungsmuster.

Das zehnte Kapitel wurde von Benjamin Schreer verfasst und beinhaltet die Entwicklung der Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik. Schwerpunkte sind der Beitrag Australiens in der Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus und die neue Rolle der Volksrepublik China im globalen Machtgefüge. Der Autor erläutert die Prägung der heutigen Politik Australiens durch die historischen Erfahrungen der geographischen Abgeschiedenheit und der damit verbundenen Frage der militärischen Sicherheit. In diesem Zusammenhang betont er die engen sicherheitspolitischen Beziehungen zu Großbritannien und den USA.

Im elften Kapitel evaluiert Heribert Dieter die Stellung Australiens in der Weltwirtschaft. Dabei arbeitet er vor allem die Funktion des Landes als Rohstofflieferant heraus. Weitere Themen sind die zunehmende außenwirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit Australiens mit asiatischen Staaten sowie die Bedeutung von Wirtschaftsbündnissen. In Bezug auf Konfliktpotentiale und Kooperationen mit asiatischen

Schwellenländern stellt Dieter die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zu China in den Mittelpunkt.

Das zwölfe Kapitel bildet den Anhang. Dieser umfasst eine Zeitleiste, eine Reihe interessanter topographischer und thematischer Karten sowie Hinweise zur weiteren Recherche. Die teilweise kommentierten Literaturverweise am Ende jedes Kapitels können für interessierte Leser von Nutzen sein.

Durch die Konzeption des Sammelbands als Querschnitt durch Struktur und Wesen des Fünften Kontinents ist es den Herausgebern gelungen, eine Vielzahl unterschiedlicher Aspekte abzudecken und dem Leser wenig bekannte Facetten des Landes näherzubringen. Dazu tragen auch die gelegentlichen thematischen Exkurse und Porträts von bedeutenden australischen Persönlichkeiten bei. Viele Sachverhalte werden kritisch hinterfragt und eingeordnet. Dies ist besonders nützlich für Fachwissenschaftler, die an Anregungen aus den Forschungsergebnissen anderer Disziplinen interessiert sind. Inwie weit Leser mit geringem Vorwissen in der Lage sind durch Lektüre dieses Bandes ein übergeordnetes Verständnis für gesellschaftliche Entwicklungen in Australien aufzubauen, ist allerdings fraglich. Dennoch ist die Konzeption des Bandes zu würdigen, da in Anbetracht der inhaltlichen Breite der Ausführungen eine umfassende Verflechtung der Fakten und Erläuterungen zwar erwünscht, jedoch kaum zu leisten ist.

Die Herausgeber setzen einen klaren Schwerpunkt in der Politik und Geschichte Australiens. Dies führt notwendigerweise zur Vernachlässigung anderer Bereiche. Zum Beispiel wird der Entwicklung und den Besonderheiten der australischen Metropolen kein separates Kapitel gewidmet, obwohl Australien eines der am stärksten verstädteten Länder der Erde darstellt. Fast zwei Drittel der Bevölkerung lebte im Jahr 2011 in den fünf großen Verdichtungsräumen Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth und Adelaide (ABS 2013). Informationen zu intensiv geführten Diskussionen um die sozialen und ökologischen Folgen der Suburbanisierung tauchen lediglich bruchstückhaft in unterschiedlichen Kapiteln auf. Neben Aspekten der Stadtentwicklung findet auch die landwirtschaftliche Produktion kaum Berücksichtigung. Diese weist zwar nur geringe Anteile an Bruttoinlandsprodukt und Beschäftigung auf, hat aber im Hinblick auf Ernährungssicherheit, Umweltschutz und die Lebensweisen im ländlichen Raum durchaus große Bedeutung für die australische Gesellschaft.

An vielen Stellen enthält der Text Informationen, die einem Leser, der selbst einen längeren Aufenthalt in Australien plant, von Nutzen sein können (z. B. Gewohnheiten bei der Freizeitgestaltung). Auch stellen die Autoren die Unterschiede zwischen dem bestehenden Bild Australiens in Deutschland und der Realität klar heraus. Komplexe Fachbegriffe werden weitestgehend vermieden oder umgehend im Text erläutert. Der Band spricht folglich sehr unterschiedliche Zielgruppen an. Nicht zuletzt die abwechslungsreiche optische Gestaltung der Seiten mit farbigen Fotos und übersichtlichen Abbildungen trägt dazu bei, dass dieser gelungene Länderbericht zur Faszination der Leserschaft in Bezug auf den Fünften Kontinent beitragen wird.

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## DIE BEITRAGENDEN / THE CONTRIBUTORS



**Elisabeth Bähr** was curator of numerous exhibitions of contemporary art, in particular of Indigenous Australian Art. Editor of exhibition catalogues and author about Indigenous Australian Art; manager of the Aboriginal Art Galerie Bähr in Speyer, from 1997 to 2007; trainee at Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern (public art gallery) in 1995 and 1996; graduate of Cultural Administration Studies at FernUniversität Hagen, 1991–1995 (Thesis: *Die Kunst der australischen Aborigines. Über die Schwierigkeiten, das Fremde zu akzeptieren.* – *Difficulties in Accepting the Exotic: Aboriginal Art*)



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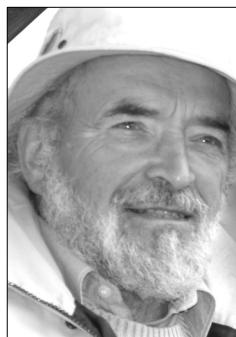
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