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German-Australian Encounters and Cultural Transfers

Global Dynamics in Transnational Lands

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🐎 Springer

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Foreword

'It's a small world', greeted an Indian colleague of mine when we happened to run into each other at an Australian studies conference in Bordeaux, France, a few years ago. *Die Welt ist ein Dorf* or the world is a village, I replied upon having been asked for the German equivalent of this proverb. Both variants imply a certain connectedness between different geographical locales, suggesting a sense of what I may call global provincialism. Moving beyond its narrow meaning of a chance encounter in an unexpected place, the saying bears greater impact on how to conceive of different forms of human engagement across nations. Can the post-millennium surge of right-wing populism, for example, be interpreted as an isolated phenomenon which mirrors the specificities of national histories? Is the *Front National* in France an exceedingly French brainchild or the German *Alternative für Deutschland* very much a German one? Is *One Nation* something as Australian as Trump's presidency is something American? And *Brexit*, the departure of the United Kingdom from the European Union, something quite British? The answer, perhaps, is yes and no. National specificities are as much at stake as are the mechanisms of how people and ideas and cultures are moving across, against and beyond other nations as well as their own. Benedict Anderson's idea of nations being narrations implies the possibility of re-narrations, counter-narrations, overlapping, mutual and distinct narrations: of *Front National*, or *AfD*, or *One Nation*, the Trump presidency, and of *Brexit*. Transnational approaches can illuminate the complex interplay of national developments, without negating the importance of the nation as an analytical parameter for scholarly research. The history of European colonialism, for one, can be read as a transnational venture of white supremacy that evolved its peculiarities within national borders. The transnational can thus be deeply national and vice versa.

Global Germany in Transnational Dialogues features a wide spectrum of contemporary manifestations of the transnational. The multi-disciplinary collection of essays in this book, and in the series as whole, is going to indicate that transnationalism affects highly different forms of human engagement, from public diplomacy over changing migration patterns to popular culture and the translation of books. For all their diverse approaches, the essays assembled here exhibit careful

analyses of commonalities as much as differences in national developments. They show the importance of the nation as a central analytical category for understanding the functioning of transnationalism. Neither is the nation an obsolete concept nor is it useful to speak of a postnational era, an age that has overcome nationalism and the ordering of the world into nations. The present book on the transnational interplay between Australia and Germany reveals how ideas of the national have shifted. One of the study's major strengths lies in its focus on the contemporary. The transnational partly encompasses historical narratives such as race, which can appear tenacious and hardly malleable. Yet, as the chapters demonstrate as well, the dynamics of the transnational incorporate the past into reforming and evolving concepts of the nation in the new century.

This first volume in the series of *Global Germany in Transnational Dialogues* not only offers insights into transnational theory generally, but also provides fresh aspects to the relationship between Australia and Germany. With comparative approaches in German studies often focussing on relationships with North America, the United Kingdom and Europe, systematic studies of German–Australian relations are somewhat scarce. Manfred Jurgensen's *German-Australian Cultural Relations* (1995) constitutes perhaps a relatively early example in this field, increasingly followed by work outside the literary discipline, for example, Jürgen Tampke's *The Germans in Australia* (2006), Christine Winter's and Emily Turner-Graham's collection *National Socialism in Oceania* (2010), or Peter Monteath's *Germans: Travellers, Settlers and Their Descendants in South Australia* (2011). *Global Germany* sets out on an innovative departure from being solely comparative to focussing rigorously on cultural connections that are forged *through* the national and transnational. It presents an avenue for a radical rethinking of the making of both Germany and Australia.

Vienna   Oliver Haag

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Editors and Contributors

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Esther Doecke is a research fellow at the Centre for International Research on Education Systems at Victoria University. She is engaged in international

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Rex Butler and **A.D.S. Donaldson** are together writing a history-focused monograph on *UnAustralian* art to appear in 2017. Rex Butler is an art historian and works in the Faculty of Art Design and Architecture at Monash University. A.D.S. Donaldson is an artist and works at the National Art School in Sydney.

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Leah Gerber is a lecturer in the Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies at Monash University. Her research concentrates on literary and cultural translation, with a focus on Australian children's texts and their transfer into German. Leah's monograph, *Tracing a Tradition. The Translation of Australian Children's Fiction into German from 1945,* was published by Röhrig Universitätsverlag in 2014. She has published in the field of literary translation and co-edited *Creative Constraints: Translation and Authorship* with Rita Wilson, which was published by Monash University Publishing in 2012. Leah is also the current editor of *The Aalitra Review*.

Oliver Haag received his PhD from Edinburgh University and his Master of Arts degree from The University of Vienna. He is professorial fellow at the Centre for Transcultural Studies in Vienna. Oliver has co-edited a book on ego-histoire and Indigenous Studies, Ngapartji Ngapartji, which was published by Australian National University Press in 2014. His monograph on *Cultural Narratives of Race in the German Empire* was published by Berghahn Books in 2017. He has completed a special issue of *National Identities* for Routledge and, with Linda Westphalen, has published a special issue of *JEASA*. He is co-editor of the bilingual Australian studies journal, *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien*.

Maren Klein currently works in the field of education governance. She also has experience as a researcher, writer, editor, translator and teacher. She holds a PhD from Swinburne University of Technology in Melbourne and a Master of Arts degree in Translation Studies from Deakin University in Melbourne. Her research interests include mobility, transnational education, politics and governance and the intersection as well as interaction of fiction and reality in contemporary society.

Julia Nafisi studied singing in her hometown of Munich, in Vienna, as well as in Sydney and Melbourne. She holds an Opera Diploma, a Master of Arts in Music, a Graduate Diploma of Education and a Doctor of Philosophy degree from The University of Melbourne. Julia investigates the role of gesture and body movement in voice teaching and performance as well as the perception and practice of German Art Songs or *Lieder* in Australia and has published in both areas. She also teaches voice studies at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music and is an honorary research fellow at The University of Melbourne's Department of Audiology and Speech-Pathology.

Michael Shirrefs is a doctoral researcher at La Trobe University in Melbourne, who focuses on the growing instabilities of the European Union, and especially the diminishing comprehension of the notion of *Gemeinwohl*, which translates as the common good. He is also a broadcaster with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, and has for many years been making radio documentaries about the accelerating rate of flux in Europe. It is in Germany that Michael has found the most collaborative determination to bridge gaps of knowledge and understanding with outsiders. Therefore, he has become increasingly drawn to the central role Germany is again playing in the fate of Europe.

Arpad-Andreas Sölter is the Director of the Goethe-Institut Sweden and President of EUNIC (European Union National Institutes for Culture) in Sweden. His former postings include the directorship of the Goethe Institute Australia and the German Film Festival in 2011 and in 2015. He has worked in London and Toronto and served as the Director of the *Strategy and Evaluation Division* at the Goethe Institute's headquarters. Educated at Emmanuel College Cambridge, he was a research fellow at University College in London. He holds a doctorate degree in Philosophy from the University of Cologne, Germany. His research interests are contemporary philosophy, cultural criticism and international cultural policy and diplomacy.

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Michiko Weinmann is an associate professor and currently works at Deakin University in Melbourne on issues of second language acquisition, plurilingualism and educational policies related to language education systems.

Introduction: Global Germany in Transnational Dialogues with Australia

Benjamin Nickl, Irina Herrschner, Elżbieta M. Goździak

What is the benefit of transnationalism studies in contemporary contexts? And what could the study of ties, exchanges and interactions of nations with Germany in the twenty-first century reveal to those interested in the conceptualization of Germanness as a synonym for global interconnectedness? It is the warning of Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, that a 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003, p. 576) has dominated intellectual inquiry in the social sciences for too long, which points in the direction of an answer. That the nation state should be the natural unit of measure for comparative analysis, as the phrase originally coined by Herminio Martins (Martins 1974, p. 276) suggests, has as a theorem outlived its usefulness to approach a period of rapid globalisation. And while critical engagement with the nation state cannot avoid a historical dimension, only the juxtaposition of nations and of the national and the global and the local may avoid entrapment in the transnational as a quality of pre-postmodern thought. Neither can the transnational serve to distract as an imagined utopianism of boundless mobility from the reality of walled-off, protectionist statehoods in Europe or from immigration reforms in America and in Australia in 2017. Nor should the term negate the existence of imperial and colonial power relations, which are still very much at play as outlined in the contributing chapters to this edited volume on German and Australian interactions and intersections in the new century.

The study of transnationalism assembles a host of disciplinary nodes of knowledge. In this volume, too, scholarly multiplicity mirrors what in studies of present and future demographics in Europe and German society Steven Vertovec terms 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2009, p. 3) and what Azade Seyhan refers to as 'paranational communities' (Seyhan 2001, p. 10). In research on Australian society and its changing ethnographic over the past decade, Greg Noble writes that 'Australia seems to be evincing an evolving *hyper-diversity* beyond typical understandings of multiculturalism' (Wise 2009, p. 47). However, many Germans as well as Australians seem reluctant to accept that centre and periphery in their national society are no longer static givens due to a relaxation of strict citizenship

laws. These laws were based on *ius sanguinis* principles in Germany or the White Australia Policy era around the turn of the nineteenth century in the Australian Federation. Mass migration from the East, and a drastic shift in neo-liberal capital from Western regions to South Asia and East Asia, has also drastically altered national service provisions both in German and Australian institutions. The recognition of marginalised groups and group rights, as well as everyday racism, issues of cultural appropriation and the relations of power and power discourses in daily cultural hybridities, present further points of contention shared by Australians and Germans (Hage 2003).

This volume illustrates that nation states on either side of the globe are interlinked, thus prompting critical thinkers to reflect on how one country's self-realisation, in terms of market economics, cultural and tourist traffic or diplomatic bridges via arts and entertainment products, depends on the multiple lived realities of people in another state. Elisabeth Hermann, Carrie Smith-Prei and Stuart Taberner attest to the contestatory possibilities of transnationalism, which when moved from adjective to noun, comes to designate an ever-evolving complex of encounters with other cultures and peoples, systems of thought and political, economic and religious worldviews (Hermann and Smith-Prei and Taberner 2015, p. 2). It is no coincidence that the 2015 refugee crisis has taken Germany's, as well as Australia's, general population beyond the discussion of supranational elites, global market standardisation and currency exchange. Instead, transnational impulses have emerged as everyday people's networks in which fears of Islamist terror, neo-nationalist interests and right-wing populist policies compete with proponents of social change and the free flow of people and ideas. And as all these strands converge in a continuous flow of live-streamed media and 24/7 news cycles, the term dialogue becomes the attending word to discuss contemporary globalisation in German-related contexts.

There is little doubt that contemporary transnational studies can foster dialogue about the tension between the national as a general idea and the lived realities of a nation's residents without acknowledging the diversity of both thought and experience. This volume thus assembles contributions on different contemporary transnational connections between Australia and Germany, which are far from being static or bound by traditional means of public diplomatic exchange and engagement, disciplinary canonisation and the pitfalls of methodological nationalism. The discussions here are imbued with a sense of self-evident diversity, as each author or team of authors with a multitude of backgrounds share their understanding of German-Australian transnationalism in the twenty-first century. Cultural emissaries detail the concept of cultural diplomacy from top-down and bottom-up perspectives while journalists in broadcast agencies and professionals in print-media deliver auto-ethnographic accounts of transnationalism as part of a broader conversation on global artistic production in genre and mainstream entertainment. Interdisciplinary scholarly experts create a host of innovative concepts of transnational research mobility with their varied discussions on the Other, culture industries, and the result of transnational contacts, representations and traumas.

There is of course a fine line between methodological openness and thematic limitation, from which the chapters in this volume seek to draw inspiration. The book opens with three essays on *Institutional Transnationalism*. The authors map contexts and conditions for the present-day relations between producers of German culture in Australia and Australian culture in Germany. An inventory of political initiatives and civic groups committed to staging Germanness in Australian venues, with examples of German film festivals, corporate sponsorship, mutual export and import of dance, audio-visuals and music, enables readers to inform themselves on the current setup and relevant discussions around cultural exchange and consumption. Arpad-Andreas Sölter describes the informal channels of cultural diplomatic relations, which have superseded historical monoliths of culture transfer such as the Goethe-Institut. Sölter argues in his case study for a redefinition of the settings as well as venues of cultural transnational exchanges, which hitherto have been obscured by national elites as illegitimate or disvalued means of authentic cultural representation. In her chapter, Irina Herrschner elaborates on Soelter's circumspect overview through the example of cultural spectacles in Australia and Germany at the hands of committed individuals and informal cultural brokerage. Ending the first section, Julia Nafisi examines the import of German *Lieder* in the Australian state of Victoria. What has been theorised in the introductory section transpires in the 2011 Victoria *Liederfest* as a specific example of nation-themed festivals which act as transfer events beyond national boundaries and institutions.

The chapters in section two, *Lived Realities of Transnationalism*, elaborate on and complicate the long-term effects of movements of people and cultures as oftentimes reductive conversations about revenue-driven artistic practices, media production and migratory trajectories between two nation states. Maren Klein's chapter rigorously questions the privileged position of German migration to Australia over the past fifteen years, hence calling into question the hegemonic position of Western whiteness and German imperialist tendencies, which still reverberate in socio-economic circulatory migration patterns of German passport holders. In Klein's essay, teased out in oral accounts of migrants, the possibility of return migration dismantles the assumption of permanent resettlement and loss of home, which puts a new twist on the idea of German *Heimat* and belonging as inextricably bound concepts. Personal experiences connected to transnational migration and its lived realities on individual levels appear in the last three chapters of section two. Michael Shirrefs' auto-ethnographic essay on Australian perceptions of German culture goods at home and abroad complement Giles Fielke's interview with German auteurist filmmaker Paul Winkler. While Shirrefs' account puts forth a personalised transnationalism paradigm, the intellectual dialogue between Fielke and Winkler adds an isomorphic art rendering to it. Stuart Braun also discusses transnational connections between major cities in Germany and Australia as an alternative to national narratives of the shared past between Australians and Germans. Braun places his focus on the level of urbanite dwellings, which suggests that similar transnational affiliations failed to establish transnational bridges across spatial and geographic distances.

The next three chapters turn specifically to a side-by-side comparison of systemic dimensions of education, perception of the Other, policy-making and entertainment market import and export industries in Germany and Australia. The third section, *Comparative Transnationalism*, rounds out both institutional as well as individualised perspectives on the predominant organising principle of German comprehensive schooling, Asian language education policy settings, and children's literature market industries in translation environments. In her essay, Esther Doecke offers a circumspect overview of German and Australian secondary education and long-standing, yet imprecise, assumptions of school systems whose direct comparison with each other produces compelling evidence for further empirical study. Comparative educational scholarship then continues in Michiko Weinmann's elucidation of Asian-language education policies in German and Australian high schools. With the danger of generalisations of the Other in critical educational stages, such comparative perspectives on local knowledge and cultural practice wash out crucial shades of transnational dynamics at stake in both Australian and German society. In contrast, Leah Gerber's focus as a transnational translation studies scholar is on the possibility of conceptualising national developments in non-territorial categories. These issues have traditionally been linked to different types of markets or learner cohorts. By making visible the imperceptible notions of difference of the Other as a cultural entity and a discursive object or product of the nation state's educational formations, Doecke, Weinmann and Gerber demonstrate how transnational interchange at the level of cultural production and prescription creates a utility of transnational positioning.

This volume rejects the current trend of neo-nationalisation or re-appropriating transnationalism. The four chapters in section four, *Transnational Challenges Unbound*, thus go even further in advancing the urgency of methodological, theoretical and epistemological reorientation to undo the misnomer of the white native's nation as the dominant position in cultural authorship. Similar concerns lie with the majority population's rules about socio-historic engagements with minority cultures, as Oliver Haag discusses with some key concepts of postcolonialism and cosmopolitan equity. He makes clear that the existence of nationally unbound arenas of cultural appropriation and reappropriation respectively constitutes a twenty-first century challenge. In the furthering of critical transnational inquiry on cultural confluence, Paul Turnbull's research puzzle pins the peripheral vision of Australian indigenous history against the intellectual foundation of Aboriginal rights in contemporary Australia. Transnational economic processes and non-governmental communities have received a growing empirical interest by professional associations. The Berlin Charité is an example for the latter, according to Paul Turnbull's postcolonial interpretation of social equity in minority perspectives. Haag's and Turnbull's analyses advance Rex Butler's and A.D.S. Donaldson's powerfully principled ideas of transnational solidarity, as artists interrogate nation state units in response to modern crises in the unilateral definitions of nationally bound art. The section ends with Benjamin Nickl's chapter on discriminatory identity practices against Muslim minority members in Germany and Australia. That white, Christian segments of the German and Australian majority

society seek to reduce the varied forms of modern Muslimness to the horrid acts of radicalised Islamic terrorists forms the most pressing challenge for a comedic intervention in a transnational mainstream media debate on identity politics since 9/11.

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Part I
Institutional Transnationalism

Strategically Shaping International Cultural Relations in a Changing Competitive Environment: Reflections on Recent German-Australian Encounters

Arpad-Andreas Sölter

Abstract This chapter discusses perspectives on German-Australian encounters, networks, and exchanges from a cultural diplomacy point of view. Three different models, scenarios and options are presented by applying strategic parameters, aims and objectives to German-Australian cultural relations. The pros and cons of competing cultural approaches to transnational dynamics are discussed and examples assessed (I extend my warmest thanks to Alix Landgrebe, Ben Nickl, Irina Herrschner, Alfons Hug, and Nicole Smith for their critical comments on this chapter).

Creating Images and Building Public Attitudes with Cultural Diplomacy

In the digital age of information overflow across the globe, cheap world travel, and social media exchanges on pretty much anything, why should nations such as Australia and Germany establish cultural diplomacy ties between countries at all? This article argues it is because people can, and ultimately should, learn from each other. Because modern Western nation-states like Australia and Germany compete with others on different levels in the international arena. And while they share vital, strategic interests, Germany and Australia also face similar challenges when it comes to global competition. Because people increasingly need to go beyond the headlines to gain a deeper understanding of foreign cultures, to broaden their mental horizon and to obtain a moral compass to make exchange on all levels possible. As the Australia-Germany Advisory Group, a project emerging from state-level and elite-level, writes: 'Culture provides a unique and critical forum for fostering mutual understanding and relationship-building. Alliances and friendship are just as likely to be forged along the lines of cultural understanding as they are on economic or geographic ones' (2015a). To illustrate this view, examples of best practice in

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most recent Australian-German cultural encounters are detailed below. The insights I share stem from my first-hand account as cultural manager and my professional experience as former director of the Goethe-Institutes in Sydney and Melbourne and the annual German Film Festival in eight Australian cities.

In this respect, I discuss contemporary perspectives on German-Australian transnational encounters, networks, and exchanges from a cultural diplomacy viewpoint. A theoretical framework with strategic parameters, aims and objectives to German-Australian relations presents here three different models, scenarios and options: nation branding, public diplomacy and meaningful exchange as two-way traffic in cultural diplomacy setups. The competing approaches to international relations and transnational dynamics in the sphere of soft power are compared and their pros and cons discussed. To illustrate the benefits of contemporary Australian-German cultural cooperation, I present recent cultural highlights and joint trends in both countries and ask the question how to design and deepen further cultural relations strategically between both countries in a changing, highly competitive globalised environment. Felicity conditions, a term I explain below, for content-driven cultural exchange in contemporary German-Australian discourse suggest that there are huge challenges which both nations are facing in the age of global megatrends. There are forced migration, demographic shifts, urbanisation, climate change, and internet proliferation, all seemingly irreversible forces which already have made a deep impact on cultures, economies and societies.

The significant contribution of many Australians of German descent to Australia's development has shaped long-standing historical and cultural links between both countries. With approximately nine hundred thousand Australians reported to have German ancestry in the 2011 census and the large number of German tourists visiting Australia each year, one hundred eighty-three thousand and four hundred in 2014 and one hundred eighty-eight thousand and seven hundred in 2015 (Tourism Australia 2016), and twenty-four thousand German working-holiday travellers (Töpper 2016), Australia and Germany enjoy a shared history and present. Common interests and shared values unite both Western nations, such as democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Europe, in which Germany increasingly plays a leading role, is an important economic partner for Australia. The latter is part of the world's fast growing Indo-Pacific region. Germany and Australia seek to present themselves as vibrant cultural centres. Both nations are major trading nations, including their creative industries. They are also the world's fourth and twelfth largest economies respectively. Germany, often referred to as a nation of poets and philosophers, has become known as one of the world leaders in cultural innovation, export, and a strive for excellence. Australia, in its self-image and its presentation abroad, is currently one of the leading nations of advanced multiculturalism (Australian Government 2017).

Australia's and Germany's increasingly multicultural cities invite thousands of newcomers every year, thus creating huge challenges for true understanding and sustainable relations based on the dialogue, cultural exchange of ideas, knowledge, values, and beliefs that create trust. Australia has been an immigrant country for over two hundred years with migrants from all over the world arriving in their

search for a new home and to redefine themselves with a new, often hyphenated identity. Australia has one of the most diverse cultures, being home to people from all corners of the globe. This permeates Australia's culture and affects the way in which Australians expresses their identity, including the creative arts. By contrast, Germany has only recently acknowledged the fact that it is an immigrant society with an ethnically diverse population. Germans are slowly coming to terms with the influence of people of Turkish, Bosnian, African, and Islamic descent and that the groups now shape a more complex German society. Young artists from immigrant backgrounds find new means to respond to the encounter and fusion of different cultures and backgrounds. Innovation of artistic expression, both poetically and musically, flourishes in a new cultural narrative.

Still, Germany and Australia face a similar problem. The inside and outside views of each country often differ. The two nations must confront reduced, distorted or even restricted perceptions, blurred images, and negative national stereotypes abroad. Germany is certainly much more than beer, Bavaria, Munich's Oktoberfest, and *Lederhosen* or traditional leather trousers. Likewise, Australia has far more to offer than the Sydney Opera House, the Uluru, the Great Barrier Reef, koalas, and kangaroos. Melbourne's Royal Exhibition Buildings and Carlton Gardens, the Kimberley, Kakadu National Park, and Australia's nineteen UNESCO World Heritage-listed sites, such as the Ningaloo Reef and Aboriginal communities' sacred sites, surely deserve special recognition, too. While one can experience Germany's cultural, artistic, and intellectual diversity abroad through cultural programs and language courses at the Goethe-Institutes across the globe, it is still, unfortunately, very difficult to get a glimpse of Australia outside the country's splendid shores. While Germany, with its historical burden, aims to go beyond stereotypes, Australia seems quite happy with its own clichéed perceptions. The government for instance appears reluctant to invest more in cultural diplomacy on a larger, more competitive scale.

German cultural institutions receive their generous funding because they are still perceived to make significant contributions to the welfare of society and the creation of public good. Public funding of art institutions is by and large seen as a meaningful investment into a society's future. This approach echoes in Germany's foreign relations. Consequently, Germany invests heavily in cultural exchange in Australia. In Australia, Germany promotes its culture primarily through its Goethe-Institutes in Sydney and Melbourne, which organise language classes and language exams plus regular events with public lectures, musicians, artists, writers and film makers. There are collaborations with the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* or German Academic Exchange Service, the Alexander von Humboldt foundation, and Stuttgart's Institute for Foreign Relations, which supports visual arts abroad. Australians, however, have no equivalent to a fully-fledged cultural institute operating at arm's length from the government. On the other hand, one can hardly ever find a more positive mindset than that demonstrated by the many willing partners in Australia's thriving and internationalised art and culture scene.

However, stereotypes as well as the realities of social equity persist. It is a huge challenge to redirect and reshape attributes and qualities attached to people and

nations, while simultaneously seeking to avoid damages to their international reputation. Examples include Angela Merkel's humanitarian open door policy during the European refugee crisis in 2015, which is a bone of contention for many in Europe today. Australia's former Prime Minister, Tony Abbot, had an election-winning slogan. It read: 'We will stop the boats!' There were also Abbot's implementations of off-shore detention centres for so-called 'queue jumpers'. Both approaches need to stand the test of time with debates on good and bad immigration, sovereign borders, 'eroding human rights' and international law (SBS 2016). Both cases illustrate how nations which face challenges like global migration are forced to reposition their politics under increasing internal and external pressure. International perception and the depicted dominant image abroad changes accordingly. Investment in agents, efforts, and joint collaborative design of international cultural affairs provide innovative opportunities to cope with predicaments of reductive images about German and Australian culture successfully (Sölter 2010a, 2015).

Strategic Aims and Objectives in German-Australian Cultural Relations

Germany and Australia signed a cultural agreement aimed to enhance cultural and academic exchanges in November 1997. In 2014, cultural relations got to the next level. Germany's Chancellor, Angela Merkel, and Australia's former Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, created the Australia-Germany Advisory Group. Its mandate was to identify ways to broaden, strengthen and deepen the relationship between Australia and Germany in a structured process on a strategic level. The group was led by Australia-Germany Advisory Group co-chairs, Maria Böhmer, German Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, and German-speaking Australian Senator, Mathias Cormann, who also served as Australian Minister for Finance. The Group met in July 2015 and in October 2015. In addition, there have been several bilateral and local meetings in relation to subject areas. The Australia-Germany Advisory Group (2015a) strategy results in a list of recommendations, underpinned by a detailed plan divided into five guiding themes: to increase trade and investment, to improve strategic dialogue and collaboration, to strengthen cooperation on science and education, to foster discussions on diversity, migration, integration and refugees, and finally, to enhance culture and sports links, and cooperation on wine making.

Soft power or an ability with a high degree of credibility to influence and design the preferences of others through seduction, appeal and attraction can provide a valid antidote to structurally limited perceptions (Nye 2004, 2011). Conventional wisdom holds that cultural offerings provided by an enlightened cultural policy based on mutual cultural exchange can deepen an understanding among individuals and people (Gienow-Hecht and Donfried 2010; Sölter 2000, 2001). Therefore, soft power should play a vital role in international relations. This view is confirmed by the Australia-Germany Advisory Group (2015b). Cultural affairs are described in

the context of international dialogue, exchange, debate, and understanding between nations. This approach recognises significant positive effects of cultural dialogue and exchange in building mutual understanding and respect between societies. At the end of a glossy brochure published by the Advisory Group, readers find section E to be dedicated to a rather bewildering combination of 'culture, sport and wine making'. To create closer bilateral relationships of genuine substance, the Australia-Germany Advisory Group offered a few cultural policy recommendations to advance bilateral cultural exchange, and thus, transform Australian-German relations. Four out of sixty of the Group's total proposal points aimed at certain gains the countries could produce though collaboration in cultural affairs.

In 2017, Australia designated Germany as the focus country of its cultural diplomacy program by the name of 'Australia now' (Australian Government 2017). The program is 'a year-long program to showcase Australian culture in Germany, highlight new collaborations and deepen networks across a variety of fields'. The official event series presents a diverse array of cultural exchange, including film retrospectives, photography exhibitions, crossover events, wine appreciation, institutional exchanges and collaboration between emerging and established professionals in both countries 'through music, visual arts, circus, dance, theatre, cinema, photography, sport, science and technology.' Australia will also list Germany as a priority country under its 'National Program for Excellence in the Arts' international touring and cultural diplomacy stream. Moreover, Australia and Germany will explore ways to develop and strengthen cooperative partnerships in the arts and cultural sectors, including through encouraging bilateral exchanges and collaboration between arts and cultural organisations. Finally, The Canberra Symphony Orchestra and the *Saarländisches Staatsorchester* or Saarland State Orchestra will undertake a joint recital program in Australia (Australia-Germany Advisory Group 2015a).

From the perspective of a cultural bridge builder, certainly any initiative to intensify cultural ties between Australia and Germany is to be welcomed enthusiastically. A wider range of artistic events, such as co-productions in German-Australian cultural weeks can reflect both countries' status as vibrant and culturally diverse area of multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, and artistic creativity. It is also laudable to implement fifty-nine measurable aims and objectives to increase existing levels of cooperation. Relatively speaking, the role of culture in any given society and in its exchange with the rest of the world can serve as a general indicator. In the Advisory Group's list, culture appears in the very last chapter with recommendations starting as bullet points number fifty and onwards. Evidently, culture does not place very high on the shared agenda, and thus, it only plays a minor role in the Advisory Group's strategic assessment. It is certainly not seen as the engine under the hood in bilateral relations. This is not a surprise. Hardly anyone in the Advisory Group has a professional record or artistic background in the cultural sphere.[1]

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[1]German Members of the Advisory Group included Maria Böhmer, Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office, MP, Co-Chair of the Australia-Germany Advisory Group, Volkmar Klein, MP, Chair of the German-Australian-New Zealand Parliamentary Group, Bernd Leukert, Member of the Executive Board and the Global Managing Board of SAP SE, Christoph Müller, German

Thus, the messages to cultural mediators in Australian-German relations are crystal clear. Firstly, increased funding for established institutional platforms for a well-orchestrated exchange in the long run cannot be expected. Existing funds will be reallocated instead. In comparison to the status quo, it is likely that not much more money will be spent over the coming years to strengthen institutional links, fostering long-term mutual exchange in cultural affairs between the nations. Secondly, narratives of shame and guilt are excluded from the government advisors' fresh perspective. The memory of the Great War with its aftermath of racial vilification, discrimination, and mass internment of German-Australian individuals (Helmi 2014; Helmi and Fischer 2011), and WWII's culmination in the expulsion and genocidal extermination of European Jews is very prominent in the world's collective memory. It certainly is in Australia and Germany (Dümling 2016). Obviously, the Advisory Group wishes to move past these memories and does not want to associate their recommendations with these dark chapters of history, even if much of the internees' stories during WWI 'is left out of Australia's history books' (Helmi 2014, p. 19). Many would rather prefer to finish this conversation once and for all. But in Germany and elsewhere, Nazism and the Shoah, and therefore *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* or coming to terms with the past, still deeply affect politics among decision makers. In Berlin's centre and beyond, wrestling with the past in the creative arts remains an inspirational and educational force that seeks to unravel, understand, explain, and predict the evil ultimate (Sölter 2017).

Although these events are not comparable, both countries share a traumatic history of genocide. In Australia, a country with complex and vibrant first peoples that was invaded by Europeans about two hundred years ago, the treatment of Aboriginals and the former politics of white Australia have been increasingly replaced by research and careful recognition of its unique indigenous heritage (Moses 2004). Today, Australia in its official self-image and its projected representation abroad increasingly displays a modern sensibility and new political correctness with all its cultures, including a celebration of indigenous artists in museums and galleries, even on an international scale (Australian Government 2017). To stress connections between Australia and Germany, it is interesting to note that today Australia's greatest Indigenous artists are presented to a German public as masterworks in the National Gallery of Australia's extensive collection in Berlin. That collection is part of *Australia now*, which is a year-long program

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Ambassador to Australia and Volker Perthes, Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, SWP, Anja Schwarz, University of Potsdam. Australian Members of the Advisory Group included Senator Mathias Cormann, Minister for Finance and Senator for Western Australia, Co-Chair of the Australia-Germany Advisory Group, Michael Chaney, Chairman of National Australia Bank Ltd, Chairman of Woodside Petroleum Ltd, Chancellor of the University of Western Australia, Jeff Connolly, CEO and Managing Director Siemens Ltd, Peter Jennings, Executive Director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ASPI, Dr Nicholas Milton, General Music Director, State Opera House, Saarbrücken, Artistic Director and Chief Conductor, Canberra Symphony Orchestra, David Ritchie, Australian Ambassador to Germany, Professor Brian Schmidt, Research School of Astronomy and Astrophysics, Australian National University and Lucy Turnbull, Honorary President of the German-Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

to showcase Australian culture in Germany in 2017. However, the original events leading up to this remarkable progress are often ignored in glossy brochures, which come from the desks of government officials and marketing agencies. Certainly, during the Eurovision contest in 2015 and 2016, non-white performers from Australia were welcomed in Germany. Current Australian discussions, however, on the treatment of Muslim migrants and refugees, the disproportionate imprisonment of Aboriginals in rural Australia today, the issue of same sex marriage, and the election of far-right-wing Pauline Hanson's One Nation party are seemingly not part of state-run international broadcasting (About Australia 2016). Therefore, it is subject to debate to what degree Australia's approach can serve as a role model for other nations. And whether Germany's approach of wrestling with the past may serve as guideline in this respect is a decision Australians evidently must make themselves.

I argue with the example of the Advisory Group and its promotion of culture that those who do not actively produce culture present their own basic shortcomings and challenges in any attempt to inject generic attitudes into international target markets. Close reading of such texts usually reveals a limited scope and obvious attempts to whitewash issues or even blatant sugar-coating of the past. In this view, culture is primarily seen as a means by which to achieve national interests. This angle provides deeper insights into the problem of cultural representation abroad.

Soft Power: Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy Versus Cultural Exchange as Two-Way Traffic

The nation state's competitive creation of positive images and branding perceptions among influential prospective target groups in the international arena is about visibility, media attention, influence, significance, soft power and smart power as opposed to purely military hard power (Nye 2004, 2011). Altering perceptions on a global scale today is part and parcel of political desire. This basic setting influences Australia's and Germany's answers to global challenges and problems of the twenty-first century such as migration and immigration. From this point of view, defined by a broad framework of nationalism, it is in one's enlightened self-interest to play an active role in forming favourable opinions and disseminating a contemporary, comprehensive, and ultimately positive, if not friendly, image of one's country. It has even been argued that a state's soft power has a measurable, positive effect on its exports to other nations (Rose 2015).

In opposition to state level manipulation, raw propaganda, advertisement campaigns and commercial interests' success in this specific political realm depends on authenticity and soft power's attractiveness to others. Rather than the use of force, soft power comes across as a generous, non-instrumental invitation. It is shaped by non-coercive influencers, such as culture, political values, and cooperative foreign policies provided they are legitimate, credible and morally authoritative (Nye 2011, p. 84). Some scholars have attempted to measure these effects through a composite index in 2010 (McClory 2010). In countries like post-WWII Germany, this

understanding has contributed to the rise of non-state actors, such as intermediate soft power agencies dedicated to mutual cultural exchange like the ones mentioned above. Different models, scenarios, and options to provide a more complex understanding based on a more realistic view of a nation's image on the international stage are linked to competing approaches to international relations and transnational dynamics in the sphere of soft power (Sölter 2010b).

Possible options from which political decision makers can pick and choose are as follows: nation branding marketing campaigns, public diplomacy activities run by officials and diplomatic circles as authority to disseminate prescribed ideas and attitude towards a given country, and, in opposition to all approaches using persuasive communication that promotes strategic pitches, cultural diplomacy run by independent agencies as meaningful cultural exchange in a model of two-way traffic. In 2017, it remains to be seen whether the large-scale enterprise of *Australia now* will resist the temptation of one-sided cultural export. Showcasing events and artistic export ventures tends not be good enough to make substantial long-term differences (Gienow-Hecht and Donfried 2010).

Educated audiences in open societies, however, tend to distrust and dislike foreign governments broadcasting messages abroad. State-run marketing campaigns, disguised as slick, one-sided public diplomacy, are by and large perceived as promoting a given agenda that follows strict national interests and the government's views in a straightforward instrumental fashion. They usually come across as simple, export-driven sales pitches. Based entirely on persuasive communication, including turning facts into fiction, this fake news approach tends to be associated with deceiving national branding or even propaganda, often creating nothing but disbelief and rejection among critical audiences in open societies. Cultural programs run by civil society agents, especially if they enjoy the privilege of operating at arm's length from the government and their officials, are perceived as independent and more authentic, even if they tackle controversial political issues (Sölter 2010a, 2014, 2015). As Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010) have pointed out, the greater the extent to which cultural diplomacy agents are separate from the official economic and political agenda of their country of origin, the more successful they will be. And the more interactively their programs are run with their target audiences, the more likely they are to succeed and the better foreign audiences will receive them. To achieve maximum and deep impact in cultural diplomacy, responsible programmers need to know the cultural trends and burning questions in the host country to understand the shared concerns of the target groups (Sölter and Schulze 2010).

Consequently, if cultural programming is to have any impact at all, it must grow out of an ability to listen and to find out what matters to audiences and target groups and why, rather than selling messages abroad defined purely by national interest. In addition, and even more difficult for an envoy from a foreign country, one needs to connect all the above on a deeper level with what one can offer as a player in the international cultural arena. Finally, success will depend on whether bringing together the homegrown and some stimulating input from outside can create something new, meaningful, and relevant for everyone involved. Not meeting these criteria runs the risk of irrelevant programming. The centre and focus of cultural diplomacy, aiming at

meaningful exchange in both directions, however, is not profit-driven or designed by pre-formatted images and beliefs to be implanted within its target groups. Rather, it is audience-based, inclusive, participatory, basically democratic, and people-centred. The essentially more democratic direction in this approach is dialogue, interaction, cooperation, co-creation, and open-process design in combination with a shared learning experience, such as a design centred on gifted individuals involved in joint ambitious projects. In the long run, cultural two-way traffic in modern civil societies offers the ability to change and enrich biographies through smart programming. The language courses and exams in a cultural institute, its cooperation with libraries across the states, the advice and information provided by daily study visits, lectures, exhibitions, workshops, school screenings, allocation of scholarships for the brightest and most gifted are the bread and butter, the essential ingredients, of cultural work.

Cultural diplomacy constantly needs to justify its existence and the expenses connected to it. On a political world map, this is easier explained in an emerging democracy, a country ravaged by war or in regions struggling to get rid of their evil dictators. Obviously, neither Australia nor Germany belongs into any of these categories. A big divide between Germany and Australia is based on political decisions and different funding models though. The extent of the ruling political class's willingness to invest in international cultural relations is evident also in the advisory group's policy recommendations to intensify Australian-German relations as listed above. Thus, state funding needs increasingly to be matched by public-private-partnerships and sponsors to support civil society agents and their international programs. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that transnational connections in the new century totally replace the need for state governance and funding. Without funding by the state, only a very small proportion of a country's cultural spectrum could be presented to international audiences. International cultural exchanges often gain their importance and influence by a market absence of diverse cultural offerings. Evidently, the market and pure commercialism do not present the whole range of existing cultural capital. Cultural and cinematic diplomacy and independent civil society agents can provide whatever is culturally missing to create more cultural diversity, thus improving the artistic landscape and its public value. Moreover, seed money is often multiplied many times over by institutional partners. Every dollar spent is easily doubled or tripled by the input of professional, local organisations. Thus, one can reach far and deep with considerable return of investment as illustrated in my subsequent discussion of the German Film Festival (Sölter 2013, 2015).

Ultimately, German-Australian cultural relations are defined by a disproportionate asymmetry. Public spending on cultural affairs varies greatly between both nations. In Germany, an emphatic understanding and meaning of culture and *Bildung* or education still prevails regardless of the massive changes educational institutions have undergone over time (Lepenies 2006). It is deeply rooted in ideas based on traditional German humanism and its widely facetted off-springs. Germany's rich cultural life, presented as *Kulturnation* or a nation based on culture, is rooted in a historically grown cultural landscape in all of Germany's regions, today's Federal States, and the major cities of Germany. In this respect, and against

all odds, educational efforts in the sphere of cultural diplomacy are a glimpse of what was once called *Bildung* or education, moving far beyond vocational training purposes to the nobility of the individual. The underlying credo is that culture should neither be used as a tool primarily for political nor for economic purposes, but that it represents an intrinsic value. As such, it can initiate conversations, mental growth, productive self-reflection, critical thinking, and ultimately, freedom. This no-compromise approach could be the reason why German productions are often seen as avant-garde and cutting-edge projects overseas.

The Cultural Spheres in Australia

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia developed the oldest continuous cultures in the world, which is impressively, ecologically sustainable from a twenty-first century perspective. Today, Australia's creative industries have built a global reputation for innovation and creativity. They also play an important role in the Australian economy. Building on current platforms for international exchange, Australia has many publicly run galleries, museums, and performance spaces to offer, from the World Heritage listed Opera House in Sydney and world-class cultural institutions in Canberra to historical museums, galleries, and arts precincts throughout regional Australia. Australia's major performing arts organisations, musicians, dancers, and theatre performers, including Opera Australia and the Australian Ballet Company, display the diversity and vibrant energy of Australia's arts. Two examples, which were both recently featured in Germany's leading cultural event, the Movimentos Festival in Wolfsburg, are the Sydney Dance Company and Shaun Parker and Company, an exhilarating and bold new dance company with a distinct language expressed through music and movement. Many Australian performing arts companies collaborate with their international counterparts and regularly undertake international tours, often courtesy of the Australian Council for the Arts, the Australian Government's arts funding and advisory body. An Australia Council for the Arts representative in Berlin works with the Australian Embassy to assist Australian artists entering and operating in the German market.

In Australia, very curious and open-minded audiences enjoy colourful spectacles. They also expect good content and appreciate international cultural inspiration. However, the event-driven machinery prevailing in contemporary culture industries defines Australia's cultural scene. Basically, public funding is scarce. Therefore, added private funding from sponsors with an economic and utilitarian approach towards larger cultural events is a necessity. Australia's vibrant arts and cultural sector is an easy target, and as such, is increasingly confronted with 'a government that disregards the long-term health of the arts while appearing to pursue short-term political gains', as Nicole Beyer, ArtsPeak spokesperson and Director of Theatre Network, writes (Winikoff 2016; Boon 2016; Watts 2016). Australian institutions run by taxpayers' money are far less equipped when compared to Germany with its rich cultural infrastructure at home and abroad.

Germans in Australia, Australians in Germany

A recent, magnificent example of immense creative force in a transnational German-Australian encounter premiered as ninety-minute feature successfully at the Sundance Film Festival in January 2017. The film screened later at Gothenburg's Film Festival in Sweden and in Denmark, featuring Academy Award winning Australian actress Cate Blanchett in thirteen different roles. The movie *Manifesto* questions 'the role of the artist in society today' (Bunbury 2015; ACMI 2017). It was shot over only twelve days in Berlin and premiered and screened in Melbourne at the Australian Centre for the Moving Image from December 2015 to March 2016, with the Goethe-Institut as supporting partner. *Manifesto*, written, produced and directed by artist Julian Rosefeldt, was also shown at the *Museum für Gegenwart* or Museum of Contemporary Art, Berlin, and the Park Avenue Armory in New York City (Manifesto 2015). The film offers a collage of the writings of Futurists, Dadaists, Fluxus artists, Suprematists, Situationists, Dogma 95 and others, all powerfully presented by Blanchett who explores the dynamics between politics, art and life in surprising personas. As a schoolteacher, a homeless man, a factory worker, a puppeteer, and a newsreader, at a funeral, and during a conservative family's Sunday lunch. Julian Rosefeldt's mesmerizing *Manifesto* has been co-commissioned by the Australian Centre for the Moving Image, the Art Gallery of New South Wales Sydney, and the National Gallery of Hannover. The work was co-produced by the Burger Collection Hong Kong and the *Ruhrtriennale*. It was realised with support of *Medienboard* or media panel Berlin-Brandenburg and in cooperation with *Bayerischer Rundfunk* or Bavarian broadcasters. This example may illustrate why public funding is needed to make international large-scale collaborations of highest artistic calibre possible.

Major flagship events and projects like *Manifesto* have contributed to Germany's cultural presence in Australia in addition to Goethe-Institute in Sydney and Melbourne. The website of the German embassy in Canberra lists examples such as the exhibitions *European Masters of the Städel Museum* in Melbourne in 2010, *Mad Square: German Modernity 1910-1937* in Sydney and Melbourne in 2011, *Handwritten: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Treasures of the State Library of Berlin* in Canberra from 2011 to 2012, as well as the cultural festival *BerlinDayz* in Melbourne in 2010 and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra's first concert journey to Australia in November 2010. In recent years, productions from Germany have created a real buzz and generated spirited debate in Australia. This is certainly one of the essential functions of the arts in any society, and the interest is not at all one-way traffic.

Today, Berlin is filled with Australians. The Australian Embassy states that exactly three thousand two hundred and twenty-four Australians were living in Berlin in November 2016, which is about four hundred more than the year before (Goethe-Institut Australien 2017). Many of these Australians want to soak up the cultural stimulation and intellectual challenges that this city offers. A significant number of Australian artists are based in Germany, working in music, the

performing and visual arts, and literature as well as arts management, thus contributing to the capital's cultural fabric. They include prominent figures such as Simone Young, who was until recently General Manager and Musical Director of the Hamburg State Opera, and Nicolas Milton, General Music Director of the State Opera House of Saarbrücken and Artistic Director and Chief Conductor of the Canberra Symphony Orchestra. Australian major performing arts organizations regularly tour Germany, including in recent years leading companies such as the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, the Queensland Ballet, and the Bangarra Dance Company. Recent high-profile events include a major exhibition of Australian Indigenous art in Cologne, the Berlinale, which is Berlin's International Film Festival that featured Australian films and the Bangarra Dance Company's German and Swiss tour.

The German cultural scene is rich, with artists creating bold, contemporary and original productions which clearly resonate with Australian audiences. This is true whether one considers the major houses such as the *Komische Oper* or Funny Opera in Berlin where Australia's Barrie Kosky presides as artistic director over an exciting reinvigoration, equally in terms of repertoire as well as staging, or smaller companies such as Rimini Protokoll. In 2006 and 2008, under Brett Sheehy's direction, the Adelaide Festival brought the *Schaubühne Berlin* or Berlin art stage to Australia with Thomas Ostermeier's productions of *Nora* and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*. As director of Sydney Festival in 2010, Lindy Hume brought audiences Ostermeier's *Hamlet* and then, in 2011 and 2012, again at Brett Sheehy's direction, the *Schaubühne* or art stage returned with his *Hedda Gabler* and *An Enemy of the People* (Jörder 2014). In 2017, the Adelaide Festival presented Thomas Ostermeier's new production of Shakespeare's vicious *Richard III*: *becoming King of England*, played by Lars Eidinger. This Australian premiere will again be supported by the Goethe-Institut.

In Australia, large-scale international productions like these are presented via major cities' annual festival platforms. Former Sydney festival director and globally-minded Lieven Bertels has taken the festival's international profile to new unprecedented artistic levels, with mesmerising spotlights on Germany again made possible by the Goethe-Institut's collaboration. Over the years, various hybrid productions with surprising co-mingling of the arts were presented, inviting viewers to enjoy art with an open mind. In 2013, in the interior of the Sydney Town Hall, German director Ludger Engels explored cross-over effects between ravishing spectacle, cat walk, and fashion through Händel's baroque opera *Semele Walk* that included bold designs by Vivienne Westwood, Britain's reigning queen of fashion. Semele's non-compromising way with her lover, the god Jupiter, in her self-destructive quest for immortality ends deadly, and the vanity of Semele provides an interesting parallel with the fashion business.

German dance legend Sasha Waltz, with her experimental choreographic opera and sublime dance version of Henry Purcell's baroque opera *Dido and Aeneas*, was featured on every taxi in town as the centrepiece of the Sydney Festival in 2014. It was an underwater spectacle, performed in a giant aquarium tank on stage with seven and a half tons of water in it. In collaboration with The Academy of Ancient Music Berlin,

one of the world's top Baroque ensembles, this performance was neither a regular opera nor dance theatre production. In 2016, Jette Steckel's highly-acclaimed production of *Woyzeck*, Hamburg's Thalia theatre production of Georg Büchner's drama, was another Sydney performance highlight that presented Robert Wilson's reinvention of Büchner's unforgiving tale of man's inhumanity as a twenty-first century musical with songs by Tom Waits. Cultural heritage such as exquisite concerts of *Freiburger Barockorcheste*r at Adelaide Festival in 2012 is also part of this spectrum and transnational co-operation. Artistically, these were all stellar performances and successful productions with a compelling take on their material. Each in their own way, they struck a strong chord with captivated Australian audiences. Far beyond cultural elitism German electronic music pioneers *Kraftwerk* at the creative festival Vivid Sydney and Tangerine Dream in Melbourne also attracted loyal crowds.

The Culture Scene in Germany

Germany's unique cultural landscape is characterised by a very dense and well-funded infrastructure with forty UNESCO world heritage sites, around eight hundred and twenty theatres, music theatres, and opera houses. There are six thousand and two hundred museums, including six hundred and thirty art museums, eight thousand and eight hundred libraries, four thousand and seven hundred cinemas, one hundred and thirty professional orchestras, and eighty musical theatres. Approximately one hundred thousand theatre performances and seven thousand concerts are held in Germany each year, drawing audiences of up to thirty-five million people out of a population of approximately eighty point two million in total. The thriving German arts scene has created a broad spectrum of artists who engage in work that is not designed solely for commercial success. It is a fertile ground for pure artistic expression, creative impulses, and open dialogue. As countless German productions are internationally oriented, Germany itself becomes more and more colourful. The Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media states total government arts spending in Germany equals a total of approximately nine point four billion Euros which is one point seven per cent of Germany's *Bundeshaushalt* or federal fiscal budget consisting of public spending on culture by the Federal Government, the Länder and local authorities (Grütters 2016).

The city-state of Berlin's culture budget alone is famously gargantuan. For 2016, the political decision was made for this one city alone to increase its cultural budget by thirty-three million Euros, or six point ninety-seven per cent, up to approximately five hundred point three million Euros, far surpassing the Arts Council of England's annual budget and even dwarfing the United States' entire national endowment for the arts. In 2017, another increase of approximately fifty million Euros, or ten point fifty-nine per cent, is forecast to go up to five hundred and twenty-two point three million Euros (Mit dem neuen Haushalt 2016). But even in smaller German cities like Stuttgart, Baden-Württemberg, the cultural budget of one hundred and fifty million Euros is higher than the annual budget of the entire

Australian Council in 2016 with a converted amount of two thousand fourteen and five hundred thirty-two Australian Dollars (Pforzheimer Zeitung 2016).

Facing this huge asymmetry in public cultural spending between Australia and Germany, many Australian cultural entrepreneurs and institutional agents are sometimes tempted to jump on the German band wagon, trying to tap into useful resources elsewhere. Thus, German cultural representatives are confronted with a free-rider scenario, which can be best summarized as: I have an idea. And I want you to pay for it! In other words, uneven distribution of funding creates undesirable incentive structures for funding applicants in bilateral relations.

The Festivalisation of Culture in Cinematic Diplomacy

The Goethe-Institut's German Film Festival was the key annual German cultural event in Australia for many years (Sölter 2015). The Festival, between 2012 and 2015, even grew to the biggest German-language film festival outside Germany. In 2015, from coast to coast, the festival attracted twenty-two thousand viewers in eight Australian cities. Measured by the number of films, screenings, international guests, festival visitors, cities, and locations all over the continent, it transformed into the largest festival of German films outside Germany until 2015. Under new leadership, after the loss of the former principal sponsor, AUDI, after eight consecutive years, its event management has taken a new direction, down-sizing its scope with fewer cities and screenings. After the festival's final edition in 2016, it was shut down, to the disappointment of many.

Ideally, international film festivals like any other meaningful platform for cultural exchange can broaden the viewers' horizons and perspectives, enhance cultural awareness, stimulate critical reflection, and create productive intercultural dialogue and additional public value in a diverse city's social and cultural fabric (Dolgopolov 2013). Good, festivals will build a momentum to create an atmosphere of enthusiasm and passion. In due course, festivals can benefit from a mix of fun-driven quality entertainment and educational theme-related events. They can shed light on buried and serious controversial issues and difficult genres. A great variety of contemporary movies and genres invites viewers in a non-authoritarian way to form their own image and their opinion on twenty-first-century Germany and its culture (Herrschner 2015, p. 136).

By creating international resonance, festivals support promising newcomers in the industry by lifting them into the globalized, highly competitive event arena. Presenting a curated selection of contemporary, excellent movies across the board with English subtitles, actresses, actors, and filmmakers from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland to Australian cities is not only an educational enterprise. In addition, festivals can be an efficient means of re-branding one's image abroad over time by accurately reflecting, again and again, the character of one's country and culture abroad. The festival was orchestrated by the Goethe-Institut Australia in conjunction with local and international partners, such as German Films on various levels: selection, finance, and presentation. Its profile, results, target groups, mode

of operation, selection process, development over the years, and challenges within the wider context of multicultural festivals in Australia and ever-growing festival mania in the culture industry's contemporary event circus have been discussed elsewhere (Gmür 2013; Claus 2015; Mendelson 2015; Stevens et al. 2015; Herrschner 2017; Sölter 1996, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015). Like other multicultural film festivals in Australia, the German Film Festival gained its significance by a marked absence of a variety of German products in mainstream movie distribution. Few German films find Australian distributors for commercial release. Yet, there is a substantial demand among non-German-Australians for this annual festival and its events. The German Film Festival in Australia has, however, never purely been an ethnic film festival catering to the needs of diasporic audiences. Quite on the contrary, an independent, professional Australian-German selection jury made sure expectations of local Australian audiences were met while choosing high-quality German-language films. All films were selected by a predominantly Australian jury without any centralized directive from Germany, rather than by German government officials or by a national agency. This type of inclusive approach in an unfiltered selection process combined with the power of professional Australian publicists as media networkers and brokers has for many years secured the festival's success in an increasingly competitive and crowded Australian festival landscape with obvious challenges: 'While the festival sector is clearly growing, there are concerns among the pundits that screening films for festivals will no longer be enough and that there is a need to diversify, capture the video-on-demand market, and expand into new areas of cultural influence' (Dolgopolov 2016).

Considering the absence of a cinematheque for art house movies dedicated to ethnic film festivals even in cosmopolitan cities like Sydney and Melbourne, the non-existent public funding from Australian sources for a large-scale nation-wide German film festival in Australia, and the minimal demand for German films among Australian buyers and distributors, the festival's director was caught between a rock and a hard place. Pre- and post-screening events, such as introductions by experts, panel discussions, workshops, industry events, and school screenings are a noble cause not to be underestimated as they contradict the status quo by initiating critical thinking through films. But staging a large festival in an Anglo-American context also means trying to reconcile immense commercial pressure with curatorial responsibility to present unconventional top-notch quality movies. First and foremost, any head of business operations will also need to transform a film festival into a truly Australian event with international flavour (Claus 2015) (Table 1).

Public-private partnerships between the Goethe-Institut and Australian corporations and local firms were the only option to finance a nation-wide festival, which explains why the festival was commercially run. Public–private partnerships between public institutions and sponsors in the form of commercial festival partners increase the importance of festivals as marketing and branding tools for corporate entities. This situation increases the pressure to adapt to local conditions even further. Festivals therefore need to provide solid returns on their investment in terms of their marketing value. Sponsors demand highly professional run premium events, gala nights, and photo ops with award winners presented in Hollywood style. They request efficient

Table 1 Festival Revenue (2009–2015)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Revenue sponsoring CASH	AUD 120,042	AUD 132,568	AUD 120,782	AUD 119,952	AUD 115,462	AUD 135,128	AUD 142,701
Revenue Sponsoring IN-KIND	AUD 152,635	AUD 152,635	AUD 152,605	AUD 152,605	AUD 144,456	AUD 196,486	AUD 171,775
Revenue Tickets Goethe-Institut's share (40% + 50% for school screenings)	AUD 74,076	AUD 91,587	AUD 86,536	AUD 66,632	AUD 109,799	AUD 64,200	AUD 103,857
Revenue Tickets TOTAL	AUD 185,190	AUD 228,967	AUD 216,340	AUD 166,580	AUD 274,498	AUD 160,500	AUD 262,469
TOTAL	AUD 457,867	AUD 514,171	AUD 489,727	AUD 439,137	AUD 534,416	AUD 492,115	AUD 576,944
Per cent in comparison to previous year		12%	−5%	−10%	22%	−8%	17%
Number of Sponsors	20	23	25	24	28	41	35

visibility, product and logo placement, red carpet events with stars; a stunning international cast, celebrities and VIPs radiating glitz, glamour, and influence, and tailor-made solutions to accommodate a sponsor's very specific marketing needs. Requirements from sponsors for visibility ultimately result in demanding increased return on investment. Independent media monitoring agencies need to evaluate the results of the festival campaign and to measure the festival's media coverage in terms of marketing value (Audi Festival of German Films 2014). Key performance indicators are applied to measure the festival's quantitative success. Based on a public–private partnership with sponsors and local partners, the festival has generated immense financial value of more than two million Australian dollars in advertising space rates for its supporting sponsors in 2015 alone.

Sponsorship money pays solid investment dividends. This is indicated in an independent media analysis report on the Goethe-Institut's Audi Festival of German Films between 27 April and 8 June 2015 in Australia: 'A total of 496 media reports mentioned the festival during this period, with this coverage having a potential cumulative audience/circulation of 7,023,060 and an advertising space rate of $2,048,349' (Isentia 2015). This astonishing capacity of large-scale cultural events is often underestimated. In combination with additional international coverage in prominent media outlets such as *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Spiegel Online*, *Deutschlandradio Kultur*, and *Filmwoche* on an Australian-German event so far away, the media echo is huge. In addition, the festival machinery has benefitted from an increase of twenty-five per cent in revenue for the Audi Festival of German Films between 2011 and 2015, which translates into added revenue of approximately two million Australian dollars in only four years from 2011 until 2015.

Beyond the economic approach to cultural capital, this nation-wide cultural event series had the power to influence and even change perceptions. The immense cultural force of film festivals is even more important than any number crunching. And as such, it has been subject of academic research (Herrschner 2015, 2016). In 2015, the opening night of the German Film Festival singlehandedly reshaped patrons' perceptions of German gastronomy' and filmmaking (Audi Festival of German Films 2015). Thus in 2015, amid Gallipoli celebrations, the German festival's movie premiere of Fatih Akin's film *The Cut* on the genocide against Armenians in the Ottoman empire during WWI sparked an extremely important debate about 'genocide denial' and the legal limits of free speech in an open society such as Australia. As a result, a post-screening discussion of the Armenian genocide was cancelled after the New South Wales Treasurer Gladys Berejiklian, a senior figure in the Armenian-Australian community, withdrew from a panel which was to discuss the movie (Hawker 2015). This example shows even a cancelled non-event can raise attention among national media and lead to effects intended by a festival's chief of operations (Audi Festival of German Films 2015).

Dance Theatre and Cross-Over Zeitgeist Show

Falk Richter's darkly humorous co-production *Complexity of Belonging* with Chunky Move artistic director Anouk van Dijk premiered at the Melbourne Festival with the support of the Goethe-Institut. It later travelled to major European destinations, including Schaubühne Berlin. Combining Richter's razor sharp social observations with van Dijk's bold choreographic language, the show focuses on the crucial question of identity and the individual's very personal sense of belonging within a digitally hyper-connected, Western global capitalism. In the latter, national identities, social cohesion, and traditional forms of relationships dissolve (see interviews with Falk Richter, Anouk van Dijk, and Josephine Ridge in Sölter 2014, pp. 27–32). As such, it is an exploration of identity based on the lives of nine interconnected individuals, combining five Chunky Move dancers with four of Melbourne's best young actors, as they struggle with essential questions of the human condition. For this purpose, Richter and van Dijk cast a group of dancers and actors who are interested in sharing their personal stories with the audience. How do they define home, and how they define family for themselves? Do they live in one, two, or three countries and travel back and forth? How do they keep up long distance relationships? How do they express feelings via Skype, via email, via text messages, to someone they love that is far away? How important is heritage to them; how would they define their own nation? What does a real Australian man look like? How does he act? What does a young woman expect from a man at all?

During the rehearsal process, the actors and dancers are asked to improvise on certain issues or talk very personally about their understanding of burning questions, or improvise on certain ideas for characters and stories that the author

originally invented. These improvisations are re-written or re-mixed and later made to sound Australian.

> When it is all working perfectly in performance, you can no longer tell who is a dancer and who is an actor, and hopefully you don't care anymore about where the acting stops and the dancing begins; it is all one. This creates a style where you can be more invested in the character, in his or her story; you see the performer in all of their individual "complexity", what they have to tell (Richter 2014, p. 28).

The underlying problem of this hybrid method of constructing a piece, however, is that it can lead to a deprofessionalization of formerly highly specialised artistic practices.

Performance and Documentary as Reality Check

Helgard Haug, Stefan Kaegi, and Daniel Wetzel, working together as the award-winning Berlin-based performance collective Rimini Protokoll, have established a new form of documentary theatre. Their collective has become one of the most significant innovators within contemporary theatre addressing socially relevant themes and experiments with new modes of performing and spectating. *Rimini Protokoll* has also played a significant role in Australia's arts festivals in recent years, which again has triggered academic interest and research (Birgfeld et al. 2015). The reality trend is the only one element which unites the many Rimini Protokoll experiences in Australia. Every one of them used real people as the protagonist, there was never an actor in sight. Everyday people are turned into heroes, celebrated for their normality, carefully curated into the most theatrical of settings, yet always true to themselves. Goethe-Institut Australia has supported *Rimini Protokoll* in three projects, including *Radio Muezzin* on call to prayer which toured Sydney Festival and the production of *100% Melbourne* in 2012 (Garde and Mumford 2012). In their inclusive approach, real Melburnians instead of actors are put on stage in a contemporary documentary performance. *100% Melbourne* presents a city distilled down into one hundred people. Participants openly display their opinions and values in public, sometimes shockingly so. Playing games with cartographic representation of a cosmopolitan city in Victoria, experts of the everyday are invited to a spatial operation mapping their very own attitudes, for example on migrants, by managing proximity to people on stage.

The Perth International Arts Festival co-commissioned *Situation rooms* in 2014. As audiences learn the stories of twenty people involved in the weapons and arms industry, they get increasingly involved and disoriented until they question their own perspective in the installation. For ninety minutes, twenty members of the public who are carrying iPad Minis and wearing headphones are guided by screens and the voices in their ears. In this way, they are moved through a labyrinth of rooms, constructed to re-create in rough detail locations around the world. The ten stories they hear are the real tales of people involved in the weapons and arms industry, from weapons engineer to protestor, from Middle Eastern soldier to South

American drug dealer. It goes without saying that this kind of experience is far more intense than watching a play while sitting in a traditional theatre.

The Politics of Participation

To break the cycle of passivity in the contemporary culture industry, one must create access and dialogue between cultures of the world, talking between people, participation among audiences, engagement, involvement, and action. The common denominator of the above is an open-arms policy characterized by its grandeur. Basically, it is an inclusive approach which offers an opportunity to interact, participate, and engage in the mechanics of a given cultural process, often even in the early stages of production. Thus, local views and angles are involved on a methodological level to introduce a comparative perspective. Experts from the other side are invited in a democratic manner to bring their specific views and ideas to the table. They shape both the process and the outcome of artistic expression and representation of the human condition. Increasingly, boundaries between art forms that used to be clearly separated are blurred in modern culture industry.

The ability to develop a scene and a character in an open process is essential. It is advisable to apply a working method based on general openness which invites co-curation, an input from both sides, and a joint critical view to what the relevant contemporary discourses, current themes, burning questions, and key issues are, and how to approach them together in refreshing cultural ways. In the arts, this is value creation bottom up as opposed to top down. Combined with long-term solid partnerships with local institutions built on trust and expertise, this approach will produce better and more sustainable results (Sölter 2000, 2001, 2015). Gadamer (1990, p. 311) has coined the term *Horizontverschmelzung* or the melting and fusion of horizons to describe this process of blending in mutual understanding. At the end of the day, one crucial problem however remains. The politics of participation and democratic fusion with audiences does not necessarily coincide with a higher quality of art. Likewise, art works that stand the test of time are not generally created in a democratic process of decision-making.

Felicity Conditions for Cultural Exchange in and Between Multicultural Societies

Drawing conclusions from cultural practices embedded in the examples listed above, it can be argued that the ideal conditions for intercultural communication, collaboration, and cooperation are to be found in the very core of soft power (Sölter 2000, 2001). To meet these requirements means to make translation possible between cultures and to enable individuals to transfer knowledge via dialogue, creative exchange, and inner educational growth during poetry sessions, concerts, composition work-shops, theatre performances, study visits and film festivals. As such, cultural diplomacy as soft power has a clear purpose. It is there to inspire and

open new horizons, to initiate innovative cultural developments, to reach new levels of co-operation with deep impact, and, thus, to create added public value. Its substance consists of sublime, magic moments which only art and culture convey. Certainly, crucial circumstances can be outlined for effective cross-cultural understanding and dialogue. The term felicity conditions refers to the to the prerequisites and presuppositions that must be in place and the criteria that must be satisfied for cultures to meet in a meaningful, constructive way and thus, for cultural exchange to achieve its purpose (Sölter 1997, 2000; Searle 1969, Austin 1975). How can those criteria be enshrined into future cultural diplomacy between countries and nations such as Australia and Germany? Drawing non-trivial conclusions from previous examples mentioned above, several prerequisites need to be met if cultural exchange is expected to have longer lasting, positive effects (Kimmerle 2002, p. 80). Firstly, violence, abuse, and hate speech in exchanges over cultural codes, norms and social practice, tradition and worldviews, whether religious or secular, cannot be tolerated and are not open for dispute. Secondly, partners in dialogue are equal in rank regardless of how different their positions and points of view may be. The non-hierarchical recognition of 'the Other' as partner for an open-process dialogue is based on equal rights to engage in such an exchange. The readiness for symmetrical communication among participants must be based on mutual respect and tolerance regarding differing point of views as opposed to coercion, hierarchy, and force. Thirdly, dialogue and exchange within cultures and between cultures can only be successful if the participants are ready on a very basic level to engage with the other person's cultural world; to open up for unexpected insights and embrace learning experiences; to question one's own cultural assumptions, one's own perceptions, actions, norms, value systems and worldviews critically; and, possibly, to absorb something new from engaging with others. The capacity and willingness to learn from each other (in opposition to lecture one another) is essential. The readiness to absorb new information and to process it in a constructive manner in order to gain new insights and deeper understanding of the other's motives, behavioral patterns, ideas, and values is a motivational factor. Meaningful intercultural dialogues should be based on the assumption that 'the Other' has something meaningful and significant to share which one would not have gained access to on one's own. They are characterized by direction and by an openness towards reaching a conclusion. Finally, neither truth claims nor sensitive issues such as religion, sexual practices, holy codes of conduct, or any other sacred cultural cornerstone are immune to rational critique. In open liberal societies, nothing is excluded from critical assessment and public debate.

These normative conditions are by no means banal. In ethnically diverse, open, complex multicultural societies based on migration and immigration, such as Australia and increasingly Germany, these conditions gain specific significance as regulatory force. These conditions provide a non-imperial, non-ethnocentric, non-expansionist, and non-relativist alternative. They enable respective partners to participate and engage in peaceful processes forming open communication and understanding. Results that can happen when observing and putting into place the normative conditions are to imagine oneself in somebody else's shoes, to share and

even change perspectives completely if needed, to question one's own position, and thus, to gain new insights with a more decentralized worldview and increase knowledge on both sides. Anyone able to shape the future of cross-cultural relations between nations or people needs to consider how to deal with sometimes extreme cultural differences. Official numbers listed below illustrate this dilemma.

In this view, however, tolerance should not and cannot be expected for and by the intolerant. Similarly, felicity conditions as outlined apply to communication not only between individuals, but also ethnic entities, societies, and nations. Dialogue between large-scale social entities also requires a civilised minimum of formal, rational modes of communication to be exercised successfully. The more particular, unilateral, mutually exclusive, and strategically instrumental the communicative approach, the more likely it will fail, at least in terms of symmetry and satisfaction among participants. In such cases, one-sided dominance through an unleashing of coercion, power, and might will be a highly likely result. Consequently, the more one party perceives its status as loser of the game, the more likely the rule of conflict, abuse, and violence will become.

Evidently, context plays a crucial role and questions of power cannot be separated from international dialogue. Ideally, an economic and political equilibrium with equal access to resources would provide a perfect setting to exchange ideas and perspectives between cultural representatives. However, the idea of fairness serves as a guideline in case these quasi-utopian circumstances cannot be met. To eliminate traditional power relations, they need to be replaced with authentic cultural exchange on equal terms. As soon as one party violates necessary preconditions for meaningful exchange, the effort to engage in such an enterprise becomes utterly useless.

In 2015, a total of two point fourteen million people migrated to Germany, which is an increase of forty-six percent in comparison to 2014 and the highest number since 1992, according to recent numbers issued by the German Ministry of Migration or *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (2016). This official number includes approximately eight hundred and ninety thousand asylum seekers among them in 2015, and additional two hundred and eighty thousand arrivals in 2016. Two thirds among them cannot produce any education which would qualify them for a job or *berufsqualifizierender Bildungsabschluss*. Evidently, Germany's challenge is immense. One fifth of Germany's population already has a *Migrationshintergrund* or migration background. This percentage is much higher for children under the age of ten. One third of those children has roots in a country other than Germany. Obviously, this is a rapid change in recent German history with huge socio-economic consequences. As such, it is also a risky experiment in social engineering. Even more so if certain cultural practices imported are not at all compatible with Western legal requirements and codes of conduct. For example, almost fifty thousand Muslim women living in Germany today have suffered genital mutilation, their countries of origin being mainly Eritrea, Iraq, Somalia, Egypt and Ethiopia according to a most recent empirical study (Bundesministerium für Familie, Frauen, Senioren und Jugend 2017). This cultural practice is a criminal offence under German law even if taking place abroad. With increasing migration,

this alarming number has risen by forty per cent since 2014 until mid-2016. This is one of many aspects of contemporary cultural clashes, not only in Germany. A wider comparative public discourse how to absorb mass migration and how to integrate migrants and refugees into Western societies, their workforce and cultural settings has been ongoing for years (Caldwell 2009). Recently, sexual assaults by Muslim men on a massive scale in Cologne and other cities, violent incidents and even a terrorist attack on Berlin's Christmas market in December 2016 have further polarized the country and Europe. These deeds violate all criteria and conditions mentioned above.

Germany has spent twenty-one point four billion Euros in 2016 and additional twenty-one point three billion Euros will be spent in 2017 to cope with the recent international refugee crisis (Bundesfinanzministerium 2017). Under these circumstances, any ruling party would be running a political risk not to sell much needed integration as success story in every possible way before Germany's general election in 2017. Economically, however, this positive narrative is highly questionable and therefore, subject to continued public debate and concern (Stelter 2016). Germany has refrained until now from introducing an Australian- or Canadian-style points or merits system to regulate and process its immigration. In this respect, Australia's history of successful integration and its current multicultural fabric shines as a beacon from which Germany can learn. In how far the Australian Solution, with its combination of selective immigration, offshore processing, and detention centres should be put forward as a solution to Europe's current crisis, is highly controversial (Tan 2016). Cultural exchange pursued as a joint learning community, as described above, can provide an ideal platform for such critical discourse. It can provide all expressions and best practice dialogues needed to bring both Germany's and Australia's culture to fruition, moving them towards solutions far beyond narrowly defined national interests and away from forces of extremism, aggressive xenophobia, and racism. After all, hardly anything will shape, determine or trash a country's international image and reputation as much as the way it handles its incoming migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

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Curating the Antipodes: The Diversification of Cultural Diplomacy in the 21st Century

Irina Herrschner

Abstract In this chapter, I examine the diverse cultural connections between Germany and Australia that have emerged in the 21st century and the associated social trends and technological developments. Contemporary mobility and the internet enable a multitude of cultural connections that have previously been inaccessible to the masses. The flows of global information are unprecedented and increasingly take place on a person-to-person basis rather than government-to-government, thereby demanding a rethink of nation branding and soft-power. Whilst the concepts were earlier discussed in the realm of governments and their application of public diplomacy, in the present individuals, institutions and companies that intentionally and unintentionally shape conceptualisations of respective countries complement this. Here, I outline contemporary concepts of cultural diplomacy and the prominent images about Australia and Germany that are disseminated through diverse forms of cultural traffic between the antipodes.

Curating Country Imaginaries

Curated imaginaries of countries are fabricated by a variety of old and newly established connections and ideas. Australia and Germany are, in this regard connected by a long history of migration, literature, science, popular culture and travel. The internet enables instantaneous global communication and this has reinforced and added new linkages to a multitude of cultural connections curated by cultural diplomatic agencies, marketers and film producers. Literature and migration as agents of cultural communication have received much academic attention, whilst popular culture and cultural events, as well as travel as agents of cultural curating have received less, despite their growing importance (Bochner 2013; Pieterse 2015; Liu et al. 2014). Cultural curating of national identities is intrinsic to cultural diplomacy, nation-building and global economies (Kurin 2014; Fladmark 2015).

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For their foreign representation, countries develop intricate strategies and curate their national image for the global stage. Events and films illustrate and reinforce these strategies, or the perception of a country and tourism campaigns showcase the most attractive parts of a country as a holiday destination. This chapter elucidates the different aspects of cultural curating of Australia and Germany in each country.

Facilitators of contemporary exchange between Germany and Australia including smartphones and more affordable air travel drive time-space compression, which means the world has become more accessible for a wider cross-section of society. Additionally, conceptualisations are more diversified driven by social media facilitating the exchange of photos, videos and messages amongst networked cohorts (Urry 2015; Sobré-Denton 2016). The emergence of low cost carriers has enhanced access to travel and this new mobility has resulted in the emergence of destinations that have hitherto been mostly inaccessible (Hirst et al. 2015). For a country like Australia that is conceptually and geographically distant (Blainey 1982), this has resulted in an increase in visitor numbers. The introduction of Working Holiday Maker (subclass 462) visas allows young people to spend extended periods of time in Australia and to subsidize their travels through employment (Birrell and Healey 2016). They therefore not only access the touristic layer of a country, but also its work and routine environment.

A consequence of this increased exchange could be a more factual understanding of the world and a reduction in cultural clichés. I, however, argue that most privately curated imaginaries on social media add to long-established ideas about the other, where Germany and Australia in many ways represent the cultural, seasonal, social and political opposite of one another.

Cultural Diplomacy

The concept of soft-power, coined by Joseph Nye in the late 1980s has gained increasing importance in foreign affairs and in the academic discourse (Ilgen 2016; Dinnie 2015). Cultural diplomacy employs different modes of culture, exhibitions, festivals and artists' exchanges to establish connections between cultures and peoples. Australia and Germany are linked by a multitude of cultural diplomatic projects and unofficial cultural representations. Government led cultural diplomacy is part of the foreign policy of a country. Australia's main body for international cultural exchange is the Australia International Cultural Council (AICC), a relatively small section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). AICC does not specifically promote the English or, any Indigenous language, but instead facilitates Australian cultural activities through country-specific programs and overseas missions (Keys-Statham 2013; Mar 2014). In Germany, the Goethe Institut (GI) functions as the largest organization for cultural diplomacy, next to the DAAD and the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, among others (Sölter 2015; Schneider and Kaitinnis 2016).

The concept of cultural diplomacy has its roots in catering for the colonial diaspora during the nineteenth and twentieth century. The British Council, the Instituto Cervantes and the Alliance Française form the template for other countries' cultural institutes, connecting language teaching with cultural diplomacy. Both Australia and Germany do not adhere to this template and have shaped their own approaches to cultural diplomacy. In 2012, the Australia in the Asian Century White Paper, and the Review of the Australia Council, signaled a renewed national interest in cultural diplomacy. While in Germany, Foreign Minister Walter Steinmeier referred to cultural diplomacy, or *auswärtige Kulturpoltik,* as the basis for any successful foreign policy.

The first idea for a GI emerged out of Germany's colonial aspirations, and as a competitive response to the formation of the Alliance Française. The GI grew to become the leading actor of the department for Propaganda and Enlightenment during the Third Reich and was later dissolved by the Allies. During the period 1949-1989, the GDR developed its own Herder Institute, whilst the BRD restarted the Goethe Institute (Kathe 2005). Following reunification, the Goethe Institute merged both cultural organizations and they became part of European Network of Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) (Schneider and Kaitinnis 2016). This shift from the national to the supranational aligns with the establishment of the EC, the Schengen agreement and the Euro-zone, and illustrates a redefinition of Germany as a European country.

Australia, itself a British colony from 1788 until 1850, is long connected to Great Britain by the umbilical cord of colonialism and has only recently started to assert its cultural independence and significance (Young 2014). The establishment of a cultural diplomacy division at DFAT symbolizes the strengthened sense of nation. The White Paper of the Asian Century states that the recognition of Australia's 'unique cultural advantage' is the basis for future programs and promotes a future broadening and deepening of Australia's cultural links with Asian nations (Snow 2016). In 2014, the Germany-Australia advisory group was established to strengthen and deepen relations between the two countries underpinned by the sense that 'there is genuine warmth in the interpersonal interactions between Australians and Germans' (Böhner 2014). This simplistic, whitewashed and emotive opening statement for a policy agreement inspires this chapter.

Cinematic Diplomacy: Re-creating a Country Abroad

Popular culture typically creates and uses cultural clichés when representing oneself or another country abroad. Commercial motivations generally drive this use and production of relatable and familiar ideas about the other and oneself, but popular culture also provides a vehicle for cultural diplomacy (Bayles 2014). Governments and cultural organizations therefore support and organize the production and screening of popular culture in other countries. The organization of film festivals is one of the most noticeable efforts of cultural diplomacy for many countries and

attracts large numbers of audiences (Melgosa 2012; Harper 2017). Film, in many ways is a representation of a country and its culture. What Bourdieu terms Habitus is often described as the making of film as a culturally specific artifact. German cinema has a long history and is often considered representative of aspects of German culture. The most famous example being Kracauers' prolix thesis from 1947, that understands the films of the Weimar republic as mirroring the developments that ultimately led to the Holocaust and WWII. Whilst this direct link between society and film has been criticized and cannot apply to all forms of cinema, a link between society and national cinema is undeniable.

German cinema in Australia is represented mainly through the Festival of German Films, by the publicly funded multicultural TV channel SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) and via a select number of generally released films in Australian art house cinemas. Recently there has been a resurgence of German film in Australian cinema and on SBS, facilitating engagement with a cinematic image of Germany, but also producing ideas of the country that are in line with its Art house representations. On SBS, two TV shows are currently screening and they also stream on the broadcaster's on demand platform. *Deutschland'83* has received much attention when it was first screened in Germany in 2014 and is now enjoying large audience numbers in Australia (Bodey 2016). The series is, as the name suggests set in 1983 and tells the story of an East German spy in West Germany and thus provides an image of the GDR as well as West Germany and their foreign relations. Rather than providing an image of contemporary Germany, the series therefore provides an insight into Germany's recent history. The second, not as popular German TV series screening in Australia is *Alarm für Cobra 11*, a police drama centered around two police officers and the German adaptation of the multi-national nude dating show *Adam sucht Eva*. These three programs illustrate much of the cultural clichés about Germany present in Australia: dark history, the Turkish-German community and the German concept of *Frei Körper Kultur* or free body culture.

Cinematic portrayals of Germany such as *Lore* (2012) by Australian director Cate Shortland depict German WWII narratives that tell the familiar tale of loss and alienation after the conflict while *Good Bye, Lenin!* (Becker 2003) and *Barbara* (Petzold 2012) showcase another topos of German history draw on GDR context. *Good Bye, Lenin!* recreates a version of the GDR from a post-reunification perspective and thus partakes in its memorialization (Gook 2008). *Barbara* describes the GDR's oppressive system as well as aspects of the GDR often underexplored in conceptualisations of it, especially the sharing economy between citizens where goods and services were exchanged and bartered outside monetised frameworks. The other facet of the GDR highlighted includes the hidden spaces of freedom that individuals created for themselves within the constraints and controls of the extant socialist system (Pinfold 2014; Zmarzly 2014).

When scrutinizing the multitude of images that are outlined in these cinematic portrayals, the focus on Germany's twentieth century history is most obvious. The Australian cinematic market is also influenced by Germany's media landscape and accordingly tends to be preoccupied with hackneyed and narrow historic portrayals

of Germany. Another characteristic of Germany that receives Australia's attention is Berlin as showcased in *Good Bye, Lenin*! and in Gerster's (2014) *Oh Boy* or *Coffee in Berlin* as screened at the Melbourne International Film Festival, and the Australian Centre for the Moving Image (ACMI). *Oh Boy* is a representation of a young man's eternal search for good coffee and his unwillingness to follow in the footsteps of his successful father. Shot in black and white, the film is a hyper-realistic image of Berlin that connects Australia and Germany, and especially Melbourne and Berlin through a common hipster and coffee culture (Burns 2015).

Australia's Cinematic Representations in Germany

In German films screened in Australia, Germany tends to be represented as sober, hyper-realistic and historic, while Australian film in Germany position Australia through a lens of a happy-go-lucky attitude, adventure and romance. This exemplifies how films can reinforce stereotypical images of each nation. Since 1986, Peter Faiman's *Crocodile Dundee* has certainly become an iconic symbol of Australianess around the world, promoting hyper-masculinity, the outback and danger (Baker 2011). The subsequent tourism campaign featuring Paul Hogan, the star of the film, continued the cinematic branding of *Crocodile Dundee* that became central to Australia's global image. Baz Luhrmann's settler drama *Australia* (2008) reaffirmed some of these images and introduced aspects of Aboriginal culture, early Chinese migrants and the vast and dramatic landscapes (Langton 2008; Hogan 2010).

In addition to these Australian productions screened in Germany, German TV producers and filmmakers use Australia as a backdrop for their shows. An important genre for German representations of Australia is the so-called *Herzkino*—romantic films 'for the heart' with a uniform and predictable storyline where the escape from routine and home opens avenues for love and happiness in another setting, often in exotic overseas locations. Australia has featured in numerous *Herzkino* films as the place of escape for a happier, simpler life and is represented as the opposite of Germany, where the landscape is vast, whilst Germany's cityscapes are narrow and where Australians appear more relaxed and connected to nature than Germans. Examples of *Herzkino* include the mini TV-series *Himmel über Australien*, where German marine biologist Elena travels to Australia to find her father but instead finds love and meaning. Another example is the German *Traumschiff*, a production based around the cruise ship MS Germany and its crew around the world and screened since 1981. In Australia, MS Germany anchored in Sydney where its cast and crew travel inland to Uluru. A similar *Herzkino* love-story evolves, when German doctor Christina Herbst falls in love with bush pilot Ben and decides to leave her career-focused husband for a simpler and more meaningful life. The *Traumschiff* is a mixed genre of romantic entertainment and travelogue in which Germans explore the world. These accessible and dramatized travelogues align with tourism marketing and are often produced in collaboration

with local tourism agencies, highlighting the entanglement of public and private nation branding, as well as of entertainment and education.

The Eventization of Culture: Dackel Meets Kangaroo

The largest exposé of German films in Australia is the Festival of German Films (AFGF) organized by the Goethe Institute and Germanfilms, the distributor and marketer for German film abroad. The festival has been running since 2002 and in 2016 attracted an audience exceeding 20,000. The AFGF was founded by the Goethe Institut specifically to increase visibility of German film and culture in Australia and is the largest Festival of German films outside of Germany. Sponsored by large German companies such as Audi, Lufthansa and Nivea and organized by the Goethe Institut, the AFGF comprises one part of Germany's official cultural engagement with Australia. Downunder Berlin, showcasing Australian cinema in Germany illustrates a different form of cinematic diplomacy where the AFGF enacts German cultural diplomacy while Downunder Berlin is a diaspora event that is now seeking affiliation with official Australian government diplomatic initiatives.

The AFGF follows two objectives: Firstly, the distribution of German cinema and secondly the dissemination of information of German culture and history. The festival is curated by a panel of German cultural managers from the GI, Germanfilms and a group of Australian film critics. Films are chosen based on their quality (international and national reviews), their date of production (only films produced in the year leading up to the festival) and whether they are representations of a diverse and contemporary Germany. Films that are deemed either 'particularly valuable' or 'particularly challenging' for Australian audiences are embedded in events framing the film. These events are an important aspect of the film festival as cultural diplomacy as they foster a deeper engagement with the topic of the film and facilitate a dialogue between the audience and the curators. This dialogue is deemed essential for successful cultural diplomacy (Herrschner 2015).

The objective of Downunder Berlin like that of the AFGF is the dissemination of Australian and New Zealand culture in Germany. In its organization, it is different to the AFGF and thus illustrates a different, more cosmopolitan approach to cultural diplomacy. Australian expatriate Frances Hill created Downunder Berlin in 2011 and the team consists of Australians, New Zealanders and Germans with personal experience in either Australia or New Zealand. The festival takes place at the oldest independent cinema in Berlin, the Movimiento, and screens independent and short films. The festival has grown in size and popularity and has become a part of the Film Festival Network in Berlin, so much so that the organizers are now considering a partnership with the embassies of Australia and New Zealand, as well as an expansion of the festival to other German cities (Hill 2015).

In their curatorial and organizational aspects, the two film festivals illustrate current developments of cultural diplomacy and of cultural entrepreneurship. Opaschowski

(2000) speaks of an eventization of culture and Bennet et al. (2015) recently referred to a similar development as the festivalization of culture. Both concepts describe the increasing importance and popularity of utilizing events for cultural communication and cultural diplomacy. Events provide a focus, a clear time frame and identify target audiences and facilitate a convenient sampling of culture (Mark 2009). Recently, an increasing number of cultural events have emerged in public-private partnerships, therefore merging cultural diplomacy with other forms of cultural representation. Although these events allow access to different aspects of a culture, it lacks the meticulous curatorship of diplomatic events.

Diaspora and Aficionado Festivals

Besides the two flagship events of Germany and Australia, many smaller events are organized by community groups and partake in an active engagement with each country respectively. Diaspora and migrant groups usually organize these cultural events as a meeting place and to share and perform their culture within their country of residence. Therefore, diaspora events illustrate those parts of a culture that individuals most identify with and that they most likely miss in their new home (Sökefeld 2006). There is however, a stark difference between the German diaspora events in Australia and the equivalent Australian events in Germany.

German events in Australia include diaspora events with their own long, distinct history. With German migration dating back to the nineteenth century, the German diaspora is diverse and consists of different generations of migrants (Tampke 2006). Post WWII migrants to Australia established a number of events and traditions that continue today; other events are established by more recent migrants. Examples of this are the various versions of Oktoberfest around Australia. In Melbourne, the Oktoberfest at the German diaspora owned Tivoli Club has been running since the club's establishment in the 1950s and has remain unchanged. The visitors to the festival are mainly Germans living in Australia, as well as their children and grandchildren. As a form of family tradition and the care for a personal family history and connection to Germany, the Oktoberfest is an annual tradition for many families with a connection to Germany. At the Oktoberfest at the Tivoli Club, traditional German cuisine is served, a German band plays and the female members of the club serve coffee and home baked cakes, whilst mostly older couples frequent the dance floor, dancing standard dances popular in the 1960s in Germany. The event illustrates Germany of a bygone era and continues to reinforce and perform German traditions from that time.

In contrast to this traditional portrayal of Germany is another Oktoberfest that has recently been established by a German entrepreneur at the Munich *Brauhaus* in Melbourne's Southbank precinct. The *Brauhaus* features an interior inspired by modern Bavaria and is host to many events; the largest one being the annual Oktoberfest. This festival uses popular clichés of Germany, such as beer, sausages and *Lederhosen* to create a large German party in Melbourne. Guests come from the

young German diaspora, but the majority are Australians with or without a connection to Germany. Rather than forming a diaspora space for practicing and continuing German culture, the Oktoberfest of the *Brauhaus* is a commercial venture that capitalizes on cultural clichés and Germany's recent emergence as a popular place to visit and live. This form of cultural entrepreneurship is playing an increasing role in cultural diplomacy and is thus impacting national imaginaries (Leonard 2002). Another German event impacting and reflecting Germany's changing image in Australia is the Dachshund race. The race has received much attention over the last years and brands itself as an authentically German event in Australia. The combination of the stereotypically German dog and the Anglo-Saxon tradition of dog-racing makes for an interesting example of a cosmopolitan event that capitalizes on cultural clichés and national interests.

In Germany, a far smaller Australian diaspora in conjunction with Germans with an affiliation to Australia organises Australian events. The *Australien-Fest* in a small village in Southern Germany is a case in point, where a local family has started breeding Emu's on their farm and subsequently established the annual event. The event itself is held over a weekend in summer and as well as featuring Emus, also includes boomerang throwing competitions, a didgeridoo workshop, kangaroo steaks and a bull ride. The event also features German distributors selling Australian products, such as opals, Emu crème and authentic Aboriginal handicrafts. The event is thus firmly in German hands and is an illustration of the German imaginary of Australia. Set on a farm and featuring animals, the event highlights the rural aspects of Australia and the bull ride further adds to the fantasy of the wild Australian Bushmen, whilst the other workshops add the culture of Australia's first peoples to the event. Performances by German's with Aboriginal face paint also add aspects of ethnic drag to the event, where a foreign culture is commodified for its production. The *Australien-Fest* tells a similar story as the *Herzkino* films representing touristic views of Australia where Australia is positioned as the opposite of Germany. When comparing the contemporary eventization of Australia and Germany, the common use of food as a conveyor of cultural values becomes clear as a valuable tool for cultural curatorship.

Culinary Diplomacy

Food is an important and emotive representation of home for many. National cuisines are representations of what citizens of a country link to home and reflect a nation's cultural and ethnic make-up (Kimura 2016). Food is also a vehicle for establishing connections between nationalities, for representing one's culture and for nation branding. To recognise the value of food for cultures, the UNESCO Culinary Heritage listing includes certain culturally distinct and valuable foods (Brulotte 2016). Food items with this desgnation include Japanese Sushi, Korean Kimchi, as well as German *Schwarzbrot* or hard-crusted black bread. Food is also a popular souvenir and the motivations for travel are often linked to the consumption food.

The presence of German food in Australia was established by the German diaspora in the nineteenth century. German restaurants, butchers and bakers can be found in capital cities where the German community is predominant. During the 2000s, the composition of Germans in Australia has changed and the associated culinary representations of Germany have diversified accordingly. Recent additions to the German foodscape in Australia's capital cities include an expanding German bakery chain (*Lüneburger* Bakery), a spice shop (*das Gewürzhaus*) and numerous Bavarian-themed restaurants. With these new additions, one can also observe a differentiation of the *Deutschlandbild* in Australia, where German food was earlier exclusively associated with Bavaria, but recently has morphed to also including Northern German cuisines and the German tradition of tea and spice shops.

In Germany, Australian food is also experiencing a shift. Previously available in a small number of Australian restaurants offering kangaroo and crocodile steaks and burgers, the Australian food scene in Germany has expanded to include the popular coffee culture of Australia and of Melbourne. The Australian flat-white coffee and smashed avocado breakfast of Melbourne is also available in Berlin's Melbourne Canteen. Here, a trend representing Australia's urban culture is apparent. While early Australian restaurants had names evoking stereotypes and vast landscape of Australia such as 'Outbackspirit', 'Outback Inn' and 'Wallaby's', contemporary Australian themed cafes focus on the Australia hipster culture and the coffee and café scene of Australia. In reading the histories of the different food enterprises, a shift in ownership illustrates an opposing trend to the German food scene in Australia. When Germans previously owned restaurants with an affinity to Australia, these cafes were usually opened by Australian expats in Germany. Akin to food differentiating the *Deutschlandbild* in Australia, Australian food and coffee in Germany changes the *Australienbild* from one focused on wild landscapes and Bushmen to that inclusive of sophisticated city culture.

Travel Diplomacy: Tourism and Lifestyle Migration

Despite the significant distance between Germany and Australia the mobility of its respective citizens between the two countries has increased significantly over the last decade aided by reciprocal visa arrangements that allow for short-term migration and work. In examining the tourism campaigns of both countries over time, this provides for insights into the characteristics that make either country attractive. In 1997, Germany launched a tourism campaign and sought contributions from around the world to reshape perceptions of it as a destination. Although Australia is not a major inbound tourist market for Germany, Germany is attracting Australian entrepreneurs, businesses and academics through its visa and funding arrangements between the German and the Australian governments. Germany's tourism slogan 'Germany inspires' and 'Germany—land of ideas' also highlight this focus. Significantly different is the German market in Australia and therefore Australia's positioning as a destination. The first large-scale tourism campaign to Germany coincided with the

first Crocodile Dundee film in 1986 and featured Paul Hogan and the Australian landscape. With the launch of the film *Australia* in 2008, Australia again utilized the exposure of a film to attach its tourism campaign and Australia's director Baz Luhrman directed a video clip for Tourism Australia. The online and social media campaign 'sometimes you have to go walkabout' highlighted Australia's Aboriginal culture and firmly positioned Australia as an escape from busy routines and an opportunity to reconnect with nature. In the campaign video, a young, busy woman is seen arguing with her partner and when she finally falls asleep on her couch, an Aboriginal boy appears in her dream, sprinkling red earth into her hand and whispers in her ear: 'sometimes you have to go walkabout!'. In the next frame, the woman and her partner are seen swimming and smiling in a billabong in Australia's Outback and the slogan 'Australia—come walkabout' appears. In the newest campaign, Australia almost exclusively focuses on its natural highlights and features additional information for working holidaymakers.

In addition to these more traditional ways of tourism marketing and nation branding comes the recent expansion of peer-produced content online. Australia's #Australia allows users to share their photos on the official website, as well as making them searchable for potential tourists. Comparing the findings under #Australia and under #Germany an opposite reflection on city and countryside reflect the imaginaries of both places. Whilst Germany showcases old buildings, quaint villages and modern architecture, Australia features the ocean, the vast outback and animals again mirroring themselves in the perceptions of the other country.

Conclusions

Whilst the antipodean nations are increasingly interconnected through various forms of media and migration, parallels in the representations of both nations become clear. In film, food, events and tourism marketing, Australia and Germany provide opposites for the consumption of each other. Australia remains in many ways the space that is colonized by European ideas and consequently represents the simpler way of life, connected and influenced by nature and still free from mundane routines and structures. Germany's imaginary, however, is twofold. The representations of—mostly—Bavarian traditions are prominent in diaspora events and culinary ideas, whilst agents of public diplomacy highlight Germany's status as a sophisticated and innovative country. In filmic and touristic representations of both countries, this binary structure becomes visible, where escapist notions dominate the representations of Australia and Germany.These various and multivarious transnational connections between the two nations exemplify a new form of cultural diplomacy that is shaped by economic interst and personal experiences far more than previous and official diplomatic engagements. Despite this multiplication in the number of cultural connections, agents involved and motivations, the images represented remain focused on established imaginaries of the respectively other country.

The example of the manifold and varied connections between Germany and Australia illustrates the developments of a form of transnational cultural diplomacy that combines different actors of cultural diplomacy and their different motivations. Two distinct forms of contemporary cultural diplomacy become apparent and illustrate wider developments of the twentyfirst century: Firstly these are neoliberal and entrepreneurial ventures that capitalize on the escapist qualities of the respective other culture. In this notion, the *Brauhaus* and its *Oktoberfest* provide a welcome escape from Australia to the clichéd traditions and history of Bavarian beer culture, in the same way as the Australia provides an escape to a warmer and simpler life to German audiences of *Herzkino*. The second discernibly form of cultural diplomacy is driven by travellers and expatriates, who by recreating their homes provide a respresentation of their countries' most valuable cultural assets. Different to more traditional forms of diaspora cultures, these groups mainly consist of individuals with roots and connections in both cultures. As part of a mobile elite, these individuals not only connect Germany and Australia and represent either country to each other, but also co-create new forms of transnational cultures that combine different national cultures. In a way, these interpretations and combinations of cultures illustrate contemporary transnationalism, where borders are more fluid, where nation states remain important carries of cultural and emotional capital and where the clichés of these nationstates provide stability for unpredictable and mobile lives.

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German Lieder in Modern Australia: Practice and Perception

Julia Nafisi

Abstract German Romantic Art Songs, also known as *German Lieder*, are arguably amongst the most precious contributions of the German speaking sphere to the world of art. Epitomizing a much loved and enduring, yet completely non-political aspect of German culture, *Lieder* are calmly insistent ambassadors for a transnational understanding across time. Though encompassing works from the late eighteenth through well into the middle of the twentieth century, the genre is most closely associated with German Romanticism in the nineteenth century. Considering that *Lieder* represent a bygone era and that, for the non-German speaker, the language constitutes an seemingly insurmountable barrier, the genre's universal presence and timeless appeal is certainly remarkable. In Australia, *Lieder* are an integral, albeit modest, part of teaching and examination syllabi and make regular appearances on recital programs. The *Lieder Society of Victoria* is unique amongst other Australian musical associations for its specialized focus on art songs and *Lieder* and hosts regular recitals and a prestigious singing competition, the National *Liederfest*. This paper summarizes the characteristics of the *Lieder* genre, reports of its continued presence in modern Australia in the new century by drawing on a survey at the thirtieth National *Liederfest* in 2011 and offers some unique insights into the perception of the German Romantic Art Song in a country and time so very different from the world of Schubert and Goethe.

What Are *German Lieder* and What Is Their Ongoing Intrigue?

'*Lieder* speak an international language which is understood by all—the language of the heart, the language of the soul and indestructible beauty' (Lehmann 1945, p. 9). This quote by revered singer and master teacher of singing, Lotte Lehmann, crystalizes why an art form that is both old and intrinsically linked to a foreign

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language is so universally loved. Vocal expression of emotion and the subsequent combination of vocal utterances and music in song go back to the earliest stages of humankind (Mithen et al. 2006). As each era's emotional, psychological and environmental state is mirrored in its songs, their history may also be called a 'micro-cosmos of human history' (Oehlmann 2000, p. 10). Earliest records of songs go back thousands of years. Also in German-speaking cultures, songs have always played a crucial role. In German-language usage, *Lied* with the plural *Lieder* simply means song. The term refers to all songs from the earliest beginnings of civilization to the twenty-first century. In musical terminology, art songs differ from folk songs in that they have a known composer who put music for solo voice and, usually, piano, to words of a known poet. Folk songs differ here in that they are typically only known by their regional origin and often exist in various settings (Oehlmann 2000).

In a development emanating from Schubert, German art songs of the early 19th century, gained popularity beyond German language borders and the term *Lied* found its way into English (*German Lied* or just the *Lied*) and French (*Le Lied*) as the short technical term for the *deutsches Kunstlied* (German art song) genre whose most significant protagonists were arguably Schubert, Schumann, Brahms and Wolf. The term *Lied* has come to encompass all art songs written in German language, starting with songs for instance Mozart, Haydn or the early works of Beethoven in the late eighteenth century. The *Lieder* reached the peak of their popularity in the nineteenth century with the works of Schubert, Schumann, Brahms and Wolf, and also Loewe, Mendelssohn, Cornelius, Liszt, Reger and Wagner. Owing to the longevity of many composers and the popularity of the genre, the art of *Lieder* reaches far into the twentieth century with composers like Mahler, Strauss, Marx, Schoek, Eisler, Korngold, Weill, Zemlinsky, Pfitzner, Berg, Webern, Schönberg and Schreker. Despite the male dominance which was typical for the arts at the time, there were several female *Lieder* composers, most notably Fanny Mendelssohn, Felix Mendelssohn's sister, Clara Schumann, Robert Schumann's wife, and Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler's wife. The large number of composers who wrote *Lieder* may give an inkling of the breadth and depth of this art form. Composers drew inspiration from some of the main authors and play-wrights of German classicism and romanticism who were famous in their own rights. The most famous ones are Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Mörike, Eichendorff, Platen, Hebbel, Uhland, Fontane, Geibel, Chamisso, Kerner, Heyse, Rückert, Brecht, Hesse, Rilke, Celan and Dehmel. Other writers have arguably been saved from oblivion solely by the genius of the music written to their texts, like the otherwise unknown Wilhelm Müller. His words inspired Schubert to pen the most famous song cycles, *Die schöne Müllerin* (The fair miller maid) and *Winterreise* (A winter's journey).

Historian Egon Friedell writes that Franz Schubert 'ennobled the folksong and put it on a level equal to the greatest works of music' (Friedell 1976, p. 1002). The hitherto unheard-of intimate interconnection between music and word in *Lieder* instigated a new development in vocal composition that reached far beyond German-speaking cultures (Montgomery 2003). Schubert's first published work,

Gretchen am Spinnrade or Gretchen at the spinning wheel, revolutionized the song concept. There was now a depth of psychological introspection. The manic force of Gretchen's emotions, sick with overwhelming desire, is symbolized by the relentless, ever re-starting spinning wheel motif of the piano. On the surface, the song may just be about the deep longing and confusion of first love in a young girl. But the haunting modulations and masterly melodic turns create a tone of dark foreboding of Gretchen's guilt and ultimately her death. It is no accident that the song has been acknowledged as Schubert's 'breakthrough to the expressionistic song' or *Ausdruckslied* (Oehlmann 2000, p. 225), or even the 'birthing hour of the German *Lied*' (Fischer-Dieskau 1974, p. 49).

Lieder as Historical Documentaries

The *German* in *German Lieder* refers solely to the language—thus encompassing for instance also the Austrian-Hungarian Empire—and not to any national borders which changed constantly and dramatically during the 200 years in question. Whilst there are other traditions of art song in French, Russian, Norwegian, Czech, Italian, Spanish and English-speaking music history, the German *Lied*'s unique status stems from the important influence of Schubert's *Lieder* on other countries' composers (Miller 1999). An understanding of the realities of an artist's life in the first half of the nineteenth century contributes to a deeper understanding of the genre. Until 1850, in the parts of Europe that belonged to the *Deutscher Bund* or German Confederation, the cultural context is often referred to as *Biedermeier* period. The first half of the 19th century is, in the parts of Europe that belonged to the Deutscher Bund (German Confederation), often referred to as Biedermeier period. The term pertains to design, literature, music, the visual arts and interior and evokes the idyllic, intimate and homely. The time between the Vienna Conference (1815), demarcating the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and 1848, the year of the European Revolutions, was particularly charged with political tension and stringent censorship. It has been argued that it was the very lack of outward freedom in public, the superimposed disregard of the wider world, which produced an art defined by a depth of sentiment that may, under different circumstances, have been considered self-indulgent. The forced confinement of art and artists resulted in an 'inward revolution, a liberation, a finding of the self' (Fischer-Dieskau 1985, p. 67). The reclusion of music makers and lovers may explain the exceptional quality, and quantity, of German music and literature of the period (Huch 1951; Rosen 1995).

For the German expatriate in today's Australia, *Lieder* evoke sounds and images of home due to the familiar if somewhat old-fashioned language. However, *Lieder* evidently also communicate meaning to people who cannot understand a single word of the sung text and who have never experienced features like the ominous silence of a dark forest at nightfall, the first warmth of spring after a long harsh winter or have never been lured by the murmur of a creek or the song of a nightingale. Given the many negative connotations of German culture that have

sprung from two World Wars, Nazism and the Holocaust, *Lieder* represent a part of German culture that is untainted and exemplary in its humanity. Here, the German language, otherwise often perceived as harsh, is displayed at its most charming, graceful and poignant.

German Lieder in Twenty-First Century Australia

Classical music occupies a well-established niche within Australia's cultural scene with several opera companies, orchestras and choirs of the highest international standards as well as world-class venues. There is also a multitude of ambitious and enthusiastic amateur musicians and singers and many well-resourced music programs. The latter have become the selling points of prestigious schools to attract national and international clients. As part of the broader art song genre, *German Lieder* form a small but integral part of the classical music repertoire. It is mainly through *Lieder* that the classical voice student in Australia today encounters the German language. The Australian Music Examination Board, a Federal Board consisting of representatives of several Universities and representatives of state Ministers for Education, emerged in 1918 as a national body. It was created with the objective of providing a system of graded assessments with regards to the achievements of music students. The Board provides syllabi for a wide range of musical instruments, including voice, as well as music theory and speech and drama, and has become the most widely-used assessment system in these fields of study in Australia. Practical music examinations are graded across twelve levels, from preliminary to professional diploma. A syllabus carefully prescribes works to each level from which the repertoire is sourced. Each program must include works from every single item on the following list: (A) Music before Classicism, (B) Classical repertoire, (C) Romantic repertoire and (D) Music from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The Classical Singing syllabus encompasses some nine hundred works and one hundred forty-six of those are *German Lieder*, to be sung in the original language and with Schubert (35), Schumann (22) and Brahms (18) featuring most prominently. Then follows Beethoven (13) and Mendelssohn and Wolf (9) and Strauss (8), but also the *Lieder* of lesser-known composers like Zemlinsky and Schreker are represented with one or two songs.

Most Australian States and Territories offer music as y12 subject and 'classical voice' as one of the solo instruments within this framework. The Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) classical voice prescribed list of notated solo works for instance encompasses more than 400 songs, includes 38 *German Lieder*, with again Schubert (8), Schumann (6) and Brahms (5) most prominent within the genre.

The study of classical voice at tertiary level will almost always require students to learn several *German Lieder*, alongside a broad range of repertoire covering European art music in the English, Italian, French and German language of the last

500 years. As part in the art song genre, *Lieder* signify an important but not in every case compulsory part of the study of classical voice. Ultimately, it is up to students and their teachers to choose appropriate repertoire.

Music and singing competitions often run under the Welsh term for music festival, Eisteddfod. They occur year-round in every Australian state and territory and most of these competitions include an art song or even a separate *German Lieder* section. High-end singing competitions like the Herald Sun Aria, tend to focus on opera, but with the Mietta Song Competition and the National *Liederfest*, the state of Victoria features two events entirely dedicated to art songs, or in the case of the latter, *German Lieder*.

The *Lieder Society of Victoria* as Modern Keepers of an Old Art

Inspired by a visit of famous bass-baritone Hans Hotter to Australia in 1975, Melbourne based singer and teacher Loris Synan began to canvass ideas to form a State Society dedicated to the art of *Lieder* and art song performance. The concept was warmly embraced by many of Melbourne's finest musicians and the *Lieder* Society of Victoria began. With Synan as the first President a committee was elected that, with great enthusiasm, ensured the Society's early success and growth with numbers of members peaking at over three hundred and fifty in the late 1970's. The Bicentenary of Schubert's birth year, 1797, was commemorated with a mammoth undertaking, namely a series of thirty concerts spanning the years 1993 to 1997. The entire Schubert song repertoire, that means over six hundred songs, was presented in rough chronological order. The Schubert Festival helped establish the *Lieder* Society as an ambitious torch-bearer for the *Lieder* genre. The audience though may have grown somewhat tired of a seemingly endless series of concerts whose programming served primarily a, however worthwhile, musicological ambition. Since the Bicentenary, the *Lieder* Society of Victoria puts on four concerts annually, bringing not only *German Lieder* but also other arts songs to an appreciative audience.

In 1981 a national competition, dedicated entirely to *German Lieder*, was established. The National *Liederfest* is a high-profile competition held annually in Melbourne with presently more than AUD 25,000 in prize money. The *Liederfest* is open to singers and accompanists and continues to attract Australia's finest young professional opera singers and pianists with past winners including names like Sally-Ann Russell and Elena Xanthoudakis. In recent years, the *Liederfest* has forged a relationship with the *Schubert Institut in Baden bei Wien,* or Schubert Institute in Baden near Vienna, so that a highly-coveted place in the Schubert Institute's annual *Lieder* master course in Baden could be added to the first prize.

Survey of an Interested and Informed Audience

The following draws partially on data collected by the author through a survey conducted at the 30th National *Liederfest* anniversary in 2011, an in-depth account of which has been published in the Australian Journal of Music Education (Nafisi 2011). To share some of the most interesting comments of survey respondents in this chapter, some overlaps with this previous publication by the author have been unavoidable. To explore the perception of *Lieder* by an Australian audience with a certain level of interest in the subject matter, the thirtieth National *Liederfest* in 2011 presented a perfect opportunity. The author received permission to conduct a comprehensive survey at the event. Having read an explanatory statement, attendees were invited to complete an anonymous questionnaire comprising twelve mostly open ended questions. Eighty-two attendees, which translates as sixty-four per cent of all *Liederfest* attendees, responded to the survey questions. Most respondents identified as singers and/or instrumentalists. Many stated that they were voice teachers and/or instrumental teachers as well. Most respondents indicated that they listened to music at home and/or at live performances on a regular basis (Table 1).

Considering that a mere zero point four per cent of the Australian population identified as German speakers in the 2006 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011), the German language affinity amongst attendees was a surprisingly strong. Almost half reported at least some command of German, with almost half reporting at least some command of it (18% fluent speakers, 28% with moderate understanding) and a further 26% were at least "confident with the pronunciation of German" even if they did not speak the language. About a quarter of respondents either 'struggled with German pronunciation', had lost previously held language skills or 'neither spoke nor attempted to pronounce any German at all' (Nafisi 2011, p. 34) (Table 2).

A majority, seventy-seven point five per cent of respondents, indicated to have read in either translation or the original at least one work of German poetry or literature, with examples to include Goethe, Schiller, Eichendorff, Brecht, Heine, Mann, Hesse, Grass.

Table 1 Audience demographics, Australian *Liederfest* (2011)

Singers	Instrumentalists	Teachers of singing	Music/ instrumental teachers	Regularly listening to music (live or recorded)
63%	46.5%	19.2%	6.8%	82%

Table 2 Level of German language skill of respondents

Fluent	Some	Good diction but no language skills	Struggling with diction	Used to speak but lost this ability	None
18%	27.5%	26%	5.5%	6.8%	13.7%

Next, respondents were asked with which cultural traditions they felt most connected. Allowing multiple answers and with a wording that let respondents put forward chosen, acquired or mixed identities beyond their ethnic background, revealed a high level of cultural interests and diversity. 'Anglo-Australian' was named most often with fifty-eight point nine per cent, followed by 'German' with thirteen point seven per cent, 'Italian' with nine point nine per cent and 'generally European' with five point five per cent. Yet respondents identified also with other European cultures like 'French', 'Armenian', 'Anglo-Spanish', British', 'Celtic-European', 'Austrian' and 'Viennese'. Named non-European cultures, apart from Australian, were 'Anglo-American', 'Indonesian', 'Chinese/Asian', 'Near/Middle/Far–Eastern', and 'all cultures' (Nafisi 2011, p. 35). The heterogeneity of respondents' cultural identities, with many naming more than one, is indicative of modern Australia and the proud self-awareness of its people. The inclination towards continental Europe is, given the type and focus of the event which brought together the respondents, not surprising. It is interesting that, although only a minority of respondents were of German heritage, a relatively large percentage of respondents indicated a strong affinity with German literature and language. This demonstrates that a deep cultural knowledge and interest can well exist without being bound to ethnicity (Nafisi 2011, pp. 34–35).

Contemporary Notions of the Romantic and Romanticism

To tease out contemporary takes on the multifaceted term 'romantic', respondents were asked to write down their immediate associations with the word that had deliberately been spelled with a lower case 'r' to elicit connotations of the adjective as well as the cultural period. The dual meaning (romantic/Romantic) caused a certain ambivalence and added more layers of interpretation to the question. By far the greatest number of responses with forty-one per cent associated a musical period and/or a specific kind of music with the term. More specifically, the music was described as 'passionate', 'songs of love', 'long, lyrical sustained vocal line', 'lots of swelling, musical and otherwise' but also as 'a piece of music that is concerned with being big and brilliant, but has no harmonious beauty' and 'a decline from the classical' (Nafisi 2011, p. 35). Composers named included Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Weber, Wagner, Liszt, Brahms, Puccini, Strauss but, rather intriguingly, also Gershwin, Porter and Berlin were listed by respondents. Some amusing annotations read 'Wagner, Liszt and not Brahms and Schumann' the 'not' being underlined. Also: 'Wagner, Strauss, Wolf—dislike!' While the association between 'romantic' and 'music' per se is hardly surprising, the level of controversy as to which specific music constitutes true romantic music, is certainly curious. Equally interesting is the fact that romantic music was not necessarily perceived as a desirable ideal. It is notable that respondents—without this limitation having been suggested—stuck mostly to composers of the German world and for instance

Chopin, Faure, Verdi, Tchaikovsky or Dvořák, all composers of romantic music according to most definitions, were missing.

The second largest group with twenty-two point five per cent of respondents associated variations of 'Love' with one writing, rather a tongue-in-cheek: 'courted by a handsome man, wearing a smile and not much else' (Nafisi 2011, p. 35). A further fifteen per cent of respondents associated with the term 'romantic' the whole cultural period of Romantic music, art and literature. As with the composers above, there was also some difference of opinion regarding the boundaries of that period. Answers reached from 'end of eighteenth to nineteenth century' to 'a period between 1860–1910'. Another nine point eight per cent of respondents added 'feelings', 'emotion' or 'emotional expression' as characteristics. Apart from these broader categories, the term romantic was being associated with these terms or phrases:

> 'individualism', 'exaggeration', 'freedom', 'grandeur', 'full-bodied', 'heartfelt', 'sincere', 'beautiful', 'fantasy', 'poetic', 'flowing', 'striving to impress or to do good for someone', 'forests', 'nights', 'moving into a more idealized world of contemplation of some aspects of beauty', 'metaphysical exploration through aesthetic means', 'happiness', 'aspiration', 'yearning', 'heightened senses' and 'emotions associated with life's profound aspects'. (Nafisi 2011, p. 35).

The multifariousness of descriptors demonstrates a high level of individualism and cultural insight amongst respondents. A Google search of the term brings up almost two hundred thousand hits, which impressively demonstrating the unbroken appeal of an old concept. It appears that the 'R/romantic longing for true love and unity of men, nature and God' (Huch 1951) still touches on men's and women's deepest desires today.

Next, respondents were asked if they thought that certain characteristics of nineteenth century Romanticism were reflected in *Lieder*. Given countless songs in which they feature prominently, a 'focus on love and longing', 'unashamed display of intimate thoughts and feelings' and a 'focus on nature' were unsurprisingly recognized by ninety-two per cent of respondents as vital ingredients for *Lieder*. Also highly, if, with 85% slightly less so, ranked 'Metaphysical longing for a unity of man, nature and God', suggesting that respondents were aware of songs like *Mondnacht* (moonlit night) (Schumann/Eichendorff) or *Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen* (I was lost to the world) (Mahler/Rückert) and appreciated that a certain metaphysical longing pervades the entire period of Romanticism (Nafisi 2011, p. 38).

The 'influence of a focus on medieval stories, myths and legends' was recognized by over two thirds of respondents with sixty-eight percent, but here a significant amount of eleven per cent were unsure. Twenty-one per cent did not acknowledge these definitions as significant. Conversely, songs about medieval stories, myths and legends are so plentiful in the genre that they arguably constitute a sub-genre within the repertoire, particularly in the form of *Balladen* which must not be confused with the English term ballad which usually refers to a slow, often sentimental song. The reason why these narrative songs may be less salient in a mainly non-German speaking audience, may be that their narratives rely on a certain level of historical

contextualization and exact text understanding for full appreciation. This may also explain why the work of the Schubert contemporary Carl Loewe, whose *Lieder* are mostly narrative songs, is virtually unknown in Australia.

The notion of 'a naïve worldview' attracted most controversy amongst all of the suggested *Lieder* characteristics. Although it was recognized as a typical trait of *Lieder* by a small majority of fifty-eight point one per cent, twenty-two point three per cent were unsure. Nineteen point four per cent rejected the idea outright as a descriptor. This ambivalent response is likely owed to the often rather negative connotations of term 'naïve' in modern language, a perception that stands in contrast to the term's original meaning as 'simple, ingenuous, unsophisticated, natural, unaffected' (Fairfax Dictionary, 2011). And put into context with a Romanticism that saw itself as a counter-movement to enlightenment and rationalism (Huch 1951) it is hard to deny at least a certain amount of 'naivety' present in many *Lieder*.

Next, respondents were given several statements regarding specific features of life that arguably had changed over the last one hundred and fifty years. The audience was asked to indicate whether they found things had changed at all and if, in their opinion, any perceived change was for the better or for the worse. Results showed strong agreement to the statement that 'interpersonal communication has become easier', but some indecision as to whether this change was predominantly a positive or a negative development. The view that 'today's relationships have lost their mystery' was widely shared and almost equally widely perceived as a loss i.e. a change for the worse. The 'demise of social classes' and 'expansion of people's personal horizons' on the other hand were welcomed by a great majority. However, answers demonstrated that there are many facets to these issues the unpacking of which would call for further inquiry and debate.

The next questions concerned the technicalities of *Lieder* in comparison with opera arias. Although *Lieder* are often shorter, less expansive in range and do not exhibit great vocal virtuosity, they were not considered 'easier to sing' than operatic repertoire. Considering *Lieder*'s inherent demand of subtlest expression, thorough language and musical understanding, they were perceived as equally as challenging and rewarding as opera music. The statements 'in *Lieder*-singing, one has to be aware of every word's meaning and give great attention to detail', 'the singer needs to be familiar with the piano accompaniment as it is just as important as the singing voice in *Lieder*' and 'in *Lieder*, piano accompaniment and singing voice are of equal importance', were considered true by the great majority with a range between ninety three and ninety six per cent. The broad consensus regarding the crucial role of the pianist who, in this art form, forms an equal partnership with the singer, is mirrored in several accompanying-focused post graduate options for professional pianists Europe but stands in contrast to the glaring lack of professional *Liedbegleitung* or song accompanying courses at Australian universities.

The statement '*German Lieder* are just as effective when sung in English or any other language' was rejected by eighty-four point one per cent. The response seems to contradict recurring discussions regarding making operas more accessible by performing them in English (Terracini 2011). As seen above, the text is of prime

importance in *Lieder* and, indeed, the vocal line is here, other than in opera, conceived to promote textual understanding. One might therefore argue that *Lieder* could benefit from being sung in translation even more than opera. In fact, there is a well-received edition of songs from 'Beethoven to Mahler' in 'singable translations' (Kirchberger 1993), though one never hears them in recitals. The strong rebuke of any notion of singing *Lieder* in translation is quite remarkable, given that there were only eighteen point five fluent speakers of German in the audience. That this rebuke is also adhered to in general performance practice, suggests that, the merits and beauty of the German language are widely perceived and acknowledged as defining element of *Lieder*—notwithstanding the undeniable barrier posed by the language. This notion also confirms Millers verdict that 'it is not a serious artistic option to sing *Lieder* in translation. *Lieder* translations belong in the program notes, not in the mouths of performers' (1999, p. 19). In view of a progressing Anglicization of the German language, one may find comfort in the notion that the rich language of *Lieder* will, at least in the foreseeable future, remain intact.

The German Element of *Lieder*

Finally, the audience was asked to specify what, if anything, they perceived as 'specifically German' about *Lieder*, apart from the obvious apart from the obvious German language and backgrounds of poets/composers. Just over half the respondents found German characteristics in the compositional style but also in ubiquity of German philosophy. On a more ambivalent or even negative side, the audience mentioned notions like 'black and white thinking' and 'takes itself too seriously, too intense', 'generally a display of power' (Nafisi 2011, p. 39). Comparing Australian perceptions of 'German-ness' to modern German self-perception during similar music performances and at similar venues would certainly make for an interesting follow-up study.

The survey at the 2011 *Liederfest* has provided an in-depth insight into the perception of a knowledgeable contemporary Australian audience. The shared love of the *Lieder* genre and an affinity to German Romanticism counterbalanced ethnic and cultural differences and resulted in meaningful and considered responses. Despite their undeniable 'German-ness' *Lieder* have long become the universal property of anyone who cares to listen to them. The high level of passionate engagement in the audience demonstrates that here is an art form that, more than two hundred years after its genesis and on the other side of the globe, can still evoke heated and knowledgeable discussion. *Lieder*'s superb musical and lyrical quality and depth of sentiment, all in deliberately modest and often inconspicuous form, positions them in stark contrast to a fast-paced show world in which outward appearance is everything. Alongside other great works of art, the *Lied* constitutes an antithesis to a time 'when there is much in the window, but nothing in the room' (Goodreads Inc 2017). It is good to know that these gems of German culture have their secure place in the Australia of the 21st century.

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Part II
Lived Realities of Transnationalism

Mobility Patterns Between Germany and Australia in the Twenty-First Century

Maren Klein

Abstract Globalisation and its attendant population flows have been increasingly politicised and securitised in the wake of the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the European refugee crisis and the displacements of mostly Middle Eastern but also African and often Muslim populations due to regional conflicts and the emergence of ISIS. This political focus has obscured the broader picture of ever diversifying migratory patterns and the transformations these changes in migratory behaviour bring to migration systems globally. German migrations to Australia have a long and varied history ranging from well-respected community to enemy alien. In the twenty-first century, however, German mobile individuals represent characteristics of populations most likely to provide valuable insights into contemporary mobility processes and limitations as their capacity for mobility is relatively unconstrained; their mobility behaviour is influenced by educational, professional or lifestyle choices rather than necessity. On the other hand, their mobility cannot be reduced to either end of the migration continuum. They are neither cosmopolitan elites nor the displaced and marginalised migrants of the post-World War II migration waves. They are people who lead ordinary lives in which the crossing of an international border is just another building block in their elective biography. They view their cross-border relocation much like a move within their home country, where attachments, facilitated by technology, are transnational. Mobility trajectories of Germans to and from Australia can thus provide insight into contemporary patterns of ordinary mobility beyond structural limitations or limitless opportunity associated with affluent lifestyles.

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Forms of Migration in the New Century

Population flows play an increasingly major role in contemporary public discourses and political decision making. They are often shaped by opposing factors such economic globalisation on the one hand and nation-states' claims to sovereignty, and attendant strategies of inclusion and exclusion of the non-native Other, on the other hand (Tazreiter et al. 2016). In the wake of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on the World Trade Centre in New York and other targets in the United States, a shift in public discourses from the gains reaped through migration to the challenges posed by migrants (Mansouri and Lobo 2011) and attendant securitisation became observable. A 2004 United Nations report on international migration refers to the 'Extreme politicization of migration in many countries' (United Nations 2004, p. 31) and Castles, de Haas and Miller in the introduction to the fifth edition of *The Age of Migration* describe it as 'amongst the most emotive subjects in contemporary society' (2014, p. 1). Eastern European migrations to Western European destinations as a consequence of European Union enlargement, a slow recovery from the Global Financial Crisis for several developed economies and, since 2014, the European migrant crisis, have played an increasing role in European and global political decision making. The politicisation of migration has been credited with the rise of extreme nationalist parties and groupings and is considered to have been a major factor in the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union. This polarisation has led to a narrowing of the focus on securitisation and adverse economic effects on the host country at a time when there is an increasing diversification of migration with a multiplicity of non-linear, multi-directional trajectories driven by technological advances and societal trans-formations (Castles and Miller 2009; Cresswell 2006; Ette and Sauer 2010; Hugo 2005; King 2002; King and Skeldon 2010; Massey et al. 1998; Smith and King 2012; Urry 2002, 2012).

In Australia, the focus has been on two groups of Others. There is a relatively small number of asylum seekers arriving by boat, which challenges the nation-state's sovereignty to determine who is admitted to the polity. The other group is the visibly different and mostly Muslim Other (Castles 2016). This narrow focus has obscured the broader picture, the considerable growth in temporary migration numbers, signalling a potential shift from multicultural permanent settler society to a transnational society shaped by temporary migration (Castles 2016). German mobility patterns have changed, too, in the decades since the end of World War II. The peak of the volume of German emigration occurred in the early to mid-1950s when more than 100,000 Germans left the country on an annual basis for the classic emigration countries, that means the United States, Canada and, to a lesser degree, Australia. From the mid-1950s onwards the volume of German emigrants decreased continually until it reached its lowest point in 1975. A new high of approximately 140,000 emigrants annually was reached in the mid-1990s, followed by a decrease to 109,507. This was followed by a steady rise to a record high of 191,105 German citizens leaving in 2007 (Kathmann 2012). Shortly after,

the impact of the Global Financial Crisis decreased the number of migrants globally.

The preferred destinations of German emigrants have also changed considerably. During the 1950s two thirds of German emigrants relocated to the classic emigration countries (Kathmann 2012), this decreased to approximately one third of emigrants during the 1960s (Ette and Sauer 2010) and has changed considerably again during the last two decades. The integrated European Union with its freedom of movement, common currency and rights to work and settlement but also its promotion of intra-European mobility has become the new destination of choice for German emigrants (SVR-Studienbereich 2015, p. 11). Between 2001 and 2013, migrant flows to European OECD countries were approximately three times that of flows to non-European OECD countries. This development has also impacted on the stock of German immigrants in European and non-European OECD countries respectively. In 2000 and 2001, the stock of German immigrants in non-European OECD countries was slightly higher than in European OECD countries, namely 1.6 million compared to 1.5 million. By 2010 and 2011, this position had been reversed with 1.8 million German immigrants in European OECD countries and 1.6 non-European OECD countries (OECD 2015, p. 31). And while the United States are still the preferred destination for German emigrants, the European Union and European Free Trade Association countries jointly host more German immigrants than the United States. Overall, twelve OECD countries host ninety per cent of all German immigrants. The USA hosts over 1.1 million Germans, followed by the United Kingdom with approximately 275,000, and Switzerland with approximately 274,000). Greece, Australia and the Netherlands complete the twelve preferred countries, each hosting approximately 100,000 German emigrants in 2010/11 (OECD 2015, pp. 27–28).

Emigration did note rate highly on the German political agenda for decades. It was only between 2006 and 2009 that the annual migration statistics revealed a net migration loss of the German-born for the first time since the end of the 1960s and emigration levels not seen since 1954 (Ette and Sauer 2010, pp. 11–12) that emigration entered public discourse again. Of most concern was that emigrants seemed a positively selected group in terms of age, skills and education (Erlinghagen and Stegmann 2009; Uebelmesser 2006), that is younger, more highly skilled and better qualified than the overall population. While only twenty-nine per cent of the resident twenty-five to sixty-four-year-old German population is tertiary qualified, nearly fifty per cent of the emigrants in the same age group are (Ette and Sauer 2010, p. 107). These characteristics in conjunction with the view that immigration to Germany was primarily low- and medium-skilled and thus could not compensate for the loss of highly skilled emigrants (Brücker 2010, pp. 138–139), led to the fear of an incapacitating 'brain drain from Germany' (Ette and Sauer 2010, p. 12). However, recent developments in population flows in Germany, that is positive net overseas migration figures for the years 2009 to 2013, and the unprecedented inflow of refugees and asylum seekers and the attendant socio-political issues have again shifted the public focus and political discourse from emigration to immigration (SVR-Studienbereich 2015, p. 6).

German Migration to Australia Since 2000

Historically, the Australian annual migration program, in operation since 1945 (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2001) was focused on the selection of permanent immigrants or settlers, and their families, whose commitment to Australia was to be demonstrated by the acquisition of the Australian citizenship as soon as possible (Castles et al. 2014, p. 140). To that end, the Australian citizenship law was simplified a few times (Klapdor et al. 2009, p. 1). Moreover, 'there was conscious rejection of the *guest worker programs*' (Markus et al. 2009, p. 9) as utilised in several European countries.

The introduction of the 457-long-term temporary business (employer sponsored) visa category in 1996 reshaped the Australia migration landscape considerably. Upon coming to power in 1996, the new Liberal Coalition Government adopted the recommendations of a report commissioned by its Australian Labor Party predecessor to address concerns and dissatisfaction expressed by the Australian business community regarding the visa regulations for entry for business migrants and highly skilled specialists (Bertone 2013, p. 173). This resulted in the introduction of the 457 visa. This category allowed employers to sponsor migrants into Australia for up to four years to enhance the global competitiveness of Australian businesses (Birrell 2014, p. 145), and to provide a stimulus for economic growth by capturing revenue through taxation and consumption while the restriction on the accessibility of public goods ensures migrants' financial contributions exceed those of citizens and permanent residents (Walsh 2014, p. 590). The significance of this visa category does not rest on the fact that it is temporary. Migrants on a 457 visa are not points-tested in the same way as other skilled or permanent migrants. This visa is also not capped in the same way as other visa categories, and no labour market testing is required (Klapdor et al., p. 16), and most importantly, it offers the possibility to use it as a stepping stone to permanent residency (Birrell 2014, pp. 153–155).

The introduction of a temporary migrant stream alongside the permanent one has impacted considerably on the composition of Australia's population flows. Between 1983 and 1992, on average eighty-eight per cent of net overseas migration arrivals were permanent and twelve per cent were long-term temporary arrivals. From 2002 to 2007, this ratio had changed to fifty-nine per cent long-term temporary and forty-one per cent permanent arrivals (Markus et al. 2009, p. 9). The number of temporary residents coming to Australia now exceeds the number of permanent residents (Robertson 2014, p. 1916) and ten per cent of the Australian workforce has a temporary migrant status (Mares 2012).

The number of arrivals and departures of German mobile individuals clearly reflects this trend. While the German-born resident population was still ranked at number ten of the top ten countries of birth in the 2011 Census data, data from the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2014, p. 105) puts the estimated German-born resident population in 2013 at two per cent or 127,650 persons, which represents a decrease in the German share of the Australian overseas born population of 0.9 per cent compared to 1996 with 121,950 persons. This decline has

Table 1 Excerpt, Australia's Migration Programme—Country position, 2013–14 and 2014–15 (adapted from Department of Immigration and Border Protection, Australia's Migration Programme—Country position based on 2013–14 data (2015) and Department of Immigration Border Protection, Australia's Migration Programme—Country ranking 2014-215 (2016)

Year	Permanent migration outcomes—stream	Selected temporary visa grants						
	Family stream	Points tested skilled migration	Employer sponsored	Total skill stream	Students	Temporary Work (skilled)	Visitors	Population in Australia
	Rank							
2013–14	19	n/a	12	n/a	19	14	9	10
2014–15	n/a	n/a	15	20	19	14	9	10

occurred despite some modest growth in absolute numbers due to higher migration levels. The number of German-born migrants who arrived prior 2001 to was 80.6 per cent; only 7.1 per cent of the total German-born in Australia in the 2011 Census arrived between 2001 and 2006 and 8.5 per cent arrived between 2007 and 2011 (Department of Social Services 2014). This development is in line with other older and established cohorts such as the British and Italians.

As these figures clearly show, the mobility of Germans who arrive in Australia is high and the number of those who arrive with intention and the visa to settle is comparatively low. Of particular interest in the case of German mobility to and from Australia is thus the relationship between length of stay in the host country and skill level of migrant. While migrants in general are more highly skilled and educated than the non-migratory population, migrants to the classic English-speaking countries show an even higher skill and education profile and are more often in employment than migrants to EU14[1] and European Free Trade Agreement countries (SVR-Studienbereich 2015, p. 51). This may to some degree be related to the age profile of the migrants in the host countries; above average numbers of young migrants whose purpose for migration is education are found in EU14 and European Free Trade Agreement countries. It may also be related to the impact of migration governance as in the case of Australia where entry is governed by a system that awards points for certain characteristics such as age, skills and qualification, and fluency in English. Skill levels have been linked to greater mobility and return intentions, and the duration of stay in the host country. Younger

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[1]The EU14 as defined by SVR-Studienbereich (2015, p. 25) consists of the European States before the 2004 enlargement, that is the so-called EU15. As Germany is excluded in the context of the study, the remaining European Union states are referred to as EU14.

Table 2 Extract from overseas arrivals and departures 2015/16 (1 July 2015–30 June 2016) (Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2016)

Country of citizenship: Germany	
Long-term resident departure	271
Long-term resident return	363
Long-term visitor arrival	4,910
Long-term visitor departure	2,836
Resident permanent departure	197
Settler arrival	334
Short-term resident departure	24,717
Short-term resident return	23,006
Short-term visitor arrival	211,239
Short-term visitor departure	213,104

Table 3 German emigrants by education and duration of stay, selected destination countries 2010/11 (Source: adapted from OECD (2015b, 130)

	High education	Medium education						
	≤ 5 years	<5–10 years	≥ 10 years	Total	≤ 5 years	<5–10 years	≥ 10 years	Total
United States	9.3	8.3	82.4	239 270	5.1	3.8	91.1	290 405

migrants still at university or studying show the highest inclination for mobility including intentions to return; this is in line with general migration research findings that younger people are more likely to be mobile. Those who are more highly qualified are also more likely to leave the host country. Table 3 provides an overview of the duration of stay and outmigration rates of German emigrants from preferred German migration destinations including Australia and New Zealand, illustrating greater mobility by the highly skilled. While more than seventy per cent of the highly skilled German migrants to Australia seem to stay ten years or longer, for those with medium level education this level increases to nearly ninety per cent, a considerable difference.

Contemporary Patterns of Mobility

As Tables 1 and 2 clearly show, more Germans arrive in Australia on a temporary than on a permanent basis, even though a considerable number stay for a considerable length of time as indicated by Table 3. Temporariness of permanency are on the one hand shaped by structural factors such as admission criteria of the host country expressed through visa grants, but on the other hand also depend on the mobile individual's agency and personal preferences. The mobile German

individual whose experiences are detailed here where part of a qualitative research project aimed at exploring post-WWII migration trajectories between Germany and Australia. The wider project had its focus return migration. This chapter reflects the unique approach to and experience of relocation from Germany to Australia by the cohort who arrived in Australia from 2000 onwards. Data collection took place in Australia and Germany in 2013 and 2014, in the main in the form of semi-structured interviews allowing the participants to focus on the topics and issues that were of importance to them.

The length of stay of this cohort varied between one and thirteen years in Australia at the time of interview. Their ages varied from late twenties to mid-fifties; their visa statuses were also the most varied and ranged from spouse through student to resident and dual citizen. In line with Australia's migration program focus all were tertiary educated and spoke English fluently. All of them had lived outside Germany for some time prior to relocating to Australia, mostly through participation in exchange programs either during their school years or as part of their tertiary studies. Structural and socio-cultural integration varied depending on the length of stay and mode of entry. A number had Australian partners and all had circles of friends who included Australian and other nationalities. On an identity level, if one accepts acquiring host country citizenship as an

Table 4 Visa statuses of study participants who arrived in Australia post 2000

	Country of residence	(Ex) Visa status/Citizenship
P 22	Australia	Dual (ex-temporary)
P 28	Australia	Dual
P 37	Australia (at time of interview) Germany at time of writing)	Dual (ex-temporary)
P 54	Germany	Dual (ex-student)
P 57	Australia	Dual
P 58	Australia	Dual
P 4	Australia	PR/not yet dual eligible
P 6	Australia (at time of interview) Germany at time of writing)	Spouse
P 40	Australia	Spouse/not yet dual eligible
P 3	Australia	Student/not yet dual eligible
P 55	Australia	Student/not yet dual eligible
P 56	Australia	Student/not yet dual eligible
P 44	Germany	Temporary
P 46	Germany	Temporary
P 53	Germany	Student
P 8	Australia (at time of interview) Germany at time of writing)	Ex-PR/contributory parent (Klein 2016)

indicator of acculturation, this group showed a strong level of acculturation.[2] Six out of the sixteen interview partners held dual citizenships, five although not yet eligible for residency at the time of the interview were considering dual citizenship. One interviewee stated that she was relatively sure she would be returning to Germany but if that had not been the case, she would have wanted to acquire dual citizenship as soon as possible. Only three interview participants had not given the issue much thought, and one of those stated that his stay in Australia had simply not been long enough to form an informed opinion (Table 4).

While this cohort's visa statuses reflect the shift in the Australian migration program, what really set the members of this cohort apart from previous ones were two interlinked approaches to their own mobility: the first the rejection of the label migrant, and, related to that, the indeterminacy of the length of each stay.

'I Am not a Migrant'

This was the mindset encountered in the cohort who had arrived in Australia since 2000. While this change in attitude coincided with Australia's move to temporary migration, the structural limitations through admission governance did not seem to have contributed greatly to the change in behaviour. Instead, the normalisation of intra-European mobility, ease and speed of travel was often coupled with holiday experiences, education, and meeting a love interest or permutations of these factors had a much greater impact on mobility patterns than admission criteria. Contemporary migrations often originate from emotional and passionate attachments (Mai and King 2009, p. 295). This was also true for the German interview partners in this study. 'Love migrations' (King 2002, p. 99) as an effect of globalisation coupled with technological advances and concurrent decrease in price of travel and communication allowed not only for the establishment but also maintenance of 'transnational intimacy' (King 2002, p. 99), and accounted for exactly half of all migrations in this cohort. This does not necessarily mean an indefinite stay in Australia as the account of one interview participant who after nearly ten years in Australia had returned to Germany with her Australian husband and their children shows:

> We had met travelling, in a situation that was completely removed from the challenges of daily life, and before I could decide whether this was going anywhere, I had to find out who my husband really was in his own country… I didn't consider myself an emigrant. I didn't cut all ties with Germany…. I just really liked it over there….I met my future PhD supervisor who offered me a scholarship if I wanted to study with him for three years. And I thought, OK, why not? I don't think I ever consciously made that decision to emigrate; I can't remember any one specific moment where I thought, OK, I'll leave Germany forever. It was rather always the natural next step that made me stay and it's not like I had any

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[2]Amit and Bar-Lev (2015, pp. 947-948) outline that naturalisation is often used as an indicator for identification with the host country and a desire to stay.

alternatives waiting for me in Germany, either, so that offer for three years provided an incredible amount of security. So I stored all my belongings with my parents thinking that I'd be back in three years' time. And I thought at the time that they were taking it rather seriously, because I was going only for a few months or maybe a year or three years.... maybe we could turn it, return to Australia, into a sabbatical for ourselves. I could imagine that, but right now the only thing I consider is a temporary stay rather than something that could be permanent.

The basic building blocks of this narrative, meeting one's partner on a holiday, living with the partner in his or her home country while undertaking some study, are similar across all partnerships in this cohort. Other trajectories involve holidays in Australia followed by study exchanges, in some cases involving finding an Australian partner. And while an Australian partner serves as somewhat of an anchor, further mobility is never excluded as this example illustrates:

My Australian boyfriend whom I met 2007 … was with me during my two terms abroad. … he came to Germany for four months, but because he doesn't speak any German, it is a bit difficult for him to find a job. Then it was my turn to come to Australia, so to say. … And we're still thinking about possibly going somewhere else to, well, further develop and expand our horizons.

While it is generally accepted that age influences mobility behaviour, further mobility was always an option considered periodically by the members of this cohort regardless of age, even after acquiring a dual citizenship:

Yes, you can redefine; go somewhere else, move somewhere else and develop ourselves there. … We often think about what else we can do and moving to a different country or to another country is always coming up, those thoughts. There are other thoughts that we have and doing other jobs, moving elsewhere within Australia but also having a new adventure or a new personal challenge in another country.

This confirms King's argument that migration itself has become the focus, 'a consumption good' rather than an economic necessity (2002, p. 95). The emphasis was on the openness to situations and opportunities and time spent in Australia was just a phase in the individual's life trajectory. This attitude aligns with the process of individualisation in contemporary Western societies, a process in which the individual takes responsibility for actively organising their lives across domains that were previously those of the state or other public institutions, and where the major transitions from one biographical building block to the next such as education and marriage have become matters of choice. The individual's life course appears as a series of passages (Giddens 1991, pp. 79–80). 'The *normal* biography thus becomes the *elective* biography, the *reflexive* biography, the *do-it-yourself* biography' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). Individuals are required to make choices, and to take ownership of and responsibility for their personal narratives, assembling a biography out of a range of experiences. As Giddens argues: 'the line of development of the self is *internally referential*: the only significant connection thread is the life trajectory as such' (1991, p. 80; emphasis in the original). These structures are also temporary and tentative. As the individual is faced with a multitude of possibilities,

there is a tendency to keep one's options as open as possible (Lawrence and Dodds 2007, p. 409), which is a behaviour closely connected to globalisation and mobilities (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001) and shown by a considerable number of members of this cohort.

The Perception of Impermanence

As indicated earlier, the openness to situations and opportunities is not limited to the geographical aspect of the mobile individual's life, it is also reflected in the indeterminacy of the duration of the one's stay. As one interviewee who had lived in Australia for just over ten years put it:

> [I]f we decided we had enough, within fourteen days we'd be back home again … everyone knows that things don't last forever, that experiences are limited whether it is a for a shorter or a longer period. Everyone sees their stay as temporary.

While participants acknowledged that a geographical movement had taken place, it was argued that for a person to be considered an emigrant/immigrant a conscious decision to emigrate/immigrate was required. If this decision had not been made, the continued presence in the host country did not qualify as emigration/immigration. Residence in Australia was classified as a prolonged stay with the option of departure which might take the form of a return to the home country or a move to another location open at any point in time. Similar conceptualisations have been reported for New Zealand (Schubert-McArthur 2009):

> I asked myself that questions many times: 'why did you emigrate?' and that word *emigrate* I said 'no, that's not who I am' because of that decision—even though on a practical level that's what we did—my wife and I never sat down and decided that we will permanently stay here – we will stay here as long as we like it and that is more or less an unspoken agreement.

The focus here is on decisions based on personal preferences. Residence in Australia is viewed as a definite choice of place but one that could be exchanged for any other which takes the mobile individuals fancy. Therefore, it was considered moving, not migrating as in the mobile individuals' imagination migration involved permanency and definite decisions for a place.

Ties Across Borders

Another perception that it is a "move" to Australia not a migration is linked to the maintenance of strong ties:

> I guess I never felt like a migrant … I feel like I'm here for an undefined period of time but I don't, I haven't left completely. I've still got things in Germany. I've got strong relationships in Germany, so I think I never identified with that term migrant.

There is evidence that technological advances in information and communication technologies and transportation and the concomitant decrease in cost have affected quantity and quality of contact with family and friends in the country of origin and other locations (King-O'Riain 2014; Ryan et al. 2015), ameliorating the tyranny of distance. All participants were enthusiastic and prolific users of a range of information and communication technologies. information and communication technologies used were, to a degree, dependent on the age and gender of the migrant, purpose of communication and recipient. Facebook, for instance, did not feature strongly in the age groups over fifty while Skype and mobile telephones were the most utilised information and communication technologies regardless of age of participant.

Younger participants' use of information and communication technologies was extensive, partly because information and communication technologies had been part of their communication habits even before migration. In some cases, this was related to the configuration of social networks still oriented towards family and friends in Europe. A number were in daily contact with members of their core family unit, often making what one participant called 'chit chat', and had weekly Skype sessions scheduled with friends. Facebook was used to reach several people in a variety of locations, text messages were utilised for short messages, and email was used for more important messages. Contact was described as an everyday activity, blurring the boundaries between absence and presence:

> I call my grandparents on their home phone, because they don't have Skype, but that's about it. My grandparents once a week. My mother three times a week. My sister and my father four or five times a week, although it's just chit chat on occasion. 'How are you? Everything OK? Fine, and you? OK, bye.' And then a bit longer on the weekend.

Another way of staying in touch through creation and maintenance of a shared space of information and feelings is with online media, when the social field includes friends and family in not only in Australia and Germany but globally, an increasingly common occurrence:

> Skype and the iPad are absolutely fantastic in that respect. My kids and those of my husband's brother can see each other on Skype. … Facebook. We use that a lot. I know just as much about my Australian friends or relatives from their Facebook updates, as I know about my German ones.

An important capability of information and communication technologies is the creation of visual co-presence. Skype and other options allow for visual sharing of experiences, making the relationship feel much more intimately connected. The visual aspect seems most important in those cases where children and their relationships to family are involved:

> I Skype sometimes … my father, he always likes to see us. … they can see the house. … I think it makes a huge difference not to feel so far away. … Facebook, too, I also like to use it. I know people from all over the world, and we can stay in touch. They can easily send pictures, and you can see pictures from all around the world and stay in touch.

Visits from family and friends were quite common for the cohort who had arrived from the 2000s onwards in cases where grandchildren were involved:

> And with my mother the arrangement was that I came to Germany every two years and in the years between, she would come to Australia, so I did see my family every year. There weren't any huge gaps. … so my father came for three months at a time or my mother came over and we always had lots of visitors from Germany.

> [T]hey [parents] usually come here once a year and are both retired and are able to stay two or three months and with that in mind it's not that bad.

The experiences cited above reflect current trends towards globalisation and extended mobility, observable especially in the frequency of visit. They also reflect growing affluence in developed nations, and better health outcomes for the baby boomer generation.

New Labels for Transnational Migrant Patterns

Contemporary patterns of German migration reflected the experience and a belief that there is no permanency. Thus, this leads to a breakdown of the dichotomy of temporary and permanent migration; shifting one's geographical location from Germany to Australia or from Australia to Germany becomes forward movement; therefore, the participants did not identify with the label 'migrant' as they perceived their movements as a relocation in space, not a final decision for or against Australia or Germany. This resonates in an age in which the individual is continuously advised there are no certainties; that jobs are not forever and will disappear; this requires continuous update of skills and willingness to relocate. Moving to Australia, adding to one's intercultural competence and multicultural experience, and updating the toolkit with better language skills is in line with theories of individualisation where the individual is required to actively direct their own lives by choosing among a variety of options, constructing their do-it-yourself biography which, though, can turn into the risk or breakdown biography through the wrong choice or misfortune (see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001).

The last cohort illustrates the influences of globalisation and transnationalism as circumstances around their residence in Australia are not fixed, nor are they intended to be fixed. These migrants saw their residence in Australia as part of the narrative of their biographies, assembled out of a range of experiences, embodying the individualisation of modern society, thus reflecting Castles (2016) observation that the patterns of migration to Australia had become more complex and diverse.

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Germany's Pianoforte: Globally-Minded from Birth?

Michael Shirrefs

Abstract This chapter is an auto-ethnographic essay from my perspective as an Australian radio producer and child of suburban Australia. It tries to answer two questions popular in the Australian-German cultural dialogue: Why is Berlin colloquially referred to as an outer suburb of Melbourne? And secondly, can one establish a link between the ethic of Germany selling pianos at the Exhibitions of 1880/1888, and the present-day openness of Germany to Australian musicians and cultural conversation? In this chapter, I draw on personal experiences in Australia and Germany, interviews with prominent German politicians and musicians and historic data. The pianoforte here acts as a metaphorical connection, as well as a factual exemplar of German-Australian musical and mercantile connections since the time of the Australian gold rush, when German pianos suddenly found their way into more living rooms in Melbourne than from any other country. I argue that it was in that moment Germany forged a connection to Melbourne that endures to this day.

Introduction

There is an amusing line, uttered in certain artistic circles, that Berlin is Melbourne's northernmost suburb. It is an idea so geographically preposterous, and yet so grounded in a persistent pilgrimage-like behaviour of musicians, artists, writers, composers and the like, that the myth is not too far from the truth. This connection is a post-War phenomenon that has seen a constant stream of movement, from the global South to the global North and it is clear, that the physical traffic has usually been one-way. However, the foundations for this were laid soon after the formation of the German Empire in 1871. Meaning that the basis for this cultural pathway became a lively two-way conversation that still persists to this day. This is evidenced by personal experience.

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Firstly, let me share my context in all this because, as a long-time radio program-maker and academic with a focus on Europe, my experience of Germany and German institutions became significant for me when I was awarded a journalism prize from the German Government to closely examine the idea of German identity.[1] I grew up in Australia, in suburban Melbourne in a thoroughly Anglophile environment. My background is a solid mix of English and Scottish heritage. My parents never travelled abroad from Australia and if they would have been asked, they would have said they were of British origin, not European. Europe was a land of foreigners, foreign languages and foreign cultures, and was therefore largely unknowable. If you add to this their lived experience of a world at war during the twentieth Century and an environment of British dominance in the telling of stories and control of propaganda, it is not hard to understand their unsophisticated and highly-mediated attitudes to non-British cultures and peoples. Therefore, it is through this filter that I grew up viewing the European Continent and, in particular, this instilled in me a quite unconscious, but very powerful post-World War II aversion to Germany. I had no curiosity about German people and German culture. Being born in 1960, I am also a child of the Cold War global environment, while having no direct experience of what that meant beyond the abstract. And while many of my peers found Cold War Germany quite riveting, I simply wasn't interested—my upbringing had guaranteed that this would be the case (Fig. 1).

Why am I telling you all this? The point is to highlight just how utterly blind-sided I was by my first visit to Germany at the age of fifty. I had lived in London in my early forties and had spent a considerable amount of time in my late forties conducting research in Paris. I considered myself to be moderately European-minded, but it wasn't until I was involved in making a series of radio documentaries looking at the fate of European culture in the aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis that I found my way to Germany. For me, it was just another stop in a long list of what I considered were far more interesting countries.

Two comments changed all that in my mind. The first was from the former Secretary of State and Senate Spokesman in the Berlin Government, Richard Meng. I was interviewing him for my radio documentary series (Shirrefs 2012, "Who is Germany? Pt.1") on German identity and especially the identity of Berlin, with regard to its turbulent and fractured past. After the interview I asked him if he was tired of having to endlessly trawl through these issues of identity and memory for outsiders. He said that despite the desire to be allowed to move forward, Berliners know that they must never forget their past—an idea understood throughout Germany as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. But it was his next comment that really struck me. He said that it didn't matter if people came to celebrate or criticise

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[1] M. Shirrefs [Producer/Presenter] (2012) 'Who is Germany?' [3 pt. radio documentary], *Creative Instinct* (Melbourne: ABC Radio National), Nov–Dec. 2012, http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/creativeinstinct/features/who-is-germany/.

Fig. 1 Michael Shirrefs contemplating his suburban childhood in Melbourne in the early 1960s

Berlin, as long as they kept talking. His reason was that the city's current incarnation, since the fall of the Berlin Wall is still very young and the new identity is not yet fixed. He said that Berliners start to know who they are by looking into the eyes of visitors. This comment was so surprising because it suggested self-awareness and vulnerability. This was not a fortress mentality, but an acknowledgement that Berlin is still changing shape, still forming, after so much upheaval over the decades. It also suggested a sophisticated awareness that identity,

Fig. 2 Michael Shirrefs interviewing Nele Hertling in Berlin in 2012

in a globalised, cosmopolitan world, is formed as much by external forces, as it is by an internal life. This was unlike anything I had encountered elsewhere in Europe, where identities are rigid and fixed with a misplaced certainty that is impervious to outside engagement. This was further highlighted during my interview with the former Vice President of the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, Nele Hertling (Shirrefs 2012, *Who is Germany?—Nele Hertling*). She stressed the many differing identities across Germany, saying that, while most parts of Germany were somewhat insular and mono-cultural, Berlin was unusually and proudly heterogeneous and open to the idea of *the foreign* (Fig. 2).

The second surprising conversation came over lunch with some officials from the *Auswärtiges Amt,* the German Federal Foreign Office. I was idly mentioning that I would very much like to move to Berlin, but added that I imagined this would be complex and difficult. One of the officials immediately looked at me and said, 'You tell us where the obstacles are and we will try to move them.' It was an astonishing remark and I wondered whether, because I was a foreign media producer, I was being treated as a special case. But the more time I have spent in Germany and the more I engage with the German system, the more convinced I am that I am not special and that there is a genuine desire in contemporary Germany not to create artificial barriers to engagement. This became abundantly clear as Europe had to solve the massive influx of refugees during 2015–16. Germany understands too well the downside of building and retreating inside walls. So, how do we thread this present state of being, back to the origins of modern Germany? In order to answer this question, you will have to bear with me as I now adopt an historian's hat.

The German Pianoforte in Australia

Picture this. It is 1880, and Melbourne, for the first time, is hosting an International Exhibition. These extravaganzas are the biggest peacetime events on the world stage and everyone is invited. This is an era of burgeoning internationalism, spurred on by the technological advances and rampant ambitions of the second industrial revolution in Europe. In spite of this, global travel is still a major undertaking, and Melbourne, in a relatively small and immature British colony at the furthest point of the Australian mainland, is a long way from the Continent. So why would anyone bother to come? What is the lure? For individuals or businesses, one answer is that there is a definite mood of blind optimism about taking a chance in new markets. In a very crowded Europe, frontier logic is a powerful motivator. Moreover, at this very moment, Melbourne is arguably the wealthiest city per capita in the world, as a result of gold rushes in many parts of the country, and especially the Colony of Victoria, of which Melbourne is the Capital (Hunt 2014, pp. 309–311).

The magic of this tantalising golden lure has power, not only on the European mind, but also on the imagination of both the rag-tag citizenry of Victoria and the Colony's ruling elites. The consequence of this extraordinary moment of antipodean history is that the cultural, political and structural architects of Melbourne recognise a chance to build a city that would match the unimaginable riches that are pouring in from the goldfields. However, instead of conjuring up a vast and grotesque monument to wealth and greed, the Colonial founders want a civilised city that will rival the ideas and cultural splendour of the best that Europe can offer (Edquist 2013, pp. 2–5). This ambition means that Melbournians not only build the sorts of cultural and intellectual buildings and institutions that they believe to be the equal of their European counterparts, they also create an environment for transnational conversations that place Victorians as equal to anything that comes from the North. But which part of the North they look to, in this moment, is an open question. As a new colony, Australia, and Melbourne in particular, can pick and choose. This snapshot of Melbourne in 1880 was critical in forging a cultural and civic confidence that persists to this day. Melbourne managed to conjure an event that was rural and urbane; sophisticated and practical; grand and inclusive. They then matched this, eight years later in 1888, with another International Exhibition to celebrate the first hundred years since European settlement in Australia in 1788.

Why is this significant in a discussion about German-Australian relations, or in this case the connection between Berlin and Melbourne? The reason is that Germany seemed to respond very positively to the signals that Melbourne was sending to the world. The evidence for this is in the enthusiastic way the German delegation engaged with the two exhibitions in Melbourne, and a useful symbol of this ardour is the pianoforte—an instrument that, by its very name could demonstrate the range of expression from soft to loud is an elegant metaphor for styles of international engagement. Soft diplomacy, as we understand it today, usually comes via the mechanisms of trade and culture.

Of all the Australian colonies, Victoria was perhaps most successful in sub-verting some of the trailing shackles of the British class system, and in so doing, a wide spectrum of Melbourne society developed what we would later call middle-class aspirations (Pascoe 1995, p. xiii; Boyce 2008, pp. 158–161). As crucial to this ambition as the pursuit of hi-tech appliances is today, was the desire to own a pianoforte (or piano as it became commonly known) in the mid-to-late 1800s. For many years, this musical instrument market was dominated by France, far outstripping their German rivals. In an article penned by the French virtuoso pianist Henri Kowalski for the French language paper Le Courrier Australien in 1892, the author states that: 'In 1869, France sent 2000 pianos annually to Australia; Germany only 200' (Kowalski 1892, p. 2). Although this 10:1 ratio seems a little too neat, the figures work as an indication of the scale of difference and there does appear to be an undeniable French dominance. However, the 1880s changed all that in a way that still persists, as music continues to serve today as a prime example of contemporary Australian-German relations.

The shift came with the two Melbourne Exhibitions. For some inexplicable reason, France misread this young international marketplace, and while it is difficult to know the extent of the pianoforte offerings from both France and Germany at the 1880 Exhibition, we do have a much clearer image of the 1888 Exhibition (Centennial International Exhibition 1890). And it is interesting to note that the evidence of a German takeover of the market comes, not from the Germans, but from a Frenchman—one of the two representatives of the French commissariat, sent to take part in the international juries at the Exhibition, Monsieur Oscar Comettant. Described by the Melbourne Argus newspaper as a 'journalist, composer, humourist, man of letters, critic and braver garcon' (The Argus 1890, p. 6), M. Comettant was also a pianist and music teacher. He therefore knew his subject, and he found it difficult to hide his dismay and embarrassment at his Country's meagre offering of instruments, in stark contrast to the Germans:

> It is true that French piano-manufacture was represented by only five pianos in Melbourne, superior in every way to those of Pleyel, Wolff and Company, while Germany had sent over two hundred instruments. This was all, and it wasn't much, given the importance of our production of musical instruments both from the artistic and the commercial points of view. Only five French pianos, standing on an elegant but modest platform, must have looked very paltry beside the 210 German pianos, to name the exact figure (Comettant 1890, p. 32).

While Oscar Comettant leaves the reader in no doubt that he considers the German pianos to be greatly inferior to those of his own country, he grudgingly admits that the German theatrical marketing strategy, what he describes as a 'cunning *mise-en-scène*', had clearly worked:

> At one end of this vast square, which might have been called *Pianopolis*, was a large stage, ornamented with discreet but rich draperies, and half-filled with grand pianos and har-moniums. This stage was at once the podium from which the virtuosos gave concerts, and a triumphal throne. […] The whole effect was one that was sure to impress the townsfolk of Melbourne and the country people who came to visit the Exhibition. (ibid)

Oscar Comettant's concerns were well-founded, because, the impact of this musical 'coup' by Germany on the drawing rooms of Melbourne's well-heeled, according to Henri Kowalski, was almost instantaneous:

> In 1890 the latter [Germany] landed 3900 instruments; France, only 92 specimens of manufacture. What a turnaround! What change in view! We certainly do not deserve this degree of honor or unworthiness. (Kowalski 1892, p. 2)

Both Comettant and Kowalski are dismissive of the German pianos, suggesting that their success is due to a triumph of quantity over quality. But Cyril Ehrlich, in his book *The piano: A history*, says that the standard of German pianos changed dramatically because Germany embraced change in that period: '…there was a willingness and ability to adopt new technology, backed by the best system of technical and commercial education in the world and a widespread respect for applied science.' (Ehrich 1976, p. 71). So, why do we see such a dramatic difference in the way the two European rivals presented their wares in Melbourne? A large part of the answer is in the timing. The 1880 Exhibition comes just nine years after France's defeat at the hands of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian War. This moment was critical, and the distinctly different responses of each side went on to form certain national characteristics that are strongly evident today.

The victory in 1871 finally enabled the somewhat disparate German States to finally unify—thus forming the German Empire. However, the odd mix of royal kingdoms, duchies, principalities and independent cities, meant that a singular German identity was hard to define and even harder to manage. In spite of this internal identity crisis, the triumph over the French provided sufficient regional glue and provided powerful impetus for a radical increase in the prosperity of this new German Empire, and one way of convincing its own constituencies of the value of togetherness was to confidently export the image and the artefacts of a united Germany.

In 1892 Henri Kowalski left his French-speaking readers in Australia in no doubt of what he believed to be the cause of the new-found Australian passion for German products:

> Since 1870 the importation of French goods in Australia dropped significantly after the effect that the German victories had on the minds of the Australian public, who then adopted it as fashion, applying a sort of trademark *Vae* Victis [woe to the conquered], to the French productions. This warlike influence seems to continue (Kowalski 1892, p. 2).

Despite this sentiment, history suggests that Germany's successes were not due to some perverse celebration of German victory by punishing the defeated France in the marketplace. It was merely that Germany had capitalized on that moment and had used the momentum of optimism to enter the new industrial era of science and technology. The evidence for this is simple. Figures show that English piano exports suffered to the same degree, as did the French exports. In 1880 Australian consumption of English pianos eclipsed that of the German manufacturers by a factor of ten to one, but by 1900 Australians were importing ten time as many German pianos compared to the English instruments (Ehrlich 1976, p. 82).

Fast forward to the period of two World Wars, when Germany again had to jump through major hurdles to regain some measure of integrity and status. For the Allies, German people were the enemy and Winston Churchill had decreed that German products, art and music were banned. Some people, for example the English author Virginia Woolf's husband Leonard, resented this conflating of art and politics, and determinedly listened to nothing but German music for the duration of the Second World War. But what is most remarkable is how quickly the pre-eminence of German music and musical instruments was restored. Composers like Bach and Beethoven, or brands like Steinway were still synonymous with greatness, especially for young people growing up in post-War Australia. The subsequent onset of the Cold War again placed Berlin right at the epicentre of global events. As the symbol of the competing ideologies of East and West, Berlin became the world's fishbowl and a space for heightened cultural expressions. For artists and musicians—people who are trying to push cultural boundaries—this also made Berlin into a lightning rod, as they were drawn to the physical boundary of the Wall.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Europe had seen a flourishing of avant-garde cultural forms, due to a massive boost in funding from America. In particular, the CIA saw that music, especially the rousing romanticism of Wagner and Strauss, had been a powerful mechanism during the Nazi era, used by the Fascists to inflame the passions of the masses. They believed strongly that the clinical and unromantic experiments of Modernism were to be encouraged, and so, from the early 1950s the CIA bankrolled composers and festivals and organisations that promulgated these 'counter-Fascist' forms (Saunders 1999, pp. 213–233). By the mid 1950s though, the CIA had begun to see Communism as the new threat, and so they broadened the target for this avant-garde weaponry to include any form of totalitarianism. But while Germany, along with many other European countries, especially France and Italy, became a giant laboratory for new, hybrid acoustic art forms, Berlin was cultivating something else as well.

By the late 1970s, music from both sides of the Berlin Wall was taking on a strong counter-cultural flavour. The politics and social impact of living in a divided city started to be reflected in lyrics, and the stark, battered environment produced a style of sound that was dark and industrial and had an aesthetic of uncertainty and danger. This sound reached the ears of musicians and audiences around the world who had been happily consuming the edginess of British Punk. For many young people in Australia and elsewhere, this grungy, hard-edged brand of music from Germany was the most eloquent and accessible expression of fear and frustration in the Cold War, sitting as it did alongside the perpetual threat that an uneasy political impasse could turn into nuclear war.

The influence that this unique Berlin sound had on musicians in Australia and Melbourne, in particular, was profound. A new hybrid breed of post-punk musicians and songwriters blasted into the pubs and clubs of Melbourne, sounding chaotic and dangerous. But the sound was less British and far more like an unhinged German burlesque soundtrack, and it wasn't long before many of these

bands and musicians took this new form to Berlin. One of the catalysts of this was Nick Cave who, along with many of the members of Melbourne band *The Birthday Party* moved to Europe and found an instant rapport. Within a very short space of time, numerous collaborations between Australian and German musicians were forming, of which the most significant was *Nick Cave and The Bad Seeds*. This group became a cultural bridge between Berlin and Melbourne, with the line-up changing constantly, and both German and Australian musicians bringing a crazed circus-like quality to the band's sound and live performances. Many Australian musicians also went on to join other major German acts, work with German filmmakers or become writers, including Rowland S. Howard and his brother Harry; Ash Wednesday; Mick Harvey; Anita Lane; Hugo Race; Genevieve McGuckin; Conway Savage. All of which points to the fact that the music market connects Australia and Germany, and that the past exchange was centred on the notion of being modern and international by having a quality piano from Germany —which brings us to the here and now.

Threads to the Present

While there was always an eager audience back in Australia for this style of edgy, hybrid music that had largely been spawned out of Melbourne's darker, cultural underbelly, there was a far smaller audience for the more experimental artists who'd been influenced by the European avant-garde. Nick Cave and his cohorts were, after all, still rock musicians, with a very clear antenna for the tastes and appetites of the mainstream. Their music was visceral and unkempt, unlike the 'cooler' creations of artists who saw that music could be an intellectual pursuit, as well as a physio-logical, aesthetic and sonic phenomenon. Avant-garde and experimental styles of music have found followings in Australia over the years and there are numerous solo artists, ensembles, composers and academics who all wanted to add an Australian voice to the wider body of thinking and enquiry into the nature of sound. But this was not a populist form and Australia is a country that generally mocks culture when it becomes too cerebral. Add to this the limited available audience in a relatively small country, and the reasons for musicians going abroad become clear, and as they do so, they tread the well-worn path between Melbourne and Berlin that was established in the 1880s

One such musician who has followed this path is Anthony Pateras. Born in 1979, Anthony is a composer, pianist and electro-acoustic musician from Melbourne, whose parents migrated from Aegean Macedonia. He began playing piano at the age of five and played a lot of western European music. And if you're wondering what sort of piano he grew up with, it was (of course) German. He also grew up surrounded by music from the Balkans playing around his house, and as well as the sounds of the American music that his siblings were listening to. As he got older, Anthony became heavily immersed in the Melbourne live music scene, which at the time included everything from pub bands to experimental music collectives. So his

tastes became quite varied. He first visited Europe at the age of seven, and that early experience made him determined to return. But with his Macedonian background, Anthony had to fight hard, over 5 years, to get a European passport. He first lived in Berlin in 2006, when there was still a bit of the old grittiness of the very German music scene of the Cold War era.

> The whole idea that you could be in the centre of a city—the centre of a major international hub Berlin and be paying very little rent and be able to ride your bike everywhere and shop very cheaply was just very attractive to us. Because we've always been freelance musicians and composers [for fifteen years], so it seemed to make a lot of sense (Pateras 2016).

Berlin is not just a singular destination for many artists and musicians, because it also behaves like a portal into the northern hemisphere for some Australians. For Anthony, it was a good base from where to go back to the family origins in Macedonia, but it made sense to him as a gateway to another place entirely:

> When I was young I was also really into the whole 80s New York, East Village culture and was really into John Zorn and reading a lot of alternative, left-of-centre literature and cultural theory and that whole thing around visual art, and coming out of Morton Feldman and Earl Brown and John Cage and all that stuff. I mean that was all big for me and so being in Berlin, it was closer to New York. So I went over to New York a few times, just to play a few gigs and to see what was going on, and so it all made a lot of sense to be there. (ibid)

For people like Anthony, Berlin had a feel and a broad community of musicians that felt easy and natural. But the city had also become an important cultural crossroad, offering artists clear passage to any number of other destinations in search of inspiration and audiences. This issue of audiences is very important if you come from Australia and simply do not fit the mainstream musical styles. The population sizes across Europe guarantee that, not only are there many sizable niche audiences for all manner of musical styles, but these audiences are much more attuned to the European-ness of an avant-garde mode of creative thinking. As a consequence, many Australian musicians, belonging to bands such as *The Necks* and *Machine for Making Sense,* have spent a considerable amount of time working across Europe, but the majority base themselves in Berlin, and more recently in Leipzig as Berlin becomes more gentrified. So why don't artists base themselves elsewhere? The reason is easy, Germany is central, but more importantly, Germany welcomes outsiders in a way that most European countries do not. Natasha Anderson is a musician and composer, and is married to Anthony Pateras. Together they initially tried to avoid the cliché of moving to Berlin, instead attempting to settle in Brussels. Natasha had done her early training in Amsterdam and could speak Flemish, while Anthony could speak French, but Belgium resisted their efforts:

> That was an eye-opener. The bureaucracy [in Belgium] is inoperable, it just does not work as a foreigner. And Anthony's OK because he has an EU Passport, but I don't. So we just kind of gave up. So Berlin … we've got lots of friends there, we went on a holiday and we looked at each other and said 'Why are we resisting this? It's so much easier here'. Germany, famous for its bureaucracy, it was very clear what you needed to do to get a visa (Anderson 2016).

Conclusion

After all this, do I believe that Berlin is Melbourne's northernmost suburb? I think I do. And I also believe that the connection has had a strong cultural influence on a great many people. More than that though is the question of whether this reflex for engagement that we see today is a direct consequence of Germany's desire to make global connections back in the 1880s. Germany is a country that shares borders with nine other countries, meaning that it must negotiate every one of those different cultures and languages separately. History tells us that some of Germany's nego-tiating strategies were disastrous, which is why I believe the German Federation has returned to a posture of great openness in the post-War period. It knows it dare not do otherwise.

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Personal Films and Transcultural Visions: An Interview with the Artist Filmmaker Paul Winkler

Giles Fielke

Abstract Paul Winkler is a German-Australian artist filmmaker who has now been making films for close to six-decades. Though his work is acclaimed internationally, Paul's relationship to his German heritage and his relative outsider status in the Australian art and film-making milieu is yet to be examined in the literature on his work. In the interview that follows a brief introduction to his work, Paul speaks candidly about his career and his motivations for the creation of his style of personal films. These films rely on the globally dispersed and transcultural networks of the film industry and its institutions to represent the specific visions of a brick-layer from Sydney, his home since the early 1960s.

Personal Films in Transnational Contexts

In a few years' time Paul Winkler will have been making films for six decades. The obvious reason as to why films by Winkler, who was born in 1939, are usually qualified as personal cinema is that he makes these often short, expressive works all by himself (Mudie 1994, p. 5). Otherwise Winkler's approach can be located between a European modernism owing to his German heritage, and his antipodean visions of Sydney, Australia, which has been his adopted home since the late 1950s. His transcultural identity gives Paul's films a uniquely individual and personal quality. But his artistic isolation only partly explains his work. Film, a thoroughly industrial medium for making moving images, has relied upon a vast network for its production and presentation ever since its introduction in the late nineteenth century. This dispersal was not only technological but also cultural. When the North American artist and filmmaker Paul Sharits founded the Personal Cinema Group in Baltimore in the 1960s, for example, it was his earlier encounter with experimental cinema in Colorado, which in turn had its roots in the European avant-garde, which led him to continue to expand the possibilities of new forms for filmmaking. These

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personal films relied on the way influence was transmitted as a feature of a new model of distributed and dispersed artistic activity addressed to photographic documentation.

A global apparatus for moviemaking was only just emerging as a possibility for individual and artistic practices by the 1950s. Not long after, Winkler began to make films on his own. Operating outside and alongside the avant-garde and the experimental modes for making films, the expatriate German artist established his own ground for producing images in a suburban Sydney flat. Upon arrival in the city he found work building houses during the Baby Boom of post-war time Australia. Back then the nation was in the process of negotiating a new identity, one which would attempt to distinguish it from the violent heritage of colonisation. It is also now more than twenty years since the retrospective screening of Winkler's work at the Museum of Contemporary Art, yet he is still making films. More recently he has been producing video, and his work is still revealing its complex balance of influences. With their oftentimes dizzying combinations of images, the films simultaneously employ both the observational documentary mode for depicting a newly emerging idea of Australia alongside the recognisable artistic vestiges of experimental modernism. Winkler's work presents a cultural practice in transition. The emergence of new networks for communication, in their use and delineation of social systems, afforded the camera a central role for reflecting back conditions for the production of its modern subjects. But the camera, like all forms for representation, was also used to effect the diffusion of a powerful, globalised and discrete program for the convergence of cultures through images.

Judging the relative importance of home-made films in the 1960s proves to be a difficult task. However, the means to shoot amateur movies had in fact been around since the 1930s. Nevertheless it would take the following three decades for independent filmmaking to enter the vernacular. As such, it is not hard to envision the scene at a meeting of the Film Study Group of the Workers' Educational Association. In the spring of 1963, they did not know what to think when a 'polite young German bloke asked if we would like to screen a little film he had made in his backyard' (Flaus 1995, p. 24). As the critic and actor John Flaus recalls they obligingly permitted Winkler, a relatively quiet member of their group, to show his films which only received mumbled platitudes from the rest of the group following the screening. The movie then, like the photograph, allows personal histories to emerge from out of the web of industrial modernity.

Often these histories do not aspire to be anything other than what their makers privately imagined for them. As such, these documents can be thought of as a part of an expanding archive of personal records, often self-proliferated in an age of documentary administration and mass observation. Today we witness this expansion from within the confusing mix of social media in overdrive, and in the marketed response to the sheer amount of personal information made available daily. This archive for recollection, then, is constantly in a state of becoming. However, the personal images generated by the individual can, in often strange and obscure ways, come to bridge the gaps existing between private experience and spectacular culture. This development is what Paul Winkler's films predicted in their screening

before the Workers' Educational Association meeting in central Sydney, to a group of both committed *filmerati* and labour rights ideologues in the critical film milieu of the 1960s (Hodson 2001, p. 62). Writing for Winkler's retrospective at the Museum of Contemporary Art more than 30 years later, Flaus recalled thinking at the time 'this backyard stuff couldn't be Art… Could it?' (Flaus 1995, p. 24). Winkler did not really care for this distinction either. And he still does not.

Today Winkler remains a resident of Sydney's inner west, where he keeps a small studio out the back of his suburban abode. Born in Hamburg just prior to the declaration of the Second World War, Winkler emigrated to Australia in 1959 as a young man who was determined to escape Germany's compulsory Cold War draft duty. It was the time when U.S. President Richard Nixon engaged Nikita Khrushchev on the merits of liberal individualism during the televised Kitchen Debates in Moscow. Following a warning from his father, who had been imprisoned during WWII, Winkler decided to leave a country and a continent still reeling from the events of the century so far. Anticipating an uncertain future, he made his way to Australia by leaving Germany on a motorbike, crossing the Middle East and heading to Singapore. On his way Winkler documented the journey using standard 8 mm moving-image film. The experience initiated his regular activity in filmmaking (Perry 1989, p. 14). Winkler became internationally known for his style of abstract, in-camera films, which often juxtaposed multiple images matted within the same frame. The use of camera matting techniques, which Winkler developed with his own devices, often relies on specially designed turntables and motors to spin the rephotographed images and mattes in loops. The technique allowed him to work up the images and to generate layers on each individual film pixel, allowing multiple exposures onto the same strip of film. Following initial screenings in Sydney, Winkler's films were subsequently shown at festivals and cinemas around the world. In works like *Bondi* (1979) or *Sydney Harbour Bridge* (1977), Winkler depicted iconic Australian vistas in hyper-real constructions on film.

As well as providing for documentary representation, the commercialisation of the movie camera also began to mediate the shift from the ideological nationalism of cinema's early years. The move allowed post-war subjects given over to a consumerist impulse modelled by the U.S., and to a regulated form of expressive freedom made possible by the technical transferability of the product. As an established scholar of the North American filmmaker avant-garde, P. Adams Sitney, chose to address the personal film and its relationship to autobiography when writing for the first issue of the long running *Millenium Film Journal* in the late 1970s. Sitney notes in his essay that 'the very making of an autobiography constitutes a reflection on the nature of cinema, and often on its ambiguous association with language' (Sitney 1977, p. 63). Initially at least, it appears Sitney could be describing Winkler's films like *Brickwall* (1975) or *Scars* (1970–1), which were made as he adjusted to life in Australia as an expat labourer. Importantly however, Winkler's works didn't just take their maker as its subject and his own reflections on film were not only about the cinema and its languages. When he was profiled in New York for the Museum of Modern Art's "Cineprobe" series on independent filmmaking in 1978, the critic David English highlighted Winkler's organic,

in-camera vision for filmmaking. Writing for the second issue of the *Millenium*, English presented Winkler's style as oriented to images within images, abstracting iconic locations and monuments chosen for depiction in the frame of 16 mm film in the Bolex camera he had adopted as the primary means for making his work. The film strip itself was then organised by Winkler into successive rows of rigorously determined pixels, a horizontal montage thickened by layering the images beside and even on top of one another (English 1978, p. 118). As an expatriate observer of film's transition from the political grammars of the state to the individual, and the fact that he had chosen to base himself in a colonised country, Winkler's films explicitly map an intimate history of the medium onto a gestural form for tran-scultural communication. As he makes clear in the discussion which follows, Winkler would eventually come to address this aspect of his work directly when he made the film *Drums and Trains* (2009). Winkler re-imagines himself in the film as a part of the Hitler Youth movement, re-using newsreel footage from the 1930s. He had first used these images in the more aggressively cathartic film *Faint Echoes* (1989), scratching and burning away images of Hitler making a speech, juxtaposed with a North American newsreel depicting the 1936 Olympics called 'Time Out For Sport' a title he would also borrow for his most outrageously abstract film *Time Out For Sport* (1996). In a documentary rearticulation of Nazism in the 21st century, the seemingly harmless images of a child's toy, a model train, becomes a vehicle between which the archive and the possibilities for self-expression continue today (Figs. 1 and 2).

Fig. 1 Paul Winkler at work in his film studio in Sydney (1995)
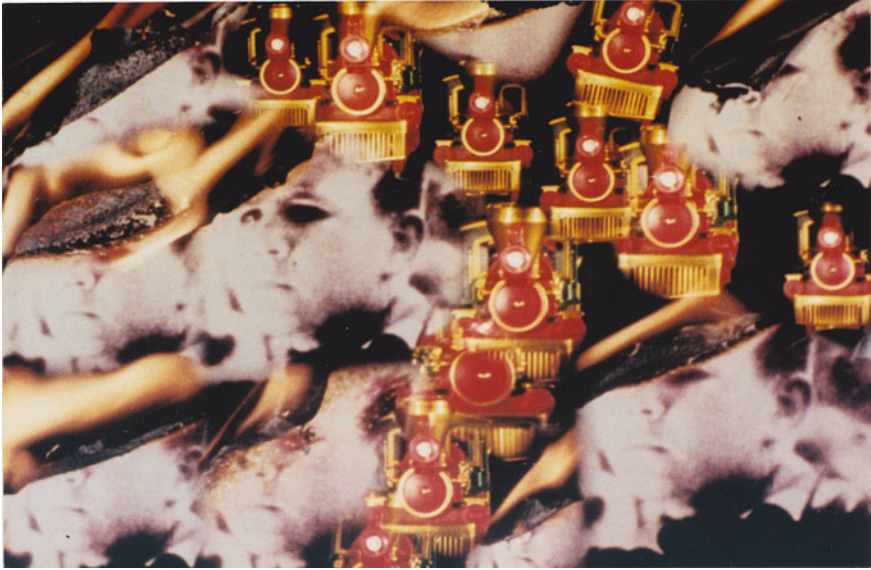
Fig. 2 Still image from Drums and Trains (2007)

Interview

Giles Fielke: You speak of personal films as opposed to experimental films.

Paul Winkler: Yeah, yeah. All of these are personal films, because none of these films were ever commissioned by anybody, you know, so every project I showed was of my own making. You know, I just said 'I like that' and I'll go ahead and do it. So from that point of view I was very free to work. Later on of course I was fortunate enough obviously because a lot of people liked my work or thought my work was good and I was getting a lot of sponsorship and that helped me a great deal just to simply play around with the medium of film.

I never really looked back really. One film finished, another one followed. I'm now hitting 77 and I'm still actually at it. Which completely confuses me. Why is that? What's happening in my head here? It's just something, you know, you always look for new things. I'm never really happy: 'that's finished and now let's get onto something else', you see. And this computer stuff now nearly, I said sheezus, how can I ever learn it? But you know then much to my surprise I did learn it.

GF: Can you trace this constant desire to work more and more back to an initial question that you had about what was going on in the film images, or in the images that you could see?

PW: What kicked off a film was generally some point in the past, which sort of said to me: 'Look, this is something that you might want to take on and see whether you can make a film about that.' And well, *Drums and Trains* is of course a very good example, because it brought back memories, of when I was back in Germany

as a kid, playing with trains (Winkler 2007). Then later on I realised: 'well what were the trains used for?' and unfortunately the trains were also used for very, very bad purposes. There's a program on TV now which I watch every week, this fellow reads episodes from a book, Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide, about journeys made in Europe before 1913. After that time he said it was finished and I thought, Christ, you're damn right it's finished. That's when I said, yeah, *Drums and Trains*, you see. It took me a long time to make that film because I really didn't quite know how to handle that subject and then I thought: 'like a kid'. I saw the kid playing the drum there, and he would have had no idea at the time what was to happen later on and me being a kid, I was even younger than him obviously, so we had that much in common. We did something in which we didn't actually know what was being played out then you see. We were too young to understand all that, or knowing about that. Anyhow, at that point, even though it happened so long ago, it came out as a film.

When I think about a film I immediately think well what do I need to do to create the effect that I am thinking about? So I don't use a piece of film, I want to create something and I think: 'What can I use, what can I do?' And it can be a piece of wood, it can be just a little figure, it can be some paint. I immediately go and try it out. That can keep me occupied for a long time. Before I hook into the idea of making a film I need that plastic thing, that stuff in my hand. Literally it is what comes from out of my hand, and that I play around with things. In a way it's like when children build little castles. I remember as a kid my neighbours used to say, 'Paul should become an architect' because I was very good at building castles. I didn't know it at the time.

GF: On the beach or in the sand?

PW: In a sandbox, in Germany. Where I come from there are no beaches. In Hamburg, so that's quite a distance from the ocean, a hell of a distance, one hundred kilometres, so I had never seen an ocean when I was young. No, because children had to be occupied. In each of our neighbourhoods we always had a sand pit, and in that sand pit there was clay and sand, obviously, and we were let loose to play in that. You can build a cave, or you can build a little, I don't know, a snowman. You can get a bit of water and mix it together… I never stopped doing that really.

GF: So the film is material for you to use, to construct something with.

PW: Yeah I need that material in my hand, really. It has to do with things. And when I went to do my buildings…I had to do renovations, I designed houses and so on…it's the same thing: models. I always had models, even with my film work there are always models there somehow or other. I build things, and that's it. That's building to me.

GF: Maybe we can talk about this in relation to the brick films in the 1970s, and the construction and architectural elements of the works.

PW: The funny thing about *Brickwall*, I'll never forget this because, well, being a bricklayer, I know I've built hundreds of brick walls, thousands (Winkler 1975). I must have laid, I don't know how many hundreds of thousands of bricks, so I thought finally why don't you actually film a brick wall. But that was of course a

static brick wall, a wall that was already finished. Most people when they walk past a brick wall then that's it, but they don't realise what went into the making of the brick wall. [In a statement from around the time of the film's first screenings, Winkler said: 'to me it is one of my most satisfying films in terms of pure cinema. I chose the subject not only because I am closely related to it but because we all live within brick walls and most people tend not to take in any account of this fact' (Winkler cited in Ingram 1975, p. 282).]

So I started to cut up the brick wall, it was a huge brick wall, and make segments, and each segment I gave a different treatment, like a close-up, very close-up. And because I was so close I could only see the grains on the brick which were very fine sand, sand grains almost, like when it comes out of the kiln and you touch a brick it is really rough, and I re-photographed that. It sort of brought the whole thing alive. The brick wall was not static anymore, but for me of course it was 8-hours a day I was laying these bricks, and the whole damn thing came alive.

I remember when I showed these films in so many places, everybody said: 'That can only be done by someone who actually likes bricks.' In fact I remember when it was shown in Melbourne, people actually sent me photos back of brick walls they had photographed in Melbourne and sent them to me back in Sydney. That was quite funny. [*Brickwall* was selected for the prestigious Oberhausen Film Festival in 1977. *Sydney Harbour Bridge* was shown there in 1978. On Winkler's use of sound in his films see Campbell 2011, pp. 71–87.]

GF: That kind of rough and grainy texture of the bricks is also similar in a way to the qualities you can achieve in the grain of a film.

PW: That's right, I hadn't thought about that. It is true, actually, very true what you said there. It is the grain really. You talk about a grain in the film of course but obviously I was thinking about the grain in the brick work. That never actually occurred to me, that thought. That is definitely true. When it shimmers on the screen you can actually kind of see that too. That was all done frame-by-frame with the old Bolex camera.

GF: How long did it take you to make?

PW: It took a long time. A long time, because in those days you had to wait for the film to come back, the film was Kodachrome too, it had to go from Sydney to Melbourne, from Melbourne back to Sydney. Sometimes in Melbourne they had strikes on so it took a bit longer. In those days it was just 'wait and see' for the film to come back.

But then I looked at it and when I liked it, I knew how much further I could drive it, how much more I can actually do to it. So it was actually 5,6,7,8 months probably. And fortunately that world doesn't exist anymore, by the way.

GF: Then you showed these films at festivals and screenings on tour?

PW: I do remember, you see later on I went to America nearly every 12 or 18 months or so, with new films to America. Every time you go through customs I was always asked what places I was planning to go to. In those days when they saw you they'd go through your flight ticket, and they'd go through your flight tickets to Chicago, or Denver, Toronto, Vancouver, and then they'd say, 'What the hell do you go to all these places for?' That came up quite often.

GF: So you went to Denver, who did you visit there?

PW: Denver was actually with the Goethe Institute, so I did a lot of travelling to America in combination with museums and the Goethe Institute. Funnily enough, the Kuchar brothers were projecting my films then, so that was quite interesting. [George Kuchar (1942-2011) and Mike Kuchar (1942-), twin brothers from New York, who pioneered underground and independent filmmaking.] But it was a good experience to see and actually, I must say the Americans were more receptive, I had people coming forward to shake my hands, can you believe it or not. And I had people in New York, at the Millennium Film Workshop wanting to buy my films.

In those days, well I remember when it came to buying the films, because of the expense in this country, that most film-makers at that time didn't really sell films, it was more likely that you would just show the films. And then we had the screenings at the Co-ops and so on, but buying the films, yeah, we had some libraries that started slowly to buy a print here or there. But generally not. Then there were private people that really wanted to have them films and buy the them, and to have them in their personal collection.

Nowadays we have video, but that didn't exist in those days. Some of my films you may have been lucky enough to buy a copy of, perhaps, because we usually said no. This was the other thing: we always said no. That was just filmmakers against buying things, we'd just show them. The mindset was different. Now everybody wants to sell, but then it was different. I think in a way if I look at it now, we sort of gave a whole list of reasons, like 'No, no, you can't do that…'

GF: It was degrading to the artistry of the film?

PW: That's it! You're degrading my artwork by having it in your living room or something. That's probably it… the mindset was different.

GF: One of the best pieces of writing I've read about your work is by John Flaus. There is a little description of the films he gave in Sydney, and I was thinking I could read some of it to you:

'The sixties were a heady time in Sydney town. When the Premier was urging the Johnson motorcade to *run over the bastards*; the Free University opened its doors in Paddington, and the Yellow House in Potts Point; out in sunny Clovelly the Cantrills were making their first films, but the world didn't know them yet; I remember the Sunday afternoons when we tramped two storeys up the stairs at 52 Margaret St to screen films and talk about them afterwards. The WEA Film Study Group was a menagerie—in the kindest sense— of film-buffs who analysed mis-en-scene, shot by shot, before video-tape; film-nuts who could name the actress who played the third girl from the left but didn't know the difference between a pan shot and a dolly; the film-niks who began from the premise that cinema, like war, was an extension of politics' (Flaus, 1995, p. 24).

He then says:

'It was so unexpected when the earnest, but unfailingly polite, young German bloke asked us if we would like to screen a little film he had made in his backyard. We only watch good films here, but after all, he has been a regular attender and occasional contributor to this discussion so we said yes, alright. And as I watched his films over the years I realised that he concentrated his considerable wit in his art

and not in his social contacts. Of course then we all knew about Paul Winkler's films' (Flaus 1995, p. 24).

Do you remember these people?

PW: Yes do I ever, wasn't it a left-wing bunch if I ever saw one. The Sydney Push. [The Sydney Push was a libertarian and anarchist subcultural group of artists and intellectuals operative from the 1940s-70s]. There was quite a lot of people, who at the time I had no idea who they were, obviously. I think I was the only stranger there, breaking into this holy viewing group actually, and what struck me of course was at that time I was working on film and got more and more interested in films and I had decided to get more knowledgeable about them, you see, of course there was no film school then, so I thought, where can I get knowledge? Not just by looking at films but also by discussing them and so on.

We had a group of German friends and we went to these films, like the Enigma cinema but that was not all that forthcoming, and when I joined this particular group, I think it met on Sundays, Sunday afternoons going up this steep staircase, and I think this was the first time I had seen a 16 mm film actually. So this whole atmosphere attracted me and they talked about films, and that was to me, do you remember when I said I didn't know anything about the computer? And I sit there thinking what is this computer actually doing, these guys talked and I wondered what they were talking about, and so it took me a while to get into that 'brain-set' and then I said, well, I better go up to the Mitchell Library and I got everything I could find about films.

Then of course I discovered Eisenstein and so-on, Griffiths, Pudovkin. That was when the penny really dropped. And that's when I figured out, 'okay, I think I know what I can do'. And I remember Eisenstein from *Strike!* (1925), you know, the quick cutting, just showing the tools on the screen and I thought, WOW! I thought, I can do that, you know, just sort of being naïve. It really triggered a lot in me. When I showed them my films, they were like 'what is this', I'll never forget that you know, it was so strange. To them I was a stranger and they were strangers to me. [In an interview with the local newspaper after his screening at Oberhausen Winkler stated: 'I developed my own ideas and my own style, and worked in isolation' (Molloy 1979, p. 16)]. The films I showed to them, they didn't really know how to come to terms with them. It took a long time to realise that, as I said before that word experimental or avant-garde didn't exist, it was just filmmaking. It was not much afterwards that we had the Ubu film group, actually it was a theatre group at the time (Mudie 1997).

Anyway I remember reading in one newspaper that there was supposed to be a meeting. I looked through the advertising for 'what's on today in Sydney', in the Sydney Morning Herald or something, the only place you could find out what was going on and it mentioned a little film group that was wanting to be established and you had to go to Balmain at a certain time to meet these people there. Well anyway I got my act together and I went over there and I looked up at the house and it was dark and shuttered and I wondered whether the address was right. There must have been a bum steer here, I thought. It was only years later that they told me that they were around the bloody back. It was ridiculous, but I'll never forget that. That was

Albie Thoms, and David Perry. They are both dead now. I only got in contact with them much later then, and I asked David about that bloody weekend of new filmmakers meeting with working filmmakers and he said oh yeah, we were around the back!

So you see the thing is as an outsider it was always a little bit more difficult for me to get into it, you know. At that time I was the only person, those Australians, they were all Australians that came from the middle class, which I didn't know at the time but I thought they must be pretty well off, you know, because of their clothing and the way they talk, they were well educated and so on. And here I am, a bricklayer, even though my education was pretty good because I had wanted to become an architect, but in Germany it was too much trouble. I didn't want to go into the army so I came out here.

So I knew I had to somehow adapt one way or another but I knew that they came from wealthier families you see, because it cost money to go to university to start with. But that didn't bother me because the people I associated with were different to those people. When my friends said, 'Where are you going?' I said, 'Oh I'm going to see that lot again.' They replied, 'Can you get on with them?' And I could get on with them well enough. My English was good enough, they knew what I was talking about etc. etc. but my friends never came along. They weren't really interested in film anyway you see. They would only watch a couple of films with that stuff which I only realised later on was known as an *art* film. Actually I had this discussion with another German friend of mine and we said, 'Film as art?' And then we both said, 'Well, that can't be true. Film as an art? Are you kidding? Go to any movie house and that's art?' It didn't really come into our heads that it could actually be art.

GF: So there was art and then there was entertainment?

PW: Art we always associated with a painter, maybe a sculptor. That's it.

GF: Right, so there was art and there was also film. But I don't think that many people would think that coming home and just having a small desk is enough to produce films. You had all these lab-style operations going on in your house, didn't you? Editing tables and so on.

PW: Yes, well in the days before I kicked off with 16 mm, I had 8 mm and just a tiny little editing machine, that you'd wind by hand, and a tripod and a camera, and a cutting instrument, a scraper for splicing the films together. So that only took up a small table like this, you see, the table wasn't even as big as this. [Paul is gesturing to the small table we're sitting at.] That was it. And that's how I did quite a lot of films. There is an hour-long film which I made in '62 that I want to put onto DVD now, because I've still got it on film. An 8 mm film. That was a film which I made when I came out to Australia on a motorbike. I put it together, and I was quite surprised how well that film was received.

GF: So this is from when you left Hamburg? How were you getting from continent to continent?

PW: Yes, leaving Hamburg on a motorbike. From Hamburg we went right up into India. From India we took a boat to Ceylon and from Ceylon we went to Singapore. And from Singapore we flew to Australia.

GF: With the bike?

PW: No we left the bloody thing. Well it would have cost too much, and we bought it second hand, you see, and it wasn't worth keeping it. We just left it standing there, that's what your did in those days, it was someone else's then. The thing was with the bikes they wanted some exorbitant amount to get to Australia.

So anyway I made this little film, it went for an hour and I was quite surprised that a lot of people liked that film. It was a documentary film about this journey on a motorbike. But again, that gave me the idea about what film could actually do. To get the attention of people looking at something. But I packed it away and then I started working, getting onto earning money, etcetera, and then I came back to making films again, little 8 mm films, some with my friends, there are still some snippets of those films there on the shelf.

But it took me a while before I realised, and this is where the so-called film as art comes in, I realised what if I do this, not actually people as actors but using them as part of the environment, really. Now we call it abstract, and I guess *Brickwall* is a very good example of that, so I tried to get into the guts of things. That's where I found myself really happy. Because now the way was opened up for me, and I discovered different camera techniques and so on, my matting techniques. My brain was really going into hyper-drive. That hasn't really left me.

16 mm film, on the other hand, has now left this country more or less and for a while I was really pissed off and I realise that video is taking over and so is digital stuff. So it took me a while and I thought, well I have to get into that. And I realised what I can do now is another world that has opened up and that will last me as long as I live you see. I find that as a medium, where you as a single person can achieve so much, where the input is all around us, for us to channel it, and to get it down. Once you look at it and you see that, 'Hey, that's not all that bad', you build upon that, layer by layer by layer, and soon you say, 'Well, this is it, enough of that'. You've got to do something else, you see.

But I've got this eternal drive, it's like a motor that's always running and you just need petrol and you can go on and on and on. To me it could not be any better. In fact, when I first sat in front of this blasted computer and I thought well what can you do with this, I remembered the Kuchar brothers years and years ago, when the first computers came out and they were monsters, and this guy got an internship and he was doing something that took him six months to do a little three minute film. And then later on he said okay, I was privileged because you know how few people have access to these things? But of course now everyone has access to them. We still don't know what's happening after this. I hope one day there will be 3D, right in front of me without the screen.

When I make my films, there is a certain playfulness in there, but there is also strength in there, you see. These are the thoughts which go through ones head when you start to do a project, you start to get into it, it fuses with you, you melt into it. In a way that is a terrific feeling when you are actually in tune with your object-matter. When *Sydney Harbour Bridge* was widely acclaimed we held a special screening of it in New York where I had to go up on stage, in Carnegie Hall of all places. It was very odd, coming from Sydney and the next moment being in Carnegie Hall. So if

you make something which resonates with other people, at least you know you broke a barrier, you broke through. Not to everybody but to a lot of people. If it looks like something, it is something. That, in a way, is filmmaking. That's what I like doing.

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Part III
Comparative Transnationalism

The Challenge and Benefit of Comparative Research in Education Systems and the Impact of PISA

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Abstract The increasing prominence of comparative work in education exemplified by the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) has influenced policymaking in many countries, particularly in Australia and Germany. However, much analysis and reporting of PISA tends to be highly abstract and sweeps aside complex questions and contextual understanding. This chapter adopts a comparative approach which emphasises the Australian and German context and exposes the education system structures which significantly impact student achievement and their experiences of school. The character of comprehensive provision within Australia's secondary or high schools and Germany's *Gesamtschule* or comprehensive schooling and *'Schularten mit mehreren Bildungsgängen'* or schools with various learning pathways will be explored. The chapter concludes by reaffirming the benefit and explanatory power of comparative education research which takes the complexities of context into account and uses this to meaningfully inform education policymaking and reform.

Australia and Germany in Direct Comparison

Comparative educational research brings education systems into contact by differentiating between those characteristics unique to national systems from those shared by several and focusing on those perceived commonalities to explain how systems function (Ringer 1979). This is done to illuminate the role and influence education structures and context have upon student achievement and the daily experiences of school (Duru-Bellat and Suchaut 2005). Comparative research equally involves contextualization of the social and economic conditions in which schooling occurs, which can frequently be lacking in reporting of international large scale assessments such as PISA (Wiseman 2010). Analysis and reporting based on PISA data can often be highly abstracted from context, driven by the assumption

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that it is easy to identify so-called best practice from one country and simply reapply it in a new environment without due consideration. This chapter is informed by a research stance that takes PISA as a starting point for nations to begin to learn from one another and then goes further by adopting a comparative approach that emphasises the context and structural arrangements of education.

The following discussion will consider the Australian and German systems alongside one another. Australia and Germany are trying to accomplish reforms to achieve equity and excellence in educational outcomes. The two countries have much to learn from the policy initiatives they have each taken. Both countries are federalised systems whereby education policymaking and implementation is a joint action between state and federal government. This configuration brings a set of complexities, as sometimes state-based differences run contrary to national policy objectives and vice versa. It can be said that Germany has accomplished much in terms of education reform in recent years, partly in response to poor PISA performance, while Australian reforms to the schooling system did not live up to their expectation and have now stalled. The feted Gonski reforms, which tried to introduce a more fair, equitable and transparent per-student base funding allocation across all Australian schools illustrate best this policy inertia. Recent PISA results from 2015 have Australia and Germany's performance on-par (Thomson, De Bortoli and Underwood 2016).

Since 2000 educational reform across many countries has been informed by the OECD's PISA. The large-scale assessment has successfully cultivated a reputation as 'an indicator of performance and social integration of education systems at a secondary level' (Bieber et al. 2014). The number of participating jurisdictions is growing. PISA 2015 tested the knowledge and skills of fifteen-year old students in mathematics, reading and science from across 72 economies. The key objective of PISA is to enable policymakers to 'gauge the knowledge and skills of students in their own countries in comparison with those in other countries, set policy targets against measurable goals achieved by other education systems, and learn from policies and practices applied elsewhere' (OECD 2016a, p. 25). It specifically conducts sampling to allow for analysis between participating countries, and analysis within specific countries can only be done based on individual jurisdictions extending the PISA sample (Thomson et al. 2016).

The OECD seeks to encourage better policy making by cross-country comparisons and international benchmarking facilitated by PISA products that provide borderless educational data for research and analysis in a globalised world. Wiseman describes PISA as a key contributor to an intellectual space 'where educational policy-making is not geographically or politically bounded but is instead bounded by the extent of the legitimated evidence used to support one decision or policy versus another' (Wiseman 2010, p. 18). Furthermore, PISA datasets available for open-access download and analysis strip back the specific language and terminology of schooling. The data needs to include variables with labels and associated meanings that do not require translation. Language and terms associated with schooling are adapted into scales and terminology that are internationally comparable. Through these processes, it can be said that PISA conceals

as much as it reveals. To achieve its prized brevity, PISA must sanitise the context in which education systems operate and shy away from complex context-specific questions and understanding.

PISA is an effective tool for the promotion of transnational understanding and learning in education and has honed the attention of many stakeholders on issues of equity as well as excellence within their systems. A common finding across the waves of PISA assessment in both Australia and Germany has been that socio-economic factors, including parent occupation, socio-cultural possessions, such as the number of educational and cultural resources in the household and parent education levels, tend to be predictive when looking at student achievement. In other words, many students from higher socio-economic backgrounds tend to perform well at school and achieve educational qualifications. This is a common pattern in many countries across the world. Despite varying structural arrangements many education systems produce social selection that reinforces social and economic power. This finding was particularly striking for advantaged and wealthy countries like Australia and Germany, where PISA found a high proportion of students miss out when it comes to education achievement, particularly students from less advantaged families and it is these students who need the benefits that schooling provides most.

PISA 2000 had a widespread impact in Germany because of its disastrous performance in comparison to other OECD member states (Klieme, Jude, Baumert & Prenzel 2010, p. 277). PISA data exposed the educational inequalities in a way that was also easily communicable to the German public and in no other country was the impact of PISA felt so drastically (Deckert-Peaceman 2005). PISA results showed that the 'brutal selective system' that operated within schools was in fact detrimental to the achievement of German students in comparison to other countries, with a high proportion of student repeating grades as well (Bude 2011). Although in Australia the reception of PISA was initially very favourable, and perhaps even above expectation, since 2009 a new narrative of declining performance has set in (Lingard 2016). The most recent PISA found that the performance of Australian students overall was in 'absolute decline' (Hunjan and Blumer 2016). To date, neither country has found a way to alleviate these disturbing findings, or devise a reform agenda that is supportive of greater equity and excellence in educational outcomes.

PISA receives ever increasing prominence in education research, but the data does not have much explanatory power. Australia and Germany can track their performance over various waves of assessment, but neither context has managed to address the issues around equity that PISA brought to the fore. Germany has seen improvement. PISA 2015 found that only 16 per cent of the variation in student performance is associated with socio-economic status, which is lower than past PISA performance but above the OECD average of 13 per cent (OECD 2016b). Australia is struggling to improve, with PISA 2015 in scientific literacy, reading literacy and mathematical literacy finding that students from higher socio-economic backgrounds performed at a 'significantly higher level' than students from lower socio-economic backgrounds' (Thomson et al. 2016, p. 60).

Neither system has been able to use the PISA assessment as an opportunity to leverage reforms that have proven effective at providing all students with an equal chance of success. This is a tough ask and it involves considering how and why education systems function. Bourdieu argues that the 'goal of sociology is to uncover the most deeply buried structures of the different social worlds that make up the social universe, as well as the *mechanisms* that tend to ensure their reproduction or transformation' (Bourdieu 1996, p. 4). A critical sociological view is that it is more common for social structures to be perpetuating processes that contribute to inequalities rather than solving them (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Comparative work is therefore optimal because of the way it lays bare structural arrangements and mechanisms of schooling that can be overlooked, raising questions as to how these are historically constructed and currently configured. Frequently, education systems are set up and continue to function to benefit those who already have economic and social power.

The next section of this chapter applies a comparative approach to consider how 'comprehensive' schools operate in both the German and Australia systems, as the label or shared terminology, in this instance, conceals fundamental differences. Comprehensive schools provide students with a common educational pathway. This facilitates opportunities for students to learn together, reduces grade repetition and provides equivalent educational opportunities. The concept is built around the idea of education as a common good, where schooling prepares young people for a place in a wider society. The OECD through PISA has recommended that systems work to eliminate obstacles and defer student selection into the upper secondary years and to 'reinforce' comprehensive schooling (OECD 2012). The policy recommendation is based on the consistently strong performance by countries such as Finland on PISA, regarded as an education system that has effectively combined quality with equity through the operation of its comprehensive schooling system (OECD 2012).

The idea of comprehensive delivery is not new for either Australia or Germany. Australia is recognised in international comparative work for its comprehensive secondary schooling system that has a one-track pathway to upper-secondary levels. Historically some German Democratic Republic states had forms of comprehensive delivery, while the Western German states were keen to maintain tracked lower-secondary level delivery (Mitter and Shaw 1991). Now all German states are experiencing growth in comprehensive school forms and enrolments at both lower and upper secondary levels (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016; Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2014). The next section discusses the operation of comprehensive schools in both contexts. It summarises the distinctive features as well as similarities in approach to comprehensive schools in both countries. It is evident that both countries adopt policies that thwart elements intrinsic to the effective operation of a comprehensive model of educational provision which instead serve to perpetuate inequalities as described by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1996).

Comprehensive Schools in Germany

Germany has long been regarded internationally as a tracked and ability-streamed education system. School students in Germany face nuanced historical practices of selection, whereby in some states they are still required annually to meet state-sanctioned grade point averages across most of their subjects to pass. The practices of selection start very early. In some states students are streamed from the fourth grade, others from the fifth or sixth grade, into various types of schools. Only some schools enable students to work towards the *Abitur*, the certificate that guarantees university entrance in most degrees. If a student does not meet academic requirements in any year, there is the chance that he or she could be forced to repeat the year or even be demoted to another school track. Germany in PISA 2015 continues to have a high number of students who have repeated a class in comparison to other OECD countries, as well as more 15-year-old students in the 9th grade than other countries (Reiss et al. 2016). The specified intention of the ability-streamed system and the processes of institutional gatekeeping are to ensure that each student will be better served within a learning environment that matches his or her ability, which means weaker students will not be left behind and talented students will be extended (Solga and Wagner 2008).

The German school system varies by each state and Fig. 1 displays the proportion of students within each school type nationally at the lower secondary level. Recent reforms have created a new constellation of secondary schools, with the most interesting trend found in the growth of comprehensive schools or *Gesamtschulen*, and schools with multiple learning pathways or *mehreren Bildungsgängen*. The growth is a result of various state-level structural reforms partly taken to address the PISA crisis or '*PISA-Schock'* of 2000. In the most recent Education in Germany or *Bildung in Deutschland* report, the numbers of students who were taking part in these newer and more inclusive types of schools had grown from 700,000 in 2006 to 1.1 million in 2014 (Autorengruppe Bildungsbericherstattung 2016, p. 7). Figure 1 illustrates that the comprehensive school is the third most popular school type with 15.8 per cent of enrolments, and if this is combined with schools offering various learning pathways with 11.4 per cent, the number exceeds the intermediate school or *Realschule* enrolments (Malecki 2016). Many of these changes and associated education reforms have gone unnoticed in anglophone countries that still show a propensity to classify the German system as the traditional three-tiered system. This is despite the reality that the three-track system does not exist as the sole form of educational provision in any state (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2014).

The school types differ largely by the school-leaving certificates offered. These certificates create different possibilities for further education and training. The other school leaving certificates, especially the lower-secondary school leaving certificate or *Hauptschulabschluss*, are more vocational with a focus on entrance to the labour market and take less time to complete. The Abitur, which was traditionally reached through the Gymnasium, continues to be the most prestigious certificate. Recent educational reforms have led many states into opening pathways for students to be
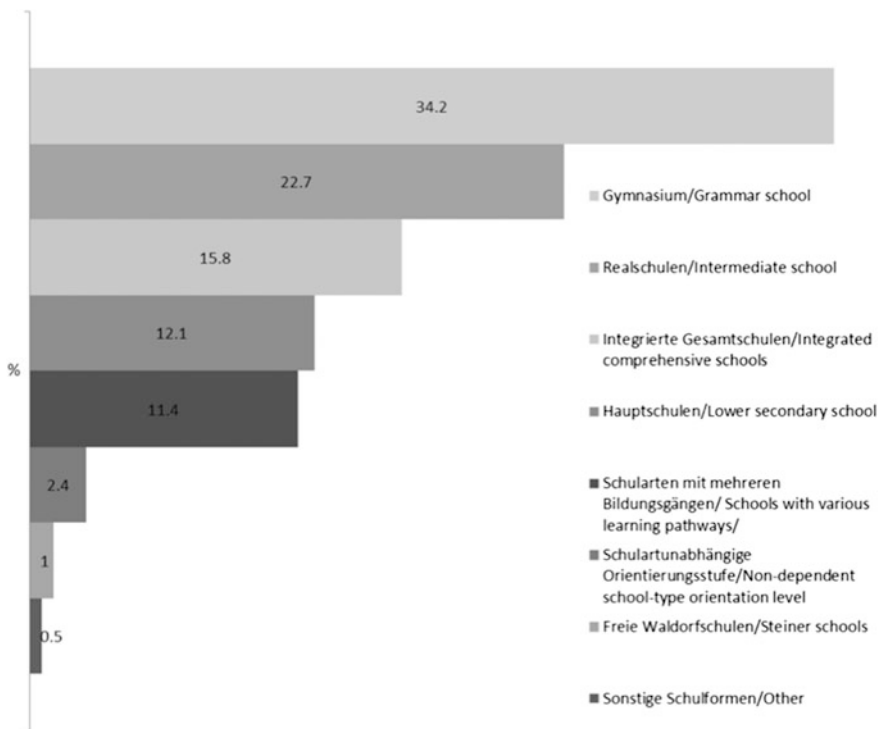
Fig. 1 Percentage of students in general lower secondary schools 2014/2015% (*Source* Malecki 2016)

able to reach the Abitur or its equivalent through other education and training pathways. The numbers of students who complete their Abitur within a comprehensive setting has also grown over time (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2014).

The organisation of comprehensive schools within Germany differs state to state (Autorengruppe Bildungsbericherstattung 2016). Schools with various learning pathways are partial comprehensives in that they do not compete with the Gymnasium and offer the lower-secondary and intermediate school leaving certificates (Schneider and Tieben 2011). Comprehensive schools typically offer all pathways within the same school setting, and do compete with the *Gymnasium* for enrolments. In the upper years, students can choose whether they would like to complete the *Abitur* or finish their schooling with the lower-secondary school leaving certificate or the intermediate school leaving certificate. Despite being part of a comprehensive system, students from the 7th grade start to be taught separately according to ability-streaming and their intended school-leaving certificate. It is a school level choice whether they will stream students between classes or within classes. Within-class differentiation can occur through the creation of learning groups based on competence or learning interest group arrangements

(Autorengruppe Bildungsbericherstattung 2016, p. 423). The diversity of school-leaving certifications with their different requirements, which also differ state-by-state, dilutes the impact of the comprehensive and partial comprehensive schools as the continuation of various educational school leaving certificates signal differentiated educational prestige and worth to the labour market.

The backgrounds of students also differ across the various school types in Germany. Schneider and Tieben identify that students from advantaged backgrounds have a higher chance of entering the intermediate school or *Realschule* or the *Gymnasium* than the *Hauptschule*. They also have a lower risk of failure in these tracks (Schneider and Tieben 2011, p. 145). The *Gymnasium* which only offers the Abitur continues to be most sought after by more advantaged families and thus they bring with them their social and economic resources to support their children. Table 1 shows student performance on the PISA reading comprehension assessment by school type in Germany in 2000 and 2012. Students at the *Gymnasium* have the highest average score than all other school types at both points in time. Students attending the *Gymnasium* achieve an average score that is over 100 points higher than students in a comprehensive pathway. Students in comprehensive schools achieved an average score that was less than students in an intermediate school within both PISA assessments. It can be postulated that this reflects how student socio-economic background mediates student achievement. The transition from lower into upper secondary schooling and the distinct pathways determined by the school-leaving certificates continues to contribute to overall social inequality in educational attainment in Germany (Schneider and Tieben 2011). Schools which are offering integrated pathways in comprehensive settings are catering for a more diverse student body, who may bring less added value in terms of cultural capital to the school and are subsequently more reliant on the educational experience that their school and their teachers can provide them.

The growth of enrolments in comprehensive schools has undoubtedly lessened the brutality of selection within the German system as it occurred previously, especially in the states where the traditional three-track model was previously strictly adhered to. This should be considered a positive outcome in the post-PISA era. However, it cannot be said that in Germany comprehensive schools are truly

Table 1 PISA reading comprehension, 15-year-old students, 2000 and 2012 by educational pathway (*Source* Autorengruppe Bildungsbericherstattung 2016. D6-5A)

Schooling pathway	PISA 2000 Average	PISA 2012 Average	Difference between years
Lower-secondary school pathway (Hauptschulbildungsgang)	395	417	22
Intermediate secondary school (Realschulbildungsgang)	495	507	12
University preparatory school (Gymnasialbildungsgang)	582	578	-4
Comprehensive school (Integrierte form)	460	460	0

comprehensive. Nor do they represent a new school form entirely. Rather, in many ways they represent a reclassification of existing structures well tested in securing social advantage (Müller, Ringer et al. 1987, p. 17). In Germany comprehensive schools are thwarted by the need to differentiate to the delivery of the various school-leaving certificates and their requirements. This process of certification differs in each state, but each school-leaving certificate mandates various subject requirements which in turn have ramifications on how the comprehensive schools can operate and necessitates the sorting of students in some way.

Comprehensive Schools in Australia

Australia has long operated a comprehensive schooling system particularly at the primary level, and more recently in the secondary levels since the technical schools were closed (Teese 2014). In some states, this occurred as late as the 1980s. In the secondary years, currently all students work towards the common school leaving certificate that differs at the state level, in Victoria, it is known as the Victorian Certificate of Education or VCE. Some students have the opportunity to complete the International Baccalaureate, if offered by their school. In the state of Victoria there is also a more vocationally-oriented certificate that students can work towards called the Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning or VCAL. The majority of students work towards the Year 12 certificate and the associated university entrance rank score that facilitates student pathways into higher education. Despite the common school leaving certificate in Australia, social selection occurs in subject configurations that students choose from to make up the certificate requirements, yet they are in large part determined by what their school offers.

Stratification is the way education systems deal with the diversity in their student intake. Australia is known as a comprehensive system, but in context it practices horizontal stratification as students are typically separated into different schools, classes or groups (OECD 2016a, p. 156). Low achievers are typically segregated into less socially regarded vocational subjects undertaken at school, in the belief that 'this protects them from exposure to unreasonable demands and enables them to perform well in a safe curriculum space (Teese 2014). Unfortunately, this common strategy does not always protect students who may struggle with the demands made on them by schooling, and close to one quarter of 19-year-olds do not complete a secondary school leaving certificate or its equivalent in Australia (Lamb et al. 2015). Many of these students have performed poorly throughout schooling and they have fallen behind early and in most cases catching up to their peers is difficult. The high likelihood that these students decide to drop out of school increases their vulnerability as they often struggle to connect with any further education and training pathway or are unable to find a firm footing in the labour market.

Australia's claim to provide a truly comprehensive system are becoming increasingly diluted by practices of horizontal stratification (OECD 2016b). Due to the nature of the school leaving certificates and the structures of schooling, students

in Australia are mostly divided from the age of 15 into classes based on their curriculum choices. Students in Australia typically take five to six upper-secondary subjects in their final years of school with a large proportion of the final grade determined by exams that are graded externally from their school. Teese has demonstrated empirically the manner in which the school leaving certificate and university entrance score are an effective mechanism for exploiting cumulative success (Teese 2014; Teese 2000). Subject selection is high-stakes within the school leaving certificate with high-end subjects such as specialist mathematics, physics and European languages reaping greater rewards for students, as opposed to other subjects which carry less academic prestige, like applied mathematics and science subjects (Teese 2014, p. 269). The high-end subjects are often mandatory prerequisites for entry into highly sought-after and competitive tertiary degrees. Subject choice thus becomes an effective tool of social selection within Australian schools, as students who are typically from more advantaged families are found within the high-end subjects that qualify them for university entrance. Students from less advantaged families are found within subjects that hold less prestige.

Many schools, particularly in the Government sector, are starting ability group classes from the lower secondary years according to student achievement. In an educational marketplace where parents are encouraged to select the school of choice, some schools market themselves on the promise of class, where students are segregated from others most often in key subjects such as English and Mathematics. This practice is growing particularly in Government schools that face mounting competition for enrolments from other Government schools that effectively associate themselves with delivering strong and consistent student achievement. Interestingly these practices of academic selection are justified in a similar tone to that which is found within Germany's debate around the dismantling of the tracked system, namely that segregating students by ability enables them to be better served within a learning environment that matches his or her ability (Solga and Wagner 2008). Commonly, the policy discussion in the Australian context is also centred around the need for the Government system to do more for high-achievers rather an excessive focus on low achieving students.

The Australian comprehensive system diminished by the sectors that operate schools across all states and territories. Australia has a Government and non-Government sector, and within the non-Government sector there are two types of schools, namely Catholic and private schools. Table 2 contains the number and proportion of students enrolled across the three sectors of schooling in Australia. It shows that between 2010 and 2015 the enrolment shares remained largely the same, with 65 per cent of total students enrolled in Government schools, 20 per cent in Catholic settings and 14 per cent in private schools. More than one-third of students in Australia are educated in a non-Government setting.

Lamb, Jackson, Walstab and Huo (2015) found that students from non-Government schools are more likely to be drawn from more advantaged backgrounds, which in turn has an impact on the social mix of students attending other schools. Families who have high levels of socio-economic capital are more

Table 2 Australian primary/secondary students across the three school sectors, 2015 and 2010% (*Source* ABS, Schools in Australia, 4221.0 Schools, Australia, 2015)

	2015	2010
Government	65.19	65.63
Catholic	20.41	20.33
Private	14.40	14.03

likely to position themselves in elite private or Catholic schools, while Government schools find themselves catering to families who are less advantaged. The narrowing of social mix within schools, and the increasing social segregation is a long-term trend, with a 60 per cent decline in Government school enrolments found in the top half of family socio-economic distribution between 1975 and 2006 (Watson and Ryan 2010). However, not only is there segmentation between the school sectors in Australia, there is also segmentation within schools themselves. The separation of the Government system into pockets of strong student performance is most clearly seen by the selective schools that operate within the Government system that effectively cream the high-achievers from their local schools. This creates a condition where some schools are better equipped to deal with the demands made on them by the academic curriculum requirements than others, while other schools exposed and sites of mass academic failure (Teese 2014).

The distinctions can be seen in PISA 2012. Table 3 shows the maths achievement of Australian students in quintiles disaggregated by socio-economic status (SES) quintile. Although the Government sector is the largest in terms of enrolments, it is striking that a very high proportion of the students in the lowest SES quintile are in the Government sector (77.5 per cent), while only 6.8 per cent of students from the lowest SES quintile are in private schools. The mediating effect that socio-economic background has on PISA performance is also apparent, as private schools have a very high proportion of students in the highest math achievement quintile (27.9 per cent) and upper middle quintile (24.1 per cent). Less than one-tenth (7.8 per cent) of students in a private school fall into the lowest math achievement quintile. In terms of the students who perform poorly in PISA 2012, 76.2 per cent of the lowest quintile is encompassed by students.

The conditions by which schools in the non-government sector operate in Australia are unique when compared to other OECD member jurisdictions. Not only do non-Government schools receive high-levels of Government funding, they are also able to set their mandatory school fees by market forces. They operate within a policy environment where the Government has completely deregulated them, in effect 'freeing them of all restraints' (Teese 2014, p. 315). Private schools in Germany also receive an amount of government funding, but they only receive these funds by obtaining approval from the German state which is contingent on a guarantee that students will not be prevented from attending due to the wealth of their family. Many schools offer scholarship places and tuition fees are not particularly high as a result (Killus 2014).

Table 3 Distribution of participating students across school sectors (quintiles) and math achievement, PISA 2012% (*Source* Lamb et al. 2015 using OECD PISA 2012)

	Government	Catholic	Private	Total
SES quintile				
Lowest	77.5	15.7	6.8	100
Lower middle	66.2	22.2	11.6	100
Middle	57.7	25.3	17	100
Upper middle	51.7	26		100
Highest	37.5	27.2	35.3 22.3	100
Maths Achievement				
Lowest	76.2	16	7.8	100
Lower middle	64.1	22.4	13.5	100
Middle	56.1	25.6	18.3	100
Upper middle	48.4	27.5	24.1	100
Highest	48.7	23.4	27.9	100

Yet Germany is not immune to the detrimental impact private schools can have on Government of PISA 2000, the enrolment and public interest in private schools has risen in Germany (Weiß 2011). One newspaper described how PISA 2000 sent the German education system into chaos, increasing parental anxiety about the future of their children and accordingly private school enrolments spiked (Füller 2011). A small proportion (11 per cent) of students are currently being educated within schools classified as belonging to the private sector within Germany, with private school students in the large cities often being from higher socio-economic backgrounds than the student clientele typically found in Government schools (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016). Private schools in Germany could make even more inroads into the school enrolment share, if parental anxiety about the quality of education provision continues to increase, thus further contributing to the diminishment of the shift towards a comprehensive provision of education (Tillmann 2014).

Comparative Research Perspectives in Education

Germany and Australia are both committed to improving student achievement and equity, and to this end they show a willingness to engage in transnational forums to initiate discussions about education policy and reform (Bieber et al. 2014). PISA's influence and cache have been invoked by both to drive reform in education. Yet PISA conceals as much as it reveals. PISA relies on abstract concepts and terminology which strip language and context from the data to make it easier to analyse and work in a global research and policy environment. PISA is not designed to lay bare the structural arrangements of education nor does it have much explanatory power.

Systems which contain comprehensive schools have been found to be those that consistently achieve good PISA results since 2000 (OECD 2012). Australia and Germany have elements of comprehensive provision in their education systems. However, the term comprehensive schools as it might be applied in both Australia and Germany is really a misnomer. In Australia, comprehensive secondary schools offer the same school-leaving certificate while social selection is found within subject choices and the various government and non-government sectors which operate schools. Non-government schools absorb students who can afford to go there, which subsequently distorts the social mix for all other schools, particulary the Government sector which is nominally free. In Germany, comprehensive schools or school with multiple pathways are also just one option within the constellation of secondary schooling offerings. Comprehensive schools have to continue to offer various school-leaving certificates, which necessitate placing students into different pathways. Australian and German comprehensive schools are compromised through structural arrangements and practices of schooling that are supportive of social selection, and so they continue to fail to deliver high quality educational outcomes for all.

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'Asia Literate' Learning in Global Contexts: Curriculum Perspectives on Asian Languages Education in Australia and Germany

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Abstract The development of 'Asia literacy' is a widely-advocated goal in current educational debates of many Western countries. Within this broader objective, the subject discipline of languages can be identified as an area within Australian and German school curricula where attempts to integrate this competency have been strongly evident since the early 2000s. Drawing on the example of Asian languages education in the Australian and German contexts, this chapter presents a comparative case study outlining the reasons that both countries have in common for the advocacy of Asian languages learning, while identifying some key differences. While both the Australian and German curricula include statements that express an understanding that transgress traditional East-West dichotomies, overall they remain shaped by conventional imaginations of nation, language and culture. Curriculum writers need to recognise the complexities of linguistic and cultural difference more comprehensively, enabling them to move towards a broader pedagogy that shifts the teaching of Asian languages beyond Othering and limited repertoires of linguistics, pragmatics and culture.

The Context of Asian Languages Education in Australia and Germany

The development of 'Asia literacy', 'Asia capability', or '*Asienkompetenz*' ('Asia competency') is a widely advocated goal in current educational debates of many Western countries. Within the broader objective of 'global competence' as 'the centrepiece of a broader vision for 21st Century education' (OECD 2016a, b), national and international education policies often advocate for Asia literacy as a key skill that enables young people to effectively engage with, live and work in the Asia-Pacific region (Australian Curriculum 2017b; MCEETYA 2008).

Within this broader debate, the discipline of languages can be identified as a particular subject area within Australian and German school curricula where, since

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the early 2000s, a revitalised and ever-increasing focus on the teaching and learning of Asian languages and cultures has become foregrounded. While the 2014 *National Australian Curriculum—Languages* (and the corresponding state and territory policy and curricula of the last few years) encourages and supports the teaching and learning of all languages (Australian Curriculum 2017a, c; Department of Education (DET) 2013), the focus on Asian languages in particular is a recurring objective in the Australian context. After the release of the 1970 Auchmuty Report on Asian Languages and Studies, advocacy for Asian languages education in Australia evolved strongly in the 1980s and 1990s. Numerous government reports and initiatives were launched to fund and promote Asian languages education (Lo Bianco 2009). The most prominent policy schemes advocating Asian languages education included the National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) (COAG 1994); the Melbourne Declaration of Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA 2008), which identifies priority learning areas, especially Asian languages, and Australia in the Asian Century White Paper (Australian Government 2012), which nominated Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese, Indonesian and Hindi as national priority languages (Möllering 2014).

The Melbourne Declaration warrants particular attention as it integrates the study of languages, 'especially Asian languages' (MCEETYA 2008, p. 14) with the overarching goal of developing Asia literacy:

> Global integration and international mobility have increased rapidly in the past decade. As a consequence, new and exciting opportunities for Australians are emerging … India, China and other Asian nations are growing and their influence on the world is increasing. Australians need to become 'Asia literate', engaging and building strong relationships with Asia. (p. 4).

The subsequent discussions around facilitating and encouraging the development of 'Asia literacy' and 'Asia competency' in students, businesses and industry contributed to the formulation and integration of a cross-curricular priority 'Asia and Australia's engagement with Asia' in the Australian national curriculum (Australian Curriculum 2017b). While as a cross-curricular priority 'Asia and Australia's engagement with Asia' is not restricted to the discipline area of languages, the Asian language classroom is often considered to be an ideal space where this focus can be facilitated through the integration of both language and (inter)cultural learning:

> Language learning provides the opportunity for students to engage with the linguistic and cultural diversity of the world and its peoples, to reflect on their understanding of experience in various aspects of social life, and on their own participation and ways of being in the world. (Australian Curriculum 2017d)

By comparison, the teaching and learning of Asian languages in Germany is not universally advocated. Traditionally programs have been the domain of *Gymnasium*

and *Gesamt-/Gemeinschaftsschule* types of schools[1], and especially through so-called *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* (AGs)—that is, as an extracurricular activity, with Japanese and Chinese being the most widely studied Asian languages in AG programs. However, a heightened interest in the study of Asian languages, especially Chinese, since the late 1990s, has contributed to ever-increasing demand and student numbers across all states and school sectors (Fachverband Chinesisch 2009; Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK) 2017a, b). While state-based curricula for Japanese and Chinese have been in place as early as 1993, the release of national assessment guidelines for Chinese and Japanese provided the foundation for the uniform establishment of Chinese and Japanese as formal Abitur[2]-examinable languages in schools (Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen in der Abiturprüfung für Chinesisch (Standardised examination requirements for the Abitur examination in Chinese); Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen für Japanisch ('standardised examination requirements for the Abitur examination in Japanese) (KMK 1998, 1999).

Further initiatives to expand and consolidate Asian languages education in Germany include the provision of Chinese languages programs at primary level (Fachverband Chinesisch 2015), and trials for teaching Chinese as a second foreign language at secondary level (KM Baden-Württemberg 2017a). Moreover, established sequences for first, second and third foreign languages have been augmented by the provision of late entry points for further languages study. These options are usually referred to as *spät beginnende Fremdsprache* (late-starting foreign language, meaning a foreign language that is usually introduced in Grade 9 or 10 as an additional, elective language), and *neu einsetzende spät beginnende Fremdsprache* (newly commencing late-starting foreign language, meaning a foreign language introduced in replacement of a previously studied foreign language at senior secondary level) (KM Bayern 2009). As Table 1 outlines, established languages sequences reflect the traditional Gymnasium profile, mainly consisting of European and classical languages. However, the *neu einsetzende spät beginnende Fremdsprache* pathway provides an additional entry point for languages study, for which Chinese and Japanese have become popular language selection options, along with Russian, Spanish, Turkish, Polish and Hebrew.

It is interesting to note that curriculum rationales for *spät beginnende Fremdsprache* often highlight the intention to provide a new challenge to students with a particular interest in and aptitude for languages, as they: 'Appeal students

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[1]The German school system is multi-faceted and, particularly at secondary level, highly selective with different academic and vocational tracks. This has resulted in several types of schools catering for different educational foci and outcomes, specialisations, requirements and school leaving certificates. Among these tracks, the *Gymnasium* is the only secondary school type that—along with *Gesamtschule* and *Gemeinschaftsschule* (Comprehensive School) in some German states— provides a direct pathway to university after Grade 12 upon the successful attainment of the *Allgemeine Hochschulreife* (or *Abitur*) 'General qualification for university entrance) (Bildungsportal des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 2017; KM Baden-Württemberg 2017b; KM Bayern 2017).

[2]*Abitur*: Cf. i).

Table 1 Overview of sequence of languages at secondary level (Gymnasium, Gesamt-/ Gemeinschaftsschule), including the most common languages offerings across most federal states in Germany

1st foreign language	English, French, Latin
2nd foreign language	English, French, Latin, Spanish, Russian, Polish Chinese (trialled in some federal states)
3rd foreign language	English, French, Latin, Spanish, Russian, Classical Greek, Portuguese, Italian, Polish Chinese, Japanese
Late-starting foreign language (Senior secondary years, usually introduced in Grade 10)	French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Hebrew, Russian, Turkish, Polish Chinese, Japanese

who have a particular interest in languages and therefore have the required motivation and willingness to study[3]; build on knowledge, skills and basic attitudes which the students have acquired through previously studied foreign languages und in the German language classroom[4]; and are taught in quick progression, which leads to a motivating sense of achievement[5] (KM Bayern 2009). This is distinct from the often-contradictory discourses of languages education in Australia, which highlight the importance of languages learning, in particular Asian languages, while also framing the intellectual challenge presented by languages study as a major deterrent to motivation and engagement (Lo Bianco 2009; Weinmann and Arber 2016).

Contrasting Curriculum Perspectives on Asian Languages in Australia and Germany

The following discussion draws on curriculum documents for Asian Languages in the Australian Curriculum and, for lack of an overarching German national curriculum, several examples from curriculum documents from different federal states. The discussion of the German curricula will refer to Chinese and Japanese only, as these are the two Asian languages whose teaching, learning and assessment is currently guided by national senior secondary examination guidelines. In particular, the discussion focuses on the context statements of the Australian and German curricula, as these provide a common element within the specific genre conventions

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[3]German original: 'richten sich an Schülerinnen und Schüler, die ein besonderes Interesse an Sprachen und eine entsprechend hohe Motivation und Leistungsbereitschaft mitbringen'.

[4]German original: 'bauen auf Kenntnissen, Fertigkeiten und Grundhaltungen auf, welche die Schülerinnen und Schüler in den bisher erlernten Fremdsprachen und im Deutschunterricht erworben haben'.

[5]German original: 'werden in raschem Lernfortschritt unterrichtet, was zu motivierenden Erfolgserlebnissen führt.'.

of a curriculum document. The general nature of context statements, which define the scope of a subject and provide a rationale for it, allow for a valid comparison through their shared objectives, even though they are designed to address the requirements of different education systems.

The Structure of Australian and German Curricula for Asian Languages

The current version of the Australian Curriculum—Languages (Australian Curriculum 2017c) provides fourteen language-specific curricula, of which six are Asian languages: Chinese, Hindi, Indonesian, Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese. Chinese is further differentiated by offering first, second and background learner pathways in the language. The context statements in the Australian Curriculum are structured in the same way across all fourteen language-specific curricula, and are organised in four sections:

1. The place of the [*name of language*, *e.g. Japanese*] language and culture in Australia and the world
2. The place of the [*name of language*, *e.g. Japanese*] language in Australian education
3. The nature of [*name of language*, *e.g. Japanese*] language learning
4. The diversity of learners of [*name of language*, *e.g. Japanese*].

Because of this unifying structure, all fourteen context statements parallel the information provided to a great extent. Common aspects include an overview and definition of the language, with reference to standard form and regional variations; the history of the teaching and learning of the language in Australia; the key learning objectives for and challenges of the language for Australian students; and an outline of the different pathways catering for the individual needs of first, background and second language speakers of the language.

The way the context statements frame the six Asian languages suggests an underlying understanding of categorisation into two groups, depending on the community of speakers and where the teaching is predominantly seen as taking place. A distinction seems to be made between the languages of Hindi and Vietnamese that are predominantly spoken and taught in the community, but not widely in mainstream schooling, and Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian and Korean, which have a more strongly established trajectory as subjects in the mainstream.

In order to obtain a comprehensive overview of the supporting reasons given for the study of a particular Asian language, each context statement was read in full, and sentences and paragraphs that provided such information were collated in a table (see Table 2).

Table 2 Rationale provided for the study of Asian languages in context statements of the Australian Curriculum v. 8.3 (Australian Curriculum 2017d)

Language	Economy, trade, diplomacy	Culture and cultural exchange
Chinese	Current links between Australia and China are characterised by bilateral relationships in trade and investment, as well as educational exchanges, and research and development in science and technology. The movement of people and ideas, as well as economic, cultural and educational exchange, adds to the richness and complexity of this relationship. Chinese is recognised as an important language for young Australians to learn as Australia progresses towards a future of increased trade and engagement with Asia	No references made in document
Hindi	Total student numbers are relatively low, but increasing enrolments reflect the growing Indian community in Australia and the Australian Government's commitment to support linguistic diversity in the community and to develop capabilities in the languages of the region, including Hindi. References to policy initiatives: Australia in the Asian Century White Paper (2012)	The community's commitment to maintain and to express Hindi identity through language, culture and religion is reflected in the strength of Hindi language use in home and community contexts and in well-established after-hours Hindi school programs
Indonesian	Indonesia currently has Australia's largest overseas diplomatic presence. Historically the demand for Indonesian language study in Australian schools has been driven by the Australian Government rather than as a direct response to the language maintenance needs of local speakers of the language. Since its introduction, a number of government policy initiatives have supported the teaching of Indonesian, largely for economic and national security reasons. References to policy initiatives: National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) Strategy (1994–2002) National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools Program (2008–2012) Australia in the Asian Century White Paper (2012)	The ties between Australia and Indonesia continue to develop, with an increasing number of Australians (almost one million in 2012) travelling to Indonesia, for leisure, business and education purposes; numbers of Indonesians visiting Australia are also increasing

Table 2 (continued)

Language	Economy, trade, diplomacy	Culture and cultural exchange
Korean	With the support of the Australian Government for learning and teaching Korean in Australian schools and growing interest in Korean culture and opportunities to encounter Koreans and Korean products. References to policy initiatives: National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) Strategy (1994–2002) South Korea: Country Strategy (Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2013)	Among young learners in Australia, there has been a significant increase in the popularity of Korean culture, including traditional and youth/pop culture, as seen in frequent performances of traditional Korean dance and music and in the surge of popularity of K-pop (Korean pop music)
Japanese	Japan has been a close strategic and economic partner of Australia's for more than 50 years, and there is ongoing exchange between the two countries in the areas of education, trade, diplomacy and tourism. Japan is an important nation within Asia and a significant contributor to economic, political and diplomatic relations in the region. References to policy initiatives: National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) Strategy (1994–2002) National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools Program (2008–2012) Australia in the Asian Century White Paper (2012)	Japanese culture influences many areas of contemporary Australian society, including the arts, design, technology, fashion, popular culture and cuisine
Vietnamese	Since the 1990s, the place of the Vietnamese language in Australian education has benefited from expanding diplomatic and trade relationships between Australia and its Asian neighbours. The dramatic increase of students studying Vietnamese reflects the growing Vietnamese community in Australia, as well as government policies supporting multiculturalism	The migrants' need to maintain Vietnamese identity through language, culture and religion contributed to the Vietnamese language flourishing in the home and being delivered in after-hours Vietnamese school settings. Vietnamese language and culture represent an important part of the linguistic and cultural diversity of Australia. Vietnamese people have made—and continue to make—a significant contribution to the development and enrichment of Australian society in areas such as commerce, agriculture, industry, health, the arts, education, hospitality, tourism and international relations

A pattern emerged that allowed the reasons stated to be organised into two categories:

1. Reasons emphasising the economic, trade and diplomatic benefits of the language for Australia.
2. Reasons emphasising aspects of cultural enrichment and exchange between Australia and the country (or countries) where the language is spoken.

The location, accessibility and comparability of German curriculum documents for Asian languages is complicated by Germany's federal political structure, in which the responsibility for education lies primarily with its sixteen federal states (*Kulturhoheit der Länder*: cultural sovereignty of the states) (BPB 2017). While the *Kultusministerkonferenz* (KMK) (The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the *Länder* in the Federal Republic of Germany) functions as the joint instrument for the coordination and development of education for all states (KMK 2017b), school systems, curricula and examinations across the states can vary significantly.

However, regarding the provision of Chinese language programs in German schools, the professional association for Chinese language teaching (*Fachverband Chinesisch e. V.*) has been acting as the national body streamlining the cohesive development of curricula, teaching materials and assessment guidelines across federal states since its inception in 1984. The association's website provides a comprehensive list of the various Chinese curricula at secondary level available online across seven federal states (Fachverband Chinesisch 2017). All of these were downloaded, and the three that provide the most detailed context statements were selected for analysis. Curricula for Japanese were more difficult to locate and involved online searches via the respective curriculum websites of all federal states. The Curriculum Framework of the federal state of Hessen for Japanese at secondary and senior secondary level for Gymnasium (Hessisches Kultusministerium 1998) proved to be the most comprehensive document accessible online, and therefore was also included in the discussion (Table 3).

Following the respective guidelines applicable in each federal state, the selected curriculum documents differ in length and detail, as well as in their structure and organisation. However, each curriculum is prefaced by a context statement that defines the subject matter, contextualises the teaching and learning of the language, and provides a rationale for its study. The German curriculum documents are summarised in Table 4.

Table 3 Summary of German curriculum documents for Chinese and Japanese language included in discussion

Chinese	Curriculum for Chinese as a late-starting foreign language (federal state of Baden-Württemberg) (Landesbildungsserver Baden-Württemberg, 2004); Curriculum for Chinese as a late-starting foreign language (federal state of Bremen) (Senator für Bildung und Wissenschaft Bremen, 2000); Curriculum framework for Chinese at senior secondary level for Gymnasium (federal state of Berlin) (Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Sport Berlin, 2006/7)
Japanese	Curriculum framework for Japanese at secondary and senior secondary level for Gymnasium (Hessisches Kultusministerium, 1998)

Table 4 Rationale provided for the study of Chinese and Japanese in contexts statements of curriculum in selected German federal states

Curriculum document	Broader context	Economy, trade, diplomacy	Culture and cultural exchange
Curriculum for Chinese as a late-starting foreign language (federal state of Baden-Württemberg)	The Chinese state, its social organisation and social teachings, its philosophy and historiography, literature and visual arts, as well as Buddhism have had a formative influence on all East Asian cultures	The People's Republic of China counts among the world powers due to the sheer size of its population and territory as well as its growing economic and political power. China's strength is also increasingly recognised by the global community, which has accepted the need for communicating with China in Chinese. Germany is one of the most important trading partners of the PRC, and the federal state of Baden-Württemberg above all maintains intensive economic relations and promotes cultural exchange	Not explicitly stated[a]
Curriculum for Chinese as a late-starting foreign language (federal state of Bremen)	Chinese has always been one of the world's major non-European languages: it is the most widely spoken native language and the language spoken in the world's most populous state. China boasts one of the oldest and globally most important cultures. Its continuous intellectual history dates back over several millennia, and the country can pride	In our era of increasing international integration, China and East Asia have gained major significance due to their rapidly growing importance within the global economy and global politics. The economic and social organisation and political constitution of the People's Republic of China represent an important alternative to those of the	Not explicitly stated[b]

Table 4 (continued)

Curriculum document	Broader context	Economy, trade, diplomacy	Culture and cultural exchange
	itself on one of the richest literatures we know with an unbroken tradition	Western industrialised nations	
Curriculum framework for Chinese at secondary and senior secondary level for Gymnasium (federal state of Berlin)	Chinese is not only a language of culture with a history that dates back several millennia, but also the medium for one of the world's richest literatures with the longest continuous tradition	China is gaining more and more importance for the global community due to the size of its population, its growing economy and its expanding political role. The school fosters an openness towards the Chinese language and culture that may open doors to employment opportunities within the framework of cultural, economic and political relationships with China later on	Chinese as a foreign language offers the opportunity to study a non-European language and gain experience with Asian cultures[c]
Curriculum framework for Japanese at secondary and senior secondary level for Gymnasium (federal state of Hesse)	The history of Asian-European relations is characterised by a string of persistent mutual misunderstandings and repeated misjudgements and prejudices on both sides. Consequently, tolerance for and acceptance of the respective Other are neither a matter of course nor easily learned skills, which is why it is urgently necessary to initiate the respective process of lifelong learning early on	The increasing economic integration between Japan and Germany and its significance for the entire European economic area, above all, suggest an urgent need for engaging intensively with the language and thought of our Japanese partners. This is why a knowledge of Japanese can be an important additional qualification for young people on the employment market: In business, the sciences, technology and politics, there is a shortage of skilled	In all fields of culture, there is also a shortage of people with a knowledge of Japanese who are able to mediate inter-cultural contact and make a substantial contribution to the mutual, fruitful interaction between and enrichment of European and East Asian cultures[d]

Table 4 (continued)

Curriculum document	Broader context	Economy, trade, diplomacy	Culture and cultural exchange
		professionals who are sufficiently familiar with spoken and written Japanese to be able to follow developments in Japan using original sources or to work as translators and interpreters	

[a]German original:

Chinas Staat und seine Gesellschaftsorganisation und -lehre, seine Philosophie und Historiographie, seine Literatur und bildende Kunst sowie der Buddhismus haben den gesamten ostasiatischen Kulturkreis geprägt	Die Volksrepublik China zählt aufgrund ihres geographischen Ausmaßes, ihres Bevölkerungsreichtums, ihrer wachsenden Volkswirtschaft und ihrer politischen Rolle zu den Weltmächten. Ihre Position wird von der Weltöffentlichkeit zunehmend auch in der Form anerkannt, dass sie die Notwendigkeit einsieht, in chinesischer Sprache mit China zu kommunizieren. Deutschland ist einer der wichtigsten Wirtschaftspartner der Volksrepublik China und Baden-Württemberg pflegt zu ihr besonders intensive Wirtschaftsbeziehungen und fördert den Kulturaustausch

[b]German original:

Chinesisch ist seit jeher eine der wichtigsten außereuropäischen Sprachen: Es ist die meistgesprochene Muttersprache, die Sprache des bevölkerungsreichsten Staates der Erde… China ist eine der ältesten und bedeutendsten Kulturen mit einer kontinuierlich mehrtausendjährigen eigenständigen Geistesgeschichte und hat eine der reichsten Literaturen mit ungebrochener Tradition	In der Welt zunehmender internationaler Verflechtung haben China und der ostasiatische Raum ihren außerordentlichen Stellenwert mit rapide wachsender weltwirtschaftlicher und weltpolitischer Bedeutung. Die wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Organisationsform sowie die politische Verfasstheit der Volksrepublik China repräsentieren eine bedeutende Alternative zu den westlichen Industriestaaten	Chinesisch ist eine Jahrtausende alte Kultursprache und das Medium für eine der reichsten Literaturen der Welt mit der längsten ungebrochenen Tradition

[c]German original:

Aufgrund seines Bevölkerungsreichtums, seiner wachsenden Volkswirtschaft und seiner zunehmenden politischen Rolle gewinnt China eine immer stärkere Bedeutung in der Weltöffentlichkeit. Diese durch die Schule angeregte Aufgeschlossenheit gegenüber der chinesischen Sprache und Kultur kann später Schlüssel zu beruflichen Tätigkeiten im Rahmen der kulturellen, wirtschaftlichen und auch politischen Beziehungen zu China sein	Chinesisch als Fremdsprache bietet die Möglichkeit, eine nicht europäische Sprache zu erlernen und dadurch Erfahrungen mit asiatischen Kulturen zu sammeln

[d]German original:

Die Geschichte der Beziehung Asien – Europa ist eine Kette hartnäckiger, gegenseitiger Missverständnisse, eine stetige Wiederholung von Fehl- und Vorurteilen – auf beiden Seiten. Toleranz und Akzeptieren des anderen ist daher weder selbstverständlich noch leicht erlernbar. Umso dringlicher ist es, diesen lebenslangen Lernprozess rechtzeitig zu beginnen	Überdies lässt es die zunehmende wirtschaftliche Verflechtung Japans und Deutschlands, gerade auch mit Blick auf ihre Bedeutung für den gesamteuropäischen Wirtschaftsraum, mehr als angeraten erscheinen, sich mit Sprache und Denken unseres Partners Japan intensiv auseinanderzusetzen. Japanischkenntnisse können daher auf dem Arbeitsmarkt für junge Menschen eine wichtige Zusatzqualifik ation sein: - In Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft, Technik und Politik fehlt es an Fachkräften, die mit der japanischen Sprache und Schrift soweit vertraut sind, dass sie die Entwicklungen in Japan anhand von Originalquellen verfolgen und als Übersetzerinnen oder Übersetzer und Dolmetscherinnen oder Dolmetscher fungieren können	In allen Bereichen der Kultur fehlt es an Menschen mit Japanischkenntnissen, die bei interkulturellen Kontakten als Mittler auftreten und einen qualifizierten Beitrag leisten können zur wechselseitigen fruchtbaren Durchdringung des europäischen und des ostasiatischen Kulturraumes

Discussion

One immediate point from both Australian and German Asian languages curricula is that both mention the opportunistic motivation of forging economic ties. In the Australian Curriculum statements, a particularly affirming instrumentalist rationale is provided for Chinese, Indonesian, Korean and Japanese, which are supported by explicit stating of federal policy initiatives to boost the study of these languages. The importance of 'Asia literacy' or 'Engagement with Asia' as outlined in the cross-curricular priority in the Australian Curriculum, is also highlighted. The strategic involvement of the government in supporting particular languages is especially evident in the context statement for Indonesian, which highlights the government as the key agent in promoting the study of the language. Another example that stands out is the rationale provided for Hindi. While it echoes the need for building Asia capabilities in the region, the statement is vague and is not as specific in identifying strategic areas as in statements for the other languages. Similar to the context statements of the Australian curriculum, a key rationale for the study of Chinese and Japanese in the German curriculum documents is provided by economic, trade, diplomatic and professional mobility benefits. While the German curriculum statements integrate the economic rationale with broader intercultural goals such as better communication, openness towards and engagement with a different language, culture and way of thinking, they also foreground and emphasise the benefit of Asian languages proficiency as a gateway to creating more business opportunities.

Another key observation that applies to both Australian and German curriculum statements is the strong presence of a Eurocentric imaginary that conceptualises Asian countries, languages, cultures as a geographically and culturally distant Other (Weinmann, 2015). In the Australian curriculum statements, benefits of languages learning that contribute to cultural exchange and experiences refer to very broad categories, and list motivators such as travel and exposure to different traditional and popular cultures. Further, the references to cultural specificities of a certain country, e.g. technology and cuisine in Japan, leisurely travel in Indonesia or Korean pop music, reinforce cultural stereotypes of these countries. Culture is limited to phenomena of cultural artefacts (Liddicoat and Scarino 2013), and the more fluid interconnectedness through global cultural flows (Appadurai 2013) remains underacknowledged in these statement descriptors. Rationales for the study of Hindi and Vietnamese regarding cultural experience and intercultural learning are approached through the lens of a dichotomous and parochial understanding of multiculturalism (Koh 2015). References to community, linguistic, cultural and religious identity in these descriptions, while carrying appreciative undertones of multiculturalism and multilingualism, also suggest Othering perceptions that infer that the teaching and learning of these languages is culturally and spatially distinct from the mainstream. While the mention of the contributions of Hindi and Vietnamese speakers to Australia's linguistic and cultural 'diversity' shows a recognition for the participation of 'Asia in its own backyard' to Australian society

(Koh 2015, p. 172), it still carries parochial undertones. The Hindi- and Vietnamese-speaking communities are seen as 'diverse' (and therefore separate) from the Australian 'mainstream', which assumes the Anglophone realm as the historical and cultural default. Furthermore, the contribution to the diversity of Australia's society is perceived and phrased as a one-directional process in which the culturally diverse Other 'enriches' the dominant culture (Chen 2010; Pan 2015). The lack of any mention of the richness of Chinese culture and its contribution to shaping the cultural landscape in Australia is a striking omission that jars with the detailed outlining of the importance of the language for economy and trade.

An initial overall observation after reading the German curriculum context statements is that they contain a more detailed and broader approach to describing the country, history, culture, art and religion of both China and Japan, compared to the Australian curriculum documents. References to the contributions in literature, philosophy and science highlight the status of both countries as important nations with long trajectories of influencing and shaping the world in many different ways. Where the Australian examples provide a culturally driven rationale by pointing out very tangible key terms that suggest an understanding of culture as artefacts, this is less explicitly stated across the German curriculum statements. Excerpts from the curriculum framework for Chinese at secondary and senior secondary level for Gymnasium for the federal state of Berlin, and the curriculum framework of the federal state of Hesse for Japanese, both frame Asian language study as an opportunity to understand Asian languages and cultures in general, and emphasise the importance of such a competency for the furthering of intercultural under-standing and international dialogue. Characterisations of China and Japan seem to imply that a better understanding of the socio-political and sociocultural heritage of these countries is also an integrated goal of Asian languages study. Of particular interest is the context paragraph situating the study of Japanese, with its reference to past historical events involving Europe and Asia that have often led to conflict. The framing of the rationale for learning Japanese as a process of reconciliation can be understood as a continued commitment to the mission of German external cultural policy which, in 1970, alongside classical diplomacy and foreign economic policy, declared that foreign cultural and education policy is the third pillar of German foreign policy.

However, while both Australian and German context statements refer to the linguistic differences between the respective dominant national language and Asian languages, and point out some of the well-known challenges for speakers of English or German, the German documents highlight the differences to a much greater extent. The 'foreignness' of the Asian languages is particularly emphasised, as is the geographical and cultural distance between the countries:

> Since Chinese is a relatively recent subject and, *above all, one that is very much distinct from others*, this reference framework contains some additions that are not usually found in curricula.[6] (Senator für Bildung und Wissenschaft Bremen, 2000. Italics: M. W.)

> Japan's geographic and cultural *distance* results in *different long-term perspectives, value traditions and societal norms*, which typically also shape the rules of linguistic action.[7] (Hessisches Kultusministerium, 1998. Italics: M. W.)

The highlighting of difference is also an undercurrent in the broader statements about China in the German curriculum documents, which emphasise its literary tradition, long continued history and its contributions to philosophy and world religions. While these are widely known cultural facets of China, similar to the surface description of culture in the Australian Curriculum statements, they are clichéd and do not comprehensively attest to the cultural fluidity and globalised interconnectedness of the 21st century. This is in opposition to excerpts in the rationales that emphasise the importance of cultural knowledge and intercultural understanding, which suggest a deeper and more complex understanding in inter-personal interactions in material or virtual contexts. Further, such framing continues to construct Asia learning in conventional and static terms, which equates 'knowing Asia ... to learning its ethnic backgrounds, cultures, belief systems, religions; the contributions of peoples from Asia to world history, human endeavours, and the arts ... However, a reified notion of Asia and its embodiments is perpetuated… (Koh 2015, p. 175).

The emphasis on the intellectual challenge and motivation in the German curricula that the study of Asian languages can afford students can be seen as an interesting argument that looks at the debate around Asian languages education more holistically and beyond simple instrumentalist reasons. Further, the acknowledgement of Asian community languages—albeit on a superficial level—in the context statement of the Australian curriculum suggests an emerging appreciation of community languages in 'mainstream' schooling. This is significant, as it has been pointed out that both Australia and Germany continue to hold monolingual perspectives of language hierarchy, which continue to exclude indigenous, minority and immigrant languages from the broader curriculum debate (Ellis et al. 2010). This comparative case study highlights the need for both countries to overcome imaginations of Self and Other that are informed by East-West dichotomies. As selected examples from the documents have shown, there are areas in which both countries provide more innovative, complex and forward-looking rationales and perceptions of the Asian Other, while other aspects show a reluctance to move beyond well-established tropes. A better awareness of the areas of overlap and divergence could open up ways in which curriculum documents could respond

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[6]German original: Da es sich bei dem Fach Chinesisch um eine relative Neuigkeit und vor allem Andersartigkeit handelt, enthält der vorliegende Rahmenplan einige Ableitungen, die üblicherweise keinen Ort in Lehrplänen haben.

[7]German original: Die geografische und kulturelle Entfernung Japans bedingt eine andere Weitsicht, andere Werttraditionen und gesellschaftliche Normen, die in typischer Weise auch die Regeln des sprachlichen Handelns prägen.

more poignantly and accurately to the globalised and fluid conditions and requirements of languages learning.

Conclusion

Curricula are key documents for guiding the teaching and learning of discipline areas. Teachers are expected to know them comprehensively, and to implement the prescribed content supported by a thorough understanding of the current pedagogies of their discipline areas. If proficiency in Asian languages is indeed to be promoted and supported as a key skill in 21st century education, curriculum development must engage on a deeper level with a more complex understanding of language and culture. As it currently stands, existing curricula for Asian languages in Australia and Germany reinforce the view of the Asian Other, with rich histories and cultures often being reduced to a collection of artefacts. Further, language proficiency is mainly seen as the mastery of straightforward communicative pragmatics that do not account for the fluidity and interconnectedness of language, culture and human interaction in globalised local and virtual contexts.

Drawing on the example of Asian languages education in the Australian and German contexts, this chapter has presented a comparative case study that highlights how imaginations of nation, language and culture continue to shape curriculum. Australia and Germany are often considered as 'examples of countries characterised by a tension between their plurilingual populations and their monolingual mindsets', with a strong 'link between the nineteenth-century development of the ideology of the nation–state and beliefs in the importance of a single language as a key feature of a strong nation' (Ellis et al. 2010). A more critical approach to Asia literacy or *Asienkompetenz* must eschew 'a tendency to reduce the knowledge of Asia to book knowledge partnered with the romantic utopia of multiculturalism'. Such re-focussing creates scope for dialogue 'on uncomfortable issues around race, religion, and immigration, with a view to repairing fear and suspicion of the stranger, and the mis-reading of cultural norms and codes' (Koh 2015, p. 176). Therein also lies an important opportunity for reflexivity and for shifting established constructions of national linguistic and cultural identity that continue to shape Australia and Germany's self-imagination in conventional tropes.

Educational institutions have a responsibility for 'creating spaces of learning … where students are encouraged to explore the contours of global interconnectedness and interdependence, and their implications for questions of identity and culture; and where they can develop skills that enable them to link locally grounded practices of cultural exchange to the broader processes of globalisation' (Rizvi 2015, p. 67). In particular, if the futures of Australia and Germany are considered to be intricately tied to Asia, curriculum development must move beyond instrumental narratives and engage in 'a moral discourse that views Asian [languages and] cultures in their own terms and not simply as a means to …economic and strategic ends' (Rizvi 2015, p. 67). As they currently stand, both the Australian and German

curricula provide a signpost toward ways of teaching Asian languages in Australian and German schools. However, what they really need to do is recognise the complexities of real and perceived linguistic and cultural difference—and then use that recognition to develop policy and curriculum rationales that provide a series of steps that languages educators can follow into the future, enabling them to move towards a broader pedagogy that shifts the teaching of Asian languages beyond Othering and limited repertoires of linguistics, pragmatics and culture.

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Australian Children's Literature in German Translation: Historical Overview, Key Themes and Trends

Leah Gerber

Introduction

By its very nature, literary production acts in response to the needs of its readers, in line with the social, cultural and political changes that occur within any society over time. As part of Gideon Toury's 'descriptive translation studies' (DTS) model (1995–2012), translation scholars are invited to delve more deeply into the socio-cultural conditions which shape translations into certain languages and cultures. In line with these models of analysis, many of the points made in this chapter illustrate the importance of social and cultural contexts (such as the operating mechanisms of different book markets and polysystems, including dominant politics and ideology) to translation exchange. As a first step, I explore the history of children's literary translation from Australia to Germany, looking at the selection of fictional works (children's and young adult novels) for translation during different periods, the development of the source market, the post-1945 period of division and change in the German target culture and the state of their literary interchange today. The focus then moves to the development of transnational exchanges since the start of the new millennium: what has been translated, and what pattern of cultural flow does it follow?[1]

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[1]Much of the historical overview has been detailed in an earlier study. See Gerber, Leah. *Tracing a Tradition: The Translation of Australian Children's Fiction from 1945*. St.Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2014.

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Historical Overview: Early Translations into German

As a result of colonisation and settlement by the British, the majority of books published in post-settlement Australia came from England. Australia's own book market was, at the time, non-existent. One of the first genres to be disseminated was travelogues or guidebooks, published in London and intended for potential immigrants to Australia. As one of the earliest groups of Europeans to live freely in Australia, German settlers also contributed to these accounts of Australia, from the mid to late nineteenth century onwards.[2] Very early reports, such as George Doeger's 1849 advice manual for immigrants to South Australia,[3] cover such aspects as the sea journey and descriptions of the land mass, with great emphasis placed on the freedom afforded to settlers, the agreeable climate, the exoticism of everything on offer, the abundance of fruit and wildlife and, of course, the presence of the 'wild' Aborigines (Gerber 2014, p. 43).

As part of Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1978), translation scholars began looking at the way in which a target culture selects work for translation, and how the works in question may be translated, under influence from other so-called 'co-systems' (Munday 2016, p. 171). This also allowed for an exploration into the position a text occupies in any given polysystem. In this context, the situation in Australia is worth mentioning: it subsumed British literature because it had very little of its own; one could certainly attest to the 'weaknesses'[4] of its own system. Literature from Britain, which, although not strictly 'translated', was still imported literature, and occupied a primary position in the Australian literary polysystem (i.e. giving it a very high status). Although a smattering of Australian children's novels[5] were published in the 1800s, it was not until the Australian publishing industry properly developed in the post-1945 era that Australian children's literature was able to exert its own influence, and be disseminated internationally. It is therefore highly significant that the first known German translation of an Australian children's novel was published as early as 1856, only 15 years after the first Australian children's book was published, and long before the Australian children's book market was established. The text was *A Boy's Adventures in the Wilds of Australia* (1854) by William Howitt, translated by Dr H. Sebald as *Abenteuer in den Wildnissen von Australien* (1856). Howitt's text fits within the travelogue genre, using a young boy as the protagonist. Much is made of the abundance of wildlife,

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[2]Several thousand Germans had settled in South Australia by the late 1840 s, arriving as early as 1838, only two years after its foundation, many to escape religious persecution in Germany.

[3]*Der Auswanderer nach Südaustralien. Tangermünde*: Verlag der G. Doeger'schen Buchhandlung, 1849.

[4]A term used by Even-Zohar in his discussion of polysystems theory: when a literature is weak, it imports types it is lacking via translation (1978/2012, p. 164).

[5]The consensus among children's literary scholars and historians is that the first Australian children's book was *A Mother's Offering to Her Children by a Lady Long Resident in New South Wales*, published in 1841 (Foster et al., 3; Saxby, *Offered to Children* 12) and presumed to be written by a woman named Charlotte Barton.

Table 1 Titles translated up until 1945

Author	ST Title	TT Title	Translator
HOWITT, William	*A Boy's Adventures in the Wilds of Australia*. London: Arthur Hall Virtue & Co, 1854	*Abenteuer in den Wildnissen von Australien*. Berlin: Verlag Otto Janke, 1856	Dr H. Sebald
TURNER, Ethel Sybil	*The Little Larrikin*. London/Melbourne: Ward, Lock & Bowden, 1896	*LOL. Australischer Roman von E. Turner*. Köln: J. P. Bachem, 1922	Translator unknown[a]
SKIPPER, Mervyn Garnham	*The Meeting Pool: A Tale of Borneo*. London: E Mathews & Marrot, 1929	*Die Wasserstelle. Kosmos, Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde*. Stuttgart: Franck'sche Verlagshandlung, 1939	Elisabeth von Aretin
ALDOUS, Alan	*McGowan Goes to Sea*. London: OUP, 1945	*Unter Segel in der Südsee*. Düsseldorf: Komet, 1948	Harry Rohmann
LAMOND, Henry G	*Dingo: The Story of an Outlaw*. New York: Reader's League of America, 1945	*Dingo: Geschichte eines Geächteten*. Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1948	Josy Priems

[a]There are records of this translation at both the Staatsbibliothek Berlin and the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek however neither source makes note of the translator's name

the thrill of change and adventure; these were themes that were very exotic to European readers.[6]

Given the paucity of Australian children's titles available during this period, only a very small number were translated into German, as the data in Table 1 indicate.

Three other, very well-known Australian children's texts from this early period —Ethel Turner's *Seven Little Australians* (1894), Norman Lindsay's *The Magic Pudding* (1918) and Dorothy Wall's *Blinky Bill* (1935)—were also translated into German, but not until many years later, the reasons for which are detailed later.

Before 1945, only three children's novels made their way into German; two further titles were published in 1945, as Table 1 indicates. Three other, very well-known Australian children's texts from this early period—Ethel Turner's *Seven Little Australians* (1894), Norman Lindsay's *The Magic Pudding* (1918) and

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[6]There may also be other external factors that influenced the selection of this text for translation: Howitt and his wife, Mary, were known friends of Danish children's author Hans Andersen; Mary Howitt was actually the translator of Andersen's Tales from Danish into English (Saxby, Offered to Children 70) and a children's author in her own right. The Howitts had also lived in Germany, and William was the translator of Joseph Ennemoser's The History of Magic (1854) as well as Peter Dietrich Holthaus' Wanderings of a Journeyman Tailor through Europe and the East (1844) (Gerber, 2014, p.16).

Dorothy Wall's *Blinky Bill* (1935)—were also translated into German, but not until many years later.[7]

Exchange of Children's Literature Following World War II

In Australia, the post-1945 period saw a marked increase in local publications; it was a key developmental phase in the emergence of the Australian children's book market. Conversely, the effects of World War II and the censoring of books during the National Socialist period had greatly reduced Germany's capacity for cultural productivity. Jella Lepman, who was employed by the Americans to help re-establish the post-war German book market, recalls how the selection of books for children of post-war Germany had to be carried out very carefully. She writes:

> Here, right in these rooms, there is gathered a generation of children who had already encountered witches and devils, cannibals and villains in manifold guises. No bread to eat, no bed to sleep, father and mother dead, all this had become their reality. (Lepman 1964, p. 80)[8]

During the immediate post-war period of 1945–1950, the works of only two Australian children's authors—Alan Aldous and Henry Lamond—were translated into German (see Table 1). But from 1960 onwards, there was a sharp increase in the number of Australian children's novels published, as well as the number of translations into German. More than likely, the increased availability of Australian children's fiction as well as the suitability of its content fed directly into Lepman's undertaking to internationalise the West-German literary market, and as a result, there was a simultaneous increase in the number of Australian titles translated into German (Gerber 2014, pp. 31–32).

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[7]Interestingly, *Seven Little Australians* was first published in an English-language edition in Germany in 1915, titled "Two Tales for Beginners. Seven Little Australians. The Family at Misrule". The volume in which this appeared was called *Französische und Englische Schulbibliothek* (French and English School Library). The German translation, which appeared as *Villa Schlendrian oder Sieben kleine Australier* by R & U Krebs was published in 1975, which most likely followed the successful television series *Sieben kleine Australier*, which first screened in West Germany in 1973.

[8]Hier, unmittelbar in diesen Räumen, tummelt sich eine Generation von Kindern, denen Hexen und Teufel, Menschenfresser und Bösewichte in vielfacher Gestalt begegnet waren. Kein Brot zum Essen, kein Bett zum Schlafen, Vater und Mutter tot, dies alles war Wirklichkeit für sie geworden (Lepman 1964, p.80).

Translation of Australian Children's Literature in Divided Germany

Predictably, Soviet literature had a very high status in the literary polysystem of East Germany, with large numbers of texts translated into German. Gaby Thomson-Wohlgemuth confirms that the ideological demands of the East German state restricted the translation of certain books: '[a]ll foreign literature had to meet the same ideological criteria as books written for the GDR market. This explains why the great majority of translated books were Soviet or from other socialist countries' (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009, pp. 246–247).

Thus, during this period of division, politics and ideology in both German states contributed directly to the distribution of foreign literature (including Australian children's literature) in translation. The West German preference for Anglo-American literature meant that there were many more translated works entering West Germany, due not only to the ideological suitability of such texts, but also because of the sheer volume of English-language children's literature. This preference logically extended to other Anglophone literature from England, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. As such, Anglophone children's literature enjoyed a high status in the West German literary polysystem, directly opposing the preferences of the East German market.

Unsurprisingly, only a small number of translated Australian children's books were published in East Germany. Between 1945 and 1989, the German translations of around 90 Australian children's texts were translated and published in West Germany, while only seven were published in the GDR (Gerber 2014, p. 35). Five of these were translations of novels by James Aldridge and two were by Alan Marshall. Both writers had clear Marxist inclinations. Undoubtedly, Aldridge's and Marshall's ready dissemination in East Germany was due to their political beliefs, which matched the socialist ideology of the GDR.

The 1990s and Beyond

After the reassignment of the East German book market in the early 1990s, and as the re-unified German market quickly internationalised, translated literature from the Anglo-American market dominated even further. In terms of the literary exchange between Australia and Germany, the substantial sociocultural-political changes that took place in Germany during the late 1980s and early 1990s again overlapped with a particularly productive period of writing from Australia. Watts states that the 1980s were, in particular, 'an incredible decade. It seemed that the

Table 2 Figures of German translation of Australian children's novels over time

Year	Number of translations into German
Pre-1945	3
1945–1949	3
1950–1959	8
1960–1969	36
1970–1979	40
1980–1989	29
1990–1999	72
2000–2009	95
2010–2015	59

more Australian books that were published, the more Australian books people wanted, and the more Australian writers and illustrators came out of the woodwork' (Watts 1994, p. 3).[9]

It was the growth of 'realistic stories' or 'reality fiction'—a sub-genre of Australian children's literature—that marked a turning point in children's literary production during this period. The burst of activity within the Australian children's book scene in the 1980s and 1990s meant that a great deal more was translated into German in the ensuing two decades (the 1990s and 2000s) than ever before. Most recent figures indicate that the number of translations in the current decade (2010–2019) will increase even more, with at least 59 recorded translations published in the first five years (2010–2015) of the decade, as the figures in Table 2 show.

Geoffrey Trease's comment that there has been a consistently large output of children's fiction in Australia since 1945 (Townsend 1995, p. 290) speaks particularly to activity shown in Table 2, with a large body of work published in this period from which an equally impressive number of German translations have been made. Many authors—James Aldridge, Hesba Brinsmead, Mavis Thorpe Clark, Geoffrey McSkimming, Mary Elwyn Patchett, Joan Phipson, Ivan Southall, Colin Thiele, Patricia Wrightson, and from the 1980s onwards, Morris Gleitzman, Sonia Hartnett, Catherine Jinks, Victor Kelleher, Robin Klein, John Marsden, Emily Rodda, Maureen Stewart and, most recently, Michael Bauer—have had their entire (or close to) body of work translated into German. This signals a strong author preference in the German translation market.

Research by Helen Frank into Australian children's literature translated into French (2007) is the only published comparative study (of Australian children's texts) of similar breadth, revealing that between 1900 and 2000, 137 Australian children's novels were translated into French (Frank 2007, p. 38). This is far fewer

[9]The developments in publishing were supported by the Children's Book Council of Australia (CBCA), as one of the key organisations responsible for fostering the development of quality children's literature in Australia. The CBYA was instrumental in promoting the international distribution and translation of Australian titles, with a significant number of CBYA winners having been translated into German.

than the overall number for the German language market. Kerry White, who has provided specific information about the dissemination of Australian children's literature in translation internationally states that 'Germany has always been keen to take on translations of Australian books' (White 2006, p. 312).

Key Themes

By briefly considering the themes of the Australian texts translated during these various periods, we can not only see how they fit exactly within—for example, Lepman's pledge to internationalise the German children's book market—but also the areas of interest identified in the early period of cultural exchange. It is then possible to explore whether these thematic preferences have stayed the same, or changed.

During the 1950s, 1960s and even 1970s, the adventure genre, which largely took place in the Australian bush, was the most representative genre of Australian children's literature. Authors including James Vance Marshall, Nan Chauncy, Mavis Thorp Clark, Mary Elwyn Patchett, Eleanor Spence, Patricia Wrightson, Ivan Southall, Randolph Stow and Colin Thiele employed the Australian bush and sea as a playground for their adventure narratives. At the time, the most recognisable symbol of Australianness was its natural environment—exotic, alien, wild, abundant and challenging—presenting a total diversion for European audiences. Australia could either be viewed as a place of pleasure or of fear (friendly bush animals such as kangaroos or koalas were placed against threatening snakes and spiders; weather events could also be seen in two very different lights). Again, the point of difference presented by these thematic sensibilities were strong reasons behind the growth in popularity of Australian children's works overseas, presenting readers with an entirely new perspective on and frame to the world.

Another important theme was indigeneity; from 'early' Indigenous-themed texts by non-Aboriginal writers (Ethel Turner, James Vance Marshall, Ethel Turner, Nan Chauncy, Mavis Thorpe Clark, Patricia Wrightson and Colin Thiele) to more recent outputs by Phillip Gwynne, Jackie French and Maureen McCarthy, as well as those by Aboriginal writers Sally Morgen and Melissa Lukaschenko, narratives about Australian Aborigines have long been deemed highly exportable to overseas markets. In their 2010 bibliography of Australian literature in German translation, Russell West-Pavlov and Jens Elze-Volland also describe 'the enormous popularity of indigenous culture in Germany' (West-Pavlov and Elze-Volland 2010, p.xv). Here, we must look to particular sociocultural-political movements, such as a consideration of Germany's colonial past, and the role it may play in assisting the exchange of this particular 'theme' via translation. Although Germany's colonial influence was far less significant than that of many other European countries, its

empire expanded rapidly following unification in 1871.[10] Post-1945, the ideological impact of German colonisation remained, most noticeably as a 'hunger for all things exotic' in commercial products, such as literature (Conrad 2012, p. 188).

Migrant or multicultural literature, which became popular in the 1970s and 1980s as a way of meeting the needs of both bicultural and monocultural children in Australia, has also been successful in German translation. Authors whose early works on multicultural issues were translated include Alan Baillie, Hesba Brinsmead, David Martin, Christobel Mattingly, Eleanor Spence, Colin Thiele and Nadia Wheatley. Focus then shifted away from the natural environment; these authors set their novels in urban centres such as Sydney and Melbourne. In more recent years, the way in which multicultural Australia has been depicted in children's fiction is less tokenistic; rather than singling out individual 'ethnic' characters, or tackling 'migrant' themes, authors are more inclined to represent day-to-day reality, with many writing from their own migrant experience.

Several key texts published from the 1990s up until the mid to late 2000s deserve mention here, not only for their impact on the Australian source culture, but also for their staggering effect on the German target culture. Perhaps the most compelling text to tackle the issue of identity and multiculturalism from the 1990s was *Looking for Alibrandi* (1992) by Melina Marchetta. This award-winning text tells the story of Josephine Alibrandi, a third-generation-Italian-Australian schoolgirl growing up in Sydney. The translation, *Josy sucht Josy* (1995), by Cornelia Holfelder von der Tann, was nominated for the *Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis* in 1996. It would also be difficult to ignore the worldwide impact of Markus Zusak's *The Book Thief* (2005), which explores the life of a little girl in Nazi-occupied Germany. It was translated as *Die Bücherdienbin* (by Alexandra Ernst) in 2008 and subsequently won the *Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis 'Preis der Jugendjury'* in 2009. Finally, Morris Gleitzman's *Once* (2005) recounts the story of a young Jewish boy in Poland in 1942 who hides from the Nazis in a Catholic orphanage, knowing nothing of the war. The German translation, *Einmal* (2009, by Uwe-Michael Gutzschbahn), was nominated for the *Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis* in 2010; the successive novels in the series, *Then* (2008) and *Now* (2010), have also been translated into German.[11] Each of these authors writes from a unique personal perspective, marrying his or her own migrant history with narratives that are set to question issues around (Australian) identity. It is particularly interesting to observe the popularity of Zusak and Gleitzman's texts, which

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[10]The 38 sovereign German states were replaced with one nation state under the leadership of Prussia and Chancellor Bismark. Germany lost the African, Asian and Pacific territories after the First World War, with the treaty of Versailles in 1919. It was one of the shortest empires of all modern colonisation, lasting only 30 years, yet by the late 1800s Germany had colonised parts of Africa in today's Togo, Cameroon, Namibia and Tanzania, also acquiring smaller territories of East Asia and the Pacific, including Samoa and New Guinea, making it the fourth largest colonial empire after Britain, France and the Netherlands (Conrad 1-3).

[11]The latest instalment, *After* (2012), has not yet been translated into German.

recount events related to the Second World War, but from an Australian, rather than a German author's perspective.

This thematic 'hybridity' in Australian children's literature seems to be indicative of the state of play in the post-2000 period. The genre of Australian children's literature that has shown the most resilience in its move into the twenty-first century is reality fiction, which, by its very nature marries together a variety of different themes. Authors such as John Marsden, Maureen Stewart, Judith Clarke, Sonya Hartnett, Maureen McCarthy and Melina Marchetta set the scene in the late 1980s and 1990s, tackling attitudes around childhood and adolescence, as well as the relationship between adult and child. The sudden growth of the mass media in the late twentieth century, with so much emphasis on reality, prompted children's authors to write in a style that would match their audience's desire for realism (Gerber 2014, p. 20). Writers from the new millennium, such as Alyssa Brugman, Phillip Gwynne, Markus Zusak, Morris Gleitzman, Cath Crowley, Shaun Tan and Michael Bauer, have helped to propel this genre into the German-speaking realm well into the twenty-first century. Many texts have a rural setting, thus uniting the natural environment with realism, rather than adventure. One particularly notable example of this kind of hybridity is Tan's whimsical *Tales from Outer Suburbia* (2008), a picture book/graphic novel consisting of 15 stories for young adults; they are about strange events taking place in an otherwise 'realistic' world. It has also been honoured in Germany, winning the picture book category of the *Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis* in 2009. It is indeed telling that these Australian works have been awarded prizes and/or nominations in the German target culture. The cultural capital these works then receive not only serves to promote the authors in the target culture, but, at the same time, to increase the likelihood of wider dissemination of Australian authors in German-speaking countries.

Translation Strategies

As part of Gideon Toury's 'descriptive translation studies' model (1995–2012), translation scholars are urged undertake textual analyses of source text (ST) and target text (TT) segments of a corpus of similar texts, in order to ascertain the so-called 'norms of translation.'

One of the most common strategies used by German translators of Australian children's novels is non-translation, which results in a highly 'foreignised' text (i.e. it is 'visible' as a translation). This resists one of the traditional tenets of translating for children, that is, maintaining a high level of readability. Examples of the translation of Australian flora and fauna can be found in Table 3, taken from the 1961 translation of James Vance Marshall's novel *The Children* (1959), translated as *Die Kinder* by Ilse von Laer. Marshall tells the story of two American children, stranded in the Australian bush following a plane crash; a young Aboriginal boy guides them to safety.

Table 3 Analysis of non-translation in *The Children*

ST *The Children* (1959)	TT *Die Kinder* (1961)
Billabong (14)	der Fluß (13)
Gang-gang (14)	Gang-Gang (14)
Kurrajong (25)	die Kurrajungs (25)
The fruit—called **quondong** by the Aboriginals—was about the size of ping-pong balls and ranged in colour from greengage green to plum red. (25)	Die Früchte—von den Eingeborenen **Quondong** genannt—waren etwa so groß wie Tischtennisbälle und hatten Farben von Reineclaudengrün bis Pflaumenrot. (25)
The bush boy's eyes widened too. He realised, suddenly and for the first time, that the larger of the strangers wasn't a male; she was a **lubra**,[a] a budding gin.[b] (54)	Auch die Augen des Buschjungen wurden größer. Ihm kam plötzlich zum Bewußtsein, daß das größere der fremden Geschöpfe kein Junge war: es war eine **Lubra**—ein junges Mädchen—eine angehende Gin—**eine angehende junge Frau**. (54)
…and, perched on the branches of the gum tree, row after row of **Wonga-wongas**: sad faced, motionless, silent as the desert itself. (62)	…und, auf den Ästen der Gummibäume aufgereiht, **Wonga-Wongas**, **eine Taubenart**, mit traurigen Gesichtern, bewegungslos, still, wie die Einöde selbst. (63)
Dingo (88)	der Dingo (88)
Dance of the **Brolgas** (110)	Tanz der **Brolgas** (112)
They saw the stick-like praying mantis, the blue-skinned, red-capped cassowary and—on their third day in the valley—they saw the **koala**. (113)	Sie hatten die stockähnliche Gottesanbeterin gesehen, den Kasuar und—am dritten Tag im Tal—hatten sie den **Koala** gesehen, **den Beutelbären**. (114)

[a]From the Tasmanian *lubara* meaning young woman (S.J. Baker, 321)
[b]An Aboriginal woman (S.J. Baker, 321)

Here, one notices how rarely von Laer departs from the ST in her translation of culturally-specific references, sticking as closely as possible to the original material. Furthermore, when there is no 'natural' equivalent (Pym 2014, p. 6) available in the target language, she simply appropriates the ST term in the TT. We can then compare this with Cornelia Krutz-Arnold's strategy, in her 2003 translation of Phillip Gwynne's *Nukkin Ya* (2000) as shown in Table 4. Gwynne's text explores race relations in a small South Australian town, via the friendship between a white boy named Blacky and an Aboriginal boy called Dumby.

Again, notice how Krutz-Arnold also imports culturally-specific items from the ST into the translation. Her strategy differs, however, as she does so even when natural equivalents do exist (e.g. in the case of 'kookaburra'). Here, she often relies on footnotes to explain the terms. In Venuti's words, this is a highly effective strategy that works to 'send the reader abroad' (2008, 16), making the translator visibly present, and emphasising the foreignness of the ST. Perhaps the strong tendency for German translators of Australian children's texts, particularly of recent years, to favour foreignisation—the transference of English words into German (at a lexical, semantic and syntactic level)—is a result of the increasing presence of

Table 4 Analysis of non-translation in *Nukkin Ya*

ST *Nukkin Ya* (2000)	TT *Blacky, Lovely und der ganze Bullshit* (2003)
A little while later the saltpan came into view, the water **galah-pink**. (36)	Das Wasser war **so rosa wie ein Galah.*** (43) *Ein Rosakakadu, die verbreiteste Papageienart Australiens. (Anm. d. Ü.)
"They're out the Point, luv." She hesitated, then said, "Doin' the **gins**." (71)	»Sie sind draußen am Point, Süßer. «Nach einigem Zögern setzte sie hinzu: »Und treiben's mit den **Gins.***« (80) *Bezeichnung für weibliche Aborigines, oft abfällig gebraucht. Abgeleitet von diyin, was in Dharug, einer Sprache der australischen Urein-wohner, »Frau, Ehefrau« bedeutet. (Anm. d. Ü.)
I could hear the far-off cackle of a **kookaburra**. (121-2)	Irgendwo weit weg konnte ich das Gelächter eines **Kookaburra*** hören. (132) * »Lachender Hans«. In Australien häufig vor-kommender Eisvogel, dessen Ruf wie lautes Lachen klingt. (Anm. d. Ü.)
"Got us some **bush tucker**'ere, Blacky" "Really?" I sat on RXI 885. She handed me the bag. "I dunno, Clarence, I'm not really used…" I said, thinking of **witchetty grubs**. (154)	»Ich hab uns ein bißchen **Busch-Verpflegung** mitgebracht, Blacky.« »Wirklich?« Ich setzte mich auf RXI 885. Sie reichte mir die Tüte. »Ich weiß nicht so recht, Clarence. Daran bin ich nicht gewöhnt….«, sagte ich und dachte dabei an **alle möglichen Larven und Käfer**. (167)

Adapted from: Gerber (2014), p. 179

Table 5 Analysis of non-translation in *Deadly, Unna*?

ST *Deadly, Unna*? (1998)	TT *Wir Goonyas, ihnr Hungas* (2002)
"Don't shake hands with no **boongs**." (29)	»Ich geb einem **Boong*** doch nicht die Hand.«(34) *Schimpfwort für Aborigines, die Ureinwohner Australiens. (Anm. d. Ü.)
"**BOONGS PISS OFF.**" (121)	»**BOONGS, VERPISST EUCH.**«(132)
"**Boongs**," said Pickles. "What?" said Cathy. "**Abos**," said one of the Maccas. (191)	»**Boongs**,« sagte Pickles »Was?« sagte Cathy. »**Abos**«, sagte einer der Maccas. (191)

Adapted from: Gerber (2014), p. 181

English in the German-speaking press, electronic media, advertising and dictionaries (Clyne 1995, p. 217).

In examining the translation of racist language, however, it is possible to argue against a strategy of foreignisation, as the following examples in Table 5 from

Table 6 Corrections in the TT: non-standard > standard forms

ST *The Book Thief* (2005)	TT *Die Bücherdiebin* (2008)
'Nearly there.' The foster care lady, Frau Heinrich, turned and smiled. '**Dein neues Heim**. <u>Your new home</u>.' (27)	»Wir sind gleich da.« Die Dame von der Pflegevermittlung, Frau Heinrich, wandte sich um und lächelte. »**Dein neues Zuhause**.« (32)
'That Saukerl, that filthy pig—you call him Papa, **verstehst**? <u>Understand</u>?' (35)	»Den Saukerl da, den nennst du papa, **verstanden**?« (41)
He chased them, calling out. It started with '**Geh' scheissen**!' and deteriorated rapidly from there. (55)	Er jagte sie, brüllte ihnen hinterher. »**Geht scheißen**!« war nur der Anfang. (60)
She thumped on the door, sending an echo of brass through the wood. **Scheisse**! (148)	Sie hämmerte gegen die Tür und schickte ein Echo aus Messing durch das Holz. *Scheiße*. (152)
She brought the girl into her and heaped a typically rugged embrace around her body. '**Alles gut, Saumensch**?' She didn't need an answer. Everything was *good*. But it was awful, too. (220)	Sie zog das Mädchen an sich und übermannte si emit einer ihrer typischen, rauen Umarmung. »**Alles in Ordnung, Saumensch**?« Sie erwartete keine Antwort. Alles war <u>gut</u>. Aber es war auch fürchterlich. (226)
'Right, that's it.' Deutscher rubbed his hands together. 'Both of you—six laps of the grounds.' They obeyed, but not fast enough. '**Schnell**!' his voice chased them. (290)	»Das reicht.« Deutscher rieb sich die Hände. »Ihr beide—sechs Runden um den Platz.« Sie gehorchten, aber nicht schnell genug. »**Los**!« Seine stimme jagte sie voran. (295)

Adapted from: Gerber (2014), pp. 189–90

Gwynne's prequel, *Deadly, Unna*? (1998) and its translation *Wir Goonyas, ihr Nungas* (2002, also by Krutz-Arnold) show.

Similar to von Laer's non-translation of the racist term *darkie* in *Die Kinder*, Krutz-Arnold leaves references such as *boong* and *coon* in their original form in the target text (TT). The question is: would they elicit the *same reaction* in source and target readers? Arguably, foreignisation may work to educate the reader about such terms, but in terms of honouring the intention of the ST—to challenge readers' understanding of contemporary Australia; to shock and appal—it may fail. Favouring this same aspect in the translation could therefore mean choosing domesticating target-language words, which would create a similar response in target readers: the opposite of the strategy selected by Krutz-Arnold (Gerber 2014, p. 304).

Finally, it seems pertinent to explore the way in which one translates a text that is culturally familiar to the TA, more so than it is to the ST audience. Markus Zusak's 2005 novel *The Book Thief*, presents a ST in which the geographical setting, cultural/historical context is Nazi Germany; it is the ST that is inherently foreign to a large portion of its readers. Here we have a reverse of the expected translation situation; usually, 'through the foreign works, features […] are introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before' (Even-Zohar 1978/2012, p. 163).

Table 7 Corrections: Dialect > Hochdeutsch

ST *The Book Thief* (2005)	TT *Die Bücherdienbin* (2008)
Both he and the paint fumes turned around. '**Was wuistz**?' Now this was the roughest form of German a person could speak, but it was spoken with an air of absolute pleasantness. 'Yeah, what?' (103)	Er wandte sich zu ihr herum, ebenso wie die flüchtigen Gase der Farbe. »**Was willst du**?« Was von jedem anderen grob geklungen hätte, war mit einer unendlichen Liebenswürdigkeit ausgesprochen. (108)
So ein **G'stank**, she thought. What a stink. (228)	So ein **Gestank**, dachte sie. (233)
'**Es ist ja Wahnsinn, net**? This is crazy, isn't it?' (233)	»**Es ist ja Wahnsinn, nicht wahr**?« (237)

Table 8 Rewriting in the TT

| SOME CRUNCHED NUMBERS
Since 1933, <u>ninety per cent</u> of Germans showed unflinching support for Adolf Hitler.
That leaves <u>ten per cent</u> who didn't. Hans Hubermann belonged to the ten per cent.
There was a reason for that. (65) | EIN APPER WILLKÜRLICHE ZAHLEN
1933 war <u>die Mehrheit</u> der Deutschen für Adolf Hitler.
<u>Eine Minderheit</u> war gegen ihn.
Hans Hubermann gehörte zu dieser Minderheit.
Und dafür gab es einen Grund. (71) |

In this case, there is an entire canon of texts born out of the German literary polysystem that deal with similar themes; many of these texts have travelled overseas, others have been penned by non-German writers, including those who were exiled, but also the children and grandchildren of holocaust survivors, many of whom grew up in countries such as Australia, the United States and Canada.

In *Die Bücherdienbin*, there are numerous instances where the translator has corrected the German language that appears in the ST; the corrections are not so much due to Zusak's incorrect use of German, but the replacement of certain words or phrases with what may be considered more 'standard' language conventions, or, in order to conform to German spelling conventions. Some examples are shown in Table 6. There is also a removal of the in-text 'explanations' or 'translations' of German language that appear in the ST; Zusak used this literary device as a way of authenticating his English text.

Another set of corrections also appears in the TT, this time to standardise the Bavarian dialect used by Zusak (Table 7). The author, who claims not to be bilingual, was assisted here by his father who 'helped with the spelling' (Creagh 2005).

The final example shown is more interesting, and speaks to the kind of ideological rewriting Andre Lefevere discusses in his work around translation and culture (1992). Zusak writes that '90% of Germans supported the Nazis in 1933,' which is rendered in an approximate manner only in the TT as 'die Mehrheit' (the majority). Then 'ten per cent' is translated as 'die Minderheit' (the minority; see Table 8).

We know for a fact that Zusak's claim is not true, however, it may also be intended to be read slightly ironically (i.e. so many people supported the Nazi party, it might as well have been 90%). The German translation, however, omits the percentages, which is not only a historical 'un-truth,' but could also assist in insulting the target readership in some way.

Conclusion

By analysing a substantial corpus of translated children's texts from different periods, it is possible to uncover patterns that relate specifically to the language–cultural pair in question. More such studies are needed, using substantial corpuses to examine national literatures in translation. In the Australian–German pair, the transfer of literature from Australia began very early, paving the way for a long-standing and (still) successful cultural exchange. With themes around the Australian natural environment dominating until mid-way through the twentieth century, the new millennium has brought with it a different focus, welcoming texts that reflect Australia's dynamic and hybrid culture. The inclusion of texts that tackle themes directly associated with Germany's past is also interesting, inviting us to explore translation strategies and instances of rewriting used where the ST material is in fact familiar to the target audience. It will be necessary to map the evolution of new trends in Australian cultural production as the end of the decade comes nearer, and to re-visit questions of translation strategy within these new and challenging contexts.

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Berlin-Melbourne: Transnational Cultures Collide

Stuart Braun

Abstract Berlin and Melbourne are commonly conveyed in popular culture as kindred cities, places between which artists, musicians and free thinkers have exchanged ideas and collaborated since the early 1980s. This transnational artistic axis was symbolically forged when Melbourne musician Nick Cave and local avant-garde performer Blixa Bargeld joined forces to form The Bad Seeds in Berlin in 1983. Both cities have since become renowned as islands of creativity and counterculture, common ground upon which artists can easily alternate and collaborate with like minds. They are very distinct from their richer, brighter urban cousins, Munich and Sydney. This paper will discuss how underground culture has formed a common identity in these cities, how an enduring community has transcended national boundaries, geographic distance and historical divergences.

In 2010, the writer Mark Mordue touched on a community of Australian musicians, journalists, artists, filmmakers, academics and DJs living in Berlin who mostly had roots in Melbourne. 'Indeed it seems hard to meet any Australians in Berlin today who are not from Cave's home town of Melbourne,' wrote Mordue of a diaspora that went back to the singer-songwriter Nick Cave, a former Melburnian who lived in Berlin for most of the 1980s. Today, as Australia's shores become increasingly impregnable, and as populists in Germany pressure the government to close its borders, a peculiar post-national Berlin-Melbourne diaspora is getting stronger. Neither an ethnic, expatriate or transmigrant community, the Berlin-Melbourne axis is a subculture that is galvanised, not through national identity, but a shared quest to live independently and to culture an authentic artistic voice.

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Cultural Diaspora

Berlin and Melbourne are widely separated by distance, and history. While both grew up as boomtowns in the late nineteenth century, the former Prussian capital was riven by dictatorships, war and division, as Melbourne, once a far southern British colonial outpost, grew into a prosperous financial capital. By the turn of the millennium, when Melbourne was dubbed the 'world's most livable city', Berlin remained weighed down by high unemployment and the struggles of unification in the former East Germany.[1]

But despite such geographic and historical disparities, Berlin and Melbourne share many similarities. Their weather is highly changeable; their streets flat; rents were relatively cheap (until recently); both cities are known for their moodiness, indeed irreverence, for being islands of counterculture and radicalism within their respective countries—in contrast to gilded metropolitan cousins like Munich and Sydney. One might argue that these cities have both produced a peculiar species of brooding artiste that feels at home in either locale. For musician Hugo Race, who moved from Melbourne to Berlin in the early 1980s and played with Melburnian singer-sonwriter in Berlin, Nick Cave, both towns 'had the commonality of being isolated—one by politics, the other by geography—leading to the creation of these intense, introspective scenes' (Mordue 2010).

For the three decades since, these scenes or subcultures have continued to commingle and evolve into a unique creative diaspora. Melburnians in Berlin are distinct from typical Australian expatriates in London, for example, who uniformly travel to England on a working holiday visa, find employment in teaching, nursing or hospitality, and live with other expats in 'Aussie ghettoes' like Earl's Court, Fulham or Shepherd's Bush (Davison 2009). In Berlin, antipodeans tend to be self-employed in cultural and creative industries. They face an uncertain future in terms of visas, income and even obtaining basic health insurance. Many struggle with the local language in a part of the world that is colder and more isolating than Britain. Meanwhile, Berlin certainly does not have the aesthetic or high culture appeal of more illustrious European capitals like Paris or Rome.

And yet, Melburnian pilgrims to Berlin are embarking in growing numbers on a journey of self-discovery in their cultural satellite in Europe. According to the Australian embassy, the overall number of Australians in Berlin more than doubled between 2010 and 2015—however the transitory nature of the population, and the fact that most don't officially register, means the figure is likely much higher. Indeed, it was reported in late 2016 that an increasing number of young Australian start-up entrepreneurs were also leaving London for Berlin due to 'comparatively low cost of living, easy access to communal office space and thriving cultural scene' (Bagshaw 2016).

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[1]On Melbourne's livability, see www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-18/melbourne-ranked-worlds-most-liveable-city-for-sixth-year/776162.

In 2015, global street culture magazine *Vice* used Australian DJs—most from Melbourne—to explore club culture in Berlin in a short documentary. 'For decades Australia and Berlin have a held a connection … Our best artists, musicians, and DJs regularly make the pilgrimage to the city to live cheaply among those making the best dance music today,' wrote *Vice*'s electronic music channel. One featured DJ was Kate Miller, who spontaneously relocated to Berlin from Melbourne in 2011 but has quickly become a (very young) stalwart of the club scene—she was also featured in mass circulation *Der Spiegel* magazine in 2014 as the embodiment of independent female DJs in Berlin who are surviving in a highly male-dominated industry.

Berlin was an inevitable progression for Miller. 'Friends and colleagues were coming back from Berlin and telling me unbelievable stories about the club and music scene here, so I decided to come check it out,' she said in 2014. She has stayed partly because of 'there are endless opportunities for gigs and you're sur-rounded by like-minded, inspiring people' (Chandler 2014). But Miller returns home regularly and is constantly growing the musical connection between her home and adopted cities. She maintains that her sound is both a product of her time both in Berlin and Melbourne, one of many antipodean DJs in the German capital who are evolving a hybrid, borderless musical vision.

It is difficult to define this Berlin-Melbourne artistic axis in terms of established notions of ethnic, immigrant, expatriate or transnational communities. However, the notion of a diaspora as defined by Kalra et al (2005, p. 16) is instructive since it 'can challenge the fixity of identity invoked by ethnicity … by focusing on transnational links and emphasising a multiplicity of belongings and identities.' Michel Bruneau (2009) describes the post-national dynamics of a diaspora, arguing that the concept 'has an existence of its own, outside any state, it is rooted in a strong culture (religion, language, etc.) and a long history; it has created and developed its community and associative networks.' This is in contrast to a transnational com-munity that 'arises from the migration of workers who retain their family base in the nation-state from which they have come, and they travel between this base and one or several countries where they have settled' (Bruneau 2010, p. 46) Transmigrants, meanwhile, are highly dependent on their home nation, and the state to which they have immigrated, making it difficult for them to 'become autonomous and creative in the manner of a member of a diaspora' (p. 37).

The Melburnian artists who transition so easily to Berlin might also be referred to as post-tourists. Johannes Novy describes how a new kind of visitor comes to Berlin, not to see the sites, but to immerse themselves in the culture, and to live like residents (Colomb and Novy 2017). In 2010, Novy described the influence of these post-tourists on the urban culture of the city:

> In Neukölln, for example, you can see – at least on its northern edges, where so many bars and galleries have recently emerged – how tourism has become a major source of very powerful transformation. Many of the popular bars that are currently altering that part of the city are not only frequented by tourists, but were even started by entrepreneurs who were tourists not too long ago. Residents in the conventional sense are not driving the process, it seems; without tourists, it wouldn't be happening. So it's not, as is often implied, that the process of gentrification takes place and the tourists follow (Novy 2010).

In these terms, Melbourne culture is directly driving a powerful transformation in Berlin neighborhoods. One can see this impact through a rising cafe and bar scene that has an increasingly Australian, and especially Melbourne, flavour. Local reviewers talk of the Melbourne spirit across a swathe of independent bars, galleries, cafes and music venues that exist beyond mainstream consumer and entertainment culture, and which are reminiscent of Melbourne's inner city Fitzroy or Brunswick districts (Jungbauer 2014). For example, between 2012 and 2015 a popular cafe and music venue called the Melbourne Canteen operated in Neukölln —a low-rent, working class area that has since become ground zero for young Australians in Berlin—and earned the surrounding area the moniker Little Melbourne (di Pasquale 2015).

Many Melburnians who run these spaces are artists in their own right, and are continuing the cultural collaborations that have defined the Berlin-Melbourne axis for nearly forty years. Eliza Hiscox, for instance, is a musician who moved between Melbourne and Berlin from 2006 until making the move to the German capital permanent in 2010. Today, Hilcox is typical of a new kind of Melbourne migration to Berlin, having opened a burrito bar in the city with her husband, a German music producer with whom she collaborated in Berlin as a musician. It's Mexican street food with a Melbourne twist, and like the large number of bars and cafes opened by Melburnians in Berlin that export distinctive aspects of the Australia's coffee and bar culture, they are becoming part of Berlin's cultural terrain.

The First Wave

A pioneering community of artists and musicians from Australia's southeast started to build strong ties with divided Berlin from around 1980. Most initially came via London, the inevitable first stop for those looking to escape their island home. Though Australian cultural exports like Germaine Greer, academic author of the feminist classic, *The Female Eunuch*, or arts writer Robert Hughes flourished in London in the 1960s and '70s, this started to change when Margaret Thatcher came to power. Class tensions were high; life for young Australian artists and musicians was stressful and expensive due to high inflation and worldwide economic uncertainty.

At the same time, a legend was growing about David Bowie and Iggy Pop's West Berlin years in the late 1970s, the fact that they created some of their best work in the city. Divided Berlin was starting to develop an allure for young creatives languishing in London. But for graduates of Melbourne's post-punk music underground, especially the so-called Little Bands scene focused around St Kilda and Fitzroy (two suburbs in Melbourne) in the late 1970s, Berlin's emerging industrial/avante-guard music and art community was somewhat reminiscent of their hometown. The walled city was a demilitarised zone caught in a limbo within East Germany where young men didn't have to join the army and where students, immigrants, artists and radicals paid little rent and often subsisted on welfare. Here

there was no pressure to succeed. Music and art were not subject to same competitive hierarchies found in England in the early 1980s.

In 1982, when Melbourne musician Nick Cave and his band The Birthday Party decided to move to Berlin from London (to which they had relocated from Australia in 1980), they had finally found a home, said Cave.

> We were received with open arms into this community who reminded us of Melbourne... It was frenetic and anarchic and really creative. We instantly had tons of friends, and respect. There was an incredible community of really talented, really interesting people there. It was an incredibly wonderful period of my life. It was my second youth in Berlin (Milburn, Lynn-Maree, Lowenstein, Richard 2011).

While Berlin reminded Cave of 'Melbourne in the punk-rock days, when we were let loose from school and could rampage around and be as obnoxious as we wanted,' in London 'all that was squashed, all our youth had been taken from us.' He complained of 'not being accepted in the English youth culture, always feeling alien to it.' But going to Berlin, 'we could do anything we wanted again .. and it was an easygoing, relaxed way of life. And an intense creative scene' (Hall 1995).

It wasn't long before Cave began to collaborate with local performer Blixa Bargeld, whose industrial band *Einstürzende Neubauten* epitomised Berlin's experimental underground. Bargeld was a key figure at the 1981 Festival of the *Geniale Dilletanten* in West Berlin that showed off a cross-disciplinary music, art and film scene that was avowedly amateurish and avant-garde. This again was reminiscent of the Little Bands scene in Melbourne, showing how, before the internet or social media, the two cities spontaneously spawned transgressive musical subcultures.

Commenting on the early 1980s Melbourne sojourners to Berlin, Helen Donlon wrote that 'young Aussies felt [Berlin] had a sense of Melbourne to it, with the receptive audiences of the makeshift clubs alive to the concept of possibility, experimentation and unrestrained expression.' (Donlon 2013). It was never about money or fame, but spontaneous creativity—in *Einstürzende Neubauten's* case, using found objects picked out of Berlin's postwar debris.

In 1983, when Bargeld started to play in Cave's new band, The Bad Seeds, along with Melburnian Mick Harvey—who shares his time between Berlin and Melbourne to the current day—he often didn't own an instrument but would just play whatever was lying around. It was the beginning a special collaboration that has continued for thirty five years. Though Bargeld left in 2003 (Berlin drummer Thomas Wydler has remained since 1985), the band's unique musical oeuvre has become a lasting symbol of a special subcultural collaboration between two far-flung cities.

As a stream of Australian musicians and artists started to arrive in Berlin, including Cave's girlfriend Anita Lane, a young artist who developed a successful music career of her own in the city, Melbourne artists gained a reputation among Berliners as being more wild and unhinged than the rest. It was often remarked that the Australians drank the most, took the most drugs. Moreover, their music was more explosive, more unadulterated. They somehow embodied the tensions of dark, torn Berlin.

In a documentary about the Melbourne musician Roland S Howard, who came to Berlin from London with The Birthday Party and later joined Crime and the City Solution, another band of Melburnians in Berlin, the German film director Wim Wenders said that these Australian musicians somehow 'sounded like Berlin'. They were revered as the embodiment of the city. 'There was a hush when they showed up somewhere. I mean they were really big, they were the biggest thing in Berlin,' he said. For Oliver Schutz of Berlin no wave band, Die Haut, 'their appearance changed everything… Clothes, how to behave, talk, walk… Everyone had spiky hair all of a sudden and pointy shoes'. (Milburn, Lynn-Maree, Lowenstein, Richard, 2011). When Wenders included Crime and the City Solution and The Bad Seeds in his 1987 'portrait of Berlin', *Wings of Desire* (*Himmel über Berlin*, or lit. *Sky over Berlin*), it further crystallised a musical diaspora that has since endured through lasting networks that have been taken up by subsequent generations.

The Devastations were a popular Melbourne musical trio who moved to Berlin in 2003 after playing regularly with Rowland S Howard, who was then back in his home city. They were welcomed into the fold by the likes of *Einstürzende Neubauten*—just like The Birthday Party twenty years before—and were soon ensconced in the transnational underground of lore. But according to Conrad Standish, the band's principle songwriter, Berlin offered both inspiration and temptation.

> …it's a lifestyle over there that can really wear you down. That's what it did to us … it's a 24 h culture. There's always something on, and I don't think that any of us at that point had the self-discipline necessary to know when to reign it in. We had a winter there where every night we'd be home at 8 or 9 in the morning, and we'd wake up at 4 in the afternoon, so we'd never see sunlight, for months. That does things to your brain (Prescott 2013).

This kind of hedonistic rite of passage is, however, another important part of the myth that has fuelled the Melbourne diaspora in Berlin. Nick Cave and Bargeld infamously took large amounts of heroin and amphetamines during their halyon Berlin years (Cave 2013). Tales of struggle and excess, as much as finding liberating inspiration, is integral to the cross-cultural folklore that underpins this burgeoning community.

Back in the 1980s, writers were also coming to Berlin from Melbourne, including Anna Funder, who initially landed in Berlin to study. It was the first of several spells in the city that would inspire her to write her telling account on the East German secret police, *Stasiland*.

> I was 20, 21, living in Berlin, a city with a wall around it. I got to know people who had been kicked out of East Germany … and who in many cases still had family and friends, even children, on the other side of the wall. The Cold War politics I had grown up with was writ large in these people's lives and that fascinated me from that time on (Funder in Romei 2012).

Funder had come directly from Melbourne University to take up a DAAD academic exchange scholarship to study at the Free University of Berlin. She was quickly seduced by tales of resistance in the divided city:

> I soon realised that what I was interested in was the resistance of ordinary people, the extraordinary courage in ordinary people, people who say, 'I'm not going to inform on my family and friends, I don't care what you do to me' (Funder in Romei 2012).

Her empathy for this history allowed her to give voice to the trauma of the East German police state like few others. When *Stasiland* won several international awards, including the esteemed Samuel Johnson prize for nonfiction in 2002, it unintentionally deepened the sense of mutual understanding between disparate cities. 'I really think it was a boon to be an Australian writing there in the 1990s, precisely because I came from so far away,' she said of writing the book in Berlin. '[T]hey wouldn't have told their stories to a fellow German.' (Lanteri 2011). In this sense, such cultural collaborations across various mediums have been helped by both parties offering a distanced and neutral outsider perspective.

Art and Techno

From the 1990s into the 2000s, Berlin's counterculture frontier shifted to the squats and abandoned buildings of the former East that opened up after the Wall fell. An emerging techno music club subculture—the city has since become the world's techno capital—was the key focus, in addition to a DIY contemporary art scene that revived aspects of the 1920s avant-garde. In the eviscerated East Berlin, a new generation of Melburnians would search for new perspectives, becoming the shock troops for a cultural diaspora that has grown rapidly since.

Johnny Klimek first arrived in Berlin from Melbourne in 1983 but is best known for producing some seminal electronic and techno music in the city in the late 1980s and 1990s—he also co-composed the soundtrack for the hit indie Berlin film *Run Lola Run* (1998) with local director Thomas Twyker and music producer Reinhold Heil, a collaboration that has continued on films like *Cloud Atlas* (2012). Klimek's introduction to techno came after he fell into a relationship with Gudrun Gut, a *Geniale Dilettante* who was a founding member of *Einstürzende Neubauten* and who toured with The Bad Seeds—she also collaborated with former Melburnian Anita Lane on electronic music projects in Berlin throughout the 1990s. '[Gudrun] was from a band called Matador, and it was all this underground independent stuff,' said Klimek in 2000.

> And I didn't even know what independent music was, being from suburban Clayton … but because of her I started meeting the Nick Caves and these people, and started producing low budget records in my bedroom. That was around '87, and that just continued on. And then the wall came down, and somehow I just fell into the whole techno thing (Pertout 2000).

Klimek often collaborated with Dr Motte, the legendary Berlin DJ and producer who founded the Love Parade, to produce some defining early trance and techno music. 'He's open to anything,' said Motte of Klimek in 1996. 'And I can realise my ideas with him. I don't know many people who are so open like him.' Founded in 1989, the Love Parade was a street party for 'peace, love and pancakes' that

celebrated rising electronic dance music culture in Berlin. When it soon started to grow from a few hundred to more than one million revellers, the event spawned satellites around the world. One of the first was inevitably in Melbourne in 1994, the event continuing for three years until 1996 when Dr Motte played to a passionate community of ravers in the city centre.

As Berlin's Love Parade brought Berlin techno music culture directly to Melbourne, young artists were moving in the other direction to explore a fertile new art scene rising out of the ruins in the East. They included the artist, curator, musician and art critic Dominic Eichler, who was active among several thriving artist-run galleries in Melbourne, but who soon fell in with the network of temporary art spaces springing up in Berlin's bullet hole-ridden Mitte district.

In an article Eichler co-authored in 1998 for art magazine *frieze*, he described how, since the fall of the Wall, 'atmospheric public ruins [in Berlin] have frequently been sites of temporary exhibitions. Artists and curators have mounted shows in bunkers, cellars, former police barracks and bombed out department stores.' (Allen and Eichler 2000). This was after Eichler already inspired former Melbourne collaborators to visit Berlin, including visual artist Lyndal Walker.

Arriving in Berlin in January 1996 when the city was experiencing an Arctic freeze, Walker, then involved in DIY, artist-run spaces in Melbourne, was soon inspired by the artistic adventure happening in abandoned buildings in the East—she also soon decided she wanted to live in the city. I came because Dominic was here, and, to be honest, because I'd been a big Birthday Party fan … I had heard all the legends," said Walker in 2016, noting how she had been seduced by the mythology of Melbourne's post-punk renaissance in '80s West Berlin.

> I was 23, I had no money. And Berlin was quite a long way out of the way. The next stop on my travels was Rome. I don't know what it was. But I was very excited. When I got here there was all these squat galleries. They never knew whether they would be locked out the next day. And it was minus 22 degrees and the middle of winter. So I was very impressed by the romance of that (Lyndal 2016).

When Walker again returned to Berlin for a potential relocation in 2002, she says it was still difficult to initiate lasting connections with Berlin art collectives that were so temporary, few having actual leases or any official status—or money. Berlin was a laboratory and there was no market for art. Inevitably, however, the informal connections between two fervently DIY art scenes gradually became more institutionalised. In 2005, Eichler received the prize for art criticism from the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Kunstvereine* (AdKV); and in 2008 he co-founded his own contemporary art space, Silberkuppe, in Kreuzberg, now among Berlin's most renowned galleries that represents innovative, cross-disciplinary artists like Gerry Bibby, who came from Melbourne to Berlin in 2007. Meanwhile, Bibby and Walker—she finally moved to the German capital in 2015—have each taken up Australia Council-funded artist-in-residency programs at *Künstlerhaus Bethanien*, a former squatted hospital in Kreuzberg that soon became a centre for artists to live and show their work. Former Melbourne-based artists also now run a number of galleries in Berlin, including Fiona Bate of Sandy Brown gallery.

While remaining transient and ill-defined, this cross-border artistic community is inevitably deepening its institutional roots in ways that will ensure its continued evolution. For example, Melbourne artists have also received increased financial and material support from the Australian embassy in Berlin, which hosts and funds group exhibitions that have often emerged from the Melbourne art scene. A show in December 2016 titled Plateau Visionen looked at 'artefacts, ruins, relapse, decline, nostalgia, forgotten industry, wastelands, futurism, developmental frenzy and an unstoppable flux' in the cities of Melbourne and Berlin (and Leipzig). Participating Berlin-based artists including Lisa Stewart and Cameron Tauschke hailed from Melbourne and were inspired to explore the urban evolution of both cities, and to continue a dialogue that enriches a transnational perspective.

This institutional recognition is also evident in the contemporary electronic and dance music scene, which is benefiting from increased marketing investment (Denk and von Thülen 2014). The aforementioned *Vice* video on Australian DJs in Berlin was part of a campaign by Jägermeister to leverage its brand on an Australia's electronic music community that has drawn inspirations from Berlin's clubbing scene. Apart from Kate Miller, the video featured Christian Vance, a DJ who inspired Miller as a teenager in Melbourne, and who also left for Berlin in 2007. In 2013, Vance summed up the differences, but also similarities, between Berlin and Melbourne.

> Berlin really is like a world capital for clubbing and in particular for what most people would call underground dance music. Melbourne has some great parties but only a few every month or so … both cities are referred to as the cultural or creative centres of their respective countries and this is evident in the music taste too. I would say there are many similarities but in Berlin you can choose to engage in it any night of the week and stay out until the next day (Vance 2013).

He also noted the existing network that makes the shift to Berlin relatively seamless.

> I think for most Aussies they already had friends through the music industry already living in Berlin. This helps the transition on many levels. From all the times I've played here I would say [it's] very welcoming (Vance, 2013).

One of the important reasons for moving to Berlin is the way the city supports club venues (often with funding), and the way new clubs are still able to emerge, despite housing pressures and rising rents. In 2015, when Dr Motte was in Australia to play at several clubs and festivals, including an exhibition on Berlin's *Geniale Dilletanten* subculture and its ties to Melbourne, he was faced with a community who were struggling against 'lock-ins' and growing attempts to shut down clubs in both Melbourne and Sydney. In one interview, Motte gave a typically Berlin response to this dilemma.

> Is music a noise? Is people dancing to music a bad thing? If you say it is a cultural thing of a society, it is a question of understanding each other. Whatever you do, come together and talk to each other. If you live in a big city, you have to cope with the noise of it and the noise people produce. But music is not a noise. It is a cultural thing of the society. People want to dance to music and artists want to produce music where you can dance to it because

it is their way of expression, and this needs freedom. This should be common sense. Maybe
we all need to relax and build up a friendly society (Motte 2013).

Old and New Musical Connections

In recent years, Melburnians have also been re-channeling the anarchic experi-
mentalism of the 1980s. Julian Percy is a musician from Melbourne who in 2008
co-founded N.K., an artist-run, independent, non-profit space dedicated to experi-
mental sound arts that is located in a former chocolate factory in the working class
district of Neukölln—it was a pioneering venue in the relatively unchartered
southeast of the city. A music platform for concerts, workshops, film screenings and
conversations, N.K. exists on 'the fringes of mainstream commercial culture',
working to create 'a singular environment for avant-garde work'. Percy spoke in
2015 of the 'exciting bands and artists from Berlin' that have inspired him, many
early 1980s *Geniale Dilletanten* bands like *Die Tödliche Doris*, *Malaria!* and
Einstürzende Neubauten. Appearing often at N.K. was John Murphy, a drummer
and graduate of Melbourne's late 1970s post-punk scene who was based in London
from 1980 but finally moved to Berlin in 2006. When Murphy passed away in
2015, he had been collaborating with several generations of Melbourne musicians
in Berlin.

Meanwhile, a network of singer-songwriters were moving in increasing numbers
between both cities. Sam Wareing, a Melbourne-based musician for over a decade
until moving to Berlin in 2009, started Sofa Salon in 2010, a concert series held in
living rooms across Berlin that inevitably featured touring Melbourne
singer-songwriters. She talked to Mark Mordue in 2010 about 'an aesthetic sym-
pathy between the two cities. Melbourne's the most European of Australian cities
… I think they share an intellectual, melancholic, angular, monochromatic, anarchic
feel. Long, grey, grim winters.'

Mordue questioned Wareing further on the 'seductions that draw so many young
Melburnians to Berlin', especially since it was two decades after the likes of The
Bad Seeds departed from the city. 'Perhaps it's a peculiarly middle-class Melbourne
rebellion [that leads us here],' she said. 'Berlin seems more 'real' for the incredible,
fractured and living history in every street, more 'dangerous', mythical maybe, and
a lot more free than Melbourne, too'(2010). A few years later, when Megan
Spencer, a long time 3JJJ radio announcer from Melbourne, wrote in 2014 about the
many Australian musicians moving to Berlin, nearly all had come from her
hometown—she also soon followed in their wake (Spencer 2014).

One might also ask whether the hybrid, post-national Berlin-Melbourne com-
munity will survive a future where borders and travel bans might be reinforced in
the wake of rising Donald Trump-like populism? Having described a continuing
diaspora of independent artists and sojourners determined to maintain this unique
transnational space, this qualitative survey suggests it will survive—consider also

that Melbourne and West Berlin developed strong ties while the latter was encircled in concrete and barbed wire. Despite both Australia and Germany hardening their borders in response to the perceived ill-effects of open door immigration, the cultural diaspora described has a relentless momentum that shows no signs of slowing. In Kastoryano's term, a 'new social space' has been opened that has a life of is own (2000).

And though decades have passed since the mythical 1980s when this diaspora was first galvanised, the old network have proved remarkably resilient. Former Bad Seeds member Mick Harvey, among many others, still shares his time between Berlin and Melbourne, for example. As for the young musicians and DJs who have since flooded into Berlin from Melbourne, and who today are thirty years younger than Harvey, Berlin is not only a preferred base in Europe, but a city to which one can seamlessly transition. 'There's a connection,' said Harvey in 2014. 'A likeminded-ness and artistic understanding … Berlin now is what London used to be in the 70s.' Ultimately, Melbourne artists express a kind of relief at finding a transnational space that they have created for themselves. 'It's special,' he said. 'Berlin's easier—not such a slog. It gives you that facility to do what you need to do' (Spencer 2014).

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Part IV
Transnational Challenges Unbound

Post-colonial Narratives of Australian Indigeneity in Austria: The Essl Exhibition on Contemporary Indigenous Australian Art

Oliver Haag

Abstract This contribution focuses on a 2015 exhibition on Aboriginal art, displayed at the Austrian Essl Museum. It unearths the complex interplay between the national appropriations of a transnational discourse on neo-primitivism and argues that the specifics of German-speaking interest in Aboriginal cultures need to be understood, first and foremost, within the transnational settings from which it emerges. German discourses of Indigeneity are deeply influenced by colonialism of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially by colonial novels and colonial revisionism that produced idealised images of Aboriginal Australians. Idealisation was never free of politics, the proposed contribution argues, and it still resonates in post-millennium narratives of Indigeneity and race. Considering the national differences between Germany and Austria, the chapter offers a close reading of what I term 'nationalized transnationalism', highlighting the appropriation of not only Australian (and Western) but also specifically German discourses of Indigeneity in Austria.

The introduction to an Austrian exhibition on Indigenous Australian art, first shown in 2004 and as a sequel in 2015 at the Essl museum reads:

> Is traditional Aboriginal Art threatened with extinction? This is what I asked Tony Oliver, a white Australian who works for the Jirrawun Aboriginal Artists Corporation in Kununurra (Kimberley) Edition Sammlung Essl (2004, p. 18).

Established in 1999, the Essl museum—formally called *Sammlung Essl, Kunst der Gegenwart*; Collection Essl, Contemporary Art—was located in the Viennese suburb Klosterneuburg. A private museum run by the industrialist Karlheinz Essl and his wife Agnes, it closed in 2016 due to bankruptcy of Essl's corporate enterprises. The collection comprised almost seventhousand objects with a major focus laid on contemporary, that is, late twentieth and twenty-first century Austrian

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art; the Australian objects were largely acquired by the Essl family on several journeys to Australia (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, pp. 6–8).

The afore-quoted question is, admittedly, not directly answered - neither in the exhibition itself nor in its accompanying catalogue. Yet the very question discloses an intricate web of transnational narratives of whiteness, post-colonialism and Indigeneity, the latter here being understood in James Brown's and Patricia Sant's sense as a discourse of the meanings of being Indigenous (Brown and Sant 1999, p. 4).[1] Eleonore Wildburger has shown how European discourses on art have construed Aboriginal Otherness, that is, Aboriginal peoples as intrinsically different from Europeans (Wildburger 2013). In this chapter, I argue that representations of Indigeneity move beyond the formation of Otherness, but are closely intertwined with still lingering ideas of (trans)national primitivism, colonialism and nationality. The aforementioned question, which is paradigmatic for the conception of the Essl exhibition, does not relate merely to art exchange between Australia and Austria but also to much wider narratives of race: in asking if traditional cultures were threatened by extinction, it conjures up the spectre of a vanishing culture and, perforce, the dying race dogma, that is, colonial narratives of the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century that proposed the idea of Aboriginal people being too specialised to compete with European influence and hence being prone to racial and cultural extinction (Anderson 2007, p. 207; McGregor 1997). Moreover, the dichotomist direction of the question racialises art and construes in Luis Mirón's sense racial subjects (Mirón 2009, p. 556). The abovementioned question is neither answered by, nor addressed to, an Indigenous expert, but rather meant as rhetoric. Without being furnished with historical contexts, audiences themselves are expected to conclude whether or not traditional art was extinct. Thus, the concept of the exhibition re-centres the white expert as the ultimate arbiter of the essence of Indigenous art. It so reiterates, this contribution will show, both the partly Western and the partly German-specific colonial narratives of Indigeneity.

European codes of Indigeneity, to use Ross Gibson's concept of clichés (Gibson 1993, p. 210), act like signifiers of cultural meaning that are widely recognisable to national audiences. For example, Uluru is understood as a symbol of different formation of Indigeneity, such as cultural traditionalism, resistance, unity and survival (Clarke 2016, p. 142). Semiotic in nature, clichés of Indigeneity hearken back to extant narratives of race, such as primitivism, in order to domesticate culturally unknown knowledge and thus make Indigeneity comprehensible in culturally unfamiliar context. This process of culture translation, I argue, relies both on a domestication of transnational and national clichés (Venuti 2008, pp. 15–20). Domestication can be read as a conversion of foreign cultural references into familiar ones in order to make unknown contexts comprehensible to target audiences. Uluru, for example, can be domesticated from codes of Indigenous

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[1]The capitalisation of this term differentiates it from ideas of settler autochthony used as an identity category against migrants. Discourses of Indigeneity relate to the people already present before the colonisation of a particular area.

sovereignty to clichés of idyllic nature, thereby stripped off its socio-historical context. As I have argued elsewhere, German audiences indeed tended to interpret Australian landscape in the film *Australia* (Baz Luhrman, 2008) as purely romantic without having recognized any clichés of belonging, dispossession and sovereignty (Haag 2010). Clichés as unfolding in the Essl exhibition are never isolated opinions but reflect broader narratives (hence their being culture codes). This broad dimension unfolds, for one, in the favourable reviews of the exhibition. Writes a left-leaning Austrian newspaper that in 'such times, one is easily overcome by the yearning for primordial and pristine life, a life in keeping with nature … far away from technology, capitalism and reckless individualism' (Gerold 2015). Projecting a blend of romantic escapism from modernity and critique of Western civilisation, this review is informed by the same narrative mechanism of culture translation that distinguishes the exhibition itself and thus mirrors a broader set of clichés that are both transnational and national in origin. The romantic idealization of a state of pre-modernity derives partly from Noble Savage myths that devised an unspoilt social contract in pre-modern human society. While the roots of noble savagery were founded in modernity, as Stello Cro argues (Cro 1990, p. 28), it eventually became transferred into a critique of modernity itself. Particularly German popular culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth century came to juxtapose ancient (that is, pre-modern) with modern societies. Part of a transnational discourse, ancient societies were related not only to prehistoric Europe, but also to contemporary Indigenous groups there were considered illiterate and ahistorical, thus exhibiting similarly pre-modern characteristics as the *Urgesellschaften* (e.g., Lutz 2000, pp. 37–40; Kuper 1988, pp. 7–9). Modern German nationalism idealised the pre-modern and natural state of German tribalism, which functioned as a form of escapism from modernity (Mosse 1998, pp. 15–26).

The Essl exhibition not only evinces a complex interplay between the national appropriations of such a transnational discourse but also exhibits a tenacious continuity of German colonial representations of Indigeneity. The malleability and great adaptive force of images of primitivism, I try to argue, explains two perhaps seemingly striking facets of the very images: firstly, the circumstance of such colonial narratives still occurring almost one hundred years after the formal ending of German colonialism in 1918/19 and, secondly, its manifestation in Austria, a country that in stark contrast to Germany never had any colonies beyond European shores. The present essay offers a close reading of what I term *nationalised transnationalism*, highlighting the appropriation of not only Australian and Western but also specifically German discourses of Indigeneity.

My aim to trace colonial devices in contemporary representations of Aboriginal art does not imply that the Essl museum would have consciously propagated colonial ideas or that contemporary Austrian or German audiences would support actual colonialism. Instead, I propose to unearth the colonial origin of Aboriginal representation, as evinced in the Essl exhibition. Such colonial layers are tenacious, for they are not immediately associated with the pejorative rhetoric of colonialism. Yet colonialism did not necessarily devise images of exploitation, oppression and dispossession but also created, on narrative level at least, idealising portrayals of

Indigenous arts and culture. Idealisation was, in fact, a fundamental element of colonialism (Haag 2017). The Essl exhibition, I will try to argue, shows a lack of awareness of the colonial origin of racial representation, for example, in contrasting traditional with urban art and clearly valuing the former. The exhibition was very likely not intended as a racial representation but eventually developed into a very colonial form of racial representation. This lack of awareness, I think, explains the immediacy and bluntness of colonial devices discernible in the exhibition.

In my previous work on German-speaking reception of Indigenous Australian literature and films, I could not discern any difference between Austria and Germany (e.g. Haag 2010; Haag 2011; Haag 2012; Haag 2014). While political approaches to racial injustice and dispossession do occur in reception, popular culture tends to predominantly romanticise Indigenous culture as closely related to nature and being innately spiritual. This tendency is reflected in the Essl exhibition. Why does an Austrian museum hearken back on German colonial narratives in interpreting Indigenous Australia? To be sure, Austria and Germany are distinguished by different socio-historical developments, especially so after World War II. The mutual perception of both countries is often carried by a certain extent of animosity, similar to England and Australia. Yet the historic bonds between both countries were very close, at times they even shared a single nationhood, and cultural connections are strong, especially influences of German popular culture and media on Austria. What is more, given the then pan-German ambitions in Austria, also Austrians propagated German colonial propaganda in the interwar period and during the Nazi regime. Regions, too, have exerted massive influence on mutual exchange, especially southern German provinces, like Bavaria, are closer in dialects and culture to (western) Austria than to northern parts of Germany. In short, Austria and Germany share abundant similarities in popular culture that explain the occurrence of German colonial rhetoric in an Austrian exhibition.

Transnational Primitivism

The conceptual focus of the Essl exhibition lies on the difference between traditional and what is dubbed urban Indigenous art, with the weight of objects resting on the former category. This preference of traditional art is ultimately mirrored in the spatial arrangement of the objects: only one of the seven exhibition rooms is devoted to urban Indigenous art, the remainder stems from so-called remote background, especially the Territory and Western Australia, as Fig. 1 shows.

The objects as such are not explained, except for object title, name of the artist, area and year of origin being mentioned. Instead, it is the suggestive opposition between traditional and urban contexts that guides audiences through the exhibition. The juxtaposition between traditional and urban art is also reflected in images of non-mixed Aboriginal people as producers of the former. A plaque in one of the major exhibition rooms (Fig. 2) shows the photo of a racially un-mixed person as

Fig. 1 Plaque with so-called traditional artist representing traditional art, photographed by Haag

the producer of culturally pure art that is differentiated from a younger generation using new materials, contents and media.

The museum is, moreover, characterised by a strict division between Indigenous and European art. Although the section on Indigenous Australian art is displayed next to the permanent collection of contemporary Austrian art, the Australia exhibition does not relate thematically to the other objects, aside from all of them being understood as contemporary art. Ironically, the aspect of the contemporary turns out to be a major contradiction for the Indigenous section of the displayed objects. This already becomes evident in the title of the exhibition: Aboriginal Art: Spirit & Vision. The term spirit is explicated as being synonymous with tradition, whereas vision implies the question of future developments, or, put differently, deviance from tradition (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p. 19). The exhibition indeed contrasts the works considered traditional (that is, produced in what is dubbed the outback) with urban art that is explicated as employing Western techniques and being influenced by Western art: 'This young art is placed in

Die Künstler setzen sich weiterhin mit ihren traditionellen Inhalten und Praktiken auseinander, sie verwenden jedoch immer häufiger auch neue Materialien, neue Inhalte und Neue Medien. Besonders eine junge Generation, die in den Städten lebt, die sogenannten *Urban Artists*, setzen sich immer mehr mit Themen und Medien auseinander, die in der internationalen zeitgenössischen Kunst behandelt werden; sie erweitern damit das breite Spektrum der Aboriginal Art.

Fig. 2 Major exhibition room showing what is called traditional art, photographed by Haag

juxtaposition with the traditional "old masters", who draw on the rich heritage from their ancestors' (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p. 19). The dictum of the 'old masters' building on a rich genealogical heritage implies that urban Indigenous art would draw less on an Indigenous heritage but quintessentially a Western tradition.

The dichotomy between real and urban Indigenous art has a long history in Australia and the West. In Australia, debates on Indigenous authenticity flared up in the 1990s in the course of increasing events of culture appropriation, with Indigenous intellectual property having become defined as any creation brought about by Indigenous persons (Anderson 1995, p. 39; Heiss 2003, p. 26; Birch 1993, p. 21). Anita Heiss understands Aboriginal authenticity as a necessary tool to counteract appropriation of intellectual property, but distinguishes this form of author-related authenticity from an essentialist notion of Indigenous content of cultural production:

> The problem and practice of classifying Aboriginality has been something 'given' to and 'expected of' Aboriginal people … There are many good reasons for this though. In the case of publishing for example, a Proof of Aboriginality form was introduced as a guard against exploitation (2003, p. 18).

The quest for authentic Indigenous *content* evinces a more essentialist history: literature, art, performance, music, everyday culture, *inter alia*, have been classified and racialised as to parameters of authenticity, including living space (so-called remote areas), language maintenance (whether Indigenous languages are still

practised), physiological appearance, degrees of Westernisation in clothing and modes of living (nakedness as a frequent reference; hunting and gathering as the principal form of economy). Gillian Cowlishaw has pointed out that Australian social anthropology tended to focus on traditional Indigenous groups as its objects of study and thus became complicit in re-creating Indigenous traditionalism:

> The popular view that the 'non-traditional' or 'half-castes' are not 'true' Aborigines is widely recognised … the Aborigines themselves could be perceived as so different racially or culturally as to preclude any analysis that encompasses both categories. This latter view has probably been the most pervasive both in anthropology and elsewhere, to the extent that 'southern' or 'non-traditional' groups are sometimes denied inclusion in the category of Aborigines (Cowlishaw 1988, p. 60).

The anxiety for authenticity also stems from neo-primitivism, that is, a Western idea of archaic social structures seen mirrored in both European prehistoric and contemporary Indigenous cultures. Primitive society is conceived of as exhibiting an unchangeable and ahistorical social contract. Different tales of origin, social critique and utopian ideas are projected into pre-modernity and 'naturalised', that is, made to appear as natural forms of human coexistence (Li 2006, pp. 79–81; Hiller 1991, pp. 3–4). Primitivism evinces considerable historical breadth from Renaissance philosophy to present New Age discourse and can be filled with different political persuasion, from romantic idealisation to stigmatising devaluation. A major change towards increasing idealisation of 'primitive' art emerged across Europe during the inter-war period (Flam and Deutch 2003, pp. 1–20). Europe came to construe Indigenous art as timeless yet fresh, for it appeared to be devoid of dated conventions (Bindman and Gates 2012, pp. 223 –243).

Yet even if idealising in intention, European constructions of primitivism, Susan Hiller suggests, were complicit in claims to racial superiority (Hiller Hiller 1991, p. 11). Concepts of authenticity emerged from primitivism and prevail in constructs of true Indigeneity. As Eva Marie Garroutte argues, Indigenous authenticity is based on concepts of racialised purity and thus essentialist in nature:

> A biological definition of Indian identity… motivated non-Native individuals and institutions to commit… injuries. It would seem that there is much to lose by embracing a definition of identity that encourages the fiction of race (Garroutte 2003, p. 60).

The construct of primitivist authenticity negates not merely the processes of transcultural adaption but equally Indigenous influences on the making of European cultures. In focussing on the supposedly Indigenous culture loss, primitivist discourse markedly deflects attention from the losses of Europeanness in cross-cultural contact.

Given the centrality of true traditionalism, the concept of the exhibition is imbued with primitivism and the desire for authenticity. This influence reflects a transnational blend of Australian and Western images of Indigeneity—specifically the urban-outback divide that takes up debates within Australia and the propensity for archaic Indigeneity that mirrors the broader Western discourse of primitivism. This transnational concept contains specifically national devices of idealised

Indigeneity that derive as narrative patterns from German colonial imagery of Indigeneity.

Colonial Structures

The following three excerpts, though highly different in political persuasion and origin, nonetheless bear one striking similarity. In them, Indigenous art is revered as unique and inimitable, but deemed threatened by dissolution.

Example one: *[German writing on Indigenous art published in 1931]* Primitive matriarchal sculpture is always unique and inimitable, because there is a different soul behind it. Its character is utmost truth and no pretension (Block 1931, p. 61).

Example two: *[German writing on Indigenous art published in 1940]* In contrast to the detribalised 'Nigger culture'[2] that tries to 'civilize' the Negro with force, we can see here authentic Negro art…products of 'degenerate art' have no comparison with this true racial art (*Volkskunst*) … we are amazed about the [precious] culture that is otherwise misrepresented in Nigger songs, jazz and mawkish films and theatre plays. (Almer 1940, p. 306).

Example three: *[Essl exhibition text in 2004]* Alcohol and drug abuse are further factors, which contribute to their *[Aboriginal Australians']* impoverishment. Given the circumstances, how can they continue to create an art form that draws on a profound connection to nature and the spiritual power of their ancestors? (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p. 18).

Nineteenth and twentieth century Western discourses applied the idea of extinction to all Indigenous groups and proclaimed white people as the ultimate protectors of Indigenous cultural heritage. Museums in particular became a site for such protection (Penny 2002; McGregor 1997). The first two texts appeared in an anthropology journal and a magazine promoting German colonialism, respectively. Setting aside the obviously racist content in the first two pieces, the much laurelled autochthonous culture is portrayed as fragile, corroded by miscegenation and the mixing between European and Indigenous cultures. The third excerpt, while not mentioning biological mixing, considers a form of detribalisation or uprooting the potentially most destructive effects for Indigenous art (that is, the demise of connections to nature and ancestral spirituality). Thus, while the actual contexts between the three publications are different—century old colonial texts versus a contemporary museum text—they share a common subtext that, I contend, derives from German colonial discourse. This discourse did not merely relate to the era of the actual colonies but had a long lasting effect on German society in terms of racial politics at home: ideas of a blood-based community, including blood-based citizenship laws, became massively influenced by

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[2]This is a direct translation. The source text uses double inverted comma in the first use of the term Nigger to differentiate it from Negro. (The source text also puts the term *zivilisieren*, i.e. civilize, in comma.) The former term has a demeaning connotation, whereas the latter has an idealising ring.

colonial debates on purity (Chin and Fehrenbach 2009, pp. 107–131; Campt 2004, pp. 45–47; El-Tayeb 2001, pp. 109–116).

Elsewhere, I have argued that German writing on Indigenous people around the globe increased significantly with the gaining of the German colonies in Africa and the South Pacific in the second half of the nineteenth century (Haag 2017). German representations thereby followed similar logics of colonial representations that Gustav Jahoda (1999) has described as savagery (p. 53), animalism (pp. 85–87) and childlikeness (p. 102). German portrayals of Indigenous people changed from animalism to childlikeness once the colonial subjects were pacified as possessed objects of the German civilizing mission. The dichotomist view of good versus bad Indigenes persisted throughout the colonial enterprise and, in Jan Nederveen Pieterse's sense, legitimised colonial rule (Nederveen Pieterse 1990, p. 89).

Constructions of Indigeneity were not restricted to the original populaces of the German colonies but related to Indigenous peoples around the globe, including Australia. German portrayals of Indigenous Australians became increasingly idealised after the loss of the colonies in 1918/19 when colonial revisionists tried to regain the former colonial property and thereby romanticised Indigenous people, the colonial subjects to be regained (Haag 2017). The critique of British colonialism, especially the policies of assimilation, constituted a firm part of German colonial rhetoric that formulated a more humane colonialism under German rule: Indigenous people should not become European, ran the dogma, but be preserved in their archaic state of humanity—the *Urmenschen,* or the cradle of humanity as reflected in the contemporary *Ureinwohner*, or Indigenous people. Such state of ancient purity became translated into transnational views of seemingly pristine and unchangeable arts and traditions. The distancing from such calcified purity became fiercely criticised in colonial discourse and often enough emotionally deplored (Warmbold 1988, pp. 207–218).

One reason for this emotional deploring was a specific German narrative of Indigeneity that, as Andrew Zimmerman argues, construed racialised notions of Indigenous peoples as rooted in nature (*Naturvolk;* lit. people of nature), thus being fundamentally different from the English conception of primitive people, which accommodated ideas of progress and change (Zimmerman 2001, pp. 7–62). German anthropologists—the author concludes—were hesitant to establish a direct link between Indigenous peoples and ancient Germans and devised a concept of static nature that did not allow advancement. As has been discussed, the differentiation between traditional and assimilated Indigenous cultures and peoples formed a transnational discourse on traditionalism. But in German narratives, from social anthropology to popular culture, traditionalism was carried by highly emotional undertones that literally mourned the loss of archaic humanity. Nationalist literatures, including *volkish*[3] texts, were eager to construe a romantic past of German

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[3]Volkish texts were literary productions of the late nineteenth century *Völkische Bewegung* (volkish movement) that romanticised racial connotations of a blood-based German people rooted in its blood-based land from which it was thought to derive.

tribalism attached to nature and blood-based relations to German lands. As Dirk Moses suggests, Germans considered themselves indigenous to racialised German soil and devised an anti-colonial struggle against the imagined Jewish colonizers (Moses 2008, pp. 29–37). This self-perception of German Indigeneity may partly explain the particularly romantic notions of idealised traditionalism. However, I argue that traditionalism constituted first and foremost a means of racial divide that evinced different power structures along racial privilege: the *Naturvölker* were trapped in a frozen state of archaic pre-modernity and thus kept in a state of childlikeness—a vested interest for German colonial policies that pre-conceptualised a system of strict separation at biological and cultural level.

The idea of lost traditions also has a prehistory in Australia, that is, the dying race dogma in the nineteenth and much of the first quarters of the twentieth century when, as to Social Darwinian logic, Indigenous Australians were deemed a race that could not compete with European influence and that was therefore prone to vanish (McGregor 1997). In German-speaking discourse such dying race dogmas did also exist, true, but with a more fervently expressed dichotomy between idealisation and degeneration. The bemoaning of lost traditions as well as the anxiety to encounter 'preserved', that is, authentic Indigenous people for the last time before their vanishing, formed a frequent trope in German colonial literature and was informed by the policies of what Pascale Grosse has termed 'dissimilation', which strove for the protection of traditional cultures (Grosse 2000, pp. 26–238). The dissimilation policy was owed much to miscegenation, Indigenous migration to Germany and the dreaded dissolution of racial power hierarchies during the later phases of colonialism. Miscegenation became a perceived threat that rendered colonised people closer to the power of the coloniser, as Lara Ann Stoler argues (Stoler 995, p. 52). Mixing in the biological as much as in the cultural sense was thought to counteract white hegemony.

Next to the transnational visions of racial authenticity, the Essl exhibition employs further colonial tropes to bolster the traditional-urban or what is called the spirit-vision divide. Conspicuously, the exhibition is introduced by Karlheinz Essl's own journey to Australia in which he explains how and why he became interested in Indigenous cultures:

> I have always been fascinated by the ambivalence between tradition and contemporary art. After that first trip, I delved into literature about Aboriginal Art and life. I decided to acquire a series of works of Aboriginal Art for our collection (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p. 14).

This interest in the divide between the traditional and the contemporary art reflects, as mentioned, a tenacious colonial discourse that is not challenged in the exhibition. The reason why this divide seems so fascinating is nowhere mentioned. It seems as if it was a natural thing to ponder over the loss of Indigenous traditions, while to treat European art as malleable. More so, this divide is filled with clichés of acculturation and assimilation. Tellingly, the text goes on to mention:

> I wanted to meet the indigenous people of Australia in their original environment, to get a better understanding of their art through personal contacts and first-hand experience of the land (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, 14).

Consequently, Essl embarked on a nine-day journey through the bush. This resembles German colonial narratives, especially novels (*Kolonialromane*), in which authors told their adventurous experiences of seeing the last *untouched natives* in the *pori,* the German East African bush (Benninghoff-Lühl 1983, p. 53; Gilman 1982, p. 123). These narratives were ordered by the sequence of journeying through rough terrain, to a land without any European infrastructure or what was called civilisation. Peppered with notions of masculine adventurism, the purpose of the journey was explicated by the quest to discover the indigenous inhabitants in their still original environment, that is, a people supposedly living without the influences of assimilation and Europeanisation. The journey resembled a short safari rather than a long-term expedition.

Essl's description is in line with such colonial narrative structures: he embarks on a very short journey in order to understand a people and its culture and art; the journey itself is described as an adventure and even escape from civilisation:

> Richard, an experienced pilot, took us safely to the remotest regions. We usually landed on 'dirty strips', i.e. gravel landing strips without any infrastructure whatsoever. More often than not, the roads are in a very bad state of repair and are impassable for weeks during the rainy season (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p.14).

The inhabitants Essl encounters in such remote lands are described as *intact*, that is, original and as diametrically opposed to Europeans as possible:

> In these centres, people live their original traditions. Photographs can only be taken with prior permission. We were warmly welcomed and were soon on a friendly footing with the local inhabitants. This gave us the opportunity to experience their life up close, and I was then given the permission to make video recordings and photographs (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p.15).

This tale of cross-cultural friendship echoes tropes in German colonial literature: the initially dangerous encounter is followed by friendly acquaintances and a warm welcome between the *untouched* inhabitants and the German travellers; this friendship then is described as legitimising otherwise sanctioned behaviour, such as taking photographs. In German colonial literature, the motive of Indigenous-German friendship was indeed prevalent especially after the loss of the German colonies, when German writers sought to idealise the former colonial relations (Lewerenz 2011, pp. 176–180).

Essl's text replicates colonial dichotomies in a surprisingly immediate opposition between traditional and urban cultures: traditional cultures are situated as inherently different from Europe, with Indigenous people still living in harmony with nature; Indigenous family relations are explained as unique and almost impossible for Europeans to understand:

> Relatives bear the responsibility for the other members of the family group. Everyone looks out for everyone else – it is natural for children to be looked after by aunts and uncles as well as their parents. When we walked through the place we were warmly welcomed by the families. We were sitting with the adults in the shade of the trees, talking about their traditions, their way of life, their 'walkabouts', and how they fished and hunted with spears they had made themselves … Adults rarely have a regular occupation in the sense that we

understand it. Whatever they need, they get from the bush, from the sea or from the nearby shop. (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p.16)

The text does not reveal anything really unfathomable about Indigenous kin structures, which are explicated so vaguely as to relate to any extended family network. There is also a discourse in Australia that idealises Indigenous kin networks and family commitments as warm and humane, often expressed in terms of caring and sharing as a sign of racial sovereignty (Gilbert 1978, p. 1). Kevin Keeffe has termed such romantic yet essentialist efforts of construing cultural continuity as 'Aboriginality-as-persistence' (Keeffe 1992, pp. 46–52). The Essl exhibition may have been influenced by such persistency. At the same time, it reiterates German colonial ideas of Indigenous tribalism that was unique not so much in establishing discrepancies between traditionalism and assimilation but to excoriate deviances from traditionalism with concepts of racial degeneration and cultural decay (Haag 2017; Grosse 2000; Fischer 1990). Pascal Grosse interprets this tendency in colonial politics as having completely negated any chance of racial equality but cemented the idea of an unchangeable hierarchy between human races:

It is the radical reversal of the classical enlightened model as to which the non-European peoples were thought to assimilate in order to develop. The opposite view of a cultural and biologic dissimilation was based on the assumption of a natural and unchangeable inequality of the 'human races' (2000, p.27).[4]

The critique of deviance from traditionalism culminated under National Socialism in a fierce castigation of what was called inauthentic racial degeneracy. As Birgit Haehnel explains, 'the National Socialists had … accused modern art in 1937 of incorporating African art styles and thereby contributing to the *niggerization* and decline of the cultural man' (Haehnel 2010, p. 242). Degeneration and decay were interpreted as the logical consequence of cultural exchange (Osayimwese 2010, p. 133). Albeit no outright mention of degeneration is being made in the Essl exhibition, urban Indigenous culture is portrayed implicitly as being on the brink of moral decay:

Papunya was the scene of one of the most tragic chapters in Australian history. In the 1950s, Aboriginal people were taken to settlements against their will, frequently placed together with enemy tribes. This was the start of a period of great suffering for these people: they could be abused and even killed…Also in 1960, the trade unions forced the government to adopt a law that provided 'same wage for same work', and Aboriginal workers were dismissed by farmers overnight. This resulted in mass unemployment, which led to abject poverty and alcoholism, which had a destructive effect on the community. We had been warned about Papunya before our visit there: 'You'll be shocked at how people live there.' And in fact, living conditions there cannot be compared to those in western civilisation. Cleanliness and hygiene are not a top priority: car wrecks, old TV sets, tyres and

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[4]Translation is the author's (source text reads: Es ist die radikale Umkehrung des klassischen aufgeklärten Modells, demzufolge sich die außereuropäischen Völker an die Europäer assimilieren müssten, um sich entwickeln zu können. Der hierzu gegenläufige Standpunkt der kulturellen und biologischen Dissimilation ging hingegen von der natürlichen und konstant bleibenden Ungleichheit der "menschlichen Rassen" aus).

rubbish of every sort are scattered around the landscape, with stray dogs roaming every-where … Today, young people move to the cities. Many of them are no longer ready to accept the hardships and privations of life in the bush. At the same time, they are not used to holding down a regular job … is traditional Aboriginal Art threatened with extinction? (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, pp.16-18)

This description of apparently uprooted Indigeneity follows a frequent narrative structure in German colonial discourse: traditional communities, that is, those sheltered from Western influence, are depicted as intact, natural and leading harmonious lives in accordance with nature, whereas the so-called less traditional, that is, assimilated people were depicted as prone to decay. Degrading descriptions of lacking hygiene, laziness and substance abuse informed the images of cultural decay in German colonial writing of the dissimilationist era. Reflecting colonial images of childlikeness, the people themselves are never made responsible for their supposed assimilation, which is described not as a matter of choice but as determined, thus a naturally ordained consequence of Western civilisation. As with colonial writing since the mid nineteenth century, Indigenous subjects here are placed as hapless victims of an implicitly superior Western culture, given their portrayal as unable to engage independently with cross-cultural changes (Brantlinger 2011; Rash 2012). Without help from the outside (read: protection), the only option for them is their vanishing.

This vanishing idea is particularly reflected in the rhetoric question of whether Indigenous art was threatened with extinction. The exhibition is very vague in answering this question, with audiences being merely informed that 'there looms today a large and ever expanding grey area between traditional art and Urban Art. Essentially, we must agree it is all modern art' (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p. 46). Yet, while all objects are considered *art*, the curators nonetheless make an implicit value judgment of what art be considered worthier of preservation:

The more the international art market gains influence in the Aboriginal Art Community, the greater the danger that it will absorb global trends. The international art world does not need more interpreters of the mainstream, but an independent, outstanding art language (Edition Sammlung Essl 2004, p.25).

Conclusion: Towards a Nationalised Transnationalism

The Essl exhibition has produced images of Indigeneity which are, as shown in the conception of the exhibition, transnational in origin. Claims to Indigenous traditionalism and authenticity have been part of Western discourses and thus formed a transnational meta-narrative of Indigeneity. The bendiness of this pattern makes it possible to be filled with differently charged categories, thus transgressing different national contexts. This meta-narrative has been informed by devices that became domesticated as to familiar clichés of Indigeneity. These devices were immanent

part of German colonial narratives—themes of cultural decay and degeneracy; friendship metaphors; idealisation of racialised traditionalism.

The circumstance of colonial themes still lingering and informing Indigeneity bespeaks of lacking post-colonial awareness in German-speaking reception of Indigenous Australia. The Essl exhibition reveals the transnational dimension of post-colonialism as much as the post-colonial dimension of transnationalism: Indigenous traditionalism has been contrasted as antithesis not towards a national culture (settler or white Australia, Germany or Austria) but a vague (i.e. negatively defined) West. The transnational West is conceived of as the undesired danger for the Indigenous subject. The different layers between nationalism and transnationalism shows, furthermore, that the national devices (i.e. the colonial rhetoric) has been held in palimpsest, decoded from its actual colonial meaning but rewritten as familiar clichés in popular discourse. Louis Althusser understands ideology not as something consciously known but as unquestioned assumptions that seem to be given and natural (Louis 1971, p. 176). The ideological force of such popular images prevents a nuanced challenge of the legacy from which they derive. The colonial ideology held in palimpsest explains its occurrence in Austria, which was not formally involved in German colonialism. Yet Austrian authors were engaged in advancing German colonialism, especially during Nazism, and Austria has been shaped by massive exchange with German popular culture. Colonial images of Indigeneity have become domesticated as exotic romanticism without losing their hidden past. The Essl exhibition, I contend, spurs the need for a rigorous post-colonial intervention in non-colonial countries or, put differently, the colonial idea of true Indigeneity bears enormous transnational implications. Such dominant occurrence of colonial patterns in representing cultures shows the absence of broad awareness of colonialism in German and Austrian history. The approach to racial representation in the Essl exhibition suggests that the legacies of German colonialism have little if no place in cultural memory. There is no mention in the exhibition that Germany once was a colonial country and that Austria had segments of its society actively advancing (German) colonialism. Let alone is there any reflection of this colonial history still having a bearing on contemporary representations of Indigeneity. Wolfgang Struck comes to a similar conclusion in relation to post-millennium German films of Africa that 'highlight', the author argues, 'a dream of Africa that follows the representational system of German popular culture that has not changed very much since the time of colonialism' (Wolfgang 2010, p. 274). The quality of racial representation in contemporary settings is a sign for the level of critical engagement with colonial pasts. National borders should not let us overlook that colonial thinking transcended national borders and constituted a highly transnational phenomenon. The Essl exhibition reflects this transcendence and indicates that post-colonial interventions should apply to formally colonial as much as non-colonial countries.

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German-Australian Research on a Difficult Legacy: Colonial Collections of Indigenous Human Remains in German Museums and Collections

Paul Turnbull

Abstract In recent years, curators of German ethnological and university anatomical museums have begun attempting to resolve the ethical and practical challenges arising from their possession of human remains of Indigenous peoples collected in spheres of colonial ambition during the long nineteenth century. Efforts to assess whether past injustices warrant the return of these remains to their country of origin for reburial has been prompted by Indigenous communities with ancestral ties to these relics requesting their repatriation. In the German context, the largest collections of remains are those of the Indigenous peoples of present day Namibia. However, a number of museums have also found themselves encountering repatriation requests from Indigenous Australian communities. This chapter looks at how the German museum world's efforts to resolve this difficult legacy has led to collaboration between leading German and Australian museum personnel and scholars with expertise in the history of colonial era collecting of human remains and their repatriation. As the chapter explains, to date this collaboration has largely focused on critically assessing guidelines recommended by the *Deutscher Museumsbund*, or German Museums Association in late 2003 to its member institutions. Working together, German and Australian experts have drawn attention to how these guidelines—which reflect the experience of German museums dealing with human remains acquired during the Nazi era—have their strengths, but still problematically reflect Eurocentric assumptions about the nature of death, and the relations of the dead to the living.

In recent times, German museums with anthropological or medico-scientific collections have begun to deal with a difficult historical legacy. This is their possession of the bodily remains of peoples indigenous to south west Africa and other parts of the world where Germany sought to establish settler colonies during the era of the Second Reich. These relics were acquired out of curiosity in medico-scientific circles as to the causes and nature of bodily and psychological diversity. Indeed,

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between 1860 and 1914, a disturbing symbiotic relationship existed between German scientific and colonial ambitions, which saw the collecting of the bodily remains of local subject peoples by plundering their burial places, by the dissection of corpses in colonial prisons and hospitals, and, in a number of recorded instances, by dismembering the bodies of men and women killed by colonial military forces.

For several years now German and Australian museum professionals and researchers in the humanities and sciences have been collaboratively exploring the practical and ethical challenges these collections present. This collaboration has arisen out of the fact that many German ethnology museums and biomedical institutions possess the remains of Indigenous Australians which descendant communities want returned for burial. So far interactions between museum professionals and researchers from the two nations have focused not just on establishing the provenance of remains in German collections, but also on assessing recent efforts by German museum professionals to develop guidelines for the care of human remains in the country's museums and other scientific collections. And as one might expect, discussion about the guidelines has drawn on the Australian experience of responding to Indigenous peoples demanding the return of ancestral remains for burial (Ahrndt et al. 2013).

It seems best to begin by briefly comparing how the presence of these remains has figured in the recent histories of Australian and German museums. In Australia, museums and universities have worked together with Aboriginal and Torres Strait communities and all levels of Australian government since the late 1980s to decide the fate of the remains (mostly skulls) of around 6,000 individuals that came to be in museum and medical school collections (Hanchant 2002). Among the most significant contributions to addressing this disturbing aspect of colonial era science was the adoption in 1993 by Museums Australia, the nation's peak organisation of museum professionals, of a new policy framework for preserving Indigenous Australian cultural property. While re-affirming the fundamental value of research by social and natural scientists on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural property, the framework unconditionally recognised Indigenous ownership and rights to determine the fate of ancestral human remains, artefacts and cultural information possessed by museums (Griffin 1996). Another important step towards returning the dead to the care of their ancestral community occurred in 2000, when Australian Prime Minister John Howard secured the agreement of his British counterpart, Tony Blair, to commit the government of the United Kingdom to assisting the return Indigenous Australian human remains known to be in public museum collections (Howard 2000). This inter-governmental recognition of the moral necessity of returning the dead for burial was a key factor in the establishment of a British parliamentary working group in 2001 to examine the status of human remains within the country's publicly-funded Museums and Galleries, which in turn resulted in the development of new guidelines for the care of human remains in British cultural and scientific collections (Palmer and Dowling 2003; DCMS 2005).

Germany of course has had no need to address the repatriation of ancestral human remains to the care of traditional owners of its national territory. Like the United Kingdom and France, however, Germany had colonial ambitions, especially during

the Second Reich, in which era newly founded museums and university scientific institutes collected not only many thousands of ethnological artefacts of peoples whose lands were the focus of colonialist ambitions, but also their bodily remains. The impetus for this body-snatching was medico-scientific curiosity about the origins and implications of what at the time were (mistakenly) seen as bodily and psychological variations in humankind.

Germany's efforts to address this aspect of its colonial past began in 2008, when Berlin's Charité University Hospital agreed to the Namibian government's request to surrender to its care for burial the remains of Herero, Nama and other ethnically distinct peoples of the southwest African nation. The executive board of the Charité responded to the request in the wake of its experience through the late 1980s and early 1990s of dealing with the presence of human remains acquired during the National Socialist era in its collections (Weindling 2012). From the late 1870s, teaching at the Charité's institute of anatomy was based on dissection of the bodies of inmates of Berlin's Plötzensee prison, including those who had suffered execution. The number of corpses received at the Charité from the Plötzensee rose sharply during the years between 1933 and 1945, and from 1941 onwards several thousand men and women convicted of political crimes branded as treason or defeatism were used in anatomy teaching and research. It was a similar story in many other parts of Germany, where anatomists and other medical scientists were knowing beneficiaries of Nazi murder (Weindling 2012; Schultka 2017; Hildebrandt 2016).

The existence of specimens so derived became publicly known as a result of agitation by medical scientists in North America and a younger generation of German scholars and students. At the University of Tübingen, for example, students charged its medical school with past complicity in National Socialism, with the result that the university began to investigate its anatomy and pathology collections. The origins of brain tissue at the Edinger Neurological Institute in Frankfurt am Main, for example, was investigated by Götz Aly, a German journalist and historian, who found that they were made using the brains of men and women found guilty of political crimes during the Third Reich (Pfeiffer 1992).

The resulting press coverage of this and further discoveries brought to light other instances in which medical researchers and anthropologists in Germany and Austria were not just beneficiaries, but active supporters, of the National Socialist regime's ruthless elimination of those it judged guilty of political disloyalty or endangering the racial integrity of the German people (Hildebrandt 2016).

Naturally questions were raised whether the bodily remains of Jewish and other Holocaust victims were also preserved in medico-scientific collections (Baumslag 2005). By the early 1990s, agitation by younger German researchers, articles and media commentary by concerned physicians in North America, and pressure from Yad Vashem, Israel's official memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, led Germany's Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs to direct that all federal states initiate investigations into whether such remains existed in museums and university collections within their jurisdiction for the purposes of research or teaching (Weindling 2012).

In the wake of the Nambian request, the Charité supported two of its anatomy professors, Andreas Winkelmann and Thomas Schnalke, in applying for funding from the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation) to lead a three year project between 2010 and 2013 to establish the historical circumstances in which not only the remains of Herero, Nama, Damara and San peoples of Namibia were acquired, but also those of mainland Australian and Tasmanian Aboriginal people that might be held by the Charité. Winkelmann was by this time well known for meticulously researching the provenance of Nazi era specimens (Winkelmann and Schagen 2009). Schnalke, professor for the history of medicine and medical museology at the Charité since 2000, had a particular interest in nineteenth century medical museums and their collecting activities. Especially in view of the fact that Namibia's repatriation request came amidst claims that the Charité remains belonged to victims of genocidal practices by German colonial authorities, Winkelmann and Schnalke's project aimed not only to determine the provenance of the Namibian and Indigenous Australian remains in the hospital's possession, but also to encourage discussion amongst German museums professionals and university-based researchers of the practical challenges of provenance research, and the ethical implications of continued possession of remains that had been opportunistically collected in circumstances where societies had been dispossessed of their ancestral lands and forced to live under colonial governance. Thus, among the activities sponsored by the project was a symposium bringing together researchers and museum curators from a range of disciplinary backgrounds to explore the history of colonial collecting, the methodological challenges of provenance research, and the cultural and ethical dimensions of repatriation. Papers given at the symposium were to be the basis of a influential collection of essays on these issues (Stoecker et al. 2013).

The Charité project was a landmark exercise in close contextual investigation of the scientific and wider social contexts in which the human remains from beyond Europe came to be acquired by German museums and other medico-scientific institutions. By the time the project got underway in 2010 German media had aroused public awareness that the colonisation of southwestern Africa under the 1884 Treaty of Berlin had seen the gradual violent disintegration of relations between the region's ethnically diverse traditional owners and German settlers, culminating in an atrocious war of destruction between 1904-8 in which as many as 100,000 Herero and around 10,000 Nama people died. There was energetic debate amongst scholars and intellectuals as to whether the Herrero-Nama war was the first genocide of the twentieth century (Kossler 2015). Historians additionally saw disturbing continuities between German colonialism in southwest Africa, National Socialist racialism and the Holocaust; but they questioned the accuracy of describing the violent suppression of the Herrero and Nama as an instance of genocide, pointing to fundamental differences between colonialist aims and practices during the Second Reich and those characterising later Nazi imperialism (Hull 2006; Zimmerer et al. 2008). Nonetheless, it was widely accepted that the Indigenous peoples of southwest Africa were the victims of a brutal campaign of pacification by German colonial military forces of which the Charité project provided disturbing evidence. Through

forensic anatomical and historical investigation, Winkelmann and Schnalke determined that most of the Herero and Nama people whose bones had been acquired by German scientists by this time in the possession of the Charité were victims of the 1904-8 war. Eighteen other skulls in the collection were found to be those of individuals who had died while imprisoned by colonial military between 1905 and 1907. Other skulls of southwest African people in the collection betrayed signs of malnutrition, while historical records confirmed that two partial skeletons in the collection were those of women murdered by a German farmer (Stoecker 2013; Stoecker et al. 2014; Winkelmann 2014).

As for the Australian remains with the Charité, nothing was discovered to indicate that they had belonged to men and women who had died in circumstances similar to those suffered by the individuals whose remains were sought by the Namibian government for reburial (Winkelmann 2014). However, scientific reportage from around the time the Australian items were acquired confirmed that these skulls and skeletons had been used in comparative research that was conceptually grounded in the assumption that Indigenous Australians had experienced environmentally induced evolutionary stasis to the extent that they were, in effect, living examples of an archaic type of homo sapiens. The board of the Charité were persuaded by Andreas Winkelmann's and Thomas Schnalke's findings and clear ethnographic evidence of the crucial importance to the indigenous peoples of southwest Africa and Australia of burial with appropriate ceremonies in ancestral country. It seemed evident, moreover, that repatriation of the Australian remains would be a gesture of reconciliation productive of greater good than any potential future scientific benefit accruing from their continued possession.

What the Charité project revealed about the entanglement of anatomy and anthropology in the colonial ambitions of the Second Reich in Africa, and other spheres of German imperial ambition, unsettled many German museum professionals. Publicity of the repatriation of Namibian and Australian remains drew uncomfortable parallels between the Herrero-Nama War and the genocidal consequences of Nazi imperialism. Sensitive to the controversy in the late 1980s and early 1990s caused by the tardiness of the country's medical schools in addressing the issue of their possessing the remains of the victims of Nazism, the *Deutscher Museumsbund* (German Museums Association), convened a working group, which in October 2013 released a discussion paper entitled *Recommendations for the Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections*.

Researchers with interests aligned with the aims of the Charité project have suggested that the German museum community could have responded faster to the ethical problems posed by colonial era collections of human remains (Förster and Fründt 2017). After all, their presence was common knowledge amongst museum professionals, who had observed the controversy over Nazi medical use of human remains, and were also aware that remains in British and French museums obtained by means that no museum curator or scientist today would hesitate to condemn as morally abhorrent were sought for reburial by Indigenous communities in North America, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand—and had been since the mid-1980s.

The question of why the museum community has been slow to respond to repatriation requests by Indigenous communities is beyond the scope of this paper. However, when the issue came to be addressed, the *Deutscher Museumsbund's* working group was in the position of being able to capitalise on what had been learnt by British colleagues over near three decades of dealing with Australian and other indigenous communities seeking the return of their ancestors' remains. It also had the benefit of being able to learn from British museums having been encouraged by that nation's parliament to develop guidelines on the care of human remains, which were released in 2005 after wide ranging consultation with museum personnel, researchers with interests in human remains and, importantly, representatives of Indigenous claimant communities.

One attraction of the British guidelines for the *Deutscher Museumsbund* was that they had been formulated after British parliamentarians had concluded that the best way to resolve the fate of colonial era collections of human remains was to encourage museums to assess individual claims for their return, along, in a number of instances, with requests for the return of items of profound religious or cultural significance, rather than being legally compelled to do so on the basis of pre-defined criteria (though what the German working group may not have appreciated is that British parliamentarians did not explicitly rule out the possibility that refusal to adhere to self-regulatory guidelines might count against an institution in future allocations of public funds).

What also contributed to the *Museumsbund's* preference for guidelines developed by the museum community was recalling how Germany's Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs had responded in the early 1990s to the findings of the research that they directed be carried out to determine the nature and extent of Nazi era collections of human remains in medico-scientific collections. In view of what was discovered the Ministers concluded that all remains acquired between 1933-1945, regardless of whether or not their provenance had been determined, were to be destroyed. Medical scientists readily agreed that many of their disciplinary forbears during the National Socialist era stood condemned for capitalising on the opportunities for research offered by the regime's execution of many thousands of its opponents. But they were also concerned by the prospect of potentially valuable scientific material being destroyed. Indeed, some argued that the most fitting way to honour the memory of those victims of National Socialism whose remains had become the basis of specimens in medico-scientific collections would be to ensure their future availability for research benefitting all humankind.

A working group was consequently established with the support of the *Bundesärztekammer* (German General Medical Council), with the aim of developing self-regulatory guidelines in respect of human remains in collections, museums and public places. The thinking implicit in this initiative, undertaken a decade before the Museumsbund's released its *Recommendations*, was that wholesale destruction of bodily remains purely on the basis of its acquisition between 1933 and 45 could be avoided if voluntary guidelines put a strong onus on medio-scientific institutions to undertake provenance research on individual items enabling the ethics of their continued preservation or destruction to be carefully assessed.

The *Deutscher Museumsbund's Recommendations* for the care of remains envisage museums and other scientific institutions similarly resolving the fate of colonial collections of human remains by self-regulatory guidelines. And it must be said that self-regulation has its advantages as the *Museumsbund's* member institutions work within a federal legal framework that insufficiently addresses the complexities posed by colonial collections of human remains and other 'difficult' historical legacies, and which there is good reason to think will not substantially change (the guidelines that medical scientists had recommended in 2003 in the wake of provenance on remains acquired by medico-scientific collections between 1939-45 included a call for comprehensive legislation which failed to gain attention in German government circles). Moreover, self-regulation in respect of colonial era collections has worked well in other contexts, notably in Australia, where museums and universities have successfully worked on a 'one to one' basis with Elders and knowledge custodians from claimant communities to return their ancestors' remains for reburial since the mid-1970s, without the need for national legislation comparable to the United States' Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990).

The *Museumsbund's Recommendations* have proven a fruitful stimulus for collaboration between Australian and German scholars and museum professionals on the challenges presented by colonial collections with difficult provenances. Shortly after the *Recommendations* were released they inspired a workshop convened at the University of Cologne by Larissa Förster and Sarah Fründt, two key contributors to the Charité project. Discussions at that meeting ranged over various aspects of the history, ethical and practical challenges of provenance research (Förster and Fründt 2017). These discussions have in turn led to subsequent symposia and conference panels in Potsdam, Mainz, Kyoto, Canberra and Munich, which have been noteworthy for bringing together researchers involved in the Charité project with Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australian participants in the Return, Reconcile, Renew project. Over the past five years this latter research venture has sought to consolidate research expertise in a variety of disciplines to support and empower community-based repatriation programmes and to assist in answering community-defined research questions about the history, effects and transformative opportunities of repatriation (Return, Reconcile, Renew 2013).

The most significant meeting between German researchers and their Australian counterparts to date has been that held at the National Museum of Australia in February 2017, with assistance from the museum and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation). Three days of presentations and working sessions were chaired by Andreas Winkelmann and Michael Pickering, the head of the National Museum's research section and for many years previously the director of its repatriation unit. Indigenous Elders, researchers and museum professionals involved in the Charité and the Return, Reconcile, Renew project explored a range of issues arising out of the presence of colonial collections of human remains and sacred artefacts in western museum collections.

This Australian–German collaboration has yet to explore many aspects of colonial collecting and its legacies. But a research agenda has begun to cohere, with a prime goal being the development of more cross-culturally informed approaches to research on the provenance of remains. Guidelines assisting German and other European museums in dealing with colonial collections of human remains, and also cultural property of great religious or cultural significance, need to take account of the obligations that ancestors place upon the individual, families and wider communities of Australian and other indigenous peoples. In the Australian context, for example, it has become commonplace for non-Indigenous researchers to acknowledge that, for claimant communities, remains acquired by museums are *Old People*, in recognition that within the culture of these communities there is no finality in death. Rather, it is one phase in a continuum of being in which spirits pass from an ancestral realm of creation into life before eventually returning to the realm of spirit. Often the spirits of the dead are credited with supernatural powers which they have the ability to use to benefit or harm their descendants. Hence why the first step in the process of returning bodily remains to Indigenous Australian communities is the performance of ceremonies by Senior Elders with the authority to assure the spirits of the Old People that they are soon to be returned to the care of ancestral country (Poignant 1992).

The *Deutscher Museumsbund Recommendations* reflect the German museum community's recognition that many peoples beyond modern day Europe have different beliefs and practices in respect of the dead, and thus in deciding the future of these remains there is no escaping that 'questions of ethics and human dignity are omnipresent' (Ahrndt et al. 2013). These sentiments also inform the *Museumsbund* working group's recommending that member institutions refer to remains held in collections as *menschliche Überreste*, or human remains—thus underscoring that what is at issue is resolving the fate of deceased human beings. And in these respects, their *Recommendations* productively draw on the experiences of museum professionals in post-colonial nations and other ex-colonial powers in dealing with claims for the return of remains for burial. Moreover, a further noteworthy feature of the *Museumbund's Recommendations* is that they endorse a broad interdisciplinary approach to resolving the fate of remains in museums, bringing together the various branches of science and the humanities concerned such as ethnology, medicine, history, politics, law, ethics, physical anthropology and archaeology, which alone are not able to provide satisfactory answers.

On this latter point, participants in the Return, Reconcile, Renew project have drawn attention to the fact that the Australian Government's International Repatriation Program has primarily relied on investigations of remains by consultant biological anthropologists, who have sought to confirm by biometrical techniques the high probability that crania and skeletal remains are of Indigenous Australian ancestry (Fforde et al. 2015). Often times they have also found significant information surviving in museum and related scientific archives; but further investigation of this information has, until very recently, not been undertaken by researchers with substantial knowledge of the historical context in which museums acquired items. And when in-depth historical research has been

undertaken, evidence of crucial value to claimant communities has been discovered. (Turnbull and Ffforde 2013). Moreover, social anthropologists and historians who since the 1980s have worked with peoples seeking the return of their ancestors for burial have provided important insights into localised beliefs and practices in respect of death and burial that have greatly helped museums in assessing whether remains should be returned (Pickering and Gordon 2011).

Even so, while the Museumbund's *Recommendations* stress the importance of interdisciplinary approaches to provenance research, they curiously take no account of the fact that in Australia, New Zealand, North America and South Africa, research on colonial era collections now routinely occurs in consultation with Indigenous Elders and knowledge custodians under protocols that formally recognise the rights of Indigenous people to determine the aims and outcomes of research on their cultural heritage and intellectual property. It thus seems puzzling that while acknowledging the ethical necessity of recognising culturally inscribed beliefs and practices in respect of the dead, the *Recommendations* do not reflect on the successes of museums in Australia and other settler societies in dealing with human remains and other difficult legacies of colonial era collecting by proactive consultation with relevant Indigenous communities. Indeed, the Australian experience of repatriation provides numerous illustrations of museums having initiated dialogue with claimant communities that has had mutually beneficial outcomes beyond resolving the fate of remains and sacred objects. In a growing number of instances, the return of the dead has marked the beginning of new relations with claimant communities that have inspired innovative collaborative projects that have enriched knowledge and public understanding of the attributes and meanings of artefacts, artworks and other cultural property that communities are happy to see continue to be in the care of museums.

Besides the benefits that German museums stand to gain by initiating dialogue with Indigenous communities there is the matter of the latter's rights to care for the dead. The *Museumsbund's Recommendations* acknowledge that Germany is a signatory to the United Nation's 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, which under article 12 commits signatories to recognise Indigenous peoples' rights

> …to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains (Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007).

The *Recommendations* stress that while no legally binding rights of return cannot be inferred from the Declaration, there is clearly a need to formulate ethical considerations in relation to the handling of human remains in museums and collections which go beyond existing legal provisions. However, as Michael Pickering of the National Museum of Australia has observed, the terms in which the *Recommendations* define the eligibility of claimants for the repatriation of remains reflect the fact that western legal traditions in respect of bodily remains continue to

privilege the concept of biological descent, a criterion that in the Australian context has long been recognised as incommensurate with Indigenous understanding of the nature and relations of being (Pickering 2017). Anthropologically, the *Recommendations* also appear unreflectively grounded in western notions of time and ways of knowing the past. It is as if indigenous perceptions of past colonial injustices such as the plundering of traditional burial places are seen as less significant due to the passing of time having supposedly weakened ancestral affiliations with the dead. But this overlooks the fact that in most if not all Indigenous societies the presence and agency of ancestors is unaffected by the passing of time. They are not thought to be victims of injustice whom time has rendered figurations of collective memory or history. Indeed, misunderstanding and conflict has occurred between museum personnel and Indigenous claimants of remains when the former have assumed that genealogical affiliation with the dead—whom they construe as having no real presence or agency—should be the criterion by which the fate of remains is decided.

A further aspect of the *Recommendations* that sits oddly with the work of German and Australian scholars with expert knowledge of the history of colonial collecting is its speaking of Indigenous peoples' demands for the return of remains as if it were a new phenomenon. One suspects that this was not the intention of the working party, but as they stand the *Recommendations* run the risk of inadvertently being interpreted as taking seriously the claims of those critics of repatriation who since the late 1970s have argued that demands for the return of the dead for burial have been the confection of a handful of activists in radical Indigenous organisations wanting to arouse emotive support for their demands for land rights within the nation states wherein they have been absorbed (Jenkins 2016; 2011). In other words, repatriation has been more reflective of the politics of decolonisation than abiding connections between contemporary indigeneity and ancestral spiritual beliefs.

Here there is space only to make the obvious point that cultures are dynamic: they evolve through the play of historically specific material and discursive contingencies, accidents and conjunctures in obvious and in subtle ways. Hence it would be surprising if the efforts of Indigenous people to secure the burial of their ancestral dead did not reflect syntheses of traditions and aspirations reflective of their embracing many aspects of modernity. Critics who have dismissed repatriation as a politically opportunistic stratagem fail to see its syncretic fusion of knowledge and traditions of belief originating in precolonial times with modern ways in the context of now seeking to overcome the material and psychic effects of colonialism. And in the Australian context, these legacies include family and community histories confirming that the desecration of burial places has long been remembered (Turnbull 2002). Moreover, western archives illustrative of museums' involvement in the collecting of indigenous human remains contain substantial evidence, which in some instances dates as far back as the late eighteenth century, revealing that Indigenous peoples sought forcefully to protect burial places and prevent the taking of remains for scientific or other ends (Turnbull 2002; FAIRA 1989; Atkinson 2010).

Granted, the Museumsbund *Recommendations* acknowledge that colonial collecting often occurred in 'contexts of injustice'. But it would seem that the passing of time is imagined to have eroded meaningful connections with those who remains were acquired by museums. And here, the Australian context is instructive: the processes entailed in legally recognising ongoing customary affinity with land since the early 1990s have seen communities reconstruct their histories with the aid of government archives, ethnographic and anthropological records western archives and scholarship; and these community histories in a number of instances recall the plundering of the ancestral dead in anguished terms similar to those expressed when speaking of the forced removal of children from their families and culture (Hemming and Wilson 2010; Atkinson 2010).

In this chapter, I have drawn attention to the emerging collaboration of German and Australian researchers and museum professionals on addressing the challenges presented by colonial collection of human remains. To date, participants in this venture have focused largely on issues raised by the release of guidelines for the care of remains by Germany's *Museumbund*. However, this has had the effect of highlighting the needs of both countries to pursue a research agenda beyond addressing the practical and ethical challenges posed by the presence of non-European human remains in museums and collections. As Michael Pickering has rightly observed, it seems likely that the return of human remains and sacred objects we are currently witnessing will see future demands for the return of different kinds of objects, which are similarly believed by the descendants of those who made them to have attributes and qualities bestowing on them the right to determine the terms on which they might continue to be possessed by museums (Pickering 2016). This in turn will raise questions about the adequacy of western legal systems in respect of cultural property held by museums, the extent of our knowledge of the colonial contexts in which objects were acquired, and their past uses by museums in the racialized objectification of peoples beyond Europe. Clearly there is much work ahead, which German and Australian museum professionals and researchers aim to contribute to.

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A *Chain of Ponds*: On *German* and *Australian* Artistic Interactions

Rex Butler and A.D.S. Donaldson

Abstract This essay traces the long artistic history that has existed between Germany and Australia, at least since the middle of the last century. We begin with the *Kunstakademie* Düsseldorf-educated Eugene von Guerard, who was the first head of an Australian art school and the first director of an Australian art gallery, and end with the Sydney artists Janet Burchill and Jennifer McCamley's *Freiland* (1992–3), a work about the refugee Turkish population in Berlin after the fall of the Wall. What we seek to show here is that a globalised world art has always existed, and that any Australian provincialism was only the correlative of an art history conceived in terms of nation. There never really was—or was only—an Australian art. Indeed, the very idea of an Australian art was only ever possible because of Australia's relationship to cultures like Germany's.

Australian art history has often been written as a series of exclusions. Various limits are set out as to what counts as Australian art. The assumption is that by means of these temporal or geographical restrictions we get closer to what constitutes the art of the nation, some quality that is different from that of all other cultures and countries. It is something that is seen in undoubtedly the greatest art historian Australia has produced, Bernard Smith, who in his *Antipodean Manifesto* of 1959 seeks to defend Australian art against what he calls the "luxurious pageantry" of non-figuration, or put another way the Australian "image" must be protected against the incursions of an international "abstraction" (Smith 1976, p. 165). And this gesture is followed by virtually all those who write on Australian art. Almost immediately after Smith's *Australian Painting* (1962), the young critic Robert Hughes wrote his *The Art of Australia*, in which he excludes, for instance, the pioneering linocut artist Horace Brodzky, who, "though Australian, lived in England since Edwardian times and never exhibited in Australia" (Hughes 1966,

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p. 24). Three decades after Hughes, the more conservative Christopher Allen frankly acknowledges in his *Art in Australia* that his book concerns "art made by Europeans in Australia" (Allen 1997, p. 8). But even those who seek to write another history of Australian art, like curator Andrew Sayers who wants to include Aboriginal art, often perpetuate a similar exclusion. As he writes in his *Australian Art*: "In order to create a new shape for the history of Australian art, I have confined the book to works created in Australia" (Sayers 2001, pp. 5–6).

Of course, all art histories have to make exclusions, to draw limits. Some things count and some do not as their proper subject. But in a certain "UnAustralian" art that we have been working on together for a number of years, we seek to open the aperture more widely. We do not attempt to determine—always the either explicit or implicit intention of those other histories—some truth or essence of Australian art. Rather, we more broadly wish to trace or record artistic activity both in Australia and by Australian artists overseas. And by artistic activity we mean *all* artistic activity and not just that in some identifiable "Australian" style—thus artists arriving from overseas and continuing to work in the manners they bring with them count. And by "Australian" artists we again mean not merely those artists working in an Australian style but all artists who were born and studied here—in this case, we do not count all artists, but only those whose practice was meaningfully shaped by their time in Australia. It is not perhaps all artistic activity or all artists who have ever been in the country—Australian art *is* something—but it *is* to include a much wider range of artistic activity and artists than in the existing accounts.

This "expanded" history produces a very different image of Australian art. Instead of somehow isolating Australian art from the world in continuing to see it as a "European" art distant from its origins or importing its sources from elsewhere, it is able to demonstrate that Australian art is part of the world. Artists of all nations have worked here both before and after the nation's founding. Australian artists—contradicting any provincialism—have pursued their practice across the globe. That central canon of "Australian" artists who have underwritten the nationalist account can be seen to be merely a few amongst many, themselves often situated within much a wider context. Of course, this can appear to be much more the art history of our contemporary globalised world in which cultures and even nations are no longer separate. But precisely one of the things this "UnAustralian" history shows us—this is the meaning of our historical research finding overlooked artists, exploring new archives, putting together sequences of artists using technologies of cross-referencing—is that Australian art has always been like this. That is, one of the things revealed by our history is that Australian art—as, indeed, virtually all of the arts of the world—has always been connected to other cultures, always been international in its relations. That cosmopolitanism that we take to be distinctively ours today has always been the case. Which is also to say that not only do Australian artists personally experience immigration and emigration, but they also know that these have already existed. Australian artists—if not their historians—have always been aware of the existence of these exchanges, these connections, the fact of the wide field in which artists always work, against any attempt to limit Australian art to that made *here* by "Australians".

Again, however, we emphasise that this widening of the definition of what counts as Australian art is not simply to do away with the category of Australian art. For us—as against the proponents of a generalised World Art, or this at least would be the *history* of a world art as opposed to its *theory*—art always starts somewhere. It belongs to a place that is always connected to other places—as we insist, Australia has never been isolated, has never been different. The art of other places has always been in Australia and Australian art has always been in other places. And this even happens—again, against both the binarism of provincialism and its reversal in post-colonialism—in the relations between Australia and other, "major" cultures. Thus it is that we would write a history of Australian art in relation not only to Britain, France and America, but also New Zealand, Asia, the Pacific and South America. Here we wish to write a short history of Australian art in relation to Germany, but also to an extent of German art in relation to Australia. It will be surprising to most just how much interaction there has been between the cultures over the two centuries since Australia's colonisation, just how "German" Australian culture is and (perhaps to a slightly lesser degree) just how "Australian" German culture is. This history has largely been overlooked because of the pervasive Britishness of Australian culture, the sense that Australian culture is defined almost entirely in terms of its relationship to Britain—a tradition continued by the recent misbegotten *Australia* show at the Royal Academy in London, which constructed Australia as a landscape antipodes defined by its distance from home—but more generally perhaps by nationalist histories altogether throughout the twentieth century, which have occurred just as much in Germany as Australia. This is perceived as changing towards the end of the twentieth century, but our real point is that another, parallel history has existed throughout the period, in which the two countries are connected, and that this is the real history of our *present*.

Indeed, to begin the narration of the facts of our history, it is perhaps even the case that the very idea of an Australian art, or at least the institutional origins of Australian art are German. It was, after all, the Viennese-born, *Kunstakademie* Düsseldorf-trained Eugene von Guerard who was the head of our first art school and the director of our first State Gallery. He arrived in Australia in 1852, aged 42, panning and painting on the goldfields at Ballarat and then travelling and painting throughout Victoria for some eighteen years, before being appointed Curator of the National Gallery of Victoria and Master of its associated art school in 1870. That year he became both a charter member of the Victorian Academy of the Arts and was awarded the Cross of the Order of Franz Josef by the Emperor of Austria. In fact, throughout his career von Guerard was able to send work back to exhibitions held in Europe. For example, he sent work to the Royal Academy in 1865, the Exposition Universelle de Paris in 1867 and 1878 and the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876 (Bruce 1980). In that year too, von Guerard travelled to New Zealand, where he completed his preparatory sketches for that country's first national painting, his *Milford Sound* of 1877. (There is a New Zealand-German or better Australasian-German art as well.) In 1881, von Guerard resigned from both of his positions in Melbourne, and in 1882 returned to Düsseldorf and then in 1891 moved to London, from where he travelled to St Ives and the Lake District to paint,

as a later generation of Australian artists was also to do. After losing all of his money in the financial crash of 1897, von Guerard spent his last years in poverty, and was buried next to his wife in 1901 in Brompton Cemetery in Chelsea, where his grave can still be visited today (Fig. 1).

Von Guerard, however, was not the first German artist in Melbourne. A fuller account would begin in the mid-nineteenth century, with the *Städelschule* Frankfurt-trained artist Ludwig Becker, who worked on Burke and Wills' ill-fated 1860 expedition into the interior, the first German that we know of to die in the desert. It would include John Lindt, the Frankfurt-born painter and photographer, who arrived in Brisbane in 1862, aged seventeen, and who eighteen years later would publish his world-renowned *Album of Australian Aborigines* (1880), as well as the Vienna-born Carl Pinschof, who came to Melbourne in 1880 with the Austrian contribution to the International Exhibition of that year and became a much-loved patron of the Heidelberg School painters, and who in 1898 bought the expatriate sculptor Bertram Mackennal's *Circe* (1902), now in the National Gallery of Victoria. The Pinschof House, Studley Hall in Kew, was a well-known turn-of-the-century Salon, its influence ending, of course, only with the outbreak of World War I. The editor of The Age, Gottlieb Frederick Schuler, however, kept his name throughout the war, defying local hostility towards all things German. And perhaps if we are thinking here of philanthropy, we might mention the cosmetics tycoon Helena Rubinstein. Born in 1870 in Cracow, today Polish but then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, she came to Australia in 1894, aged twenty four, opening the first of her many beauty salons in Collins Street, Melbourne, in 1902. She soon opened another in Sydney, then more in London, Paris and around America. After Armistice, she established her long-term residence in Paris, where she kept her growing collection of jewellery, African art and interesting people

Fig. 1 Eugene von Guerard, North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko (1863). Image courtesy National Gallery of Australia, Canberra

(Brandon 2011). She was painted by Dalí as well as William Dobell, and never forgot her foundational Australian years, establishing her Helena Rubinstein Travelling Art Scheme for Australian artists in 1957 as well as a Prize for portraiture.

However, to return to fin-de-siècle Melbourne, we might also recall that prodigy, composer, pianist and follower of Masoch Percy Grainger, who in 1895 aged thirteen moved from Melbourne to Frankfurt, where he studied for five years, before beginning his celebrated concert career. And his German musical links remind us that the great Australian soprano Nellie Melba was introduced to Mathilda Marchesi (who as her vocal teacher was crucial to Melba's success) by Elise Wiedermann, the wife of Pinschof, and herself a former opera singer (later Joan Sutherland's mother, Sutherland's only teacher, was taught by a pupil of Marchesi). Indeed, Melbourne was a little Germany at the end of the last century. We might think here, for instance, of von Guerard's successor at the Gallery School, the Irish-born George Folingsby, who lived in Munich for some twenty five years before coming out, training under Karl von Piloty. From the Kunstakademie there, he had learnt the Munich 'method': the technique of working from a bituminous base. And it is from Folingsby and his successor at the Gallery School, Bernard Hall, who likewise trained at Munich, that we get the so-called browning of Melbourne art at the end of the last century (Zubans 1972).

By 1901, Australia had come to be as the amalgamation of its various states, all of which had significantly different histories and ethnic immigrant populations. South Australia, the only free colony, was also the most German, as it still is today. It was the first state to give women the vote, and the home state of both Hans Heysen and Albert Namatjira. Heysen's house, The Cedars, at Hahndorf and Namatjira's *Hermannsburg Gorge* (1945) are both equally indigenous and a product of the German presence in Australia. The bibles in Namatjira's Hermannsburg, there because of the Lutheran missionaries, were of course in German, so that for many Central Desert Aborigines German, not English, was the first non-Indigenous language they spoke (Austin-Broos 2009). And we know that Namatjira's first name, Albert, is ultimately German and not any homage to the British monarch. Indeed, to go back to the charged—almost mythological—question of when Namatjira began to paint in a Western-style, notionally the 'first' Aborigine to do so, it has been revealed recently that it was not the result of a chance encounter with Rex Battarbee, a wandering WWI veteran who continued to work in a post-Heidelberg manner. Before meeting him, Namatjira was already doing pokerwork boomerangs for the tourist trade, and the meeting between Namatjira and Battarbee was the result of Battarbee being invited to Hermannsburg by the newly appointed Pastor Albrecht in 1934 to assist the Aborigines on the mission make art (McLean 2009, pp. 72–95). Albrecht encouraged Battarbee to send Namatjira some painting materials, and in 1935 Namatjira produced his first watercolour. Later that year, Albrecht took some of Namatjira's works to the Lutheran synodical conference at Nurioopta, where six were sold, and the following year Battarbee included a number in his own exhibition in Adelaide, where they came to the attention of Heysen, who remarked upon their freshness (Wilkins 2017). The great 'Australian'

story of Namatjira, and the idea of Australian art somehow arising out of the fusion of European and Indigenous art, had begun.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the German influence upon Australian art continued. Artists continued to train in Germany: the Adelaide-born artists Bessie Davidson and Margaret Preston, for example, both studied in Munich, Davidson at the *Kunstlerinnen-Verein* München in 1904 and Preston at the School for Illustrators the same year. And a steady stream of German-born or German-language artists continued to come to Australia. The first we might mention is the Berlin- and Düsseldorf-trained sculptor and painter Gustav Pillig, who arrived in Australia aged thirty six in 1913. Like von Guerard, back in Düsseldorf he had been a member of the artists' association *Malkasten*, or *Painter's Box*, and he had already completed numerous public sculptures around the Ruhr prior to coming to Melbourne. In Australia, Pillig worked first in Sydney, where he held an exhibition of his terracotta figures in 1919, followed this up with another exhibition in Brisbane in 1921, and in 1923 contributed sculpture to Sydney's Society of Artists exhibitions. He then completed a series of figurative panels for the Hoyts theatre in Melbourne, which were restored and reopened to the public in 1996. In 1931 his etching influenced by the German philosopher Oswald Spengler, *End of Civilization,* was described by the old Impressionist-turned-critic Arthur Streeton in the *Argus* newspaper as "one of the most original shown in Melbourne in many years" (Streeton 1931, p. 12). But it was in 1932 in the middle of the Depression— and again influenced by Spengler's pessimistic *Decline of the West*—that Pillig presented his most ambitious work at the Pan Salon in Little Collins Street, Melbourne. Part painting, part sculpture, part shrine, *Symphony of Life* was an eighteen by ten foot diorama consisting of some 350 small modelled figurines set out across a foreground as if on a bridge, mounted against a painted backdrop, which featured nearly 1000 figures, the left side dominated by the fallen figure of Civilization and the right by the newly risen figure of Christ. Despite a positive review again by Streeton (1932, p. 5), *Symphony* was received with indifference and Pillig eventually destroyed the work in 1940. In 1932 Pillig, who later painted a half-length portrait of Hitler and included it in an exhibition in 1933, considered returning to Germany, and wrote to Spengler, with whom he was in correspondence. In a letter to *The Argus*, he quoted Spengler's reply. "As far as your wish to come back to Germany is concerned, I must warn you most urgently. I know personally several artists with famous names who at present have not got their daily bread" (Pillig 1932, p. 6). Pillig never did see Germany again, and died in Melbourne a forgotten figure in 1956.

But Spengler was not the only German thinker to have a major influence on Australian culture at this time. It has until recently been little understood just how influential the work of the Moscow-born but Bavarian-resident Vassily Kandinsky's spiritualism was on early 20th-century Australian art, even before he went to work at the Bauhaus. Just a year after its publication—again confounding the commonly held view of Australia's cultural isolation—reviews of the English translation of Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in den Kunst*, or *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, were published in the Australian press (Argus 1914, p. 4; Argus

1915, p. 4). In fact, we would suggest that the inventor A.B. Hector's Colour Light Organs, which were demonstrated at Palings in Sydney in 1912, were indebted more to Goethe's experiential eye-including light and Kandinsky's contemporaneous *Das Gelbe Klang*, or *The Yellow Sound* (1909–12), than to Newton's mathematical, eye-excluding light. And Hector's 'synaesthesic' putting together of colour and light helped inspire the landmark *Colour in Art* show by Roland Wakelin and Roy de Maistre in Sydney in 1919, often said (incorrectly) to feature the first abstract works made in this country. And, this is followed by the Frankfurt-educated artist and educator Eleanore Lange's sculpture *Seraph of Light* (1932). Lange in her role as art lecturer at the Teacher's Federation in Sydney in the 1940s introduced colour theories to an interested audience, in a world-art cosmopolitanism that was contested by Bernard Smith, who was Lange's co-lecturer. And others informed by Kandinsky at the time included the painters Frank Hinder (see his *Tribute to Kandinsky*, 1938) and Ralph Balson (the overlapping circles of his *Constructive Painting*, c. 1940, bear a striking affinity, for instance, to those of Kandinsky's *Dominant Curve*, 1936).

Kandinsky, however, was not the only Bauhaus figure to influence Australian artists. The Swiss-born Paul Klee, who taught there in 1924, had a considerable impact on Australian art. The Sydney interwar painter and Abstraction-Création mainstay J.W. Power translated Leopold Zahn's book *Paul Klee* (1920), and Klee's work certainly helped shape that of the first generation of Sydney's abstract painters (Grace Crowley, Balson, Hinder and his wife Margel). And, of course, the Bauhaus in general had an enormous impact on Australian architecture and design. No Australian studied there, but a new Australia emerged from there. When the infamous refugee ship the *HMT Dunera* eventually landed in Melbourne after its nightmare journey from London in 1940, it included the *Bauhausler* Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack. Hirschfeld-Mack, who had won an Iron Cross during WWI while being a life-long Quaker, had been a radical and inventive artist following study and teaching at the Bauhaus (1922–26), but was entirely unknown upon his arrival here (Hapkemeyer 2000). And although he exhibited at the Contemporary Art Society in 1947 and held his own one-person show at the Rowden White Library at the University of Melbourne the following year, his most significant legacy is in the field of art education, where as a teacher he transformed art pedagogy in Victoria. Less directly perhaps, the influence of the Bauhaus can be seen in Adelaidean Dorrit Black's founding of the Modern Art Centre in Sydney in 1931 and Cynthia Reed's Modern Furnishings in Melbourne in 1932, initiatives that sought to combine the making of commercial art and the exhibition of fine and applied art. Later, modern domestic and commercial architecture here was kick-started by the Vienna-born Harry Seidler, who had studied under Walter Gropius at the Harvard Graduate School of Design and then worked in the office of Marcel Breuer. It is notable, however, that when Gropius visited Australia in 1952, the one person he went out of his way to meet up with again was Hirschfeld-Mack, to whom he offered a job teaching in America.

But Hirschfeld-Mack was not the only one on board the *Dunera* who was to make a contribution to the visual arts. The ship of mostly Jewish-German and

Jewish-Austrian Enemy Aliens was full of artists, musicians, scientists and intellectuals. Eventually interned at Tatura in northern Victoria, the predominantly male community, the so-called Dunera Boys, created an alternative society, characterised by the cosmopolitanism of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and sustained by an improvised practice of mutual exchange. A university of sorts was set up in the camp, and the many accomplished musicians established an orchestra, frequently playing the great German repertoire as an implicit rebuke against its appropriation by the Nazis. Indeed, from late 1941 on, it became possible to return to England or migrate elsewhere, but many of those detained decided to stay in Australia. As well as Hirschfeld-Mack, who was already an artist when he arrived, there were a number of younger-generation detainees who actually acquired their first artistic skills in the camp. There was Klaus Friedeberger, who was born in Berlin in 1922 and first exhibited with the Contemporary Art Society in 1944. There was Erwin Fabian, who was born in Berlin in 1915 and whose father Max—again testifying to the long-standing connections between Australia and Germany—had featured in Penleigh Boyd's *Exhibition of European Art*, held in Sydney and Melbourne in 1923. Finally, there was Peter Kaiser, who had studied at the Berlin Academy from 1936 to 1938, and who when he left the camp lived and exhibited in Sydney with the Merioola Group until 1950, when he left for Paris.

But we cannot refrain from mentioning here Hein Heckroth, who, after being freed from camp following pressure from Herbert Read and returning to London, won an Oscar for the set he designed for Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger's film *Red Shoes* in 1948. Heckroth's extraordinary fantasy *Australia* (1941)—a marked contrast to Hirschfeld-Mack's *Desolation, Internment Camp, Orange* (1941)—was painted while he was in detention having never seen the country and *Pandora* (1942) in turn is a dream-like imagining of his release from captivity. And two more stories from detention must be told. The first is that of Tina Wentcher and her husband Julius. Both Jewish, they were lucky enough in 1930 to win a raffle at Berlin's Press Ball, whose prize was a tour to the Far East. And throughout the 1930s they lived all over Asia, exhibited in China, Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia, and both even participated in the 1934 Berlin exhibition *Art of the Dutch East Indies* (Scarlett 1987). In 1940 under threat of Japanese invasion, the couple left Malaysia and came to Australia, where they too were interned in Tatura. Released in 1942, the Wentchers resumed their artistic lives, holding solo shows as well as participating in exhibitions by the CAS, the Victorian Artists' Society and the Melbourne Society of Women Painters and Sculptors (Teitcher 1987). A sculptor, Tina had corresponded with the great German Expressionist Kathe Kollwitz following her departure from Germany, and remarkably in 1971 her friend the Australian artist Ailsa O'Connor found in the vaults of the East German National Gallery in Berlin the hitherto lost bust of Kollwitz she had done in 1927.

As we have just seen with the Wentchers, the German-Australia connection did not just happen in Australia. In fact, it did not just happen in Australasia. It also happened in New Guinea, where Australia once shared an actual border with Germany. The German-Danish Expressionist Emil Nolde was the official artist on the Külz-Leber medical expedition sent in 1913 to German New Guinea. It was in response to the

region's "primitivism" that Nolde is said to have changed his style completely, no longer making watercolours with a "decorative modernity", but instead employing a "remarkable sobriety" (Jumeau-Lafond 2008). An example of the work he produced during his time in the Pacific is *Head of a South Sea Islander* (1913–14). This is probably one of the works that was impounded by the British when the German ship on which Nolde was returning home at the end of his trip attempted to pass through the Suez Canal after war had been declared. At the end of the war, Nolde managed to track down his confiscated watercolors to a loft in Plymouth, England, from where he rescued them. Nolde was ultimately a contradictory figure: a Nazi sympathiser and avowed anti-Semite, he was nevertheless forbidden to paint by the Nazis and his work included in the notorious *Entartete Kunst*, or *Degenerate Art,* exhibition of 1937. The cover of the catalogue for this show featured the Easter Island-like sculpture *Der neue Mensch—The New Man* of 1912 by the German-Jewish artist Otto Freundlich, who was a friend of J.W. Power in Paris. In 1936 in the Netherlands, both artists contributed work to the signal exhibition of Dutch resistance to Nazism *De Olympiade Onder Dictatuur* (D.O.O.D.). Timed to coincide with the Olympic games on in Berlin, in Dutch the acronym spells 'death'.

If what we have been tracing so far is the productive exchanges between Australia and Germany, the history of a type of cosmopolitanism whose philosophical justification might itself be German, it is also important to acknowledge the other side of this. At times the two countries' relationship has undoubtedly been characterised by conflict and antagonism, and their cultures divided by mutually excluding nationalisms and chauvinisms. Here too, ironically, it would be German ideologies that would be used as justification for Australia's isolation and separateness from the world. But these contradictory impulses can be seen not just in each country, but also in one Australian family, the Lindsays. On the one hand, the family included the man who was perhaps Australia's most celebrated and productive émigré art historian (with apologies to Robert Hughes), Jack Lindsay. From 1926 until his death in 1990, he lived in England. His Communism was shared by many intellectuals of the period, but he was nevertheless deeply influenced by Nietzsche, about whom he wrote a little-known and under-rated book, *Dionysius: Nietzsche contra Nietzsche*, in 1928. He also wrote books on Turner, Cézanne and Blake. His father and uncle, however, were entirely different. There is his father Norman, who during WWI became an ultra-nationalist, and created many menacing anti-German works, none more "Australian" than his recruiting poster, *The Arm of the Kaiser Reaches around the World* (1918). And then there is Norman's brother, Lionel, the one-time Director of the National Gallery of Victoria (1941–56), who was a virulent anti-semite and author of the notorious *Added Art* (1942), in which he railed against the so-called Jewish conspiracy and its threat to Australian art in the form of modernism (there is a whiff of this in Smith's equally nationalistic 'Antipodean Manifesto'):

> I have often watched the [Jewish] dealer snaring a gull, and listened to their blandishments. An air of profound conviction surrounds their utterances; never for a moment do they relax an eyelid, as they flatter the taste of snobs and give them to imagine that they are the happy few capable of rising to the heights of modern art (Lindsay 1946, p. 12).

There were others in the Australian art world who similarly decried what they saw as the "Jewish" modern art conspiracy: the painter Hilda Rix Nicholas, who worked in a mild post-Impressionism; and, in a sinister complement to Lindsay at the NGV, J.S. McDonald, the Director of the Art Gallery of New South Wales. But there was no more committed Nazi-Australian artist than the attractive subject of Violet Teague's *Boy with a Palette* (1911). The portrait depicts the artistically precocious son of Edward Scharf, the German-born musician, and Olive de Hugard, the Bendigo-born pianist. (The couple mixed in the same circles as the Pinschofs.) E. Phillips Fox hailed the young Theo Scharf as a prodigy when he held an exhibition at the Athenaeum Gallery in Melbourne as a 15-year old in 1914. However, on the eve of the War, he and his mother, with not a word of German between them, decided to go to Munich. Following the war, he trained in that city, and Nellie Melba acquired a number of his prints. In the 1920s, he made his reputation there with his Expressionist etchings of street life, and in particular with his well-regarded series *Night in the City* (1923). He taught drawing at the State School of Applied Art (later the Academy of Applied Art) from 1935, rising to the position of Professor, and it was he who perhaps welcomed such School of Paris artists as André Derain, Maurice de Vlaminck and Kees van Dongen who had accepted Goebbel's invitation to tour Germany in 1941. During WWII, he took a position as an official war artist, establishing what he called his "career as *Kriegsmaler*" in the unit *Staffel der Bildenden Künstler*, part of the *Propagandakompanie* that was run from Berlin. In Scharf's own account, written after the War, he ended by pointing out that, after being discharged from the Wehrmacht, "I have never been discharged from the Staffel der Bildenden Künstler" (Scharf 1983, p. 148). In 1950 Scharf returned to Melbourne, where he was unknowingly received as a prominent Professor by the Australian press, who were unaware of his Nazi past. In 1956 he returned once again to Munich, where he lived undisturbed until his death in 1987.

To go back to the point we began by making, however, it is true that we cannot entirely separate Australia from Germany, not only in terms of the endless artistic exchanges between them, but perhaps more importantly in terms of the institutions and even the *idea* of Australian art. And, to conclude here, we give one more example each of the role Germany plays in our art, our art institutions and in our thinking of Australian art. To begin with our art institutions, if von Guerard was our first professional art teacher and first museum director, it was two wartime arrivals who were our first art historian and our first curator of art. The Vienna-born Franz Philipp studied art history at the Vienna School from 1933 and began his doctoral thesis in 1937 under Julius von Schlosser. In 1938, however, he was expelled in the middle of his study on Mannerist portraiture and was arrested days after *Kristallnacht* and then interned at Dachau, until his mother organised his release. He was in London by 1938, and from there at the last moment he was squeezed onto the *Dunera*. In 1947, he was appointed the first tutor in Italian Renaissance at the University of Melbourne, and in 1950 became a full-time lecturer. His

contemporary Ursula Hoff was born to German parents in London and moved to Hamburg as a baby. Her university studies were spread between Munich, Cologne and Hamburg, where she studied with Fritz Saxl, Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky, before coming to Australia on the eve of war in 1939. In 1943, she was appointed as Assistant Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the NGV, the first woman to work there and the first qualified art historian altogether to work in a State Gallery (Palmer 2008).

In terms of art, let us go beyond individual artists or even a number of them and consider a whole medium. For a long time, the history of Australian photography was understood to be effectively English, with such photographers as Olive Cotton and Harold Cazneaux following the broad lines of what is known as English Pictorialism. However, in recent years—and let it not be suggested that we are the first to think the influence of other cultures upon "Australianness"—scholars of photography here have pointed to the wide range of influences acting upon the photographers who were understood to be the most Australian. More particularly, a series of German photographers who arrived by 1940—Margaret Michaelis, Wolfgang Sievers, Henry Talbot and Helmut Newton—are all conceived to challenge "the firmly held view that Australian photography between the wars was anglocentric" (Deane 2000, p. 2). Their brand of so-called New Objectivity, which had emerged in the 1920s from the Soviet Union, simultaneously with the Bauhaus' own experiments in the medium, featured close-ups, low angled perspectives, sharp focus and striking diagonals, all in contrast with the fuzziness, all-overness, even lighting and front-on address of Pictorialism. Indeed, the German influence on Australian photography arises not merely because of the presence here of the several photographers we are about to speak of, but also because of such photography magazines as *Das Deutsche Lichtbild*, which was on the bookshelves of such icons of the national as Max Dupain and Axel Poignant. The first and in some ways most significant of this generation of German immigrant photographers was Wolfgang Sievers, whose father was the art and architectural historian Johannes Sievers and who originally trained at the at the colourful architect and designer Fritz Breuhaus' private Berlin art school Contempora Lehrateliers für neue Werkkunst from 1936 to 1938 (Ennis 1997). With the school, where he was now teaching, rumoured to be closing Sievers decided to emigrate to Australia, where he arrived in 1939 and almost immediately set up a studio in Melbourne. After then serving in the Australian Army until 1946, Sievers in the following decades established himself as a distinguished depictor of contemporary architecture and the working conditions of the rapidly industrialising post-War Australia, producing such images as *Frederick Romberg Designed Flats, Melbourne* (1951) and *Gears for Mining at Vicker Ruwolt* (1967).

The Austrian-born Margaret Michaelis for her part studied photography at the Graphische Lehr-und Versuchsanstalt in Vienna from 1918 to 1921, where she also worked for various photographic studios, including the famed Studio d'Ora, before settling in Berlin in 1929, where again she was employed in various studios. In 1933 she married the archeological restorer and anarcho-syndicalist Rudolf Michaelis, and in separate incidents that year both were arrested. On release, they

fled to Barcelona before separating, but Michaelis remained sympathetic to the cause of Catalan independence, and in 1936 for instance she photographed the anarchist Emma Goldman, who was in Spain to support the Republic. But the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War forced her first back to Austria, then to England, then finally to Australia, where she arrived in 1939. She opened a photo-studio in Castlereagh St, Sydney, where she specialised in portraits, with her clients frequently being Jewish or recent immigrants or both, and later specialised in images of dance—those of the Bodenweiser Ballet are amongst her best known—and helped run and contributed to a number of photographic societies in Australia. Finally, there is Henry Talbot, born Henry Tichaeur, who originally trained in graphic design at the Reimann School in Berlin and was another of the remarkable Dunera Boys. After being released from internment, he joined the Australian Army, in whose ranks he served for four years and where he established a close friendship with the later to be internationally famous fashion photographer Helmut Newton, who also served in the Army. In 1950 he visited his parents, who were then in Bolivia, and upon his return he began working as a photographer, and in 1956 opened a studio with Newton specialising in fashion, and when Newton left for Europe in 1961, Talbot took over the business, running Helmut Newton and Henry Talbot Pty Ltd until 1976. From 1973 until 1985, he was Head of the Photography Department at the Preston Institute of Technology, where he employed the then-young photographer Carol Jerrems. It was their exhibition in Melbourne the previous year, *Two Views of Erotica—Carol Jerrems and Henry Talbot*, that inaugurated Australia's first dedicated photographic gallery, Brummels Gallery, and it is perhaps not too much of a stretch to suggest that Jerrems' ground-breaking 70's-era depiction of female sexuality was suggested by and even in an antithetical sense a response to the version put forward by Newton, as mediated by Talbot.

The artists who came from Germany in the 1950s after the War were different from those who came both before and during it in that they were for the most part already artists before they arrived. We offer only a small selection here. There is the Kunstakademie Düsseldorf-trained artist, film-maker and animator Stanislaus Ostoja-Kotkowski, creator of the extraordinary *Space Scape* mural (1970) for Adelaide airport; there is the also Düsseldorf-trained abstract painter Maximilian Feuerring, who went on to represent Australia with others at the 1961 São Paolo Biennale; there is Berlin Academy of Fine Arts-trained Inge King, who was granted a large and acclaimed retrospective at the NGV in 2014 at the age of 98; there is the Kölner Werkschulen-trained printmaker Udo Sellbach, who was the founding Director of the Canberra school of Art; there is the Berlin College of Textiles and Fashion-trained Marcella Hempel, who established an important course on textiles with a number of other women émigrés in Wagga Wagga (McPhee 1997). Then after the Wall went up, Australia increasingly became a destination and even inspiration for German artists who had already acquired a worldwide reputation. Joseph Beuys completed his major work *Oceania*—in homage undoubtedly to Matisse's similarly titled work—after visiting Australia in 1972. He was followed by Klaus Rinke, also a Professor at the Kunstakademie Düsseldorf, who first came in 1976 and thereafter returned briefly to live, becoming in the process a major

collector of Aboriginal art. And Sigmar Polke, perhaps reprising aspects of Nolde, made a series of short films in the Northern Territory in 1988, alongside others he shot in Papua New Guinea, which featured prominently in his posthumous retrospective held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 2014.

Fig. 2 Janet Burchill and Jennifer McCamley, February 1992, from the series Freiland (1992–3). Image courtesy National Gallery of Australia, Canberra

Fig. 3 Janet Burchill and Jannifer McCamley, April 1993, from the series Freiland (1992–3). Image courtesy National Gallery of Australia, Canberra

German *Neue Wilde* painter Jörg Immendorf came to Australia in 1988 and the influential then-Cologne-based artist and scene-maker Martin Kippenberger in 1992. The Goethe-Institute in Australia too has been an important ongoing facilitator for artist residencies in Australia from the 1990s on, supporting, for instance,

such artists Leni Hoffman, Manuel Franke and Andreas Exner. And German-speaking Austria and Switzerland—which we have regarded as German throughout this history—have also extended support for their artists, making possible again exhibitions by such artists as Heimo Zobernig, Andreas Reiter Raabe and Beat Zoderer. Equally, continuing the two-way traffic we have seen throughout our history, Australian artists during this time have studied and worked in Germany. The Sydney artists Tim Maguire, Maria Cruz and A.D.S. Donaldson all trained at the *Kunstakademie* Düsseldorf, continuing the connection with the institution first begun some 140 years ago with von Geurard, and later extended by Pillig, Feuerring and Ostoja-Kotkowski. The Melbourne artist Stephen Bram has studied at the *Kunstakademie* München, as did Folingsby, Hall, the New Zealander Frank Weitzel and the under-recognised painter and art educator of the 1960 and '70s Erica McGilchrist. But perhaps we might conclude here with a work by the Melbourne artists Janet Burchill and Jennifer McCamley, who originally travelled to Germany to take up a residency at the international artists' studio complex at the *Künstlerhaus* Bethanien, Berlin, in 1991 and ended up living in Berlin seven years. Their 19-part photographic series *Freiland* (1992–3) takes as its subject the improvised architecture put together over a fourteen month period by a Turkish family for others to meet and socialise in the space newly opened up by the fall of the Wall in the predominantly immigrant suburb of Kreuzberg in Berlin (Figs. 2 and 3). It is the photographic record of materials from another place put together by people from another place taken by people from another place. Soon after leaving Berlin, Burchill and McCamley held an exhibition back in Australia entitled *Chain of Ponds* (1997), and that is how we must perhaps understand ourselves located today: not in terms of the homogenous nation states or national arts of the first part of the 20th century and not even in terms of an Australia in Germany or a Germany in Australia, but more in terms of a Melbourne in Berlin, a Düsseldorf in Sydney, a Rabaul in Munich and a Hermannsburg in Hermannsburg.

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Popular Comedy as Transnational Intervention: Contemporary Muslimness on Screen in Germany and Australia

Benjamin Nickl

Abstract This paper argues that a generalisation of Muslim identities connects Germany and Australia culturally and politically in the second half of the 2010s. Negative sentiments against Muslim minority communities have become commonplace in political discussions despite a lack of factual proof. From the German PEGIDA movement in 2014 sprung a political party, the Alternative for Germany, while Australia's One Nation party originated similarly from right-wing populist movements such as Reclaim Australia in 2015. Both AfD and One Nation illustrate a shift in the portrayal of Muslimness in modern nation states with large and diverse ethnic minority groups. Muslim men have become the most visible example of the change in perceptions of Islam. An increasing number of politicians and mainstream media depict them as religious zealots and gullible followers of transnational terror organisations such as Islamic State. Comedic fictions though have appeared on television and in cinemas as popular counter-narratives to the reductive stereotyping of Muslim men in Germany's and Australia's general population.

Radicalisation Narratives and the Politicisation of Islam in the West

The stereotypical Muslim has emerged as a threatening character both in the Australian and in the German mainstream media since 2014. In Australia, that character is a young male who comes from a suburban family with migratory background, typically from a Muslim majority society. He has a native command of English because his first-generation grandparents and second-generation parents integrated into Australian society several decades ago (Safi 2017). Birthright citizenship also gives these young men access to secondary and tertiary education as well as healthcare and social support schemes. In Germany, adolescent male asylum

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seekers from Syria, Afghanistan and Iran have oftentimes lived in the country for years (Schmeidl 2002, p. 25; O'Brien 2010, p. 904). The majority acquires a functional competence in German soon upon arrival, thus being allowed by Germany's federal state governments to train for trade jobs or to attend university at some stage. Other male Muslim newcomers who arrived as young children in Germany have grown up in German neighbourhoods and speak German fluently. A large number even hold a German passport. The perception of these young Muslim men with different migratory backgrounds changed suddenly in Australia as well as in Germany. A very small number of them committed acts of home-grown terrorism in the name of radical Islam, which reverberated in the media across the globe. That young Muslim men would stage terrorist attacks in their country of residence or leave their Western homelands to fight for ISIS in Syria has left Germans and Australians in utter surprise. A young Tunisian man whose application for asylum had been denied by the German government carried out the Berlin Christmas market attacks of 2016. At least twenty Australian-born adolescents with Muslim background, aged eighteen to twenty-five, have either left Australia since 2014 to fight for ISIS in Syria or were arrested by law enforcement officers in Melbourne and Sydney for intended acts of terrorism (Bucci 2017). That these young men had lived inconspicuous lives amongst native Germans and Australians has added to the shock value of their radicalisation narrative, which surfaced as a term shortly after the Islamic State's terrorist attacks in Paris in 2014 and in Belgium in 2015.

The Western perception of Muslim identities had already suffered in the wake of September 11 in 2001 (Best 2010, p. 279; Kaczmarczyk et al. 2015, p. 40). Right-wing groups in Germany and Australia described Islam immediately after the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in America as an extremist ideology, which weaponised young Muslim men from Muslim majority countries like Afghanistan. The politicization of Islam as a foreign policy issue became an institutionalised parameter of anti-Muslim sentiments in Western societies. In 2017, however, the fear of Islam has shifted from an external to an internal threat for the nation. Liz Fekete argues that Islamophobic attitudes against Muslims overseas turned into fears of domestic Muslim populations in Western countries in the decade to follow 9/11. Paranoid worries about Muslim men as cultural Others dominated rational assessments of national security in Western Europe (Fekete 2009, p. 62). 'The [Western] state presses on ten years later', writes Fekete in her analysis of the United Kingdom's, Belgium's, the Netherland's, France's, Denmark's, and Germany's government's fears to have failed to prevent the emergence of a 'time bomb' in Muslim majority neighbourhoods in Western nation states in the new century (Fekete 2009, p. 62). Major upheavals in the political landscape of Germany and Australia since the establishment of ISIS in April 2013 support the accuracy of Fekete's claims. Conservative politicians and right-wing populists in Germany as well as in Australia have used in the past five years the pre-existing alienation of second- and third-generation Muslim migrant youths from the majority society to vilify them. For example, both One Nation leader Pauline Hanson and AfD chairperson Frauke Petry suggest that the violence of a few Muslim individuals proves the anti-Western agenda of all members of Islam. That Hanson and Petry have

generalised Muslimness in parliament speeches as a latent threat to non-Muslim Australians and Judeo-Christian Germans respectively underscores Fekete's argument. The longstanding intra-societal marginalisation of Muslims in Western countries has now turned into a culture war against Islam in the new century: 'In the Netherlands, the theme of the national debate has become *standards and values*; in Sweden and Norway, *cultural barriers* to inclusion; in the UK, *community* cohesion; in France, the principle of *laïcite* (state secularism); in Denmark, the *intolerant culture* among immigrants that prevents integration; in Spain, public safety and crime, in Germany, the primacy of the *Leitkultur* or leading culture' (Fekete 2009, p. 63).

Comedy as Counter-Discourse to Transnational Risk Communities in the New Century

Ulrich Beck had already outlined in 1992, and shortly after the Chernobyl disaster, on the pages of *Risk Society* that modern nation states are bound by fears of vanishing. Modern societies must manage according to Beck the potentially overwhelming aspects of transnational progress, which means 'rapid technology developments, global travel and transport, trade as well as migration and cultural exchanges' (Beck 1992, p. 31). Though it is today the impact of cultural transnational interchange, which has moved into the centre of public media discourse around security risks (Van der Pijl 2006, pp. 4–9). The collaboration between nations and the cultural flows among their citizens threaten the nation's sovereignty as an impenetrable safety zone for its residents, writes Beck (Beck 1992, pp. 49–50). In 2017, one can argue that the Western idea of a guarded nation state with both physical walls and protectionist trade blockages is a reaction to fears that transnational risks in the allegedly backwards Eastern hemisphere could manifest locally in one's liberal country. A shift to the political right in Eastern Europe since 2012 and the election promise of President Donald Trump to build a two-thousand-mile-long border wall between Mexico and the United States demonstrates this. Beck describes the utopia of the risk society as 'peculiarly *negative* and *defensive*' (Beck 1992, p. 49, original emphasis), because each local event can become at any given moment through global media channels a potential threat for the world risk community. Current examples are the global live-media coverage of the terror attacks in Paris's and Berlin's central business district as well as the lone-wolf siege of the Lindt Café in Sydney's tourist-crowded Martin Place in 2014. Katja Franko Aas relates Beck's concept of transnational risk to the postmodern individual's fears about 'omnipresent victimhood at all times and in all places' (Franko Aas 2013, p. 12). That Muslim radicals can hurt Westerners in their home countries thus situates horrific images of beheadings in Syria and random acts of terror in Munich's and Melbourne's inner city districts at the core of contemporary Muslim male identities. Franko Aas observes that fear of Muslim terrorism

leads communities to share in their dread of young Muslim men who yell 'God is great' in Arabic. The heightened focus on national security, she explains, has created a shared response among Western countries to perceived threats and actual threats alike 'with anxiety, fear and self-interest, while politicians and elites, it seems, pursue a politics of distress and vengeance' (Franko Aas 2013, p. 14). Søren Juul insists that societies must counter this discourse of fear and ethnic division with a renewed turn to social cohesion: 'In the world risk society, we need, according to Beck, a new cosmopolitan agenda, taking the form of cooperation, which implies a claim to recognition also when the other is a stranger, a potential threat' (Juul 2013, p. 199).

Contemporary comedy in Germany and Australia speaks to the persistent fear of Muslim Others. The authors of and actors in comedic fictions about Muslim men in Christian majority societies address in current comedy films and television series and televised stand-up the exclusion of Islam from Western risk societies. German Muslim comedians such as Serdar Somuncu and Australian Muslim comedians like Nazeem Hussain have become famous for calling out Islamophobia in the West. Somuncu, who was born in Turkey in 1968 and who migrated with his family to Germany at a young age, routinely appears on German primetime television. His 2009 stand-up tour, *Der Hassprediger*, attracted controversy as he read out passages from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (Bülent et al. 2017). Somuncu routinely addresses Muslim stereotyping through racist material on stage. Death threats from Neo-Nazi groups and Somuncu's rejection by conservative right-wingers like Thilo Sarrazin, as Jørgen Nielsen details, defined the satirical artist's rise to fame (Nielsen 2013, p. 332). Somuncu's more recent appearances include comedy performances on German mainstream television shows. He guest-stars frequently as commentator for mainstream television entertainment and talk show series such as *TV Total*, *Mitternachtsspitzen*, *Funkhaus*, *Nachtschlag*, and *Fritz und Herrmann*. Yet, most viewers know Somuncu from his appearances on *Quatsch Comedy Club*, *Ottis Schlachthof* and *Nightwash*, three of Germany's most-watched comedy television programmes on public broadcast and private network television. Kathrin Bower describes Somuncu's strategy to confront native German audiences with their fascist past as a 'transnational intervention: a postmigrant comedian […] combats the restrictiveness of ethnic discourse in German society and holds contemporary Germanness accountable' (Bower 2012, p. 94). And Somuncu is not the only comedy artist who intervenes in the Muslim identity discourse. Nielsen argues that Somuncu's fellow male Muslim comedy actors and stand-up comedians, Fathi Çevikkollu and Bülent Ceylan and Murat Topal, 'are [also] taking up the debate about Islam in Germany' (Nielsen 2013, p. 333). These contemporary Muslim German humour artists appeal to the broader public as they target fear-mongering and their and other Germans' discomfort with 'exclusive *Leitkultur* debates and structures in German society' (Nielsen 2013, p. 333).

There are similar developments with Muslim comedy artists in Australia in the new millennium. For example, Muslim Australian television actor and stand-up comedian Nazeem Hussain has been a vocal opponent of reductive depictions of Muslim identities in Australian society. Born in 1986 in Australia, the actor, radio

host and television screenwriter of Sri Lankan descent grew up in urban Victoria. Hussain's partnership with fellow comedian and actor Aamer Rahman in 2004 resulted in the duo's first stage comedy show, *Fear of a Brown Planet*, which premiered at the Melbourne Fringe Festival in 2008 and later earned the comedic duo a televised one-hour special on The Comedy Channel (Barker and Jane 2016, pp. 143–146). Hussain gained prominence for regular appearances at the Melbourne International Comedy Festival between 2005 and 2008, for which he collaborated like Somuncu with a group of fellow Muslim comedy writers and performers (Barker and Jane 2016, p. 144). Hussain has stressed in several television and radio interviews that members of the American comedy troupe *Allah Made Me Funny* encouraged him to speak in his work about the omission of what he calls 'brown' Muslim men from Australia's public imaginary. In a research essay on whiteness in Australian entertainment television, Hussain writes: 'Note: if you ever wake up in hospital, and there are no brown or Asian doctors, get out of there, because you're not in a hospital. You're on the set of a mediocre Australian television series' (Hussain 2012, p. 113). Australian public broadcaster, SBS, contracted Hussain to write and star in a ten-episode comedy sketch show in 2013 because of his observant views on Muslimness in Australian mainstream culture. Chris Barker and Emma Jane explain that *Legally Brown* offered critical commentary on the ethno-cultural segregation of Muslim men in Australia's majority population in the aftermath of 9/11:

> Hussain uses his Australian comedy TV show […] to expose a broad range of racist attitudes. In one sketch, he dresses as a number of non-white celebrities he does not remotely resemble in order to *trick* members of the public. The fact that passers-by genuinely mistake him for -among other- the cricketer Sachin Tendulkar, *Jacob* from the *Twilight* films, and the musician will.i.am illustrates his point that to some, all non-white celebrities look alike (Barker and Jane 2016, p. 151).

Dress White, Make Your Flight. Dress Brown, Never Leave Town

It is still uncommon for mainstream comedy culture in the new century to explore the social conditions from which Islamophobic attitudes emerge and curry favour with the audience at the same time. Yet, the wide appeal and critical acclaim of televised scripted series and stand-up comedy about Muslim male identities in Germany and Australia points to a growing trend, which I suggest exemplifies a transnational connection between German and Australian culture in the new century. Somuncu and Hussain and their fellow Muslim comedy actors and performers and writers demonstrate that Muslim minority artists in Germany as well as in Australia have found a popular discourse platform from which they can reject the historical binary of Western whiteness and non-white Muslim otherness. German as well as Australian filmmakers have also produced comedy fictions, which deliver

harsh truths about the general audience's Muslim bias in a palatable format. And while no German or Australian production has depicted the subject of Muslim wannabee jihadists and hopeless homegrown terrorists with such pitch-black humour as Chris Morris's British tragicomedy *Four Lions* (2010), two contemporary film productions indeed debunk the fear of Muslim men as potential threats. One is Simon Verhoeven's German family entertainment comedy, *Willkommen bei den Hartmanns*. The other is Abe Forsythe's black comedy, *Down Under*. Both films initially premiered in 2016 and became box office sensations and part of public debate in a matter of months for the way in which they tackled topical issues about ethnic and racial otherness in German and Australian society respectively.

Verhoeven represents in *Willkommen bei den Hartmanns* the issue of German fears of Islam and contemporary German identities as a reflection of worlds which unexpectedly blur into each other. The film is set in modern Germany and offers a humorous take on the refugee crisis, which required Germans to face the repercussions of the country's initial willingness to take in millions of forced migrants from predominantly Muslim majority countries. Thought-provoking reflections occur as Angelika Hartmann, a retired high school teacher, decides to take in a Muslim refugee. Dark-skinned Diallo from Nigeria is single and in his late twenties. Being the winner of the Hartmann's casting-like interview process earns him a dwelling place in their basement apartment, a granny flat located underneath the luxurious construction of a six-bedroom villa in the affluent suburbs of Munich. Angelika's husband Richard, who works as a mid-sixties chief of surgery in a local hospital, plays the reluctant host, who only agrees with his wife's plans to let Diallo stay after being accused at work of racism and Islamophobia. Dr Tarek Berger is a second-generation migrant from Iran. He works as Richard Hartmann's junior surgical resident and faults his chief in front of patients and other medical staff for the rich, native German's bigoted attitudes towards Muslim men. In a scene at the beginning of the film, Dr Berger confronts Richard's outdated attitudes by opening his white lab coat to prove the absence of a Muslim terrorist's suicide vest. 'Nonsense! I'm not a racist', shouts Richard at Tarek. 'And, just so you know, there is a refugee living in my home! We even take showers together!—Not together at the same time, of course, but…still!'.

Hosting a non-white Muslim man is, however, just an easy cop-out for Dr Hartmann's pseudo-liberal stance on Muslim communities in Germany. Richard's attempt to reject claims of anti-Muslim prejudice is obvious to the audience, whose perspective the films aligns with that of non-native Dr Berger. In the film, Dr Berger reacts unimpressed as do other German doctors and nurses who applaud the young Muslim German man for speaking his mind in public. The juxtaposed close-ups of middle-eastern Tarek Berger and white Richard Hartmann, both medical professionals dressed in head-to-toe white hospital attire, effectively foreshadows the futile anger of a wealthy German accused of white, Western privilege. *Willkommen bei den Hartmann*'s demonstrates this further in the sequence to follow the hospital scene, with Richard coming home from work. After he gets changed, Richard walks onto his villa's scenic garden patio. There, he encounters Diallo, doing woodwork. 'Now then, what little nice thing are you making there, Diallo?', asks Richard of his

guest. 'Little bird house', answers Diallo in accented German. Richard embraces this wholesome image, which seems to discredit Tarek's angering accusations. Suddenly though Diallo produces from underneath his workspace area a set of miniature minaret towers and places them on top of the bird house: 'Like little mosque. Like mini mosque for Muslim birdies', he says to Richard with a big, wide smile. While the native's smile falters quickly, Diallo produces another rooftop with slate roofing tiles for the bird house, jokingly placating the revealing disgust and look of panic on Richard's face: 'Just make fun, Mr Hartmann, here is real rooftop'.

Willkommen bei den Hartmanns comically exposes more of Richard's skewed views on Muslimness as the story develops. Yet, the film also includes other Hartmann characters to challenge the Germans' fear of Muslim threats to their social status or perhaps even the safety in their own homes. Angelika for instance is plagued by a nightmare after four middle-aged Neonazis hold a candle-light vigil at her Rosenheim residence. Her dream has the former German teacher, who cannot but correct Diallo's grammar with meticulous obsession, forced into wearing the hijab at her local bakery after ISIS soldiers invade Bavaria. The Hartmanns' handsome hot-shot lawyer son, thirty-something Phillip, is detained at Munich airport's international departure terminal after cracking a joke about bombs in his Gucci briefcase. 'Do I look like a wacko terrorist?', he asks the security agent while wearing a bespoke Armani suit; to which the agent responds with a tense expression on his face: 'Petra, call the feds!' Through dress, stereotypical images, looks, accents and clichéd scenarios as reported by the media, Verhoeven's comedy film encourages more open dialogue in German society about the internalisation of racist thinking and anti-Muslim attitudes. It is apparent in the actions and reactions of the Hartmann's that they have bought into the media frenzy around Muslim radicalisation narratives. The Muslim Others in the film provoke laughter at this by identifying as the reasonable observers of German culture. Diallo notes in a brief conversation with Tarek: 'Germans nice, but they are also complicated. Even the German woman [Angelika and Richard's daughter, Sofie] I told you about. A bit crazy', says Diallo to Tarek. 'Yes, totally', replies Tarek and adds with a cocksure smile: 'Welcome to Germany'.

Similarly, Forsythe's *Down Under* provokes laughter at the unsubstantiated fears of an Islamophobic risk society in Australia. The 2006 Cronulla riots serve as the dark comedy's backdrop, while the main characters play up white Australians' practises of cultural exclusion and aspects of Australian Muslims' exoticisation in parodied stereotypes. Two carloads of working-class hotheads go on the defensive for their ethnic community's respective territory in suburban Sydney. The Lebanese Australian Nick, who grew up in the Muslim quarter of Lakemba, pushes his fellow Muslim 'Lebs' friends Hassim, Ibrahim, and D-Mac into a gang brawl with rowdy white bogans Jason, Shit-Stick, Evan, and Ditch. The hyperbolic satire is reminiscent of Nazeem Hussain's stand-up in *Fear of a Brown Planet*, as the teaser credits reveal this mockumentary's comedic tagline: 'Ignorance brought them together'. It is the introductory sequence, which also foreshadows the film's premise to revisit the monumental clash between lower-class Muslim Australians and blue-collar Anglo Australians at the northern side of Cronulla beach. Much like the

fears of Angelika and Richard Hartmann, *Down Under* illustrates the dangers for societies who buy into the radicalisation myth of young Muslim men amidst their community rather than facing up to their own prejudice and issues with violence.

That two self-contained environments invariably meet and collide rejects the self-proclaimed stronghold of Australia's multicultural identity. Rather, the lucky country's hegemonic discourse on white Christian privilege moves to the forefront of the story. The clash between angry white Australian males in their mid-twenties and equally angry Middle Eastern men of the same age captures in *Down Under* the contemporary discussion about nationalist politics and racist undercurrents in the country. One can claim that *Willkommen bei den Hartmanns*, with the comedy film's play on German everyday racism in the wider public, pursues a comparable agenda. Verhoeven's narrative presents with its white, native and wealthy characters those German national traditions, which serve to self-validate an acceptance of Muslim German identities if the Muslim is either not physically present or assimilates per the Germans' expectations. Richard and Angelika are initially more in love with the idea of a Muslim person in their German home than with the actual reality of that scenario later in the film, for example as Diallo expresses his desire to court the Hartmanns' daughter, Sofie. The reality of side-by-side ghettoization, however, as *Down Under* shows it with intercut scenes of real video footage from the days of the riot in an opening pan-shot sequence, quickly dispels any self-soothing imaginaries of harmless brown people in white neighbourhoods and vice versa. Back-and-forth reversal shots of Anglo Australian and Muslim Australian suburb life, sleeveless tanned forearms with variations of the Southern Cross and board shorts with the Australian national flag appear next to burkas, hijabs, falafel bistros and halal butcher shops run by long-bearded men with darker complexion and knee-long dress. It is the containment fantasy of a protective border between Muslim and non-Muslim space which evaporates rapidly in *Down Under*. The barriers to the Hartmanns' white-walled Munich fortress in contrast disappear more slowly, yet allowing for a Muslim man to make the place his home.

The ending of Verhoeven's family entertainment comedy is happy and arguably generic whereas Forsythe's film ends on a sad note with the death of several of the main characters. It is, however, a claim to reconciliation on which both films end and which marks both as a counter-discursive claim to the fear of an imaginary risk posed by the Muslim Other. And while the purely fictional character of Diallo appears as the decorum-shattering foil for Richard Hartmann's anti-racist lip servicing, the Muslim/Lebanese Australian characters in Forsythe's film are covered in more realistic detail as they go with baseball bats after Jason's gang. Instead of *Willkommen bei den Hartmanns*' focus on the safety and the feelings of unease for Germans, though, *Down Under* is less preoccupied with the majority viewpoint. Rather, the film pins the lived realities of young, disaffected Muslim Australian men against those of Anglo Australian males of a similar age. This configuration explains a comedic storyline, which turns on the rallying cries of each ethnic community for their troops, the claim of righteousness in the pursuit of violence, and the blind hatred for one's fellow citizens. One can argue that Forsythe references with the inclusion of antisocial behaviour the main characteristics of *Four*

Lions' male protagonists. They also happen to display congruent levels of incompetence and traits of the imbecilic in comparison with *Down Under*'s main characters. For example, Shit Stick, the stoner, mistakes the riots at Cronulla at first for a drug-fuelled rave at the Sydney beachside. The Muslim gang, on the other hand, fails to find East as they ready themselves for morning prayer prior to the big bash. 'Lucky for you guys I have GPS', explains devout Muslim Ibrahim after each of the young Lebanese men face a different direction and pray to a descending Quantas airplane close to Sydney International Airport. Even the choice of weapons for the riot becomes an event. Shit Stick's father proudly produces an old WWI grenade and the grandfather's 'Gallipoli gun' from the family's European treasure trove and hands both to his son, teary-eyed. This scene is indicative of the ridicule of ethnic violence, which the white characters project on the Muslim characters while parading around Shit Stick's father's backyard with an army rifle as outdated as their prejudice: 'Those fuckers won't tell us where to go, this is our beach!'. The bandaged head of Ditch, which the audience presumes to be covered in racist tattoos, also gets him almost killed because fellow white racists mistake him for a face-veiled Muslim woman. When the bandages come off, the black tattoo covers Ditch's face like a burka. The absurdities rise further to the surface when the film reveals Evan, who has Down's syndrome, to be the smartest and most unbiased person in the film. This fact becomes apparent as Evan drily remarks in deadpan to Jason: 'This [Cronulla] beach belongs to everyone.' Or, as Evan says later in the film to Jason's migrant-fearing friend Gav who waves a banner with the line 'We grew here, you flew here': 'Ned Kelly was Irish'. Gav, who worships the Australian outlaw Kelly religiously, appears stumped.

Newfound Pro-muslim Awareness as Transnational Comedy Trend

The intention to 'go there' is a recurring phrase in media and press publications about the comedy of Serdar Somuncu, Nazeem Hussain, Simon Verhoeven, and Abe Forsythe, as well as the other comedians, actors, stand-up comedians and screenwriters and popular entertainment artists mentioned here. My interpretation of the work of these individuals or comedy collectives defines their films and televised stand-up comedy and television series, of which I have analysed albeit only briefly several examples, as gutsy. Further examples for a turn in comedy entertainment from bland entertainment to more gutsy incentive for discussion of Muslimness in the West appear in greater numbers with each film festival, each comedy event, and each online production competition or talent scouting on public television channels (Leontiy 2017, p. 2). The 2017 Berlinale Film Festival for instance has demonstrated this with appearances of *Willkommen bei den Hartmanns'* Elias M'Barek. The actor plays Dr Tarek Berger and talked next to popular Turkish German filmmaker and *Türkisch für Anfänger*'s screenwriter, Bora

Dağtekin, in numerous interviews about the importance of pro-Muslim mainstream comedies as part of larger anti-discrimination efforts in Western Europe. Another example for the interweaving of German and Australian comedy fictions about Muslimness as a perceived threat to hegemonic whiteness is chick-lit author Hatice Akyün and her 2016 tour of Australia. During televised appearances and interviews on SBS, Akyün talked about the cultural connections between German and Australian society as a productive area for shared discourse and transnational collaborations between herself and Australian artists. Meanwhile, Bülent Ceylan's marriage to an Australian-born wife with Aboriginal background has already influenced the comedian's stand-up routines, for he includes an increasing number of references to a globalised media culture with characters who could be as easily stereotyping Muslimness in urban Sydney as in suburban Stuttgart.

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