Number 11 February 2015

Anne Summers Reports

Sane | Factual | Relevant

General Morrison's revelation

"This was not the Army that I loved and thought I knew."

Anne Summers Reports
#11 February 2015

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AUSTRALIA

I HOPE YOU ENJOY our first issue for 2015, and our eleventh since we started our digital voyage just over two years ago. We introduce *Explore*, a new section dealing with ideas, science, social issues and movements, and travel, a topic many of you said, via our readers' survey late last year, you wanted us to cover. (Read the full results of the survey on page 85.) I am so pleased to be able to welcome to our pages the exceptional mrandmrsamos, the husband-and-wife team of writer Lee Tulloch and photographer Tony Amos, whose piece on the Harlem revival is just a taste of the treats that lie ahead. No ordinary travel writing, I can assure you.

We are very proud to publish our first investigative special report on Australia's think tanks. Who are they? Who runs them? Who funds them? How accountable are they and how much influence do they really have? In this landmark piece of reporting, Robert Milliken uncovers how thinks tanks are increasingly setting the agenda for the government.

In other reports, you will meet Merryn Johns, the Australian woman making a splash as a magazine editor in New York and who happens to be known as America's Lesbian-in-Chief. Coincidentally, her sister Rowena Johns, who lives in Sydney, is also in this issue—as a writer. See her guide to Australian crime fiction. And I know you will truly appreciate Quentin Bryce's reflections on some of the things she learned while serving as Australia's Governor-General.

Our cover story features the exceptional Lieutenant General David Morrison, Chief of Army and the man who has taken on the formidable task of changing the sexist culture of the military. I was astonished by some of things General Morrison said in our interview, and I look forward to exploring these further with him when he is the guest at my next Conversation in Sydney on 26 February. Please try to come along.

And I am thrilled to announce that we have already secured football legend, champion of Indigenous reconciliation and constitutional recognition, and 2014 Australian of the Year, Adam Goodes, as my guest for the following Conversation, also in Sydney, on 7 April. (Melbourne, your turn is coming soon.) The event will take place before our next issue so, regrettably I will not be able to profile him as I usually do with our Conversation guests. But I am sure that Adam is well enough known that this will not matter. Please come along and meet this dead-set legend.

Our financial position is still, to put it bluntly, precarious. I am so grateful to those of you who keep us alive with your one-off or regular donations and thank you from the bottom of my heart. I also welcomed professional services organization EY as our first Major Sponsor to commit support to multiple Conversation events. I am looking forward to working with them and continuing our partnership with Fifth Quadrant and its sister company, Flamingo.

We love what we're doing but without you, there'd be no us.

ANNE SUMMERS
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

DETAILS

POLIXENI PAPAPETROU *THE LONERS*, 2009–12

REPORTS

Cover photo PETER BREW-BEVAN

MUSES

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Job security

Unions are pushing to have domestic violence leave written into awards as more big companies understand that their employees could be at risk.

SEVERAL OF AUSTRALIA'S largest and most well known companies are providing domestic violence leave for their employees, meaning this relatively new workplace entitlement is likely to be widely adopted by big employers as unions campaign to have the policy written into all awards.

Telstra, Australia's largest communications company, is the latest to announce that it will provide domestic violence (DV) leave for its 34,000 employees.

Currently 1.6 million Australian workers have access to DV leave. Virgin Australia, Ikea, McDonald's, the National Australia Bank and a number of shire councils have adopted the policy while companies including the Commonwealth Bank and BHP Billiton have flexible workplace arrangements in place to assist those affected by domestic violence.

Flexible working measures can include employers helping employees to change their phone number or their workplace location, or moving a woman from reception to the back office to try to prevent them from being harassed by their perpetrator either on the phone or in person. Employers also commonly give women extra days off work to move house to escape a perpetrator. Companies that have not yet adopted a DV leave policy tend to grant special leave on a case-by-case basis.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) President Ged Kearney has described Telstra's announcement as "a great leap forward for a cause that has for far too long been behind closed doors".

Unions hope that by having DV leave written into awards, those affected would not have to use annual or sick leave to attend medical, counselling or court appointments, nor fear losing their job.

Two-thirds of domestic violence victims are in paid employment. SOURCE: WWW.AU.TIMEOUT.COM

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) figures show that one in three Australian women have experienced physical and or sexual violence perpetrated by someone known to them, and two-thirds of these women are in paid employment. It was this statistic that led Telstra to adopt its DV leave policy.

Troy Roderick, the General Manager of Diversity and Inclusion at Telstra, told *ASR* the one-in-three figure meant there would have to be people within his organization who were either victims or perpetrators.

Telstra's policy, first announced on White Ribbon Day in November 2014, provides ten days' paid leave a year for all employees regardless of whether they work full- or part-time, in addition to other paid entitlements such as annual, parental, compassionate, carer's and

sick leave. After manager approval, such leave can be taken on a confidential basis. Casual workers will have access to ten days' unpaid DV leave.

"In essence it's about recognizing that worrying about work when you're experiencing domestic violence is probably the last thing you want to do," Roderick said.

The CEPU, the union that covers workers in the communications industry, including Telstra, is concerned that Telstra's policy is not enforceable. It claims the actual amount of leave any employee receives would be at management's discretion, whereas a workplace entitlement would make a DV sufferer feel more secure in requesting the leave. However, the CEPU says Telstra's policy is an important step towards making DV leave a recognized workplace right, alongside parental and annual leave.

In October last year, the ACTU made a submission to the Fair Work Commission seeking to have a policy similar to Telstra's included in all 122 awards. It is also asking for flexible workplace arrangements to be available to those affected by domestic violence.

Kearney says the ability to change start and finish times can be an important protection against stalking by former partners. If the claim succeeds, the ACTU says a further 1.5 million low-paid workers could be entitled to DV leave. The Fair Work Commission told *ASR* no date has been set for the submission to be heard, but it is likely to be part of a broader hearing into modern-day award agreements.

"Having flexibility is an important part of (this process), but it's not enough," Kearney told *ASR*. "We really need to have victims of domestic violence able to confidently take time off to deal with the issues, knowing they can come back to work afterwards."

Not everyone is a fan of DV leave becoming a workplace entitlement. The Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) believes domestic violence is a societal issue, not a business one.

"My experience is that employers are incredibly flexible and understanding with regards to domestic violence issues," ACCI CEO Kate Carnell told *ASR*. "But employers can't solve this."

Carnell says that while big corporations such as Telstra have a large number of workers to backfill if an employee is away for an extended period of time, small-to-medium enterprises could suffer.

"It is a social, broader-based issue and beyond being flexible employers can't do much else. This is a huge cost at a time when businesses are struggling."

"I think the Chamber of Commerce is just showing how backward-thinking they are," says the ACTU President in response.

The Business Council of Australia, of which Telstra is a member, has yet to develop a DV leave policy.

White Ribbon Australia, an organization that encourages men to campaign against violence

White Ribbon argues that the cost to businesses of paying extra leave is far outweighed by the benefits such as increased productivity, reduced absenteeism and workplace retention.

against women, has applauded companies that have DV leave. Chief Executive Libby Davies believes domestic violence is both a societal and a business issue because both victims and perpetrators are in workplaces.

White Ribbon argues that the cost to businesses of paying extra leave is far outweighed by the benefits such as increased productivity, reduced absenteeism and workplace retention. The organization has estimated that violence against women and children costs the Australian economy $14.4 billon per year in legal fees, victim compensation, homelessness, loss of income and lost productivity.

"You only have to look at all the research around productivity in small and large business," says Telstra's Roderick.

"If you can enable people to manage and deal with the things that are happening in their lives so they can get back to work, then that is a good thing."

Juliette Saly

See Primary Sources: DV Toolkit, page 82

Super brawl

Audiences might still be enormous, but the increasing toll of severe injuries and suicides means fewer players are signing up for American football.

Richard Sherman of the Seattle Seahawks before the the Super Bowl this year. SOURCE: WWW.YOUTUBE.COM

MEASURED BY TELEVISION RATINGS and advertising revenue, American football is huge. The 2015 Super Bowl between the New England Patriots and the Seattle Seahawks was the most watched television event in US history, drawing an audience estimated at over 114 million. Its broadcaster, NBC, sold more than US$1.7 billion in advertising. College football alone is now worth US$7.3 billion, and on 13 January, the Ohio State University won the championship in front of a television audience of over 33 million.

These numbers are a testament to how popular football has become as entertainment.

But America's game is in deep trouble. The increased awareness of the potential for brain damage is leading to a drop in players taking up the game, and the shortfall is becoming evident at football's training ground, the high school. The number of students signing up has dropped for seven straight years, and in 2013, dipped below 1.1 million for the first time.

A Bloomberg poll in December 2014 found that 50 per cent of Americans would not want their son to play football. This includes President Obama, who told the *New Yorker* last month, "I would not let my son play pro football".

Only a year earlier a Marist College poll found that 35 per cent of parents were less likely to let their children play now they knew about the link between football and long-term brain damage. The percentage was higher for college-educated parents.

None of these pollsters break down their published results by income or race: 68 per cent of the players in the National Football League (NFL) are black, as are over 50 per cent of college players. So we don't know if black parents, many of whom may understandably see football as providing structure for their high-school sons as well as a way of gaining a scholarship to an excellent university, have been as inclined to dissuade their offspring from playing.

If there is a racial bias underpinning this fall-off of young players, and thus an even greater proportion of future NFL recruits will be African-American, then America faces the chilling prospect of a majority white fan base watching fellow black citizens do damage to themselves—in the name of entertainment.

The research is incontrovertible.

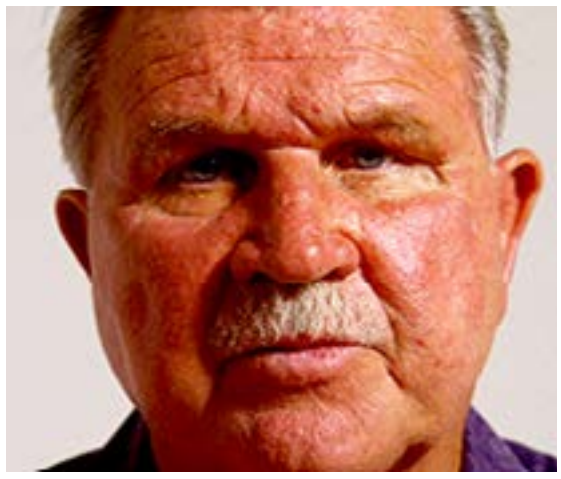
Two years ago the Center for the Study of Traumatic

America faces the chilling prospect of a majority white fan base watching fellow black citizens do damage to themselves—in the name of entertainment.

Encephalopathy at Boston University Center discovered 28 new cases of chronic brain damage in deceased football players, including fifteen who played in the NFL—more than double the number of documented cases connecting football to long-term brain injury. Other researchers, looking at the high-school game, have found evidence of widespread concussion, often unreported to either coaches or parents.

A number of legendary players have taken their lives, apparently unable to deal with the depression and mood swings caused by brain damage. In May 2012, two years after retiring, Junior Seau, a 6'3" (191 cm) 250 lb (113 kg) linebacker who played for the San

After the San Diego Chargers' Junior Seau shot himself, doctors confirmed he'd sustained a brain injury.



Legendary tough-guy coach, Mike Ditka: “the risk was worse than the reward”. Kosta Karageorge, below.

Diego Chargers for an almost unimaginable twenty years, shot himself. The National Institutes of Health confirmed his brain displayed abnormalities associated with chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE).

Even former stars are now saying they would not want their sons playing the game. Late last month, legendary tough-guy coach, Mike Ditka, who coached the Chicago Bears to a Superbowl win in 1985, told HBO’s *Real Sports*: “the risk was worse than the reward”.

Players do not even need to have had exceptionally long careers to sustain significant brain trauma. In December, the 100,000-strong crowd at the Big Ten championship between Ohio State University (OSU) and Wisconsin observed a moment of silence to honour Kosta Karageorge, the senior OSU player who, weeks earlier, had committed suicide. After telling friends he was suffering from concussion-related depression, the 22-year-old Karageorge climbed into a dumpster and shot himself. Whether he, too, suffered from CTE-related brain damage will be verified by an autopsy but there was little doubt for those in the stadium and the millions watching this was the critical factor.

Faced with such evidence, the NFL last year set aside US$730 million to fund the health needs of its 4500 retired players. It is currently in negotiations to set up an additional injury fund for current players, with sums as high as US$6.5 billion being talked about.

The NFL has also begun a concerted effort to reduce the effects of concussion the moment it occurs. This starts with vastly improved and immediate attention on the sidelines.

New rules have been introduced. According to ESPN statisticians, penalties for the infraction dubbed an “illegal hit”—where players hit an opponent above the shoulders— have doubled in the recent, post-concession era. Much stiffer penalties are handed out to players instigating “helmet-to-helmet” hits.

And quarterbacks, the stars of these multi-million-dollar franchises, are given much wider protection. (These rule changes have filtered down to lower

levels of the game but calling them requires a level of skill and consistency associated in the main with professional umpires.)

The new rules have changed the game. Quarterbacks are now what *New York Times* writer Ben Shipgel describes as "pass happy", and games are now nearly always high-scoring. More touchdowns were thrown this past season than ever before. The defensive tussles of the past where frontlines hammered each other for 60 minutes are few and far between, replaced by plays with open-field receivers, and subsequent long runs down field often going untackled. Television viewers have few complaints so far. They see it as more entertaining.

Professional football has other problems. Violence on the field has proved to be an ethos increasingly played out at home. Widespread and continuing incidents of domestic abuse along with the NFL's failure to address the issue have severely tarnished the game this past season. Recently, movie star Hilary Swank and Jemima Kirke from *Girls* took part in "No More", an advertising campaign designed to draw attention to such abuse, to be broadcast during games.

Over 7000 high-school football games are played every week across America but teenagers are increasingly less interested in the game: a mere 4 per cent of the television football audience is under 20.

"The kids we're getting are just different now," one coach told the Ohio-based *Columbus Dispatch*. "They're not outside playing in the parks and fields like we did. I hate to say it, but a lot of them would rather sit home and play NCAA or Madden (football video games)."

Some might argue this coach is looking for a reason other than fear of brain damage to account for the game's fading status. Either way, the game's future popularity continues to fall.

David Hay

How the media got it wrong in Hong Kong

The Western notion of democracy as a core value and the best possible form of government framed how most media interpreted the 2014 Hong Kong protest.

WHEN THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS called for a week-long boycott of classes to demand open candidate nomination for Hong Kong's upcoming Chief Executive election, the narrative of Hong Kong residents' quest for "genuine" universal suffrage struck a sympathetic chord with the Western media. The latter not only parroted the protestors' claims, but reported the ensuing protest within the frame of a Hong Kong seeking democracy from an authoritarian China.

Thus Western media rejected other plausible explanations for the massive unrest, such as the youthful demonstrators' sense of dislocation, scarcity of desirable jobs and affordable housing, other economic factors and antipathy towards China and Chinese mainlanders. The antipathy, which some called an identity crisis, proved to be especially difficult to fit into the media's democracy frame because it led young people to demand a return of Hong Kong to the UK. But Hong Kong was a colony, never a democracy, under the British. Before and during Occupy Central, as the protest was collectively termed, Hong Kong youth demonstrated this desire in various marches by prominently displaying the UK colonial flag with the message: "I am a Hong Konger, not a Chinese".

Early in the protest, the media often downplayed the context for the Hong Kong police's use of force. They discounted the fact that the first confrontation between the police and students was actually precipitated by one of the student leaders. In coverage in which it was reported that protestors were urged by the student leader to break into the off-limits forecourt of a government complex, the subtext was

Hong Kong protesters, dubbed the "umbrella revolution", needed umbrellas during a lightning storm on 30 September 2014. SOURCE: STUART LEAVENWORTH/McCLATCHY

clear: protestor actions were understandable given that Beijing rejected demands for "free elections", while police use of tear gas in the ensuing chaos was inexcusable.

The media framing brought out many more Hong Kong residents to occupy the central district, bringing the city to a standstill. Police attempting to disperse the crowd on 28 September were shown in a video titled "Who initiated the attack". Vastly outnumbered, police stood tensely behind low barricades against a surging crowd of angry protestors. They raised a red banner warning the crowd to "stop charging or we will use force". Suddenly, protestors at the front charged the police with their pointy umbrellas.

Media coverage of this incident generally started

with the police crackdown that followed the umbrella charge. The non-contextualized image of police tossing tear gas into the crowd helped mobilize those who thought the police action was unwarranted and excessive.

Participants of the 2013 protest, which was also called Occupy Central, joined the students at this point and assembled en masse to swell the protest after 28 September. Although the original instigators of the 2013 Occupy Central had hoped for a turnout of a few thousand supporters at their 2014 demonstration, the media delivered massive mobilization beyond their wildest dreams.

The Western media clung to the myth that the "protestors were peaceful", but as early as 3 October, they were blocking an ambulance from reaching a collapsed policeman. Being incongruent with the narrative of a peaceful demand for democracy, incidents of protestor violence went unreported: off-duty police officers were attacked, fire extinguishers were turned on, and weapons such as bricks or boards spiked with nails were used against the police.

Also unreported was a nine-day petition drive in late October (garnering 1.83 million signatures) supporting police action to return the roads to the citizens.

Responsible media would have explored what the protestors had in mind when labelling the protest "pro-democracy". Did Beijing, as protestors claimed, contravene the principles set forth in the 1984 Sino–British Joint Declaration and betray its promise of universal suffrage? Despite it being a central rallying point, do protestors have a clear notion and an agreed-upon definition of "democracy"?

What is "genuine" universal suffrage and "open nomination"? What, if any, are the rules and procedures of an "open nomination"? Is open nomination—a form of direct democracy—the only acceptable model? Or would the representational democracy of the West suffice? The media failed to address these questions.

With their ingrained prejudice against China and idealized assumptions about the protestors' motives and demands, Western media outlets were not only biased, but failed to appreciate the complexity of the situation. Instead, they streamlined the coverage to fit into their preconceived notions about democracy. Thus the saying "if you don't read the news, you are uninformed; if you do read the news, you are misinformed" is a fitting description of the Western media's coverage of the protest in Hong Kong.

Ivy Lee

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SHARE

Journos behind bars

The welcome release of Australian journalist Peter Greste from imprisonment in Egypt should remind us of the dozens of other scribes who are jailed around the world for having exercised what should be the basic right of freedom of expression—in all countries.

Today, every day

Compiled by Hazel Flynn

100m+

Estimated acts of sexual intercourse worldwide

Resulting pregnancies: **900,000**

CLINICAL OBSTETRICS & GYNAECOLOGY, 3RD EDITION, ED. BY B. MAGOWAN, P. OWEN, A. THOMSON (SAUNDERS, 2014)

1. Distance light can travel across the universe: **25.9 billion km**
2. Amount of “meteoritic material” that falls to Earth: **44 tonnes**
3. Australia’s population increases by: **1108**
4. Children’s lives saved by vaccination worldwide: **8219**

5. Estimated area of Amazonian rainforest destroyed: **16 square km**
6. New plant and animal species identified worldwide: **49**
7. Australian patent applications lodged: **73**
8. Mainland Chinese who become millionaires, on average: **2.7**
9. Eggs eaten in Australia: **12,887,671**
10. Climbers who reach the summit of Mount Everest: **1.5**
11. Estimated number of people killed by lightning worldwide: **66**
12. Emails sent worldwide: **204 billion**
13. Percentage of which are spam: **67**

0.005 mm

The trunk of the world’s largest tree, the General Sherman sequoia in California, grows

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION, ‘GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT’

910 mm

Bamboo species, including *Phyllostachys heterocycla*, grow

GUINNESS WORLD RECORDS 2012 EDITION

1. NASA, ‘NUMBERS’; 2. NASA, ‘METEORS AND METEORITES’; 3. AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, POPULATION CLOCK; 4. UNICEF; 5. REUTERS, “BRAZIL CONFIRMS AMAZON DEFORESTATION SPED UP IN 2013”, 10.9.14; 6. SUNY-ESF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR SPECIES EXPLORATION, ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY. “TOP 10 NEW SPECIES FOR 2014” MEDIA RELEASE 22/5/2014; 7. IP AUSTRALIA ANNUAL REPORT 2013-14; 8. HURUN RESEARCH GROUP THE CHINESE MILLIONAIRE WEALTH REPORT 2013; 9. AUSTRALIAN EGG CORPORATION, YOUR EGGS, YOUR CHOICE, JUNE 2102, UPDATED JULY 2014; 10. NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, “MAXED OUT ON EVEREST”, JUNE 2013; 11. “ANNUAL RATES OF LIGHTNING FATALITIES BY COUNTRY”, RONALD L. HOLLE, 20TH ANNUAL LIGHTNING DETECTION CONFERENCE, TUCSON, 21-23/4/08; 12. THE RADICATI GROUP (CONSULTANCY), EMAIL STATISTICS REPORT 2014-2018; 13. KAPERSKY LAB (SECURITY SOFTWARE SELLERS), ‘SPAM NEWS’, 25.9.14.

Anne Summers **Conversations** presents

ADAM GOODES

IN CONVERSATION WITH ANNE SUMMERS

WITH AUDIENCE Q&A

Adam Goodes, the dead-set legend, in person and answering your questions

ADAM GOODES » Sporting legend and veteran of 350 games for the Sydney Swans. 2014 Australian of the Year. An inspiring young Australian leader on the sporting field and beyond.

Adam has had a stellar football career, having won two Brownlow Medals, played in two AFL premierships, and been a member of Indigenous Team of the Century, to name just a few of his achievements.

But, as he has said, 'If I'm only defined by my sport, I really have failed.' Throughout his time in the public eye, Adam has championed three issues: preventing violence against women, stopping racism and ensuring Indigenous Australians obtain constitutional recognition. At 34, he is someone younger people look to for guidance and inspiration.

I look forward to having a frank and unscripted conversation with Adam about the influences in his life, especially that of his mother, who was a member of the Stolen Generation, and about why he decided to become a White Ribbon Ambassador.

We will also talk about his highs and lows on the football field, and his determination to have a national conversation about race and racism—what it looks like, how hurtful it is, and how it can be eliminated.

It is not often that a major sporting figure is willing to engage in these kinds of conversations. We are very privileged that Adam has agreed to this conversation. Our evening promises to be heartfelt, informative and inspirational. Don't miss it.

ANNE SUMMERS Editor and Publisher, *Anne Summers Reports*

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ANTIBIOTICS ASR#10

Concern in the US that a sharp increase in the use of antibiotics in farm animals is leading to greater resistance to these drugs in humans. PBS FRONTLINE

SUICIDE ASR#5

The high cost of suicide in the Australian construction industry. ABC

We don't have the right to kill ourselves.

VOX

S'ELECTRIC ASR#8

Elon Musk's Tesla electric car will be manufactured in the "millions" by 2025.

AUSTRALIAN FINANCIAL REVIEW

Just as well, since *The Economist* predicts electric cars could keep US utilities in business.

THE ECONOMIST

While in Poland they're building electric buses. THE GREEN OPTIMISTIC

CLIMATE CHANGE

ASR#5 AND ASR#6

Do we need any more evidence?

SOURCE: HTTP://SICSCIENCE.COM/

Polixeni Papapetrou

THE IMMIGRANT from Lost Psyche, 2014

“In the series *Lost Psyche* I wanted to talk about history, memory and psyche. *The Immigrant,* for example, portrays a nineteenth-century immigrant (played by my my daughter), but countless others have followed her, often bringing with them to their new country a world of harrowing memory and fragile hope. Often the immigrant—such as my parents coming from Greece to Melbourne—are torn between the past of their home land and the future of their adopted country. The work is also a metaphor for the journey from childhood to adulthood.”

OCEAN MAN from The Ghillies, 2013

“In *The Gillies* I photographed my fourteen-year-old son wearing ghillie suits, a camouflage outfit originally developed for hunting and the military. I wanted the image to speak about boys, adolescence and identity and how they might reconcile their inner world with the social demands of the outer world. As childhood identity recedes, new archetypes emerge for boys: some take on an institutional camouflage and blend in with their surroundings whereas others emerge as individuals. In this picture Solomon is portrayed in harmony with his environment, but with a strong presence.”

THE LONERS from Between Worlds, 2009–12

“In *Between Worlds* I photographed children acting as animals such as rabbits, pigs, horses, penguins, sheep and dogs in the landscape. The animal masks and costumes allowed the children to inhabit a liminal space that separates children from adults and human from animal. I wondered where these animals might reside if I encountered them and chose locations suitable for each animal. In *The Loners* the elderly rabbits with wheelchair and walking cane are enjoying a scenic walk.”

WITNESS 1933 from Haunted Country, 2006

“The series *Haunted Country* was inspired by real and fictional accounts of children who went missing in the Australian bush in the nineteenth century. I was interested in exploring ideas about the lost bush child, capturing feelings about the Australian bush, but also about children and their eternal vulnerability in both the natural and social orders. The landscape acts metaphorically for a social “distancing” that can occur with children lost in other senses. In *Witness* Olympia closes her eyes to something she has encountered in the bush, a child prematurely exposed to an unpleasant experience.”

BEATING DRUMS 2004 from Wonderland, 2004

“This image is based on a scene from Lewis Carroll’s *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*. In this scene Alice passes around a cake and returns to her place with the empty dish and knife. There is a commotion about the cake and drum rolls fill the air. Alice drops to her knees, and puts her hands over her ears to silence the uproar. I wanted this picture to reflect how children react to mystifying adult behaviour. ”

OLYMPIA AS LEWIS CARROLL'S XIE KITCHIN, 2003 from Dreamchild, 2003

“Olympia was six years old when we made this photograph. I was interested in restaging some of Lewis Carroll's photographs to look at the importance of role play, dress-ups and performance in the child's world. Through these games and costume dramas children can switch identity and be male/ female, young/old, Asian/Caucasian or wherever their imagination takes them. I wanted to explore how Olympia presented herself as a girl and how she and I—the mother artist—could explore the boundaries of her identity through her dress-up performances before the camera.” *Courtesy the artist and Stills Gallery, Sydney*

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An appeal from Anne Summers Reports

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Reports

Lieutenant General Morrison's 36 years of service has spanned the long peace and the longest war.

PHOTO: PETER BREW-BEVAN

The Education of David Morrison

The head of the Army did not think women soldiers had a problem. That was before he'd sat down and heard their stories of abuse. **Anne Summers** profiles the General who made the famous YouTube video telling the men who could not behave to "get out" of his Army.

IT'S EARLY 2012 AND LIEUTENANT General David Morrison, Chief of the Australian Army, is sitting in an anonymous office in Sydney listening to two women.

"I gave you the person I love most in the world and this is how you have treated her," one of the women tells him. She is the mother of the other woman, a young soldier who has just told Morrison her story of sexual abuse by a superior.

He is shattered.

"If I could stand in your shoes and absorb your pain, I would," Morrison told her.

Also in the room is Elizabeth Broderick, Australia's Sex Discrimination Commissioner, who initiated this, the first of three such meetings with young women who had suffered abuse while in the Army.

"I wanted him to *feel* the case for change," Broderick said later. She wanted him to have a similar experience to hers, to hear first-hand the stories, to "move the case for change from his head to his heart".

So she put to him that he should meet one on one—away from Canberra, on neutral territory and out of uniform—some women who had suffered terribly from being in the Army.

By this time Broderick and Morrison had had what she describes as several "robust conversations". He did not think the problem was that bad; he thought women could advance in the Army if they really wanted to.

Morrison agreed, he says, "not reluctantly but with some trepidation". In the end, he found himself, as Broderick describes it, "sitting uncomfortably in his chair, the mother nervously escorting her daughter to the chair beside, a box of tissues in the middle".

"Sir, I'm so nervous," the young woman said.

"Believe me, I'm scared too," replied the Army Chief.

"In that moment I knew we had a chance at change," Broderick said in a speech in late 2014. "It takes an authentic and a compassionate military leader to admit that he fears what he's about to be told."

I spoke with "Karen", one of the three young

women, who told me she had been on the point of "separation"—Army-speak for resigning—when she agreed to meet with Morrison. She'd been on exercises with her unit for two months, during which time not a single person spoke to her.

When the government announced in April 2011, after the so-called "Skype scandal", that it had asked Broderick to review the treatment of women in the military, Karen was one of many serving women who sought out the Sex Discrimination Commissioner to tell her story.

Karen told me that people at her level were used to seeing Morrison as "reserved and stern-looking", but there she was in faraway Sydney with her best friend—another soldier who'd been abused—telling her story.

"He was certainly shocked, by the look on his face," Karen told me by phone in late January. "He was very apologetic. He made a promise to us that he'd enact change. He did renew my faith in the organization," she said.

She is still serving.

Morrison tells me about the third conversation. She was a young soldier who, after a night of drinking, had woken up to find her instructor in her bed, sexually assaulting her. She reported it and, Morrison says, the system responded appropriately—he was convicted in a civilian court of a sexual offence.

"But then we made a decision that, despite his suspended sentence of eighteen months, we would continue to employ him."

Morrison's anger is still palpable three years on. "And then we compounded that by keeping him in the Army, eventually promoting him again and then posting her to the same unit he was in."

"My disbelief gave way to shame," Morrison said in a speech to a United Nations International Women's Day Conference in 2013. "This was not the Army that I had loved and thought I knew." As Morrison told the boys at The King's School, a posh private school in Sydney, in a remarkable speech delivered last November on White Ribbon Day, his shame "morphed into an implacable resolve to do something about it".

It was eight years since the initial crime, and the man had had no blemish on his career since, but Morrison discharged him because, he told me, at the time of the conviction, "We made the wrong decisions".

The young soldier who'd been raped "left us", Morrison told me. "But I am still in touch with her and we are supporting her in her studies."

He feels deeply that he owes the people who were hurt by the institution that had been his life.

"It changed him," Brigadier Adam Findlay, who commands the Seventh Brigade, told me. "He thought the Army was in better shape than it was."

Just how bad it was has been documented in any

"Sir, I'm so nervous," the young woman said. "Believe me, I'm scared too," replied the Army Chief.

number of reports (there has been a major report virtually every year for the past two decades) but perhaps none sets out better the brutal culture of the entire military than the *Report on Abuse in Defence*, released by the Defence Abuse Response Taskforce last November.

"Sixty years of sins," says Morrison, handing me his copy to borrow.

The report was commissioned by the former government and was conducted by the Hon. Len Roberts-Smith QC (who is the father of Victoria Cross winner, Ben Roberts-Smith). It lays out in stark detail the hazing, sexual assaults and other forms of almost unbelievable brutality that have been ritually inflicted on both male and female members of the military (although disproportionately on women) by their colleagues in

Three generations of soldiering, clockwise from above left: Morrison's grandfather and great-uncle in World War One; his father Alan Morrison in Korea 1951; David in Papua New Guinea in 1990.

a long-standing tradition that, to date, it seems, no one has seriously taken on.

David Morrison's momentous mission to transform the way the Army operates and to change its often-brutal underlying culture has evolved over a lifetime, but even before he read the *Abuse* report he understood, from the conversations with the three young soldiers, his task was more herculean than he had previously assumed.

IN APRIL 2011, just three months before Morrison became Chief of Army, a young female cadet at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) went to the media after she discovered she had been filmed, without her knowledge, having consensual sex with another cadet who had beamed the activity via Skype to a group of his friends in an adjoining room.

Defence Minister Stephen Smith described what

became known as the Skype scandal as "very much an NRL or an AFL moment" for Defence. He meant that the boys' actions, and the way ADFA failed to respond adequately, was a defining moment in highlighting a similar systemic lack of respect for women in the military that various sex scandals had exposed in the football codes.

Smith ordered a number of inquiries, including asking Elizabeth Broderick to investigate the overall treatment of women in the Defence force, and to report separately on how women fared at ADFA.

Morrison was in his first month of being Chief of Army when Broderick came to see him.

They had been in the military for fewer than ten weeks when they did what they did ... Those cadets were attracted to our culture.

"She sat in here and she asked me some questions that I was neither expecting nor could I answer," he told me. "That was a life-changing moment."

He told me that after talking with Broderick and other women like journalist Catherine Fox and consultant Avril Henry, working his way through "a pile of reading written from a feminist perspective" and "after thinking on this issue more deeply than I have ever thought on any other big issue I am now 100 per cent changed in my view".

"I had thought that the actions of those young men at ADFA was more indicative of their upbringing or just who they were as individuals than anything to do with the military," Morrison told me. "They had been in the military for fewer than ten weeks when they did what they did."

He was not convinced, in other words, that the military was in any way to blame.

He has now changed his mind.

Those cadets, he says, "were attracted to our culture".

Morrison is man of ideas who has thought deeply about how the Army needs to prepare for the future. When he first became Chief of Army, he established three priorities. First, and most basic, was to deliver combat-ready units and forces and individuals for current operations. Second was to deliver a "robust and capable army in the third decade of this century" and third was "people", which he initially thought was "primarily about care of the wounded, both physical and mentally wounded".

He developed a new force structure that replaced the previous multiple "silos of excellence" with three rotating combat brigades that, in official language, "provides both the utility of an immediately deployable force for the most likely scenarios and a strategic hedge against the uncertainty of the future". Plan Beersheba—named for a famous World War I battle in the Middle East—was launched in December 2012. Although it is not widely known outside the Army, it was a major change, reflecting what the Army has learned both from the long peace and the past sixteen continuous years of war, the longest in its history.

"For anyone, that would be a wonderful legacy," say Brigadier Adam Findlay, from whose Seventh Brigade the next contingent of soldiers going to Afghanistan is being drawn.

Morrison has also told the Army that it needs an "intellectual pivot" to reach beyond traditional analyses, to rely less on "the god of technology" to deliver weapons that will fight future wars and to instead understand how a "digital Army" will transform everything.

His initial plan to focus on wounded soldiers, while not abandoned, quickly became overshadowed by the urgent need to address the Army's culture.

He had arrived at the view that "despite all the equipment and despite all the great performance of

Major General Alan ("Alby") Morrison and his son, then Colonel David Morrison, Anzac Day, 2000.

the Australian Army throughout its 114-year history, we've been failing because we haven't been making best use of 51 per cent of the Australian population in terms of talent", he said during our interview.

He had to increase the numbers of women in the Army and to vastly improve their experiences once they were there. He was driven in part by pragmatism: the changing (and ageing) demography of Australia was shrinking the recruitment pool. For the most part Gen Y wasn't interested in being ordered around and the Army was not appealing to multicultural Australia.

"Many Australians have an idealized image of the Australian soldier as a rough-hewn country lad—invariably white—a larrikin who fights best with a hangover and who never salutes an officer, especially the Poms," Morrison told the UN Women's Conference in March 2013. "This is a pantomime caricature. Every soldier is Mel Gibson in *Gallipoli* and frankly it undermines our recruitment."

The Anzac mythology might be attractive to the young people who flock to Turkey each April but it was not translating into recruits.

Morrison ordered more money to be spent on recruiting women. Whereas the Navy and the Air Force ads "had smart women in smart uniforms doing smart things", the Army's showed a woman bayonetting something. Policies on childcare and maternity leave were reviewed.

In 2013 Morrison set "specific recruiting targets" for the first time, saying these made him "personally accountable" for success or failure. He promised to recruit 660 women that year, up from 300 the previous year.

It was ambitious, but it needed to be.

The Army, with just 10 per cent women, had fewer women than the Navy (18.5 per cent) and Air Force (17.1 per cent) in 2011, reported the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Recruitment was made easier in September 2012 when the Gillard government removed most of the remaining limitations on women serving in combat roles. These are the key Army jobs, essential for credibility and for promotion, and until 2012 women could not do them.

"It is impossible to overstate the importance of

this," Morrison told the UN International Women's Day Conference in 2013. "This is the last citadel for women in our Army. Close combat is the core business of the Army."

Removing the barriers to women serving in close combat also removed "the last defence of those who are resistant to the widest employment of women in the Army and, by extension, their promotion to the most senior ranks".

As a result, Morrison now believes a woman could service as Chief of the Army within a decade.

After his UN speech, Broderick insisted that he join her for dinner with some of the delegates to the conference.

They identified themselves as the Jedi Council, though without the 'shared noble purpose' of the *Star Wars* saga.

"It's part of your training," she'd joked.

Soon General Morrison was sitting down with nine women, all of them pacifists, several of them Indian, and one a woman from PNG who protects women accused of witchcraft.

"It was just a hoot of an evening," he told me at our interview. "It was just fantastic."

But if General Morrison was on something of a high after being feted at the UN, he very soon fell back to earth.

Within weeks of returning to Canberra he discovered that a group of his men had created and shared, in some cases on the Defence Department's internal email system, explicit and lewd images and videos of a number of women, some of them soldiers. The women had been filmed without their knowledge. It had been happening for some years and more than 100 soldiers were involved.

This was far worse than the Skype incident and implicated many more men. Nor were they raw cadets—these perpetrators were long-serving, many quite senior, soldiers, eleven of them officers. They identified themselves as the Jedi Council, though without "the shared noble purpose" of the *Star Wars* saga. In seeming defiance of their Chief, these men were intent on perpetuating the worst of the Army's sexist culture.

Within a day of learning about this, Morrison had discharged six men, suspended a number of others and referred the matter to police.

He then spoke on 13 June by video link to the 40,000-plus people under his command. We could all see what one of his colleagues refers to as "the steel in his gaze". Another described his anger that day as "red-hot glowing". The legendary temper of General Morrison, for so long restrained, was unleashed.

His powerful message, telling people who could not conform to the values of the Army to "get out", quickly became a YouTube sensation. It has since been viewed 1.5 million times, and brought Morrison international fame. In Australia, the Army Chief became instantly recognizable—and extremely popular, especially among women.

"The double-edged sword that I got served through the Skype and Jedi Council issues is that I had a great public interest in what we were doing," he tells me. "And the old adage is to never waste a crisis, and I don't think we have."

Clearly not.

"A 36-year career has been crystallized in the public mind by a three-minute YouTube clip," he says.

WE MEET IN HIS OFFICE on the first floor of a building in the Defence complex at Russell Hill in Canberra in late January. It is hardly a lavish space for the man who commands the largest of the three forces. He has some nice art on the walls—a Septimus Power of World War I gunners and a William Dargie depicting World War II, on loan from

the Australian War Memorial—and some striking large photographs of soldiers. But the room looks out over the carpark.

He strides out to greet me. The General is trim and compact, with reddish hair, piercing blue eyes and a straightforward, friendly and informal manner, shorter than he seems on television. We sit on brown chesterfields and talk for an hour and a half.

I find David Morrison easy and engaging. He makes strong eye contact. He is well prepared and he has also done his research.

Morrison was born in Cairns in 1956 but because his father, Major General Alan Morrison, or Alby, as everyone called him, was in the military the family moved a lot, to the UK, Adelaide and finally to Canberra. Alby served in Korea and Vietnam, and from 1977 to 1981 was Commandant of the Royal Military College, Duntroon.

Morrison has described how upset he was as a thirteen-year-old to see his father being booed on his return from Vietnam as he led the Ninth Battalion of the Royal Australian Regiment through the streets of Adelaide.

"He had all these soldiers killed in his unit, over 30, from one battalion. We lost over 41 in ten, twelve years in Afghanistan. And there they were, being booed."

I have a ghastly feeling that I might have been among those who booed back in 1969.

"I know you protested against the war in Vietnam," he says. Rather than reprimanding me, he just asks if I am still as "judgemental" now. I tell him that I am not.

He says his father did not condemn the hecklers.

"This is a democracy," he told his son. "People have got the right to express their views."

Despite his father being "the number one role model in my life", Morrison enrolled in an Arts/Law degree at the Australian National University. There he developed his abiding love for literature and the arts. But after uni he was "broke", had no clue what to do with his Arts degree and, without telling his father, at the age of 22, David Morrison joined the military.

David Morrison at university in the late 1970s.

In 1979, the Army was entering what would be known as "the long peace" after Vietnam and before East Timor.

"The Army was not viewed as an essential tool of statecraft by the government or the nation," Morrison says. "Our budget was cut and so was our strength. Too many of our brightest and best left the Army to find a more rewarding life outside."

Morrison would not serve overseas until 1999, when he went to East Timor as Chief of Staff for Major Peter Cosgrove.

Morrison was promoted to three-star General—outranking his two-star father—in 2011, just before he was made Chief of the Army. During his 36-year military career, Morrison has held a number of regimental positions, been Australian instructor at Sandhurst in the UK, commanded the Second Battalion and the Third Brigade, and occupied the position of Director-General Preparedness and Plans (Army). He has been commander of the Australian Defence College, Deputy Chief of Army and in 2009 became the Army's first Forces Commander, based at Victoria Barracks in Sydney.

Major General Craig Orme, just returned as Australia's Commander in the Middle East, and a

friend of Morrison's, was at Duntroon when Alby was in charge. Alby was "a well-loved man", and a remarkable orator whose farewell address to the cadets, Orme tells me, is still remembered.

His son David is "respected" rather than loved, says Orme. "There's a toughness there that means he would not be loved in the way his father was, but a senior leader would always choose to be respected."

It is how he has been able to take on the Army and force through change. And having inherited his father's eloquence means he is able to communicate what he's doing to audiences at home and internationally.

MORRISON SAYS THAT changing culture is "the hardest thing you can ever do". And it's a pretty lonely job: "You don't have many peers when you're chief of the Army."

So Morrison swaps experiences with leaders outside the military. He has benefitted greatly from being one of Elizabeth Broderick's Male Champions of Change, a group of 25 CEOs who have signed on to accelerate the pace of improving gender equality in their organizations.

He is especially close to fellow MCC, David Thodey, the CEO of Telstra, describing him as "a pretty amazing guy. I've learned a lot from him".

"He's given the Army a voice on a stage we didn't have," General Orme says. And while there's a fair amount of envy at Morrison getting to share that stage in London last year with actor and UNHCR ambassador Angelina Jolie, there is also the bonus that what he says on these international platforms "resonates inside the Army".

This ability to "package and communicate a message" is admired by his peers and adds to his stature. His "eloquence, authority and integrity makes him a powerful communicator and leader", says Orme.

Morrison's eloquence was on display at a dinner he hosted in 2012 at the RSL Club in Melbourne. Those invited included the ABC's Barrie Cassidy and Heather Ewart, Greg Sheridan from *The Australian*, John Roskam from the Institute of Public Affairs and journalist Gideon Haigh.

At some point, Morrison told the group he'd like to say a few words.

"For fifteen minutes he gave one of the most brilliant extemporaneous speeches I've ever heard—fluent, frank, logical, persuasive," Haigh told me. "There was no rhetoric … there was not a single umm or ahhh. It was serious without being earnest, smart without being know-all."

Haigh was impressed not just by the content of Morrison's speech but at the way he "spoke, not just in complete sentences but complete paragraphs".

He would have been even more impressed had he known that, despite his apparent composure, Morrison's head was still spinning from a conversation he'd had on the plane on the way down. His speechwriter and long-time friend Malcolm McGregor, who'd served with him in the infantry, had started a conversation around "transgendered people".

Morrison responded: "Is this going where I think it's going?"

Yes, it was. There are around fifteen trans-gendered people in the Defence forces so it was not a new issue but, as Morrison told me, "I wasn't expecting someone who I had known for 30-plus years to sit on a plane with me to Melbourne …"

As they left the dinner, Morrison clutched McGregor on the elbow and said, "I'm with you. I don't understand how this is going to play out, I don't know what is happening in your life, I can't empathize with you on that point, but I can assure you that you are my mate and I will stay absolutely rock solid with you."

Malcolm's transition to Cate was very public because of the media and political circles she moves in and she received a huge amount of understanding and support. Including from her boss.

"She was very well looked after, and not just by me," Morrison told me. "I think I have created a workplace environment where people feel safer to declare differences from the norm."

That feeling of safety should extend to women in the military who have endured domestic violence, he says, and he is encouraging every soldier in the Australian Army to take the White Ribbon oath

"to never commit, excuse or remain silent" about violence against women.

As Morrison said in his YouTube video, in a phrase that has reverberated widely, "the standard you walk past is the standard you accept".

DAVID MORRISON WANTS his legacy to be "not just gender and not just military capability, it's about recognizing our history as well".

He wants the contribution of ordinary soldiers to be recognized. Late last year he launched Cassidy's book, *Private Bill: In Love and War*, the story of his father, who was a prisoner of war in Crete during World War I. He also recently launched *Not for Glory* by Susan Newhouse, the story of the nursing corps. As you might expect, he has read widely on war, including Pat Barker's *Regeneration* trilogy, Richard Flanagan's *Narrow Road to the Deep North*, David Malouf's *The Great World* and George Johnston's books.

This is a man who has thought deeply about what it means to be a warrior. He talks of the men of the First AIF whose "battles never stopped" and of "the domestic and societal cost that must have been wrought not just for the immediate families but across generations.

"This is why Army has worked so hard with White Ribbon and other like organizations to try in some way to make it easier for our contemporary veterans to face their demons."

Morrison has also grappled with how to reconcile having a large female presence within an Army whose basic purpose is, where necessary, to kill.

"There's no prettying up what the Army exists for," says Morrison. "Under our constitution, it's to protect the nation and its interests up to and including the use of sanctioned appropriate levels of violence should that be required. That's what we train for."

None of the changes he has introduced "should be misunderstood as watering down our capacity to wield force", he says.

But force should be confined to the battlefield.

"If a warrior can't turn it off then you have nothing to distinguish the soldier from the brute," Morrison said famously last year at the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence, where 155 nations signed a declaration to end impunity for rape in war.

Rape of women has always been a weapon of war, Morrison acknowledges. But not in his Army.

"Any nexus between an Army such as the one I aspire to lead and sexual assault is absolutely unacceptable," he has said. At the heart of this sexual violence stands the soldier, he says, "and the choice that he will make … to be a protector or a perpetrator".

The same goes for bullying, harassment or other forms of intimidation of comrades: "No one has ever explained to me how a coward in barracks is a hero in operations," says Morrison. "And bullies who humiliate their comrades are cowards."

Morrison has also grappled with how to reconcile having a large female presence within an Army whose basic purpose is … to kill.

AFTER THE JEDI COUNCIL scandal, Morrison said to his leadership team, "We are missing the point here. We are seeing a series of incidents and the strand that connects them all is a lack of respect—respect for your mates, male or female."

On 4 July 2013, just three weeks after the YouTube video, in another hard-hitting speech, General Morrison added "respect" to initiative, courage and teamwork as the values that form the basis for the cultural and ethical foundation of the service. Pointing to the Army's "treatment of recruits, women, minorities, the abuse of alcohol

"If a warrior can't turn it off then you have nothing to distinguish the soldier from the brute."
PHOTO: PETER BREW-BEVAN

and the way bullying emerges from our attempts to build small teams" he concluded there was a "systemic problem" in the Army's culture.

"To pretend otherwise, after so many repeated scandals and so much adverse scrutiny, is simply dishonest and self-delusional."

Morrison gave the grim statistics of some 180 soldiers being charged or under investigation for sexual harassment, bullying, sexual and other forms of assault and drunkenness.

"Launching respect was one of the key things I've done," Morrison told me in our interview. "I was stunned that it wasn't picked up." But it has had a huge impact inside the Army.

"People embraced it, are held to account for it, and are sacked because they don't show it."

In all, 200 men have been discharged in the past two years for unacceptable behaviour, many of them directly because of the Jedi Council.

Everyone knows the new rules.

"They're not doing things," Karen told me of conduct on her base in Queensland, "not because they're wrong but because they're scared of getting caught." In the past, there was no such fear.

The number of women recruits has increased."We were below 10 and we got to 12. Won't get to 13. We are 20 short of 12 per cent," he says. "We've stalled a bit but we're trying."

Women are now in Army corps, artillery and engineers. "We've never had women in those areas before". We have women commanding units of 600 or 700 people. No woman has yet applied to join the infantry. "But, look, I am an infantry soldier," says Morrison. "It's not for most men in the Army, so I don't think we should be too concerned about it."

The big question is whether these changes will continue once Morrison retires on 15 May this year.

"No chance in my view that any of this momentum for change will slacken," Morrison tells me.

It is widely expected that he will be succeeded by Lieutenant General Angus Campbell, who headed Operation Sovereign Borders, designed to stop maritime asylum-seekers. Colleagues say Campbell shares Morrison's commitment to change.

Speaking at the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict, London 2014.

People are watching Air Marshal Mark Binskin, the newly appointed Chief of the Defence Force, to see if he will continue the strong support for continuing reform of the three services shown by his predecessors General David Hurley and Air Vice Marshal Angus Houston.

David Morrison, the general who without hesitation calls himself a feminist, has three sons, none of whom are in the military. His wife Gayle Anderson is a senior bureaucrat in the federal Department of Health. He has no plans for his retirement beyond looking forward to enjoying a "less regimented life".

For a man who comes from a family that has given 70 years of continuous service to an organization he clearly loves, that might be harder than he imagines.

SHARE

Anne Summers will hold an unscripted conversation with Lt General David Morrison in Sydney at the City Recital Hall on 26 February at 6.30pm. Further details and how to obtain tickets.

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AN EVENING OF INSIGHT AND LEARNING

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WITH AUDIENCE Q&A

Book now to hear the man who is changing the Australian Army

LT GEN. MORRISON sent shock waves through the Australian Army last year when he identified “a systemic problem” of sexism, unacceptable standards of behaviour and other issues in the Army’s culture. He has now taken on the herculean job of changing that culture, telling those who can’t respect each other to “get out”, and setting targets to increase the numbers of women.

The Army Chief said, in an address broadcast on YouTube, and viewed by 1.5 million people, that he would be “ruthless” in ridding the service of people who could not live up to the values he wants to Army to enshrine.

“The standard you walk past is the standard you accept,” he said.

He later appeared on stage in London at a Global Summit to End Sexual Violence alongside UNHCR envoy Angelina Jolie and British Foreign Secretary William Hague. There, he made headlines again with his statement that military organizations that exclude women “do nothing to distinguish the soldier from the brute”.

Lt Gen. Morrison will talk about how to make lasting change in an organization bound by strong history and traditions. His strategies and practical advice should resonate with anyone who is trying to change an entrenched culture.

We can all learn from this man in what is bound to be a fascinating and insightful discussion.

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SPECIAL REPORT

An incisive guide to Australia's think tanks

Who are they? Who runs them? Who funds them? How accountable are they and how much influence do they really have? **Robert Milliken** reports on his extensive investigation into these bodies that are increasingly setting the agenda for governments.

ILLUSTRATION: SAM BENNETT

One speech reverberated around the world even more than Barack Obama's when leaders gathered in Australia for the G20 summit last November. The day after the Brisbane summit Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel delivered a calculated attack on Russian President Vladimir Putin for his country's incursions in Ukraine.

"Outdated thinking … which tramples international law underfoot," Merkel declared, "must not be allowed to prevail." *The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, The Economist* and *Der Spiegel* made much of Merkel's speech. The *Guardian* called it a "major shift in European geopolitics".

While other G20 leaders spoke from more conventional venues—President Obama at the University of Queensland, and China's President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi addressed federal parliament—Merkel's platform was Sydney's Lowy Institute for International Policy, one of Australia's most prominent think tanks.

Merkel's choice reflected a significant shift of another sort: the growing influence of think tanks in Australian public life. From just a handful a decade ago, some estimates put the number of think tanks in Australia today at about 30 (see page 37). Think tanks are reshaping how public policy is formed and debated in Australia, and their influence on public opinion and governments is growing. As Merkel's appearance at the Lowy Institute suggests, they are also playing more entrepreneurial roles, and taking command of public debate and the key political players who drive it.

Michael Fullilove, the Lowy Institute's executive director, had already snared Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese democracy leader, to speak during her Australian visit in 2013. (Fullilove went to Burma to invite Suu Kyi personally, hoping to "get Lowy at the front of the queue".)

A year before the Brisbane G20 summit, Fullilove had set out to persuade Merkel to deliver the annual Lowy Lecture, probably Australia's most prestigious public address on international affairs. Past speakers include Rupert Murdoch, leading defence strategist Robert O'Neill, and Lionel Barber, editor of the *Financial Times*.

Of all the world leaders attending the G20, why Merkel?

"She's the strongest leader in Europe," Fullilove tells *ASR*. "Her presence and political qualities are outstanding. Russia was an important topic for Australians after the downing of MH17. We were very keen to secure her."

Fullilove approached the German ambassador in Canberra, the Australian embassy in Germany and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

> The gold medal for a think tank is not only to have a world leader speak, but to make a speech that is globally influential.

Crucially, he then brought his think-tank credentials into play, through Lowy's membership of the Council of Councils, an inner circle of 23 prestigious international foreign policy think tanks. This network enabled Fullilove to send a message directly to Merkel's foreign policy adviser in Berlin.

"The German government understood the proposition," he says. "We were inviting the Chancellor to speak at the signature annual event of Australia's leading foreign-policy think tank."

About 750 people attended Merkel's speech at the Westin Hotel, the biggest event Lowy has ever hosted. The A-list audience included two former prime ministers, Paul Keating and John Howard; Angus Houston and David Hurley, both former Chiefs of the Australian Defence Force, and the latter now the NSW Governor; Michael Thawley,

Big thinkers

AUSTRALIA'S MAIN THINK TANKS	BASED	ALIGNMENT	FUNDING
Australia Institute	Canberra	progressive	private
Australian Strategic Policy Institute	Canberra	non-aligned	government
Centre for Independent Studies	Sydney	free market, conservative	private
Chifley Research Centre	Canberra	Labor Party	private, government
The Climate Institute	Sydney	non-aligned	private
Grattan Institute	Melbourne	non-aligned	private, government
Institute of Public Affairs	Melbourne	free market, conservative	private
Lowy Institute for International Policy	Sydney	non-aligned	private, government
Menzies Research Centre	Canberra	Liberal Party	private, government
Mitchell Institute	Melbourne	non-aligned	private, Victoria University
Per Capita Sydney	Melbourne	progressive	private
United States Studies Centre	Sydney	non-aligned	private, government
OTHER IDEAS CENTRES			
ANU College of Asia and the Pacific	Canberra	non-aligned	Australian National University
Asialink	Melbourne	non-aligned	private, Melbourne University
Australian Institute of International Affairs	Canberra	non-aligned	private, government
China Studies Centre	Sydney	non-aligned	private, Sydney University
Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law	Sydney	non-aligned	private

head of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet; politicians, diplomats, business leaders and other influential figures.

The Lowy Lecture usually happens at a gala dinner. This one took place at 11 a.m. on a Monday to accommodate Merkel's schedule. Nonetheless, seats were snapped up within five minutes of Lowy announcing the event. The audience listened through headphones to a simultaneous translation of Merkel's speech in German, and later witnessed a snappy, illuminating Q&A session, some of it in English, between Merkel and Fullilove. (Watch highlights of Angela Merkel's address to the Lowy Institute.)

For Merkel, the event gave her a global platform on which to abandon her earlier cautious tone towards Russia.For Fullilove, it raised Lowy's status as a think tank with public impact.

"The gold medal for a think tank is not only to have a world leader speak, but to make a speech that is globally influential," he says. "You have to have the idea and the wherewithal to get the person, and to convince them that they're going to make a splash."

MICHAEL WESLEY, Fullilove's predecessor as head of the Lowy Institute, now a professor at the Australian National University's College of Asia and the Pacific, estimates about 100 think tanks in Canada, 200 in Britain and an astonishing 10,000 in America.

Precise definitions of think tanks, he says, can be fluid. "But think tanks make Washington DC a city of ideas, in a way I'm not sure any of our capital cities are," Wesley says. "I have a hope that Canberra might be, but we're not there yet."

Before Lowy started in 2003, two conservative think tanks championing free markets and small government dominated: Melbourne's Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) and Sydney's Centre for Independent Studies (CIS). The Australia Institute, which calls itself Australia's "most influential progressive think tank", started in Canberra in 1994. But the mushrooming of think tanks really started after Lowy's foundation.

Over the past twelve years, the Grattan Institute and the Mitchell Institute have started in Melbourne, and Per Capita, another progressive think tank, has opened offices in Melbourne and Sydney. Unlike those that openly tout their political outlooks, the Lowy, Grattan and Mitchell institutes claim to be non-partisan. All of them now reach deeply into Australia's power structures: their boards contain some of the country's most influential people from business, finance, education and not-for-profit bodies.

A handful of others fall into separate categories again: the Menzies Research Centre and the Chifley Research Centre are small think tanks affiliated to the Liberal and Labor parties respectively, and are partly publicly funded.

Whatever their differences, the rise of think tanks has been spurred by the shrinking influence on public policy of the three main institutions that once supplied governments with most of their ideas: the public service, universities and the press. This has opened an ideas vacuum that think tanks are occupying.

The internet has slaughtered newspapers' revenue, sending many out of business and downsizing others. Universities have turned inward, as academics share ideas more with each other than with the wider world.

The public service has suffered cuts under both sides of politics, which have left many policy functions outsourced. More policy advisers than ever now work inside ministers' offices.

The rise of think tanks has been spurred by the shrinking influence on public policy of the three main institutions that once supplied governments with most of their ideas.

John Daley, chief executive of the Grattan Institute, believes the internet's universal access to information has also upset the exclusive status that universities, the public service and the press might once have had as research and reporting centres. The internet has "lowered barriers of entry for analysts in all areas".

The public service, Daley argues, can no longer attract as many people who might have seen it as an exclusive domain for policy analysis. Think tanks are now drawing in "extremely talented" ex-public servants.

"What presses their buttons is seeing their analysis get into print, in public, with their names on it, through think tanks," Daley tells *ASR*.

What newspapers once called "think pieces", written by senior journalists to magnify the background to big stories, are now more likely to be commissioned from think-tank analysts. On just one day, on 16 December, the *Australian Financial Review* carried two such pieces on events the previous day. Peter Jennings, executive director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute in Canberra, commented on the Martin Place siege in a piece titled "Sydney siege raises tough questions for our security". On the facing page, under the

heading "The budget has tied Abbott in knots", Richard Denniss, executive director of the Australia Institute, commented on economic policy after the Treasurer's release of the Mid-Year Economic and Fiscal Outlook (MYEFO).

"I'm very convinced that universities can't do think tanks," Allan Gyngell, the inaugural head of the Lowy Institute, tells *ASR*. Gyngell had been a diplomat, an analyst with the Office of National Assessments, the prime minister's intelligence body (which he later headed) and an adviser to Prime Minister Paul Keating.

"For academics, the only path to making your way is through teaching and the number of peer-reviewed journal articles you produce," he says. "There are no benefits from going to conferences and buttonholing foreign ministers, the way think-tank people do. For think tanks, the rewards come from the impacts you have through conferences, writing op-ed articles, talking to people, planting seeds on policy that may produce something."

THINK TANKS ARRIVED relatively late in Australia. Wesley traces the first think tank to Britain in 1831, when the Duke of Wellington founded the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) for defence and security research.

Gyngell sees modern think tanks starting in America in 1916, when the businessman and philanthropist Robert S. Brookings helped to form the "first private institute devoted to a scientific analysis of public policy issues". It later became the Brookings Institution, the "father of think tanks".

Like these trailblazers, most of Australia's think tanks are private institutions, with the majority of their funding coming from private philanthropists and donors, some publicly undisclosed.

Gyngell identifies three further characteristics of think tanks: they are not-for-profit bodies, and their key roles are to research public policy and to contribute to public debate. Above all, they are united by a "commitment to shape outcomes in the world of policy".

Martin Indyk, an Australian foreign policy expert who became US Ambassador to Israel under President Bill Clinton, and now a senior figure at Brookings and a member of the board of the Lowy Institute, puts it more bluntly.

"Our business is to influence policy," Indyk told the *New York Times* last September. "To be policy-relevant, we need to engage policy-makers."

In pursuing this role, think tanks are sharing a rapidly growing space vacated by old media in feeding the public's interest in policy debates.

"We're one of the new players in a changing landscape," says Daley of the Grattan Institute. He nominates *Guardian Australia*, the *Drum*, *Inside Story* and *ASR* as examples of new online media moving into the same space.

> I'm very convinced that universities can't do think tanks.
>
> **Allan Gyngell**
> **Lowy Institute**

Daley sees the Grattan Institute's role as "seeking truth, not victory". He contrasts this with the Heritage Foundation, one of America's most conservative think tanks, which "sees victory as its role".

This contrast highlights a crucial difference separating think tanks from some of the institutions whose roles they are now occupying. In think tanks' quests to influence public policy, and in some cases to change it altogether, the opaque nature of some of their private funding raises important—and often impenetrable—questions about exactly whose interests they represent.

THE GRATTAN INSTITUTE occupies a modest, two-storey brick building that started life as a machine tool shop in 1941, down a cobbled lane off

Grattan Street in the inner-Melbourne suburb of Carlton. The University of Melbourne, which owns the building, offered it as Grattan's home when it opened in 2008. Thirty staff work in a converted open space upstairs.

Grattan was born of Sydney–Melbourne rivalry. When John Howard's government inaugurated the United States Studies Centre in 2006 with a federal endowment of $25 million, it chose the University of Sydney, instead of Melbourne University, which had also hoped to house it.

That triggered a group of Melbourne powerbrokers to hatch a plan for a new think tank in their city. They included Labor Premier Steve Bracks; Terry Moran, then head of the Premier's Department; Glyn Davis, Melbourne University Vice-Chancellor; and Allan Myers, a leading barrister who is now Grattan's chairman.

The Rudd government in Canberra and the Brumby government in Victoria each endowed Grattan with $15 million. BHP Billiton and the National Australia Bank, two Melbourne-based leading companies, provided $4 million and $1 million respectively, launching Grattan with a total endowment of $35 million.

Daley was recruited as chief executive. He has degrees in law and science, and had worked for the Victorian Department of Premier and Cabinet, McKinsey and ANZ Bank.

Unlike the Lowy Institute's exclusive focus on foreign affairs, Grattan's constitution stipulates that it look at domestic policy.

Because of its inaugural funding by federal and state Labor governments, Grattan's work is sometimes branded as having a left-wing perspective. Daley insists they are non-partisan.

"We sit in the sensible centre," he says. "We talk to all sides of politics, and all sides ring us up regularly."

Grattan's board hardly suggests a Labor-friendly outfit. Its members include David Kemp, a former Howard government minister and brother of Rod Kemp, chairman of Australia's most right-wing think tank, the IPA. Others are Andrew Mackenzie, BHP Billiton's chief executive, and Peter Scanlon, a property tycoon and philanthropist. Two more, ABC broadcaster Geraldine Doogue and businesswoman and former Lord Mayor Lucy Turnbull, are from Sydney.

From top: offices of The Centre for Independent Studies, Grattan Institute and the Lowy Institute.

Some think tanks refuse to identify all their financial supporters, arguing their funders' wish for confidentiality. This can raise speculation about their independence, and whether some think tanks are, or can become, de facto lobbyists for certain industries or causes. The *New York Times* last September exposed how some Washington think tanks had accepted tens of millions of dollars to undertake research on behalf of foreign governments seeking to win influence "on the

cluttered Washington stage, where hundreds of nations jockey for attention from the United States government". These undeclared grants, the paper reported, threatened to muddy the division between lobbying and scholarly research, which think tanks claim as their hallmark.

Daley says, "If you define lobbyists as those representing a cause, particularly for money, we're not that. We do our best to represent the wider public interest in our reports."

Daley concedes people might assume that all think tanks act in the public interest because their work is scholarly. He says, "A big danger, though, is that think tanks can be used as cover for lobbyists."

He offers that danger as the reason why Grattan discloses its funders' identities. Besides its original launch endowment, Grattan's website lists ten corporate supporters, including Wesfarmers, Google and Westpac, although not the precise amounts of their contributions. One donor is the Origin Foundation, a philanthropic offshoot of Origin Energy. Daley maintains its contributions are not targeted to Grattan's work on energy policy. "Corporate money goes to Grattan as a whole."

WHEN THE LOWY Institute opened in Sydney in 2003, this privately endowed foreign policy think tank was unlike anything Australia had seen. It recruited some of Australia's top thinkers to research, write and speak on Australia's place in the world. It set up shop not in Canberra or a university, but in a historic building in the heart of Sydney's business district.

Frank Lowy, head of the Westfield Group property empire, founded the institute to mark the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in Australia in 1952 as a poor immigrant from postwar Europe. Mark Ryan, a Lowy Institute board member and Westfield's corporate affairs director, says Lowy had sought ideas for giving something to the country that had allowed him to thrive. The idea of a think tank, rather than a more conventional endowment such as an art gallery, was born in a conversation between Lowy and his son Peter who, with his brother Steven, is now Westfield's co-chief executive.

Men from Melbourne's business establishment founded the IPA in 1943 to counter what they saw as the "threat of permanent and extensive government control".

Lowy established the think tank with a gift of $30 million. It now runs on an annual budget of about $8 million. The Lowy family's share has fallen to about 60 per cent, with the rest coming from Australian and international philanthropic foundations, membership and government and corporate grants to some Lowy research programs. Its website lists all donors.

Some conservatives have labelled Lowy, like Grattan, a leftish think tank. Like Grattan, the composition of Lowy's board defies such simplistic characterization. Besides Mark Ryan, a former adviser to ex-Prime Minister Paul Keating, it includes ABC Chairman James Spigelman, the former NSW Chief Justice and an adviser to Prime Minister Gough Whitlam; Judith Sloan, a right-wing free market economist; and former Reserve Bank Governor Ian Macfarlane. Michael Thawley, a former adviser to Prime Minister John Howard, stepped down from the board when he became head of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet late last year. Rupert Murdoch is a member of Lowy's international advisory council.

One of the think tank's biggest impacts on public debate has come from the annual Lowy Institute Poll, which records Australians' attitudes towards

America, China, the Asia-Pacific region, national security and other international issues. Climate change has been one of the poll's most tracked topics.

Gyngell insisted on a separate budget for this poll when he took on the job.

"There had been no way of tracking over time what Australians thought about the world," he explains. "Politicians had been able to get away with any claim about how much they were in tune with Australians' views. The Lowy Poll has shown it's not possible to conduct the international debate in the same way any more."

PHILANTHROPY FROM the media entrepreneur Harold Mitchell launched the Mitchell Institute, in partnership with Victoria University in Melbourne, in 2013. Lindsay Tanner, a former federal Labor finance minister and chairman of its advisory board, says inadequate education and health care facing a "significant minority" of young Australians motivated Mitchell to jointly fund this think tank.

"The measure of our performance will be how our ideas can change what governments do in positive ways," says Tanner.

Grattan and Lowy are probably Australia's most successful examples of so-called "evidence-based" think tanks: those that base their reports on rigorous research independent of any political viewpoint, in the hope that their work will have an impact on public policy. Whatever their perspectives, most think tanks no doubt would regard their work as rigorous.

But some so-called "advocacy" think tanks unashamedly proclaim conservative or progressive agendas. Per Capita, a small progressive think tank, says that a "gap in the Australian marketplace for ideas" helped to trigger its launch in Melbourne in 2007. David Hetherington, Per Capita's chief executive, had worked with the Institute for Public Policy Research, a progressive think tank in Britain. He says two "very strong conservative, free market think tanks"—the IPA and the CIS—had successfully influenced debate in Australia for decades. "There were no strong incumbents on the progressive side."

Men from Melbourne's business establishment founded the IPA in 1943 to counter what they saw as the "threat of permanent and extensive government control". Since John Roskam became its executive director eleven years ago, the IPA has been more assertive about pushing its views through mainstream and social media. The IPA's website boasts that its people are across the Australian media "several times a day aggressively making the case for liberty". It has been one of the chief skeptics in the climate change debate, and a driving force in the "free speech" debate, demanding repeal of Section 18C of the *Racial Discrimination Act*, which bans so-called "hate speech".

The IPA has also called for repeal of Australia's plain cigarette-packaging laws, arguing they "restricted the right of companies to market legal products". Coincidentally, this is a core argument that Big Tobacco has mounted against the laws. Unlike other think-tank heads, Roskam declined to speak with *ASR*. Elsewhere, he has refused to discuss or deny reports that two of the world's biggest tobacco companies, Philip Morris and British American Tobacco, have been among the IPA's donors. The IPA says it is funded by members and "philanthropic and corporate donors", but refuses to identify them.

Before he joined the IPA, Roskam had taught political theory at the University of Melbourne, managed government and corporate affairs at Rio Tinto, ran the Menzies Research Centre, and worked for David Kemp when Kemp was federal education minister.

The IPA's board chairman is Rod Kemp, like his brother David, a former Howard government minister. Their father Charles Kemp and Rupert Murdoch's father Sir Keith Murdoch helped to found the IPA. A senior figure from another Australian think tank describes the IPA as "well embedded in the Liberal Party".

Under Tony Abbott's leadership of the Liberal Party, at least, there are good grounds for this assertion. In April 2013, five months before he

became Prime Minister, Abbott spoke at a dinner to mark the IPA's seventieth anniversary. Guests included the mining tycoon Gina Rinehart; Rupert Murdoch was another speaker. Abbott praised the think tank as "freedom's friend". He declared "a big fat Yes to many of the 75 specific policies you urged upon me" if he won government.

He listed some: repeal the carbon and mining taxes; abolish the Department of Climate Change and the Clean Energy Fund; privatize Medibank Private; trim the public service; repeal section 18C of the *Racial Discrimination Act* "at least in its current form".

Abbott's government has reneged on only two of these promises, failing to get abolition of the Clean Energy Finance Corporation (the correct name of the body he called a "Fund") through the Senate, and backing down on its pledge to repeal section 18C.

GREG LINDSAY, a former high-school mathematics teacher, founded the CIS in 1976 after discovering the works of classic liberal thinkers such as Adam Smith, John Locke, Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek (a portrait of Hayek hangs prominently in the think tank's headquarters in St Leonards, on Sydney's Lower North Shore). Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, a champion of big government, had lost power the previous year.

"I asked if we were coming to the end of the period of government intervention in the economy," says Lindsay. "I felt the classic liberals' side hadn't had sufficient airing in Australia."

Thirty-nine years later, Lindsay is still its chief executive and the CIS has thirteen staff, fourteen research scholars and has produced "hundreds" of papers. About two-thirds of its $3 million annual budget comes from "philanthropic" donors; Lindsay will not identify them. The CIS says it will not accept government funding, but seeks donations including through a "Capital Fund" that solicits amounts of up to $500,000. Donors are named after free-market heroes. Contribute $100,000 to become an "Alexis de Tocqueville Fellow"; $500,000 makes you an "F.A. Hayek Fellow". (The Grattan Institute, by contrast, seeks donations as small as $50.)

Think tanks' influence on Abbott's government

Policies adopted

- Carbon tax repealed ***» IPA***
- Mining tax repeated ***» IPA***
- Department of Climate Change abolished ***» IPA***
- Subsidies to the car industry cut ***» IPA***
- The Australia Network defunded ***» IPA***
- Free-trade agreements signed with Australia's largest trading partners, including China, India, Japan and South Korea ***» IPA***
- Paid parental leave scheme abandoned ***» IPA***

Policies flagged/not (yet) enacted

- Introduce fee competition to Australian universities ***» IPA***
- Means-test Medicare ***» IPA***
- Introduce a special economic zone in the north of Australia » ***IPA, white paper promised***
- Superannuation fees to be cut ***» Grattan, adopted by Murray Report***
- Broaden GST base ***» Grattan***
- Reduce health costs ***» Grattan, IPA***

Polices attempted but withdrawn or failed to pass the Senate

- Repeal Section 18C of the *Racial Discrimination Act* ***» IPA***
- Eliminate the National Preventative Health Agency ***» IPA***
- Abolish the Climate Change Authority ***» IPA; AI lobbying prevented***
- Abolish Clean Energy Finance Corporation ***» IPA; AI lobbying prevented***
- Repeal the renewable energy target ***» IPA; AI lobbying prevented***

Other

- NT Intervention, Howard government 2007 ***» CIS***
- Close remote Indigenous communities, WA Barnett government 2014 ***» CIS***

Soon after he became Prime Minister, Abbott offered Kirribilli House ... as the venue for a CIS-initiated commemoration to Helen Hughes.

Some of the biggest names in Australian business sit on the CIS's 23-person board. They include Michael Chaney, chairman of the National Australia Bank and Woodside Petroleum; Chris Roberts, chairman of Orora, a packaging company recently demerged from Amcor; Sir Rod Eddington, non-executive chairman (Australia and New Zealand) of JP Morgan; and Nicholas Moore, chief executive of Macquarie Group. Three members have backgrounds with McKinsey management consultants. Michael Rennie, one of the board's two deputy chairmen, is a McKinsey director in Dubai, and its former leader in Australia and New Zealand. Alison Watkins, chief executive of Coca-Cola Amatil, worked with McKinsey for a decade, and Robert McLean, an LJ Hooker director, for 25 years; McLean is still a senior adviser to McKinsey.

Asked how he sees his think tank's role, Lindsay replies: "To influence elite opinion. I'm a great Hayekian. Hayek talked about 'second-hand dealers in ideas'. Most people get their ideas from someone else: teachers, journalists, think tanks. So we set out to influence. We don't actively seek relationships with government. But politicians are certainly part of our ideas transmission."

At least one CIS proposal, on the management of remote indigenous communities, has surfaced in state and federal government policies. Helen Hughes, a CIS senior fellow who died in June 2013, had been a strong critic of post-1970s policies towards Indigenous Australia that promoted the return of communities to traditional lands. She argued many remote communities were economically unsustainable. Some see Hughes's arguments behind the Northern Territory Intervention, when the Howard government suspended racial discrimination laws and sent police and troops to take charge of distressed Indigenous communities.

"Helen was blamed for the Intervention," says Lindsay. "Unfairly, I thought."

Soon after he became Prime Minister, Abbott offered Kirribilli House, the Prime Minister's Sydney residence, as the venue for a CIS-initiated commemoration to Hughes. (Lindsay and Abbott go back a long way. Before he began the CIS, Lindsay invited the then combative student politician at Sydney University to speak at an informal "dinner club" Lindsay ran in Lindfield, in the Liberal Party's then heartland on Sydney's North Shore.)

And Hughes's arguments on remote communities are still being taken up. Last November Western Australian Premier Colin Barnett announced his government planned to close up to 150 of WA's 274 remote Indigenous communities because they were "not viable".

DURING THE Abbott government's first fifteen months, think tanks have had a demonstrable impact on several policies, including climate change. The Australia Institute (AI) has made climate policy a chief focus since Richard Denniss, an economist, ex-academic and strategy adviser to Bob Brown, former leader of the Australian Greens, became its executive director in 2008.

In June 2014, the AI successfully lobbied the Palmer United Party to vote against the renewable energy target's abolition, denying Abbott one of his key election undertakings. Palmer's party also helped to block Abbott's plan to scrap the Climate Change Authority, a federal advisory body, and

the Clean Energy Finance Corporation, which the former Labor government launched to invest in clean energy projects.

"I have no doubt that we influenced their decision," says Denniss. "We gave the Palmer party good evidence that a renewables target pushes electricity prices down, and encourages investment. We were the first people to talk to them about that sort of thing."

Palmer's party ignored the AI's advice to save the carbon tax, however, and delivered the crucial votes that enabled Abbott to fulfill one of his key promises to the IPA.

But if the IPA was happy with that, it has not disguised its anger with Abbott for walking away from his pledge to repeal of Section 18C of the *Racial Discrimination Act*. When in August 2014 his government introduced draconian anti-terrorism laws sparked by the rise of Islamic State, Abbott claimed the planned repeal had become a "complication" with Australia's Muslim community at a time when "everyone needs to be part of Team Australia".

Roskam spoke of being "astounded" and in a state of "deep shock" at Abbott's apparent betrayal. In the wake of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack in Paris in January 2015, the IPA has renewed pressure on the government to repeal Section 18C. For now, Abbott says no.

DIRECTLY OR NOT, other think-tank proposals have filtered into government policy-making. After the IPA's call for a "special Economic Zone" in northern Australia, former Labor Prime Minister Kevin Rudd promised to cut company taxes in that region by a third. And Abbott has promised a White Paper on northern Australia.

Several Grattan Institute proposals on deficit management—broadening the GST and reining in health costs—now feature strongly in political debate. A Grattan report exposing Australia's high superannuation fund fees was taken up last year by the Financial System Inquiry, headed by David Murray.

David Hetherington of Per Capita says: "Investing in ideas has long been unfashionable on the Australian political landscape. With so little policy development coming from the major political parties, debate will now be shaped increasingly by the effectiveness of think tanks."

If so, their big challenge will be to include subjects that are still crying out for fresh ideas: women's and Indigenous affairs, immigration and civil society. And if the recent experience of Washington DC, sometimes known as "think tank central", is any guide, growing scrutiny of who funds them will be part of that story.

ILLUSTRATION: SAM BENNETT

Merryn Takes Manhattan

The shy Sydneysider who in 2006 fled her hometown to New York has transformed herself into a high profile and glamorous magazine editor, often referred to as America's Lesbian-in-Chief. **Jane Goodall** profiles Merryn Johns.

Merryn Johns, right, says gay people are drawn to performers because they are performing themselves.

'I came out to my mother at around the time of my fortieth birthday, and she disowned me,' says Merryn Johns, now in her late forties, and enjoying tremendous success as the New York-based editor of America's foremost lesbian magazine, *Curve*.

Johns acknowledges that the timing was a problem. "She had her children in the 1960s and, as a divorced woman, they gave her a sense of validation. They were an extension of herself. They were never going to be real people," she tells me. "When I watch *Mad Men* I can see her in Betty Draper."

They are still not reconciled.

"It's her choice," says Johns.

"I am halfway through my life," Johns wrote in a recent editorial. "I know what it is to be a younger lesbian and an older lesbian." She has been aware of her orientation since the age of seven.

The pages of *Curve* reflect the lifestyle the magazine encourages its contemporary audience to enjoy. Many of its younger readers would have never known anything else, but Johns introduced the first issue of 2015 with a letter to her readers on the theme of bridging generations. She cited the case of Madelynn Lee Taylor, a 74-year-old military veteran from Idaho who wanted to ensure that, on her death, her ashes could be buried alongside those of her life partner Jean Mixner, who died in 2013. The two were married in California, but the ceremony had no status under Idaho law. Mixner chose to fight the ruling. Four other same-sex couples came in to back the challenge, and in July last year they won the case under an over-riding US constitutional law.

Johns's hectic working life is all public engagements and deadlines. Her growing reputation as a speaker and ambassador for gay rights has broadened the magazine's influence. The next event in her diary is a convention on women and travel hosted by the *New York Times*.

Many of Johns's commitments are international: Sydney for a Town Hall event, Prague for a keynote panel on coming out in politics, and talks at massive conventions organized by the International Association for Gay and Lesbian Travel. She is

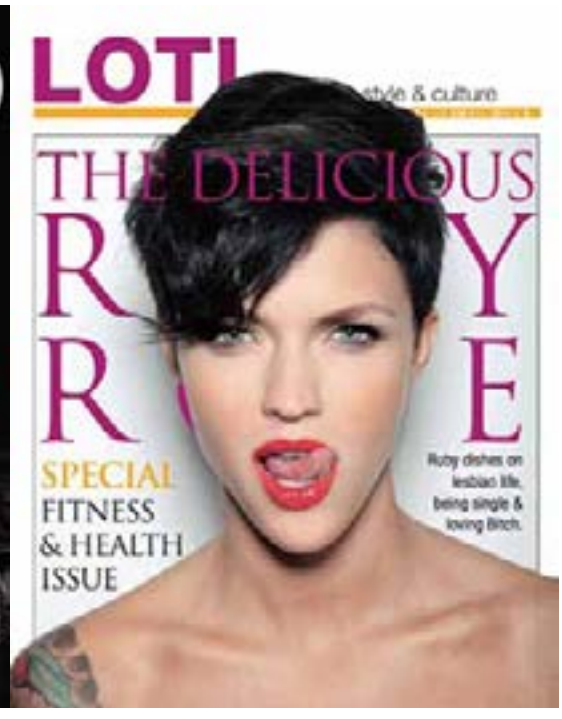
Merryn Johns is in a long-term relationship and about to marry journalist Marcie Bianco.

sometimes referred to as America's Lesbian-in-Chief, a title she accepts with a wry humour.

Demographically, same-sex couples have above-average economic prosperity and professional standing, but anyone who came to adulthood in the 1980s as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (LGBT) has lived through difficult times. The struggle for male homosexuality to be decriminalized was still underway (NSW passed legislation in 1984, but Queensland and Western Australia did not follow until 1990), the gay community was decimated by the AIDS crisis, and social attitudes were unpredictable. Johns, like many of her generation, bears scars from this era.

She is now in a long-term relationship with journalist Marcie Bianco, with whom she lives at Inwood Hill Park, an old neighbourhood on the northern tip of Manhattan.

Bianco met Johns when they were on a panel



Before she became *Curve* editor, Merryn Johns was at the helm of *Bound* in the US and L*OTL* in Sydney.

together at the National Lesbian and Gay Journalist Association Convention in Philadelphia in 2011.

"She is tall and classically beautiful, and that elicits a lot of comment, but she also has a way of walking into the room with real presence. She owns the space," says Bianco.

IT WAS NOT ALWAYS like this. When I knew her in Sydney before her 2006 move to New York, Merryn Johns was diffident, almost self-effacing. She would enter the inner-city café where we met and slide rapidly into a bench by the wall, as if trying to avoid being seen.

How did the transformation occur? I asked her in a recent Skype interview.

"I was chronically shy for much of my life," she told me. "I would die at the thought of someone looking at me. In high school I cut up photos of myself. If I could have chosen a superpower, it would have been invisibility."

The invisibility Johns wished for is psychologically fundamental, and has to do with the ways in which the repression of diverse sexualities creates faultlines that run through families, workplaces and social peer groups.

"In my twenties I realized I had to cultivate a way of being in the world," she says.

Her way of refusing the cloak of invisibility and finding a way of being in the world was through journalism. While working on her doctorate in performing arts at the University of New South Wales in the mid-1990s, she was encouraged by fellow student David Meagher to try reviews and arts writing for the gay press.

Meagher, now editor of *Wish* magazine for the *Weekend Australian*, remembers her as "fabulously clever" but detached from the competitive culture of the university. "She was collegial and would share ideas where other people were always trying to get the edge. I was writing theatre reviews for *Capital Q*, and introduced her to the editor. We weren't trained journalists, but we brought research skills, and we understood how to craft a narrative."

"I wanted to have great writers, to broaden the scope of the magazine and celebrate the community in a different way," says Paul Hayes, *Capital Q* editor at the time. "Merryn was whip-smart."

She reviewed visual arts, theatre, books, dance, sometimes taking two or three commissions a week.

"I come from a world where homosexuality was illegal in my lifetime and there was a battle to be fought," says Hayes. "There were constant reminders

of death. In 1995 I went to twelve funerals, and those were friends who really meant something to me.

"From legalization to being fully socialized is a big step," he told me. "There's the necessity for coming out—heterosexuals don't have to. There's this point gay people have when they are seeing the world two ways at once. People don't know because you haven't confirmed it, so you are not sure how they see you, and there's a real psychological depth to that moment. Gays and lesbians often have a brilliance in things that involve artifice, because they have a personal experience of dealing with how others see them."

Johns agrees. "Gay people are often drawn to performative types because they have a certain way of performing themselves in the world. It's a way of getting by for us. There's an art to it."

She heard an altercation, then saw the shopkeeper being attacked with a knife by an enraged customer.

She is performing when she makes a public appearance as *Curve* editor. "It's not me. It's really not me," she says. "In the public world, you push certain faces of yourself forward. You choose your mask, your clothing, your make-up, pick your social armour and out you go."

The young woman I got to know in Sydney over a decade ago wore no mask or social armour. She always dressed the same way: slim-cut jeans, T-shirt and flat sandals. Her fine-boned face showed no trace of make-up. Every so often a wave of blonde hair would fall forward and she would rake it back over her forehead with both hands. She seemed nervous, and I was concerned to put her at her ease. I was there to provide advice on the final draft of her doctoral thesis and it was important that we established a rapport.

A subtle observer who surprises with moments of larrikin humour, Johns is fascinating in conversation. Her understanding of the performer's psychology was complex, but back then her academic interest in stage persona had yet to translate to her own role in the world. The turning point that prompted her move to New York and her reinvention was yet to come.

One morning, she arrived looking very pale, and clearly stressed. Accustomed to seeing fraught doctoral students, I was ready with the usual reassurances, to which she listened patiently before saying that, actually, something awful had happened.

A few days earlier, she had been walking through the inner-city suburb of Redfern to meet a friend. It was 11 in the morning, on a route she took regularly, and as she was passing one of the shops she heard an altercation, then saw the shopkeeper being attacked with a knife by an enraged customer. Now, she told me, she was the key witness to a homicide, and having to go through a succession of harrowing police interviews.

About a year later, she began to suffer panic attacks and episodes of traumatic recall. Other things were going wrong in her life, too.

"It was around the time of my fortieth birthday, and somehow everything failed at once. My relationship with my partner broke down, then my relationship with my mother," she says. "After witnessing a homicide in broad daylight three blocks from where I live, I thought, 'If I am to live in this peril, what can the rest of the world do to me?'"

The panic attacks took the form of claustrophobia. She felt trapped, and made the decision to get out of her familiar world altogether. She chose New York, and what might have been a mere escape strategy proved to be more like the answer to a calling.

"You hear about first encounters with New York. For me, it was absolutely that feeling of enchantment … Coming up from the subway at twilight, 'the blue hour', feeling all this energy,

feeling that, absolutely, I had come home," she says. "I never felt a stranger here. In some of the rougher boroughs, like the Bronx, you might get challenged—'Where ya from?'—but actually, you rarely meet anyone who was born here. You are among Guatemalans, illegal Mexican immigrants, African Americans, Europeans.

"Great cities have this energy, and in New York it comes from the streets. The New York mythos isn't just fantasy. Manhattan is this small land mass where people from all around the globe are crossing paths, discovering a new freedom. You hear about the New York minute. There is such a thing."

UNDERLYING THE turbulence and radical transition in Johns' personal life at this time was a strong professional continuity.

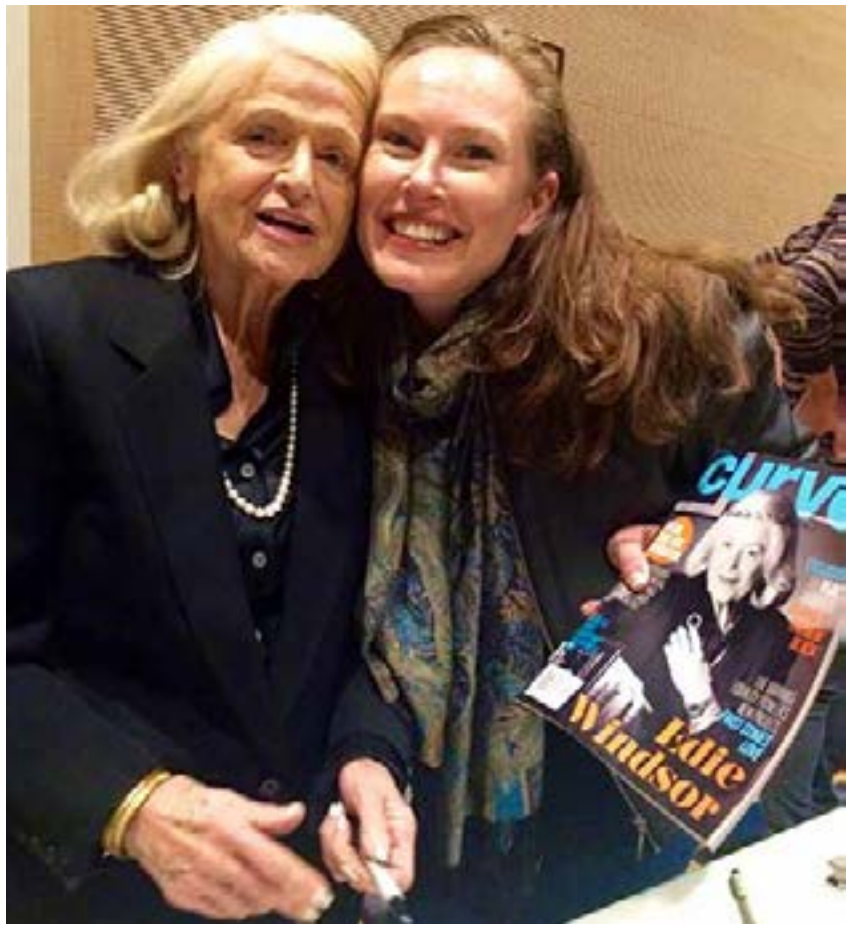
"It's through writing," she says, "that I've been able to show that my identity and culture is worth something, that it's something healthy and good. I'm a writer. That's who I am. My spirit is a writer."

She completed her doctorate and her journalistic career blossomed when she was appointed assistant editor of the Sydney magazine *Lesbians on the Loose* (LOTL) after its takeover by the innovative publisher Silke Bader, owner of Avalon Media.

"Merryn outdid the existing editor almost immediately, so I promoted her," Bader told *ASR*. "Her style was just spot on for the magazine. She is an exceptional writer and she fosters other writers. She's solution-oriented. In this business there are always problems, and I don't have to deal with someone who has problems with problems."

Bader saw Johns's move to New York as an opportunity to build an ambitious new venture. In 2009, they launched *Bound,* promoted as "the first truly international upscale magazine for lesbians and women with a connection to the LGBT community". *Bound* was, says Johns, "a pretty outrageous magazine—thick and flashy".

Designer Christopher Brett Rees, who remained based in Sydney, created a stylish format. Bader also kept her base in Sydney, while Johns headed an editorial office in New York. Contributing writers were sought from around the globe.



Johns with the January 2015 covergirl Edie Windsor, trailblazing same-sex marriage advocate.

In its first year, *Bound* ran celebrity stories, fashion and travel features, and interviews with women making their mark in the film and music industries. Stories ranged from one about *Sex and the City* star Cynthia Nixon coming out, to a profile of Kiana Firouz, an Iranian filmmaker facing the prospect of public lashing for going public as a lesbian.

Johns stresses the political connection between the lighter and more serious ends of the spectrum. The panel she chaired at the Prague Pride Festival emphasized the importance of celebrity comings-out, with one speaker citing the case of a soap opera star well known around all the rural towns and villages of the Czech republic, whose identification as a lesbian could have widespread influence on social attitudes.

Bound had a short life because of the recession after the Global Financial Crisis. Bader responded with some swift entrepreneurial moves. She acquired the well-established San Francisco magazine *Curve*, transferred its headquarters to New York, and installed Johns as editor.

"*Curve* was also struggling, with an oversized editorial team and a big office," Bader told *ASR*. "We kept the masthead but replaced the infrastructure."

Essentially, *Bound*, with its more adventurous approach to content and production, was merged with *Curve*, which had the brand recognition in the US market. "In 1980s San Francisco, where there were so many fledgling zines and do-it-yourself publications, *Curve* was one that gained popularity in its early days," says Bianco, who was already a contributing writer for *Curve* before the takeover. "It was part of the West Coast queer/dyke culture that was a bastion of hope while the AIDS epidemic was at its height."

Twenty years on, though, the magazine was badly in need of a revamp. "It was still diving into the byways of alternative culture, without much awareness of a wider landscape."

Johns set out to transform it into a sophisticated contemporary magazine, with a specialization in travel writing. She was honoured last year with the International Gay and Lesbian Tourist Association (IGLTA) media award and is in high demand as a speaker on LGBT travel, inundated with requests from tour operators from around the world.

Curve has also had to ride out the aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis, and the challenge of an industry-wide shift to digital platforms, but circulation figures are currently increasing. Print sales are just under 60,000, though recent surveys indicate that the total readership for print copies is around 250,000. Digital subscriptions are rising so fast, Bader is expanding offices in Sydney in response to the demand.

But Johns plans to remain in New York. "It's a way of becoming involved in civil rights history," she tells me. "The marriage equality campaign is an important movement in the US. It matters at the level where people don't have basic protection: when it comes to immigration law, inheritance, visiting rights for their loved ones in hospitals.

"When I was younger I completely disregarded marriage as a convention. I had a lot to get over psychologically, having witnessed the very acrimonious divorce of my parents as a child. Now that I'm older, and have experienced how difficult it is to find real love and companionship, how exhausting and destructive day-to-day living can be, a formal union does seem to hold value."

She has lost a few friends over this stance.

"In the queer movement in the US, there is a pushback against gay marriage—they see it as mainstreaming identity.

"But you just cannot have an institution that is statistically proven to promote health and longevity and financial stability available only to some people. Marriage equality legislation will get through. I'm sure of that. I'll be here till it's done."

Marcie warned me quite early on that it was her intention to marry me ... we're looking at rings tomorrow.

A thriving community culture and exuberant lifestyle may have transformed the quality of life for non-heterosexual adults in the past generation, she points out, but without the underpinnings of legislation, the faultlines may reopen. And with more same-sex couples having families, their children's rights are also at stake.

Johns is now clearly very happy in her personal life. On winter mornings, she and Bianco take their favourite woodland walk, stopping to feed the cardinals and squirrels before returning to their desks.

"Marcie warned me quite early on that it was her intention to marry me. She would say, 'I'm going to marry you so hard!', which I thought was so funny, until recently she actually did propose! And we're looking at rings tomorrow."

HOMAGE TO CATALONIA

Unexpected Catalan objects, with some Spanish thrown in, are on display at Barcelona's newest museum, reports **Paula Weideger**, but the building itself also stars.

ENRIC SARDÀ, NEW POL COLOURFUL WASHING MACHINE,1997, MUSEU DEL DISSENY DE BARCELONA.

Objects are the subject at the new Barcelona Design Museum (Museu del Disseny de Barcelona). It is home to more than 70,000 of them, the contents of four previous institutions devoted to decorative arts, fashion and textiles, ceramics and graphics. To this has been added a recently formed collection of twentieth- and twenty-first-century product design. A selection of 3000 objects are on view in its inaugural exhibition. The earliest are fourth-century Coptic (Christian Egyptian) textiles, the most recent are pieces by local jewellers. But before entering the galleries—where you can find everything from a utilitarian mop and bucket (1956), to an ornate eighteenth-century aristocrat's gilded wood carriage, ceramics by Joan Miró and Pablo Picasso and a jaunty red, yellow and blue poster for the 1992 Barcelona Olympics—let's have a quick look at by far the biggest object of all, the building constructed to house them.

Barcelona's MBM architects created a museum that practically bops you on the nose as you emerge from the metro at grotty Plaça de les Glòries. Its dark hulk cantilevers out over the street like a gargantuan, top-heavy warehouse. Seen from the side especially, it moves from the aggressive to the welcoming. There is lots of glass and a rear terrace that overhangs a large, rectangular, man-made lake. Inside, the public spaces are vast and the atmosphere light, even playful. The escalators have transparent sides. Riding up from Product Design on the first level to Graphics on four, you can watch the belts and cogs carrying others back down.

The objects on view have been arranged into four broad themes, one per floor; the display chronological within each. "From the World to the Museum: Product Design, Cultural Heritage" occupies Level 1; "Extraordinary! Collections of Decorative and Author-Centred Art (Third to Twentieth-Century) is on 2; "Dressing the Body: Silhouettes and Fashion (1550–2015)" on 3 and finally, "Graphic Design: From Trade to Profession (1940–1980)". (Each theme has its own catalogue.)

Start anywhere. I began with Decorative Arts, for which I have a keenness. There is plenty to enjoy and

The metal-clad Barcelona Design Museum was designed by local firm MBM Arquitectes.

That the Catalans are proud and independent is something of an understatement.

to covet. There is also a lot to learn. This is a museum that spotlights Catalan design and the design of the region's capital, Barcelona. Much will be new to visitors, and there are some outstanding curatorial display choices.

I never imagined I'd be seduced by a washing machine or a shopping trolley yet they turned out to be my two favourites. The vividly blue clothes washer (1997), its window framed in lemon yellow and its top tomato-red made me smile and long to have one. As for the "first shopping trolley made of single mould-injected polypropylene" (1997), this eerie yet elegant white plastic container for groceries looks like an escapee from a supermarket on the moon.

The Decorative Arts display was more familiar

GRUPO AUSTRAL, SILLA BKF BUTTERFLY CHAIR, BUENOS AIRES, 1938.

territory but even here there were surprises. At first sight I assumed the line-up of beautifully carved and gilded sixteenth-century marriage chests, each with a narrative painting on its lid, were cassoni from Florence. In Italy Renaissance palaces are still furnished with such chests. So, too, are English country houses and museums. They were prized souvenirs of English aristocrats' Italian grand tours. But these elaborate, expensive chests were made in Barcelona, and unlike their Italian cousins, they have subdivisions on the interior—perhaps for separating the marriage linen from laces framing the neck.

Catalonia became a rich, successful Mediterranean trading power in the Middle Ages and remained one into the fifteenth century. The language was spoken as far away as Sardinia and beyond. Its traders and

CLOCKWISE FROM MAIN: CRISTÓBAL BALENCIAGA, 1956; TAFFETA DRESS 1850.1855, MARTA ESTEBAN, 2006.

artisans may have been influenced by what they saw in Italy, but they were proud and independent, and produced their own treasures.

Step off the escalator on Level 3 and enter the world of glamour. Period costume, male and female, is displayed like a series of historical catwalk shows with a sly twist. In each vitrine a visitor from the future is embedded wearing clothes from centuries later—hot pants among the bustles, that sort of thing. Undergarments of all periods and for both sexes congregate together. It is as if the tightly boned, beribboned and flower-scattered corsets and plain-looking sports bras had been waiting years to have a public conversation of what men and women got up to as they manipulated the shape of their bodies.

Catalonia became a trading power in the Middle Ages and remained one into the fifteenth century.

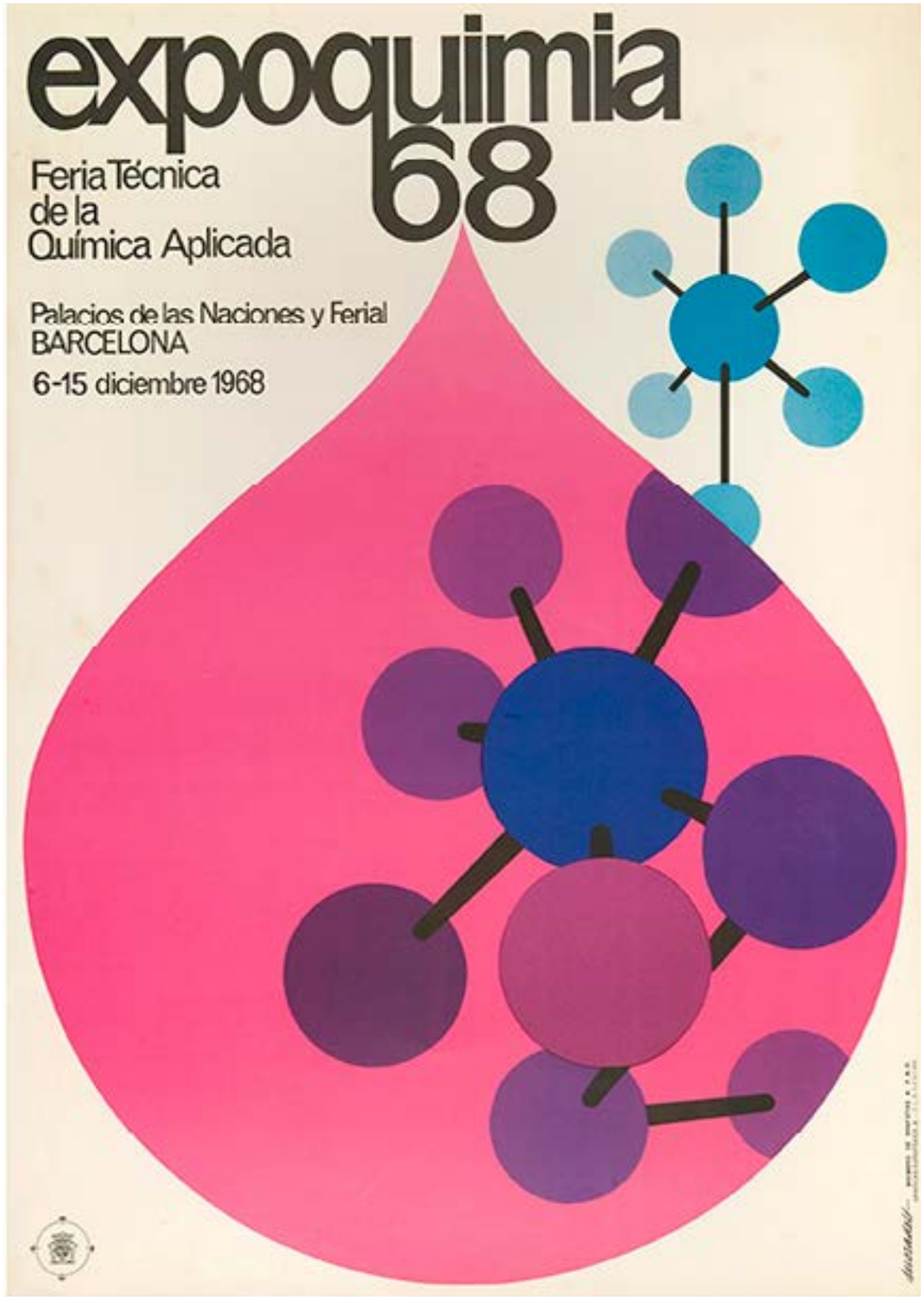
The posters on the top floor are displayed in large, wood-framed cases that hang from the ceiling on metal ropes. The cases are tilted back to make the posters inside easy to see. Seeing row upon row of levitating art: if you need a metaphor for free expression, here it is.

That the Catalans are proud and independent is something of an understatement. The Basque separatist movement gets more publicity because it tends to be more violent, but the move for an independent Catalonia is just as heartfelt. Their recent period of political independence began in 1932 and ended with the country's Civil War four years later. Currently it has a semi-detached relationship with Spain, of which it remains a part. Street signs, railway timetables and menus are in Catalan.

Here at the museum, wall texts and labels are in Catalan, followed by Spanish and English. While objects on view—French lace, an Austrian bentwood cradle, Brussels tapestries, Netherlands gilded leather wall-coverings and Algerian decorative tiles—provide international context, the core of the collection, or the purpose of its existence even, is to spotlight the heritage of Catalonia. The humble mop and pail, the delightful washing machine, the gilded Renaissance marriage chests along with exquisite glass, curvaceous Art Nouveau furniture and shopfronts, creations by couturiers such as Cristobal Balenciaga, Mariano Fortuny and Paco Rabanne—all are Catalan or Spanish creations.

Catalonia and its capital (Barcelona) seem to be exploding with ideas.

During the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and through the decades of Franco's dictatorship (1939–75) Spain was in many ways cut off. Fiercely



FROM TOP LEFT: POSTERS BY RICARD GIRALT MIRACLE 154; ERNEST MORADELL 1968; ANTONI MORILLAS 1968.

independent Catalonia was subject to particular suppression. Now that it is enjoying a great measure of independence again, and not coincidently of prosperity, Catalonia and its capital seem to be exploding with ideas. The Barcelona Design Museum links its long, rich artistic history to its vital present and is very much worth a visit.

If you go, try to be there to catch the sunset. The exterior wall that flanks the escalators is floor-to-ceiling glass. Watch as the sky darkens and surrounding buildings light up. Spiking up in the near distance are spiralling towers of the city's most famous building, still a work in progress, Antoni Gaudí's La Sagrada Família. Over to the right is a mysterious-looking construction, with a low, vast, multicolour swooping roof. As the sky darkens it seems transformed into the silhouette of an enormous Catalan eagle that has spread its wings. Beneath it is a flea market.

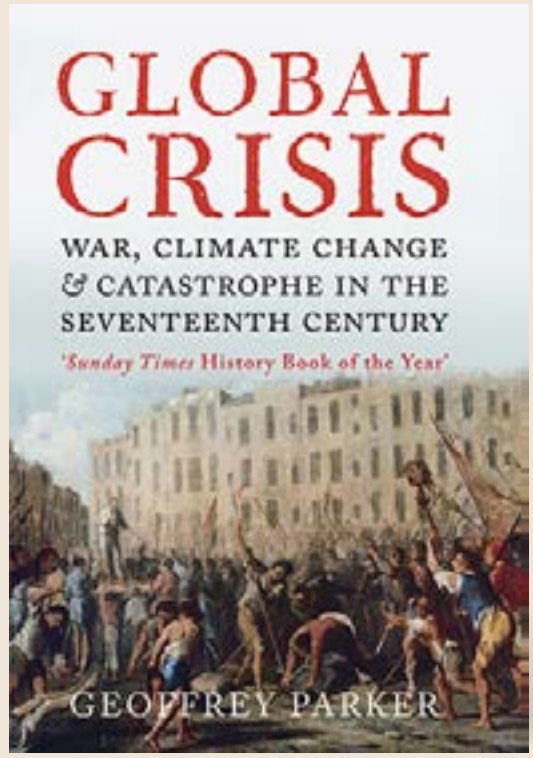
Almost certainly, a few of the objects being bought and sold under those wings will one day be on display in the Barcelona Design Museum.

Books A random assortment of good books chosen by the *ASR* team and friends

Cold facts

The spectre of the calamity that awaits humanity today can perhaps be seen in the brutish behaviour of people whose lives were disrupted by the catastrophic climate change of the seventeenth century.

Reviewed by **Stephen Clark**



b **Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century**
Geoffrey Parker, Yale, New Haven, 2013, 904pp.

IT'S ODD THAT WE have become used to fiction—in the guise of disaster movies like *The Day After Tomorrow*—preparing us for a life-altering climate apocalypse (substitute alien invasion, nuclear disaster or zombie virus as you will), when we have a real-life example right under our noses. Four hundred years ago, at the very birth of the Modern Historical era, humans were tested by severe climatic changes.

So, how did we do?

Not so great.

By any account the seventeenth century was a bastard of a time to be alive. In 1651, cheery Thomas Hobbes memorably described human life as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short". In Global Crisis, British historian Geoffrey Parker explains how—and why—that came to be. Parker's groundbreaking thesis is the extent to which climate played a part in these calamities.

Parker does not say climate change was the one and only cause for a century of misery, but it is pretty clear that it played its part. The scientific causes were a perfect storm of natural events: volcanic eruptions, seesawing atmospheric pressure known as the North Atlantic oscillation, and a fall in sunspot activity between 1645 and 1715 (called the Maunder Minimum after astronomer EW Maunder).

This was the Little Ice Age, when the world was roughly a degree cooler than at present. Glaciers advanced in the Alps and northern Europe. Continental rivers and the Baltic Sea froze over, allowing Swedish troops to walk into Copenhagen over the ice.

Year after year, crops failed and summer never arrived. Drought alternated with harsh winters and summer floods, forcing farmers to abandon their lands and either hang themselves from the nearest tree or join the throngs of refugees seeking shelter. Slavery, plague and fire afflicted cities. Millions died as armies raged over the countryside, plundering, raping and murdering in an effort to

A landscape with travellers ambushed outside a small town, mid-seventeenth century. SOURCE:SEBASTIAN VRANCX, DISCERNINGHISTORY.COM

keep themselves alive.

"There is almost nothing men would not do", whispered a writer accompanying Philip IV's marauding troops in Catalonia. War in a time of climate adversity brings out the worst in humanity.

War in a time of climate adversity brings out the worst in humanity.

In an attempt to stem the flow of workers from the provinces and maintain agricultural production, the Russian Tsar reinforced his empire's serf laws and severely limited free movement of the peasants. Laws fixed in 1649 effectively made slaves of the rural poor; "runaways" were to be hunted down as long as they lived.

It is fascinating to trace the many tangible connections between then and now. While Russian serfs were legally emancipated in 1861, ongoing exploitation of the working class was tinder for the fire of the Bolshevik Revolution some fifty years later. Likewise, the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia determined the general shape of Europe until the wars of the twentieth century. When the Manchu invaded China in 1640, seeking better pastures and food sources, they established the Qing dynasty, which lasted until 1911. Human memories are even longer: a national survey in the 1960s found that Germans regarded the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) as their country's greatest disaster, ahead of the Black Death and World Wars I and II.

Parker does a great job of unpacking the events of the era, and even if you know bugger-all about modern history, he is an excellent guide. He is at pains to avoid being Eurocentric and includes

Irish Catholics murdered their Protestant neighbours in 1641 by stripping them naked and driving them into the "frost & snowe"—rare weather in Ireland now.
SOURCE:1641DEPOSITIONS.WORDPRESS.COM

In less troubled areas of northern Europe, "frost fairs" took place over frozen rivers. In this image from 1625, players are practising an early form of golf.
SOURCE: HENDRICK AVERCAMP, WIKIMEDIA

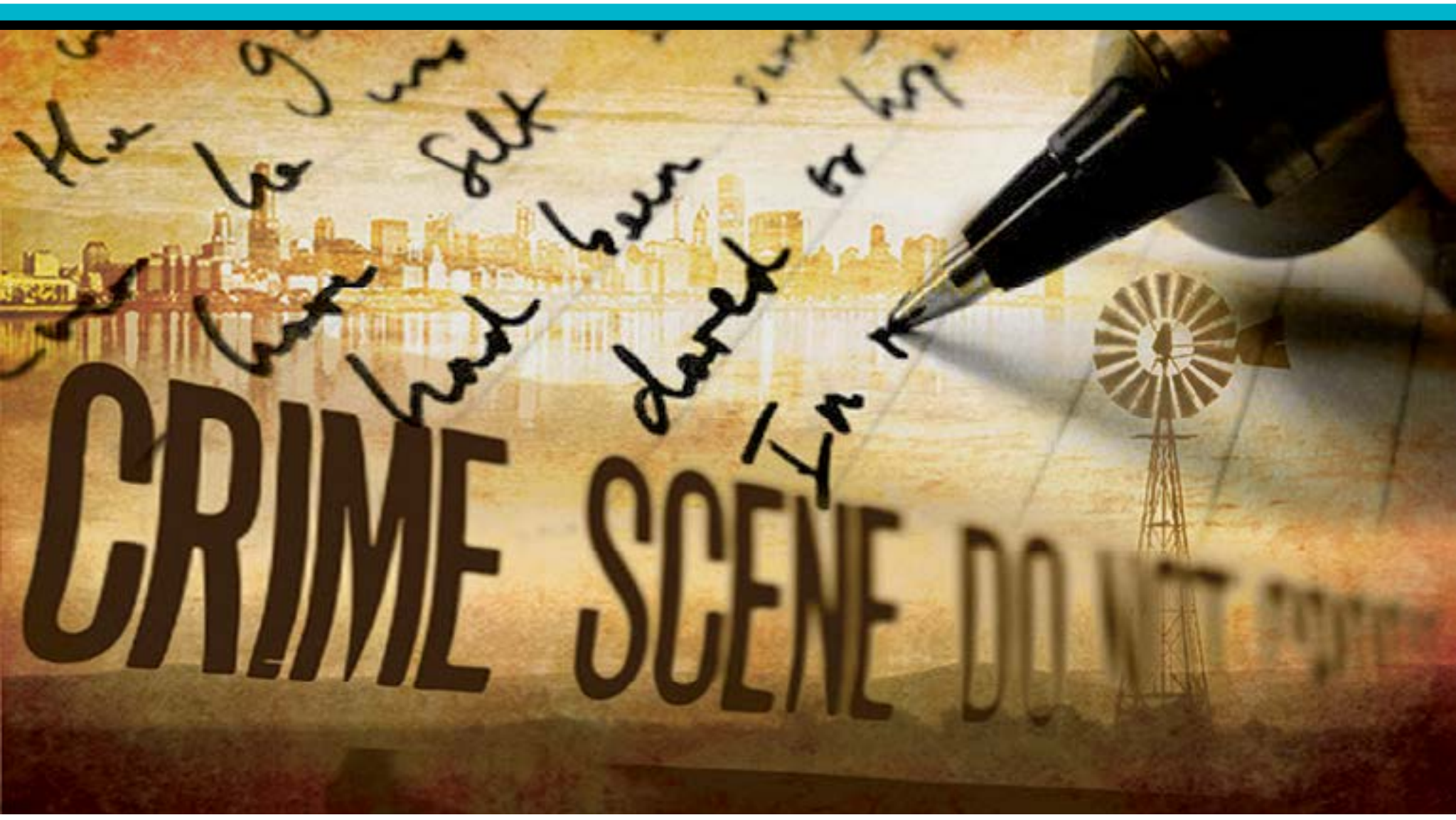
China, Japan, India, Arabia and Africa in some detail, even looking at areas with little by way of written records, Australia included. He shows the immediate impacts of climate change and some of the longer-term consequences, some of which were positive. The Qing rulers of China, for example, maintained public granaries to ensure that the population would not starve again if crops failed.

Much of Parker's sources—there are 150 pages of bibliography—come from public documents like tax registers. Social cohesion is revealed to teeter on a knife edge: a starving population, liable to riot if the price of bread goes up, are pressed to pay for wars linked to climate-induced instability. Salt taxes, stamp duty, special levies, war reparations, even a dreaded poll tax are brought in. The aristocracy demand exemption, as do clergy.

Compromises, then as now, need be sought when a sector (merchants, judges, bankers, soldiers) acquire enough power to challenge the status quo. Scapegoats are blamed for affliction, pestilence and strife (witches, Jews, Catholics, Protestants, men who don't shave their heads, women who don't cover theirs).

The late, great Doris Lessing wrote a futuristic novel called *Memoirs of A Survivor*, which depicts an English city in a nuclear winter. It was made into a film in 1981 with Julie Christie, who spends most of her time watching a horde of fleeing, desperate survivors lurch past her window. That scene kept popping into my head while reading *Global Crisis*. When or if climate change catastrophe revisits the planet and the human race, will we fare better than did the seventeenth century? Is "nasty, brutish and short" a prediction?

Parker, in his thorough examination of an era facing a threat much as our own, offers an opportunity to learn from the past on dealing with the future. His book has more thrills and chills than an eco-disaster blockbuster. And it all really happened.



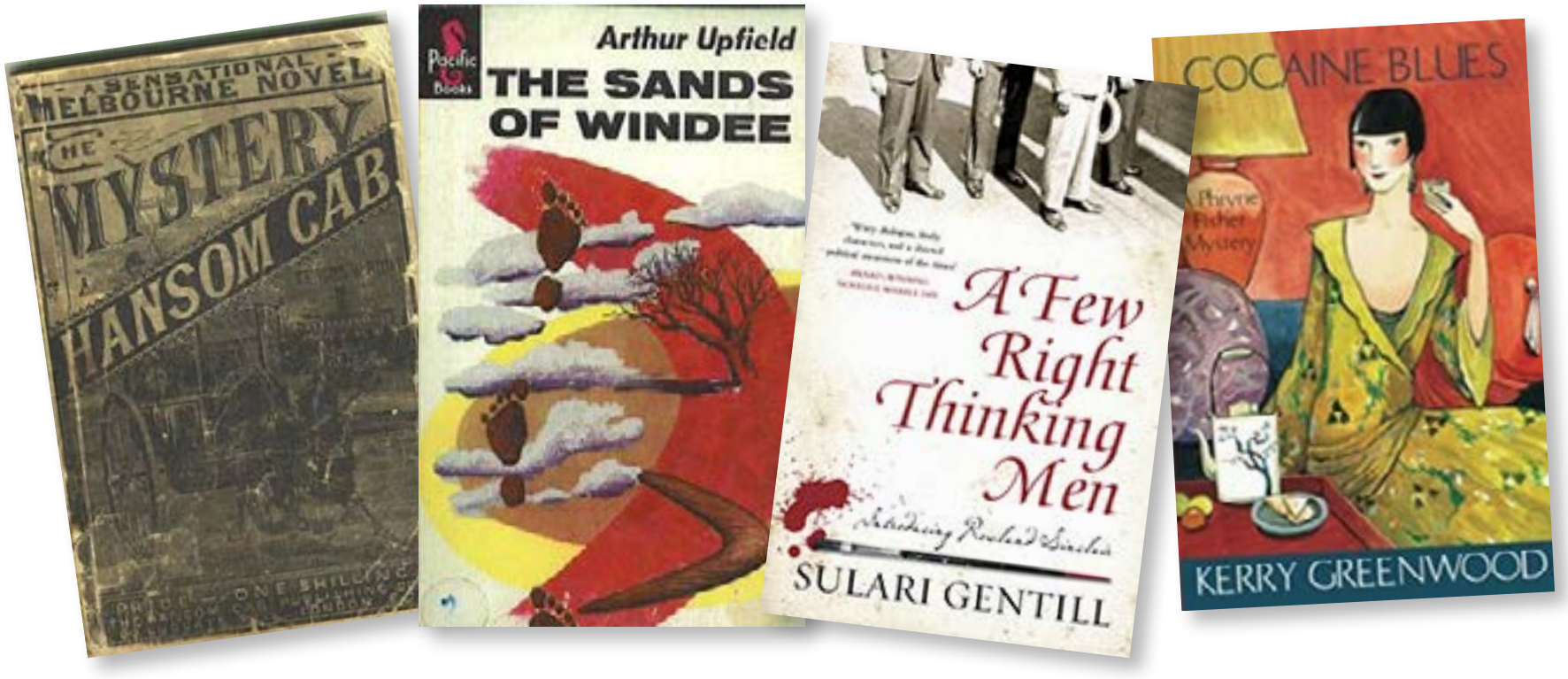
From lonely outback to multicultural cities

Australian crime fiction is as varied as the genre—and as diverse as the country itself.

By **Rowena Johns**

THE CRIME AND mystery section of Australian bookshops has never been more diverse, with writers hailing from every corner of the English-speaking world, especially from the US, UK and Scandinavia (in translation). Amid the wide range of crime sub-genres—"cosy" crime, the urban American "hard-boiled" detective, police procedurals, and psychological or forensic thrillers—it may be surprising to discover that much of Australian crime fiction can be loosely classified under those same categories, albeit influenced by antipodean traditions, such as an ambivalent attitude towards authority and a love of laconic humour.

The environment is also a crucial aspect of



Australian crime fiction. An Australian setting, whether in the bush or the city, helps to shape atmosphere, plot, character and language.

What cannot be denied is that Australian crime fiction competes strongly with the international titles for attention.

Australians today are keen to read about crime on an international scale, but in the colonial era they were preoccupied with dangers at home, in the form of transported convicts, bushrangers, fraudsters using false identities, and other ruthless characters. Public imagination was captured by newspaper reports of crime, and crime fiction soon appeared. *Force and Fraud* (1865) by Ellen Davitt was the first novel to be serialized in the newspapers; the author's name is preserved in the annual Davitt Awards for crime writing by Australian women. Other early crime writers include Mary Fortune, whose police procedural series, *The Detective's Album*, was published under the pseudonym "W.W." from 1868 to 1908, and Fergus Hume, who is best remembered for *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab* (1886).

Historical whodunits are probably the closest thing in Australian crime fiction to the "cosy" sub-genre, which in Britain or America features a civilian sleuth in a small community (think Agatha Christie's Miss Marple), and which spares readers the gory deaths and graphic violence of current forensic and psychological thrillers.

Kerry Greenwood, a lawyer, writes the long-running Phryne Fisher series, set in Victoria in the 1920s. Fisher is able to dabble in crime-solving because she is a wealthy independent modern woman. Despite her fabulous fashions and elite connections, she has a strong social conscience and many of the novels, from *Cocaine Blues* (1989) to *Murder and Mendelssohn* (2013), deal with issues such as racism, the treatment of young unwed mothers and conditions for factory workers. Greenwood also writes a contemporary series that combines elements of "cosy" and the chicklit genre. Greenwood's protagonist, Corinna Chapman, is a baker and cat lover who starts sleuthing when she finds a young woman unconscious in the alley outside her bakery in *Earthly Delights* (2004).

Sulari Gentill is a former lawyer whose Rowland Sinclair series takes place in the 1930s against a turbulent backdrop of Australian political history and world events. Sinclair is an artist and, like Phryne Fisher, his inherited wealth means he doesn't need to work and can devote himself to solving crimes. Whereas Fisher's household staff sometimes assist with gathering information, Sinclair has a circle of eccentric friends including a Communist poet and a sculptress who participate in his adventures. Gentill's characters interact with real figures of history, from Francis de Groot, a member of the right-wing New Guard, in *A Few Right Thinking Men* (2010), to

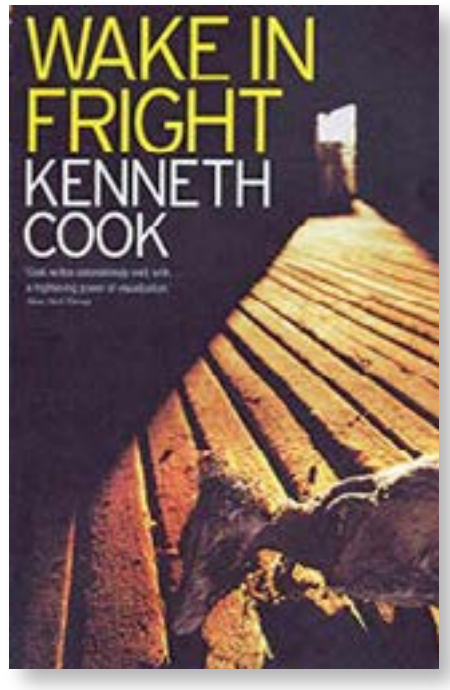
pioneer aviators Charles Kingsford Smith and Nancy Bird in *A Murder Unmentioned* (2014).

The "hard-boiled" sub-genre was developed by the American crime writers Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler. Hammett had worked in private investigations before *The Maltese Falcon*, serialized in a crime magazine in 1929, launched Sam Spade as the archetypal detached, observant, charismatic sleuth who is wary of authority and handy with a gun. Chandler's Philip Marlowe perfected the wisecracks when he arrived later in *The Big Sleep* (1939).

Peter Corris, known as the godfather of modern Australian crime fiction, created Cliff Hardy, the local incarnation of the sardonic private investigator.

In the same year *The Maltese Falcon* was appearing weekly in America, British readers met Arthur Upfield's Detective Inspector Napoleon Bonaparte ("Bony") in *The Barrakee Mystery* (1929). However, the first "Bony" novel published in Australia was *The Sands of Windee* (1931). Bony is part-Aboriginal, reflecting Upfield's fascination with Indigenous culture and his knowledge of the outback from patrolling vast spaces in Queensland and Western Australia and working on sheep stations. The harsh, unforgiving nature of the outback and the way it can warp those who dwell there was strikingly portrayed in Kenneth Cook's *Wake in Fright* (1961). Although not strictly crime fiction, it has influenced generations of Australian writers for its Gothic or noir atmosphere.

Peter Corris, known as the godfather of modern Australian crime fiction, created Cliff Hardy, the local incarnation of the sardonic private investigator. Since 1980, Hardy has appeared in over thirty novels up to *Silent Kill* (2013) and seven collections of stories. He roams the mean streets of Sydney, although the action-driven plots often take him to other parts of Australia and beyond. Over the years he has endured losing his investigator's licence, the death of his girlfriend, heart bypass surgery, being swindled by his financial advisor, and various narrow escapes at the hands of criminals.

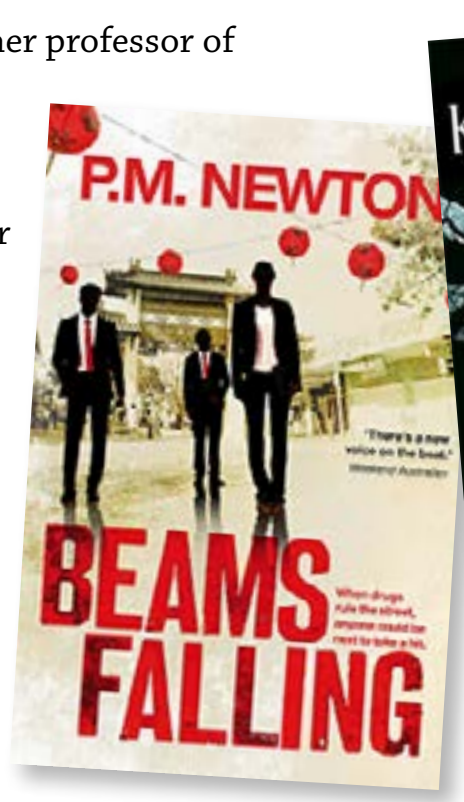


South African-born journalist Peter Temple has lived in Australia for over thirty years and revels in the local vernacular. His multi-stranded plots are set in Victoria and often explore corruption, including in politics, policing, religion and big business. Like several other crime writers, his work represents a crossover between "hard-boiled" and "police procedural". The Jack Irish series, which features a former criminal lawyer turned private investigator, leans towards hard-boiled, while *The Broken Shore* (2005) and *Truth* (2009) are closer to police procedurals, highlighting the loyalties and rivalries between police officers. *Truth* was the first crime novel to win the Miles Franklin Award (in 2010) which some commentators saw as evidence that crime fiction had become respectable and accepted as part of mainstream Australian literature.

Garry Disher grew up on a farm in South Australia, which seems to have inspired his latest effort, *Bitter Wash Road* (2013), a tale of a city cop who is demoted and sent to the sticks, where he is assumed to be a whistleblower and accordingly ostracized. Disher's main police procedural series,

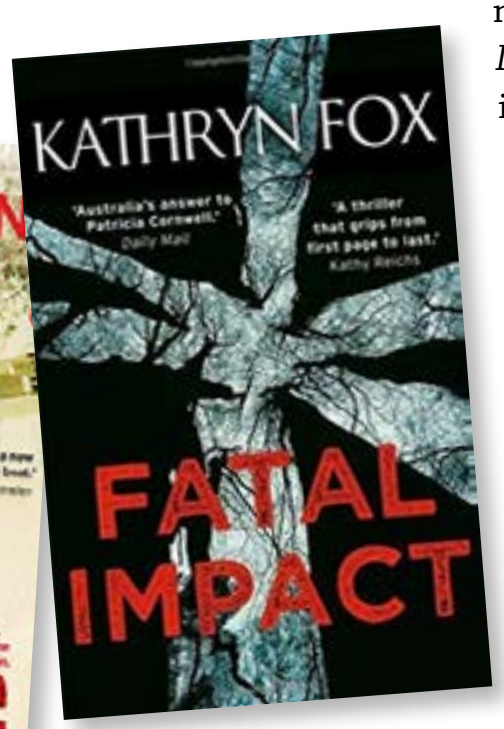
featuring Detectives Hal Challis and Ellen Destry, is set on the Mornington Peninsula in Victoria. Apart from investigating the crimes of assorted serial killers, rapists and burglars, these novels tap into the personal lives of the police. Disher also writes a hard-boiled series with an unusual protagonist, Wyatt, a career criminal who plans major robberies, is double-crossed, and seeks revenge and recovery of the money.

Barry Maitland, a former professor of architecture, has applied his understanding of structure and design to plotting crime novels. For many years he wrote the Brock and Kolla police procedural series, set in Britain, but with his latest novel, *Crucifixion Creek* (2014), his focus has switched to Sydney. The first of a trilogy, it features Detective Harry Belltree and hurtles at a fast pace with a cast that includes bikie gangs and loan sharks, and unauthorized methods of investigation.



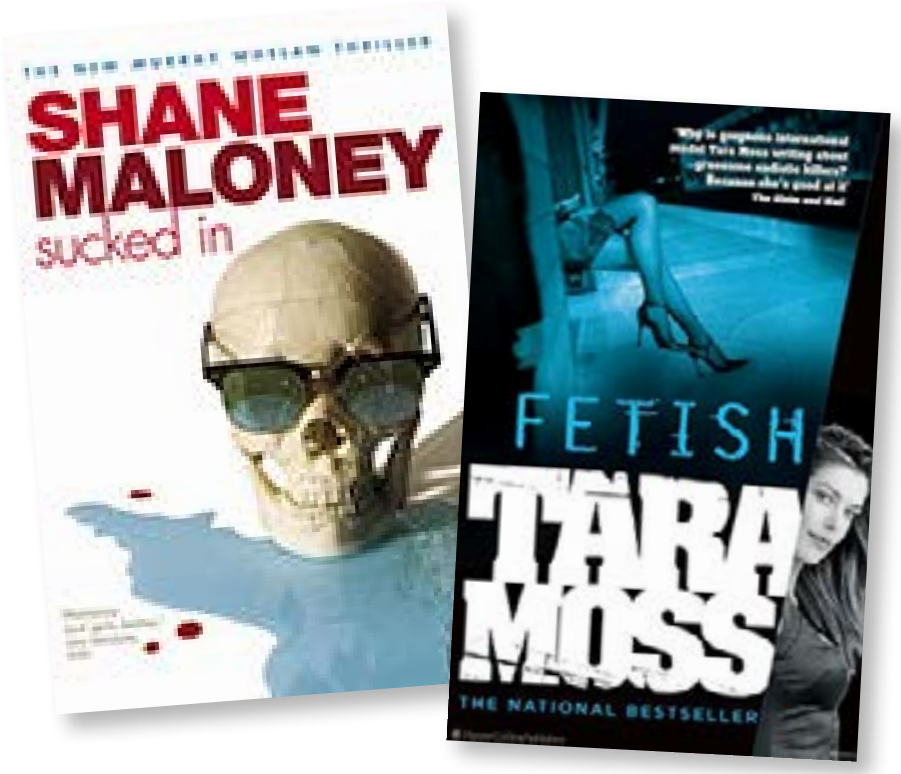
Two former detectives from New South Wales write police procedurals with a gritty, insider's perspective. P. M. Newton digs deeply into the layers of Sydney with her Vietnamese–Australian female detective, Nhu "Ned" Kelly, who looks Vietnamese but doesn't speak the language. *The Old School* (2010), set in Bankstown in the early 1990s, interweaves police corruption, Aboriginal rights and Ned's family secrets. *Beams Falling* (2014) throws Ned, who is still recovering from the trauma she suffered in the first book, into investigating the heroin trade in Cabramatta. Karen M. Davis also portrays the personal impact of police work in *Sinister Intent* (2013) and *Deadly Obsession* (2014), as Detective Lexie Rogers bears the physical and psychological scars of her time in the force.

FORENSIC PROCEDURALS are similar to police procedurals in terms of brisk pacing and ethical dilemmas, but with more medical content. Katherine Howell, a former paramedic, depicts the work of ambulance staff as well as police. The crimes usually have a personal connection with one of the paramedics, whether it be the abduction of a paramedic's son in *Frantic* (2007) or the paramedic as murder victim in *Deserving Death* (2014). Kathryn Fox is a doctor with a personal interest in forensics. Her novels feature Dr Anya Crichton, a Sydney-based pathologist and forensic physician who has been likened to Patricia Cornwell's Dr Kay Scarpetta. The most recent book in the series, *Fatal Impact* (2014), explores a connection between the death of a child and genetically modified food.



Psychological suspense thrillers share some common elements with the hard-boiled and procedural sub-genres, but the emphasis is on escalating tension. Gabrielle Lord wrote the hostage drama *Fortress* (1980) and several other stand-alone novels before turning more fully to crime. She has written five titles featuring Gemma Lincoln, a private investigator who is an ex-cop, and three books involving a forensic examiner, Dr Jack McCain. Her latest novel, *Dishonour* (2014), is a police procedural with a new protagonist, Detective Inspector Debra Hawkins, who investigates domestic violence and forced marriage in Sydney's Middle Eastern community.

Tara Moss, like her protagonist Makedde Vanderwall, was a model from Canada with an interest in psychology. In *Fetish* (1999), Vanderwall travelled to Sydney on a modelling assignment and discovered that a friend she planned to visit had been murdered. She survives many harrowing



situations during the series, culminating in *Assassin* (2012). Moss' writing has since headed in other directions, including into the supernatural genre, but her fascination with the dark side suggests it is unlikely she has left the crime genre for good.

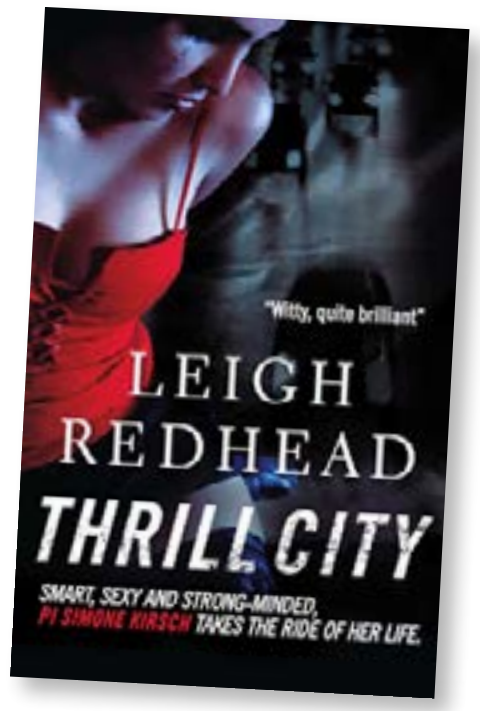
The fast-paced thrillers of Jaye Ford, a former journalist, are stand-alone stories including her latest, *Already Dead* (2014). In each of the novels a woman is thrown into jeopardy by a sudden, traumatic event and she must struggle with her fears, fight off danger, and find the answers to a mystery that may involve her own past. Honey Brown is another suspense writer who has been gaining prominence in recent years, winning a Davitt Award for *Dark Horse* (2013).

Although many Australian crime novels invoke dry humour, there is a particular type of larrikin yarn that gives equal weight to comedy and action. These stories usually involve a wise-cracking, accidental sleuth caught up in dangerous encounters with ruthless villains, while simultaneously juggling financial, family or romantic woes. The late Robert G. Barrett's contribution to this sub-genre should not be forgotten. He wrote *You Wouldn't Be Dead For Quids* (1984) and twenty or so other books starring Les Norton, a Kings Cross bouncer.

Meanwhile in Melbourne, Shane Maloney was a jack-of-all-trades before devoting himself to writing. In the Murray Whelan series, which began with *Stiff* (1994), Whelan rises from an electorate officer for

Although many Australian crime novels invoke dry humour, there is a particular type of larrikin yarn that gives equal weight to comedy and action.

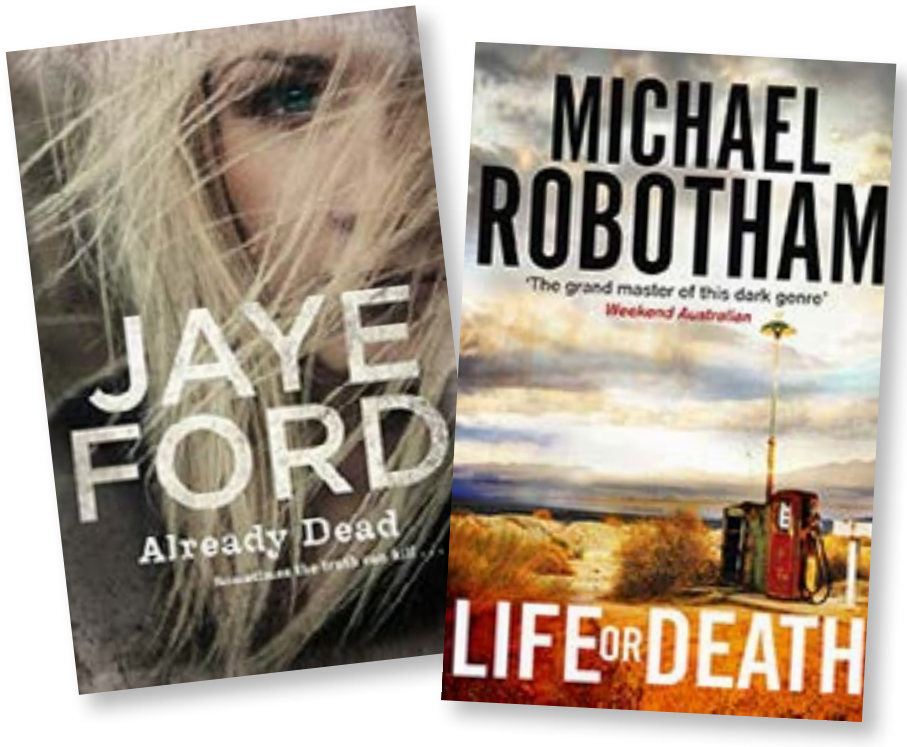
a state minister to a Member of Parliament. Victorian politics and society are dissected with accuracy and affection, but the shady dealings depicted could happen anywhere in Australia.



The protagonist of Lenny Bartulin's Jack Susko series runs a secondhand book store behind the Queen Victoria Building in Sydney and is drawn into sleuthing when a wealthy businessman hires him to find some rare books in *A Deadly Business* (2008). Adventures with art thieves and the Russian mafia follow in *The Black Russian* (2010) and a property developer in *De Luxe* (2011). Susko Books closed its doors while Bartulin wrote a non-crime novel set in his native state of Tasmania.

"Chicklit" crime is a description that can be applied to larrikin sleuths who are female. Marele Day's Claudia Valentine series (1988–95) paved the way to some extent for the current generation of feisty, resourceful and quick-witted heroines. In the Simone Kirsch series by Leigh Redhead, the protagonist is an ex-stripper turned private eye. The latest, *Thrill City*, appeared in 2010, and Redhead is reported to be working on the fifth book.

Marianne Delacourt's creation, Tara Sharp, is



another female sleuth with a chaotic life, although Sharp has the unusual skill of being able to read people's auras. The third book, *Stage Fright* (2012), was set in the music industry in Brisbane and, according to Delacourt's website, she has finished the latest book.

A few local crime writers set their novels overseas, sometimes with Australian characters.

Michael Robotham, a former journalist and one of Australia's most internationally renowned crime writers, has so far located all his thrillers overseas. In his main series, Joe O'Loughlin, a London psychologist with Parkinson's disease, uncovers the motivations for people's desperate behaviour. Robotham's latest novel, *Life or Death* (2014), is a stand-alone thriller about the hunt for a prison escapee in the US.

Angela Savage worked for years in the health sector in southeast Asia before returning to Australia and writing a crime series set in Thailand, where Jayne Keeney, Aussie private eye, solves crimes involving a colourful cast of locals and expats. P. D. Martin writes a series featuring Sophie Anderson, an Australian ex-police officer who works for the FBI as a criminal profiler.

Also worth checking out are the books of overseas-born novelists who live in Australia but write about their homelands. Irish-born Adrian McKinty has written four police procedurals in which Detective Inspector Sean Duffy is a Catholic outsider in the Royal Ulster Constabulary of Northern Ireland in the 1980s.

Malla Nunn's Emmanuel Cooper series has the protagonist grapple with cases in South Africa under apartheid in the 1950s. Academic Jane Goodall wrote a trilogy featuring Detective Briony Williams which spans the eras from the swinging 1960s to the punk 1970s in Britain.

Australians are eager to keep up with international cultural trends, including in literature. They enjoy escaping to exotic overseas destinations on their holidays and when they are reading. But, like a mystery in which the killer has been in plain view all along, Australian crime fiction has much to offer local readers. There are many strange journeys of discovery, from the lonely outback to the multicultural cities, many whodunits and whydunits to be solved in this vast and varied continent.

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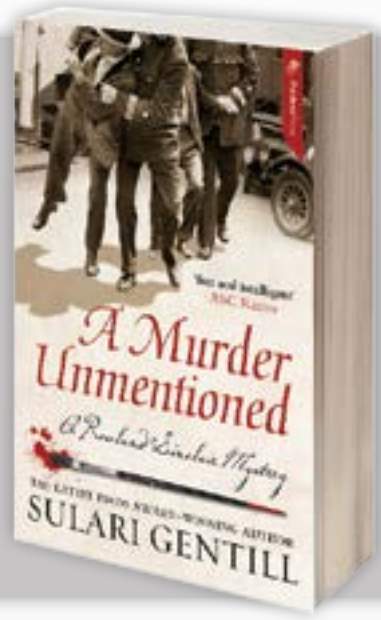

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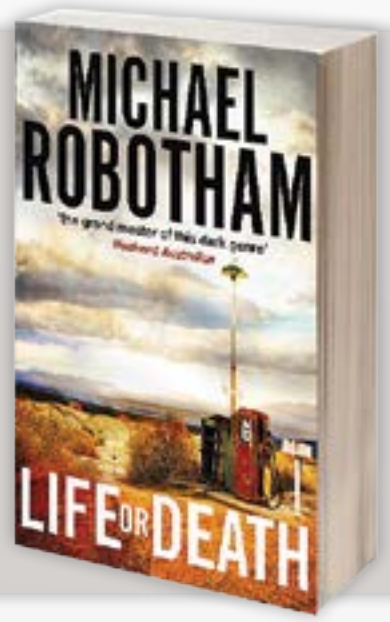

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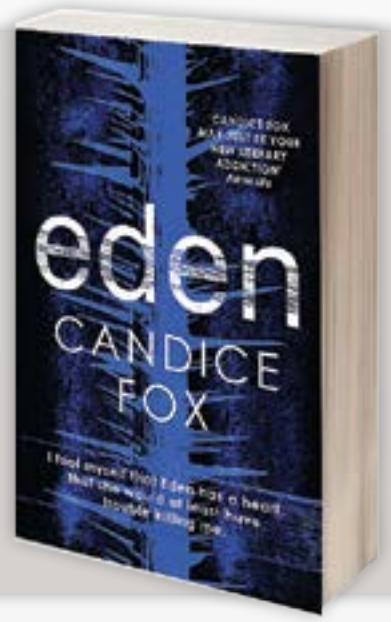

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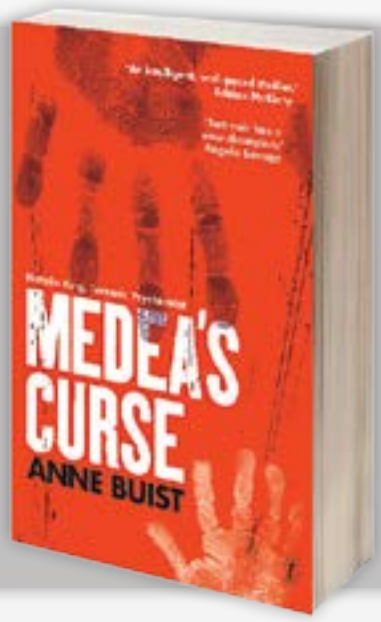

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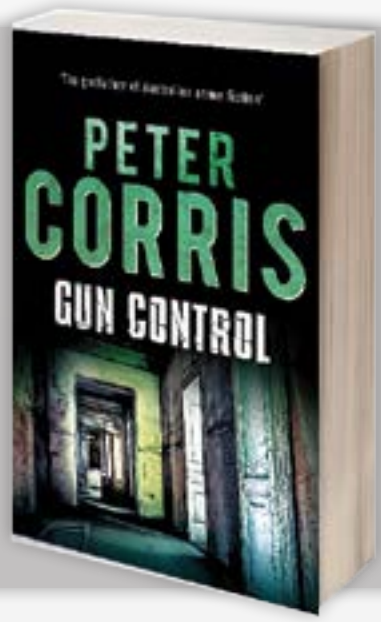

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Businesswoman Tren'ness Woods-Black says Harlem still has problems: "Let's not sugar-coat it."

How Harlem's Changed

The New York neighbourhood once described by poet Langston Hughes as "a raisin in the sun" is now embracing all comers, writes **Lee Tulloch.**

PHOTOGRAPHY BY TONY AMOS

ONLY ONCE did I venture up to Harlem in the ten years that I lived in Manhattan. It was most definitely nosebleed territory, as we used to say about anything above 14th Street, and therefore to be avoided. It was also deeply dangerous during the crack epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s.

I survived that one trip in 1989 to visit Australian friends who had brashly moved there to open a nightclub, but I can't recall much about it except it was at night and the dimly lit streets made me nervous. (Unnecessarily, said my friends.) I don't think I even registered that, unlike Brooklyn or the Bronx, Harlem was still on Manhattan and was just a hop away from the top of Central Park.

The mystique of Harlem through the good times (the "Harlem Renaissance"of the Jazz Age) and recent troubled decades was such that it seemed like another planet, especially for a white girl. How surprised I was to find out almost twenty years later that it felt like home.

The vibe in most places is neighbourly. "Go to a bar twice and you're a local," someone told me.

In 2006 another set of friends moved to Harlem and bought a big, handsome brownstone on 130th Street for less than the price of a small apartment Downtown. I stayed with them when I next visited New York. I loved the vitality instantly—the hair-braiding parlours that stay open until midnight, dousing customers in a miasma of hairspray; the little old church ladies on Sunday in their finery; the kids hanging around outside the laundromat, the sound on their retro beat-boxes ratcheted up to deafening; the stores on 125th Street selling men's zoot suits and gator-skin shoes in every colour of the rainbow; the sassy young women in their skin-tight pants with turquoise-painted nails and swinging earrings the size of wheel hubs.

The energy reminded me of the East Village in the 1980s when, thrillingly, you never knew what adventure—good or bad—might greet you around any corner.

Now that Downtown had been sanitized and corporatized, Harlem seems the only place on the island that is fun. As someone said to me on a recent trip, "Harlem is the only real community on Manhattan".

The community's pride is palpable. Vacant blocks sprout community gardens decorated with murals celebrating civil rights heroes. People stop us in the street and volunteer stories about the history of the

building we're looking at. A lovely gentleman panhandling on a corner gives us an appraisal of every art gallery Uptown and invites us to his church on Sunday morning.

The bodyguards outside the Reverend Farrakhan's church on 127th Street invite my husband in to hear the controversial minister's sermon. It's shocking how people engage with strangers on the street, given the "don't look me in the eye" faux cool of Downtown's denizens. Wear anything striking—bright blue nailpolish, a leopard-print coat—and you'll be greeted with "Love those nails, honey!" or similar.

Chez Lucienne on Lenox Street combines Harlem smiles and Parisian cuisine.

While Harlem may have the reputation of being edgy and hostile, it's a most hospitable place if you go with the flow, alternately frenetic and country-town slow. If you get out of the subway at 125th and Lenox, as you most likely will, you'll be assaulted by the sounds and colours of African America, the mix of different African cultures newly arrived from Ghana, Ethiopia, Senegal and such, stirred into the American black hip-hop-meets-Superfly culture in one eye-popping mélange.

But walk a few blocks north to Astor Row at 130th Street between Lenox and Fifth Avenue and you might think you're in the Deep South, with people sitting on porches in rocking chairs or pottering about in their beautiful gardens.

Harlem is a huge and diverse neighbourhood physically and culturally, running up the West Side from 110th Street at Central Park to Morningside Heights between the Hudson and Harlem Rivers.

What people often think of as "Harlem" is in fact Spanish Harlem on the East side, also known as *el barrio*, with its landscape of housing projects.

There are projects and boarded-up brownstones in Central and West Harlem too, but the district was first populated as early as the seventeenth-century by Dutch farmers and later people of wealth, and

SHOP

THE BROWNSTONE

Princess Jenkins was the first woman to bring stylish occasion dressing to Harlem 20 years ago and she's still the first stop for locals wanting some grown-up glam.

24 East 125th St & 633 Lenox Ave; (212) 234 0001

HAT HEAVEN

And it is! Stocking over 1000 hats for church ladies, fashionistas and well-groomed gents, designer Evetta Petty's little store is crammed with every kind of hat imaginable. And she ships internationally.

2538 Adam Clayton Powell Jr Blvd; (212) 491 7706

HATS BY BUNN

Milliner Bunn is one Harlem's great characters. Drop by for a chat and come away with a newsboy cap, man's classic fedora or something feminine and flamboyant.

2283 Adam Clayton Powell Jr Blvd; (212) 694 3590

SEE

STUDIO MUSEUM IN HARLEM

Established in 1968, this was the first museum in the US dedicated to African-

Harlem characters dress like stars and go to church every Sunday.

American art. The work of James VanDerZee, the photographer who chronicled Harlem life during much of the twentieth century, is permanently on display here. Free on Sundays.
144 West 125th St; (212) 864 4500

MAYSLES CINEMA

Not-for-profit community-based cinema specializing in documentary films and forums.
343 Lenox Ave; (212) 582 6050

PARIS BLUES

This funky jazz bar, established 40 years ago by local legend, the dapper Samuel J Hargress Jnr (who still drops by most nights) is as authentic as you get. Great musos, two-drink minimum.
2021 Adam Clayton Powell Jr Blvd; (917) 257 7831

STAY

710 GUEST SUITES

We adored this exceptional 762 sq metre two-floor apartment in Sugar Hill that sleeps up to six. Brilliantly equipped full kitchen, two sitting rooms, separate dining, two full bathrooms and powder room, balcony and garden access. It's immaculate and decorated in great taste, full of interesting books and art, and just a hop from the 145th Street A train. Host Michael Cooper will make sure you're settled and know all about the 'hood. Weekly from $2500 low season; three-night minimum.
710 St Nicholas Ave; (212) 491 562

ALOFT HARLEM

Starwood's fun young brand is a couple of notches up from a youth hostel but it's friendly and thoughtfully equipped with simple rooms that are eco-conscious (cotton sheets; plastic cups). Downstairs

Exceptionally chic: short-term rental at 710 Guest Suites.

there are more than 400 significant houses on the National Historical Register.

Sylvan Terrace, for instance, between 160th and 161st Streets, across the road from the colonial Morris–Jumel Mansion, which was headquarters for George Washington during the Revolution, is a beautifully preserved row of wooden houses dating from 1882. Strivers Row on West 138th and 139th Streets features magnificently restored elegant large townhouses designed by Stanford White.

But just about any block in Harlem, apart from a few dismal high-rises, is worthy of closer inspection, for the architectural details as well as the layers of history of the notable people who lived there. It's wise to carry a guidebook or go on a Harlem walking tour, otherwise you may not discover that the IHOP pancake parlour once housed the legendary Small's Paradise nightclub or that a sedate block of 133rd Street was once called "The Jungle" for its wild clubs and bars like the Bucket of Blood.

HARLEM'S TERRAIN becomes quite hilly as you go north. Looming over what is known as Sugar Hill is the white-marble City College of New York, a neo-Gothic landmark dating from 1906. Sugar Hill, named for the "sweet life" that was Harlem in the 1920s, begins at 145th Street and stretches west to Amsterdam Avenue and up to the top of Trinity Cemetery at 155th Street. These few streets boast some of Manhattan's loveliest houses, especially those on Hamilton Terrace, on

is where it's happening; the re:mix lounge has a pool table, W XYZ bar, and self-service gourmet pantry. Free wifi, gym, camp ALoft for kids. Well situated near subways and restaurants.
2296 Frederick Douglass Blvd; (212)

EAT

CÉDRIC BISTRO

In a quiet residential pocket, this casual French bistro and bar serves up decent roast chicken and mash, fish 'n chips and mussels five ways.
185 St Nicolas Ave;
(212) 866 7766

RED ROOSTER

Everyone talks about award-winning chef and cookbook author Marcus Samuelsson's busy brasserie, with its new take on classic Southern cooking. He has, single-handedly, brought the hungry hordes back to Harlem. The Nook sells sweets and sandwiches; Ginny's Supper Club is in the basement.
310 Lenox Ave; (212) 792 9001

AMY RUTH'S

Amy Ruth was an Alabamian who cooked up such great Southern cuisine that her grandson Carl opened this little café in her memory. The fried chicken and waffles (above), biscuits and peach cobbler are authentic and very, very good.
113 West 116th St; (212) 280 8779

the leafy streets crossing Covent Avenue and along the Historic District of St Nicholas Avenue.

Michael Cooper is a former fashion illustrator who bought and renovated an old brownstone in Sugar Hill and turned two floors of it into the 710 Guest Suites, an exceptionally chic short-term rental that provides a standard of luxury not previously found in accommodation north of Central Park.

"It feels like you're off the grid up here," he says, "but you're not." The subway at 145th Street takes you to Times Square in fifteen minutes. And if you're not a fan of public transport, Harlem's great secret luxury are the limousines that usually come to your door within three minutes of a call and take you downtown for half the cost of a taxi.

Harlem has been a boom-or-bust neighbourhood since the first black residents poured in from the South looking for work in the early twentieth century. It's currently in a "boom" phase, with new restaurants and bars popping up everywhere. Princess Jenkins, who opened The Brownstone, the first upscale fashion boutique in Harlem twenty years ago, says "The energy has got to come up. It can't go down, because down is done already".

Let's not forget those glorious, flamboyant women ... They dress better in Harlem than anywhere on earth.

Harlem's first new hotel in 40 years, the ALoft (little sister to the W hotels) has become a real hub of the community, with a popular bar and DJs playing sets in the lobby most nights.

Four years ago when I visited Harlem the food choices were soul food, which is based on the cooking of plantation slaves, and fast food. Fried chicken on waffles smothered in maple syrup is truly delicious (I'm less enamoured of chitterlings, which are stewed pig intestines), but you can't eat soul food every day unless you want to end up like many of Harlem's older residents, in poor health and suffering from diabetes. (The number of people getting about in wheelchairs is terribly sad.)

Now, one of Manhattan's hottest restaurants is Marcus Samuelsson's Red Rooster and the blocks of Frederic Douglass Boulevard below 125th Street are packed with terrific places to eat everything from Ethiopian cuisine to Japanese. The restaurants are mostly filled with young, well-dressed middle-class blacks enjoying the fact that New York is at last coming to them. The vibe in most places is neighbourly. "Go to a bar twice and you're a local," someone told me.

People talk about a new "Harlem Renaissance" but Tren'ness Woods-Black, the granddaughter of pioneering Harlem soul-food restaurateur Sylvia Woods, who died in 2013, says that term is misleading. The original Renaissance, which saw a great flourishing of African-American literature, art and music, only lasted from the early 1920s until the Depression. "There's still not a good balance as concerns the arts," she says.

There are a few African-American cultural institutions such as the Studio Museum of Harlem and the Maysles Cinema, but the neighbourhood is yet to see the proliferation of art galleries, for instance, that marked the gentrification of SoHo and Chelsea. The famous Apollo Theater's talent night is probably best avoided—it's impossible to see anything over the heads of people standing on their seats taking videos with their phones.

Self-taught Veronica "Ronnie" Hernandez, owner and lead designer at Batter cake shop.

The neighbourhood still is transitional, Tren'ness says. There is high unemployment and high school-drop-out rates. Many of the new businesses follow Sylvia's example and hire from within the community. Sylvia's has led with a scholarship foundation that assists kids who have flunked out of school. There are plans to redevelop the restaurant's site and provide within the new building further community facilities.

But, "There are a lot of guns on the street in Harlem. Let's not sugar-coat it." Tren'ness recalls one day a year or two ago when bullets were flying across the road on 129th Street and Sylvia's patrons, sitting on the sidewalk, had to run inside for cover. (One Frenchman ducked back outside to rescue his delicious cornbread.)

But this is rare. My friends' house backs onto that block of 129th. I have heard that there's a turf war going on between rival gangs, but I've walked that block lots of times and never felt threatened. You're much more likely to be smothered with kindness than run into any trouble.

CHEZ LUCIENNE

Next door to Red Rooster, this popular French bistro serves classics like *croque monsieur* and *coq au vin*, and does it better than many Parisian cafés. The sidewalk tables are lovely in summer and there's live music Saturday night.

308 Lenox Ave; (212) 289 5555

JADO SUSHI

If excellent sushi is an indicator of a neighbourhood's gentrification, then this lively sushi bar and restaurant is testament to how far Harlem has come.

2118 Frederick Douglass Blvd; (212) 866 2118

ZOMA

Fabulous Ethiopian food in a modern room with African accents. Eat with your hands and don't miss the tej (honey wine) to wash down the spices.

2084 Frederick Douglass Blvd; (212) 662 0620

CARIDAD

It's a Dominican neighbourhood on the west side of Sugar Hill and that means lots of cantinas and food trucks selling Latin food. This friendly place does an amazing trade in take-out, but you can also dine in on some of the best rotisserie chicken around. Noisy and fun.

3533 Broadway;(212) 862 4053

SYLVIA'S

The Queen of Soul Food. People argue about which place serves the best soul food but Sylvia's is run by her warm and generous family and, like the Empire State Building, is worth at least one visit. The Gospel Sunday brunch is famous but it's better to go on weeknights.

328 Lenox Ave; (212) 996 2669

One thing I've noticed: church-goers have manners. A man getting off the train at 125th with his blind wife says to the whole carriage, "Bless you all. I thank the Lord each morning I wake up".

Tourists come to Harlem on Sundays on tours that take them to one of the gospel churches and then to a gospel brunch at Sylvia's or any number of places. My instinct would be to avoid Sundays and visit when the streets are not overrun by slow-moving tourists, but Sundays are special. There are more than 300 churches in Harlem but many of them are little storefronts that spill out onto the street on Sunday and you can hear fire-and-brimstone sermons preached right on the sidewalk.

One evening I was passing one of these places and glimpsed inside. The preacher was dressed in a red satin gown, with long dreadlocks, looking like a refugee from Earth, Wind and Fire.

THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN of Harlem wear their best clothes on Sunday, which is quite a sight. On my last visit, I spotted a gentleman dressed in varying shades of apricot, from his fedora and long jacket to the points of his crocodile shoes. He had a red handkerchief in his pocket. On another occasion I saw a man decked out in black-and-white houndstooth, with canary yellow-dyed hair and a matching yellow cane. And let's not forget those glorious, flamboyant women, flaunting it for all it's worth. They dress better in Harlem than anywhere on earth.

My advice to any visitor to Harlem is this: be open-minded. Sometimes the most unlikely places offer the best times. Ben Widdicombe, an Australian web publisher who moved to Harlem a few years ago, takes us to a tiny dive called Paris Blues. The most you could say about it is that it's unprepossessing. A string of Christmas lights hangs limply outside. Inside, the décor is shabby, with a few desolate bottles propped behind the bar and a pregnant barmaid slings drinks with little interest. There's a makeshift stage and a few wooden booths. I enter thinking it will be a bit of a joke but we end up staying all night.

The music is sizzling. First up is Brooklyn gal Sweet Lee, followed by Australian musical director Catherine Harley and her band. The musos from the first band hang around and jam with the second. A tip jar is passed around. There are about thirty people in the bar having a wild time. Watching the joy of musicians jamming is one of the peak human experiences.

Later in the evening, Samuel Hargress Jr, who established the bar 40 years ago, turns up in his fedora and zoot suit to chill, a cool lounge lizard if ever there was one. And to think we might have just walked past!

Harlem has a huge range of experiences on offer. Don't walk past.

Samuel Hargress Jr. at Paris Blues.

CHECK OUT

Go to www.harlemonestop.com for news and events.

GET AROUND

We found Ivoire car service to be reliable, courteous and cheap. *(212) 722 8800*

Those shades of grey

> I have been a little bit bemused by those colleagues in the newspapers who have admitted that I have suffered more pressure as a result of my gender than other prime ministers in the past, but then concluded that it had zero effect on my political position or the political position of the Labor Party. It doesn't explain everything, it doesn't explain nothing, it explains some things. And it is for the nation to think in a sophisticated way about those shades of grey.
>
> **Julia Gillard** Statement upon leaving the Prime Ministership, 26 June 2013

ASR welcomes contributions to Those Shades of Grey articles that explore or reflect on the role of gender in Australian political leadership. Please keep articles as short as possible. Send to annesummersreports@gmail.com with Some Shades of Grey in the subject line.

Reflections of a Governor-General

We need trail-blazers and role models in every area of life to soft-wire the system and allow those previously excluded to shine.

By **Quentin Bryce**

I HAVE SPOKEN OFTEN of how greatly I valued the opportunity in my Canberra years to draw attention to the exceptional acts of accomplishment, service and selflessness in our midst. The role of Governor-General is like no other in its capacity to show the spectrum of Australian life, and the very best of our society in every field. From grand places to quiet corners, men and women are giving, caring, contributing and leading.

In recent days, I have been reflecting on some memorable connections I made with Monash University. I've had conversations with remarkable experts who have led outstanding teams, working in areas of enormous import to our shared humanity.

Allow me a couple of snapshots: Jayashari Kulkarni, Professor of Psychiatry at Monash Alfred Psychiatry Research Centre (MAPrc). I was exhilarated by my discussions with her and her colleagues about their mental health research. Side by side, Professor Kulkarni is conducting clinical practice in a community setting with 170 staff and students. Her team has conducted 102 clinical trials, developed new treatments and new pathways for people with severe mental illness, including schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, depression, autism, which affects 1 million Australians who don't respond to current methods.

The MAPrc catchphrase "we mend minds"

describes the centre's capacity to translate research discoveries into the innovative and the cutting edge. The centre offers deep brain stimulation techniques, magnetic seizure therapy, cognitive strategies for people with schizophrenia and diffusion tensor imaging GLASS (the Gender, Leadership & Social Sustainability unit), where I am proud to be Patron.

Professor Margaret Alston heads interdisciplinary research. Members of the unit have a breadth of experience that allows them to work effectively across different sectors and with varying levels of influence, including places such as a remote community in Bangladesh to a public hospital in country NSW to UN agencies in New York to the boardrooms of our four big banks.

Dr David Buckingham, Vice-President, gave me valuable advice on my efforts to encourage women's emerging leadership in Africa. I came home from my time in several countries there convinced that that is the key to advancement in many aspects of political, economic and social life. At the Monash Africa Centre, academics, government, industry experts, current students and opinion leaders research and explore present realities and the potential of the African continent. All underpinned by partnerships and collaboration. I am impressed by the centre's commitment to the consolidation of democracy and social justice, and its dedication to nurturing scholars in Africa.

Mathilde Monash, 1869–1939.

I BELIEVE THAT the most important way to prepare our nation for a prosperous and safe future is for us to ensure the best education of Australian people at every stage of their lives, from early intervention to postgraduate research.

As former Monash Vice Chancellor and President Richard Larkins said, "If we wish to be a vibrant, exciting country participating in and contributing to the knowledge economy of the twenty-first century, we have to do better than selling our commodities and being a tourist destination … Our universities must develop a vibrant research culture by going out and engaging with the world."

Professor Larkins, whose wisdom we acknowledge this evening, is right. We do have to do better. We have to match our ability with our ambition. We have to engage with the world beyond our shores. We have to become more open, more accessible, more sustainable and more just.

A national ambition for today and tomorrow must be one that embraces the potential of our fellow Australians, no matter where they live, what language they speak, what their gender. A national ambition that overcomes disability, disadvantage and discrimination. A national ambition for all.

But before I talk about my ambition for Australia's present and future, I want to tell you a story from Australia's past, a story of a brother and sister, children of Jewish migrants.

Their parents invested in their education, and both were brilliant students with equally sharp

minds. The boy was dux of Scotch College; his sister, dux of Presbyterian Ladies College (PLC).

Equal talents, but not equal opportunities. Both should have gone to university. Both should have had the chance to discover their true potential. But one was left behind.

The mother died. A tough decision was made. The sister would stay home to raise a younger third sibling. Her brother would continue at university. The sister led a full life of travel, tutoring students and teaching at University High. She translated books into Braille. But she never became a fully independent person.

Her brother, on the other hand, went from strength to strength. He earned three university degrees and became a successful engineer. He achieved worldwide fame as a general in World War I and set up the State Electricity Commission in Victoria. In his time, he was seen as the greatest living Australian, and when he died, 300,000 attended his state funeral. He was the first Australian to have a university named for him.

We will never know whether Mathilde Monash might have become one of our country's greatest daughters. We will never know because, in her time, ambition was considered the domain of men.

WE KNOW HIM as Sir John Monash. But how many know of his brilliant sister Mathilde? What might she have achieved given the same opportunities? This comparison is not made to diminish the achievements in any way of Sir John, one of our country's greatest sons. At seventeen, he wrote in his diary: "Is it true that Ambition is a vice? Surely then it is a vice common to all mankind; for how can a man live without ambition? … The sole thing that bears up my failing spirits is this ambition."

We will never know whether Mathilde Monash might have become one of our country's greatest daughters. We will never know because, in her time, ambition was considered the domain of men, and women—whether mothers or daughters, sisters or wives—were expected to play a supporting role.

There were exceptions to the rule, including one of Mat's PLC classmates Vida Goldstein, the internationally renowned suffragist and first woman in the British Empire to stand for Parliament, and after whom the federal electorate of Goldstein is named.

Mat Monash, though, played the supporting role.

When Sir John sent a 4000-word letter home describing how he engineered the Anzacs' bloodless evacuation from Gallipoli, it was Mat who typed up the manuscript and ensured its distribution. When the general was made a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1917, it was Mat who "did a little war-dance" to celebrate. When her brother returned home to Australia a national hero, it was Mat Monash who counselled him to beware of false friends.

John Monash was a man worthy of his sister's support. He was described by an admiring journalist, Adam McCay, as "the perfect brain".

But what about Mat Monash's perfect brain?

What about the generations of perfect brains lost to science, law, the arts, commerce and public life because of that lack of national ambition?

The Mat Monash story reminds me of the words of Tarja Halonen, former President of Finland, when she visited a few years ago. Finland has a population roughly the same as Victoria's—five million people.

Halonen said that because of its small size Finland had to rely on quality rather than quantity, and therefore invested heavily in education. She said, "If you really educate every boy and girl and use their full capacities no matter what their social backgrounds then it's like you have ten million people."

Think about that in the Australian context. If we were to give every boy and girl the education they need to "use their full capacities no matter what their social backgrounds", the impact on our society—and therefore our economy—would be profound.

A nation of 23.5 million people would have the capacity of a nation of 47 million.

Having spent the past six years sitting with people in their neighbourhoods, homes, workplaces, communities, listening to their stories, I have to report that we are some way off that ideal.

Without doubt, notable gains have been made towards gender equality. The next Mat Monash may well be studying or working at Monash right now, where more than 56 per cent of the students and 54 per cent of staff are female. She could be carrying out research at the Australian Synchrotron. She could be studying at a Monash campus in Australia. Or Malaysia. Or South Africa. Or Italy. Or India. Or China.

Progress such as this is a credit to Monash University and brings benefit to our nation, but the truth is, women still do not have, nor are they acknowledged as having, equal power and equal rights.

Progress can be deceptive. It should not be measured by economic numbers alone, but by everyday realities as well.

Yes: Australia has had twenty-three years of uninterrupted economic growth, a bull run unprecedented among OECD members.

Yes: we avoided the GFC and, on a per capita basis, became one of the wealthiest countries in the world.

But none of that matters if you live in a community that has been shut out of the Australian way of life.

Let me come back to the notion of ambition for all. Journalist Sam Lipski once wrote about the first time his father saw Sir John Monash. It was 1927, and Lipski Senior had just arrived in Australia from Palestine, a man who—as a Jew born in Poland—had first-hand experience of anti-Semitism. Imagine his surprise, then, when taken to the Anzac Day parade and told that the general leading the parade—the man with "the shiny boots and ceremonial sword"—was a Jew.

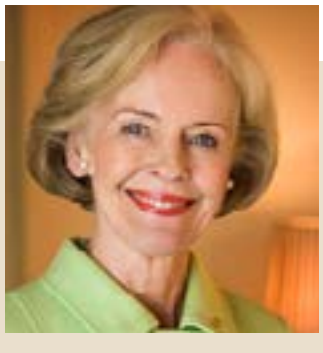
After World War II, Lipski Senior told that story to his brother, the only member of his family to have survived the Holocaust, to try and convince him to emigrate.

Sir John Monash was a leader. As a leader who came from modest circumstances and a migrant home, he was held up as a person to aspire to, as an example of what was possible in a place like Australia.

LOOKING AROUND our country, every community can identify their leaders. For women in the corporate world, it might be Gail Kelly, until recently the CEO of Westpac. For Indigenous Australians, it might be Noel Pearson. For Australians with a disability, it might be Rhonda Galbally.

We need trailblazers and role models in every walk of life to soft-wire the system. As Gail Kelly explains, "Soft-wiring is the storytelling, the role-modelling, the recognition systems, the cultural interventions, the calling out of behaviours and subtle biases. The elephants in the room."

One of the best ways to disarm individual ignorance and prejudice is through systemic ambition. We must, as a nation, keep looking for ways and means to make opportunity available to everyone.



Excerpted with permission from the Richard Larkins Oration. Delivered by the Honourable Quentin Bryce AD CVO, former Governor-General of Australia, Monash University, 26 August 2014.

How to run a government

Former Prime Minister Bob Hawke's Chief of Staff (1987–90) reckons that instead of coming to work every day trying to live out episodes of television dramas such as the *West Wing* or *Madam Secretary*, politicians and staffers in Canberra might be wise to give the Westminster system a try. Here he explains how it works.

By **Sandy Hollway**

1. The Prime Minister's principal advisers on policy matters are his ministers.
2. The highest decision-making body in the government, namely the Cabinet, is a forum for frank and confidential debate and deliberation between ministers. Staff and public servants should have no place at the table.
3. The Prime Minister's core job is to run the government. He is an executive chairman.
4. The Prime Minister should delegate a substantial level of responsibility to his ministers to get on with the job in their specific areas, requiring them to coordinate as necessary between themselves.
5. The Prime Minister should buy into issues, or choose to lead on issues, only selectively and based on three principal criteria—inherent importance, strategic character and political sensitivity.
6. No staffer in the Prime Minister's office may stand in the way of access by ministers to the Prime Minister.
7. The principal advisers to ministers on policy matters are the public service heads of government departments and their subordinate public servants.
8. No ministerial staffer may stand in the way of that relationship.
9. This includes the relationship between the Prime Minister's Department and the Prime Minister.
10. Ministers and their staff, on the one hand, and public servants, on the other, have a profound

reciprocal obligation, namely that the former will accept, welcome and encourage frank and fearless advice while the latter will be guided by a sophisticated comprehension of the elected government's fundamental ideological convictions and desired policy directions.

11. The role of ministerial staff, in relation to policy development, is to serve their minister by understanding the issues, close and creative engagement with their department to identify options, helping the department understand the minister's priorities, commissioning policy advice, and—importantly—providing an overlay to the advice (including disagreement with it if the staffer has a different view).

12. It needs to be an intimate relationship between staffer and public servant characterized by mutual respect and an understanding of each other's proper and important roles even when (indeed especially when) they disagree.

13. The Chief of Staff to the Prime Minister should concentrate principally on making sure that the whole machinery servicing the PM works like a clock, and helping the PM to run the government.

14. That's not a role to be dismissed as "merely management", but an important leadership, standard-setting and government-wide quality assurance role. And it's one in which the Chief of Staff and the head of the Prime Minister's Department in particular need a close partnership.

15. The Chief of Staff should buy into policy issues only selectively, leaving the bulk of this to the Prime Minister's specialist advisers.

16. In addition to policy advice, the Prime Minister's office must also have first-rate capabilities for political judgement and media/public communication. These are specialized roles which should be taken on by senior people in the office virtually co-equal with the Chief of Staff. (Optimal results simply cannot be achieved in this day and age by heaping all three roles on the Chief of Staff. Besides the workload, and the impossibility of any one person having the top-flight credentials and abilities required in each highly specialized role, a major reason is number 17 below.)

17. Australia will get the best outcomes from its government if the first question the Prime Minister or any minister asks themselves is "What would be the best policy outcome here for the nation?" Once everybody is clear about that, the political and communications considerations obviously need to be very carefully weighed. They are a sanity check. In this way, if the government chooses to adopt a second-, third- or fourth-best policy option for political or communications reasons, at least it is doing this with its eyes open. Any other process is a recipe for confused thinking and ultimately bound to end in tears.

The gold standards are Bob Hawke and John Howard. While dominant figures in their own right, both knew how to run a cabinet, and rarely departed from due process. And both lasted a lot longer than any prime minister since. Hardly a coincidence.

Mark Kenny, "Abbott's choice: change or face the axe", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 January 2015

Besides being Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Bob Hawke, Sandy Hollway was also Deputy Secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet from 1991 to 1993, Chief Executive of two Commonwealth government departments from 1994 to 1996, and Chief Executive Officer of the Sydney Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games from 1997 to 2000.

Primary Sources

The go-to place for the words and images that define us, here and around the world

Issue of the year Violence against women and children

We congratulate Rosie Batty on being named 2015 Australian of the Year. We salute her determination to put the issue of family violence on the national agenda after the murder of her son Luke by his father in February 2014. Follow Rosie on Twitter@RosieBatty1 and check out the foundation she has established to honour the memory of her son. In her speech accepting the honour she laid out the facts and the causes of domestic violence for the nation (and the world) to hear. These are just some of the grim statistics:

- 1 in 3 Australian women have experienced physical violence
- 1 woman a week is killed by her current or former partner
- And an understanding of the key issues around domestic violence
- The Victorian government is setting up a Royal Commission into Family Violence with the following terms of reference for the Victorian Government Royal Commission into Family Violence.

PHOTO: FAIRFAX MEDIA

The toolkit

Places to go for practical help and further information

- WESNET Australia's peak advocacy body on domestic and family violence
- Our Watch Research and advocacy
- ANROWS Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safely
- GVRN Gendered violence research network
- The Lookout One-stop shop for getting help

You've called 911...

- This heart-stopping public service television advertisement on domestic violence was shown during the US Super Bowl on 1 February.

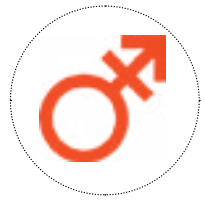
Never forgetting

For the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz concentration camp, Google produced this compelling series of exhibitions on **the murder of Jews during WWII**.

How big can Facebook get?

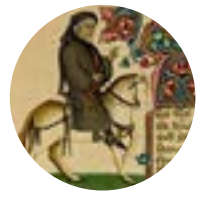
From helping college kids stay connected to a major global economy contributor.

Pushing boundaries



Are elite business schools an island unto themselves when it comes to **transgender students**?

The Tamil Tales



Canterbury Kadhaigal: **the first Tamil translation of Chaucer**.

National security

A reporter *vs* the **War on Terror**.

The cost of cruelty

Are we paying too much to stop the boats?

Total UNHCR budget for helping and protecting some **50 million** displaced persons around the world, including 11.6 million refugees:

$3.5 BILLION IN 2014

Total UK immigration and border protection budget:

$3.13 BILLION IN 2014–15

Total Australia spent on the detention and processing of the current **34,000** in various stages of the asylum process:

$3.5 BILLION IN 2013–14

Cost of detaining one offshore asylum-seeker for one year:

$400,000

Compared to the cost of onshore detention:

$239,000

Cost of community detention:

$100,000

Cost of bridging visa:

$40,000

Do the math: moving all asylum-seekers to bridging visas—which are no guarantee of permanent settlement—would save the federal budget around $2 billion. SOURCE: KALDOR CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE LAW

Anne Summers Reports

Sane | Factual | Relevant

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Feedback

Here's looking at you

Dear Readers, this time I want to report back to you. On your feedback to us.

LATE LAST YEAR we conducted our first-ever readers' survey and we are absolutely overwhelmed by the results. I want to thank all of you who took the trouble to complete the survey and to tell us about yourselves.

We now know that you are a bunch of highly educated people of all ages, fairly well-off financially speaking, mostly in employment, with a wide range of interests and—best of all—with a very high opinion of *ASR*.

Here is a breakdown of who you are.

Our gender balance is—to put it mildly—a little unbalanced. According to the survey 86 per cent of you are women and only 13.9 per cent men. This does not reflect the actual gender breakdown of our subscriber list so I have to conclude that a lot of our male readers could not be bothered completing the survey. Hmmm. I will have to be more creative with the incentives next time! But, let me say, I am very proud to publish a general-interest magazine that appeals to so many women.

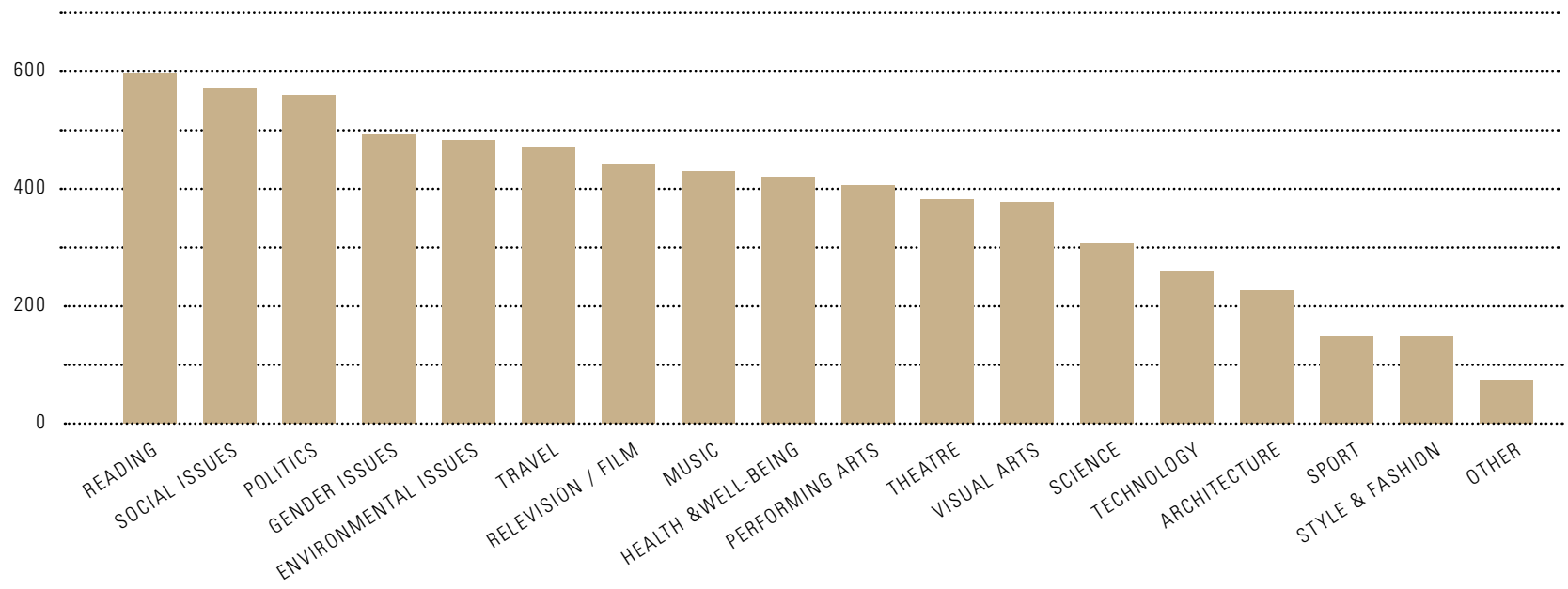
Most of you are on the far side of 45, with fully half of you aged between 56 and 70. Like a good wine, our readers are seasoned and mature. Despite this age profile, most of you are employed. Just 12.3 per cent describe yourselves as "retired", with 41 per cent in full- or part-time employment. The rest of you are students, self-employed, casual workers or unemployed (at well below the national rate).

One of our most popular issues.

Although 15 per cent of you preferred not to disclose your annual income, those of you who did have significantly higher than average incomes: 29.7 per cent of you earn over $100,000 and 46.1 per cent earn more than $75,000. But *ASR* readers represent the spectrum and 8 per cent of you earn less than $25,000.

Your interests are as broad as the topics we cover in *ASR*. There are just two subjects that don't interest you much and they rank equally and, to me, surprisingly: sport, and style and fashion. You *ASR*-ers are much more into reading, politics and social issues. Which is why we get on so well.

I have to say that I blushed with pride and pleasure when I read your comments on what it is you like about *ASR*. I have them printed out, all 28



closely printed pages of them, and pinned them to my bulletin board. Whenever I'm having a bad day, just a quick scan makes it all seem very worthwhile. I especially appreciated the personal compliments a number of you paid me.

It would take pages of *ASR* to share them all with you but let me give you a flavour. So many of you used words like "relevant", "trustworthy", "authentic", "smart", "intelligent" and "thoughtful". Here are a few quotes:

» ***ASR* is consistently interesting, topical, engaging. It has challenged my assumptions—important—and it is exceptionally well written, which is essential for my reading enjoyment.**

» *Original interview subjects, freshness of material, feminist sensibility without being predictable or whiny (I am a staunch feminist but get tired of seeing and hearing stuff discussed in fairly black-and-white terms)—I love the nuanced feminism of* ASR. *Feminism is tough enough to challenge itself, and I would love to see more of this kind of complex discussion at play rather than boring old "women vs men" crap that seems to define mainstream and social media's ideas of what feminism is. I like the contemporary look, the high-class production values.* ASR *looks like the classy mag it is.*

» **The articles have depth and there are no vested interests.**

» *I like the focus on facts: gathering them and presenting them without prejudice. There is something extra attractive about old-fashioned reporting delivered via the latest technology.*

» **I appreciate Anne's intellect and integrity. I can rely on her judgement to be a "filter" for my reading in an already crowded field.**

» *Independent and insightful with stories and features you don't find elsewhere.*

» **It's topical, it's intelligent and it doesn't treat readers like idiots.**

» *For me, living in a small rural community, It is an absolute pleasure to be able to read articles that are of such high calibre, that are interesting, thought provoking, stimulating and most enjoyable.* Anne Summers Report *has to be the highlight of my day … no my whole week … each time it arrives! Many thanks!*

We are definitely all on the same wavelength. You "get" what we are trying to do here at *ASR*. And that is what makes it all worthwhile.

Thank you.

ANNE SUMMERS

Our donors

Of time and talent and other acts of generosity:

Sandra Alexander, Lisa Annese, Libby Blainey, Claire Braund, Elizabeth Broderick, Peter Brew-Bevan, Jay Cooper, Peter Drysdale, Maria Farmer, Nicholas Fonseca, Jade Ginnane, Rupert Glasson, Anita Heiss, Avril Henry, Garry Hughes, Andrew Kaldor, Ivy Lee, Soon Lim, Helen Lynch, Helen McDermott, Catherine McGregor, Ruth Medd, Lucy Mills, Sam Mostyn, Kayte Murphy, Veronica Ridge, Chip Rolley, Liz Sheriff, Diane Smith-Gander, Jozefa Sobski, Alexandra Taylor, Julie Trajovski, Captain Nicholas Trotter, Phaedon Vass, Caroline Verge, Catriona Wallace, Denise Witton, Denise and Stewart Jackel

We sincerely thank the following people who have made a financial contribution since our last issue and who have agreed that we could publish their names:

Suzanne Baker, Carolyn Bloch, Elizabeth Brenchley, Kerry Crofts, Eveline Goy, Brian Hannant, Robyn Kemmis, Judith Quilter, Lyndall Ryan, Lesley Russell Wolpe

And very special thanks to the following people who have signed up to make a regular, monthly donation. We really appreciate having a predictable cashflow:

Pru Brewer, Lisa Carey, Howard Crawford, Edward Huntley, Regis McKenzie, Judie Pettitt, Lyndall Ryan, Catherine Shaw, Pam Stein, Janet Thompson, Carol Treloar, Erica Wagner

More than ever! *If we are to continue we need your support—please consider donating.*

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We suggest $100 if your budget allows it, but we are grateful for any amount. Every donation is important and every dollar helps keep us going.

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Contributors

Tony Amos's career as a professional photographer spans 25 years and three continents. He has worked for *Martha Stewart Living, US House & Garden, English House & Garden, Gourmet, Gourmet Traveller, Travel & Leisure, Elle Decoration, Maison et Jardin, Vogue Australia, Vogue Living, Belle, Conde Nast Traveller UK*, among many others. He is also a practising fine art photographer who has exhibited in both the US and Australia. With partner Lee Tulloch, he founded travel website **mrandmrsamos.com**.

Stephen Clark is a graphic designer who also writes and illustrates. His work can be seen daily in a national newspaper.

Jane Goodall is the author of three detective novels: *The Walker, The Visitor* and *The Calling*, all published by Hachette. She is co-editor of *Trauma and Public Memory*, a collection of essays forthcoming from Palgrave Macmillan.

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Ivy Lee is Emeritus Professor at California State University, Sacramento.

Robert Milliken is a Sydney-based journalist and author, and a correspondent for *The Economist*.

Polixeni Papapetrou is a Melbourne artist with an international following. Trained as a lawyer, she has created a body of work focused on childhood, history, contemporary culture and identity.

Juliette Saly is a journalist working across TV, radio, online and print. She has reported for every major Australian radio and television network, as well as Bloomberg, Al-Jazeera, CNBC and Fox News.

Lee Tulloch is the author of the cult novel *Fabulous Nobodies*, a collection of essays, *Perfect Pink Polish*, and four other novels—*Wraith, Two Shanes, The Cutting* and *The Woman in the Lobby*. She is the founding editor of *Harper's Bazaar Australia* and **mrandmrsamos.com** and has written extensively for *Vogue, Elle, Harper's Bazaar* and *New York*.

Paula Weideger, a New Yorker based in London, writes regularly about art for *The Economist* and other journals.

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