

# **Port Adelaide Football Club in China:**

A Case for an Intercultural Approach to Public Diplomacy?

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## Abstract

This paper examines the potential effectiveness of an intercultural approach to public diplomacy which is now considered the principal vehicle through which cultural expressions are used in international relations. Most countries use public diplomacy to project a positive external image, often with a strong economic objective. The main focus of this paper is the bi-lateral relationship between Australia and China, and draws on Port Adelaide Football Club's engagement in China. It found that China's public diplomacy is viewed cynically, and Australian public diplomacy has a strong focus on economic outcomes. An intercultural approach, designed to enhance popular intercultural understanding in both domestic and foreign audiences, would make for more effective foreign policy. Particularly in Australia, sport holds great potential for an intercultural approach to public diplomacy.

## Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

Andrew Sloan Hunter

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## List of acronyms

ACC	The Australia-China Council
ACDG	Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants
ACGDP	Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program
ACO	Australian Chamber Orchestra
AFL	Australian Football League
AIES	Australian International Educational Services
AII	Australia India Institute
AJF	Australia Japan Foundation
AMPAG	Australia Major Performing Arts Group
APT	Asia Pacific Triennial
ASC	Australian Studies Centre
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCTV	China Central Television
CHIA	Chinese-Australian Historical Images in Australia
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
FCIs	Foundations, Councils and Institutes
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment

FIRB	Foreign Investment Review Board
IASA	Indian Association for the Study of Australia
IRGP	The International Relations Grants Program
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NCP	New Colombo Plan
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSB	Public Security Bureau
SANFL	South Australian National Football League
SARFT	State Administration of Radio, Film and Television
SCAFL	South China Australian Football League
SES	Socioeconomic status
SNG	Sub-national government
USSR	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics
VFL	Victorian Football League



## Introduction and personal note

This thesis begins with an explanation of the period during which I was employed at Port Adelaide Football Club with responsibility for developing and implementing its strategy to engage with China. Port Adelaide's engagement with China was, at its outset, a strategy designed to achieve a commercial outcome. Over time, I came to understand that it was also being used by both the Australian and the Chinese governments for its diplomatic value and to help establish important people-to-people interactions. That became a subject I wished to research.

As a professional volleyball player, I had lived in Europe for many years and learnt its cultures and languages. Upon my return to Australia in 2008, I organised, in my spare time, exchanges to Japan, India (2012) and South-East Asia (2013) for the Norwood Bears Volleyball Club, which benefited from funding from the Australia Japan Foundation, Australia India Council and Australia Thai Foundation respectively. Prior to working at Port Adelaide, I worked as senior advisor for international engagement in the Office of the Premier of South Australia, Hon Jay Weatherill MP. Each of these experiences informed the approach I took to my role at Port Adelaide.

My challenge was that I was not a China specialist. My knowledge and experience were more of Japan and France. My academic interest was previously the bilateral relationship between Australia and Japan. I had studied on exchange at the International University of Japan and held a graduate diploma in languages with a focus on Japanese. I had lived in France for many years, spoke the language and was a member of the South Australian Government's French Engagement Advisory Board. But I had not lived in China, I did not speak Chinese, and China was not a strong academic focus of mine.

I was, however, deeply curious about China. I played my first match for the Australian Volleyball Team against China in Beijing in 2006. My wife competed at the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008. I had read classic Chinese texts, such as *Dream of Red Mansions*, and was fascinated by the most famous moment of sports diplomacy, and my voracious appetite for international affairs had led to many hours reading books about Gough Whitlam's trips to China in 1971 and 1973. These experiences and

knowledge could also be applied to my role at Port Adelaide. A new Chief Executive Officer, Keith Thomas, had arrived at the Club in September 2011 speaking of the need to “give before you take”. He would apply this thinking to China, where enduring partnerships tend to grow from ideas of reciprocity and mutual benefit. Port Adelaide pursued a commercial outcome in its engagement in China at the direction of the board and CEO. But Thomas also understood that strictly transactional intentions were seldom the foundation of long-term partnerships. I started working for Port Adelaide in March 2015, just prior to Port Adelaide’s second business lunch held in Hong Kong – at that time the flagship event for the club’s China Engagement Strategy. The first serious attempt to engage with China had started one year earlier, with a board meeting held in Hong Kong and the decision to sponsor the Chinese national team at the International Cup, a triennial international Australian Rules tournament.

This thesis therefore begins with a detailed case study of Port Adelaide’s experience with China, which I have been able to observe at close hand and analyse in subsequent research. It is in that sense a ‘lived’ thesis, developed through participant observation and practice-led research as well as theoretical and contextualising discussion. There are limits to personal experience in academic analysis; it is possible to develop a poetic memory of ideas and events in which one is intimately involved, and to directly link outcomes with the strategy and concepts one has been responsible for developing. Every attempt has been made, however, to remain objective and to bring a critical perspective.

The case study presented in Chapter 1 is followed by critical analysis in Chapter 2. The critical perspective applied to the case study informs the conclusion of the thesis, where an intercultural approach to public diplomacy is considered against the evidence provided throughout the thesis, including the practice-led research of Chapter 1.

## Chapter 1. Case Study: Port Adelaide Football Club in China

*But how is China to be understood? Who will be her interpreters? There is a long history of hers, covering a multitude of kings and emperors and sages and poets and scholars and brave mothers and talented women. There are her arts and her philosophies, her paintings and her theatres, which provide the common people with all the moral notions of good and evil, and that tremendous mass of folk literature and folklore. The language alone constitutes an almost hopeless barrier.*

- Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People*<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Introduction

It was easy to understand why the Port Adelaide Football Club looked first to Hong Kong in its desire to connect with China. Hong Kong is now part of China, but more culturally approximate to Australia in some ways, and an easier place to visit. A visa is not required. There were Port Adelaide supporters such as John White and Peter Phillips present in Hong Kong and committed the club, and the daughter of Chairman David Koch was also a long-time resident. Hong Kong was a mature market for Australian companies, with around 100,000 Australian residents and established links. A business lunch with an ANZAC Day theme was held in April 2015 at the Hong Kong Football Club, which is a product of the colonial period and at which both soccer and rugby union are played. This helped link the club to the Australian community in Hong Kong, which included many Port Adelaide stalwarts, including Denis Way, a Vietnam veteran who initially approached the club in 2014 to see whether it wanted to be active in China. However, the event appeared almost designed to ensure that no Chinese people would attend, and sure enough there were only 2 Chinese amongst the 277 attendees. If an AFL club was to achieve a significant commercial outcome in Hong Kong, it probably would have happened already. For Port Adelaide to achieve the commercial outcomes it desired, it would therefore need to venture out of its cultural comfort zone and go to the Chinese mainland.

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<sup>1</sup> Lin, Yutang, *My Country and My People* (London: William Heinemann, 1941), 7.

From the outset, Port Adelaide's decision to engage with China was commercially motivated. There are around 90 professional sporting teams in Australia;<sup>2</sup> therefore, it is a highly contested commercial space. In China, Port Adelaide saw an opportunity to enter conversations with businesses that had not previously considered partnership with a sports club as an avenue through which they could pursue commercial outcomes. However, the club opted for an approach based on "reciprocity and mutual benefit" rather than a purely transactional approach, and this achieved demonstrable success.

## 1.2. Australian Rules Football and China: previous attempts

The idea that Australian Rules Football<sup>3</sup> could create or enhance connections between people, businesses and governments in Australia and mainland China was ambitious. It had no recognition or presence in China, where there was no understanding of or identification with the sport. But as a product, it did have advantages that could be leveraged. Football is a quintessentially Australian sport that provides a window into Australian culture. It might therefore be possible to develop a narrative around football as a site of exchange, which could pique the interest of the two governments and open doors to Chinese businesses with interests in Australia.

The governing body of Australian Rules Football, the Australian Football League (AFL) – and the Victorian Football League (VFL) before it – had long dreamed of international expansion. The first international exhibition match was played in London in 1916,<sup>4</sup> before more serious attempts were made to promote the game internationally via a series of out-of-season exhibition games in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>5</sup> VFL games began to be televised internationally in the 1980s, for example on ESPN in the United States.<sup>6</sup> But football has never captured a significant international audience. As recently as 2015, the AFL identified New Zealand (where there were already over 30,000 registered

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<sup>2</sup> Will Swanton, "Australia's Sporting Obsession is Waning," *The Australian*, August 23, 2017, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/sport/australias-sporting-obsession-is-waning/news-story/603cf59adc9ba72010e10489e1efa5f1>.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this thesis, the word 'football' refers to Australian Rules Football unless otherwise stated

<sup>4</sup> *The Times*, "News in Brief", no. 41309, October 27, 1916,15.

<sup>5</sup> "Australian Rules Football Exhibition Matches", Wikipedia, last modified July 12, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian\\_rules\\_football\\_exhibition\\_matches](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian_rules_football_exhibition_matches).

<sup>6</sup> "Australian Football League", Wikipedia, last modified November 4, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian\\_Football\\_League#International\\_broadcast\\_partners](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian_Football_League#International_broadcast_partners).

players), Ireland and Europe, as well as Canada and the US, as priorities for expansion.<sup>7</sup> China was not yet on its radar.

However, although the fact was surprising to many, football had helped to bring the Australian and Chinese people and governments together in the past, when it positively influenced relations between Chinese migrants to Australia and the local community. In Victoria, in the 1870s and 1880s, strong anti-Chinese sentiment took hold. At an anti-Chinese rally held at the Melbourne Town Hall in 1880, Victorian Premier Graham Berry asked the 3,000-strong audience, “what is the point of having protection if we allow the wholesale immigration of an inferior race”.<sup>8</sup> However, nearby Ballarat had a thriving Chinese community during the Gold Rush, and although the Gold Rush was over by 1890, some Chinese immigrants integrated into the community and found different work. The Chinese Goldfields Leagues started in Ballarat soon after, and the first match, played between the Miners and the Gardeners on August, 26 1892, attracted approximately 5,000 spectators. Historian Robert Hess argues that “football was able to bring Chinese and European communities together and create a decade of tolerance and harmony across Victoria”.<sup>9</sup> However, many Chinese living in Australia returned to their homeland when the White Australia Policy was implemented in 1901, and football does not appear to have played an ongoing role as an instrument of engagement for Chinese communities in Australia after this.

At around the same time, the first recorded contact occurred between the Chinese Government and Port Adelaide Football Club. According to *The Chinese-Australian Historical Images in Australia* (CHIA) – a joint project between the Museum of Australian Chinese History and La Trobe University, supported by the Australian Research Council – General Wong Yung Ho and Consul U. Tsing visited the Australian colonies as part of a Chinese Investigation Commission to Southeast Asia in May 1887. They met with the Chinese populations in Queensland, New South Wales,

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<sup>7</sup> Jamie Smyth, “Masterminding the Rise of Australian Rules Football,” *Financial Times*, September 30, 2015, accessed May 22, 2017, <https://www.ft.com/content/9033359e-5e0a-11e5-a28b-50226830d644>.

<sup>8</sup> David Uren, *Takeover: Foreign Investment and the Australian Psyche* (Black Inc. Books, Collingwood, 2015), 24.

<sup>9</sup> Patrick Skene, “The Forgotten Story of the Chinese Goldfield’s Aussie Rules Leagues,” *The Guardian*, March 25, 2015, accessed November 6, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/blog/2015/mar/25/forgotten-story-chinese-goldfields-aussie-rules>.

Victoria and South Australia,<sup>10</sup> and were given full diplomatic honours and vice-regal receptions in each of these states except for Queensland).<sup>11</sup> In South Australia, the Commissioners attended a match between the Port Adelaide and Norwood Football Clubs on 22 June 1887, in the company of Mr Way Lee of Adelaide and interpreter Dr. On Lee of Sydney, and sat in the Governor's box. Norwood, which was to become Port Adelaide's greatest rival, defeated Port Adelaide 6 goals and 16 behinds to 4 and 3 "in front of one of the largest crowds that has even been seen at Adelaide Oval."<sup>12</sup> As far back as the nineteenth century, then, football was functioning as an instrument of both individual and diplomatic exchange between Australia and China.

Little was done during the twentieth century to build upon this history of Sino-Australian exchange, and when the professional clubs of the AFL started to turn their attention to China, their initial efforts were underwhelming. Richmond Football Club momentarily considered the merits of engaging with China and made a small contribution to football there. The local team, the Shanghai Tigers, still bears its nickname – which is the only more-than-anecdotal evidence that Richmond ever contemplated engagement with China. Other clubs, such as Greater Western Sydney, briefly attempted to engage with China also. The Melbourne Football Club made the most sustained effort: the AFL's website states that the Melbourne Demons announced their China Strategy in 2005 to increase links with the Chinese community in Melbourne and promote interest abroad, and in 2010, the club played an exhibition match against the Brisbane Lions in Shanghai, reportedly to an audience of five thousand spectators.<sup>13</sup> Melbourne later provided two Chinese players with a two-week development scholarship, and at the 2011 International Cup, Team China wore the Melbourne Football Club colours and adopted its nickname.<sup>14</sup> In 2014, China

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<sup>10</sup> Chinese-Australian Historical Images in Australia, "Visit – Chinese Commissioners General Wong Yung Ho and Consul U. Tsing to Australia in 1887", accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.chia.chinesemuseum.com.au/biogs/CH00044b.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Ian Welch, *Alien Son: The Life and Times of Cheok Hong Cheong, (Zhang Zhuoxiong) 1851-1928* (Canberra: Australian National University, 2003), 252–253.

<sup>12</sup> *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, "Norwood v Port," June 15, 1997, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/rendition/nla.news-article94957798.3.pdf?followup=986c5740e50606083234167707bea79d>.

<sup>13</sup> "2010 Exhibition Game vs Brisbane Lions", Demonwiki, last modified September 15, 2012, accessed August 30, 2016, <http://demonwiki.org/2010+Exhibition+Match+vs+Brisbane>.

<sup>14</sup> "AFL International: China", *AFL Community Club*, accessed August 30, 2017, <http://www.aflcommunityclub.com.au/index.php?id=608>.

Southern Airlines became a ‘premium platinum partner’ of Melbourne and was heralded as “the first Chinese company to undertake a commercial partnership with an AFL Club – a historic first for the AFL’s first club”.<sup>15</sup>

Despite these efforts, by the time Port Adelaide took its first tentative steps in 2014, football had failed to establish a strong footprint in “one of the least active sporting nations”. China’s apparent lack of appetite for sport was – according to sports business entrepreneur John Yan, who advised the US NFL on its entry to the Chinese market – because “According to our traditional philosophy, kids and teenagers are not encouraged to participate in too many physical activities”.<sup>16</sup> Olympic sports are, however, afforded great importance, and soccer is the darling of President Xi Jinping, who harbours dreams that China will become a world soccer superpower and win the World Cup within 15 years.<sup>17</sup> According to the most recent edition of FIFA’s *Big Count*, there were over 26 million soccer players in China in 2006.<sup>18</sup> The predictable, internationally-recognised round-ball sports of soccer, basketball and volleyball were far more popular than the newer sports that use an olive-shaped ball.

Australian Rules Football was the third of the olive-shaped ball sports to enter China, after rugby and gridiron. Rugby, however, is a recently-minted Olympic sport that since 2016 has benefitted from a US\$100million investment from the sports arm of e-commerce giant Alibaba, Alisports,<sup>19</sup> while American football has been active in China for over three decades. Both have far higher levels of participation. According to the AFL’s participation census, there were 1,226 people playing Australian football in China in 2016, mostly in Guangdong province, compared to 76,000 rugby players

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<sup>15</sup> “China Southern Signs with Melbourne,” Melbourne Football Club, accessed August 30, 2017, <http://www.melbournefc.com.au/news/2014-03-13/china-southern-signs-with-demons>.

<sup>16</sup> Bill Birtles, “AFL’s China Expedition an Uphill Battle Due to Cultural Barriers, Global Competition,” *ABC News*, May 12, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-05-12/afl-faces-an-uphill-battle-with-uninterested-china/8519266>.

<sup>17</sup> BBC News, “China Aims to Become World Football Superpower ‘by 2050’,” April 11, 2016, accessed May 19, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-36015657>.

<sup>18</sup> Fédération Internationale de Football Association, “FIFA Big Count 2006: 270 Million People Active in Football,” *FIFA*, May 31, 2007, accessed May 17, 2017, [http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/fifafacts/bcoffsurv/bigcount.statspackage\\_7024.pdf](http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/fifafacts/bcoffsurv/bigcount.statspackage_7024.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> George Dudley, “Alibaba Announces Major Investment in Chinese Rugby,” *SportsPro*, October 27, 2016, accessed May 20, 2017, [http://www.sportspromedia.com/news/alibaba\\_announces\\_major\\_investment\\_in\\_chinese\\_rugby](http://www.sportspromedia.com/news/alibaba_announces_major_investment_in_chinese_rugby).

(following an increase of 40 per cent in 2016)<sup>20</sup> and around 3,500 gridiron players.<sup>21</sup> Port Adelaide therefore entered a highly challenging context, looking to achieve an unlikely outcome.

When Port Adelaide started its venture, there were few local players, and no football appeared on television or on Chinese social media platforms such as Weibo and Wechat. Some Chinese journalists were dismissive, even after the Prime Minister of Australia announced Port Adelaide's intention to play a game in China; one concluded his article on the announcement by writing, "there's just one problem: The vast majority of people in China do not care about the sport, nor even know about it".<sup>22</sup> The lead commentator on the first-ever AFL match broadcast on Chinese television, former Chinese national team rugby player Liu Kai, conceded, "I personally haven't participated in the sport ... but let's learn it together".<sup>23</sup> Port Adelaide had set out to market a product about which Chinese consumers knew nothing and for which there was no immediate need.

Its first tentative steps were limited to the promotion of the sport. Starting in 2014, Port Adelaide sponsored both the South China Australian Football League (SCAFL) and the Chinese national team, 'Team China'.<sup>24</sup> The team visited Adelaide in 2014, and the players interacted with Australian supporters when they participated in the supporters' regular march from Rundle Mall to Adelaide Oval. As Port Adelaide developed links on the field, it simultaneously developed a strategy to build commercial links, with a targeted strategy of identifying Chinese businesses with existing interests in Australia that could benefit from a partnership with Port Adelaide.

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<sup>20</sup> Bill Wilson, "China's Drive to Become a Rugby Union Superpower", *BBC News*, November 8, 2016, accessed May 20, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-37836744>.

<sup>21</sup> Charlie Campbell, "Pro Football is Coming to China. But Will the Chinese Care?" *Time*, September 30, 2016, accessed April 17, 2017, <http://time.com/4512741/nfl-cafl-american-football-china-arena-football-sports-peyton-manning/>.

<sup>22</sup> Huang Zheping, "Australian Football is Coming to China – Where No One Cares About It", *Quartz*, April 14, 2016, accessed September 10, 2017, <http://qz.com/661795/australian-football-is-coming-to-china-where-no-one-cares-about-it/>.

<sup>23</sup> Phil Wen, "How, Exactly, Do You Say 'Speccie' in Mandarin?", *Sunday Age*, April 10, 2016, 11.

<sup>24</sup> Kym Morgan, "Port Adelaide Show Off Special Chinese-Themed Guernsey ahead of Multicultural Round," *The Advertiser*, July 20, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/sport/afl/teams/port-adelaide/port-adelaide-show-off-special-chinesethemed-guernsey-ahead-of-multicultural-round/news-story/f1b36511a13f84b277d5bc782c4d7fe9>.



### 1.3. Port Adelaide and Shanghai CRED: Initial Success

Although it was not announced until 14 April 2016, Shanghai CRED Real Estate Company formally became a sponsor of the Port Adelaide Football Club on 29 February 2016. An agreement between the two parties was signed in Shanghai at 2:20 pm – the traditional starting time for matches in the South Australian National Football League (SANFL), in which Port Adelaide’s current CEO, Keith Thomas, played 332 league matches. It was a special moment for the club, but evoked mixed reactions at home, where the achievement was seen in a highly politicised context.

The Australian media initially linked the sponsorship to CRED’s involvement in a bid for the purchase of the vast network of cattle stations owned by S. Kidman & Co. When the sale was blocked by the Commonwealth, it was expected that the sponsorship would somehow be annulled and that, to use the words of one journalist, businessman Mr. Gui Guojie’s “sudden passion for AFL might wane”.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, other commentators questioned whether the Foreign Investment Review Board’s (FIRB) rejection of the bid would impact the three-year sponsorship arrangement between CRED and Port Adelaide.<sup>26</sup> After the first FIRB rejection, the club became concerned that it was at risk of great embarrassment, as even though the sponsorship agreement had been signed, the money had yet to be received. With a single, million-dollar bank cheque came much relief.

This commentary implies that the partnership between Port Adelaide and CRED was merely instrumentalist, designed to meet a short-term imperative: a needs-based relationship driven by CRED’s need to obtain a social licence to operate in Australia. This was indeed consistent with the way in which Port Adelaide had initially promoted the potential benefits it could bring to Chinese businesses. Thomas was quoted in 2015 as saying that Port Adelaide wanted to “appeal to companies that are looking to break into Australia and promote their brand” or invest in Australia.<sup>27</sup> Later, he remarked that “because we play on the national stage, we feel [we are] a great vehicle

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<sup>25</sup> Bryce Corbett, “Port Adelaide’s China Deal Still on Despite Kidman Ruling,” *Australian Financial Review*, May 5, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://www.afr.com/brand/rear-window/port-adelaides-china-deal-still-on-despite-kidman-ruling-20160505-gomqqd>.

<sup>26</sup> Michelangelo Rucci, “Power Returns to China to Build on its Future,” *The Advertiser*, June 21, 2016, 31.

<sup>27</sup> John Stensholt, “Port Adelaide Plans China Push,” *Australian Financial Review*, August 2, 2016, 34.

for Chinese businesses to enter Australia”.<sup>28</sup> Port Adelaide’s commercial ambition at times appeared naked, even if cloaked in the rhetoric of friendship.

However, Gui never coupled football sponsorship with other business interests in Australia. The only evidence of his motivation can be found in his description, as quoted in the media, of how he was moved by the sport. He spoke of how his “inner passion came alive” upon watching his first match at Adelaide Oval and seeing three generations of supporters enjoying the game together, and stated that his “reunion with a real game has once again (re)lit the enthusiasm for sport which was buried in [his] heart”.<sup>29</sup> This impression may have been due to a cultural inclination to see multiple family members as part of the same body. His experience was also in sharp contrast to the spectator experience at soccer games in China. The Shanghainese authorities assumed soccer and football supporters to be cut from the same cloth, but Gui appeared to immediately understand that in Australia, football was “no longer merely a sport; the experience transcends into a lifestyle, and that’s the most charming part of sports culture: creating an enjoyable and exciting atmosphere for people to experience and participate in”.<sup>30</sup> Gui later described his motivation for bringing football to China as wanting to improve the standard of life for his fellow countrymen “by watching a world-class sport and learning about Australian culture”,<sup>31</sup> and often said that he wanted Australian football to be his “gift to China.”<sup>32</sup>

#### 1.4. Football and Australian Culture

Gui’s coupling of football with the Australian culture and way of life suggests a motivation that transcends immediate commercial imperatives. This could be considered a prescient observation: if culture is what one group has in common that differentiates it from other groups, sport can be an expression of both positive and negative cultural traits, and also a path to positive change and progress. The creation

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<sup>28</sup> Natalie Whiting, “Port Adelaide Academy Prepares Young Indigenous AFL Players for Future On and Off the Field,” *ABC*, November 20, 2015, accessed September 11, 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-11-20/program-prepares-young-indigenous-afl-stars-for-future/6960268>.

<sup>29</sup> Rebecca Puddy, “Kicking Goals in China,” *The Australian*, June 9, 2016, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Puddy, “Kicking Goals in China.”

<sup>31</sup> Puddy, “Kicking Goals in China.”

<sup>32</sup> Michelangelo Rucci, “Chinese Backer Returns to Adelaide to Seal Dream,” *The Advertiser*, June 24, 2016, 36.

of football reflects the beginnings of modern Australia, and has absorbed both indigenous and British influences. According to Jenny Hocking, the founder of the game, Tom Wills, was raised in an Aboriginal community and exposed to the Indigenous game 'marngrook' before he travelled to England to study at Rugby School, ultimately returning to devise a game that captured elements of both rugby and marngrook.<sup>33</sup>

Football evolved in parallel with Australian society, and continues to reflect both positive and negative aspects of its character. In the documentary *Fair Game*, former Collingwood player Heritier Lumumba suggested that to understand football is to understand Australia.<sup>34</sup> Even though the sport was partially inspired by an indigenous game, Keith Parry, when discussing incidents of racism in football, argued that "Australian football has been tied to historical notions of Anglo-Celtic 'Australianness' ", and ... there is evidence that fans continue to adhere to these mythical views when deciding who is and is not 'Australian'".<sup>35</sup> Yet the same club embroiled in the incident which prompted Parry's article – Port Adelaide – was the club that called on its supporters to be 'open to the world', that invited Chinese player Chen Shaoliang, that that piqued its members' curiosities to the point where they developed a strong interest in Chinese culture and history.

Sport is an important cultural carrier in Australia; it connects people who then develop common practices and shared values. Patrick Allington explains that a "football club is a living body".<sup>36</sup> In Australia –particularly Victoria and South Australia – football plays an important role: "Footy isn't just the dominant spectator sport and topic in South Australia. It's a salve, it's a community binding agent ... It's a mass obsession".<sup>37</sup> It is also an expression of traits that are traditionally emphasised in Australia more than elsewhere, and held more tightly to by Australians than is the

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<sup>33</sup> Malcolm Sutton, "Indigenous Influence on AFL Creation Confirmed on Historical Transcripts, Historian Suggests," *ABC News: Sport*, April 13, 2017, accessed October 2, 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-04-13/historian-reveals-marngrook-influence-on-afl/8439748?section=sport>.

<sup>34</sup> Santilla Chingaibe, "Heritier Lumumba's 'Fair Game'," *The Saturday Paper*, September 1, 2017, accessed October 2, 2017, <https://www.thesaturdaypaper.com.au/2017/09/01/heritier-lumumbas-fair-game/15042232785134>.

<sup>35</sup> Keith Parry, "Eddie Betts and Racism in Sport: It's Not Enough to Just Not Join In," *The Conversation*, August 23, 2016, accessed April 23, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/eddie-betts-and-racism-in-sport-its-not-enough-to-just-not-join-in-64241>.

<sup>36</sup> Patrick Allington, "God Bless the Footy: Dissent and Distractions," *Griffith Review* 55 (2017), 174.

<sup>37</sup> Allington, "God Bless the Footy," 174.

case elsewhere: teamwork, the celebration of collective endeavour, loyalty, and the absence of hierarchy. The reasons for Gui's fascination with football were clear from the beginning.

Gui was introduced to the club at a dinner on 4 September 2015 by Loretta Lai, a Port Adelaide fan who had in turn been invited to attend a match earlier in the season, and invited to attend Port Adelaide's final match of the season against Fremantle the following day. Much work was done overnight to better understand his company and business interests. A Port Adelaide guernsey with the number eight on the back was prepared in an appropriate gift box, and Gui was given a tour of the change rooms before the game. He was enthralled by the sport, the crowd and the occasion. Every time Hamish Hartlett, who wore the number eight jumper Gui had been gifted earlier, touched the ball, Gui jumped up to 'high-five' those around him.

Interestingly, he also immediately understood the game, which is uncommon for someone who was not raised watching the sport. When Port Adelaide's enigmatic crowd-favourite John Butcher rose above the pack to take a spectacular mark 20 minutes into the second quarter, the crowd – including Gui – rose as one. Throughout his career Butcher had been blighted by inaccurate goal-kicking, and he had already missed at least three shots at goal that day. As the crowd settled, I saw Gui speaking to his translator and asked what he had said. "I don't know why everyone is so excited," came the response. "He will miss the goals anyway." Within an hour of starting to watch his first ever match, Gui understood both the game and the tendencies of the players. Ironically, though, the maligned Butcher kicked the goal from 50 metres out at an angle, drawing an euphoric response from his team-mates and the crowd. A photo of that moment appears below. That goal may have been the highlight of a career that never fulfilled its great initial promise: Butcher was delisted at the end of the following season and moved to the private sector to work with Red Wealth, a partner in Port Adelaide's 'Open to the World' strategy.



**Figure 1. John Butcher kicks the goal Gui did not think likely. 3 September 2015, Adelaide Oval.**

Gui's immediate interest in the game did not mean that he continued to follow the fortunes of Port Adelaide closely. In May 2016, soon after he had paid the first million in a three-year, one-million-dollars-per-season agreement, a meeting was held. Port Adelaide's season was in the balance, it having won four of its first seven matches and suffered three heavy defeats to Greater Western Sydney, Adelaide and Geelong. At the club, tension caused by concern over the team's performances was palpable. The meeting was held in a room set up in a formal squared horse-shoe formation. Gui arrived, sat down and asked through a translator, "So, has the season started yet?"

Several Australian journalists appeared to struggle to understand why someone from China would financially commit to a football club instead of a soccer club. However, in addition to being a businessman, Gui holds a position on the Shanghai committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), and is responsible for

facilitating Chinese investments internationally.<sup>38</sup> This was viewed cynically. To identify any motivations for his investment other than those he articulated would, however, be difficult. Gui recalled the writer Lao Tzu, who in the *Tao Te Ching* asserted that: “Those who in ancient days were the best commanders/Were those who were delicate, subtle, mysterious, profound/Their minds too deep to be fathomed”.<sup>39</sup>

If Gui viewed Port Adelaide simply as an avenue through which he could facilitate investment in Australia, he found a willing partner in the club, which wanted to be a bridge bringing together the people, businesses and governments of Australia and China. And in 2016 and 2017, its engagement with China attracted popular interest in Australia, and the support of governments and businesses on both sides. The foundation of Port Adelaide’s strategy perhaps set it apart from both other Australian sporting clubs and other Australian businesses engaged with China.

### 1.5. Port Adelaide’s emphasis on cultural understanding

A 2014 Pricewaterhouse Cooper report titled *Passing us by: Why Australian businesses are missing the Asian opportunity. And what they can do about it* recommended that Australian businesses “invest in learning the culture” of China.<sup>40</sup> Port Adelaide therefore started to talk about the need to understand Chinese culture. Thomas stated in an interview in 2015 that “ultimately, our primary aim is to do business with China, but if you want to do business you need to have a cultural understanding of who you want to do business with”.<sup>41</sup> This approach may have set Port Adelaide apart from not only its competitors in the AFL but also many other foreign businesses that have tried to engage with China.

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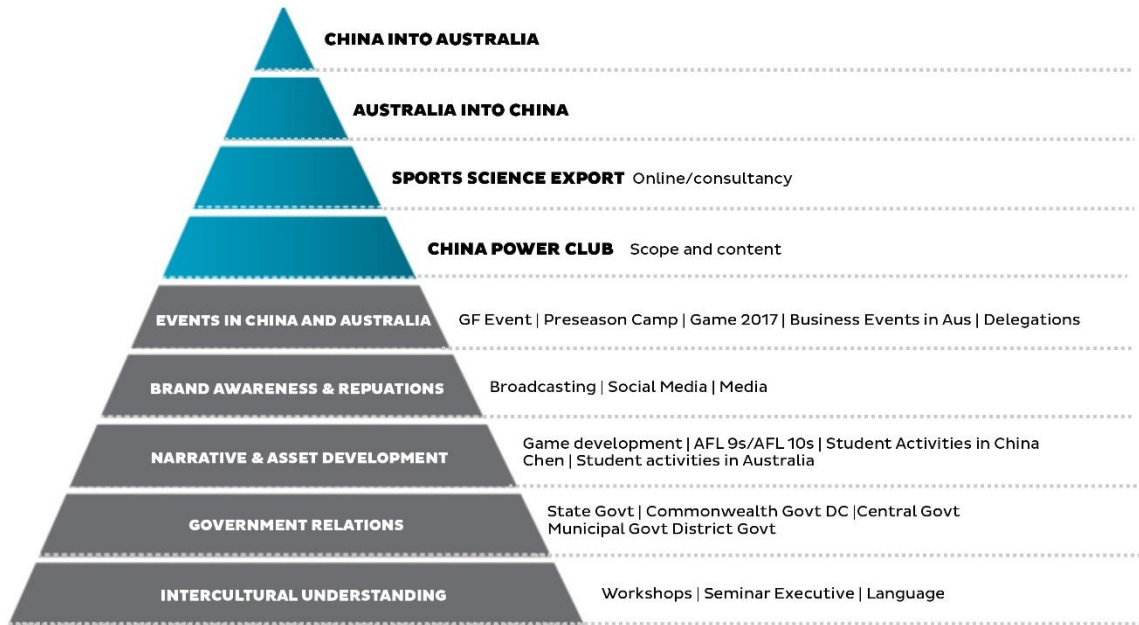
<sup>38</sup> Rowan Callick, “Shanghai’s Gui in Kidman has Deep Cred with China,” *The Australian*, October 11, 2016, accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/companies/shanghais-gui-in-kidman-has-deep-cred-with-china/news-story/42974eb3f9c69ce4d3b42e0e6ddb3e32&memtype=anonymou>.

<sup>39</sup> Cited in John Welfield, “David Sissons, His Method of Supervision and the Adventures of One of His Students: A Memoir of the Days When the World Was Wide,” in Arthur Stockwin and Keiko Tamura, *Bridging Australia and Japan Volume 1: the Writings of David Sissons, Historian and Political Scientist* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2016), 27.

<sup>40</sup> PwC Australia, *Passing us by: Why Australian businesses are missing the Asian opportunity. And what they can do about it*, PricewaterhouseCoopers Australia, 2014, accessed November 9, 2017, <https://www.pwc.com.au/asia-practice/assets/passing-us-by.pdf>.

<sup>41</sup> Rebecca Puddy, “Indigenous Kids Lead Power Surge into China,” *The Australian*, August 27, 2015, 3.

The pyramid below is taken from an internal strategy document that was distributed to senior executives and board members at Port Adelaide.



**Figure 2. A pyramid showing the building blocks for commercial success, used in an early strategy document.**

Port Adelaide’s strategy was founded on the idea that ‘intercultural understanding’ could make interactions with people from other cultures more effective. This case study will now consider what ‘intercultural understanding’ meant to Port Adelaide, and how it tried to enhance its skills and knowledge in this respect.

Notwithstanding the importance of other understandings – political, historical, economical – Port Adelaide appeared to make a strong effort to build its ‘cultural capital’, a term developed by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>42</sup> More specifically, the club made a conscious attempt to give its employees the skills and knowledge necessary for interacting with people from China. In 2016, for example, Port Adelaide’s senior executives and one senior AFL-listed player studied Mandarin. The objective of the lessons was not to achieve fluency, but to learn more about Chinese culture

<sup>42</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986). 241–258.

through an understanding of its language. Prior to the match in Shanghai, Port Adelaide worked with a member of its China Power Club, 'Intercultural Tailored Solutions', to deliver sessions for coaches, players and staff on the topic of intercultural understanding, including two sessions specifically on Chinese culture. Port Adelaide player Jack Hombsch explained that "the idea ... is to get a heads-up on how cultures are different, how to respect them".<sup>43</sup>

The previous year, efforts had been made to develop an understanding of specific cultural contexts, such as business etiquette and banquets. These classes were taught by the local Confucius Institute, embedded at the University of Adelaide. Person-to-person interactions and structured learning helped to enhance the cultural awareness of Port Adelaide's staff members, particularly those responsible for the execution of its strategy. This consciously-cultivated understanding informed the manner and content of discussions and negotiations, and of staff members' behaviour in subsequent meetings and banquets.

These banquets were frequently interesting experiences. According to John Osburg, the goal of a successful banquet in China is to break down defence mechanisms and end the night as friends.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, the senior executives involved with the key stakeholders rarely drank, and this was problematic in a context where banquet propriety demands that numerous alcoholic beverages be consumed with "cursory toasts and pouring for others".<sup>45</sup> It would have been somewhat awkward for the Australians to arrive at a banquet, the merit of which was to further personal connections, announcing that they neither consumed alcohol nor ate meat. In China, restaurants were always chosen by the hosts, who usually also ordered all meals. In Shanghai, Gui was conscious of the culinary proclivities of his guests and often chose restaurants selected for the quality and variety of their vegetarian dishes. He was always respectful of our desire to avoid meat and tendency not to consume alcohol in large quantities. These considerations were greatly appreciated.

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<sup>43</sup> *The Standard*, "Cultural Lessons for Shanghai-Bound AFL Players," May 4, 2017, accessed May 20, 2017, [http://www.thestandard.com.hk/section-news.php?id=182448&story\\_id=47319640&d\\_str=20170504&sid=8](http://www.thestandard.com.hk/section-news.php?id=182448&story_id=47319640&d_str=20170504&sid=8).

<sup>44</sup> John Osburg, *Anxious Wealth: Money and Morality among China's New Rich* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 57.

<sup>45</sup> Osburg, *Anxious Wealth*, 50.



## 1.6. Chinese Staff, Protocols and Acceptance

Much thought was put into the selection of gifts for introductory meetings. In his book *The First Resort of Kings* (2005), Richard Arndt describes gift-giving as the “diplomat’s opening”.<sup>46</sup> He uses the example of the gifts the Magi gave to the Christ and those described in the works of Homer. Likewise, Matteo Ricci – described by Arndt as the greatest cultural diplomat of all time – first entered China in 1583 and used gifts such as optics and statues of the Virgin Mary to trigger conversations, eventually persuading China to look to the West.<sup>47</sup> Gift-giving is particularly important in China. According to Chan, Denton and Tsang, it incorporates four indigenous Chinese values; it is a signifier of *renqing* (appropriate emotion), a demonstration of *li* (social courtesy), a practice of bestowing *mianzi* (respect) and *lian* (dignity), as well as a process of *bao* (reciprocity) and *guanxi* (relationship building).<sup>48</sup> Port Adelaide made every effort to use gift-giving as an expression of intercultural appreciation and understanding. Books such as the *I Ching* and Ezra Vogel’s biography of Deng Xiaoping, Aboriginal weapons and classical Chinese paintings, a red Chinese Opera mask of Three Kingdoms General Guan Yu and football jumpers with the number eight and scarves bearing the lyrics of the Port Adelaide supporters’ anthem, “You’ll never tear us apart”, were exchanged to demonstrate appreciation of the people with whom Port Adelaide executives met. These were perhaps small efforts, but showed a positive intent.

This commitment to respecting the mores of banquet and gift-giving protocols, to language understanding and to basic etiquette when exchanging cards or making introductions did not always flow freely through the whole organisation. For some staff members, the basic technical knowledge acquired did not fully overcome the discomfort they felt at operating in a different cultural context. Some senior executives occasionally appeared uncomfortable in the presence of Chinese guests. This was not the result of malice or racism, but more a product of a narrow cultural experience; nor was it necessarily specific to Port Adelaide. Parry noted that “In Australian sport, ‘whiteness’ is still the norm against which all others are measured, with athletes of

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<sup>46</sup> Richard T. Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings* (Washington D.C: Potomac Books, 2005), 2.

<sup>47</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, 2.

<sup>48</sup> Allan K.K. Chan, Luther Denton, and Alex S.L. Tsang, “The Art of Gift Giving in China,” *Business Horizons* 46, no. 4 (2003): 47.

different backgrounds still classed as ‘other’<sup>49</sup>. While there was no ‘fear’ of the other at Port Adelaide, there was a lack of comfort or ease in the interaction.

Ms Xu Nuo started working at Port Adelaide in 2015, and was the first full-time staff member dedicated to its China Engagement Strategy. Mr Li Jinsong, who won a competition run by the club to find a Chinese commentator in 2015,<sup>50</sup> was employed in early 2016. Early interactions, particularly, were awkward and appeared uncomfortable. However, for some, interactions between Chinese employees and other staff in the workplace gradually helped diminish this early anxiety or discomfort. For others, it did not. Great respect should be afforded to Xu and Li, who waded into a 145-year old, male and Anglo-dominated Australian organisation. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis, their involvement in the club and the broader involvement of Chinese students and the local Chinese business community suggest that intercultural understanding was also enhanced at an intercommunal level.

The arrival of a Chinese player, Chen Shaoliang, in 2016 provided further opportunity for the club’s players and officials to participate in intercultural interactions. The decision to bring Chen to Port Adelaide was described by Thomas as “the next chapter” in the Club’s engagement with China.<sup>51</sup> Chen was invited to train with the club’s AFL side and play for the Port Adelaide Magpies – the club’s SANFL team. Unfortunately, Chen suffered a serious injury in his first week of training, but remained at the club for rehabilitation.<sup>52</sup> In 2017, he returned to play for the Magpies and Team China in the 2017 International Cup. His presence enabled ongoing interactions with Port Adelaide’s players and staff, and through it the players developed a desire to know

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<sup>49</sup> Parry, “Eddie Betts and Racism in Sport.”

<sup>50</sup> University of South Australia, “UniSA International Student Becomes Football Commentator,” October 16, 2016, accessed August 30, 2016, <http://www.unisa.edu.au/Study-at-UniSA/International-students/international-news/UniSA-international-student-becomes-football-commentator/#.V8UZnuTr02w>.

<sup>51</sup> Michelangelo Rucci, “Power Invests in China,” *The Advertiser*, March 18, 2016, 82.

<sup>52</sup> Michelangelo Rucci, “Port Adelaide’s First Chinese Recruit Seriously Injured but Power Will Keep Him at Alberton to Keep Building International Bridge,” *Herald Sun*, March 24, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/sport/afl/teams/port-adelaide/port-adelaides-first-chinese-recruit-seriously-injured-but-power-will-keep-him-at-alberton-to-keep-building-international-bridge/news-story/f6e0f737004673192184816d46586431>.

more about China. Following the 2017 game in Shanghai, for example, most Port Adelaide players extended their stay to visit Shanghai, Beijing or Hong Kong.<sup>53</sup>

It was not always easy for these trail-blazers, who found themselves in a monolingual workplace that by its nature attracted employees whose worldview was largely limited to Australia. Few players and officials had experience of living outside Australia, and other employees' international experience was limited to London or Bali, as is the case for many young Australians who have travelled. Stereotypes are often held tightly and difficult to break. On occasion, it was possible to discern a dismissive attitude towards Xu and Li. Respect was hard won: Xu was seldom invited to meetings directly related to her areas of responsibility, and when Chen was rehabilitating his knee following reconstructive surgery, it was often noted that he did not have the same pain tolerance as other, Australian athletes, despite the fact that he may have expressed pain in a different way. Chen was nonetheless popular, and little by little Xu, particularly, won the admiration and then respect of her colleagues.

## 1.7 Football, Language and China Engagement

Arndt writes that it is language that helped diplomacy evolve out of rituals, ceremonies, chants and dances.<sup>54</sup> The lack of a shared language can be a barrier to deeper intercultural understanding; for sport to serve as a common language, it therefore had to be described in words that could be understood by the new audience Port Adelaide hoped to reach, both in China and in the local Chinese diaspora and student community. Port Adelaide aimed to ensure that Australian Rules Football was made accessible to its new audience, and that language was not a barrier. In 2015, the club therefore employed a Mandarin speaker to commentate each of its home games during the season.<sup>55</sup> It posted game highlights with Mandarin commentary on its Australian website in Australia and circulated them through its Chinese social media channels. It held a competition to identify the next Chinese-language commentator,

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<sup>53</sup> Lee Gaskin, and Michael Whiting, "Bye Means Hello China for Power, Suns," *AFL Official Website*, accessed May 20, 2017, <http://www.afl.com.au/news/2017-05-17/bye-means-hello-china-for-power-suns>.

<sup>54</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, 1.

<sup>55</sup> ABC Radio Adelaide, "Port Adelaide Hunts for Mandarin-Speaking Caller in Bid to Market Game to Chinese Community," August 24, 2015, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-08-24/port-adelaide-hunts-for-mandarin-speaking-commentator/6720850>.

which attracted fourteen entries from which eight finalists were selected,<sup>56</sup> with Li the ultimate winner. Although Li had completed a degree in water resource management at the University of South Australia, it was somehow his dream to be known as AFL's Mandarin commentator, and he became the lead commentator for the historic match in Shanghai for *Australia Plus*.

Port Adelaide's two bi-lingual staff members helped to facilitate other initiatives designed to bridge the cultural gap through language. The club translated the players' names into Chinese characters and displayed them on the backs of the playing jumpers used in its multicultural round match in 2015.<sup>57</sup> This process prompted much discussion within the club about Chinese characters and language. How could each name offer several variations when translated into Chinese characters? Externally, however, the image of a traditional Australian football team running into battle wearing a jumper with the players' names in Chinese characters had a powerful symbolic effect, which would have increased greater public awareness of Chinese language. The initiative was covered in a South Australian Chinese-language newspaper,<sup>58</sup> which described the reasons behind the initiative, as well as in mainstream Australian media and on social media.

Port Adelaide also wanted to make the language that described football more accessible and comprehensible for Chinese spectators. Peter Faiman, the director of the iconic Australian film *Crocodile Dundee*, has said that "sport has a commentary that is absolutely the richest language...the most parochial language of all".<sup>59</sup> The language of sport, then, helps to describe the richest and most distinctive aspects of a culture. The first issue was therefore to create an accepted translation of the name of the sport. Other clubs had translated 'football' literally when describing the sport in China, but found that the term was often confused with soccer. As a result, the

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<sup>56</sup> Lauren Novak, "Port Adelaide Wants Games Called in Mandarin to Forge Closer Ties with Chinese Market," *Perth Now*, September 3, 2015, accessed September 6, 2015, <http://www.perthnow.com.au/news/national/port-adelaide-wants-games-called-in-mandarin-to-forge-closer-ties-with-chinese-market/news-story/19dc34837aa57664c1c7982a8b965698>.

<sup>57</sup> Morgan, "Port Adelaide to Show Off Special Chinese-Themed Guernsey."

<sup>58</sup> 南澳中文网, "阿德莱德港澳式足球俱乐部计划大战中国宏图", *iAGE Media*, 14 August 2015.

<sup>59</sup> Rhiannon Hoyle, "Finally, Someone to Translate Australian Rules Football," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 14, 2016, accessed September 10, 2017. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/finally-someone-to-translate-australian-rules-football-1468337044>.

director of sport at CCTV5+, Zhang Bin advised that the phrase Australian Rules Football should be translated as 澳式橄榄球 or *ao shi an lan qiu* – literally, Australian olive-ball. This reference to the shape of the ball is used in translation of *gridiron* (美式橄榄球 or *mei shi gan lan qiu*: American olive-ball) and *rugby union* (英式橄榄球 or *ying shi gan lan qiu*: English olive-ball). This translation reflects both the sport's uniqueness and its Australian character.

More work was required, however, before football could be described and clearly explained to a Chinese audience. Port Adelaide worked with Dr David Caldwell of the University of South Australia to develop a list of words that are unique to Australian football, which were then translated into Mandarin and labelled *Footionary: The Chinese Australian football dictionary*.<sup>60</sup> This initiative captured the attention of the *Wall Street Journal*, which noted that some terms such as 'drop-kick', which is both a technique and person who has achieved little in life, have moved into common usage.<sup>61</sup> It attracted a strong level of interest. The method of evaluation used by Dr Caldwell was simple and shows the extent to which the project was effective in making distinctive aspects of Australian culture accessible: the website was designed so that specific analytics could be documented, such as numbers of site views, length of time on site, which words were viewed, and number of repeat viewers.

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<sup>60</sup> University of South Australia, "Finally Someone to Translate Australian Rules Football," July 20, 2016, accessed August 30, 2017, <http://www.unisa.edu.au/Education-Arts-and-Social-Sciences/school-of-education/News-and-Events/News/Finally-someone-to-translate-Australian-rules-football-/#.V8UaReTr02w>.

<sup>61</sup> Hoyle, "Finally, Someone to Translate Australian Rules Football".



**Figure 3. A snap-shot of Google Analytics from 7 January, 2016**

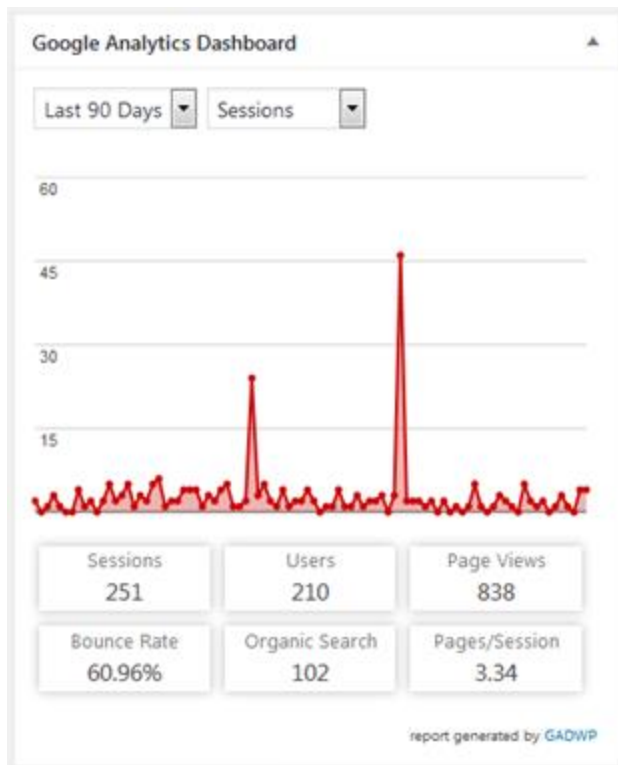
There were a modest number of users in the early months. The analytics dashboard showed 298 users and 1,302 page views in the first three months.<sup>62</sup> A mechanism to provide feedback resulted in comments such as:

- Outstanding initiative that will help acknowledge and elevate those from Mandarin speaking backgrounds who are inquisitive about Australian Rules Football. Being able to have a deeper understanding of footy will lead to a stronger connection. Very important in what has been termed the Asian century. Viva Australian football viva China. (Nick Hatzoglou)
- A suggestion would be to have pinyin included in the keywords so language learners can easily pick up new words. Maybe have a PDF version as well so it can be easily printed out and taken to the game. This will allow the fans to follow the words/translation as the game is played out. ('Jimmy')<sup>63</sup>

Half a year after the project commenced, the site still regularly attracts an average of 10 sessions per day. As can be seen below, there was a significant spike in May associated with the game, and another in June which is more difficult to explain.

<sup>62</sup> Google Analytics, January 7, 2016.

<sup>63</sup> E-mails sent using the Feedback Form on Footy Dictionary, <http://www.aufootycn.com>.



**Figure 4. A snap-shot of Google Analytics from July, 2017**

Port Adelaide focused on the language of football because it understood that the language used to describe the sport needed to preserve its distinctive character but also make it more accessible to a different culture. The club made ongoing attempts to use Mandarin to accurately describe football, and through it, other aspects of Australian culture. In doing so, it attempted to make not only football but also, indirectly, Australian culture more accessible to China.

### 1.8. Football, Indigenous Australia and China Engagement

As an expression of Australian culture, football also highlights the participation and contribution of Indigenous cultures. Port Adelaide's Aboriginal Academy's tours of China in 2015 and 2016 were particularly meaningful elements of the club's engagement strategy, as modern iterations of centuries-old interaction between China and Indigenous Australians: some believe this interaction began in the fifteenth century with the arrival of Ming dynasty expeditionary ships, which will be discussed later, but what is more certain is that by the end of the nineteenth century the

population of northern Australia included a substantial number of ethnic Chinese, mainly from Guangdong. By 1888, the ethnic Chinese population of the Northern Territory had reached around seven thousand in the Northern Territory before being reduced to around four thousand by 1890 – four times that of the ‘European’ population.<sup>64</sup> Many Chinese men married Aboriginal women, and today several prominent Aboriginal Australians, including author Alexis Wright and Port Adelaide player Jake Neade, have Chinese heritage. Wright recounts that her grandmother’s grandfather was a medical doctor in China before coming to Australia. Her grandfather’s father, Sam, was married to an Aboriginal woman and they had seven children; two died, but the oldest three were sent back to China, which Wright suggests may have been a reaction to the anti-Chinese sentiment in the early part of the twentieth century in Australia that gave rise to the White Australia policy.<sup>65</sup> Interaction between the Indigenous Australian and Chinese peoples had therefore existed for centuries but diminished in intensity over the course of the twentieth century, and could be rekindled through artistic and sporting exchange.

The participants in the Aboriginal Academy tours understood how these interactions could lead to greater understanding. Zhang Hao, who played for China against the Aboriginal Academy team in both 2015 and 2016, believed that the games provided the opportunity for the Chinese players to “know more about Australian culture and the Aboriginal boys know more about China”.<sup>66</sup> Adnyamathanha man Cassius Stuart, who participated in the 2015 tour, explained that his experience of the tour encouraged him to “acknowledge my culture wherever I go”. The then head of AFL Indigenous and Multicultural Affairs, Jason Mifsud, who participated in the 2015 tour, described the war dance performed by the Academy players on the tour as a “modern interpretation of what it means to be a young Aboriginal warrior ... [which is] a fight for our cultural identity and traditions”.<sup>67</sup> The war dance is a modern echo of

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<sup>64</sup> Alan Powell, *Far Country: A Short History of the Northern Territory*, 2nd edition (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988), 97.

<sup>65</sup> Alexis Wright, “A Family Document,” in *Storykeepers*, ed. Marion Halligan (Sydney: Duffy and Snellgrove, 2001), 229-230.

<sup>66</sup> Rebecca Puddy, “Aussie Rules Trip to China is a Great Indigenous Goal Assist,” *The Australian*, December 1, 2015, accessed September 6, 2016, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/sport/afl/aussie-rules-trip-to-china-is-a-great-indigenous-goal-assist/news-story/add3cdbbe9e393c56484d31dbe716f44>.

<sup>67</sup> Puddy, “Aussie Rules Trip to China.”



older rituals, ceremonies, chants and dances which according to Arndt helped to initiate early diplomatic exchanges between different cultural groups.<sup>68</sup> When the war dance was performed prior to the 2015 game between the Aboriginal Academy and Team China in Guangzhou, the latter stood respectfully arm-in-arm, before singing a stirring rendition of 'March of the Volunteers'.

The Australian media followed the 2015 Aboriginal Academy Tour. Information forwarded by the Seven Network shows that by 9 December 2015, coverage of the Academy's war dance on the Great Wall had been viewed 193,701 times on social media, making it the most viewed video on their website for two months, and a further 111,000 times on television. Another, more general story about the tour reached a television audience of 112,000, and a further 11,446 on social media. Seven Network's content therefore reached a combined television and social media viewership of over 430,000.<sup>69</sup> The war dance performed on the Great Wall was an expression of Australia's ancient, Indigenous culture performed on China's most recognisable and timeless icon, and captured the popular imagination in Australia. Sport's popular appeal in Australia drew attention to events taking place in China.

## 1.9 Football, Education and China Engagement

Starting in 2015, Port Adelaide also became more active in Chinese schools. It employed game development officers based in Guangdong and started to deliver football programs in schools. This ultimately led to a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between Port Adelaide Football Club and Guangdong Country Garden School in Foshan.<sup>70</sup> This was designed to encourage exchanges between Australian and Chinese students through football. Similar programs are now delivered in schools in Guangdong, Anhui and Shanghai, with the intention of developing further exchanges with South Australian schools to increase the volume of interactions

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<sup>68</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, 1.

<sup>69</sup> Samantha Okely of Seven Network Ltd., personal email to Danial Norton, GM of Media at Port Adelaide Football Club, December 9, 2015.

<sup>70</sup> Port Adelaide Football Club, "PTV: AFL at Guangdong Country Garden School," Port Adelaide Football Club Official Website, June 18, 2016, accessed September 11, 2016, <http://www.portadelaidefc.com.au/video/2016-06-18/ptv-afl-at-guangdong-country-garden-school>.

between Australia and Chinese students and provide opportunities to deepen mutual understanding.



**Figure 5. A local fan at Port Adelaide's 2016 promotional tour. Shanghai, November 2016.**

Educational exchange through football was further enhanced by a program that connected Chinese students in South Australia to Port Adelaide Football Club. Since 2014, Port Adelaide has regularly invited Chinese students living in Adelaide to its home games. In 2016, partnered with the Australian International Education Services (AIES) to enhance the experience of the students who attended by giving a presentation about football in the city before each game, after which fifty Chinese students joined other supporters in the 'March from the Mall' – a pre-match ritual in which Port Adelaide's supporters congregate at Rundle Mall before walking to Adelaide Oval together.

### 1.10 CCTV

Reaching a mass audience in China was a key aim. Interest in the game started to increase when Port Adelaide approached the state broadcaster, China Central Television (CCTV), with a proposal to promote Australian football in China. It is

important to understand CCTV in an historic context. Liang Qichao (1879–1929), considered an enlightened scholar of the May Fourth Movement and New Cultural Movement, believed that the press should perform two major functions: communicating information to the public and mobilising public opinion to influence the government. After 1949, however, the media became the mouthpiece of the state. CCTV was subsidised by the state from 1958 to 1979, but subsidies began to decrease once commercials were introduced in 1979. During the 1990s, subsidies decreased rapidly and the need for commercialisation through advertising revenues increased accordingly. Today, CCTV must therefore meet an important commercial imperative,<sup>71</sup> and media outlets now serve a trinity of masters – the party-state, the market and the public<sup>72</sup> – and compete with the increasing popularity of the internet.

For Port Adelaide to successfully court CCTV, it had to meet its political and commercial interests. It therefore stressed both the exciting nature of the sport and its potential to contribute to mutual understanding and world harmony or *hexie shijie*, a political slogan commonly used by the Chinese Government. On 3 March 2016, Port Adelaide and CCTV reached a handshake agreement on the broadcast of a weekly documentary show featuring the story of Chen Shaoliang as well as AFL game highlights, along with a delayed broadcast of Port Adelaide’s Friday night home match against Essendon Football Club on 2 April and a live broadcast of the club’s home match against Geelong Football Club on 23 April.<sup>73</sup> The documentary introduced Australian football to a large Chinese audience as an expression of Australian culture. Port Adelaide’s early conversations with CCTV were informed by its understanding of the role of CCTV in China as a state-owned but increasingly commercial entity, and this helped the club to convince CCTV to show the documentary series throughout the 2016 season and trial match broadcasts.

The arrangement with CCTV was announced in *The Australian* on 9 June 2016, along with the ratings for the first two broadcast games: the first was reported to have

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-29

<sup>72</sup> Zhu Ying, *Two Million Eyes* (New York: The New Press, 2012), 58.

<sup>73</sup> Michelangelo Rucci, “Port Adelaide’s Grand Plans in China to Take Shape as Power Takes a Huge Television Audience,” *The Advertiser*, accessed September 6, 2016, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/sport/afl/expert-opinion/michelangelo-rucci/port-adelaides-grand-plans-in-china-to-take-shape-as-power-takes-a-huge-television-audience/news-story/045d338331415c1d42358605ae6fe900>.

achieved an impressive 2.12 million viewers, but this was exceeded by the second match, which was broadcast live to a reported audience of 3.87 million, making it the most watched home-and-away match in the history of the sport. Five times more people watched Port Adelaide's match against Geelong in China than in Australia, and the number was comparable with the 2012 Hawthorn-Sydney Grand Final, which reached the largest domestic television audience in a decade.<sup>74</sup> The initial popularity of the broadcast games encouraged CCTV to seek an agreement to broadcast weekly matches throughout the 2016 season.

Port Adelaide emphasised the importance of understanding, with Thomas stating that the "partnership with CCTV is more than just entertainment; it is about understanding. Through our regular AFL programs on CCTV, the viewers in China will see more of Australia and learn more about our culture and Australian life".<sup>75</sup> Just as Australians who followed football were more likely to be drawn to learn more about China, a nascent audience in China would have an opportunity to learn more about Australian culture through their interest in its most popular sport. As interaction is more powerful than broadcasting, however, it was important that the broadcast was supported by a strong social media presence. The internet is, by nature, more interactive.

The broadcast of the games stimulated discussion on CCTV5+'s social media platforms, and interactions on these platforms suggested a growing awareness of the sport and its centrality in Australian culture. One Chinese fan, for example referred to football as "the treasure of Australia" (-澳洲国宝级橄榄球比赛要来上海体育场了! 欢迎!).<sup>76</sup> Port Adelaide arranged a competition to coincide with the broadcast of the AFL Grand Final on CCTV5+ on 1 October 2016, in which the audience was asked to post their impressions of the game. This produced more interactions on social media, the nature of which suggests that the sport was understood as a carrier of culture and values. Its

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<sup>74</sup> Rebecca Puddy, "China TV gives Port Historic AFL Audience," *The Australian*, June 9, 2016, accessed September 6, 2016, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/sport/afl/staggering-growth-in-chinese-afl-audience/news-story/948ae22861ab75f12e42671311256934>.

<sup>75</sup> Agius, Matthew, "Memorandum of Understanding Seeks to Bring Port Adelaide to China for a Premiership Season Game," April 14, 2016, accessed August 30, 2016, <http://www.portadelaidefc.com.au/news/2016-04-14/power-to-play-in-china>.

<sup>76</sup> Information provided by Mailman, the social media company Port Adelaide engaged in China.

centrality to Australian culture was also understood. Some examples of impressions posted in this competition include:

- @黄不倒: #AFLGrandFinal# At first I was like i don't care about this sport, but now I watch AFL game at home all the time! It is passionate, crazy, explains teamwork,, these are my impressions!
- @牛奶放糖:I've heard even in Australian footy's popularity varies according to region
- @Wade世勋:Footy best displays Australians' fighting spirit
- @青衣少年郎765: Footy makes me excited, I like Power, like the brave sports, only Brave men can play this game!#AFLGrandFinal# @CCTV5+
- @青衣少年郎765: #AFLGrandFinal# @CCTV5 Footy tells people to never stop chasing what you want!
- @巧克力9号: #AFLGrandFinal# @CCTV5+, I love soccer and I followed Adelaide United, now Im following Port Adelaide Football Club. South Australia is so beautiful, also it has exciting sporting events,I feel the passion that locals have for footy,I wanna experience that!I hope Chen Shaolian can be the bridge that bring this exciting game to China!
- @足球粉李小妞: #AFLGrandFinal# @CCTV5+ Excitement,power,warrior,hero
- @安东尼哟: #AFLGrandFinal# @CCTV5 Though AFL is a wild sport,but it is very tactic.AFL usually has a sell out crowd, you can tell how crazy Australians love their sports.

Although words specific to sport are employed, football is also associated with values such as teamwork, courage and determination. The posters' understanding of the 'Australianness' of the sport indirectly associates these values not only with football, but with Australian culture as a whole. As noted earlier, football can shine a light on negative as well as positive aspects of culture. To use sport as a form of cultural exchange is to make the message more open. It allows others to see your culture in its true light, for better and for worse.

### 1.11 Government Support for Port Adelaide's China Engagement

From the beginning, Port Adelaide's initiatives attracted interest from various levels of government. The club received considerable support from the South Australian Government, which co-sponsored Team China in 2014, and provided \$250,000 in funding for the 25-week documentary series broadcast on CCTV5+ plus additional funding support in 2017. The South Australian Government appeared to be satisfied

with the return on its investment, with Premier Weatherill stating in the South Australian Parliament on 16 May 2017:

Of course, the other focus of the visit was the historic first AFL match in Shanghai. What the Port Adelaide Football Club has achieved by organising this game in Shanghai cannot be overstated. One of the biggest challenges for South Australian companies doing business in China can be a lack of awareness of Adelaide or South Australia when compared with the better-known cities of Melbourne and Sydney. The football game helped to significantly raise our profile in this most important of Chinese cities. The thousands of Port Adelaide fans in Shanghai, together with strong South Australian brand messaging during the game, put South Australia in the spotlight, with the game covered by local and international media and broadcast live on Chinese TV.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Jay Weatherill, "China Trade and AFL Mission," Ministerial Statement, Parliament of South Australia, May 16, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <https://hansardpublic.parliament.sa.gov.au/Pages/HansardResult.aspx#/docid/HANSARD-11-26398>.



**Figure 6. Premier Weatherill, flanked by Port Adelaide CEO Keith Thomas and the writer. Peace Hotel, 13 May 2017**

These remarks were made with a South Australian perspective in mind, even if Port Adelaide considered itself to be representing Australia more generally.

The second Aboriginal Academy tour of China was encouraged by the Commonwealth Government through a grant from the Australia-China Council (ACC) – one of seven Foundations, Councils, and Institutes (FCIs) administered by DFAT that are designed to improve bilateral people-to-people links and foster mutual understanding.<sup>78</sup>

However, it was not until 14 April 2016 that Port Adelaide’s initiative could be properly described as sports diplomacy. On that day, the Hon. Malcolm Turnbull MP used the first engagement of his first trip to China as Prime Minister to announce that Port Adelaide would participate in a match for premiersip points in Shanghai – the first such match ever held outside of Australia and New Zealand. In his speech to mark the

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<sup>78</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Port Adelaide Football Club Aboriginal Academy Tour China,” Australian Government, August 31, 2016, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/foundations-councils-institutes/australia-china-council/grants/grantees/Pages/port-adelaide-football-club-aboriginal-academy-tour-china.aspx>.

occasion, Turnbull also commended Port Adelaide for attracting a multimillion dollar commercial partnership with Shanghai CRED Real Estate Company, for reaching a broadcast agreement with CCTV, and for its programs in Chinese schools.<sup>79</sup>



**Figure 7. AFL CEO, Gillon McLachlan, PAFC CEO Keith Thomas, CRED Chairman GUI Guojie, with the writer and Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull looking on. 14 April 2016, at the 14<sup>th</sup> floor of the Peace Hotel, Shanghai. Photo taken by a company commissioned by PAFC, *Mailman*.**

The decision to make this announcement at Turnbull’s first ever event in China as Prime Minister showed the Federal Government’s endorsement of Port Adelaide’s engagement with China. Most national leaders are conscious of how their decisions will be perceived by history. Prime Minister Turnbull would be aware, for example, that Gough Whitlam arrived in Beijing at 2 pm on 31 October 1973 on his first trip to China as Prime Minister, and that his first official engagement was being received by

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<sup>79</sup> Malcolm Turnbull, “*Signing of AFL MoU in Shanghai, China*,” speech, Shanghai, China, April 14, 2016, accessed May 22, 2017, <https://www.malcolmturnbull.com.au/media/signing-of-afl-mou-in-shanghai-china>.



Premier Zhou Enlai in the Great Hall of the People at 5 pm.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, Turnbull chose to schedule his arrival in Shanghai – a cosmopolitan economic powerhouse with approximately the same population as Australia – at 6 am, and use his first appointment at 8:05 am to endorse Port Adelaide’s desire to play an AFL match in China the following year. This indicates the government’s strong support.

Port Adelaide subsequently received the tacit endorsement of the Chinese Government: on 25 March 2017, Premier Li Keqiang attended the opening match of its season at the Sydney Cricket Ground. Port Adelaide had learnt of this state visit in October 2016, at which point it appeared possible that Premier Li would also visit Adelaide. With this possibility in mind, the club approached the Chinese Consulate-General in Adelaide and, through the South Australian Government, proposed a visit to Port Adelaide’s training base in Alberton. In early 2017, the Chinese Consulate-General started asking for additional information about Port Adelaide and its engagement in China. Soon after, on 2 February 2017, the AFL informed the club that “the Chinese Consulate was organising an event in the SCG trust suite during our game against Sydney”. As the timing aligned with Premier Li’s state visit, Port Adelaide knew exactly what this meant.

The timing and location of the state visit may have been coincidental to Port Adelaide’s first-round match against Sydney. However, as Prime Minister Turnbull had initially announced Port Adelaide’s intention to play a game in China in 2016 and Premier Li’s state visit occurred less than two months prior to the historic first match, this seems unlikely. Li and his large entourage, which included five ministers and three vice-ministers, first visited the Port Adelaide change-rooms to see the team prepare for the game. Introductions were made to key sponsors of the club’s ‘Open to the World’ program, and Chen Shaoling demonstrated handballing for the Premier. The group did not, notably, visit the change-rooms of the Sydney Swans, who were the home team.

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<sup>80</sup> Whitlam Institute, “1973 Prime Ministerial Visit,” Australian Government, 2015, accessed January 15, 2017, [http://www.whitlam.org/gough\\_whitlam/china/1973\\_Prime\\_Ministerial\\_Visit](http://www.whitlam.org/gough_whitlam/china/1973_Prime_Ministerial_Visit).



**Figure 8. Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, HE LI Keqiang, and PAFC CEO Keith Thomas. Chen and Xu look on.**

Later, the group went to the official welcome function, at which Li, Turnbull, AFL Chairman Michael Fitzpatrick and Port Adelaide Chairman David Koch all made short speeches. Li also received a gift from the club's inaugural captain, Gavin Wanganeen: a Port Adelaide jumper decorated with a painting of sampan fishing vessels similar to those appearing on rock paintings in Amurdak country, which former Chinese President Hu Jintao believed showed that Ming dynasty expeditionary fleets reached Australian shores in the 1420s.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Nicholas Jose, "Deconstructing the dumpling: Australia, China, Lived Experiences," *Journal of Australian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2013): 118.



**Figure 9. Gavin Wanganeen presents the gift from Port Adelaide to Premier Li, with Chairman David Koch. SCG Trust Suite, 25 March 2017**

It is believed that the Amurdak people, who occupy lands not far from the eastern shallows of Van Diemen Gulf, recorded these visits in rock paintings which clearly show a fishing vessel resembling those used by traders with China in the 1800s or earlier.<sup>82</sup> Further evidence has been found in form of a small carved figurine of the Taoist God of Longevity, Shou Lao, which was discovered in the roots of a banyan tree in 1879 in Doctor's Gully, Darwin, and which historian C.P. Fitzgerald deemed to be in the Ming style.<sup>83</sup> Ming-Jun Kim was more equivocal, however, when he noted that the origins of the object remained mysterious, and referred to “continuing controversy among scholars as to how it came to be in Australia”. Kim asked, “Who left it in the roots of the banyan tree at the head of what is now known as Doctors Gully in

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<sup>82</sup> D.A. Roberts, “Nautical Themes In the Aboriginal Rock Paintings of Borradaile, West Arnhem Land,” *The Great Circle* 26, no. 1 (2004): 33.

<sup>83</sup> Powell, *Far Country*, 22.

Darwin? Why and when was it left there?”<sup>84</sup> A gift of a book was also presented for Li’s wife, Madame Cheng Hong, a professor who specialises in naturalism in American literature. Premier Li reciprocated by presenting a large plate with a picture of an English-style sailing vessel to Koch, perhaps as an acknowledgement of the club’s origins in Adelaide’s port, or to directly link the two gifts.

The exchange of gifts was laden with meaning, as Port Adelaide grasped the potential of the moment and accepted its role as instrument of sports diplomacy. One blogger later asserted that the AFL and Port Adelaide were “a slightly bewildered and certainly eager vessel for diplomatic exchange”.<sup>85</sup> However, ‘government relations’ was the second layer in Port Adelaide’s strategy pyramid (Figure 2). The club consciously cultivated itself as an instrument of sports diplomacy. And both governments were willing to use this instrument to find a comfortable avenue through which their bilateral relationship could be deepened.

### 1.12 Evidence of Increased Interest in the Bi-Lateral Relationship and Commercial Benefits

Both governments no doubt understood that sport has a popular resonance, particularly in Australia, that other elements of the bilateral relationship did not. Port Adelaide took steps to measure the impact it was having on perceptions of China in Australia. In 2016, a survey of Port Adelaide’s members demonstrated that it had positively influenced their interest in understanding China. The results of the survey, sent on 16 November, showed that 97.3 per cent of respondents believe that Australia’s relationship with China is good for Australia. A majority also said that Port Adelaide’s efforts to engage with China had increased their understanding of China, and almost 60% became more interested in learning more about China because of Port Adelaide’s engagement there.<sup>86</sup> These results demonstrate that Port Adelaide’s efforts increased interest in the bilateral relationship and in China, which will surely

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<sup>84</sup> Min-Jung Kim, “The Chinese Collection at MAAS (Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences),” *Inside the Collection*, February 18, 2015, accessed August 4, 2017, <https://maas.museum/inside-the-collection/2015/02/18/the-chinese-collection-at-maas-museum-of-applied-arts-and-sciences/>.

<sup>85</sup> ‘Sean’, “Shanghai Isn’t an AFL Expansion Attempt – It’s Much More Interesting Than That,” *Hurling People Now*, May 15, 2017, accessed May 19, 2017, <https://hurlingpeoplenow.wordpress.com/>.

<sup>86</sup> Australia China Business Council, “Port Adelaide Football Club China Strategy,” [abcb.com.au](http://abcb.com.au), March 17, 2017, accessed 30 April 2017, [http://abcb.com.au/admin/images/uploads/Copy1ACBC\\_PAFC\\_China\\_Strategy\\_Report.pdf](http://abcb.com.au/admin/images/uploads/Copy1ACBC_PAFC_China_Strategy_Report.pdf).

contribute to an environment in which Australia can more easily pursue its foreign policy objectives.

Beyond the goal of enhancing the affection felt for China in Australia and for Australia in China, both governments no doubt also understood that Port Adelaide can help to increase public approval for specific problematic aspects of the bilateral relationship, such as foreign direct investment (FDI) in Australia. Chinese investment in Australia is a priority for the Commonwealth Government, and has historically been a highly-politicised issue.<sup>87</sup> For example, the Lowy Institute Poll 2016 showed that ‘Chinese investment in Australia’ was viewed negatively by 59% of Australians surveyed, and 87% opposed ‘the Australian government allowing foreign companies to buy Australian farmland’. This constituted a six-point increase from their response to a similar question in 2012, and the document attributed the increase to the “political controversy over the future of various agricultural holdings such as the S. Kidman & Co cattle company sale”.<sup>88</sup> However, the Australian Government remains committed to increasing FDI to Australia, which it may consider part of its “economic diplomacy”, and it is also an objective of Chinese public diplomacy to address fears over its economic rise and increase in FDIs.<sup>89</sup> Port Adelaide’s strategy could therefore help facilitate an objective that is seen by both governments as being in their respective, and shared, interests.

Following the announcement of CRED’s sponsorship of Port Adelaide and Turnbull’s appearance alongside Gui at the announcement in Shanghai in April 2016, Gui was described in the Australian media as a sponsor of Port Adelaide Football Club and bidder for the S. Kidman & Co cattle company. As it became more likely that CRED would be part of a successful bid, commentators started to understand and explain how its role as a sponsor of Port Adelaide related to the Kidman land acquisitions. Rowan Callick wrote in *The Australian* on 11 October 2016 that Mr Gui “has gained substantial credibility in Australia through his \$3m, three-year commitment to Port

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<sup>87</sup> Uren, *Takeover*.

<sup>88</sup> The Lowy Institute, *The Lowy Institute Poll 2016* (Sydney: The Lowy Institute, 2016), 13.

<sup>89</sup> Ingrid d’Hooghe, “The Limits of China’s Soft Power in Europe: Beijing’s Public Diplomacy Puzzle,” in *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*, ed. Suk-chong Yi and Jan Melissen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 163–178.

Adelaide Football Club”.<sup>90</sup> On 10 December 2016, it was announced that CRED was a minority partner in the successful bid. There was little negative public commentary, and the announcement was largely uncontroversial. This was partly because CRED had decided to partner with Gina Rinehart, who became the majority partner. But it is also possible that Gui’s publicly-understood involvement in a quintessentially Australian organisation with a substantial public profile helped.

By early 2017, Port Adelaide had therefore demonstrated its value as an avenue through which Australia and China could strengthen their diplomatic, economic and people-to-people relationships. The Prime Minister of Australia and Premier of the People’s Republic of China had endorsed Port Adelaide’s strategy so that it could be properly described as sports diplomacy; a series of initiatives had inspired a great number of people-to-people interactions; and Port Adelaide had developed four additional revenue streams: business matching through the China Power Club, an investment attraction program,<sup>91</sup> a sports science export initiative,<sup>92</sup> and traditional sponsorship through its partnerships with CRED, Ausgold, MJK and Cathay Pacific.<sup>93</sup> An article in the *Australian Financial Review* went so far as to conclude, “Peculiar as this might seem, Port could teach its peers in the business community a thing or two”.<sup>94</sup>

Yet despite this modest success achieved over a relatively short period, there was little popular understanding of either the depth of the strategy or how it was achieved. The

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<sup>90</sup> Callick, “Shanghai’s Gui in Kidman,” .

<sup>91</sup> Cameron England, “Port Adelaide Football Club to Open Investment Door to Five South Australian Businesses,” *The Advertiser*, May 8, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/business/port-adelaide-football-club-to-open-chinese-investment-door-to-five-south-australian-businesses/news-story/2817eaf92da52e52df2c34041cce2412>.

<sup>92</sup> Michelangelo. Rucci, “China Link for Port Adelaide’s New Sports Science Centre,” *The Advertiser*, May 13, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/sport/afl/teams/port-adelaide/china-link-for-port-adelaides-new-sports-science-centre/news-story/2af40cfbaa29e88930e15f13994e9395>.

<sup>93</sup> Matthew Agius, “Port Adelaide Pens Extensive Four Season Deal with Xi’an-Based MJK,” Port Adelaide Football Club Official Website, May 13, 2017, accessed May 28, 2017, <http://www.portadelaidefc.com.au/news/2017-05-13/mjk-joins-as-coaches-sponsor>.

<sup>94</sup> Angus Grigg, “Port Adelaide AFL team Aims to Build a Small but Significant Following in China,” *The Australian Financial Review*, June 28, 2016, accessed November 3, 2017, <http://www.afr.com/news/world/asia/port-adelaide-afl-team-aims-to-build-a-small-but-significant-following-in-china-20160627-gptahj>.

public would ultimately largely judge Port Adelaide's engagement with China on the optics of the first official match in China, played on 14 May 2017.

### 1.13 In-Season AFL Match in Shanghai 2018

At the end of Round Seven of the AFL season, the nation's attention turned to Shanghai. Between Monday May 8 and Tuesday May 16, 2017, 65 articles about the Shanghai game appeared in the mainstream Australian press, and 126 across Chinese and international media platforms including the BBC, ESPN and Daily Star (UK).<sup>95</sup> The tone of these articles changed noticeably over the course of the week from cynicism to praise.

Early in the week, the coach of the Gold Coast Suns, Rodney Eade, publicly complained about the travel requirements: "You can't get a direct flight ... by the time we get there it will be about 20 hours, 21 hours". His complaints were supported by premiership coach Paul Roos, who labelled the exercise "ridiculous". Eade also complained about the pollution: "That smog you talk about, hopefully there are no respiratory problems ... we won't take any players who have asthma or some respiratory problems anyway".<sup>96</sup> A photographer from *The Age* appeared to use a yellow filter to make the air appear more polluted than was the case.<sup>97</sup> Some sections of the Australian media questioned whether players wearing number four jumpers would be asked to change their numbers, and premiership player Tim Watson said that an "overseas trip mid-season has the capacity to derail" the seasons of the two teams involved.<sup>98</sup> Fox Footy show *The Bounce* descended to condescension and stereotyping, and was rightly called out for racism.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> D. Norton, internal Port Adelaide Football Club communication, May 22, 2017.

<sup>96</sup> James Mathey, "AFL Expedition to China Hardly Problem-Free," news.com.au, May 8, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.news.com.au/sport/afl/afl-expedition-to-china-hardly-problemfree/news-story/7a0e8adcfdafcf45fc09076c35e25130>.

<sup>97</sup> Sean, "Shanghai Isn't an AFL Expansion Attempt."

<sup>98</sup> Mathey, "AFL Expedition to China."

<sup>99</sup> Aja Styles, "Fox Footy's Bounce Called Out for 'Racist' Segment on Chinese Broadcast of Shanghai AFL," *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 15, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/tv-and-radio/sport-and-outdoors/fox-footys-bounce-called-out-for-racist-segment-on-chinese-broadcast-of-shanghai-afl-game-20170515-gw53qd.html>.

This commentary, coming from several of the sport's acknowledged leaders and commentators, helped Australia's indigenous game become a signifier for other cultural characteristics: insularity and isolation. However, others quickly moved to repudiate the early assertions, and used them to describe Australian football as inward-looking. One commentator explained that soccer teams regularly travel further,<sup>100</sup> that Australia's Super Rugby teams travel to play in South Africa, and that Shanghai was hardly a "backwater," concluding that the game would help the AFL "broaden its horizons and toughen up a little".<sup>101</sup> By the week's end, the commentary was far more positive, with both players and fans returning to Australia and describing the experience and China in very positive terms. Port Adelaide player Jack Hombsch lamented that the "media exaggerated a lot of the conditions",<sup>102</sup> and Brad Ebert lauded the experience as a "resounding success".<sup>103</sup> This belied the significant struggle in the week prior to ensure that the game ran smoothly.

Port Adelaide's senior executives started to arrive in Shanghai on 7 May, one week prior to the match. But even before arrival, one of the key pillars of Port Adelaide's strategy – the match broadcast on CCTV – had met difficulty. Following the broadcast of the opening match of the 2017 season, we were told that Nie Chenxi (聂晨席), the President of CCTV, wanted a change in direction and had suspended future match broadcasts. This severely compromised Port Adelaide's capacity to reach a mass audience in China, but perhaps more importantly, news that the first match played in China would not be broadcast on CCTV would have been negatively perceived by the Australian media.

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<sup>100</sup> Michelangelo Rucci, "Critics of Port Adelaide's China Adventure Highlight Just How Isolated Australian Football Is from the Real World," *The Advertiser*, May 8, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/sport/afl/expert-opinion/michelangelo-rucci/critics-of-port-adelaides-china-adventure-highlight-just-how-isolated-australian-football-is-from-the-real-world/news-story/2c245520523545e928c797daf4169f93>.

<sup>101</sup> Sam Duncan, "It's Hard To Believe The AFL Is Having Such Big Trouble With Its Little China Project," *Huffpost*, May 12, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sam-duncan/its-hard-to-believe-the-afl-is-having-such-big-trouble-with-its-a-22082589/>.

<sup>102</sup> Jack Hombsch, "The Shanghai Experience," *AFL Players*, May 17, 2017, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.aflplayers.com.au/article/the-shanghai-experience/>.

<sup>103</sup> Brad Ebert, "Brad Ebert: Power's China Experiment a Resounding Success for Port Adelaide," *The Advertiser*, May 19, 2017, accessed May 23, 2017, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/sport/afl/teams/port-adelaide/brad-ebert-powers-china-experiment-a-resounding-success-for-port-adelaide/news-story/c892169516d1a001809f476c38e177cd>.



After prolonged discussions with CCTV, Port Adelaide reached out to the Australian and Chinese governments. Discussions started with the Chinese Embassy in Australia and the Australian Embassy in Beijing. These discussions, which took place via Wechat, email and telephone, took place over several weeks, but culminated in a flurry of diplomatic activity in the week leading up to the game. Simply put, the governments, and particularly the Australian government, were not willing to rest until CCTV reversed its decision and broadcast the Shanghai match. Several ministerial officers were involved, and encouraged the Australian Embassy to continue to elevate discussions until it achieved the desired outcome.

Staff at the Australian Embassy worked tirelessly to reverse CCTV's decision. Diplomatic notes were sent, meetings between the Australian Ambassador and President of CCTV were arranged and then cancelled, and plans were made to make representations to the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) and, if necessary, the Ministry for Culture. Finally, news came on Thursday 11 May – less than 72 hours prior to the game – that CCTV would do a live broadcast. It was a great relief to all involved. And in the interim, the AFL had signed agreements to pay for the game to be broadcast live on Guangzhou Television and throughout the Shanghai Media Group, which meant that the game on Sunday would probably be the most watched match in AFL history.

Other issues also emerged in the week leading up to the game, specifically regarding concerns over security. As with most things in China, these issues cannot be properly considered without an understanding of the broader context. The game was to take place on 14 May 2017, which was also the first of a two-day Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) Summit being held in Beijing, which was attended by 29 heads of state. This was an auspicious event proclaimed by President Xi Jinping as the beginning of a new Golden Age of globalisation: “civilisation thrives with openness and that nations prosper from exchange”.<sup>104</sup> This event was so important to the Chinese government that Port Adelaide and the AFL were told that nothing would be allowed to detract or take attention away from it. A more local context was also significant: Han Zheng, the

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<sup>104</sup> Tom Phillips, “China's Xi Lays out \$900bn Silk Road Vision Amid Claims of Empire-Building,” *The Guardian*, May 14, 2017, accessed May 23, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/14/china-xi-silk-road-vision-belt-and-road-claims-empire-building>.

Communist Party Secretary of Shanghai, was rumoured to be up for promotion and was keen to ensure that no last-minute events would impact his rise.

The Shanghai Public Security Bureau (PSB) reacted to these issues by taking a range of measures to limit the potential for unfortunate incidents. On 8 May, the AFL was told that no alcohol would be available at the ground. The PSB presence was raised to 1,300, with an additional 300 police officers on standby (the AFL was required to pay for their presence). Neither the sale nor the consumption of alcohol would be permitted at the Taste of Australia Festival, except for tasting amounts that would not overflow if poured into a thimble. And spectators would not be permitted to access the respective clubs' training sessions on Saturday. The AFL, through the project leader David Stevenson, secured some concessions after hours of painstaking negotiation, so that alcohol could be consumed in the hospitality tents but not in reserved seats and grandstand terrace, which is consistent with the rules for soccer games in China.<sup>105</sup> It became clear the following day that the comparison with soccer resonated strongly with the PSB. Once again, the Australian media incorrectly reported on 14 May that "no alcohol will be served at the stadium" due to security concerns, even though this was no longer the case, and chose to exaggerate the police presence: one reporter claimed that "there was almost one guard or police officer for every five fans expected to attend the match".<sup>106</sup>

The Australian Consulate General in Shanghai offered its assistance and arranged a meeting with the Vice-Mayor of Yangpu District, Mr Xu Jianhua, and the head of Yangpu PSB. This had no effect, and served only as an example of 'stove-piping', in which individual ministries and other hierarchies share information up and down the chain of command but not horizontally, a practice understood to be common in Chinese government.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Approved for all three marquees but only to be consumed inside the tents. Not approved for reserved seats and grandstand terrace, which is consistent with soccer games in China (David Stevenson, personal communication to author, May 10, 2017).

<sup>106</sup> Bill Birtles, "AFL Clash at Jiangwan Stadium in China to Take Place Amid Heavy Security," *ABC News*, May 14, 2017, accessed May 23, 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-05-14/afl-clash--at-jiangwan-stadium-in-china-has-heavy-security/8525028>.

<sup>107</sup> Susan V. Lawrence, and Michael F. Martin, *Understanding China's Political System* (Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2013), 14–15.

The meeting the following afternoon at the Shanghai PSB headquarters, at which one representative each from JUSS, the AFL and Port Adelaide was present, was even more interesting. As most of the travelling fans were Port Adelaide supporters, the Police Bureau wished to know a little more about the character of the supporters and the rivalry between the two clubs. It was clear that a direct comparison was being made between football supporters and soccer supporters; the expectation was that football supporters attending the game had the potential to be drunk and aggressive.

This conflation was rebutted during the meeting. The Shanghai PSB were told that violence was rare at AFL games, that supporters intermingled at the grounds, and that there was no history of tension between the supporters of Port Adelaide and Gold Coast. Did the PSB assume that English soccer supporters and Australian football supporters had similar characteristics due to assumptions of cultural proximity? Or did it assume that Australian football supporters would be similar to soccer fans in China, where “the management of football fans remains weak”? As Tan Hua explains, “when football [soccer] support is enacted within a framework of ‘fashionable counter-mainstream culture’, fans demonstrate their individualism in an over-exaggerated way and with extreme behaviour ... ‘rationality’ is no longer the rule of the day”.<sup>108</sup> Supporters of Australian Rules Football are, perhaps, more reflective of mainstream Australian culture. In Shanghai, Australian supporters expressed positive aspects of Australian culture: open-minded, vibrant and inclusive.

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<sup>108</sup> Tan Hua, “Football ‘Hooligans’ and Football Supporters Culture in China”, in *Football Goes East: Business, Culture and the People's Game in China, Japan, and South Korea*, ed. Wolfram Manzenreiter and John Horne (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), 92-94.



**Figure 10. A section of the crowd at the Shanghai 2017 match. May 14, 2017.**

Both the match and the events held prior to and during the game provided important examples of sport's usefulness in creating bilateral diplomatic, commercial and people-to-people links. One of the last pieces to come together was government attendance at the game, the timing of which prevented high-level participation. Commonwealth Ministers were busy in Australia promoting the budget which had been handed down on Tuesday 9 May, and senior Chinese officials were attending the BRI summit. Nevertheless, The Hon Keith Pitt MP, Assistant Minister for Trade Tourism and Investment, joined The Hon Jay Weatherill MP, Premier of South Australia, at both the game and the Gala Dinner the night prior. Ministers for Trade from both the South Australian and Victorian State Governments were also present. China was represented by Ms Weng Tiehui (翁铁慧), Vice-Mayor, Shanghai Municipal Government, who arrived

wearing a teal-coloured top. Was it a coincidence that senior Chinese leaders who attended Port Adelaide events and matches wore teal-coloured ties and clothing?



**Figure 11. Ms Weng Teihui 翁铁慧, Vice Mayor, Shanghai Municipal Government, and The Hon Jay Weatherill, Premier of South Australia**

As well as the Vice-Mayor of Shanghai, a municipality which is under the direct control of the central government and has the same status as a province, other relatively senior representatives of China were present. Mr Li Yingchuan 李颖川, Assistant Minister of General Administration of Sports China, also attended. In the palatial holding room in the Chairman's Stand, in discussion with Premier Weatherill (Australia's most senior representative in the order of precedence), Mr Li sent Premier Li's personal best wishes for the game. Also in attendance were Mr Sun Weimin 孙为民 (Deputy Director General, Shanghai Sports Bureau), Mr Li Yueqi 李跃旗 (Party Secretary, Yangpu District) and Mr Xie Jiangang 谢坚钢 (District Mayor, Yangpu District), who had supported the event on 1 December 2016 by his presence at the press conference in Shanghai.

Port Adelaide Chairman David Koch presented gifts to Mr Li Yingchuan, Mr Li Yueqi and Mr Xie, and was given reciprocal gifts. Gold Coast Chairman Tony Cochrane also presented two Gold Coast jumpers to the central government and Yangpu district

government, and Premier Weatherill presented Ms Weng with a gift on behalf of Port Adelaide: a jumper with a similar design to that which Gavin Wanganeen had painted for Premier Li, but this time with a magnolia flower in the middle to signify the important role that Shanghai had played. The jumper was presented in a gift box with a note from Port Adelaide Football Club.

Following the meeting, the government officials made their way to their front-row seats in the Chairman's stand in time for the national anthems. Team China was on the field, singing the March of the Volunteers with such gusto that it could be heard around the ground. When it came time for Advance Australia Fair, the first bars of Port Adelaide's club song were accidentally played over the loud-speaker.<sup>109</sup> This mishap was unfortunate, but perhaps also a subconscious acknowledgment of Port Adelaide's goal of representing Australian culture to China through a shared interest in sport. There were no incidents reported, and indeed it appears that the local police became engaged as spectators. Port Adelaide player Jack Hombsch noted that "some of the police officers were getting involved towards the end! Hopefully we've picked up some new fans".<sup>110</sup> The outcome of the game itself was insignificant (but Port Adelaide won handsomely).

## 1.14 Conclusion

Port Adelaide stressed the need for cultural awareness, and applied its modest learnings in its interactions in China. While it is impossible to quantify how important each of these initiatives was to the outcome, Port Adelaide appears to have achieved a level of engagement that has eluded other AFL clubs in China, and possibly also other Australian businesses.

My involvement in Port Adelaide's China Engagement proved to be excellent practice-led research. It clarified the importance of intercultural understanding in interactions with people from diverse cultures. It also became apparent that sport is an

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<sup>109</sup> Sam McPhee, "Awkward Moment Port Adelaide Team Song Is Played Instead of Australian National Anthem during AFL Game in China," *Daily Mail Australia*, May 14, 2017, accessed May 23, 2017, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4504130/Port-Adelaide-song-played-China-national-anthem.html#ixzz4htBM2Jgf>.

<sup>110</sup> Hombsch, "The Shanghai Experience."

underexplored instrument of diplomacy, that could assist governments in gaining support from both domestic and foreign audiences for policies that hold potential for mutual benefit.

## Chapter 2: An intercultural approach to public diplomacy?

Chapter 1 of this thesis describes an engagement strategy with practical outcomes that evolved in parallel with a conceptual understanding framed in an academic context. Chapter 2 describes and analyses the conceptual framework that underpinned the strategy, and the cognitive understanding that developed in tandem with it. It considers both how this framework developed and how it has served Australian diplomacy in the past, as well as its relevance to the current circumstances in which Australian diplomacy is conducted. The conclusions drawn from the evolution of Port Adelaide's China Engagement Strategy are the outcome of practice-led research which reflexively informed a theoretical understanding of concepts and how they could be implemented in practice.

### 2.1 Intercultural Understanding in International Relations

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Tibet was considered to be of geostrategic importance in the 'Great Game' played between Russia and Great Britain. In 1903, Lieutenant Colonel Francis Younghusband was appointed to enhance friendship and cooperation with Tibet, and to open diplomatic and commercial channels. For three months following his appointment, he tried unsuccessfully to engage with Tibet. Two letters from the British Viceroy Lord Curzon to the Dalai Lama were returned unopened. London then instructed Younghusband to lead a military expedition to Lhasa.<sup>111</sup>

On the way to Lhasa, 628 Tibetans were slaughtered in under four minutes in Chumik Shengo, a small village near Guru. After a final attempt at negotiation, Tibetan forces crowded in front of a newly-erected wall along the waters of the Crystal Eye Lake were massacred. Younghusband wrote to his wife that he "did every single thing to prevent this".<sup>112</sup> He did not, however, have the understanding necessary to avert the events.

Lhasa had ordered its senior commander, Depon Lhading, to halt the advance without resorting to violence. The Tibetans, who had asked that further negotiations take place

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<sup>111</sup> Nicholas Fenn, "In the Footsteps of Francis Younghusband: The Centenary Tour of Tibet," *Asian Affairs* 33, no. 2 (2002), 182–184.

<sup>112</sup> Charles Allen, "The Myth of Chumik Shenko," *History Today* 54, no. 4 (2004), 10–17.



in Yatung,<sup>113</sup> therefore engaged in nonviolent, passive resistance. They sat in front of the wall, willing to neither fight nor withdraw.<sup>114</sup> Younghusband lacked the intercultural understanding – described by Walton, Priest and Paradies as the development of skills, attitudes and knowledge necessary for interacting with people from diverse cultural backgrounds<sup>115</sup> – necessary to interpret their actions. One, admittedly contested, account suggests that the British forces tried to provoke the Tibetans into opening fire.<sup>116</sup> This lack of understanding led to a massacre so severe that a British captain reported that he “got so sick of the slaughter that [he] ceased to fire”.<sup>117</sup>

The expedition then travelled on to Lhasa, arriving in August. Crowds of Tibetans assembled on the streets, clapping. Not knowing that clapping was the way in which Tibetans tried to ward off evil spirits, Younghusband was full of self-congratulation for what he believed to be a warm welcome.<sup>118</sup> The Treaty of Lhasa, which effectively converted Tibet into a British protectorate, was signed within weeks. Revolt followed. Foreigners, including French missionaries and Chinese officials, were attacked. The Treaty of Lhasa was repudiated within a year and replaced by the Anglo-Chinese Convention.

These events changed Tibet forever. Had Younghusband understood the meaning of the Tibetans’ actions in Chumik Shengo, or of the clapping that greeted him in Lhasa, events might have transpired differently, and the scale and nature of the violence might have been minimised or even averted altogether. Nicholas Fenn described these incidents as a “classic clash of cultures” in which “mutual incomprehension was complete.” What had started as an exercise in friendship and cooperation from which

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<sup>113</sup>Allen, “Myth of Chumik Shenko,” 11.

<sup>114</sup> Parshotam Mehra, “In the Eyes of its Beholders: The Younghusband Expedition (1903–04) and Contemporary Media,” *Modern Asian Studies* 39, no. 3 (2005), 732.

<sup>115</sup> Jessica Walton, Naomi Priest, and Yin Paradies, “Identifying and Developing Effective Approaches to Foster Intercultural Understanding in Schools,” *Intercultural Education* 24, no. 3 (2013), 181.

<sup>116</sup> Allen, “Myth of Chumik Shenko,” 12.

<sup>117</sup> Allen, “Myth of Chumik Shenko,” 15.

<sup>118</sup> Pico Iyer, *Sun After Dark* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2005), 134.

diplomatic and commercial engagement were intended to flow ended in alienation and contempt.<sup>119</sup>

The importance of intercultural understanding was not lost on Younghusband, who later experienced an epiphany and spent the remainder of his days promoting interfaith understanding<sup>120</sup> as the founder of the World Congress of Interfaith Dialogue. He not only argued for deeper understanding, but also suggested ways in which to achieve it. When discussing Tibet in 1924, for example, he stated that “it is always a good way to get to the heart of the Asiatic people to study their literature”.<sup>121</sup> He would no doubt have also valued the learning of their languages, dances, songs and customs – and the capacity of these things to enhance intercultural understanding.

This thesis will explore to what extent intercultural understanding assists both the development of foreign policy and its implementation through effective diplomacy.<sup>122</sup> Its value is not limited to the diplomatic corps, but extends to all officials engaged in international affairs in areas including defence, trade, aid, and education.

Intercultural understanding also makes the public more discerning in its judgement of foreign policy, as it better understands the specific contexts to which policy decisions are responding. This encourages decision-makers to pursue effective foreign policy measures rather than populist positions.

Intercultural understanding is particularly important for middle powers, which often mediate between third parties to broker outcomes in the common interest. Such mediation and brokerage is not possible without a strong understanding of the third parties in question. Australia, which has often conceptualised its role as a middle

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<sup>119</sup> Fenn, “In the Footsteps of Francis Younghusband,” 184.

<sup>120</sup> Patrick French, *Younghusband, the Last Great Imperial Adventurer* (London: HarperCollins, 1994), 235–252.

<sup>121</sup> Lord Ronaldshay, Francis Younghusband and John Jordan, “A Year in Lhasa: Discussion,” *The Geographical Journal* 63, no. 2 (1924), 105.

<sup>122</sup> According to Leeds-Hurwitz (1990), the field of intercultural studies was in fact born of a study on the effectiveness of American diplomats in the late 1950s and 1960s. The study was conducted by Edward T. Hall and released in *The Silent Language* (1959) which stressed the need for *interaction* between members of different cultures.

power, is a nation influenced by European traditions but surrounded by Asian nations with different cultures, languages, religions, and political and legal systems.<sup>123</sup>

This thesis will seek to answer two questions: first, would Australia be more effective in international affairs if it possessed greater intercultural understanding? and second, could Australian public diplomacy be used to enhance intercultural understanding? It will draw on the case study in Chapter 1 as an example of how broader understanding can be achieved when more popular cultural expressions such as sport are deployed.

The Sino-Australian bilateral relationship will often be used, to maximise the usefulness of the case study. It will show how better understanding of specific regional contexts can help Australia to positively influence regional affairs. This thesis will demonstrate that an Australian public diplomacy designed to enhance intercultural understanding for a broader audience – both domestic and foreign – can create an environment that enables more effective foreign policy. Drawing on the experiences described in the case study, it will show that sport is a cultural expression that is undervalued as an instrument of diplomacy, but capable of engaging popular audiences both domestic and foreign. Popular intercultural understanding would also enhance trade and investment outcomes. This thesis will therefore argue for an *intercultural* approach to public diplomacy.

## 2.2 Literature Review

To understand how culture has been used in international affairs to date, it is important to consider the state of the literature. Culture is a central theme in concepts such as cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy and soft power. This has resulted in a “deep entanglement of terms”.<sup>124</sup> Scholarship has evolved from a focus on cultural diplomacy to a broader focus on public diplomacy, the former now considered a subset of the latter. Both concepts have been increasingly influenced by the idea of ‘soft

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<sup>123</sup> Alexandra Oliver and Russell Trood, “Public Diplomacy and Australia’s Middle Power Strategy,” in *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia: Middle Powers in a Troubled Region*, ed. Jan Melissen and Yul Sohn (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 180.

<sup>124</sup> Ien Ang, Yudhishthir Raj Isar, and Phillip Mar, “Cultural Diplomacy: Beyond the National Interest?” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21, no. 4 (2015), 365–370.

power', which for many governments appears to be the optimal outcome of policies such as cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy. During this evolution in scholarship and practice, the original intention of developing greater mutual understanding has been lost. The primary purpose of this review is to examine the policy design and execution of these concepts, and consider their effectiveness in promoting mutual understanding.

The concept of soft power has strongly influenced international relations. Joseph Nye's original work on soft power, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1990), has made an indelible mark on international relations. Nye (also 2002, 2004, 2008) advocates that nation-states use culture for soft power alongside the hard power generated by military and economic strength. He has written prolifically on the concept of soft power, and in his more recent writings has emphasised the need for long-term, two-way exchange. Notwithstanding this latest shift, Nye's concept still refers to a dimension of 'power' which is usually seen to be a zero-sum game. In contrast, understanding can be shared without diminishing the benefit of one partner.

Soft power may be the product of other actions, but acceptance that soft power is a desirable outcome of public diplomacy has exerted great influence in many countries, including Australia. This is evident in the growing body of literature dedicated to public diplomacy, including two recent works focussed on public diplomacy in Asia. This thesis draws on some of the case studies used in *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* (2011), edited by Sook Jong Lee and Jan Melissen, particularly Ingrid d'Hooghe's analysis of the shortcomings of China's soft power diplomacy. China's public diplomacy is designed to enhance its soft power, but its transparently political approach has in some instances actually diminished its influence.

A more recent work, *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia: Middle Powers in a Troubled Region* (2015), is significant due to its chapter on Australia's public diplomacy. Alexandra Oliver and Russell Trood argue that there have been significant opportunities for Australia to pursue a robust policy of public diplomacy in Asia, but a lack of commitment from Australia's politicians and bureaucrats has made it difficult to realise an effective strategy. They describe Australia's public diplomacy as limited and largely reactive, a consequence of its "struggle to define a national diplomatic style

as a credible middle power in international affairs”.<sup>125</sup> This thesis will show that if Australia’s diplomatic style were to be influenced by the goal of enhancing popular intercultural understanding, it would be more effective in international affairs.

Cultural diplomacy is now considered a sub-set of public diplomacy. Arndt, in *The First Resort of Kings* (2005), provides an interesting historical context for cultural diplomacy, describing how it evolved to fill this position. Although written from an American perspective, the early passages of *The First Resort of Kings* provide an interesting historical context, before the book describes how the objective of cultural diplomacy in the United States changed from mutual understanding to cultural promotion. It gives an account of the internal debates that culminated in the current preference for a unidirectional flow of information that is understood as public diplomacy.

*Still Searching for Cultural Diplomacy* (2010), edited by Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried, is the most comprehensive contemporary book on cultural diplomacy. It is a comparative work that looks beyond a field that has been dominated by an American perspective and draws on the experiences of the Soviet Union, Asia and Eastern Europe. This work demonstrates that there is a fallacy at the heart of cultural diplomacy: whilst scholars advocate for a policy of two-way exchanges designed to increase mutual understanding, the practice of cultural diplomacy does not reflect the theory.

Other scholars offer different perspectives which have helped to explain this shift in objectives. Gregory Paschalidis, for example, traces the evolution of culture in international relations through four phases: cultural nationalism (1870s–1914), cultural propaganda (1914–1945), the Golden Age of cultural diplomacy (1945–1990), and finally cultural capitalism, which was implemented after the end of the Cold War.<sup>126</sup> Glade concurs, explaining that without a countervailing cultural influence, the focus gradually shifted to cultural exports.<sup>127</sup> My review of the relevant literature

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<sup>125</sup> Oliver and Trood, “Public Diplomacy and Australia’s Middle Power Strategy,” 179–184.

<sup>126</sup> Gregory Paschalidis, “Exporting National Culture: Histories of Cultural Institutions Abroad,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. 15, no. 3 (2009), 277–287.

<sup>127</sup> William Glade, “Issues in the Genesis and Organisation of Cultural Diplomacy: A Brief History,” *Journal of Arts, Management, Law and Society* 39, no. 4 (2009), 245.

related to public diplomacy suggests that it may no longer be designed to increase cultural – let alone intercultural – understanding at all.

It is challenging to consider an intercultural approach to Australia's foreign policy because there is currently only a limited literature specifically focussed on the use of culture in Australia's foreign policy. To date, the field has largely drawn on the American, Asian, European and British experience,<sup>128</sup> perhaps because cultural diplomacy has historically occupied a marginal position in Australia where there is little understanding of its importance or objectives.<sup>129</sup> However, there have been some important recent contributions on the need for change in Australia. Notably, Alison Broinowski (2011, 2016) has argued in a range of articles that Australia's approach to cultural diplomacy, and public diplomacy, is inadequate.<sup>130</sup> A further consideration of the potential role culture could play in Australia's diplomacy will add to a relatively limited field.

As my research evolved, it appeared important to also consider how useful culture could be to Australia as an active middle power. There is a strong body of literature devoted to middle powers, and specifically to Australia as a middle power. Lee and Sohn have written about middle powers in Asia (2011); Gareth Evans has contributed much to the conceptualisation of Australia as a middle power, and *Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs 2006-2010*, edited by James Cotton and John Ravenhill, was an important contribution. The relevance of culture to Australia's middle-power diplomacy, however, has been largely ignored.

This thesis is not confined to an analysis of concepts. It was important to consider how concepts such as cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy have been applied by Australia's prime and foreign ministers in the service of diplomacy. The marginal position of these concepts in Australia is further evident in the memoirs of recent

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<sup>128</sup> Lee and Melissen's *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* has admittedly broadened this field of comparative study in recent years.

<sup>129</sup> Jocelyn Chey, "Cultural Diplomacy and Australia-China Cultural Relations," paper presented at the Australian Institute of International Affairs NSW Branch Charter's Lecture, Sydney, July 20, 2010.

<sup>130</sup> Alison Broinowski, "The 'Lucky, Lazy Country' Shows How Not to Win Friends in Asia," *The Conversation*, October 12, 2011, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://theconversation.com/the-lucky-lazy-country-shows-how-not-to-win-friends-in-asia-3654> and "Public Diplomacy and Australian Practice," *Social Alternatives* 35, no. 2 (2016), 41–47.

leaders. Julia Gillard made no mention of public or cultural diplomacy in her memoir *My Story*. Her foreign minister, Bob Carr, also made no mention of either in his *Diary of a Foreign Minister*. This reflects Carrillo Gantner's commentary on Gillard and Carr's visit to China in 2013, which was considered a success because significant announcements were made on annual diplomatic dialogue, closer military ties and business links – but which did not include anything even remotely related to cultural relations.<sup>131</sup> Neither did John Howard make mention of either cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy in his memoir *Lazarus Rising*.<sup>132</sup> Despite his clear attachment to the arts, architecture and other cultural expressions, Howard's predecessor Paul Keating made no mention of cultural or public diplomacy in *Engagement*, which focussed on Australia's international engagements during his prime ministership.<sup>133</sup> Gantner commented that cultural relationships have gone backward for a range of reasons, but "perhaps most important is the failure of leadership at the very top".<sup>134</sup>

Some passages of *Comrade Ambassador* (2015) by former Australian diplomat Stephen FitzGerald provide persuasive reasons to invest resources into the cultural dimension of foreign policy. Significantly, it is diplomats, who are directly involved in the practice of international relations, who tend to be the strongest advocates for cultural and public diplomacy, rather than foreign ministers. Former diplomat Alison Broinowski has been perhaps Australia's strongest advocate. In the United States, former diplomat Cynthia Schneider has played a similar role. Each has contributed to the existing literature on the subject.

The search for a concept that could enhance intercultural understanding I practice in a way that would create a more enabling environment for Australia as an active middle power led to a consideration of both cross-culturalism and transculturalism, the latter of which drew largely on the work of the Cuban historian Fernando Ortiz. The field of intercultural studies developed from Edward T. Hall's book *The Silent Language* (1959); the body of literature dedicated to intercultural studies today is cross-disciplinary. Sociologists Issa Asgarally (2005) and Gerard Bouchard (2011) have each

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<sup>131</sup> Carrillo Gantner, "Building Cultural Relations," *The China Story*, May 13, 2013, accessed November 3, 2017, <https://www.thechinastory.org/agenda2013/building-cultural-relations/>.

<sup>132</sup> John Howard, *Lazarus Rising* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 2010).

<sup>133</sup> Paul Keating, *Engagement: Australia faces the Asia-Pacific* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2000).

<sup>134</sup> Gantner, "Building Cultural Relations," 3.

made important contributions to the field, novelist Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio has spoken prolifically on the subject, and psychologist Joseph Shaules (2015) and other scholars have focused on the relationship between culture and cognition. This thesis, however, is an early contribution to the application of intercultural approaches to diplomacy, as part of a conceptual and practical evolution of public diplomacy.

There is also literature devoted to specific cultural expressions and their application to international relations, including the arts, language, literature, education and – though literature on the subject is surprisingly scarce – sport. Generally, scholarship on cultural diplomacy has come to be synonymous with arts diplomacy. Roesler (2015) drew upon Asialink’s arts residency program to explore how Australia’s cultural diplomacy initiatives are designed to bring Australia closer to Asia. Other scholars have looked at specific areas relevant to this thesis. McDonald (2014), for example, wrote about Aboriginal art and cultural diplomacy. Berryman (2013) looked at ‘blockbuster’ art exhibitions in Australia, but concluded that they are designed to achieve economic rather than diplomatic outcomes.

This thesis argues that expressions other than the arts are equally, if not more, useful as instruments of diplomacy, because of their popular appeal or because they are considered intrinsically linked to culture. There have been numerous studies and government reports on language policy. Some general literature was useful in developing an appropriate historical context, before specific examples such as the Confucius Institute drew the attention of specialists such as Pan (2013) and Wade (2016). The value of language learning to intercultural understanding is well-known, but the challenges facing language education in Australia are broadly accepted. The existing scholarship on both is exhaustive.

There also exists a relatively small number of articles on how literature has been deployed in Australian cultural diplomacy. Many scholars have written about the teaching of Australian literature in Australian Studies Centres in China, which is the best example of how Australia has used its literature in the service of diplomacy. These include Jose (1995, 2005, 2013), Wang (2000), Li (2007) and Ouyang (2011). However, while Australian literature has been deployed to enhance the understanding of Australia in the People’s Republic of China, there has been far less focus on the



value of making Chinese literature available in Australia. Nor is there much scholarship on the deployment of Australian literature in other countries, although Broinowski (2011) has written about Australian literature in Japan and Singapore, Yasue Arimitsu (2011) in Japan, and Paul Sharrad (2010) and Deb Narayan Bandyopadhyay (2011) in India.

The diplomatic value of education has also attracted some attention. David Lowe (2010) and Caitlin Byrne and Rebecca Hall (2013) have looked at international education from the perspective of cultural and public diplomacy. Byrne and Hall identified international education as having an unfulfilled potential that could only be utilised through coherent public policy leadership, interagency coordination and expanded dialogue with the sector and the broader community.<sup>135</sup>

This thesis argues that sport has great potential as an instrument of diplomacy because of its popular appeal. Scholarly consideration of sport's potential contribution to cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy has not been exhaustive. Some scholars, such as Lincoln Allison and Terry Monnington (2002) and John Hargreaves (2010), have asked why sport is not considered an expression of culture or used in diplomacy. Havard Molkiev Nygard and Scott Gates (2013), and Murray (2013) have written on issues of sport and diplomacy. David Rowe (2016) has written of the potential to combine the two in Australia. Peter Horton (2016) wrote about the role of sport in Australian society in an historic context. There also exists a body of work on specific, well-known example events, such as 'ping-pong diplomacy'. John Welfield (1988), Henry Kissinger (2011) and Clark (2012), among others, have each touched on different aspects of ping-pong diplomacy, while Nicholas Griffin (2014) has made more a detailed study. Whilst these works demonstrate sport's potential to be used as an agent of change in international relations, however, few governments have considered how it can contribute to popular intercultural understanding. It does not presently appear to be a focus of the Sino-Australian bilateral relationship.

To summarise: there is much scholarship devoted to Australia's role as an active middle power, and consideration of its capacity to contribute positively to the Sino-

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<sup>135</sup> Caitlin Byrne and Rebecca Hall, "Realising Australia's International Education as Public Diplomacy," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 64, no. 4 (2013), 436.

Australian relationship, but less effort has been devoted to understanding how public diplomacy could contribute to each. There is also a strong body of work devoted to the increasing entanglement of domestic politics and foreign policy. What appears to be lacking is a thorough consideration of how intercultural understanding can be applied to each of these related topics. The literature on competing concepts of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy makes it clear that they are no longer intended, nor designed, to enhance intercultural understanding.

The gaps in the existing literature encourage the consideration of whether Australia would more effectively in international affairs if its public diplomacy was designed to enhance popular intercultural understanding, and to what extent sport can contribute to this. Jitka Jurková concluded, in her review of *Still Searching for Cultural Diplomacy* which appeared in the *International Journal of Cultural Policy* in August 2015, that “...the field is still waiting for a work reflecting contemporary developments successfully enough so that it could serve as consultation material for cultural diplomacy practitioners”.<sup>136</sup> The same could be said of public diplomacy, and certainly of Australian public diplomacy.

The following sections will describe the contemporary objectives of public diplomacy and show that an intercultural approach that emphasises the need for Australians to develop greater intercultural understanding through two-way exchanges and reciprocal arrangements, or through a commitment to both inbound and outbound initiatives, would make Australia a more effective middle power and strengthen its bilateral relationship with China.

## 2.3 Cultural Diplomacy

There are many forms of and forums for cultural exchange, which are variously termed foreign cultural relations, international cultural relations, international cultural exchange, international cultural cooperation and so on.<sup>137</sup> Much exchange takes place without government involvement, and these concepts describe important actions and initiatives that are not necessarily initiated by sovereign governments.

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<sup>136</sup> Jitka Jurková, “Still Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21, no. 4 (2015), 509–511.

<sup>137</sup> Ang *et al*, “Cultural Diplomacy,” 367.

Diplomacy, however, is limited to activities directed by a sovereign government. Although cultural diplomacy describes initiatives that *result* from deliberate government actions, these initiatives may be *implemented* by non-government actors.<sup>138</sup> Cultural exchanges enabled by government grants, for example, are considered part of cultural diplomacy.<sup>139</sup> The increasing tendency of governments to promote and coordinate, rather than ‘do’, is described by Shaun Riordan as “catalytic diplomacy”.<sup>140</sup>

When cultural diplomacy was first conceptualised, its principal motivation was the attainment of greater understanding. As early as 1942, for example, Charles Thompson, the Chair of the General Advisory Commission of Cultural Relations in the United States, referred to the goal of cultural relations as the creation of a state of mind “properly called ‘understanding’”.<sup>141</sup> Gregory Paschalidis described the period immediately following World War II, when policy was motivated by a commitment to mutual understanding, as the Golden Age of cultural diplomacy.<sup>142</sup> And mutual understanding remains central to contemporary scholarship focussed on cultural diplomacy. American political scientist and author Milton C. Cummings described cultural diplomacy as “the use of creative expressions and the exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering mutual understanding”.<sup>143</sup> Other scholars have stressed the importance of bi-directional flows. Diplomat-turned-scholar Cynthia P. Schneider explained that cultural exchange is a key element of cultural diplomacy, and argues that two-way engagement is the most important characteristic for success.<sup>144</sup> Each government, however, may understand success differently.

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<sup>138</sup> Yong Wook Lee, “Soft Power as Productive Power,” in *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*, 141.

<sup>139</sup> Government involvement in cultural diplomacy aligns with the broader tendency for governments to remain central to cultural planning, as an imaginative encapsulation of key priorities (Jennifer Craik, Libby McAllister, and Glyn Davis, “Paradoxes and Contradictions in Government Approaches to contemporary Cultural Policy: An Australian Perspective,” *The International Journal of Cultural Policy* 1, no. 9 (2003), 18.

<sup>140</sup> Shaun Riordan, *New Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), 127–130.

<sup>141</sup> Riordan, *New Diplomacy*, 73–74.

<sup>142</sup> Paschalidis, “Exporting National Culture.”

<sup>143</sup> Milton C. Cummings, *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey* (Washington D.C.: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003), 1.

<sup>144</sup> Cynthia P. Schneider, “The Unrealized Potential of Cultural Diplomacy: Best Practices and What Could Be, If Only...” *The Journal of Arts, Management, Law and Society* 39, no. 4 (2009), 260–265.

The balance of current scholarship favours of the idea that cultural diplomacy aligns with the goal of cultural understanding, which is to be achieved through a long-term program of two-way exchanges. Unfortunately, there appears to be a fallacy inherent in the scholarship about the practice of cultural diplomacy: the goal of mutual understanding achieved through two-way exchanges is rarely consistent with either official policy or actual practice. For example, cultural diplomacy is described in *Still Searching for Cultural Diplomacy* as “an exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, and beliefs in all aspects of our societies – such as art, sport, science, literature and music – with the intention of fostering mutual understanding”.<sup>145</sup> But the book, which draws upon examples taken from the Soviet Union, Asia and eastern Europe as well as former European colonies, identifies a range of objectives *other* than mutual understanding.<sup>146</sup> Scholars continue to describe mutual understanding as the key objective of cultural diplomacy, even though this does not appear to reflect its contemporary practice.

Other scholars argue that this fallacy is due to confusion over whether cultural diplomacy should respond to a narrow national interest, or to shared interests. For example, Ien Ang, Yudhishtir Raj Isar and Phillip Mar (2015) argue that there is a tension between these two objectives: on one hand, cultural diplomacy is supposed to advance the national interest by presenting a nation to the world in the best possible light, but on the other it is expected to promote a more harmonious international order for the benefit of all.<sup>147</sup> If motivated by a narrow national interest, the goal of achieving ‘mutual understanding’ through two-way flows can be easily overlooked.

True mutual understanding should be considerate of differences within a national culture. Cultural diplomacy tends to highlight diversity that exists within national identities when this offers a clear point of difference with other cultures, as is the case with Aboriginal art in the Australian context. Governments like to focus on what is unique or special, and Australia is no different, often drawing upon its Indigenous cultures to do so.<sup>148</sup> Diversity within nations has been further encouraged by sub-

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<sup>145</sup> Jessica C.E Gienow-Hecht, and Mark C. Donfried, *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 21.

<sup>146</sup> Jurková, “Still Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy.”

<sup>147</sup> Ang et al., “Cultural Diplomacy,” 369–370.

<sup>148</sup> Craik *et al*, “Paradoxes and Contradictions,” 29.

national governments (SNGs) that have also used culture as part of their international engagement strategies.

These SNGs are increasingly active players as a result of the partial decentralisation of function and responsibility in national governments.<sup>149</sup> They are neither sovereignty-bound nor sovereignty-free, but usually have some policy authority in international affairs.<sup>150</sup> They engage internationally in a range of ways, including through sister state and sister city arrangements, trade missions and trade offices, special envoys and agents-general. As these engagements take place with the implicit approval of sovereign governments, it is reasonable to include the actions of SNGs as examples of cultural or public diplomacy. The Government of South Australia, for example, has taken an increasing interest in the cultural element of international engagement. This was evident in the recently released *South Australia-South East Asia Engagement Strategy* (2015) and the updated versions of its other major engagement strategies with India and China. These developments have encouraged a more complete understanding of nations and their cultures through cultural diplomacy.

Cultural diplomacy increasingly seeks to highlight unique aspects of a national culture. But often, countries promote only what is positive. Governments appear to feel that their national interest is best served through an outward projection of a positive cultural image, even if from the beginning, many advocates of cultural diplomacy tried to resist the call to merge culture with information. Within the government of the United States, for example, there was a strong sense that information and cultural exchange should follow parallel but separate paths. Arndt describes how advocates argued for this separation in order “to avoid any trace of propaganda”. Arndt argues that since the cultural dimension of diplomacy was placed in the hands of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953, the idea of independent cultural diplomacy has gradually eroded.<sup>151</sup> In Australia, the cultural component of foreign affairs since 2014 has rested with DFAT’s Public Diplomacy Division. The central role of Australia’s foreign affairs ministry is shared by most countries; in China, however, the Office of Foreign Propaganda of the Chinese

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<sup>149</sup> Purnendra Jain, *Japan’s Subnational Governments in International Affairs*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 12–14.

<sup>150</sup> Jain, *Japan’s Subnational Governments*, 19.

<sup>151</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, pp. xi–xii.

Communist Party (CCP) and the State Council Information Office both play major roles, with national leaders and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as important supporting actors.<sup>152</sup>

This early tendency to merge information with culture started a process by which exchange gave way to promotion and opened the door to public diplomacy, which has emerged as the dominant concept in which culture is leveraged to achieve diplomatic objectives.

## 2.4 Public diplomacy

Many scholars and governments, including the Australian Government, now see cultural diplomacy as a subset of public diplomacy.<sup>153</sup> The term itself was first coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, Dean of Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, to overcome the negative connotations associated with ‘propaganda’.<sup>154</sup> Public diplomacy became the policy of the United States soon after, under the leadership of Edward R. Murrow, then director of the Information Agency.<sup>155</sup>

Yong Wok Lee defines public diplomacy as a mixture of public relations and cultural diplomacy,<sup>156</sup> while Nye describes three dimensions of public diplomacy: daily communications, strategic communications and long-term cultural exchange.<sup>157</sup> Public diplomacy adds the calculated dissemination of information that promotes a positive national image to the cultural exchanges that were traditionally considered the core feature of cultural diplomacy.

Public diplomacy is more focussed on promotion of a national culture, even if this is considered an ensemble of diverse elements, than cultural exchange. It helps wider audiences to participate in cultural activities indirectly or remotely. The power of modern technology also increases opportunities for people-to-people connections. For

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<sup>152</sup> Ingrid d’Hooghe, “The Rise of China’s Public Diplomacy,” *Clingendael Diplomacy Papers*, no. 12, July 5, 2007, pp. 21–23.

<sup>153</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century: White Paper* (Canberra: Australia in the Asian Century Task Force, 2012), 258.

<sup>154</sup> Ang *et al*, “Cultural Diplomacy,” 368.

<sup>155</sup> Maxime Audinet, “De la Guerre Froide à l’Invasion de l’Irak,” *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Avril, 2017), 6.

<sup>156</sup> Lee, “Soft Power as Productive Power,” 44.

<sup>157</sup> Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 107–110.

example, the cultural interactions that took place during Port Adelaide Football Club's Aboriginal Academy side's tour of China in 2015 described in Chapter 1 was rich, but limited to several hundred participants only. Efforts to promote these interactions on social and mainstream media allowed a broader audience access to these interactions.

Correctly calibrated, public diplomacy has the potential to leverage modern technology and make cultural initiatives accessible to a broader audience. Riordan describes cultural diplomacy as a vehicle through which one nation can reach out to another, whereas public diplomacy is the bridge that allows it to access a large audience.<sup>158</sup> Riordan's 'bridge' metaphor implies a flow of traffic in both directions, and Nye has recently also argued that public diplomacy should be a two-way street that stresses listening as well as talking, and asserted that exchanges are more effective than broadcasts when it comes to understanding what is going on in the minds of others and what values are shared.<sup>159</sup> Public diplomacy has the potential to enhance bi-directional flows and reciprocal arrangements, but the stronger focus on cultural promotion or projection means that this potential is often unrealised.

Despite modern technology's potential to render intercultural exchange accessible to a wider audience, public diplomacy appears to remain in service to a goal designed to achieve a narrowly-defined national interest – which itself is often understood to be served by creating a favourable impression of one's country on a foreign audience. One-way flows of information do little to enhance mutual understanding or goodwill, and are often cynically received by their audiences. It is ironic that a concept created out of fears that culture was increasingly being used in the service of propaganda is now increasingly seen by sceptical publics to be a euphemism for propaganda itself.<sup>160</sup>

In their need to promote their culture as attractive and favourably influence foreign audiences, governments are discouraged from open and honest communication. As Cave argues, the problem may be in the execution; technology can be used transparently to reach a broader audience, but governments have failed to develop a

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<sup>158</sup> Riordan, *New Diplomacy*, 13.

<sup>159</sup> Nye Jr., *Soft Power*, 103.

<sup>160</sup> Mark Leonard, "Diplomacy by Other Means," *Foreign Policy*, no. 132 (2002), 50.

sophisticated and open means of exchange to go with it.<sup>161</sup> But there is little evidence that public diplomacy is a place of open exchange designed to enhance mutual understanding, or to achieve other outcomes that serve the common good or enhance regional security or prosperity.

Chinese public diplomacy, for example, appears to respond to narrowly-defined national interests. A positive projection of China's national culture is the central objective of its public diplomacy. Maxim Boon recently wrote of his disbelief that the audience in the Arts Centre, Melbourne, warmly applauded the ballet *The Red Detachment of Women* when it was performed there. He described the ballet, famously performed for Richard Nixon in 1972, as a "glorious fantasy of unity, prosperity and technicolour Communist ideology, extolling the virtues of the Cultural Revolution".<sup>162</sup> The Melburnian audience was enthralled by the performance, but its message did not escape the attention of informed commentators. Such episodes adversely influence the external perception of China's public diplomacy.

China's significant investment in public diplomacy is not necessarily matched by commensurate benefits. Foreign audiences do not trust the source of the information. Few countries share China's state-owned media,<sup>163</sup> and China's use of the term 'external propaganda' to describe its cultural initiatives creates hostility.<sup>164</sup> The arts, understood in the west to be synonymous with free expression, are inconsistent with the policies and realities of China's one-party system.<sup>165</sup>

Ingrid d'Hooghe analysed the impact of China's public diplomacy in Europe, which she describes as "image management", in the first decade of the current millennium. She found that China uses public diplomacy to soften what it perceives to be negative impressions and to address fears over its economic rise and increase in foreign direct investments, but surveys demonstrate that this has failed to enhance its

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<sup>161</sup> Danielle Cave, "Global Diplomacy Has Gone Digital and Australian Has Been Left Behind," *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 23, 2015, accessed January 8, 2016, <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/global-diplomacy-has-gone-digital-and-australia-has-been-left-behind-20150922-gjs6tg.html>.

<sup>162</sup> Maxim Boon, "The Red Detachment of Women (Arts Centre, Melbourne)," *Daily Review*, February 18, 2017, accessed April 5, 2017, <https://dailyreview.com.au/red-detachment-women-arts-centre-melbourne/55965/>.

<sup>163</sup> d'Hooghe, "The Limits of China's Soft Power in Europe."

<sup>164</sup> Ang *et al*, "Cultural Diplomacy," 372–373.

<sup>165</sup> Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the World in the 21st Century* (New Delhi: Allen Lane, 2012), 291.



attractiveness.<sup>166</sup> The Confucius Institutes are often another example of how Chinese public diplomacy can be met with suspicion. There are concerns that the goal of Confucius Institutes is indoctrination.<sup>167</sup> For example, in an article in *The Australian*, Alan Dupont stated that “there are now 14 Confucius Institutes and 60 Confucius Classrooms in Australia that unashamedly proselytise on behalf of the Chinese Government”.<sup>168</sup> China has perhaps provided the starkest example of how public policy can serve as one-way cultural projection in the national interest – but it is not alone.

Indeed, China’s approach is broadly consistent with that of other countries. Most governments readily admit that public diplomacy is designed to create a favourable impression and serve the national interest. When public diplomacy was adopted as policy by the United States in the 1960s, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) initially preferred the related concept of people’s diplomacy (*narodnaia diplomatia*), which described direct cultural interactions with foreign publics through cultural exchanges, education or media such as Radio Moscow. Public diplomacy (*poublitchnaia diplomatia*) became official policy in 2008, and is a key element of Russian soft power (*miagkaia sila*), which became official policy in 2013. Public diplomacy is integrated into a broader attempt to exercise soft power in response to ‘contemporary asymmetrical conflicts’. Like China, Russia has impressive instruments at its disposal, including a rich cultural heritage and a state media that receives generous public funding. RT (formerly *Russia Today*) is now watched by an estimated 70 million people from 38 countries, and has become the fifth-largest international television channel in both the United States and Europe.<sup>169</sup> Even St Petersburg’s famous Mariinsky Theatre Orchestra, which in 2016 performed in the ruins of Palmyra in Syria, appears to be deployed as an instrument of soft power.<sup>170</sup> But if China and Russia have taken cynical, realist approaches, most countries also use public diplomacy to respond to narrowly-defined national interests. Former Indian

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<sup>166</sup> d’Hooghe, “Limits of China’s Soft Power”.

<sup>167</sup> Su-Yan Pan, “Confucius Institute Project: China’s Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power Projection,” *Asian Education and Development Series 2*, no. 1 (2013), 24.

<sup>168</sup> Alan Dupont, “Getting Too Close to China Could Harm Australia”, *The Australian*, April 3, 2017, 12.

<sup>169</sup> Maxime Audinet, “La Voix de Moscou Trouble le Concert de l’Information Internationale,” *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Avril 2017).

<sup>170</sup> John Thornhill, “Orchestral Maneuvers,” *Financial Times*, October 15, 2016, 1–2.

Minister for External Affairs, Shashi Tharoor admits that public diplomacy ultimately exists to support a country's national interests,<sup>171</sup> and in the United States, national interest is considered central to the design of its public policy.<sup>172</sup> Australia is no exception.

## 2.5 Australia's approach to public diplomacy

Australia's approach to public diplomacy is broadly consistent with the contemporary practices of other nations. The Australian Government defines public diplomacy as actions taken by governments to shape the perceptions of individuals and groups in other countries, and to promote its foreign policy goals.<sup>173</sup> Australian foreign policy does, however, have an exceptionally strong economic focus,<sup>174</sup> to such an extent that it provides a point of difference with other countries. This strong focus on economic outcomes also defines its public diplomacy.

To better understand and describe Australian public diplomacy, this thesis will consider leaders' statements and parliamentary debates, public policy documents, and grant funding designed to encourage a specific approach to cultural interactions, including:

- statements made by elected representatives in parliament and in the media,
- the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade report *Australia's public diplomacy: building our image* (2007),<sup>175</sup>
- the Australia in the Asian Century White Paper (2012),
- the Public Diplomacy Strategy 2014-16,
- the Sports Diplomacy Strategy 2015-18,
- the International Relations Grants Program,
- the Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program (ACDGP),

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<sup>171</sup> Tharoor, *Pax Indica*, 295.

<sup>172</sup> US Department of State, *Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*, Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy (Washington D.C.: US Department of State, 2005), 6.

<sup>173</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century*, 258.

<sup>174</sup> Byrne and Hall, "Realising Australia's International Education as Public Diplomacy," 424.

<sup>175</sup> Although the report was released in 2007, it remains the most recent parliamentary committee report into public diplomacy.

- the Foundations, Councils and Institutes (FCIs) administered by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

Although these documents and statements have been largely generated by DFAT, it is also important to draw on the contents of surveys and reports compiled by the Australia Council for the Arts, the Australian Government's arts funding and advisory body, which since 2013 has been funded by the Attorney-General's Department.

This evidence will demonstrate what the Australian Government wishes to achieve through public diplomacy, and the instruments it believes will be most effective. It will highlight the lack of funding for Australian public diplomacy compared to other countries, and show that this limited funding is focussed on outward projection through a narrow pool of cultural expressions such as the performing arts and high-end visual arts.

The Australian Government also sees cultural diplomacy as a subset of public diplomacy,<sup>176</sup> and asserts that "cultural diplomacy has a vital role to play in international relations. Alliances are just as likely to be forged along the lines of cultural understanding as they are on economic or geographic ones".<sup>177</sup> The government's investment in cultural diplomacy does not, however, reflect its 'vital role'. In the report *Australia's public diplomacy: building our image*, tabled by the Australian Senate's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade in 2007, Asialink argued that Australia spends 17 cents per capita on cultural diplomacy, whereas Germany spends \$3 and the United Kingdom \$19.<sup>178</sup> While publicly-accessible funding for initiatives that could be described as cultural diplomacy is available through FCIs and through the Australia Council, ACDGP is the only program specifically designed to

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<sup>176</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century*, 258.

<sup>177</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy 2014–16* (Canberra: Australian Government, 2016), 4.

<sup>178</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia's Public Diplomacy: building our image* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2007), 213.

encourage cultural diplomacy. It attracts funding of little more than \$500,000 –<sup>179</sup> a relatively small figure compared to the investments of other nations.

The objectives and language used in public policy documents, statements and grant funding guidelines also reflect a strong economic focus. ACDGP, for example, is designed to support “the delivery of high-quality public diplomacy initiatives which promote our economic, artistic and cultural assets to an international audience”, and the first outcome that it seeks to achieve is to “expand audiences and markets for Australian artistic work and creative products”.<sup>180</sup> The goals of Australia’s cultural diplomacy are therefore strongly motivated by the potential for economic benefit, rather than by alliance-building or mutual understanding. DFAT also appears to encourage a one-way flow, with little emphasis on reciprocity. The funding models present a narrow view of which creative products and artistic work are relevant to its cultural and public diplomacy.

An anthropological definition of culture is that which one group has in common that separates it from other groups. There are many cultural expressions forged in distinctive traditions. Cultural expressions such as literature – usually funded as a poorer cousin of the arts – education, language and sport are not considered viable tools of Australian cultural diplomacy. Instead, the arts dominate. Whilst the creative industries, including fashion and film, are also considered part of Australian cultural diplomacy, the recipients of ACDGP reflects a strong bias to the performing arts. In 2016, around \$511,000 was awarded to 12 projects – six of which were performing arts project and three of which were orchestral performances.<sup>181</sup> The Australian Government appears to limit cultural diplomacy to the performing arts which, given a lack of popular resonance, makes it difficult to reach beyond elite audiences.

With its distinct focus on economic benefit attained by “expanding audiences” for our “cultural assets”, which are largely limited to the arts and specifically the performing arts, it is unsurprising that Australian cultural diplomacy focusses on cultural

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<sup>179</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program,” Australian Government, accessed August 21, 2016, <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/public-diplomacy/acdgp/Pages/acdgp-guidelines.aspx>.

<sup>180</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program.”

<sup>181</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program.”

projection. There are few examples of reciprocity, and when they do occur they exist to satisfy an economic objective. The International Cultural Visits Program, for example, supports visits from overseas arts and cultural industry leaders to “generate improved commercial opportunities ... for the domestic arts industry”.<sup>182</sup> This highly transactional approach aims to bring commercial benefits specifically to participating arts – almost always performing and visual arts – and their industries. Most programs supported by the Australian Government are designed to reach a foreign audience, rather than encourage mutual exchanges and interactions in which both domestic and foreign audiences participate.

Although there is a sense that cultural diplomacy can contribute to greater mutual understanding, the overwhelming evidence suggests that the goal of cultural projection for economic return is far more important to the Australian Government. There appears to be a strong preference for the performing arts, which have limited popular appeal and could limit the audience to those of elite decision-makers. Australian public diplomacy, however, embraces a broader range of activities. The 2012 *White Paper on Australia in the Asian Century* defines public diplomacy as actions taken by governments to shape the perceptions of individuals and groups in other countries in order to promote Australia’s foreign policy goals.<sup>183</sup> Consistent with recent scholarship and practice, Australia seeks to use public diplomacy to favourably shape the perceptions of foreign audiences. In the *Public Diplomacy Strategy 2014-2016*, Australia seeks to use culture to present a positive image of itself as a “contemporary, creative, successful, diverse and tolerant nation”.<sup>184</sup>

A key characteristic of Australian public diplomacy is its commitment to communicating Australia’s diversity, and particularly its Indigenous heritage. This emphasis is consistent with the broader trend of national governments to promote unique aspects of their identities, such as indigenous cultures, but reworked using modern materials and techniques.<sup>185</sup> This emphasis on Indigenous culture may also be a response to curiosity from foreign audiences. The *Australia in the Asian Century*:

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<sup>182</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia’s Public Diplomacy*, 4.

<sup>183</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century*, 258.

<sup>184</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy 2014-16*.

<sup>185</sup> Craik *et al.*, “Paradoxes and Contradictions,” 29.

*White Paper* asserted that Indigenous Australians have a leading role to play in taking Australia to the world,<sup>186</sup> and the Australian Government's Public Diplomacy Strategy includes an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander program designed to promote greater international understanding and awareness of Australia's Indigenous cultures.<sup>187</sup> Two out of twelve recipients of the ACDGP were initiatives promoting expressions of Indigenous culture.<sup>188</sup> As noted earlier, Indigenous cultures have been the focus of Australian cultural and public diplomacy for some time. Less recent examples include the National Gallery of Australia's *Culture Warriors: Australian Indigenous Art Triennial*, which took place in the United States in 2009, and Alexis Wright's participation in Australian Writers' Week in Beijing in 2010, at which she promoted *Carpentaria*, which had been translated into Chinese by Li Yao.<sup>189</sup> There is also the potential to promote Australian culture through the sporting exploits of Indigenous athletes and teams. For example, Cathy Freeman achieved international visibility for her achievement in the Sydney Olympic Games, and Aboriginal football players are iconic participants in Australia's indigenous game.

The incumbent government has sharpened the focus on economic outcomes. As then Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs, The Honourable Julie Bishop articulated her belief that "economic diplomacy is a vital part of foreign policy".<sup>190</sup> In a speech to the Lowy Institute in August 2014, she described economic diplomacy as "an overarching principle that puts strong economic outcomes at the centre of our foreign, trade, investment, tourism and development assistance policies".<sup>191</sup> In 2015, she asserted in Parliament that she has put "economic diplomacy at the heart of our engagement with the world".<sup>192</sup> This shift in focus appears to have diminished in direct proportion to

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<sup>186</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century*, 260.

<sup>187</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, 5.

<sup>188</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program."

<sup>189</sup> Jose, "Deconstructing the Dumpling," 121–122.

<sup>190</sup> Julie Bishop, "Success This Century Demands People-to-People and Trade Pacts beyond Asia," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 8, 2012, accessed May 26, 2015, <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/success-this-century-demands-people-and-trade-pacts-beyond-asia-20120607-1zyyk.html>.

<sup>191</sup> Julie Bishop, "Australia's Economic Diplomacy: Our Prosperity, Global Prosperity," speech to Lowy Institute, August 18, 2014, accessed July 31, 2016, [http://foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/pages/2014/jb\\_sp\\_140818.aspx](http://foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/pages/2014/jb_sp_140818.aspx).

<sup>192</sup> ACT, Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, "Questions without notice: Economic Diplomacy," March 5, 2015, accessed January 4, 2017, [http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/chamber/hansardr/65316ec4-a2b9-4874-99f3-828be1b9a7ab/0122/hansard\\_frag.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf](http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/chamber/hansardr/65316ec4-a2b9-4874-99f3-828be1b9a7ab/0122/hansard_frag.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf).

Australia's appetite to assume its traditional middle power status, with no apparent desire to play the role of mediator or contribute to the further development of Asia's multilateral architecture, under the current government. Its focus on the attainment of economic objectives appears consistent across most foreign policy initiatives, including public diplomacy.

Bishop nonetheless encouraged a stronger emphasis on public diplomacy by creating a Public Diplomacy Division in DFAT in 2014 and releasing the *Public Diplomacy Strategy 2014-16*,<sup>193</sup> although the government's economic focus was still evident in the strategy. The first of the key priorities and messages was that "economic diplomacy is at the core of Australia's international engagement".<sup>194</sup> The first goal was to promote Australia's economic credentials and support its economic diplomacy objectives, to deliver greater prosperity for Australia, the region and the world.<sup>195</sup> Further references were made to the goal of promoting "Australia as a competitive investment environment".<sup>196</sup> To underline "Australia's credentials as a destination for innovation, business, investment, tourism and study", the strategy referred to targeted initiatives promoting Australia's economic, creative and cultural, sporting, innovation and science and education assets. Australian public diplomacy is therefore far broader than its cultural diplomacy, and extends into areas including media, science and sport. The strategy was supported by other policy positions seen to be a part of Australia's public diplomacy, including those on Media Engagement, Sports Diplomacy, Science Diplomacy, the New Colombo Plan, the Australia Awards, Alumni Engagement and Australian Volunteers for International Engagement, as well as the FCIs.

FCIs, the sum of which broadly reflect Australia's historical and actual country and regional priorities, are grants-based. The principal tool of FCIs today is the International Relations Grants Program (IRGP), which is designed to support "the Government's foreign policies and economic diplomacy interests and projects a

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<sup>193</sup> Broinowski, "Public Diplomacy and Australian Practice," 41.

<sup>194</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, 12.

<sup>195</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, 2.

<sup>196</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, 1–2.

positive contemporary image of Australia”.<sup>197</sup> In the beginning, each was established with mutual understanding in mind. For example, one of the seven FCIs today is the Australia-China Council (ACC), which was proposed by Malcolm Fraser and his Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock upon their return from China in 1976. When Peacock announced this proposal, his stated goal was to begin “the process of breaking down the barriers of mutual ignorance and unfamiliarity ... bridging the gaps of history and culture between Australia and China and bringing both countries to a more informed understanding of each other”.<sup>198</sup> The current government’s insistence upon economic outcomes is inconsistent with Australia’s historical approach to cultural diplomacy and people-to-people exchanges, including those promoted through FCIs. It could be that this insistence on an economic dimension of foreign policy has been encouraged by broader trends: the faint echo of thinking heard immediately after end of the Cold War; an insistence that neo-liberalism was the light to be followed; or the interconnectivity produced in this era of globalisation by its nature pushing government-to-government interaction into a more marginal position, its importance diminished by a globally-interdependent economic system. ‘Economic diplomacy’ suggests that government-to-government interactions exist primarily to encourage economic activity.

In the 2016 funding round, 106 grants were awarded to fund cultural activities. Initiatives with a focus on education or research were favoured by most of the FCIs, but a range of other cultural exchanges were also funded, including sport, fashion, architecture, film and the arts. The Australia-ASEAN Council was the only FCI to award a grant for a project focussed on translation. The Australia-Japan Foundation leveraged the cultural acceptance of ‘homestay’ programs to award grants to programs which will see Japanese nationals staying in Australian homes,<sup>199</sup> heightening the level of intercultural interaction in those programs. A total of \$3.618 million in grants funding was afforded to these initiatives.<sup>200</sup> This is a relatively small amount. The ACC

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<sup>197</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Foundations, Councils and Institutes,” Australian Government, accessed April 17, 2017, <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/foundations-councils-institutes/Pages/foundations-councils-and-institutes.aspx>.

<sup>198</sup> Stephen FitzGerald, *Comrade Ambassador: Whitlam’s Beijing envoy* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2015), 149–150.

<sup>199</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Foundations, Councils and Institutes.”

<sup>200</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Foundations, Councils and Institutes.”



now receives less funding in absolute terms than it did when it was established a quarter of a century ago. Including the \$511,000 afforded to the ACDGP, around \$4 million in grants funding was made available for cultural activities and people-to-people interactions. This appears to be a relatively insubstantial amount for programs the government has described as “vital”.<sup>201</sup> This paucity of funding has often been the subject of criticism: Carrillo Gantner describes the \$700K funding received by the ACC, which supports all aspect of Australia’s people-to-people relationships with China, as “an almost frivolous amount”.<sup>202</sup> This concern has frequently been repeated during the last ten years. In the 2007 report *Australia’s public diplomacy: building our image*, released by the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade, the former Australian Ambassador to Burma Trevor Wilson was reported as saying that the resources devoted to public diplomacy were “pretty miniscule”, and lamenting that the investment provided to the committee included money used to fund Australia’s Economic Analytical Unit. The Committee accepted the view that the funding for FCIs is “modest”<sup>203</sup> although DFAT argued at the time that expenditure on public diplomacy was “substantial”.

Even modest funding levels have not diminished the potential to use modern technology to communicate to a far broader audience. Communications, as noted in Chapter 2.1, have the potential to act as the bridge that makes cultural diplomacy accessible to large audiences, both domestic and foreign. The White Paper *Australia in the Asian Century* noted that new technologies would open the path for two-way connections and a broader range of actors.<sup>204</sup> A short time after the release of the White Paper, however, Australia Plus (Australia’s international television presence) was discontinued, its funding contract with DFAT broken and paid out in the 2014 budget. Foreign Minister Bishop cited Australia Network’s “failure to deliver” as the cause.<sup>205</sup> Efforts to engage on social media have been described as evidence that Australia is in “broadcast mode”, using social media merely as another medium for media releases and announcement.<sup>206</sup> This appears to be another example of a ‘one-

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<sup>201</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, 4.

<sup>202</sup> Gantner, “Building Cultural Relations,” 4.

<sup>203</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia’s Public Diplomacy*, 204.

<sup>204</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century*, 258.

<sup>205</sup> Broinowski, “Public Diplomacy and Australian Practice,” 43.

<sup>206</sup> Cave, “Global Diplomacy Has Gone Digital.’

way' approach to public diplomacy: public diplomacy as cultural projection and an attempt to develop a more favourable image of Australia through targeted messaging.

It is apparent that Australian public diplomacy is designed to shape the perception of individuals and groups in such a way as to serve the national interest. The view that public diplomacy exists to support Australia's economic outcomes and promote its strategic interests is shared by scholars focused on public diplomacy in Australia.<sup>207</sup> Its distinctly one-way focus has remained despite appeals such as that made by German Rainer Schlageter in *Australia's public diplomacy: building our image* for two-way engagement: "In order to be successful, today's public diplomacy has to go beyond traditional 'one-way-street' information work. It should be a dialogue and a steady discussion with the goal to establish a long-term relationship with foreign audiences".<sup>208</sup> To consider the importance of such goals, it is important to more fully understand Australia's role in the context of the Sino-Australian bilateral relationship, and in the context of regional and global affairs.

## 2.6 Australian public diplomacy and its broader foreign policy objectives

The current goal of Australian public diplomacy is to promote "Australia's economic credentials and support its economic diplomacy objectives to deliver greater prosperity for Australia, the region and the world".<sup>209</sup> Its strong economic focus informs both the policy and the style of Australian foreign policy, including public diplomacy.

Even if one accepts the merit of Australian diplomacy's strong economic objective, the goal of achieving direct commercial benefits in cultural industries is extremely limiting. Interactions which enhance intercultural understanding also have the potential to improve Australia's ability to trade and attract investment across all sectors. Many Australian business leaders, such as the chief executive of Hong Kong's China Light and Power Group, Richard Lancaster, believe that Australia's cultural

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<sup>207</sup> Byrne and Hall, "Realising Australia's International Education," 424.

<sup>208</sup> R. Schlageter, "German Public Diplomacy," quoted in Australia, Parliament, *Australia's Public Diplomacy: Building Our Image*,. 79.

<sup>209</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, 2.

isolation from the region remains a major impediment.<sup>210</sup> The previously-cited 2014 PWC report *Passing us by: Why Australian businesses are missing the Asian opportunity. And what they can do about it* recommended that Australian businesses “invest in learning the culture”. The report asserted that addressing cultural variances in religion, language, government across the region requires a deep cultural awareness.<sup>211</sup> If economic outcomes are an objective of Australian foreign policy, platforms such as public diplomacy should be designed to reflect this objective.

The current goal of Australian public diplomacy is to achieve economic outcomes through cultural promotion. Yet Australian business leaders believe that cultural understanding, however loosely defined, will help Australian companies to improve their commercial outcomes, which is consistent with the experience of Port Adelaide Football Club. Port Adelaide emphasised effective interactions with Chinese partners which were achieved through a concerted effort to develop the skills, attitudes and knowledge necessary for interacting with people from diverse cultural backgrounds. For Australian public diplomacy to achieve national economic objectives, its ultimate objective should perhaps be recalibrated to emphasise the need to develop intercultural understanding in numerous participants drawn from a more diverse demographic mix.

Historically, Australian foreign policy has not been limited to support for economic objectives. Australia has in the past exerted disproportionate influence through active middle-power diplomacy. Sook Jong Lee asserts that a middle power was expected to play the role of mediator, facilitating cooperation between nations,<sup>212</sup> and Yul Sohn has argued that middle powers are not ‘makers’ but ‘arbiters’ or ‘brokers’; they are inclined to multilateralism, and their behaviour is internationalist, activist and independent.<sup>213</sup> These terms once described Australia’s approach. For example, it played a crucial role in resolving the Cambodian dispute because it had a strong policy

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<sup>210</sup> M. Smith, “Australia missing the boat in Asia as boards look short-term,” *Australian Financial Review*, December 29 2015, accessed 29 December 2015, <http://www.afr.com/brand/chanticleer/australia-missing-the-boat-in-asia-as-boards-look-shortterm-20151228-glvsrs#ixzz3vkubYDjt>

<sup>211</sup> PwC Australia, *Passing Us By*, 22.

<sup>212</sup> Lee, “South Korea Soft Power,” 157.

<sup>213</sup> Yul Sohn, “‘Middle Powers’ Like South Korea Can’t Do Without Soft Power and Network Power,” *Global Asia* 7, no. 3 (2012), 33.

interest, it was seen to be an ‘honest broker’ and its diplomatic investment in the region gave it the necessary skills and credibility.<sup>214</sup> Australia effectively brokered a positive outcome because it had the respect of all of the participating parties; it could talk comfortably to every country involved as it had no axes to grind or immediate interests to protect.<sup>215</sup> Does Australia’s role in the Cambodian Peace Settlement suggest a potential ongoing role as an active middle power?

Historic enmities and existing disputes to which Australia is not party, but which it has a great interest in resolving, have increased tensions in Asia in recent times. The settlement of disputes and easing of tensions are in Australia’s interests, and it has in the past played the role of broker. But to be effective, middle powers require credibility.<sup>216</sup> A middle power could draw its credibility from a commitment to common interests: Evans and Grant argue that middle powers are no less self-interested than any others, but that their characteristic methods are more often applied to problems which involve many nations, not just a few.<sup>217</sup> But to play the role of honest broker, middle powers first need to demonstrate their commitment to common interests and mutual benefits, rather than simply the “pragmatic self-interested diplomacy as economic welfare maximisation”<sup>218</sup> that Oliver and Trood believe describes Australia’s approach to diplomacy. This economistic approach to international relations has always been keenly felt in Asia. Lin Yutang wrote over half a century ago that “one feels a sort of pity for China; a pity that it is not our humanity but our gold ... which [has] attracted the Westerners to this Far Eastern shore”.<sup>219</sup> Australia could perhaps enhance its credibility as a middle power by championing an approach based on intercultural understanding rather than economic benefit alone.

For Australia to re-embrace its historic, activist role as a middle power, it would need the support of a domestic as well as a foreign audience. The previously-identified

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<sup>214</sup> Allan Gyngell and Michael Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy* (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 93.

<sup>215</sup> Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, *Australia’s Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990s* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), 347.

<sup>216</sup> James Cotton and John Ravenhill, “Middle Power Dreaming: Australian Foreign Policy during the Rudd-Gillard Governments,” in *Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs 2006-2010*, ed. James Cotton and John Ravenhill, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5.

<sup>217</sup> Evans and Grant, *Australia’s Foreign Relations*, 344.

<sup>218</sup> Oliver and Trood, “Public Diplomacy and Australia’s Middle Power Strategy.”

<sup>219</sup> Lin, *My Country and My People*, 11.

characteristics of a middle power – internationalist, active and independent – would need to be explained to and accepted by the Australian public. The way a foreign public interprets values, motivations or qualities has perhaps always made for a more enabling, or disabling, environment for foreign policy initiatives.<sup>220</sup> National leaders, diplomats and foreign policy experts face problems that are as complex as ever, but with more pressure from a public which has greater access to immediately-available information transmitted from distant lands than previously. For Australia to play an active role mediating in a complex and challenging international environment, it would need an informed and supportive domestic constituency.

Australian foreign policy has been increasingly politicised in recent years. Governments have become more conscious of how foreign policy interacts with domestic politics. The *Australia in the Asian Century* White Paper noted that “almost every domestic policy issue has an international dimension, and most international issues have significant domestic repercussions”.<sup>221</sup> This reality has informed a politics where, according to Michael Fullilove of the Lowy Institute, “the line between international and domestic policy is more blurred than it has ever been”.<sup>222</sup> Matt McDonald showed that the Abbott Coalition Government considered foreign policy through the lens of domestic politics and international issues through domestic political considerations, citing political commentator Nick Bryant, who claims that “the latest polling from the western suburbs of Sydney appears to hold sway over diplomatic dispatches from Washington or Beijing”.<sup>223</sup> The tendency to preference immediate domestic political considerations is not unique to Australia and has perhaps become typical of modern Western democracies.

Australian public diplomacy as it is currently conceptualised and practiced diminishes its potential to achieve important diplomatic objectives, and unlike other middle powers such as Canada and South Korea, Australia stands out for its lack of scholarly and practical attention to the issue.<sup>224</sup> This attitude is inconsistent with the interests

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<sup>220</sup> Leonard, “Diplomacy by Other Means,” 49.

<sup>221</sup> Australia, Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century*, 256.

<sup>222</sup> Lowy Institute, *The Lowy Institute Poll 2014* (Sydney: The Lowy Institute, 2014), 1.

<sup>223</sup> Matt McDonald, “Australian Foreign Policy under the Abbott Government: Foreign Policy as Domestic Politics,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 69, no. 6 (2015), 651-669.

<sup>224</sup> McDonald, “Australian Foreign Policy under the Abbott Government.”

of an active middle power. Australia's limited and largely reactive diplomacy is, unfortunately, a consequence of its "struggle to define a national diplomatic style as a credible middle power in international affairs".<sup>225</sup>

A deeper consideration of how public diplomacy could be redesigned is required. An alternative would seek to enlighten domestic audiences to enhance their support for Australia playing an active role in resolving complex foreign policy issues, and thereby render the country more effective in international affairs.

## 2.7 Cultural expressions previously deployed in Australian public diplomacy

If encouraging intercultural understanding in both domestic and foreign audiences would render Australia more effective in international affairs, it is important to consider whether previously-deployed cultural expressions could contribute to these outcomes. This thesis will now consider the expressions most often deployed in the service of cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy: the arts, literature, education and language. It will ask how Australia has deployed these cultural expressions to achieve its diplomatic objectives, and how current policy settings can be adapted to enhance intercultural understanding and expand their appeal to domestic and foreign audiences. To enhance the usefulness of the case study described in Chapter 1, there will be a focus on the Sino-Australian bilateral relationship when considering the effectiveness of previously-deployed cultural expressions.

Susan Sontag in "Against Interpretation" wrote that "the earliest experience of art must have been that it was incantatory, magical; art was an instrument of ritual."<sup>226</sup> Arndt described how rituals, ceremonies, chants and dances, were the first forms of cultural exchange.<sup>227</sup> The arts have come to be synonymous with culture, but Arndt laments the disorienting misuse of 'culture' which equates it with 'the arts'.<sup>228</sup> In a recent essay, Ben Eltham announced that he would "use the words 'art' and 'culture'

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<sup>225</sup> Oliver and Trood, "Public Diplomacy," 179–184.

<sup>226</sup> Susan Sontag, "Against Interpretation", in *Against interpretation and Other Essays* (London: Penguin, 2015), 3.

<sup>227</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, 1.

<sup>228</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, xviii.

more-or-less interchangeably”.<sup>229</sup> Many scholars and commentators see cultural diplomacy as limited to the arts.<sup>230</sup> This is itself limiting.

The arts are valuable because of their resonance with elites. They also have the capacity to profoundly move both audience and participants. Such occasions are often described as intimate, with an emotional interaction between performers and the audience. For example, Jon Deak, the Principal Bassist of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, recounts a performance in North Korea in 2008. At its conclusion, “half of the orchestra burst into tears and suddenly there was a kind of artistic bond that is just a miracle ... a profound connection with the Korean people was made tonight”.<sup>231</sup> Richard Tognetti, the current Artistic Director of the Australian Chamber Orchestra (ACO), also recounts an occasion when ACO played in Finland “in an old church with extraordinary acoustics. The audience was quiet – they barely clapped – but the intensity was profound”.<sup>232</sup> Such intimate settings may not have popular resonance in foreign or domestic publics, but they can influence the opinion of leaders and decision-makers in foreign audiences.

The arts are a strong focus of Australian cultural diplomacy, and DFAT offers some modest encouragement through its various grants programs. As noted in Chapter 2.2, the arts won the greatest share of ACDG’s funding in 2015-16,<sup>233</sup> when six of the twelve projects receiving grants were focussed on the performing arts and a further three on orchestral performances.<sup>234</sup> A study of the scholarship, public statements, policy documents and information available suggests that the way in which the Australian Government deploys the arts in cultural diplomacy has three discernible characteristics: an emphasis on Indigenous arts, a commercially-oriented approach, and a clear outward-looking focus. These characteristics are not unique to the arts but are consistent with Australian public diplomacy. This case study will now briefly look at each characteristic in turn.

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<sup>229</sup> Ben Eltham, *Platform Papers 48: When the Goal Posts Move*, (Redfern: Currency House, 2016), 3.

<sup>230</sup> Heather F. Hurlburt and Bill Ivey, *Cultural Diplomacy and the National Interest: In Search of a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Perspective* (Washington, D.C: The Curb Centre for Art, Enterprise and Public Policy at Vanderbilt University, 2005).

<sup>231</sup> Schneider, “The Unrealized Potential of Cultural Diplomacy,” 208.

<sup>232</sup> Ian Cockerill, “The Art of Diplomacy,” *Australia Voyeur*, May 2016, 134.

<sup>233</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program.”

<sup>234</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program.”

Australian cultural diplomacy emphasises the importance of Indigenous performers and performances. This is encouraged by DFAT, and is consistent with the Australian Government's focus on developing those aspects of national culture that are unique or special. And, as noted in Chapter 2.2, the arts offer great potential to highlight the beauty of Indigenous cultures.<sup>235</sup> The *Australia in the Asian Century* White Paper asserted that contemporary Indigenous arts are among the most highly regarded in the world. Indigenous music, painting and performing arts demonstrate the variety and uniqueness of Australian culture.<sup>236</sup> This emphasis on Indigenous arts also no doubt responds to the interest of foreign audiences, including in China. The arts as cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy have for some time had a strong economic focus, consistent with the general global trend toward cultural capitalism identified by both Gregory Paschalidis and Glade.<sup>237</sup> The current national government, with its focus on 'economic diplomacy', has accelerated this shift in approach, consistent with broader trends. The economic focus of the arts in Australian public diplomacy is particularly narrow, however, as it seeks to derive a commercial benefit that flows back specifically to the arts sector rather than to the broader economy. The role of the arts in Australian cultural diplomacy also reflects a broader tendency toward one-way flows. Most initiatives that receive governmental funding support cultural projection. The programs that do support foreign arts or artists coming to Australia, such as DFAT's *International Cultural Visits Program*, are also commercially motivated.<sup>238</sup> The Department of Communications and the Arts has carriage of an International and Cultural Diplomacy stream within the *Catalyst – Australian Arts and Culture Fund*, which is designed to increase the profile and reputation of Australia through international presentation of its arts and culture, and to strengthen cultural partnerships and international creative exchanges. The *Catalyst* program, however, favours initiatives that project Australian culture to foreign audiences. Of the forty-one grant recipients in 2016, only seven contained an inbound element, such as artistic residencies or collaborative pieces performed in Australia. Limited funding was provided for a project that helped South-East Asian writers to attend the NT Writers

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<sup>235</sup> Craik et al., "Paradoxes and Contradictions," 29.

<sup>236</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century*, 260.

<sup>237</sup> Paschalidis, "Exporting National Culture," 277–287.

<sup>238</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Public Diplomacy Strategy*, 4.



Festival in Darwin or Alice Springs, and Northern Territory writers to attend South-East Asian festivals including Ubud, Yogyakarta and Singapore.<sup>239</sup>

An intercultural approach to public diplomacy with the goal of mutual understanding would seek to develop more reciprocal two-way exchanges, expand its audience beyond elites, and ensure that artistic performances supported by the government were autonomous, free of political influence and designed to enhance intercultural understanding rather than satisfy a commercial imperative. There are some positive examples on which an intercultural can build.

Most artistic projects funded by the Commonwealth Government under the ACDGP, or through the various FCIs, are for Australian performances given to foreign audiences. Whilst 38 per cent of Australian artists have had their work seen overseas,<sup>240</sup> there is no analysis of the number of international artists who have performed in Australia. The Australian Government offers few incentives for companies to host international artists, and it is not a focus for the organisations that represent the arts community in Australia. Nonetheless, a commitment to reciprocity, collaboration and exchange is naturally, if slowly, emerging.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that artists and their companies increasingly seek to seize these opportunities to engage with foreign counterparts. Bethwyn Serow, Executive Director of the Australian Major Performing Arts Group (AMPAG), notes that performing overseas has “evolved from being about show to being about engagement and collaboration ... the opportunity to meet with local performers where the exchange is two-way ... this is about long-term engagement”.<sup>241</sup> When Rory Jeffes, Managing Director of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, reflected on the Sydney Symphony Orchestra’s first trip to China in 2009, he said he felt “a bit uncomfortable ... We sort of flew in, played music by long-dead western composers, and flew out again, often staying no more than one night in any particular city. It felt more like cultural tokenism than cultural exchange”. Jeffes subsequently developed an approach

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<sup>239</sup> Department of Communications and the Arts, *Catalyst – Australian Arts and Culture Fund: Guidelines* (Canberra: Australian Government, 2016).

<sup>240</sup> Australia Council for the Arts, *Arts Nation: An Overview of Australian Arts, 2015 Edition* (Surry Hills: Australian Government, 2015), 7.

<sup>241</sup> Serow quoted in Cockerill, “Art of Diplomacy,” 129–132.

founded on ideas of reciprocity and exchange, which was recently described by Australia's Deputy Ambassador as "a model of how to succeed in China".<sup>242</sup> These cultural lessons also appear to be applicable to commercial or diplomatic contexts.

For culture to enhance popular intercultural understanding in a domestic, as well as foreign audience, local festivals focussed on the artistic traditions of our neighbours appear to be important. There are two examples of successful festivals in Australia with such a focus: Adelaide's annual OzAsia Festival and Brisbane's Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art. It is useful to briefly consider both.

In the past ten years, the OzAsia Festival has become increasingly popular in South Australia. In 2016, it received a \$750,000 increase in funding from the South Australian government<sup>243</sup> and won a \$400,000 Commonwealth Government grant through the *Catalyst – Australian Arts and Culture Fund*.<sup>244</sup> The fund's International and Cultural Diplomacy Stream has the aim of expanding audiences for Australian artistic work and creative products, and provides financial support for tours, exhibitions, partnerships, exchanges and key visits to international festivals and markets. It also encourages two-way artistic exchanges and affirms the potential to receive funding for inbound collaborative activities with international partners.<sup>245</sup> The first objective listed in OzAsia's project description is "to engage local audiences".<sup>246</sup> This grant line therefore provides encouragement for companies to attract inbound performers and artists, and expose local audiences to foreign experiences. Consistent with the focus of the State Government, South Australia's sister state Shandong was the theme of the 2014 OzAsia Festival.

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<sup>242</sup> Rory Jeffes, "Speech given at Australia–China Inaugural Cultural Dialogue," speech, Adelaide, September 27, 2016.

<sup>243</sup> Jack Snelling, "OzAsia Expands with 300,000 New Visitors Expected," *Jay Weatherill: Premier of South Australia*, July 07, 2016, accessed October 9, 2016, <http://www.premier.sa.gov.au/index.php/jack-snelling-news-releases/943-ozasia-expands-with-300-000-new-visitors-expected>.

<sup>244</sup> Suzie Keen, "Funding Boost for SA Arts Projects," *Indaily*, May 3, 2016, accessed October 8, 2016, <http://indaily.com.au/arts-and-culture/2016/05/03/funding-boost-for-sa-arts-projects/>.

<sup>245</sup> Department of Communication and the Arts, *Catalyst*, 5.

<sup>246</sup> Department of Communication and the Arts, "International and Cultural Diplomacy Recipients", Australian Government, accessed October 9, 2016, <https://www.arts.gov.au/funding-and-support/catalyst-australian-arts-and-culture-fund/international-and-cultural-diplomacy-recipients>.

OzAsia appeals to both elites and a popular audience. In 2016, there were 49 major events, including 35 Australian premiere performances, which involved 360 professional artists and 300 community artists and was attended by over 56,000 people at 220 performances, seven exhibitions, 16 film screenings, 59 workshops, and events. Over 21,000 people attended the Moon Lantern Festival. Its popularity has not diminished its appeal to elite audiences, the natural constituency of the arts and its advantage as an instrument of diplomacy. Collaboration with Shandong is ongoing. In 2016, the OzAsia Festival hosted artists, industry leaders, ambassadors and government representatives from more than 13 countries across the region, including the Vice Governor of Shandong Province.<sup>247</sup> OzAsia also shows that SNGs can contribute strongly to public diplomacy, and are capable of taking a proactive approach.

The Asia Pacific Triennial (APT) of Contemporary Art held at the Queensland Art Gallery is another excellent example of a local, Asia-focussed event that has captured the popular imagination. The first Asia Pacific Triennial (APT1), in 1993, attracted around 60,000 attendees and 76 artists from 13 countries and included parallel production of a publication titled *Tradition and Change: Contemporary Art of Asia and the Pacific*.<sup>248</sup> In 2016, APT8 attracted 604,904 attendees and 83 artists from 36 countries.<sup>249</sup> Performances included actions, kinetic art and figurative painting, and depicted struggles of all forms: political, sexual, social and physical. Various pieces depicted the horrors of the Khmer Rouge, protests in Manila in the 1970s, the Occupy Bangkok movement of 2013-14, and the politics of abstraction in China.<sup>250</sup> This level of local engagement in an Asia-focussed event is an excellent template that could be applied in other cities and regional centres.

The attendance at APT8, and to a lesser extent OzAsia, suggests that provocative, quality exhibitions have the potential to reach a broader public. The common belief that Australians do not share a similar attachment to the arts may be overstated. *Arts*

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<sup>247</sup> Douglas Gautier, email to Adelaide Festival Centre supporters, 9 October 2016.

<sup>248</sup> Diane Losche, "The Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art: Global and Local in Australia," *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 2 (2016), 150.

<sup>249</sup> Queensland Art Gallery | Gallery of Modern Art, "Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art," accessed January 7, 2017, <https://www.gagoma.qld.gov.au/about/our-story/apt>.

<sup>250</sup> Tim Walsh, "8<sup>th</sup> Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art," *ArtAsiaPacific* no. 97 (2016), 150.

*Nation* found that 85% of Australians believe that the arts make for a richer and more meaningful life. Over one-third of Australians participate actively in the arts more than six times per year.<sup>251</sup> What is less clear, however, is whether access to the arts appeals to all socio-demographic groups, which hold attitudes that can create an enabling – or disabling – environment for effective foreign policy. *Arts Nation* found that Australians with an income of less than \$20,000 are as likely to engage in creative participation, but far less likely to attend shows or performances, with 52 per cent of Australians in this income bracket attending as opposed to a benchmark of 71 per cent of all Australians. Income made the biggest difference to attendance – far more than having a disability or being born in a non-English-speaking country.<sup>252</sup> More still needs to be done for the arts to develop a broader appeal, but the upward trend in attendances at the APT is positive.

For performances to contribute to popular intercultural understanding, audiences would need to be assured that they were not propaganda pieces. The risk of political influence is real when festivals, exhibitions and tours are reliant upon government funding for their existence. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this risk has not affected local events. Joseph Mitchell, the Artistic Director of the OzAsia Festival, agrees that the funding his organisation received from state and federal governments did not shape the content or message of the performances, stressing that OzAsia is “autonomous in our artistic program decisions”. Likewise, Darwin Festival’s Artistic Director Andrew Ross, who has also worked for the Indonesian Government, believes that he was not “aware of a situation where a festival or a presenter, certainly not one where I’ve been involved in, has found a conflict between what you choose to present and what you can get support for”.<sup>253</sup>

The success of the *Cultural Warriors* exhibition further demonstrates the importance of art as a cultural expression that reflects critically on Australian culture. Gay McDonald’s analysis of *Cultural Warriors* notes that exhibitions sent abroad often celebrate cultural achievements, but the curator of this exhibition, Brenda Croft, used

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<sup>251</sup> Australia Council for the Arts, *Arts Nation*, 7.

<sup>252</sup> Australia Council for the Arts, *Arts Nation*, 7.

<sup>253</sup> Richard Watts, “Soft Power: the Arts of Diplomacy,” *ArtsHub*, August 16, 2016, accessed October 11, 2016, <http://www.artshub.com.au/news-article/features/public-policy/richard-watts/soft-power-the-arts-of-diplomacy-251935>.

it to address less positive issues, such as Indigenous deaths in custody. Although the project was supported by the Australian Government, its critical nature could not be perceived as propaganda.<sup>254</sup> To shine a light on Indigenous culture is to invite criticism of the plight of Indigenous Australia, which brings credibility to a government willing to openly discuss domestic issues rather than hide them from view.

The focus on the visual and performing arts in Australian cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy is limiting, however. Literature is another important cultural expression. Madame de Staël described verbal art as an expression of a people, and comparative literature as a reflection on national differences,<sup>255</sup> whilst Le Clézio argues that literature is duty-bound to be a place of exchange,<sup>256</sup> a path to open, honest, intercultural exchange.<sup>257</sup> By way of contrast, closed societies and their governments – intent on imposing ideology – limit and deny literature as a place of open intercultural interaction. In *Reading Lolita in Tehran*, Azar Nafisi describes how she “lived in a culture that denied any merit to literary works, considering them important only when they were handmaidens to something seemingly more urgent – namely ideology”.<sup>258</sup> Literature can transcend cultures, make closed minds open, and encourage an insular people to look beyond the narrow borders of their national experience.

Although China has a deep appreciation for the performing arts, it also understands the importance of literature. The national literature of China, a country in which Confucian core values define ideal leaders as those who have a broad cultural knowledge, reveals much about the country’s culture and government. *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* by Luo Guanzhong is a classic novel that explains, and helps to inform, modern political practice. Kissinger noted that “Mao ... is said to have pored over it almost obsessively in his youth”,<sup>259</sup> and President Xi Jinping regularly quotes Chinese literature and also uses his speeches in foreign countries to express his

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<sup>254</sup> McDonald, “Australian Foreign Policy under the Abbott Government,” 20–27.

<sup>255</sup> Madame de Staël, cited in Huan Saussy, *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalisation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 6.

<sup>256</sup> Martine Antle, Roger Célestin & Eliane DalMolin, “J.M.G. le Clézio or the Challenges of the Intercultural,” *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 19, no. 2, (2015), 124

<sup>257</sup> Martha van der Drift, “Why Interculturality? – Interview with Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clezio,” *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies* 19, no. 2 (2015), 135.

<sup>258</sup> Azar Nafisi, *Reading Lolita in Tehran: A Memoir* (Melbourne: Penguin, 2015), 25.

<sup>259</sup> Henry Kissinger, *On China* (London: Allen Lane, 2011), 6.

familiarity with their literature in addition to their history and arts.<sup>260</sup> Understanding a country's national literature helps to develop an understanding of its culture, and aids interaction more effectively on all levels, and literature has been successfully deployed in diplomacy between Australia and China.

Yet no ACDGP grants in 2016 were awarded to projects focussed on literature. Literature was also largely ignored by FCIs, with some exceptions. The Australia-Korea Foundation awarded a \$22,000 grant to an intercultural poetry exchange which "seeks to reinforce positive images of both Australia and Korea through the arts", a project designed to "strengthen long-term intercultural relationships between key regional partners and to develop networks between poets and academics from both countries through a series of high profile outcomes: readings, seminars, lectures, co-writing projects, workshops, publications".<sup>261</sup> The Australia Japan Foundation (AJF) awarded \$23,000 to *Masterpieces of Contemporary Australian Literature*, a project designed "to translate contemporary Australian novels into Japanese and publish them in Japan", and to fund the authors of the novels to travel to Japan and "have a public conference of Australian literature". The Australia-China Council (ACC) awarded \$30,000 to a project on *Sun Yat-Sen and UOW: Developing Education through Global literatures*. Finally, the Australia-India Council (AIC) awarded \$33,000 to the Melbourne Writers Festival and Teamwork Arts (India) to deliver an Indian-Australian literature festival within the forthcoming 2017 Asia-Pacific Triennial of Performing Arts.<sup>262</sup>

A total of \$108,000 in funding was therefore provided across all FCIs in 2016 for four projects encouraging exchange through literature. This represents less than three per cent of the funding allocated to all 106 projects funded through DFAT's FCIs, indicating a modest understanding of the potential of literature to "project a positive contemporary image of Australia", the core stated objective of the grants program. There is, however, an ongoing focus on Australian literature in Australian Studies

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<sup>260</sup> Lu Xing, "Rhetorical Construction of the Ideal Chinese Leader in President Xi Jinping's Overseas Speeches," *China Media Research* 13, no. 1 (2017), 74–76.

<sup>261</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Grant Outcomes," accessed November 9 2017, <http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/business-opportunities/grant-opportunities/Pages/grant-outcomes.aspx>.

<sup>262</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Grant Outcomes."

Centres (ASC) throughout China, which provides an excellent model for how literature could be deployed to further understanding of Australia in the region.

The relevance of ASCs should be considered in its proper, historic context. Ouyang Yu asserts that Australian literature in China has evolved in four distinct phases. In the early years of the twentieth century, it was not distinguished from English or American literature. By the 1930s, Australian literature was considered *ruoxiao*, or a 'weak and small nation's literature'. The early years of the People's Republic in the 1950s and 1960s saw a growing interest in Communist and proletarian writing, which increased interest in writing from Australia, and there was a dramatic increase in attention after 1976, a period in which Australian literature has flourished across all genres.<sup>263</sup> There was a renewed interest in foreign literature in China following the end of the Cultural Revolution. This timing was ideal for Australian literature, as Patrick White had won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1973, after which foreign literary critics treated Australian literature with greater respect.<sup>264</sup> Anhui University had begun to research Australian literature in 1979, the same year that the Chinese government sent nine teachers to Sydney University to study Australian literature. Within a few years of their return to China in 1981, three members of the group had founded ASCs, in Beijing (1983), Shanghai (1985) and Suzhou (1991). Other ASCs were soon founded at the Sun Yat-Sen University (1994) and Wuhan University (2005) – all with seed funding from DFAT's Australia-China Council. There are now 31 ASCs in China,<sup>265</sup> out of fifty across the world.<sup>266</sup> Translations of Australian novels, short stories and poetry increased dramatically,<sup>267</sup> and there exists today a far greater range of Australian literature available in China, including children's books, Aboriginal literature and popular novels.<sup>268</sup> Since the 1990s, there has also been a marked increase in critical studies of Australian literature. Wang Guanlin draws a direct

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<sup>263</sup> Ouyang Yu, "A Century of Oz Lit in China: A critical overview (1906-2008)," *Antipodes* 25, no. 1 (2011), 65.

<sup>264</sup> Yu, "A Century of Oz Lit in China," 67.

<sup>265</sup> The list is available on the website of the Australian Embassy China, <http://china.embassy.gov.au/bjng/studycenter.html>.

<sup>266</sup> Byrne and Hall, "Realising Australia's International Education," 431.

<sup>267</sup> Wang Labao, "Australian Literature in China," *Southerly* 60, no. 3 (2000), 118.

<sup>268</sup> Yu, "A Century of Oz Lit in China," 67.

parallel between the growth of ASCs and the increase in emphasis on Australian literature within foreign language literature studies in China.<sup>269</sup>

This increased exposure was directly related to the seed funding provided through the ACC. It is unfortunate that this model has not been meaningfully deployed in other countries. When compared to China, the footprint of Australian literature in India, a literary nation but one with which Australia has only recently had formal cultural exchanges,<sup>270</sup> is extremely modest. There has not been a strategy developed by the Australian Government or a sustained attempt to disseminate Australian literature in India, which is home to a rich, centuries-old literary tradition shared across many languages, each with vibrant independent characters. Such is the shallow focus of the bilateral relationship on a mutual love of cricket that other possibilities are often overlooked. The modest presence of Australian literature in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries owed nothing to government-led initiatives, but was the product of naturally occurring interactions between peoples and businesses in the two countries. For example, Australia has participated in the Kolkata Book Fair (KBF), which is not only a display of books but also a series of lectures, poetry readings and painting exhibitions, since 2003, when Australian authors Peter Carey, Kim Scott and Peter Goldsworthy were attractions. Australia was given the status of ‘guest-of-honour’ country in 2006 and was a focus in 2007.<sup>271</sup>

The Australian Government continues to support exchanges between Australia and India with a focus on literature through its grants funding streams, but while a few unrelated exchanges are important, they cannot replace a sustained policy of dissemination of Australian literature. In 1995, the Australian High Commission in India gathered a group of academics from different parts of India for a three-day meeting to formulate an ideal Australian literature syllabus for Indian universities.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Wang Guanglin, “A Hard-Won Success: Australian Literary Studies in China,” *Antipodes* 25, no. 1 (2011), 53.

<sup>270</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Australia-India Council,” Australian Government, accessed November 12, 2016, <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/foundations-councils-institutes/australia-india-council/pages/australia-india-council.aspx>.

<sup>271</sup> Deb Narayan Bandyopadhyay, “Selling Australian Literature in India: Kolkata Book Fair as Cultural Diplomacy?” *Antipodes* 25, no. 1 (2011), 26–27.

<sup>272</sup> Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Australia-India Council and Australian High Commission, *Roundtable discussion on Australia India relations: arranged by the Australian High Commission, New Delhi and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library on behalf of the Australia India Council* (New Delhi: Public Affairs Section, Australian High Commission, 1995).



An Australian Studies Centre at the University of Kerala subsequently became active, and<sup>273</sup> in 2001 Indira Gandhi National Open University introduced courses in Australian Literature, Australian Government and Politics.<sup>274</sup> The Australian Government has also encouraged Indian scholars with an existing interest in Australian literature. Established in 2000, the annual meetings of the Indian Association for the Study of Australia (IASA), encouraged by the Australian Government, may mark the beginning of a significant shift in attitudes and attention from the subcontinent to Australia.<sup>275</sup>

Australia and Japan are economically, strategically and culturally important, but as Broinowski notes, the amount of research that they produce about each other is small and declining.<sup>276</sup> This decline can in part be attributed to the increasingly insular outlook evident in both Australia and Japan in recent years compared to the generations from the 1960s to the 1980s, which aspired to know more about foreign cultures through literature, overseas travel and foreign language education.<sup>277</sup> This declining interest in foreign cultures makes it more difficult to change the dominant perceptions of other cultures – and the dominant perceptions of Australia in Japan are generally not positive. The Japanese are unable to define Australian culture, and some believe that Indigenous arts are all that distinguish Australia from other Western societies.<sup>278</sup> Literature is an avenue through which a better understanding of Australia could be encouraged in Japan, but in comparison to the ACC-encouraged study of Australian literature across China, the Australian government has not used literature to further its diplomatic objectives in Japan in a meaningful way. There are occasional examples of unique initiatives that have received funding from DFAT: as noted earlier, the Australia-Japan Foundation in 2016 funded *Masterpieces of Contemporary Australian Literature*, a project aiming to translate and publish contemporary Australian novels in Japan. But whereas there are now 31 ASCs in China, there are

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<sup>273</sup> Bandyopadhyay, "Selling Australian Literature in India," 26.

<sup>274</sup> Indian Association for the Study of Australia homepage: <http://www.iasa-india.org/aboutus.htm>.

<sup>275</sup> Peter Mayer and Purnendra Jain, "Beyond Cricket: Australia-India Evolving Relations," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 1 (2010), 138-139.

<sup>276</sup> Alison Broinowski, "Contesting Civilisations: Literature of Australia in Japan and Singapore," *Antipodes* 25, no. 1 (2011), 40.

<sup>277</sup> Yasue Arimitsu, "The Contemporary State of Academic Appraisal of Australian Literature in Japanese Universities," *Antipodes* 25, no. 1 (2011), 7.

<sup>278</sup> Broinowski "Contesting Civilisations," 40.

Australia-related courses in only 10 universities in Japan, and Australian literature is only taught in 5 of these. Australian literature has been a niche pursuit for individual academics,<sup>279</sup> including a small group of scholars based in Kansai who translate selected works of Australian fiction.<sup>280</sup>

Worse, the value of the ASCs focussed on the dissemination of Australian literature in China was questioned in a review by Professor Susan Street, published in November 2013. This review asked the ACC to “consider how extensive the disciplinary mix should be”. Noting that ASCs currently focus on language, linguistics and literature, it recommended that “consideration should be given to expanding [the disciplinary mix] to include education, economics, law, history, politics, environmental studies, business, Sino-Australian relations and museum studies”.<sup>281</sup> This pragmatic, instrumentalist approach would dilute the value of each of the suggested areas and the study of Australian literature, the one resounding success of ASCs in China – which has ironically also yielded an economic dividend through a strong and growing market for Australian books.

The development of Australian literature in China is exceptional. In a speech made to the Australia China Business Council in June 2017, Foreign Minister Bishop said that in 2016, China became the leading market for Australian book-publishing sales, and had developed a particular taste for Australian children’s books, noting that many of the Graeme Base’s illustrated books have been translated into Chinese. Bishop suggested that interaction between Australia and China was “deepening in unexpected ways”.<sup>282</sup> Unexpected for some, perhaps, but certainly not unplanned; rather, they have been built over many years on the foundation laid by the ASCs.

Australia’s efforts to encourage the reading of Chinese and other foreign literatures are more modest. Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges wrote that “good readers are poets as singular, and as awesome, as great authors themselves ... reading ... is an activity

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<sup>279</sup> Broinowski, “Contesting Civilisations,” 40.

<sup>280</sup> Alison Broinowski, “We Are Relocating: Introduction by the Guest Editor to the Special Issue: Australia and Asia,” *Antipodes* 25, no. 1 (2011), 5.

<sup>281</sup> Susan Street, *Review: The Australian Studies in China Program* (Canberra: Australian Government, 2013), 13.

<sup>282</sup> Bishop, “Australia China Business Council Networking Day.”

subsequent to writing – more resigned, more civil, more intellectual”.<sup>283</sup> *Arts Nation: An Overview of Australian Arts* found that 87% of Australians read literature,<sup>284</sup> which suggests that there is potential for foreign literature to reach a popular audience in Australia and enhance its intercultural understanding. There are disparate programs and initiatives designed to increase access to foreign literature, such as the Australia India Institute (AII), which was established with \$8 million from the Australian Government to disseminate novels and short stories by Indian writers with the aim of enriching Australian students’ understanding of Indian literature.<sup>285</sup> Such institutes are important, but are not a part of an overarching strategy.

Translation is a constant barrier to popular access to foreign literature in Australia, consistent with the situation in other English-speaking countries. Jaivin drew on data from the United States, where in 2010 publishers produced 453 works translated from foreign texts, out of a total of 200,000 books produced during that year. She notes that while it is hard to find comparable figures in Australia, the situation appears to be even more dire.<sup>286</sup> For foreign literature to enhance popular intercultural understanding in Australia, a serious commitment to the translation of foreign texts is required.

If the arts or literature fail to capture the popular imagination, could other instruments that have been used in formal cultural exchange in the past, such as language learning or international education, help enhance popular intercultural understanding today? Of these instruments, language predates formal education as a cultural carrier. Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued that words distinguish man from animals, and languages distinguish nations from each other: “You don’t know where a man is from until after he has spoken”.<sup>287</sup> Words carry ideas and knowledge, and convey information essential to creating understanding between peoples. The word came after the deed, but as Freud noted, it was “cultural progress when the deed

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<sup>283</sup> Jorge Luis Borges, *Collected Fictions* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), ??

<sup>284</sup> Australian Council for the Arts, *Arts Nation*, 7.

<sup>285</sup> Larissa McLean-Davies, “Why India Matters: Literature and Global Citizens,” *Teacher* no. 207 (2009), 31.

<sup>286</sup> Linda Jaivin, “Found in Translation: in praise of a plural world,” *Quarterly Essay*, Issue 52 (2013), 27.

<sup>287</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essai sur l’Origine des Langues* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 59.

became the word ... the word was originally a spell, a magical act, and it has retained much of its power".<sup>288</sup> In diplomacy, words and language are potent.

Arndt asserted that diplomacy evolved in parallel with language. This evolution allowed for cooperation between large groups by the third century B.C., and helped diplomacy to move beyond chants and dances to convey ideas and permit forward-planning, self-awareness and reflection.<sup>289</sup> But if language has served as an instrument of exchange since the beginning of organised human societies, then since the formation of the nation state it has also been used as an instrument of cultural promotion. The French began to export the French language early as the nineteenth century, and Italy, Germany and Britain followed by supporting the teaching of their national languages along important trade routes. Language learning was made available through the British Council, Alliance Française, Dante Alighieri and the Goethe Institute as part of a broader cultural nationalism. Each country promoted the centrality of language to culture, and was part of the *mission civilisatrice* of European colonialism.<sup>290</sup> These bodies each have modest footprints in Australia, but are independent and not aligned with larger academic institutions such as universities. Consequently, they attract only a relatively small number of committed learners. More recently, China has begun deploying the Office of Chinese Language Council International (Han Ban) and its Confucius Institutes, which are embedded in universities and schools. By 2014, Australia accommodated 13 of the 440 Confucius Institutes worldwide.<sup>291</sup> Sympathetic scholars such as Pan Su-Yan maintain that Confucius Institutes are committed to world peace, mutual understanding and tolerance,<sup>292</sup> even if they have the same objectives as their European equivalents established when cultural nationalism was considered normal, but the establishment of Confucius Institutes in Australia was initially greeted with suspicion.<sup>293</sup> But while

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<sup>288</sup> Sigmund Freud, cited in Ruth Wodak, "Language, Power and Identity," *Language Teaching* 45, no. 2 (2012), 215.

<sup>289</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, 1.

<sup>290</sup> Paschalidis, "Exporting National Culture," 277–279.

<sup>291</sup> Geoff Wade, "Confucius Institutes and Chinese Soft Power in Australia," Parliament of Australia, November 24, 2014, accessed November 20, 2016,

[http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/FlagPost/2014/November/Confucius\\_Institutes\\_and\\_Chinese\\_soft\\_power\\_in\\_Australia](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/FlagPost/2014/November/Confucius_Institutes_and_Chinese_soft_power_in_Australia).

<sup>292</sup> Su-Yan Pan, "Confucius Institute Project: China's Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power Projection," *Asian Education and Development Studies* 2, no. 1 (2013), 22–33.

<sup>293</sup> Pan, "Confucius Institute Project," 24.

Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classrooms provide additional opportunities to learn Mandarin in Australia, nothing can replace a commitment to language learning in Australian schools.

An effective, publicly-accessible program of foreign language learning would make mainstream audiences more receptive to foreign cultures and better prepared for intercultural interactions, and will contribute to greater intercultural understanding. However, there are reasons to avoid including language education in the category of public diplomacy, including: the historic failures of languages education in Australia; the inherent challenges faced by Australians – and Anglophones more generally – in acquiring a second language; and issues of intergovernmental responsibility. The first two of these problems are particularly relevant to the teaching of Chinese in Australia: it seems that the more Australian governments emphasise the importance of second-language acquisition, the steeper the decline of language learning. Cruickshank identified at least 67 government language policies, reports and reviews over a period of four decades, the result of which was a decline in the number of Year 12 students in Australia studying a foreign language from 44 per cent in 1968 to 12 per cent in 2013.<sup>294</sup> Australia presently has the second-lowest level of second language acquisition in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

The relative importance of a bilateral relationship to Australia's security or economic future has little impact on the appetite for learning a language or resilience in coping with the inherent challenges of doing so. Indeed, Mark Harrison argues that Australia's ardent enthusiasm for the Chinese market sets a limit on the political, cultural and subjective dimensions of the bilateral relationship, an issue which ultimately renders it strictly transactional in nature. There appears to be little appetite for the study of Chinese. The number of non-Chinese Year 12 students studying Chinese has decreased by 20 per cent between 2008 and 2016,<sup>295</sup> a period in which awareness of the importance of the bilateral relationship actually increased. Only

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<sup>294</sup> Jaivin, "Found in Translation," 25.

<sup>295</sup> Jane Orton, "Promoting Chinese a Necessity, Not an Option for Australia," *East Asia Forum*, August 5, 2016, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/08/05/promoting-chinese-a-necessity-not-an-option-for-australia/comment-page-1/>.

4,500 of around 200,000 university graduates in Australia in 2015 acquired Chinese language qualifications.<sup>296</sup>

Second-language learning is difficult and time consuming, particularly for English-speakers seeking to learn languages such as Mandarin, Japanese and Arabic. Mandarin classes in Australian high schools continues to produce a drop-out rate of 95 per cent.<sup>297</sup> There is a growing understanding that immersion is required for students from English-speaking backgrounds to reach proficiency, and some enlightened state governments increasingly look to provide this option. The Government of South Australia, for example, announced in April 2016 that William Light School R-12 would become a bilingual school from 2017.<sup>298</sup> Immersion programs provide a pathway to proficiency, but are currently only available to a small number of students.

As discussed in Chapter 2.3, a core goal of intercultural diplomacy is to enhance the intercultural understanding of the broader public, not just a select few. Scholarships for high school students to study overseas and experience language immersion will result in more Australians being proficient in a second language, but would require leadership, persuasion and investment. It is difficult to foresee any state or territory government making the investment required to create immersion programs, such as bilingual schools and overseas study programs, that are accessible to more than a small minority of students. It is therefore important to consider whether the agency responsible for foreign affairs, DFAT, can help fill this funding void.

As an instrument of foreign policy, DFAT has not traditionally been involved in domestic programs that offer incentives for Australians to acquire a second language. In the 2016 ACDGP program and FCI grant rounds, for example, no grants were given

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<sup>296</sup> M. Harrison, "Why Don't Australians Study Chinese?" *East Asia Forum*, October 22, 2016, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/10/22/why-dont-australians-study-chinese/>.

<sup>297</sup> Orton, "Promoting Chinese a Necessity."

<sup>298</sup> Tim Williams, "William Light School R-12 Named as SA's First Bi-lingual Chinese School," *The Advertiser*, April 7, 2016, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/news/south-australia/william-light-school-r12-named-as-sas-first-bilingual-chinese-school/news-story/2fc03f23e820aaa5f23f7a6b910e0723>. The South Australian Government subsequently announced two bilingual French schools; see Tim Williams, "Highgate School and Unley High to be South Australia's First Bi-lingual French Schools," *The Advertiser*, September 19, 2016, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/news/south-australia/highgate-school-and-unley-high-to-be-south-australias-first-bilingual-french-schools/news-story/7a68888cf7cd936215d153dab767dfd6>.

to projects focussed on Chinese language-learning, and only one program focussed on language learning received any funding at all: the Australia-Indonesia Association of NSW Inc. was awarded \$5,000 for a ‘High School Indonesian Language Scholarship’ designed to promote language learning by rewarding high-achieving students with a language immersion program in Yogyakarta.<sup>299</sup>

DFAT does have carriage of the New Colombo Plan (NCP), which encourages students to undertake language study as one of its objectives. The number of NCP scholars is small – around 100 in 2017.<sup>300</sup> Very few opportunities, therefore, are made available through funding provided by the principal government agency responsible for Australian foreign affairs. Although the *Australia in the Asian Century* White Paper asserted that language education required leadership and commitment from the government as well as school systems and schools,<sup>301</sup> the lack of focus on language education in DFAT’s funding programs suggests that language acquisition sits within the responsibilities of the education – rather than foreign affairs – ministry and department.

Students do not need to reach proficiency for there to be value in language education. It is grounded in cultural awareness,<sup>302</sup> so even students do not gain proficiency in a foreign language, learning it can nonetheless make an important contribution to their intercultural understanding. Yet second-language learning struggles to maintain its position in an increasingly crowded education curriculum. It is becoming less popular in both schools and universities at a time when successive governments are placing greater emphasis on the need for Australians to prepare for a more interconnected world. The sum of these efforts is insufficient for second language acquisition to be considered key to a policy designed to develop popular intercultural understanding of Asia, and particularly of China, in Australia – even if it should be considered one of the many windows through which another culture is made accessible, and an

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<sup>299</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Grants Program.”

<sup>300</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “New Colombo Plan: Scholarship Program Guidelines 2017,” Australian Government, accessed November 8, 2017, <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/new-colombo-plan/scholarship-program/Pages/scholarship-program-guidelines-2017.aspx>.

<sup>301</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia in the Asian Century*, 171.

<sup>302</sup> Yuko Kinoshita, “Want to Get Ahead this Century? Learn an Asian Language,” *The Conversation*, April 15, 2012, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://theconversation.com/want-to-get-ahead-this-century-learn-an-asian-language-6247>.

important step for specialists in the diplomatic corps and in other government agencies such as defence.

The importance of language – and second languages – as a tool for diplomats has even been a subject of debate. When asked to become Australia’s Ambassador to Japan at the completion of his stint in China, Stephen FitzGerald stated that “as ambassador to Japan without the language and the background study I’d feel perpetually ill-equipped and less effective”.<sup>303</sup> Another former Australian Ambassador to Beijing, Geoff Raby, has argued a different position, that “to speak Chinese is not to know China.” In a speech given in 2011 entitled ‘What does it mean to be China-literate’, Raby asserted that to learn Chinese was “immensely valuable but was neither necessary nor sufficient for understanding China”.<sup>304</sup> FitzGerald did accept that “there are many ambassadors who served outstandingly in countries where they didn’t speak the language”.<sup>305</sup> The diplomatic career of Mandarin-speaking Kevin Rudd, for example, started with a posting in Sweden.

If there are challenges in implementing an effective language education policy in Australia, there has been no apparent effort to leverage Australia’s linguistic diversity as a diplomatic asset. The most widely-spoken language in Australia, English, was sourced from the other side of the world, and Australia does not have a single, unifying Indigenous language. Neither has it followed the lead of China or various European countries to establish ‘Australia Foundations’, although Broinowski has identified two occasions on which proposals to do so were raised to the government executive. The first proposal was sponsored by former Foreign Minister Hasluck in 1967, and the second was suggested by the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Alan Renouf, in 1974 but rejected by Gough Whitlam, who was both prime minister and foreign minister at the time.<sup>306</sup> If this concept were to be revisited, it could include the teaching of Indigenous languages and thinking as part of a broader effort to enhance understanding of Australian languages, literature, music – and sport.

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<sup>303</sup> FitzGerald, *Comrade Ambassador*, 158.

<sup>304</sup> John Garnaut, “Departing Ambassador Flays Rudd,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, May 19, 2011, accessed November 8, 2011, <http://www.smh.com.au/national/departing-ambassador-flays-rudd-20110518-1et6o.html>.

<sup>305</sup> FitzGerald, *Comrade Ambassador*, 158.

<sup>306</sup> Broinowski, “Public Diplomacy and Australian Practice,” 41–42.



If instruments of intercultural exchange such as the performing arts fail to capture the popular imagination, while literature is gradually declining in popularity and second language acquisition too challenging for most Australians, education remains a vehicle through which young Australians particularly are likely to interact with people from other cultures, especially China. Educational exchange played an important role in the evolution of formal cultural exchanges. It was the earliest form of official cultural diplomacy for many nations such as France and the United States. From its beginnings as a single nation state, France has used culture in the service of diplomacy. Francis I (1496 – 1547), who forged France’s national identity, believed that education was the key to the fledgling state’s future. He founded the Collège de France (originally Collège Royale) in 1530, and under his rule not only did French students study abroad, but France also welcomed foreign students. This foundation has endured, as France remains deeply committed to education as an expression of its universalism, encouraging students to flow in both directions.<sup>307</sup>

Education was also the foundation of the formal cultural diplomacy of the United States. The Fulbright Scholarship is an outstanding example of cultural diplomacy. Senator Fulbright believed that education “is in reality one of the basic factors in international relations – quite as important as diplomacy and military power in its implications for war and peace”.<sup>308</sup> The Fulbrights were a leading light which attracted many others to the cause. Richard Arndt showed that the initiators of this movement understood that educators needed to be sensitive, educated and adaptive listeners, and from the beginning there was a focus on balance, exchange, reciprocity and bidirectional flows.<sup>309</sup> This reflects the highest aspirations of intercultural diplomacy. Australia has in more recent times also grasped the potential of education, even if its early efforts reflected a mind informed by its colonial influence.

Throughout the twentieth century, Australia was sporadically involved in education exchange programs. Some were outward looking, while others involved foreign students learning in Australia. Until 2013, however, there were no policies encouraging a flow of students to and from China. This thesis will first briefly consider

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<sup>307</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, 7–8.

<sup>308</sup> J.M. Mitchell, *International Cultural Relations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 9.

<sup>309</sup> Arndt, *first Resort of Kings*, 18–23.

some examples of the education exchange programs in which Australia has participated.

Australia's initial exposure to organised programs of exchange through education was the product of its membership of the British Commonwealth. Since its inception in 1902, Australian students have been recipients of the Rhodes Scholarship, an international postgraduate awarded to non-British students to allow them to study at the University of Oxford. It was designed to achieve outcomes inconsistent with modern attitudes and Australia's current circumstances: in his last will and testament its founder, Cecil John Rhodes, dedicated it to "the furtherance of the British Empire, for the bringing of the whole uncivilised world under British rule ... [and] for the making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire.."<sup>310</sup> The Rhodes Scholarship could therefore be considered public diplomacy for the British Empire, and Australia's participation reflected its cultural affinities of that period.

Australia eschewed early opportunities for b-directional educational exchanges with China. Mei-Fen Kuo and John FitzGerald, for example, revealed that the Chinese Consul organised passports for around 400 Chinese students to study in Australia between 1920 and 1925, successfully petitioning the Australian Government to issue visas.<sup>311</sup> An invitation was made to the Australian Government to reciprocate; however, it was declined, and the program only lasted for five years. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that a conscious effort to encourage Australian students to study in China was made.

Australia was a willing and active participant in the Colombo Plan, which started in 1951 with an initial emphasis on technical cooperation. It was the first meaningful attempt by the Australian Government to participate in a region-wide program designed to use education as a tool for engagement with Asia. Asian students trained in Australia and Australian instructors were sent to Asia. The Colombo Plan, which was not uniquely Australian but a series of bilateral agreements across Asia which took on a multilateral veneer, promoted mutual benefit and understanding. Lowe

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<sup>310</sup> Cecil Rhodes, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes* (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1902), 29–35.

<sup>311</sup> Mei-Fen Kuo and John Fitzgerald, "Chinese Students in White Australia: State, Community, and Individual Responses to the Student Visa Program, 1920-25," *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 2 (2016), 259–277.

asserted that it “created important opportunities for constructive engagement with Asia, for creating mutual engagement with the Asian peoples”.<sup>312</sup> Several aspects of the program enhanced the quality and volume of intercultural interactions it produced: for example, visiting students were placed in Australian communities and homes for the duration of their stay. The resulting experience of intercultural exchange was illuminating and meaningful for both students and hosts.<sup>313</sup>

As the Cold War context came to dominate Australia’s foreign policy, however, another dimension of the Colombo Plan gradually came into focus. By the 1950s, anti-Communist thinking had come to influence cultural exchange programs around the world.<sup>314</sup> The Lacy-Zarubin Agreement on Exchanges in Cultural, Technical and Educational Fields, for example, was the first accord signed between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, but America soon started to put limits on exchanges, as it understood that the Soviet Union benefited more from the agreement than it did.<sup>315</sup> The focus of educational exchanges in the United States therefore gradually shifted from balanced exchange to cultural projection.<sup>316</sup> Australia’s approach to the Colombo Plan also reflected the changing attitudes of the Cold War. Australia established an information and publicity unit in Colombo which produced an assortment of literature, including bulletins and pamphlets. Colombo Plan funding was used to develop army wirelasses in Vietnam, train of Thai and United Nations security forces, and bring anti-Communist leaders to Australia.<sup>317</sup> As the Australian Government’s policy shifted from cultural to public diplomacy, mutual exchange ceased to be integral to the Plan. Understanding succumbed to persuasion and mutual benefit to a narrowly-defined national interest. In 1953, a meeting of the consultative committee made information and publicity central to the work of the Colombo Plan,<sup>318</sup> making the shifting objectives clear.

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<sup>312</sup> David Lowe, *The Colombo Plan and ‘Soft’ Regionalism in the Asia-Pacific: Australian and New Zealand Cultural Diplomacy in the 1950s and 1960s* (Geelong: Alfred Deakin Research Institute, 2010), 8–16.

<sup>313</sup> Byrne and Hall, “Realising Australia’s International Education,” 425.

<sup>314</sup> Lowe, *The Colombo Plan*, 10.

<sup>315</sup> Nigel Gould-Davis, “The Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy,” *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 2 (2003), 206–207.

<sup>316</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, xi–xii.

<sup>317</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, 9–10.

<sup>318</sup> Arndt, *First Resort of Kings*, 12.

Australia, then, followed a similar path to that of the United States, gradually moving to a more instrumentalist approach during the Cold War. But while the goals of Australia's participation in the Colombo Plan changed over time, it nonetheless ultimately enhanced mutual understanding between the educated elites of participating countries. It was described by Lowe as a "pioneering and progressive project through which closer understanding and engagement with Asia was achieved".<sup>319</sup> Its legacy has not been forgotten, but the principal benefits of international education have come to be perceived as economic rather than diplomatic.

As Byrne and Hall show, the policy imperatives of international education in Australia have evolved since the 1950s. Universities now operate under significant commercial pressures,<sup>320</sup> and privately-funded Asian students in Australia have always outnumbered those studying in government-supported exchange programs. An appreciation of Australia's proximity to Asia and the quality of its education system developed in the shadow of World War II: by 1957, even after the Colombo Plan was well-established, 3,869 of the 4,636 Asian students in Australia were private fee-paying students.<sup>321</sup> In 1986, Australia decided to accept full fee-paying students and in the two decades which followed, the number of international students studying in Australian universities increased by over 2000 per cent.<sup>322</sup> As of September 2016, over 519,000 international students were studying in Australia.<sup>323</sup> It could be, however, that the economic value of international students is now considered more important than the diplomatic value which came from the intercultural understanding produced by this volume of interactions.

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<sup>319</sup> Lowe, *The Colombo Plan*, 6.

<sup>320</sup> Byrne and Hall, "Realising Australia's International Education," 420–434.

<sup>321</sup> Shannon Smith, "International Education is Older Than You Think," *The Australian*, June 15, 2011, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/opinion/international-education-is-older-than-you-think/story-e6frgcko-1226075642089>.

<sup>322</sup> Alison Moodie, "Australia: Long History of International Higher Education," *University World News*, March 6, 2011, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20110305121304874>.

<sup>323</sup> Department of Education and Training, "Monthly Summary of International Student Data: January–September 2016," Australian Government, September 9, 2016, accessed December 4, 2016, [https://internationaleducation.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Documents/MONTHLY%20SUMMARIES/2016/09\\_September\\_2016\\_MonthlySummary.pdf](https://internationaleducation.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Documents/MONTHLY%20SUMMARIES/2016/09_September_2016_MonthlySummary.pdf).

While the number of international students in Australia increased dramatically, the government showed little interest in encouraging Australian students to study in Asia. The previously-cited report produced by the Senate's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade inquiry into Australia's public diplomacy in 2007, *Australia's Public Diplomacy: Building our Image*, found that international education had the potential to serve Australian public diplomacy. It asserted that student and teacher engagement provides the basis for friendship, mutual respect and understanding, and is the key to prosperity, security and peace, and therefore recommended that the government "support programs that encourage Australian students or professionals to study or train in other countries, particularly in Asia, and for overseas students to study in Australia".<sup>324</sup> Although these recommendations had little immediate effect, international education was once again considered an instrument of diplomacy when Julie Bishop became Minister for Foreign Affairs in 2013.

In opposition, Bishop signalled that her party was preparing initiatives designed to enhance Australia's soft power, and "education exchange is the field in which we can do best", and that as foreign minister, she would establish a two-way exchange program in the spirit of the Colombo Plan.<sup>325</sup> This commitment was realised soon after she took office. The NCP was designed to make "study in the Indo-Pacific region become a rite of passage for Australian undergraduate students". In 2014, a pilot program was launched. It supported 40 scholars and more than 1300 'mobility students' in studying and undertaking work placements across four pilot locations in the region. In 2015 the program was expanded, with 69 scholarships and more than 3,100 mobility students supported across the region. The program grew further in 2016, with over 5450 mobility students and 100 scholars living, studying and undertaking work placements in the region. In the first three years of the program, more than 10,000 students have been funded by the NCP.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Australian Parliament, *Australia's Public Diplomacy*.

<sup>325</sup> J. Bishop, "Success This Century."

<sup>326</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "About the New Colombo Plan," Australian Government, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/new-colombo-plan/about/Pages/about.aspx>.

There are existing incoming and outgoing flows of students, all of whom experience intercultural interactions as a natural product of studying in a foreign country. This is particularly the case for Australia and China. In 2017, Bishop celebrated “the presence of the tens of thousands of Chinese students ... adding greatly to the intellectual debate, diversity and vibrancy of our campuses.” She also noted that China has become the destination of choice for Australian students studying abroad through the NCP, with 3,500 students – one-fifth of the total – studying in China since its inception.<sup>327</sup> The Australian Government now makes considerable effort to market Australian education to international students, but very little effort is made to encourage interactions with the wider community. It may not be possible to encourage visiting students to live in Australian communities and homes during their stay, as was the case for Colombo Plan students, but more could be done to encourage interaction, both on- and off-campus. For example, Australian universities took steps to actively connect international students with the community following the attacks on Indian students in Melbourne in 2009.<sup>328</sup>

The number of Australians studying overseas has increased appreciably in recent years, thanks largely to programs such as the NCP. Between 2008 and 2016, the number of Australian students who studied overseas went from 15,058 to 31,912.<sup>329</sup> This is an encouraging development, but as we will see later, the trend has been influenced by a significant increase in participation in short-term and other non-exchange experiences. Australian students are also far less likely to study overseas than students from most other countries in the OECD. Australia has the highest number of foreign students per national student abroad, at 20:1.<sup>330</sup> In contrast, only 1 per cent of Australian tertiary students are enrolled to study abroad, compared to the United Kingdom (2 per cent), New Zealand (3 per cent), and Canada (3 per cent).<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Bishop, “Australia China Business Council.”

<sup>328</sup> Byrne and Hall, “Realising Australia’s International Education,” 426.

<sup>329</sup> Julie Hare, “Number of Australian studying abroad doubles,” *The Australian*, June 8, 2016, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/number-of-australians-studying-abroad-doubles/news-story/597b3f9dca710d12e4f3f9ab2104a1a4>.

<sup>330</sup> Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Education at a Glance 2016: OECD Indicators* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2016), 332.

<sup>331</sup> Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, “Indicator C4: Who studies abroad and where?” in *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2014), 360.

Although the trend is positive, Australia still falls behind other countries with advanced economies.

It is also important to consider which Australians are given the opportunity to study abroad through programs such as the NCP. Glen Stafford's research note, *The New Colombo Plan Mobility Program, Access and Equity*, drew on data from two universities and the preliminary findings of a qualitative study of the experiences of New Colombo Plan students. It demonstrates that the NCP results in more students from low and medium socio-economic status (SES) backgrounds undertaking international study, but this is largely due to a significant increase in low SES students' participation in short-term and other non-exchange experiences, which has grown significantly. In contrast, in 2014–2015, students from different SES groups within the capture group participated at a rate closer to their representation in the university overall. However, this is largely due to the growth in short-term participation. There remain disproportionately fewer students of low (SES) undertaking exchanges.<sup>332</sup> International education remains largely limited to the upper echelons of Australian society.

Having considered Australia's historical and actual approaches to public diplomacy in the context of its international relations, this thesis has shown that two possibilities currently elude Australian public diplomacy. First, its focus on cultural promotion for economic advantage limits its ability to use a program of reciprocal people-to-people interactions to enhance the nation's intercultural capital – its ability to interact effectively with people in diverse cultural contexts. Second, the cultural element of Australian public diplomacy lacks popular resonance. This cannot be remedied by an insistence on the use of new media, which has further exacerbated Australia's tendency to broadcast, rather than share or explain, information.

When considered alongside with Port Adelaide's China Engagement Strategy, it appears that two things are needed to overcome the weaknesses in Australian public diplomacy: intercultural understanding as a desired outcome, and the use of more popular forms of interaction, such as sport.

## 2.8 An intercultural approach to public diplomacy

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<sup>332</sup> G. Stafford, *Research Note: The New Colombo Plan Mobility Program, Access and Equity*, XXXX, 2016, pp. 1-3.

There is only weak evidence to support the idea that Australian public diplomacy as it is currently calibrated helps the government to achieve its core economic objectives. There is also little evidence to show that its public diplomacy programs significantly enhance Australia's image abroad. Nor is there substantial evidence to show that Australian public diplomacy, in its current form, would help Australia if it were it to reimagine itself as an active middle power, as this requires a credible, activist and independent approach. Australia's current approach to public diplomacy appears limited in focus and reaches only a small, narrow audience. It can be argued that it has little popular resonance, is modestly funded, is outward-oriented rather than reciprocal in nature, and does little to further the government's foreign policy objectives, the options for which appear increasingly hemmed in by popular opinions from both domestic and foreign audiences. A domestic political environment which enables the development of effective foreign policy could be improved by popular intercultural understanding. As appeared evident in the case study presented in Chapter 1, popular intercultural understanding could also help achieve complementary bilateral diplomatic and economic objectives, particularly in respect to policy areas which tend to be highly politicised, such as foreign direct investment.

For a middle power such as Australia to effectively implement its foreign policy, it needs to be adept at diplomacy. It cannot use military power or significant economic incentives to oblige other countries to accept its worldview. Greater intercultural understanding would assist diplomats and officials, who must regularly interact with counterparts from diverse cultures, to perform the tasks required of middle powers such as mediation or brokering outcomes between third parties. It would also assist Australia in achieving the economic objectives that currently inform its approach to public policy. Chapter 2.3 showed that many business leaders believe Australia struggles to realise its potential to trade with, or attract investment from, foreign countries because of a lack of cultural understanding in the business community. Effective diplomacy and success in internationally-focussed business both require the mastery of intercultural interactions.

In the Introduction of this thesis, intercultural understanding was described as the development of skills, attitudes and knowledge necessary for interacting with people



from diverse cultural backgrounds.<sup>333</sup> Koegeler-Abdi and Parncutt broadly describe the intercultural as any interaction between different cultural groups.<sup>334</sup> Related concepts do not place the same emphasis on interactions between different cultural groups, but understanding another culture from a distance does not necessarily provide the attitudes and skills necessary for effective interaction with said group. There is a significant difference between the objectives of transcultural, cross-cultural and intercultural frameworks. The merit of an intercultural framework should therefore be considered against alternate conceptual frameworks, to show which is best suited to a diplomatic context, and why it has advantages over transcultural approaches.

The term transcultural grew out of ‘transculturation’, a term coined by Cuban historian Fernando Ortiz Fernández in 1940. Its objective is cultural transformation by means of a process in which two active and participatory cultures cooperate in creating a new and complex civilizational reality.<sup>335</sup> Cuccioletta notes that this “new common culture” of *métissage* sits “in opposition to the singular traditional cultures that have evolved from the nation-state”, and will ultimately result in the redefinition or disappearance of the traditional nation-state.<sup>336</sup> As diplomacy is directed by sovereign governments that ultimately wish to preserve and strengthen their respective national cultures rather than assimilate them, a transcultural framework cannot be meaningfully applied to international relations. In contrast, sociologist Issa Asgarally described the intercultural as the promotion of real exchange between cultures, designed not to eliminate differences but to challenge the idea that differences lead to hostility.<sup>337</sup> Québécois sociologist Gerard Bouchard noted that an intercultural approach aims for diverse, coexisting traditions and cultures,<sup>338</sup> including national cultures. Diplomacy can this approach more easily than it can one designed to redesign or weaken the traditional nation-state.

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<sup>333</sup> Walton *et al*, “Identifying and Developing Effective Approaches,” 181.

<sup>334</sup> Martina Koegeler-Abdi and Richard Parncutt (eds), “Introduction”, *Interculturality: Practice meets Research*, (Cambridge University Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), 6.

<sup>335</sup> Kate Cadman and Xianlin Song, “Embracing *Transcultural Pedagogy: An Epistemological Perspective*,” in *Bridging Transcultural Divides: Asian Languages and Cultures in Global Higher Education*, ed. Xianlin Song and Kate Cadman (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2012), 12.

<sup>336</sup> Donald Cuccioletta, “Multiculturalism or Transculturalism: Towards a Cosmopolitan Citizenship,” *London Journal of Canadian Studies* 17 (2001–2002), 8–9.

<sup>337</sup> Issa Asgarally, *L’Interculturel ou la Guerre* (Port Louis: MRC-TEC, 2005), 9-10.

<sup>338</sup> Gerard Bouchard, “What is Interculturalism,” *McGill Law Journal* 56, no. 2 (2011), 449.

Another theoretical framework is the cross-cultural. For well over a decade, globalisation and the growing influence of multinational companies encouraged the growth of cross-cultural studies.<sup>339</sup> A cross-cultural approach encourages comparisons between different cultures, emphasising their differences. Understanding the differences between cultures enhances cultural understanding. It deals with comparisons between one's own culture and the 'other' culture, enabling cultural differences to be acknowledged and understood. This is not the same as intercultural understanding, which transcends the dualism of a cross-cultural approach to emphasise the skills and understanding needed to be effective in intercultural interactions.

Recently, another related term has been introduced: polyculturalism. Polyculturalism suggests that, over time, cultures influence one another. The concept was initially proposed by historians Robin Kelly and Vijay Prashad, and is predicated on the belief that cultures are forever fusing, and that these interactions have produced contemporary cultural traditions. In a polycultural framework, diversity is valued but there is an understanding that cultures are dynamic and impure.<sup>340</sup> Polyculturalism helps to explain or understand, but has limited application to the field of international relations. And unlike interculturalism, it does not suggest an approach or process to be followed.

The father of intercultural studies, Edward T. Hall, experienced an intercultural awakening when working with the Navajo in a remote corner of Arizona.<sup>341</sup> Following this, Hall shunned the traditional anthropological approach of viewing a single culture and instead stressed the interaction between members of different cultures. This focus remains a defining element of intercultural studies today.<sup>342</sup> It was applied to Hall's initial work, *The Silent Language* (1959), from which the field of intercultural studies

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<sup>339</sup> Nathalie Belhoste and Philippe Monin, "Constructing Differences in a Cross-Cultural Context: National Distance, Social Differentiation or Functional Distinction," *Human Relations* 66, no. 12 (2013), 1531.

<sup>340</sup> Nick Haslam, "Cultures Fuse and Connect so We Should Embrace Polyculturalism," *The Conversation*, June 6, 2017, accessed July 20, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/cultures-fuse-and-connect-so-we-should-embrace-polyculturalism-78876>.

<sup>341</sup> Joseph Shaules, *The Intercultural Mind: Connecting Culture, Cognition and Global Living* (Boston: Intercultural Press, 2015), 51–52.

<sup>342</sup> Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, "Notes in the History of Intercultural Communication: the Foreign Service Institute and the Mandate for Intercultural Training," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 76, no. 3 (1990), 263.

developed. This work was in turn based on the findings of his study on the effectiveness of American diplomats.

Intercultural understanding is important to the work of diplomats, who require the necessary skills, attitudes and knowledge to interact effectively with people from diverse cultural backgrounds. These skills are therefore important to representatives in foreign offices, defined by Morgenthau as the organised instruments of diplomacy,<sup>343</sup> who often mediate or broker resolutions between third parties from a foundation of trust and understanding, and other internationally-focussed government agencies. But intercultural understanding is also important to the broader population, which collectively creates an enabling or disabling environment for effective foreign policy, and individually interacts with foreign peoples in spheres as diverse as finance, trade and education.

Novelist Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio showed that an intercultural approach supposes that we learn from one another in daily life, business, the arts and literature; it is “an ideal ... that should enable people from different backgrounds to meet and exchange their ideas and wealth”.<sup>344</sup> Interaction and exchange are at the heart of most definitions of the intercultural; however, the nature of the exchange is also important. Intercultural understanding requires a consciousness of one’s own cultural patterns. We know already that Stephen FitzGerald lamented that his training in the diplomatic corps did not include the arts or literature, including an exploration of Australian culture, at a time when “singer Joan Sutherland, artist Sidney Nolan, writer Patrick White” were “projecting cultural and intellectual Australia internationally”.<sup>345</sup> An understanding of one’s own culture – its values and biases, strengths and weaknesses – is an important foundation for a modern life in which intercultural interactions are common, and particularly for government officials and business people who require intercultural understanding to be maximally effective in their work.

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<sup>343</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* Fourth Edition (New York, Knopf, 1967), 520.

<sup>344</sup> van der Drift, “Why Interculturality?” 129.

<sup>345</sup> FitzGerald, *Comrade Ambassador*, 18.

The starting point for intercultural understanding is the recognition that our perceptions of other cultures are shaped by our own cultural minds. Psychologist Joseph Shaules drew upon a growing body of work that considers the relationship between culture and cognition to argue that the human mind is cultural by nature. Shaules argues that it is important to first recognise that the unconscious judgements and reactions appropriate in one's own cultural context may be inappropriate or ineffective in other cultural settings.<sup>346</sup> Intercultural understanding comes from a culturally-neutral position, free of unconscious judgements and comparisons with one's own cultural context.

A policy that encourages recognition of one's own cultural patterns prior to embarking on foreign experiences from which intercultural understanding can grow is ambitious. But a consciousness of one's own cultural bias can be encouraged by foreign experiences, from which a process of deep cultural learning begins. Shaules believes that we begin our intercultural experiences largely ethnocentric, and through a process of increased understanding, expand our intercultural horizons.<sup>347</sup> An intercultural approach could encourage both domestic and foreign audiences to expand their intercultural horizons for mutual understanding, and lead to more effective and positive interactions.

Intercultural understanding is achieved by accruing experiences of interaction and exchange, with each experience leaving participants better prepared for subsequent ones. Each experience further encourages the development of the skills and knowledge necessary to effectively interact with people from different cultural backgrounds. As seen in the surveys of Port Adelaide supporters in 2016, a majority of those who travelled to China in 2017 wanted to return to China, even though only 20 per cent of the members surveyed in November 2016 had travelled there previously. This is particularly important for diplomats and other government officials representing active middle powers who are charged with the responsibility of mediating or brokering agreements between third parties, businesspersons looking to trade with or attract investment from foreign interests, defence personnel involved in training exercises

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<sup>346</sup> Shaules, *The Intercultural Mind*, 5–12.

<sup>347</sup> Shaules, *The Intercultural Mind*, 201–202.

with counterparts from other countries, and citizens seeking to better understand foreign actors exerting influence on their increasingly interconnected world.

Le Clézio believes an intercultural approach is resilient in the face of differences and misunderstanding, as it implies that we listen to each other, debate, discuss areas of tension and accommodate differences.<sup>348</sup> All citizens, according to Bouchard, are responsible for maintaining intercultural relations, especially when faced with inevitable incompatibilities. When placed in an intercultural situation, it is their duty to contribute to mutual adjustments and accommodations.<sup>349</sup> Is this not the essence of diplomacy? It also provides a framework through which the general populace can understand international relations: incompatibilities followed by the mutual adjustments and accommodation necessary to preserve peace and achieve mutually-beneficial economic outcomes.

Applied to public diplomacy, an intercultural approach would seek to engage both elite and popular, and domestic and foreign, audiences. It would encourage the receivers of foreign cultural messages to reflect on and engage with them on their own terms, and be willing to understand the other culture and engage with it on its own terms. It would encourage openness to new understandings. In a practical sense, initiatives would be designed or redesigned to increase participation from all demographics, including all socio-economic groups, in order to engage audiences and participants from a broader social spectrum. It would insist on a balance of inbound and outbound initiatives, interactions, exchanges and connections, with a preference for reciprocal, two-way exchanges. Australian art, literature, cinema and music would appear in galleries and theatres in China and throughout Asia, and Chinese and other Asian cultures would be made more accessible to popular audiences in Australia in the same way. An intercultural approach to public diplomacy would consider modern information technology communications as a means not to broadcast, but to engage and interact.

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<sup>348</sup> Frederick Joignot, "Coexister, C'est Comprendre ce qui Peut Offenser l'Autre," *Le Monde*, September 20, 2014, 10–11.

<sup>349</sup> Bouchard, "What is Interculturalism," 449.

An intercultural approach would be most effective if applied to those cultural expressions with the greatest capacity to engage popular audiences, such as sport.

## 2.9 Taking public diplomacy to the people: is sport the unrealised opportunity?

*He hates the word "exercise." Exercise for what? It is a ridiculous western notion. Why, even the sight of respectable grown-up men dashing about in a field for a ball now seems ridiculous, supremely ridiculous.*

- Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People*<sup>350</sup>

This thesis has argued that Australia would be more effective in international affairs if its public diplomacy adopted an intercultural approach. If an intercultural approach was applied to reciprocal programs in the arts, literature, language learning and international education, participants' capacity to interact effectively with people of other cultures would be enhanced, as would their understanding of the foreign policy challenges and opportunities Australia faces. Participation in each of these cultural expressions, however, is largely limited to a small minority of Australians from a higher socio-economic background. Sport, on the other hand, has the potential to reach more people, and from a broader socio-economic catchment.

This chapter will therefore consider sport's potential to serve an intercultural approach to public diplomacy. It will use the existing scholarship to first consider how sport has historically been used in the service of diplomacy. It will then explain how sport as intercultural diplomacy, with its goal of increased interactions between different cultural groups and different nations, would be significantly different from sports diplomacy as it has been conducted in the past. Finally, it will look at how sport is currently deployed in Australian diplomacy, which will help elucidate the changes needed to transform the current policy of sports diplomacy to one consistent with an intercultural approach to public diplomacy.

The relationship between diplomacy and sport is not new. Stuart Murray notes that during the Ancient Olympiad, the Olympic Truce gave the games sanctity and provided

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<sup>350</sup> Lin, *My People and My Country*, 13.

immunity from aggression during the tournament.<sup>351</sup> Despite its long history, however, theories and practices of sports diplomacy are largely unexplored.<sup>352</sup> Indeed, sport has for a long time been considered separate from the study of foreign policy and diplomatic relations. Allison and Monnington argue that the link between sport and foreign policy has been ignored because it does not fit within traditional disciplinary paradigms and debates.<sup>353</sup> Murray described Australia's efforts in sports diplomacy as "sporadic, anecdotal and ambiguously grouped under the broad heading of public diplomacy".<sup>354</sup>

When sport has featured in academic discourse on international relations, the association between it and diplomacy has often been described in negative terms. Rowe argues that sport has a "compulsive attachment to the production of national differences".<sup>355</sup> The contest narrative is perfectly suited to articulations of nation, which ensures that 'nation' is never far from the surface of sports discourse.<sup>356</sup> Literary figure George Orwell concurred with recent scholarship, arguing that "the modern cult of sport ... is bound up with the rise of nationalism", and asserted that sport is "itself merely another effect of the causes that have produced nationalism".<sup>357</sup> There have, however, been examples of sport and diplomacy combining as an expression of a common humanity, rather than exacerbating differences between peoples and nations.

The most famous demonstration of sport in diplomacy is the 'ping pong diplomacy' which took place between the United States and China in the 1970s. Although the United States was already considering the strategic merit of reconciliation with China as early as 1969, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger understood that "the

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<sup>351</sup> Stuart Murray, "The Two Halves of Sports-Diplomacy," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* no. 23, September 1, (2012), 576.

<sup>352</sup> Murray, "Two Halves," 577.

<sup>353</sup> Lincoln Allison and Terry Monnington, "Sport, Prestige and International Relations," *Government and Opposition* 37, no 1 (2002), 109.

<sup>354</sup> Stuart Murray, "Sports Diplomacy in the Australian Context: A Case Study of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade," *Sports Law eJournal*, July 26, 2013, accessed November 8, 2017, <http://epublications.bond.edu.au/slej/18/>.

<sup>355</sup> David Rowe, "Sport and the Repudiation of the Global," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 38, no. 3 (2016), 292.

<sup>356</sup> Rowe, "Sport and the Repudiation of the Global," 285–286.

<sup>357</sup> George Orwell, "The True Sporting Spirit", in *The Penguin Essays of George Orwell* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), 321.

publics on both sides had been exposed to two decades of hostility and suspicion; they had to be prepared for a diplomatic revolution”.<sup>358</sup> The Premier of the People’s Republic of China, Zhou Enlai, felt similarly, and when he looked for a viable, subtle path through which China could open its doors to the world community in 1971, he understood the role that sport could play.<sup>359</sup>

The opportunity for sport to contribute to breakthrough diplomacy is rare, and this episode of ‘ping pong diplomacy’ did not immediately enhance its prestige as regular instrument of diplomatic practice. Interestingly, Kissinger declined the opportunity to use sport – this time baseball – to achieve another diplomatic breakthrough a few years later, in 1975, to improve relations between the United States and Cuba. Bowie Kuhn, then MBL commissioner, formally wrote to Kissinger and met with Cuban sports officials. Kissinger vetoed the idea – perhaps to his detriment, as 18 months of secret talks with Fidel Castro ultimately failed – despite his advisor to Latin America, William Rogers, advising that an exhibition game in Club would “have a symbolic significance not limited to the sports pages”.<sup>360</sup>

Still, others believed that baseball could significantly contribute to the bilateral relationship. It was a gift that needed to be unwrapped. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, American soldiers had distributed baseball bats and balls to Cuban children, which helped baseball to become a national pastime. Following Kissinger’s rejection of baseball as an avenue to improved relations, Clinton authorised the first exhibition game almost a quarter of a century later, between the Baltimore Orioles and a Cuban National Team.<sup>361</sup> Although these games were highly politicised in the United States, it demonstrated the unique value of sport as a diplomatic avenue. According to Andrea Kupfer Schneider, where Cuban-American exchanges through education and the arts had received some attention, “the exchange of the baseball teams received wide press coverage”.<sup>362</sup> Clinton’s successor, George W. Bush, was hostile to improving

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<sup>358</sup> Kissinger, *On China*, 215.

<sup>359</sup> Nicholas Griffin, *Ping Pong Diplomacy* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2014).

<sup>360</sup> Peter Kornbluh, “Cuba and the United States Play ‘Beisbol’ Diplomacy,” *The Nation*, March 10, 2016, accessed August 13, 2017, <https://www.thenation.com/article/cuba-and-the-united-states-play-beisbol-diplomacy/>.

<sup>361</sup> Kornbluh, “Cuba and the United States.”

<sup>362</sup> Andrea Kupfer Schneider, “Baseball Diplomacy,” *Marquette Sports Law Review* 12, no. 473 (2001–2002), 475–477.



ties but belief in baseball and Cuban-American relations continued. Former president Jimmy Carter attended a Cuban all-star game in 2002 and threw the first pitch.<sup>363</sup> A game between the Cuban National Team and the MLB team Tampa Bay Rays was ultimately central to President Obama's 2016 visit, during which the relationship between the two countries was normalised. As Obama's former deputy National Security Advisor explains, "baseball is obviously something that the United States and Cuban people share a common love of and its part of both our heritages ... part of the type of exchanges that we are pursuing in business, in culture, in the arts, in sports".<sup>364</sup>

It is difficult to foresee how Australia, even as an active middle power, could employ sport to achieve breakthrough diplomacy with a problematic regime such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Sport's greatest value, however, is not its potential to regularly achieve diplomatic breakthroughs between estranged governments, as was the case with 'ping pong diplomacy' or less famously with 'baseball diplomacy', but in its potential to engage popular audiences – both domestic and foreign – to enhance understanding and to share common interests. This was apparent in Port Adelaide's China engagement, which encouraged a mass audience to view China through a different lens, or through lived experience as was the case for six thousand Australians who travelled to China in May 2017 to indulge their passion for football.

Sport is seldom considered an aspect of public diplomacy, but rather seen as sports diplomacy: diplomatic activities undertaken by sportspeople on behalf of and in collaboration with their governments. Described by Murray as a "proactive, original, pioneering form of engagement", sports diplomacy has been gradually introduced into the diplomatic studies lexicon.<sup>365</sup> Australian governments have been slow to embrace this new form of engagement, despite sport's popular appeal and broad resonance. However, the argument for sport as an instrument of diplomacy is getting stronger.

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<sup>363</sup> Kornbluh, "Cuba and the United States."

<sup>364</sup> Patrick Oppmann, "Obama Engages in Baseball Diplomacy in Cuba," *CNN*, March 22, 2016, accessed August 13, 2017, <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/03/22/politics/obama-cuba-baseball-diplomacy/index.html>.

<sup>365</sup> Murray, "Two Halves," 581.

Sport is now an important component of most societies and cultures, routinely enmeshed in the everyday lives of citizens and conferring cultural citizenship through access to, and representation in, sports culture – and this is especially the case for football in Australia. As the opinions of domestic and foreign publics exert increasing influence on foreign policy formation, the value of sport in diplomacy is its popular, global appeal which can be leveraged to increase the volume of interactions between people of different cultures. Formal and informal interactions on the sporting field and on the periphery of sporting events can reach a large popular audience, and have a rich potential to enhance popular intercultural understanding.

This potential is even more apparent in Australia, where love of sport is considered a defining cultural characteristic. In *The Lucky Country* (1964), Donald Horne suggested that “sport to many Australians is life and the rest a shadow”.<sup>366</sup> Horton traced the national importance of sport in Australia to the colonial era, noting that it was critical to the “emergence of a national identity” and remains one of the most globally recognisable national characteristics.<sup>367</sup> If only 60 per cent of Australians regularly participate in sport<sup>368</sup> – a lesser percentage than other cultural expressions such as literature (87 per cent)<sup>369</sup> – sport in Australia nonetheless holds a powerful popular resonance. If participation, audience size and media focus are considered together, no other cultural expression can be compared with sport for popularity in Australia. And there is no bigger sport than football. At the time of writing, 907,561 people – that is, 1 in 27 Australians – were paid members of AFL clubs.<sup>370</sup>

Sporting competitions, however, are prone to be “bound up with the rise of nationalism”. Indeed, Orwell specifically coupled nationalism with “big-scale sport”. Mitchell agreed, and argued that sport *in its non-commercial form* could play a positive

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<sup>366</sup> David Rowe, “A Nation of ‘Good Sports’? Cultural Citizenship and Sport in Contemporary Australia,” *Open Forum*, July 27, 2014, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://openforum.com.au/content/nation-good-sports-cultural-citizenship-and-sport-contemporary-australia>.

<sup>367</sup> Peter Horton, “The Governance of Sport in Australia: Centralisation, Politics and Public Diplomacy, 1860-2000,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 10 (2015), 1238.

<sup>368</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, “4177.0 - Participation in Sport and Physical Recreation, Australia, 2013-14,” February 18, 2015, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4177.0>.

<sup>369</sup> Australian Council for the Arts, *Arts Review*, 7.

<sup>370</sup> Ben Guthrie, “AFL Club Membership Heads towards a Million,” *AFL Official Website*, August 16, 2017, accessed October 2, 2017, <http://www.afl.com.au/news/2017-08-16/afl-club-membership-tally-hits-new-high>.

role in international relations.<sup>371</sup> The sports and initiatives deployed in diplomacy therefore need to be carefully selected. ‘Ping pong diplomacy’ was effective because the predictable outcome of the contest would not cause offense to the country of the defeated team, the United States, which cared little for the sport and did not see victory as a source of national pride. Football could become an unthreatening centrepiece of Sino-Australian relations for the same reason: Australians would be grateful for China’s interest in its indigenous game, and Chinese fans would gain new perspectives and understandings of Australia through exposure to the sport – yet the outcome of the games would not impact the national pride of either sets of fans.

Sports diplomacy is considered a subset of Australian public diplomacy, which, as demonstrated in Chapter 2.3, is designed to achieve an economic return. In 2014, however, the idea that sport could play a larger role in Australian diplomacy was articulated by Foreign Minister Bishop, who argued that sport provides a “unique opportunity” to broaden and deepen Australia's engagement with Asia. Sports diplomacy is not currently seen as having the potential to enhance intercultural understanding or achieve breakthrough diplomacy. Consistent with the government’s broader approach to foreign policy, it is considered for its potential commercial benefit.

The Government’s *Sports Diplomacy Strategy 2015-18* was eventually released on 25 June 2015. The strategy did suggest a commitment to people-to-people interactions. Its first goal, of connecting people and institutions, was to be achieved by “supporting reciprocal, people-to-people connections that promote partnerships of value between Australia and the region, through sport.” The Strategy identified three programs through which this would be achieved: Sports Exchange Australia, Australian Sports Fellowships, and the Australians Sports Leaders Mentoring Program.<sup>372</sup> But this appeared to be a foundation for a deeper economic interaction.

*Sports Diplomacy Strategy 2015-18* focussed on economic outcomes. “Sports diplomacy is an increasingly important aspect of diplomatic practice and a growing part of the global sports industry”, according to the strategy, which heralded a “new

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<sup>371</sup> Mitchell, *International Cultural Relations*, 16.

<sup>372</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Sports Diplomacy Strategy*, 3.

era for sports diplomacy” and was designed to “generate long-term economic, diplomatic, tourism and community benefits”.<sup>373</sup> It was designed to achieve four goals:

1. Connecting People and Institutions
2. Enhancing Sport for Development
3. Showcasing Australia; and
4. Sports Innovation and Integrity.

The Strategy was an eight-page document that despite its brevity tried to bring together several disparate areas and objectives. Much more can be done to fulfil sports’ rich potential as an instrument of Australian diplomacy.

Earlier in the same year the Premier of South Australia, the Hon Jay Weatherill MP, released the South Australian Government’s *International Sports Diplomacy Strategy*. At 44-pages,<sup>374</sup> it was a more substantial document than that released by the Commonwealth, demonstrating that SNGs are in some instances able to take substantial positions in international relations. South Australia’s *International Sports Diplomacy Strategy* had a far stronger focus on cultural diplomacy, but did not ignore sport’s economic potential. A policy of intercultural diplomacy would encourage the states and territories to develop exchanges and relationships with sub-national jurisdictions in China and throughout Asia. The case study showed how the South Australian Government supported Port Adelaide’s engagement in China at crucial junctures.

Although the current tendency in Australian diplomacy is to focus on the big-scale, commercial form of sport, sport is perhaps most effective at a sub-national or sub-elite level, taking place through projects and exchanges that provide opportunities for intercultural engagement that have no impact on national pride or patriotic fervour. Nygard and Gates encourage a bottom-up approach and argue that sport can be used to build trust through personal interactions from which understanding and

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<sup>373</sup> Julie Bishop, Andrew Robb, and Sussan Ley, “New Era in Sports Diplomacy,” joint media release, June 25, 2015, accessed December 11, 2016, [http://foreignminister.gov.au/releases/Pages/2015/jb\\_mr\\_150625a.aspx](http://foreignminister.gov.au/releases/Pages/2015/jb_mr_150625a.aspx).

<sup>374</sup> Government of South Australia, *International Sports Diplomacy Strategy*, (Government of South Australia, Adelaide, 2015).

friendships develop.<sup>375</sup> Port Adelaide's engagement with China encouraged people-to-people exchanges through interactions between travelling and local fans in the outer, as well as in the hospitality tents where businesspeople from Australia and China mingled and networked. These interactions took place in an unthreatening atmosphere in which the outcome of the game was largely irrelevant to the attendees.

Beyond Port Adelaide Football Club's highly visible initiative, the Australian Government unfortunately offers scant support for sport as a form of people-to-people exchange. It is not considered relevant to cultural diplomacy and was not a focus of any of the 12 projects which received ACDGP funding in 2016,<sup>376</sup> and of the 106 initiatives which received grants through DFAT's seven FCIs, only five had a focus on sport. The Australia-Korea Foundation and the AJF provided two grants for exchange programs focussed on baseball, the AIC awarded two grants with a focus on blind tennis and hockey, and as previously mentioned, the ACC awarded a grant to the Port Adelaide Football Club for its Aboriginal Academy to tour China.<sup>377</sup> Of 118 projects and \$4 million in grants funding made available for cultural activities and interactions through the ACDGP and FCIs, only five projects with a focus on sport were funded, to the value of approximately \$166,000.

For Australia to elevate sport as an important aspect of effective public diplomacy, it must significantly change its approach. Sport has the capacity to increase interactions that encourage greater popular intercultural understanding, and achieve a balance between inbound and outbound flows. Funding streams dedicated to sporting exchanges and exchanges between sub-elite and junior teams in the region could easily be encouraged. Junior sports tournaments and amateur sports festivals in Australia, encouraged and promoted by FCIs or other funding streams, could encourage Australian teams to use sport as a passport to greater intercultural understanding. As the case study showed, even an annual game of football, if promoted by the team's respective governments and media, could inspire positive communication and a deeper engagement between the governments, businesses and

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<sup>375</sup> Havard Mokliev Nygard and Scott Gates, "Soft Power at Home and Abroad: Sport Diplomacy, Politics and Peace Building," *International Area Studies Review* 16, no. 3 (2013), 239.

<sup>376</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program."

<sup>377</sup>. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Australian Cultural Diplomacy Grants Program."

peoples of Australia and China. Other sports, of course, could play similar roles between Australia and other Asian countries.

## 2.10 Conclusion

This thesis was designed to explore whether Australia could be more effective in international affairs if it possessed greater intercultural understanding. Australian public policy was described by Oliver and Trood as “pragmatic self-interested diplomacy as economic welfare maximisation”.<sup>378</sup> It is evident in the language employed in official statement and public policy documents, and in its foreign policies that Australia has developed a transactional approach to international relations over the years.

Were Australia to balance its current economistic approach with a renewed commitment to performing the role of an active middle power, brokering or arbitering agreements between third parties, it would be important develop and implement policies that enhanced its understanding of, and credibility in, Asia. Such policies would need to address a popular audience in this period when “the line between international and domestic policy is more blurred than it has ever been”,<sup>379</sup> and greater popular intercultural understanding makes for a more enabling environment for effective foreign policy.

Public diplomacy has become a servant to narrowly-defined national interests. It is designed to create a favourable impression of one country to a foreign audience. This need to promote one’s culture as attractive, to favourably influence foreign audiences, discourages governments from open and honest communication. One-way flows of information do little to enhance mutual understanding, and are often cynically received by foreign audiences. Public diplomacy has become little more than cultural projection. For Australia, it is little more than cultural projection with a strong economic motive.

Australia would be more effective in international affairs if it had greater popular intercultural understanding internally, and greater credibility with foreign popular

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<sup>378</sup> Oliver and Trood, “Public Diplomacy.”

<sup>379</sup> The Lowy Institute, *The Lowy Institute Poll 2014* (Sydney: The Lowy Institute, 2014).

audiences. When an approach based on exchange and reciprocity is applied to public diplomacy, national promotion ceases to be its unique purpose and increased affection for one's own culture is no longer the only desirable outcome. Australian public diplomacy, which uses cultural expressions to project a positive image in order to achieve an economic outcome, does little to enhance the skills, attitudes and knowledge necessary for Australia to realise its potential as an important actor on the international stage.

Intercultural understanding was understood in this thesis to mean the development of skills, attitudes and knowledge necessary for interacting with people from diverse cultural backgrounds,<sup>380</sup> and Koegeler-Abdi and Parncutt describe the intercultural as any interaction between different cultural groups.<sup>381</sup> An intercultural approach to public diplomacy would therefore encourage and provide funding for two-way exchanges, reciprocal arrangements and programs with popular appeal. Such an approach would go beyond historical cultural expressions such as the arts, and value those which have the potential to reach a wider and more varied audience, such as sport.

Early instruments that facilitated exchanges in more primitive times, such as dance and language, were also used in early formal cultural exchanges. The performing arts have become synonymous with cultural diplomacy. Australia uses the performing arts to reinforce its "standing as a stable, diverse, sophisticated and creative nation with a diverse culture. It also promotes more positive images of our multicultural community, improves market access for Australian cultural exports and promotes Australian tourism and education".<sup>382</sup> Cultural promotion for economic advantage is the goal of Australian public diplomacy, of which cultural diplomacy is considered a subset.

Mitchell remarks that faith in the merit of any kind of cultural relations is more likely to appear where there is a traditional belief in the importance of culture and of devoting public funding to it.<sup>383</sup> There remains the potential for leaders to persuade others – their colleagues, the electorate – of the need for change. To adopt an

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<sup>380</sup> Walton *et al*, "Identifying and Developing Effective Approaches," 181.

<sup>381</sup> Koegeler-Abdi *et al*, *Interculturality: Practice meets Research*, 6.

<sup>382</sup> Serow quoted in Cockerill, "The Art of Diplomacy," 129.

<sup>383</sup> Mitchell, *International Cultural Relations*, 107.

intercultural approach to public diplomacy, to achieve greater intercultural understanding through interactions between the people of Australia and Asia, the Australian Government would need encourage more cities and regional centres to hold events like APT and OzAsia; it would need to continue to encourage an outward-looking arts sector that seeks reciprocal arrangements and collaborations via a funding program that reflects this emphasis on interactions and two-way arrangements; and it would need to focus on making the arts more accessible to a broader public, without diminishing their quality.

The arts will remain influential in elite circles, and thus an important component of a multifaceted approach to intercultural understanding. An intercultural approach will, however, see government grants recalibrated to ensure a balance of incoming and outgoing performances, so that Australians can learn about other cultures through artistic exchange and interactions as surely as they learn from ours. Performances and displays emanating from overseas will be made more accessible to lower socio-economic groups. However, the arts alone will not be able to realise all the potential benefits of an intercultural approach, and will need to be supported by other cultural expressions.

There is general agreement that foreign language acquisition is important to diplomatic service and internationally-focussed agencies and sectors. The idea that learning foreign languages adds to the intercultural capital of a nation is, however, contested, with arguments limited to questions of economic utility, rather than intercultural understanding. Language learning could be an important aspect of intercultural diplomacy – one that makes broader interactions possible. A commitment to universal language education in early education and immersion opportunities for those students who excel could both enhance popular intercultural understanding and help develop a generation of linguistically-competent Asia specialists across a variety of fields. An Australia Foundation that promotes an understanding of Australia's Indigenous languages as part of its remit could contribute to the intercultural understanding of Australia in Asia. Languages are doors that permit or refuse entry to intercultural understanding stored in speech and literature; a low level of commitment to language education can be a barrier to broader interactions.



Educational exchange was an early form of cultural diplomacy in many countries, but today is rarely considered as such. Australia has a rich history of achievement in this respect due to the Colombo Plan, and the incumbent Australian Government has embarked upon a policy, the NCP, which aligns with the ideals of intercultural diplomacy as it helps to achieve a greater balance of inbound and outbound flows that enhance intercultural understanding in both foreign students in Australia and Australian students studying overseas. More can be done, however, to increase the quality of intercultural interactions for foreign students in Australia, and more can be done to extend the NCP in terms of both the number of participants and its accessibility for low SES students.

The programs of cultural expressions previously deployed in cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy would be adapted to align with these different objectives. A different approach and increased funding would transform the arts, literature, language and education into tools of intercultural understanding. Each has an important place in a refreshed, intercultural approach to public diplomacy. Sport, a form of cultural expression often overlooked in the past, will be added to these programs, as it is an important aspect of Australia's national character and has great potential to capture the attention of large audiences, both domestic and foreign.

The case study showed that sport has the potential to reach a broader audience, particularly in Australia. The experience of Port Adelaide, described in Chapter 1, suggests that football, with its great reach in the Australian community, encouraged a significant number of Australians to consider China through a different lens. The survey of Port Adelaide's members suggests that the project did shift thinking and encouraged more interest in China. An intercultural approach to public diplomacy is not about outward projection or attempts to increase affection; it is about understanding made possible through the cultivation of an unbiased, curious perspective.

These conclusions were the product of a two-year study into culture and diplomacy, during which I also worked as General Manager of Port Adelaide Football Club, with carriage of the club's 'Open to the World' strategy. This thesis informed my work, and my work informed this thesis. Indeed, I came to understand my work as a lived thesis,

and considered how it could be used as an example of how sport can be leveraged as public diplomacy to enhance intercultural exchange.

At a moment in which the National President of the Australia China Business Council, The Hon John Brumby, has identified how important it is for business relationships to evolve beyond the merely transactional to ones that showcase “a deeper understanding”,<sup>384</sup> Port Adelaide Football club demonstrated that an intercultural focus could assist in achieving unlikely commercial outcomes. But a focus on intercultural understanding alone is not enough; it is only one of many skills needed to successfully implement an internationally-focussed commercial strategy. And ‘culture’ should not be narrowly defined.

If culture is understood to be that which one group has in common that separates it from other groups, China’s system of government and politics is relevant to intercultural interactions between Australia and China. Ruth Benedict wrote that “religious dogmas, economic practices and politics do not stay dammed up in separate little ponds but they overflow their supposed boundaries and their waters mingle inexorably with one another”.<sup>385</sup> Port Adelaide failed to fully master its understanding of the political context in which it was working. Its inability to foresee the changes in government policy that led to tightened capital outflows, for example, produced serious challenges for its China engagement strategy. It was an important learning experience. China’s political culture is as important to understand as its literature, languages and arts.

The contribution made to sports diplomacy between Australia and China was, however, significant. Port Adelaide’s strategy was financially and publicly supported by both the Australian Government and the South Australian Government, which satisfies the definition of a ‘diplomatic’ initiative. It could therefore be considered as evidence to support the argument that sport could be used to benefit an intercultural approach to public diplomacy. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that Port

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<sup>384</sup> John Brumby, “China Remains the Greatest Opportunity,” *The Australian Business Review*, June 15, 2017. <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/opinion/china-remains-the-greatest-opportunity/news-story/3b9ae34029c5e5d8de2d65557c531a73>.

<sup>385</sup> Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 2005).

Adelaide's engagement with China increased interest in, and understanding of, the respective cultures. Australians who directly or indirectly participated became more interested in China, and Chinese who directly or indirectly participated became more interested in Australia. This is particularly evident in the survey disseminated to Port Adelaide's members.

It is too early to state definitively whether this case study proves that Port Adelaide's engagement in China has created a more enabling environment in which Australia can conduct foreign policy. There is some evidence to suggest that it helped to create a more enabling political environment for the attraction and acceptance of foreign direct investment. This thesis has, however, argued that intercultural interactions lead to greater intercultural understanding, which makes for a more enabling environment for the conduct of effective foreign policy. To this end, Port Adelaide's engagement in China will continue to positively influence the context in which Australia will conduct its bilateral relationship with China.

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