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Parergon



Southeast of The Southeast

For more than a decade I have observed, initially in another publication I edited, *Contemporary Visual Art+Culture Broadsheet* magazine, and revived in a prior issue of this journal, the phenomenal emergence of a 'Cultural Wallace Line' intersecting Southeast Asia and Australia; now, the region anywhere southeast of Southeast Asia, being Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea and Pacific Islands. Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) was a British humanist, naturalist, geographer and social critic whose theories of evolution by natural selection predated those of Charles Darwin. In 1859, after many years of research in the Malay Archipelago, he proposed a boundary line between the Oriental and Australian faunal regions—separating the ecozones of Asia and Australasia—which became known as the Wallace Line.

My initial proposition in 2006 was sensed following the Singapore print media's disclosure of the then artistic director of documenta's protestation that the idea of travelling (the extent of) the distance to Australia from Europe—to advance his research in the selection of artists—was something of a loathsome enterprise. He protracted his anxiety by stating that he deemed Australian contemporary art to be derivative of the European-American canon, and having already visited Southeast Asian countries pursuing 'authentic', that is 'original', 'Asian' art, he doubted he would discover anything advantageous through such an imperfect sojourn further south (with the cursory presumption perhaps that contemporary art in Australia was 'white' in its mimicry, devoid of a burgeoning indigenous practice and without any multicultural possibilities, with a similar viewpoint regarding New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.)

I further expanded upon this theory, that a notional fault-line had been drawn out in ensuing years, not so much by either disaffection or lack of desire to cross it, but rather by a pervasive ethos, initially Euro-American (or The Global North, take your pick) reinforced, typified by curator-art critic Okwui Enwezor's introduction to his 2008 Biennale of Sydney keynote address, having just arrived at the Art Gallery of New South Wales from the airport, with a mischievous surmise that he felt like he had arrived "at the end of the earth." Not only was this separation activated by such hegemonic perceptions of distance, but also by a Western art market-driven desire for 'originality-of-otherness' exemplified in its post-1989 neo-colonisation of the 'Chinese art market' by collectors and auction houses. (As an emphatic response to that status quo Chinese artist Qiu Zhijie lamented during a 2008 symposium at Zendai Museum of Modern Art in Shanghai that there were no Chinese museums then collecting Chinese contemporary art, that it was being bought, sold and amassed elsewhere; China's contemporary heritage, according to Qiu, "lost.")

As Australia's self-reflection upon its relationship with the Asian region began to undertake greater political and cultural, not to mention commercial dimensions in the early 1990s, resultant of Southeast Asia's economic developments and post-4 June 1989 tensions, it sought to culturally engage the region through, for example, the implementation of the Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art in 1993 by the Queensland Art Gallery, in recognising the need for an ongoing series of exhibitions and forums investing in the contemporary art of Asia and the Pacific, several exhibitions of contemporary Japanese art, and projects such as *Mao Goes Pop: China Post 1989* (Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, 1993) which toured internationally in various forms; less so, obscurely, as the oldest biennale in the region, the Biennale of Sydney (only Charles Merewether's *Zones of Contact* in 2006 and David Elliott's *The Beauty Of Distance: Songs of Survival in a Precarious Age* in 2010 having creditable representations of artists from greater Asia); and prior to these, the establishment of Asialink in 1990,

with Asialink Arts promoting cultural understanding, information exchange and artistic endeavour between Australia and the countries of Asia. (It has been stated that in the 1990s Australia presented more exhibitions of contemporary Asian art and more cultural exchanges with Asia than any other Western country.) These outward looking initiatives were preceded by the now seemingly forgotten ARX, an ambitious series of projects organised by a collective of artists and cultural producers in Perth throughout the 1980s and 1990s which brought together artists from Australia and the Asia Pacific for a longitudinal cultural exchange, through developing the parameters for cultural contact and discourse. From its beginnings, ARX was based upon the participation of artists from Southeast Asia, representing a new direction in terms of artist exchange within Australia and the Asia-Pacific. Perhaps impetuously, ARX situated Australian art at the centre of this multi-lateral rather than bi-lateral region. Until 1991 the acronym stood for Australia and Regions Exchange, but following criticism by Southeast Asian artists that Australia had positioned itself in this way, the name was altered to Artists' Regional Exchange. The last ARX, its fifth iteration in 1999-2000, was held in Perth, Singapore and Hong Kong.

A similar critique regarding positioning arose from the first APT. The organisers went to "extreme lengths" to "enhance cultural understanding through long-term engagement with contemporary art and ideas from Asia and the Pacific, [with] a commitment to co-curatorship and consultation, and location of the artist/artwork/audience relationship as central" (according to APT core principles), in presenting nearly 200 artworks by 76 artists from Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, China, Hong Kong, Japan and South Korea, as well as Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea. Unlike other biennales/triennials, the 1993 APT, followed by 1996 and 1999, were based on co-curatorship/team-based curated selections, a model non-existent in the 1990s in the ASEAN region, rather than via a 'star' curator. They also presented major conferences, at the time, the largest held in Australia, developed with the participation of scholars, artists and curators from throughout the region. The inaugural APT nonetheless attracted criticism from regional participants during the appended conference and artist's talks, that the host country's knowledge, or lack of the Southeast Asian region and its modern and contemporary art, and its display through the APT might satisfy changing national geopolitical views and ambitions, but this had to spring from knowing the region's art and artists and *knowing itself* in the process, that such knowledge is not instantly extracted and collected (therefore an over time engagement), and that it should not choose only art it liked but rather that which was considered important to the region. These critiques I will refer to later.

The 2nd APT in 1996 presented 101 artists from 17 countries (including New Zealand, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu); the 3rd in 1999, 77 artists from 20 countries (including for the first time Pakistan and Sri Lanka); the 4th in 2002, with only 17 artists from 11 countries, "by a core group of influential artists from the Asia Pacific region who challenged and shaped the course of contemporary art and modern culture over recent decades (Yayoi Kusama, Nam June Paik and Lee U-fan)... supplemented by a younger generation of artists who explored related ideas and themes"; the 5th APT in 2006 reverted to its previous larger-styled format as the opening exhibition for the new Queensland Art Gallery/Gallery of Modern Art (QAGOMA) with its "strongest representation of Pacific artists to date," with 39 artists from 18 countries; the 6th in 2009 with 165 artists from 27 countries, including for the first time Tibet, North Korea, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Armenia, Lebanon, Israel and Palestine; the 7th in 2012 presented 75 artists from 27 countries with a "special focus from Papua New Guinea and New Britain" and the mini-exhibition

'0-Now: Traversing West Asia' of seven artists and collectives from the Middle East and Central Asia curated by SALT (Istanbul) curator November Paynter; the 2015 Triennial with 83 artists from 36 countries (including Papua, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, UAE, Iran and India); and the most recent APT in 2018, with over 80 artists and artist groups from over 30 countries.

Following the implementation of the first APT, the East Asian/Southeast Asian region has seen a proliferation of new (or rebranding of already established) biennials and triennials, amongst others – Gwangju Biennale (1995), Shanghai Biennale (1996, becoming 'international'-focused in 2000), Taipei Biennial (1998), Fukuoka Asian Art Triennale (1999, following on from its prior iterations as *The Asian Art Show*), Yokohama Triennale (2001), Busan Biennale (2002), Guangzhou Triennial (2002), Beijing Biennale (2003), Singapore Biennale (2006), Jakarta Biennale (2006, after an eight year hiatus), Asian Art Biennial Taiwan (2007), Biennale Jogja (2009, following its restructure) and Aichi Triennale, (2010), the most recent being the Bangkok Art Biennale (2018).

Research into their artist selections, of the past decade or more in particular, presents an intriguing delineation in participants from the East Asian/Southeast Asian and the Australian-Pacific regions. The following crunching of numbers supersedes any intent or desire to theorise or speculate, neither insinuating deliberate exclusion nor the appellation that Australian/New Zealand/Pacific Islands artists are 'not good enough', while further cautiously negotiating such problematic terminologies (of the 'cartographic imaginary') of 'Asia', 'Southeast Asia', 'Asia-Pacific', of 'glocal', 'regional', 'international', as well as the equally fraught undertaking of drawing a line on a map. Scholarly writing over the past decade has articulated how these biennials and triennials have been underscored by a multiplicity of driving factors in their envisioning, construction and presentation, from national economic affirmation through to 'global-city' promotion, as symbols of cultural advancement and indicators of global visibility/status. Susie Lingham writes in this issue, in her examination of the legacies of the 2013 and 2016 Singapore Biennales, "Art biennales are *all* about national representation—how nations see themselves and want to be seen; how cities position themselves and their aspirations as cultural centres of influence, whether regionally or globally." Many of the institutions running these events are further forced by additional conditions to become local and regional in order to build long-term sustainable audiences; indeed, one of the main directives behind the APT model post-2003.

An audit shows that these events fall effectively into two groups (and here I invoke my hesitation in using such categorisations, as it can be argued that even so-called 'Asia'-focused biennales/triennales *are* 'international' or 'global' in their attitudes, so as to make such delineations dubious) of demonstrating an 'international' model through the presentation of the event's own national artists with an equal number of international artists, mostly from the Europe/USA nexus, thus giving it an apparent 'international' validation (Gwangju Biennale, Shanghai Biennale, Aichi Triennale, Yokohama Triennale, Busan Biennale, Taipei Biennial); and an 'Asia'-focused model (Singapore Biennale, Taiwan Biennial, Fukuoka Asian Art Triennale, Asian Art Biennial Taiwan) predominantly or solely consisting of artists from Asia. The former group infrequently presents one or two Australian artists (or none), even less from New Zealand (or none), and none from the Pacific Islands or Papua New Guinea (the 2019 Singapore Biennale being the first event outside the APTs to include an artist from this country), while the latter group of course essentially excludes these artists (the Singapore Biennale introduced its Asian-region directive in 2013, and the Asian Art Biennial Taiwan, though it has presented a small number of artists from the Middle East,

Europe, South America etc. since 2013, perhaps as an idiosyncratic reflection of the diversity of its curators, nonetheless presents itself as 'Asia'-focused.) Space only allows for the following, with all quotes sourced from the relevant event's website, the larger numbers (especially Euro-American) occasionally lacking an exactness given artists' dual domiciles and countries of origin.

The Gwangju Biennial, established in 1995 is Asia's oldest, its objective, to "differentiate its global presence as a leader of glocal visual culture." The 2018 Biennale, *Imagined Borders*, in "exploring the political, cultural, physical and emotional concepts of borders in today's global community," presented over 100 artists, with over 70 from Asia, including both South and North Korea, and five from Australia and New Zealand, through a collective of eleven curators, all from South Korea and the USA, except for Singapore-based curator David Teh (who writes for this issue). The 2016 Biennale, *The Eighth Climate (What Does Art Do?)*—"What is the essence of art in this age? its connection with the future in midst of daily life and struggles for survival in the present, and how it lands in different contexts throughout society," with Maria Lind as artistic director, presented over 100 artists, 65 from Europe/USA, 25 from Asia, and two Australian. The 2014 Biennale, *Burning Down the House*, with "about half of Asian artists reflecting the prestige of Gwangju Biennale, which has been exploring Asian values and Asianness during the past twenty years as Asia's largest biennale, aiming to deliver the discourses on art by including just the Third World countries like South America rather than focusing on Europe," again presented just over 100 artists, 40 from Asia, 45 from Europe/USA, and one from Australia. This edition was curated by Jessica Morgan (UK). The 2012 Biennale, *Roundtable*, curated by Nancy Adajania (India), Wassan Al-Khudhairi (Qatar), Mami Kataoka (Japan), Sunjung Kim (Korea), Carol Yinghua Lu (China) and Alia Swastika (Indonesia), presented 92 artists—30 from Europe/USA, nearly 40 from Asia, three from Australia (two with an Asian background), and two from NZ.

Under the authority of the Chinese Ministry of Culture and the Municipal Administration of Shanghai, the Shanghai Biennial was initiated in 1996 with the aim to "expand Shanghai's importance as the 'gateway to the West' through the arts sector... to serve as an international platform for the self-portrayal of China and Shanghai... highlighting the increasingly important role of artistic production in the Asia-Pacific region." With the Power Station of Art now the main organiser and permanent exhibition location, it presents itself as "one of the most influential in Asia," maintaining "Shanghai as its primary focus." The 2018 Biennale, *Progress: Art in an Age of Historical Ambivalence*, curated by Mexican art critic and historian Cuauhtémoc Medina presented, "Artworks as witnesses of the ambivalence of the present... our relationship with progress and regression," by 71 artists/artist groups, with 36 Asian or operating from Asia, and over 20 from Europe/USA. The 2016 Biennale, *Why Not Ask Again*, of "The manoeuvres, disputations and stories that contain and encode turbulences and transports of our time," curated by Raqs Media Collective, presented 95 artists/artists groups, 34 from Asia, 20 from Europe-USA, 10 from India, 9 from the Middle East and two from Australia. The 2014 Biennale, *Social Factory*, curated by Anselm Franke, included nearly 90 artists, none of whom were from Australia, New Zealand, etc. However, the 2012 Biennale, *Reactivation*, curated by Qiu Zhijie included over 80 artists/artist groups through a one-off curatorial model of 30 country pavilions, of the participants over 40 were Asian, one New Zealand artist was shown at the Auckland Pavilion, and via the Sydney Pavilion, five Australian artists were shown.

The Aichi Triennale, with a mission to "demonstrate trends in cutting edge contemporary art centered around visual art with an international perspective [to] realise a community-friendly triennial exhibition representing the culture of Aichi/Nagoya," was founded in 2010. The 2019

Triennale, *Taming Y/Our Passion*, curated by 7 Japanese and 1 Mexican curators, presented 30 artists/groups from Japan, 9 from Asia, 17 from Europe/USA, and 1 from Australia. The 2016 Triennale, *Homo Faber: A Rainbow Caravan* had 4 Japanese, 1 Turkish and 1 Brazilian curators, presenting 37 Japanese artists, 8 Asian, 20 European-American artists and 1 Australian, with (presumably influenced by the Turkish curator) 1 artist from Palestine, 1 from the United Arab Emirates, two from Turkey, one from Kyrgyzstan and three from Egypt. The 2013 Triennale, *Awakening—Where Are We Standing?—Earth, Memory and Resurrection*, in reflecting on art in the wake of the 2011 East Japan Earthquake, conceived by four curators from Japan and one from the UK, presented 56 Japanese artists, six from Asia, and one from Australia.

The Yokohama Triennale, inaugurated in 2001, “an international exhibition of contemporary art that features internationally prominent artists along with up-and-coming figures, and presents the latest trends and expressions in contemporary art... [it] also features many site-specific works highlighting the distinctive charms of the host city. Participants are European and American-based as well as from Asia itself, making the Yokohama Triennale an interesting place to see exciting new art works emerging from this specific part of the world.” The Yokohama Triennale 2017, *Islands, Constellations & Galapagos*, conceived by three Japanese curators with six associates, four of whom were also Japanese, responded to “the world being shaken to its foundations caused by the expansion of networks beyond conventional frameworks, and events such as conflicts, refugees and immigration crises, the UK’s withdrawal from the EU and the rise of populism, the 6th edition examined the state of the world through the themes of isolation and connectivity.” It included 11 Japanese artists, 17 from Europe/America, and 12 from Asia. The 2014 Triennial, *Art Fahrenheit 451: Sailing into the sea of oblivion*, curated by Japanese artist Yasumasa Morimura, exhibited over 400 artworks by 65 groups/79 artists—25 from Japan, 31 from Europe/USA, and 9 from Asia. The Yokohama Triennale 2011, *Our Magic Hour—How Much of the World can we know?*, with Japanese curator Akiko Miki, presented 37 Japanese artists, 30 from Europe/USA, 12 from Asia, and 1 from Australia. The Yokohama Triennale 2008, *Time Crevasse*, with curators Daniel Birnbaum (Germany), HU Fang (China), Akiko Miyake, Hans-Ulrich Obrist (Switzerland) and Beatrix Ruf (Switzerland), presented 14 Japanese artists, 12 from Asia and 40 from Europe/USA.

The Taipei Biennial, presented by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, has over the past decade increased the visibility of Taiwan contemporary art on the global stage, its aim to further involve Taiwan in the “Asian and global international art network.” The Taipei Biennial 2018, *Post-Nature—A Museum as an Ecosystem*, with co-curators Francesco Manacorda (UK) and Mali Wu (Taiwan), included 16 Asian artists/groups, 14 from Europe/USA and one from Australia. The 2016 Biennial, *Gestures and Archives of the Present, Genealogies of the Future*, presented over 80 artists, all of whom were Asian except for 18 from Europe/USA, six from the Middle East and one from South Africa. Nicolas Bourriaud curated the 2014 Biennial, *The Great Acceleration: Art in the Anthropocene*, presenting 28 European-American artists, 17 from Asia, two from the Middle East and six South American. The 2012 Biennial, *Modern Monsters/Death and Life of Fiction*, with curator Anselm Franke, exhibited 94 artists, one third being Asian, and the remainder mostly from Europe/USA.

Of the second category, the Fukuoka Asian Art Triennale, first staged in 1999 to mark the opening of the Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, was reviewed in 2017 after a reduction in audience numbers. The Triennale set until 2014, its last edition, a different theme for each exhibition focusing on “the most remarkable movements in Asian art of a particular time to introduce original creativities of Asia... in the context of the history, society and culture of Asia of that time,” its aim to create a

space of collaboration of Asian artists with people working locally in art and culture, and to provide opportunities of continuous exchange and international activities for the promotion of Fukuoka. The 2014 Triennale, *Panorama of the Nextworld: Breaking Out into the Future*, presented artists from Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Indonesia, Brunei, Philippines, Mongolia, China, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan, as did all Triennales back to the first iteration in 1999. In effecting a belt of all countries linking Pakistan to Japan (sans North Korea), it excluded all other countries often represented in Asia-Pacific Triennals. While scholars have presented analogies between the Fukuoka Asian Art Triennale and the Asia Pacific Triennial, both events being museum-based (unlike the majority of biennales/triennals), in provincial cities seen by them 'gateways' to Asia, committed to collecting Asian contemporary art since the 1980s, and based upon the principles of artists cultural exchange and cross-cultural encounters with a responsibility to promoting audience engagement of and learning from other cultures, it would seem from this particular observation the two events might also be viewed as being poles apart.

The Singapore Biennale was initiated in 2006 by the National Arts Council with the aim to position Singapore as an international centre and regional "thought leader" in visual art, and to enhance "Singapore's international profile as a vibrant city." The first three Biennales – 2006, 2008 and 2011 – were formulated by curators from Japan, Sri Lanka/UK, The Philippines, Singapore, Australia and the USA, with broad themes and artist representation. In 2011 the Biennale, *Open House* presented 27 artists from Asia, 24 Europe/USA and four from Australia; in 2008, *Belief* presented 66 artists from 33 countries shown in a distinctly 'global' presentation, including, apart from the expected Southeast Asian/European-American nexus, artists from Kyrgyzstan, Iran, UAE, Argentina, Kuwait, Ukraine, India, Bahrain, Palestine, Russia and Yemen; with two artists from Australia. The 2013 Biennale amended its horizons under the control of the Singapore Art Museum (see Susie Lingham's text in this issue) in *If the World Changed*, "harnessing the energy of the Southeast Asian region to bring to the fore unique practices, concerns and myriad perspectives of artists from this part of the world," with a team of 27 regional curators, featuring works by 82 artists and artist collectives (ninety-three percent of artworks from Southeast Asia), resulting in the "strongest Asian representation to date." The 2016 Singapore Biennale, *An Atlas of Mirrors*, developed by a curatorium of 10 regional curators presented 59 artists and artist groups, all from Asia, enhancing its Southeast Asian dimension. This Asian-directive was relaxed fractionally in 2019 with *Every Step in the Right Direction*, conceived by curator Patrick Flores with a curatorium of six regional curators, with 70 artists and collectives engaging a more globalised "dynamic relationship between the art world and the larger social context... to enhance the potential of [the Biennale] to fully engage with the 'current' atmosphere of both discourse and expression," the majority of artists being 'Asian'. Of the others, only one was Australian (of Laotian Hmong background, see Tim Riley Walsh's text in this issue) and one from Papua New Guinea, as referred to prior, the only instance outside the APT.

The Asian Art Biennial Taiwan was first organised in 2007 "as an important platform of artistic exchange between Taiwan and the international arts community." The 2019 Asian Art Biennial, *The Strangers from Beyond the Mountain and the Sea*, co-curated by artists Hsu Chia-Wei from Taiwan and Ho Tzu-Nyen from Singapore, presented 30 artists and collectives from 16 countries – 26 from Asia, with artists from Iraq, Germany, Israel and Netherlands/Peru. Continuing its predominantly 'international-Asian' purview, the 2017 Biennial, *Negotiating the Future*, with curators Wassan Al-Khudhairi (Iraq), Ade Darmawan (Indonesia), Kenji Kubota (Japan), Lin Hsiao-Yu

(Taiwan), included 36 artists/collectives from 21 countries, 24 from Asia and 10 from the Middle East (presumably the influence of the curator from that region). The 2015 Biennial, *Artist Making Movement*, curated by National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts' Iris Shu-Ping Huang, presented 25 Asian, one Middle Eastern, one American and two Australian artists. The Asian Art Biennial 2013, *Everyday Life*, included 30 Asian artists, one Russian, one Euro-Asian and two Australian artists. The 2018 Taiwan Biennial, *Wild Rhizome*, included 32 artists/groups, predominantly Asian; the 2016 Taiwan Biennial, *The Possibility of an Island*, presented 30 artists/artist collectives, all Chinese; and the 2014 Taiwan Biennial, 38 artists/collectives, all Taiwanese. The newest regional event, the 2018 Bangkok Art Biennale, *Beyond Bliss*, its mission "to engage Thai, ASEAN and international audiences," curated by Apinan Poshyananda with an international advisory group, presented 75 artists/artist groups, nearly 60 being Asian, two from Australia (one part Thai) and one New Zealand (Samoan).

Two other events falling within the ambit of this observation, forming another imaginary line between them at rightangles to this propositional fault line, are the Auckland Triennial and the Kochi-Muziris Biennale. The Auckland Triennial, founded in 2001 (also currently in hiatus), was promoted as "New Zealand's premier international contemporary art exhibition providing a window into the world of contemporary art while creating a dialogue between local artists and their global counterparts." The 2013 Auckland Triennial, *If you were to live here* was curated by Hou Hanru, exhibiting 39 artists, seven from Asia, 13 from Europe/USA, 11 of from New Zealand and five from Australia; in 2010, *Last Ride in a Hot Air Balloon*, presented 11 artists from Europe/USA, five from Asia, five from New Zealand, four from Australia, and three from the Middle East; while in 2007, *Turbulence* exhibited 10 artists from Europe/USA, nine from New Zealand, five from Australia, two from the Middle East, and only one from China (being the Long March Project).

The Kochi-Muziris Biennale, "is India's first ever biennial of international contemporary art and its story is unique to India's current reality — its political, social and artistic landscape... [seeking] to invoke the latent cosmopolitan spirit of the modern metropolis of Kochi and its mythical past, Muziris, and create a platform that will introduce contemporary international visual art theory and practice to India." It has constructed gradually a broad presentation base of international artists, such that since 2011, proportionately more Australian and New Zealand artists have participated in its four editions than in the above East/Southeast Asian events over the same period — 2012: three Australian artists in a cast of mostly Indian participants; 2014: two Australian and one New Zealand artists from 96 overall; 2016: two Australian and one New Zealand artists in Sudarshan Shetty's *Forming in the pupil of an eye* (with a broader representation of artists from Russia, Turkey, Morocco, Israel, Albania, Greece, Slovenia and Iran), and Anita Dube's 2018 Biennale, *Possibilities for a Non-Alienated Life*, from 96 artists shown, 44 were Indian artists, 10 Asian, 22 from Europe/USA, and two from Australia.

Among other tentative meditations drawn from this brief study, in considering the inherent positivity of the proposition of 'every step in the right direction' (the title of the 2019 Singapore Biennale), of the conditions of contemporary life and human endeavour to change, those critiques of ARX and the APT and their pathfinding intentions and aspirations might now be considered in context of elapsed time and subsequent developments; and that this notional fault-line might be mere abstraction. I'd like to acknowledge Caroline Turner, John Clark, Kanaga Sabapathy, Paul Gladston, David Teh and Robin Peckham in sharing their thoughts with me in this exercise.