Counter memorials and counter monuments in Australia's commemorative landscape: A systematic literature review

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ABSTRACT

Over the course of the last four decades there has been a growing interest in the development and impact of counter memorials and counter monuments. While counter memorial and monument practices have been explored in Europe and the United States, relatively little research has been conducted in the Australian context. This systematic literature review examines the current state of scholarship by exploring what form counter monuments and memorials have taken and what events they have focussed on. A total of 134 studies met the selection criteria and were included in the final review. The major factors identified that have impacted on the development of the counter memorial and monument genre in Australia are international and domestic influences, historical, political and social-cultural events in Australia, the socio-political agenda of various individuals or organisations, and the aesthetics of the counter memorials and monuments themselves. The review found that Australia has a diverse and active counter memorial and monument genre, with commemorative practices honouring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, women, victims of human made and natural disasters, the experiences of asylum seekers, and the histories and experiences of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer communities.

KEYWORDS

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history, Aesthetics, Anti-monuments, Anti-memorials, Commemorative practices, Counter-memorials, Counter monuments, Human and natural disasters, Frontier Wars, Queer memorialisation, Women's history

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Introduction

Memorials and monuments influence how people remember the past by recording and narrating history in selective ways, often hiding as much as they reveal (Alderman & Dwyer, 2009). Consequently, commemorative practices and the social process of remembering are simultaneously accompanied by a process of forgetting, one achieved through the exclusion of other historical narratives. As memorials and monuments often reflect the values of the dominant social class, they tend to exclude, marginalise or contort the histories and narratives of minority groups. However, there is increasing evidence of marginalised groups responding to this silence by building counter memorials and monuments that challenge the dominant historical narratives that frequently exclude them.

The Australian commemorative landscape is dominated by two kinds of memorials and monuments. The first kind consists of war memorials, mostly honouring those who served and recognising those who were killed during the First and Second World Wars and in various post-war conflicts such as Korea and Vietnam (Oliver & Summers, 2014). Inglis (1998), Scates (2006; 2009), and Ziino (2007) are among a growing number of researchers who explore Australian war memorials and monuments, a genre dominated by the nation's obsession with the First World War. The landing on Gallipoli by Australian troops in 1915 became in the words of the Australian historian Manning Clark, 'Australia's day of glory', one commemorated annually on Anzac Day (25 April). The national mythology that enshrouds this commemoration continues to exert an extraordinary emotional power (Kerby & Baguley, 2020), one which foregrounds the role of Australian military engagements and the Anzac spirit in shaping the nation (Lake, 2010). Australia's traditional memorials and monuments are almost universally reverential, but they are increasingly subject to interrogation for what some see as their "nation-building, exclusionary, sexist and militaristic" agenda (Strakosch, 2010, p. 270).

This reverence, which has installed the Anzac myth as the nation's civic religion, does not extend to all who participated in or were affected by conflict. For example, the Indigenous and female experience of war have long been marginalised. The failure to acknowledge the Australian Frontier Wars as a conflict in their own right is part of a broader process famously characterised as the 'great Australian silence' (Stanner, 1991 [1968]). Although Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have participated in all of Australia's major overseas conflicts, including the Boer War, First World War, Second World War, Malayan Emergency, Korean War, Vietnam War, Gulf War, and peacekeeping missions around the globe, there is a "cult of disremembering" which has reduced Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to little more than a "melancholy footnote" in Australia's history (Stanner, 1991 [1968], p. 120). This process has all but erased the "invasion, massacres, ethnic cleansing and resistance" that characterised their treatment for much of the period after 1788 (Stanner 1991 [1968], p. 120). Given the "relentless militarisation of Australian history" (Lake & Reynolds, 2010, p. 138) and the central role played in this process by the Australian War Memorial (AWM), the Frontier Wars might in other circumstances have been incorporated into a broader, national mythology. Instead, the AWM steadfastly refuses to include them in its displays. As one of the nation's most important cultural institutions, this exclusion is no ordinary sleight (Kerby, Bywaters, & Baguley, 2019). Alan Stephens (2014, para. 1) argues convincingly that this is "historically dishonest" and an "impediment to reconciliation." While the women's experience of war has not been neglected to quite the same extent (see Shute, 1975; Gowland, 1980; Damousi, 1991) there is a pressing need to adopt a broadened approach that recognises experiences ranging from nursing, to volunteer patriotic work, and anti-war activism (Beaumont, 2000).

The second kind of memorial or monument that is a regular feature of the Australian landscape are those commemorating European colonisation. Inglis (1998) identified thousands of memorials to colonisation, with 5000 in the state of New South Wales alone. A consistent rhetoric accompanies these memorials, one which foregrounds the 'pioneer,' as an archetype that conveys a narrative of "development, productivity and initiative" (Graves & Rechniewski, 2017). The role

of violence in enforcing Aboriginal dispossession is almost never evoked in these monuments, and it is instead implied that the right to the land has been earned through the pioneering spirit of white settlers (Graves & Rechniewski, 2017). A more disturbing category of assimilationist monument are those dedicated to Aboriginal people as "the last of their tribe" (Besley, 2005). These types of memorials and monuments misrepresent the passing of Aboriginal culture and its ostensibly non-violent assimilation into mainstream Australian society (Besley, 2005). Two prominent examples are the memorials to the Aboriginal women Kal-Ma-Kuta at Wingi near Bribie Island and Truganini at Bruny Island in Tasmania (Besley, 2005). This approach contributes to the creation of a national story that marginalises events in Australian colonial and post-colonial history that challenge the celebration of European settlement and the democratic nation that emerged after Federation in 1901.

Counter memorials and counter monuments

Commemorative forms have undergone a radical transformation over the course of the last four decades. This is a response to international trends that first emerged in West Germany in the 1980s and a growing preparedness on the part of Australians to recognise historical trauma. In contrast to traditional memorials and monuments that glorify an event, a person or affirm an ideology, this new style of commemorative practice recognises the less celebratory events in a nation's history (Stevens, et al., 2018). The term counter memorial (or counter monument) was coined by James Young, who used it to explore Holocaust memorials constructed by nations to honour the victims of their own crimes (DeTurk, 2017). Young analysed several German examples that embodied counter monumentality. Two in particular became famous for representing this new type of monument: Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz's *Monument Against Fascism, War and Violence – for Peace and Human Rights,* unveiled in Hamburg in 1986 and Horst Hoheisel's Aschrott-Brunnen Monument, more commonly referred to as the *Aschrott Fountain* built in Kassel in 1989. *The Monument against Fascism, War and Violence – for Peace and Human Rights* encouraged more than just a philosophical engagement. It provided viewers with a metal pencil and a panel with the following text:

> We invite the citizens of Hamburg, and visitors to the town, to add their names here to ours. In doing so we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names cover this 12 metre-high lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day it will have disappeared completely and the site of the Hamburg monument against fascism will be empty. In the long run, it is only we ourselves who can stand up against injustice. (Young, 1992, p. 274)

The *Aschrott-Brunnen Monument* drew its inspiration directly from the fountain gifted by the Jewish businessman Sigmund Aschrott that was built in front of the City Hall in the German town of Kassel. The Nazi's tore down the Aschrott-Brunnen Fountain in April of 1939 leaving only the sandstone base. The local artist Horst Hoheisel wished to recreate the old fountain, "but in a way that suggested loss, emptiness and the painful history that had been blurred and forgotten by the town" (Johnson, 2013, para. 3). He therefore recreated the original fountain as a hollow concrete shell which was then buried upside down in the exact location of the original. The hollow inverted version of the fountain was covered by glass and a grate that "traced the outline of its bottom, so that people could walk across it and look into its emptiness" (Johnson, 2013, para. 2). The viewer was also able to hear water falling to the bottom of the fountain which was now 12 metres underground. Hoheisel described his approach to the memorial:

> The only way I know to make this loss visible is through a perceptibly empty space, representing the space once occupied. Instead of continuously searching for yet another explanation or interpretation of that which has been lost, I prefer facing the loss as a vanished form. A reflective listening into the void, into the negative of an irretrievable form, where the memory of that which has been lost resounds, is preferable to a mere numb endurance of the facts. (Johnson, 2013. para. 4)

The prominence and unconventionality of both monuments acted as catalysts for the development of numerous counter memorials and monuments in Europe, including *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* (2005), *The Nameless Library* (also known as the *Judenplatz*

Holocaust Memorial) (2000) and the *Stolpersteine* project (1992). Though they commemorated more than just the Holocaust, Young (1993) was quite clear about their purpose:

> [They] aim not to console but to provoke, not to remain fixed but to change, not to be everlasting but to disappear, not to be ignored by passers-by but to demand interaction, not to remain pristine but to invite their own violation and not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to drop it at the public's feet. (p. 30)

Although counter memorials and counter monuments are most often associated with Germany, Young's description of the genre is consistent with numerous memorials and monuments erected across the world. Prominent examples in the United States include Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veterans' Memorial* (1982) in Washington DC and the 9/11 Memorial in New York City, *Reflecting Absence* (2011). These developments made their way to Australia, where they contributed to a "shift away from normative memorial treatment to engage with the strengthening multicultural aspects of Australia" (Ware, 2004, p. 122). This was often in the form of additions or alterations made to existing memorials, an approach particularly evident during the 1980s and 1990s when they were used as a means of reinterpreting Aboriginal history and foregrounding forgotten voices (Batten & Batten, 2008). Nevertheless, Australia's counter memorialisation practices have attracted considerably less interest from researchers than those in Europe and the United States. However, there are exceptions, as is evident in the work of Strakosch (2010), Ware (2004), and Bulbeck (1988). One of the most notable efforts to address this alteration in Australian commemorative practices was a survey conducted between 2004 and 2008, which culminated in the publication of *Places of the Heart: Memorials in Australia* (Ashton, Hamilton & Searby, 2004). The authors moved beyond the fixation with traditional war memorials to explore alternative memorials in Australia including those to disasters, AIDs and roadside deaths. This review will extend on this work and the research undertaken by Strakosch (2010) and Ware (2004) by providing a systematic review of the literature pertaining to counter memorials and counter monuments in the Australian commemorative landscape.

Method

An electronic search was conducted through the following databases: EBSCO MegaFile Complete, JSTOR, Web of Science, Taylor and Francis, and Scopus. Using relevant, controlled vocabulary at initial screening, the following key terms were used in Boolean topic searches: "Counter memorial" OR "Counter monument" AND "Australia" OR "anti-memorial." Other synonyms and related search phrases were also trialed, including "Counter memory" OR "deathscapes" OR "War memorials" OR "Gardens of Remembrance." Publications such as book reviews were excluded, as well as those in languages other than English. However, additional sources were identified through other means, including searching the same key terms in Google Scholar and checking the reference lists of articles for additional sources missed in the initial search. The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRIMSA) diagram (Figure 1) was used to track the process of identifying and selecting relevant papers to address the research question: What form have counter memorials and monuments taken and what is their particular focus?

Using the key search terms listed, 545 sources were found in the various databases, plus an additional 193 identified through other sources. After the removal of 224 duplicates, 513 records were screened. Many of the sources initially screened focused on counter memorials and counter monuments in the context of literature or film. These records were excluded, leaving 355 sources to be fully assessed for inclusion in the study. Following the review of the title and abstract, this process was repeated for the full-text review of the records. Sources that focused on traditional, American confederate, or colonial monuments and memorials were excluded (n=39), as well as any sources that did not sufficiently focus on the counter memorial or counter monument genre in Australia or international factors that did not influence Australia's commemorative practices (n=90). This left 134 sources for inclusion within the review. The data extracted from these sources included names and types of memorial or monument; country and significance of its location; influences and perceptions of the creator; and historical,

aesthetic, rhetorical, political and social-cultural themes and dimensions relating to the monument or memorial. The data extraction form is located in Appendix A.
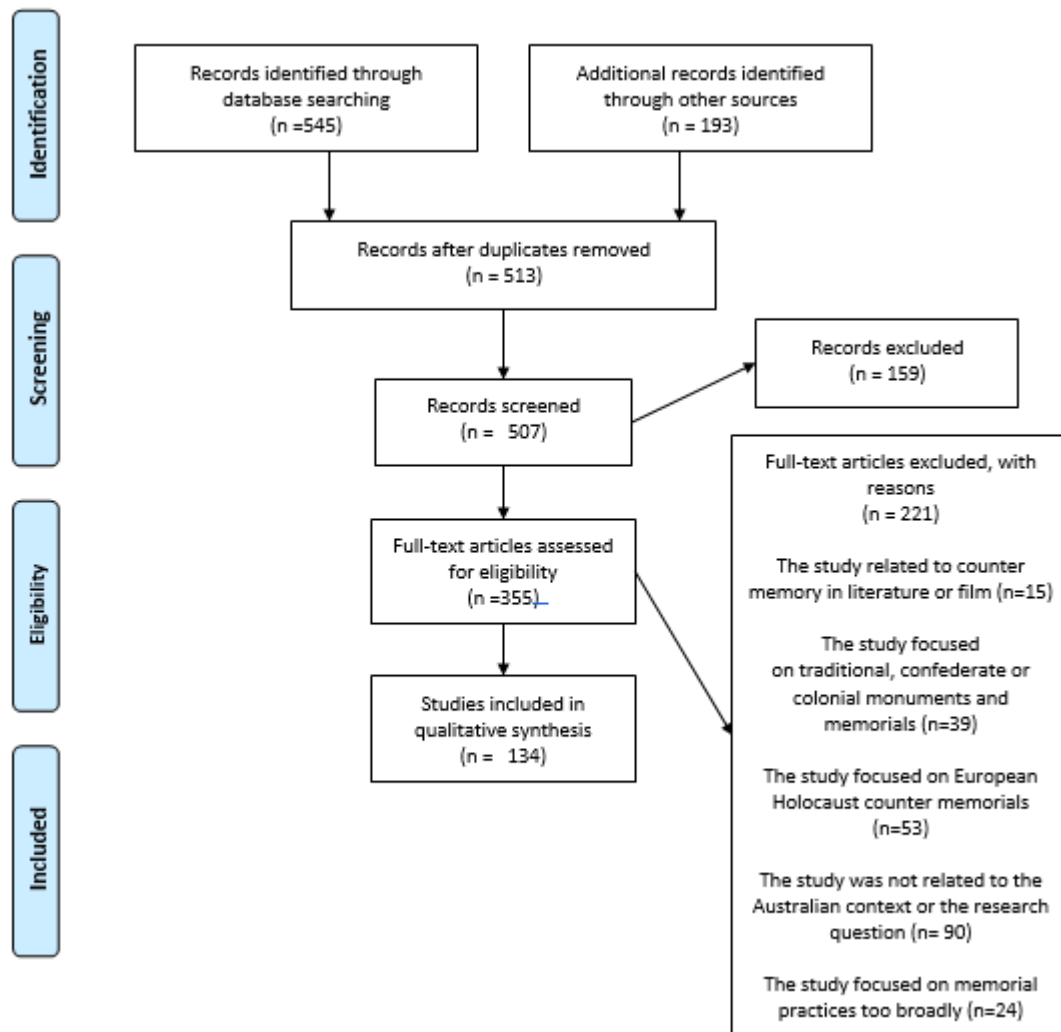

Figure 1: The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRIMSA) diagram on counter memorials and counter monuments in Australia

Results and discussion

All selected studies were classified in different historical themes such as the Holocaust, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history, queer memorialisation, peacekeeping initiatives, women's history and perspectives, refugee experiences, and terrorism. Figure 2 presents the studies based on the historical or cultural theme of the counter memorial or counter monument.
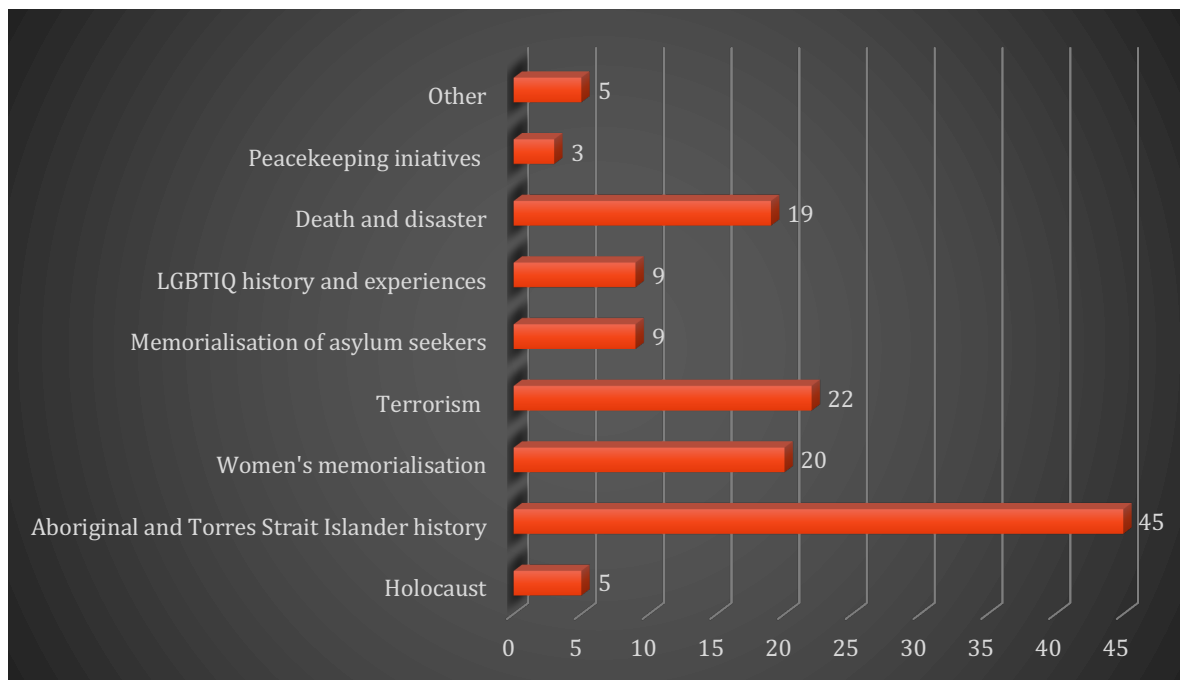
Figure 2: Classification of counter monument and counter memorial by historical themes

1. The Holocaust

As counter memorials and counter monuments emerged in post-war West Germany, Holocaust memorialisation was a regular feature in the literature and was cited as a primary influence for the development of similar memorials and monuments in other countries. Australian examples are no exception, for they regularly employ representational strategies drawn from Europe, such as being interactive instead of merely pedagogical and their use of an "abstract aesthetic language of absence" (Strakosch, 2014, p. 137). However, as further noted by Strakosch (2014), they are rarely as radical either in form or discourse as their European counterparts. Five studies focused on Holocaust memorials in Australia (Alba, 2007; Alba, 2016; Cooke, 2018; Levi, 2007; Witcomb, 2013). Two studies focused on the Sydney Jewish Museum (Alba 2007; Alba 2016). Alba (2007) explored the Sydney Jewish Museum's *Sanctum of Remembrance* (1992) and analysed the relationship between Holocaust memorials, the Jewish commemorative tradition, and the sacralisation of Holocaust memory in the Australian context. Art was also a medium used to capture Holocaust memory in Australia. Cooke (2018) examined the 1961 Warsaw Ghetto exhibition in Melbourne and Witcomb (2013) explored art in the Jewish Holocaust Museum in Melbourne.

2. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history and perspectives

Forty-five studies were identified that focused on counter memorialisation practices related to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history. The three main sub-categories were memorials and monuments that acknowledged the role of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders peoples during war time and/or the Frontier Wars (n=22); memorials dedicated to the Stolen Generations (n=12); and traditional memorials and monuments that have been altered to include Aboriginal perspectives and narratives (n=15) (Figure 3).
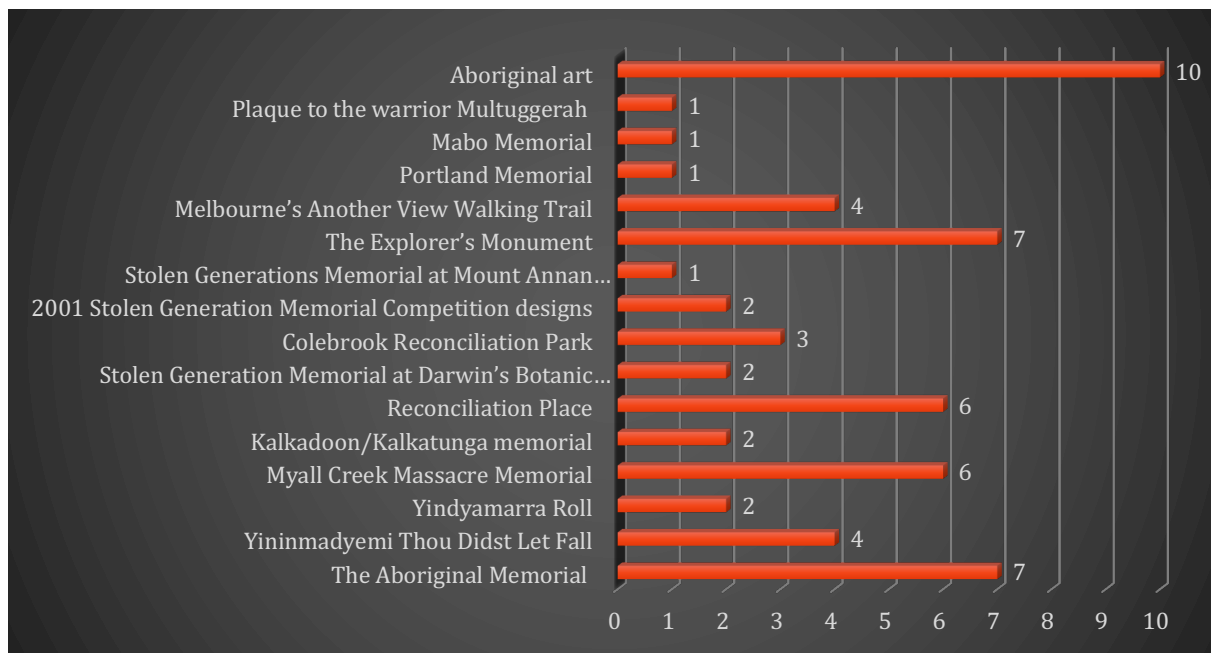
Figure 3: Counter memorials and monuments for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history, culture and perspectives

2.1 Countering the Great Australian Silence

Twenty-four studies directly challenge the 'great Australian silence' by acknowledging the Frontier Wars and the contribution of Aboriginal people to Australia's wars (Table 1). Seven studies focused on the *Aboriginal memorial* by Aboriginal artist Djon Mundine (De Lorenzo & Chow, 2011; Desmond, 1996; Jenkins, 2003; Lendon, 2016; Mundine, 1999; Mundine, 2015; Smith, 2001); four focused on the memorial *Yininmadyemi Thou didst let fall* by Aboriginal artist Tony Albert (Kerby at al. 2019; Oakley, 2015; Riseman, 2017; Syron, 2015); two studies mentioned the *Yindyamarra Roll* by Wiradjuri artist Amala Groom (Barritt-Eyles, 2019; Graves & Rechniewski, 2017); and ten studies focused on other memorials to the massacres of Aboriginal peoples (Barritt-Eyles, 2019; Batten & Batten, 2008; Besley, 2005; De Lorenzo & Chow, 2011; Frew & White, 2015; Graves & Rechniewski, 2017; Harris, 2010; Read, 2008; Schlunke, 2016).

The literature consistently identified the fundamental role played by landscape and natural materials in memorialising Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history and culture (Batten & Batten, 2008; Besley, 2005; De Lorenzo & Chow, 2011; Jenkins 2003; Mundine, 1999). De Lorenzo and Chow (2011) found that sacredness was embodied in the natural components of *the Myall Creek Massacre Memorial.* Mundine (1999) states that his *Aboriginal Memorial* is like a forest and that "each log is ceremonially a bone coffin … and the forest is like a large cemetery" (p. 49). Jenkins (2003) also explored the meaning of the hollow logs and the role of nature, arguing that the *Aboriginal Memorial* offers a snapshot of Arnhem Land that possesses "numerous associations, readings and layers of meaning that are constantly changing" (p. 246). In contrast, some counter memorials and monuments draw their inspiration from Australia's traditional war memorials. According to Jenkins (2003), the Aboriginal Memorial is linked to Australia's Unknown Soldier, and the hollow logs it is comprised of serve the same function as a cenotaph, which literally means 'an empty tomb.' *Yininmadyemi thou didst let fall* adopts a more literal approach by using oversized bullets as a universal signifier of conflict (Kerby et al. 2019, p. 561). *Yindyamarra Roll's* symbolic correlation to the Honour Roll in Returned Services League clubs across Australia challenges the lack of recognition of Indigenous Australians who fought in foreign wars and resisted colonial invasion (Graves & Rechniewski, 2017). Additionally, commemoration of the massacres of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples through public art is now quite extensive and has attracted a commensurate level of academic interest (Barritt-Eyles, 2019;

Batten 2004; Batten & Batten 2008; Caso, 2020; De Lorenzo & Chow 2011; Lowish, 2018; McLean, 2016; Mendelssohn, 2018; Read, 2008; Schlunke 2006).

Title of work	Number of papers	Citations
The Aboriginal Memorial	7	De Lorenzo & Chow, 2011; Desmond, 1996; Jenkins, 2003; Lendon, 2016; Mundine, 1999; Mundine, 2015; Smith, 2001.
Yininmadyemi - Thou didst let fall	4	Kerby et al. 2019; Oakley, 2015; Riseman, 2017; Syron, 2015.
Yindyamarra Roll	2	Barritt-Eyles, 2019; Graves & Rechniewski 2017.
Myall Creek Massacre Memorial	6	Batten & Batten, 2008; De Lorenzo & Chow, 2011; Frew & White, 2015; Graves & Rechniewski 2017; Read, 2008; Schlunke, 2016.
Kalkadoon/Kalkatunga memorial	2	Besley, 2005; Read, 2008.
Pinjarra memorial	2	Graves & Rechniewski 2017; Harris, 2010.
Aboriginal art	10	Barritt-Eyles, 2019; Batten 2004; Batten & Batten 2008; Caso, 2020; De Lorenzo and Chow 2011; Lowish, 2018; McLean, 2016; Mendelssohn, 2018; Read 2008; Schlunke 2006.

Table 1: Counter memorials and counter monuments for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history

Researchers identified several influential individuals and associations that have contributed to the development of counter memorials and counter monuments that recognise the contribution of Aboriginal servicemen and acknowledge the Frontier Wars. Two studies referenced historian John Pilger and Governor General Sir William Dean as catalysts for the development of the *Aboriginal Memorial* through their call for national recognition of the 'black wars' (Jenkins, 2003; Riseman, 2017). Historian Ken Inglis was also identified as someone who called on the AWM to incorporate the Frontier Wars into their displays (Jenkins 2003; Riseman, 2017). Other factors that informed the historical development of the counter memorials and monuments to Australia's First Nations people includes the work of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Veterans and Services Associations (ATSIVSA) and the Reconciliation Service who campaigned for memorials to Indigenous service (Riseman, 2017). More recently, the issue of memorialising the Frontier Wars has been driven by Aboriginal activists who have organised a 'shadow march' after the Anzac Day march in Canberra to mark those who died in the Frontier Wars (Graves & Rechniewski, 2017). Similarities between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander counter memorials to Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veterans' Memorial* (Clark, 2008) were also identified. Lin designed the *Vietnam Veterans' Memorial* as a black scar in the landscape to express the scarred psyche, thereby depicting loss rather than heroism (Clark, 2008). Counter memorials to Aboriginal history are similar in that they disrupt the romanticisation of the Anzac legend and encourage the public to engage with contested history and challenge, rather than endorse pre-existing beliefs.

2.2 Memorialising the Stolen Generations

Twelve studies focused on counter-monuments to the Stolen Generations – the children of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent who were forcibly removed from their families as a result of the Australian Government's policy of assimilation which began in the first half of the

20th century and continued until the 1960s (Table 2) (Ashton, 2009; Ashton & Hamilton, 2008; Atkinson-Phillips, 2018; Atkinson-Phillips, 2020; Batten and Batten, 2008; Besley, 2005; Read, 2008; Strakosch, 2009; Strakosch, 2010; Strakosch, 2014; Ware, 1999; Ware, 2004). The literature found that counter memorials and counter monuments to the Stolen Generations are heavily influenced by conceptions of transitional justice and human rights (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020). State-led inquiries into human rights violations, formal apologies, and the creation of memorials to acts of injustice against Indigenous peoples were in evidence internationally and ultimately also emerged in Australia (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020). Atkinson-Phillips (2020) also argued that half of all Australian memorials created between 1985 and 2015 were directly related to a national inquiry or Royal Commission. The National Inquiry into the Removal of Aboriginal Children from their Families, led by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (HREOC) (1997) and the subsequent *Bringing Them Home Report* (1997) informed the development of counter memorials and counter monuments relating to the Stolen Generations. These factors, along with Prime Minister John Howard's refusal in 1998 to apologise for the actions of past governments, which a decade later was delivered by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd during the 'Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples' speech (2008), opened a space for "public mourning of the lost culture, language and childhood experience of the Stolen Generations" (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020, p. 4).

Title of work	Number of papers	Citations
Reconciliation Place	6	Batten & Batten, 2008; Besley 2005; Read, 2008; Strakosch, 2009;Strakosch,2010; Strakosch, 2014.
Stolen Generation Memorial at Darwin's Botanic Garden	2	Ashton, 2009; Ashton & Hamilton, 2008.
Colebrook Reconciliation Park	3	Atkinson-Philips,2018; Atkinson-Phillips, 2020; Read 2008.
2001 Stolen Generation Memorial Competition designs	2	Ware, 1999; Ware, 2004.
Stolen Generations Memorial at Mount Annan Botanical Garden	1	Batten & Batten, 2008.

Table 2: Counter memorials to the Stolen Generations

Many of the studies relating to the memorialisation of the Stolen Generations focussed on grief, healing and the role of nature in healing trauma. In Aboriginal culture there is no arbitrary separation between nature and culture (NSW Department of Environment and Conservation, 2006). Natural forms such as gardens and parks, or used materials such as wood, water and rocks have therefore emerged as key elements of Aboriginal memorials, particularly in the case of those commemorating the Stolen Generations. There were five studies of memorials that utilised a natural landscape setting to commemorate the Stolen Generations (Ashton, 2008; Atkinson-Phillips, 2018; Atkinson-Phillips, 2020; Batten & Batten, 2008). These include the Stolen Generation memorials at Mount Annan Botanical Garden, Darwin's Botanic Gardens, and Colebrook Reconciliation Park in South Australia. The literature noted that memorials with a natural setting appeared to lead to experiences of healing and reflection, particularly for Aboriginal people (Batten & Batten, 2008). Visitor reviews of the memorial at Mount Annan Botanical Garden characterised it "as a journey of healing and reflection as they walk through the forest," a "peaceful meeting place with water," and one that allowed at least some of the visitors to reconnect with Country (Batten & Batten, 2008, p. 97). In the case of the Colebrook Reconciliation Park, Silvio Apponyi and Shereen Rankine's *Fountain of Tears* uses water to acknowledge the pain, trauma, and sorrow of those affected by the removal of children (Atkinson-Phillips, 2018).

2.3 Altering colonial memorials and monuments

Fifteen studies focused on 'twinned' memorials and monuments, also known as 'tack-ons,' whereby alternative views are offered through additions or alterations (Ware, 2004). Table 3 lists memorials that have undergone some type of modification or which inspired the design of a dialogic memorial, a type of counter monument that counters an existing monument and the values it espouses (Quentin et al., 2018).

Title of work	Number of papers	Citations
Reconciliation Place	6	Batten & Batten, 2008; Besley 2005; Read, 2008; Strakosch, 2009; Strakosch, 2010; Strakosch, 2014.
The Explorer's Monument	7	Batten & Batten, 2008; Besley, 2005; Graves & Rechniewski, 2017; Harris, 2010; Mills &Collins, 2017; Read, 2008; Scates, 2017.
Melbourne's Another View Walking Trail	4	Fiannuala 2016; Morris, 2001; Ware, 1999; Ware, 2004.
La Grange Massacre of the Karaadjarie people	2	Graves & Rechniewski, 2017; Read, 2008.
Portland Memorial	1	Bulbeck, 1991.
Mabo Memorial	1	Sullivan and Sullivan, 2020.
Plaque to the warrior Multuggerah in Duggan Park, Toowoomba	1	Graves & Rechniewski, 2017.

Table 3: Twinned and dialogic counter memorials

Tack-ons are often responses to monuments that are considered offensive, and like twinned monuments they incorporate a variety of perspectives to facilitate a re-interpretation of a country's past. Studies found that removing racist monuments or altering them with tack-ons has gained considerable publicity, not all of it positive, as a result of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement (2013-) in the United States (Mills & Collins, 2017; Scates, 2017; Slessor & Boisvert, 2020). Bulbeck (1988) states that twinned memorials "provide a second disjunctural reading for the spectator which the monument does not resolve" and are "one of the most powerful forms of rewriting memorial history" (p. 10). In contrast, Ware (2004) argues that tack-ons are 'band-aids,' merely existing in relation to a historical 'wrong.'

Similarly, another type of memorial that has attracted some interest from researchers is the dialogic memorial or monument. For example, *Reconciliation Place* (n=6) includes an explicit representation of the Stolen Generations that challenges a 'silence' in a nearby monument (Batten & Batten, 2008; Besley, 2005; Read, 2008; Strakosch, 2009; Strakosch, 2010; Strakosch, 2014). The *Mabo Memorial* in Townsville is even less subtle, as it is in the form of a canon aimed at the controversial colonial statue of Robert Towns across Ross Creek. According to Sullivan and Sullivan (2020), these memorials and monuments are in dialogue with each other, "acknowledging mutual and antagonistic pasts in the present" (p. 179). This is in contrast to older, more traditional statues which do not recognise alternate viewpoints and instead offer a single vision that is grounded in a narrow conception of citizenship and national identity.

3. Women

Twenty studies focused on memorials and monuments that capture the contributions and experiences of women (Abousnnouga & Machin, 2011; Ashton & Hamilton, 2008; Bailey & Woytiuk, n.d; Besley, 2016; Bold et al., 2002; Bulbeck, 1992; Burk, 2006; Ching, 2019; Gardiner, 2019; Kelsey, 2018; Lattouf, 2016; Mackie, 2016; Marschall, 2010; Mikyoung, 2014; Orozco, 2019;

Pickles, 2004; Randle, 2018; Reed & Brown, 2012; Yoon, 2017; Yoon & Alderman, 2019). Two main categorisations within these counter commemorative practices were identified in the literature: memorials and monuments that acknowledged the service of women (n=8), or which are dedicated to women who have lost their lives to violence or have survived sexual abuse (n=12) (Figure 4).
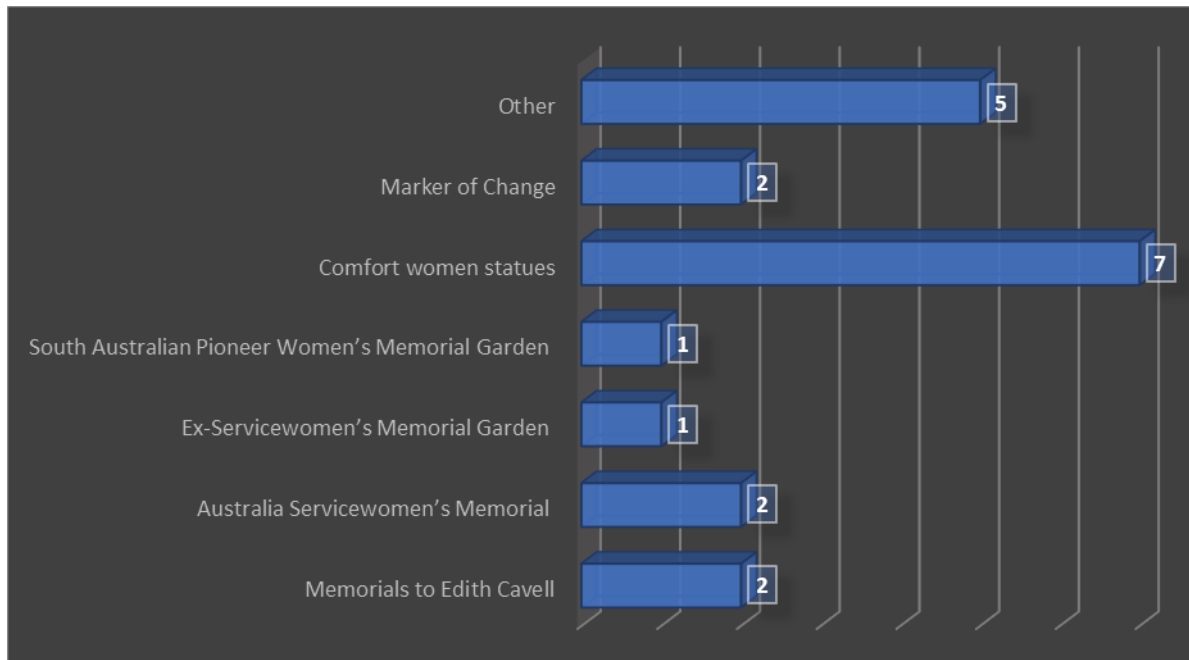

Figure 4: Counter memorials to the experiences and services of women

3.1 Women

While males are often installed as heroic figures in Australia's public memory; in contrast, women are more likely to be presented as allegorical or mythological figures (Abousnnouga & Machin, 2011; Bulbeck, 1992; Mackie, 2016). Furthermore, Inglis (1998) notes that war memorials and monuments to women, even nurses, are rare in Australia. Eight studies explore counter memorials that commemorate the contributions and services of women (Abousnnouga & Machin, 2011; Besley, 2016; Bulbeck, 1992; Gardiner, 2019; Mackie, 2016; Marschall, 2010; Pickles, 2004; Reed & Brown, 2012). Two studies found that memorials to British nurse Edith Cavell who saved the lives of allied and enemy soldiers and was executed by the Germans in 1915 contributed to the public recognition of women in service, with hundreds of memorials and monuments dedicated to her around the world (Bulbeck, 1992; Pickles, 2004). Although Cavell never set foot in Australia, she left a legacy of honouring women in war which exerted a considerable influence on Australia's commemorative practices to servicewomen (Bulbeck, 1992; Pickles, 2004). Three studies focused on memorials that paid tribute to the thousands of women who served Australia in wars and peacekeeping endeavours (Mackie 2016; Marschall, 2010; Reed & Brown, 2012). Two papers focused on the *Australian Servicewomen's Memorial* in Canberra (Mackie 2016; Marschall, 2010), and one study focused on the *Ex-Servicewomen's Memorial Garden* in Melbourne (Reed & Brown 2012). Reed and Brown (2012) identified in the Ex-Servicewomen's Memorial Garden a number of symbols drawn from nature. For example, South African jacarandas represent the Boer War, which is the first war in which Australian women served (Reed & Brown, 2012). One study focused on the *South Australian Pioneer Women's Memorial Garden* (Gardiner, 2019). The memorial affirmed white settler women's right to be recognised in public memory, reflecting contemporary feminist discourse around gender, citizenship, and traditional gender roles (Gardiner, 2019). Garden historian Katie Holmes noted the significance of gardens to women in colonial Australia in forging a sense of settled place and identity in a 'new land' (Gardiner, 2019). This is evident in

the *South Australian Pioneer Women's Memorial Garden* which utilises flowers to symbolise feminine virtues (Gardiner, 2019). The earth and natural elements are a common theme of counter memorial design to servicewomen and pioneer women. The use of earth as an intrinsic element is seen in many memorials designed by and dedicated to women including: the *Australian Services Nurses Memorial, Australian Servicewomen's Memorial, The Korean War Memorial, The Ex-Servicewomen's Memorial Garden and Cairn,* and *The South Australian Pioneer Women's Memorial Garden*. According to Hess (1983), there is a "female sensibility" in memorials linked with the earth in contrast to "phallic memorials that rise upwards" (p. 123).

The contribution of Aboriginal women as domestic workers was also depicted through an art museum project called *Many Threads* (Besley, 2016). *Many Threads* was created by Cherbourg women who incorporated their experience of service and trauma on tea towels. According to Besley (2016), *Many Threads* is a form of counter memory with narratives that bring hidden and silenced pasts into the public domain.

3.2 Memorialising violence against women

Parks have emerged as a common site to memorialise women who have died at the hands of men (Bold et al., 2002; Burk, 2006), which again is in step with international developments. For example, Burk (2006) studied three monuments: *Marker of Change* (1997), *CRAB Park Boulder* (1997), and *Standing with Courage, Strength and Pride* (1997) in Canada, which memorialised women who died by, or have experienced violence from men. Bailey and Woytiuk (n.d) studied Marker of Change, which commemorates the murder of fourteen female engineering students at Montreal's Ecole Polytechnique by a gunman. Marker of Change is a collection of benches marched with oval depressions, where water naturally collects (Bailey & Woytiuk, n.d). These pools symbolise tears. The inscription dedicates the monument to "all women who have been murdered by men" (Bailey & Woytiuk, n.d). Another study focused on – a tribute to Marianna Goulden who was murdered by her male partner in 1992 (Bold et al., 2002).

In Australia, this development has been recently evidenced in the renaming of a section of Camp Hill Park in Brisbane, *Hannah's Place,* in memory of Hannah Clarke and her three children who were burnt alive by her husband and their father (Stone, 2020). However, there is a gap in the commemorative landscape, with no memorial or monument existing in Australia that specifically addresses violence against women perpetrated by men. There was a temporary floral memorial to Eurydice Dixon an Australian comedian and actress, in Princes Place, Melbourne. After performing a comedy gig she was raped and murdered whilst walking back home in 2018. The floral tributes were mulched and spread across the three victims of crime memorial sites in Melbourne, with calls for a permanent memorial to be erected (Ansell & Prytz, 2018). There was also an unofficial tribute plaque to Jill Meagher who suffered a similar fate while walking home from a pub in Brunswick, Melbourne. A memorial stone and floral tributes were placed near the shallow grave where her body was found. The plaque was later removed by the Melton City Council "in a compromise with locals, and was done with the permission of the Meagher family" (Duffy, 2012). Yet as Ashton (2009) observes, there is a general absence of memorials to women who are raped and murdered at the hands of men in Australia, despite campaigns from the victims' families and the rate of domestic violence in Australia. However, one Australian study did find a memorial to victims of child abuse and rape in Tasmania (Ashton & Hamilton, 2008). This memorial is comprised of hundreds of white crosses lining a flowerbed. Each day organisers add three crosses to represent the estimated number of children that are abused every day in Tasmania (Ashton & Hamilton, 2008). Similarly, *the Memorial to Forgotten Australians and Wards of the State* (2010) in Adelaide which includes huge meta flowers intended to be gazanias, honours children who have suffered abuse in institutional and out-of-home care (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020).

4. *Spontaneous memorials*

Spontaneous memorials mark the deaths of people who do not fit into the categories of those we expect to die (Ware, 2004). The term spontaneous memorial was coined by Jack Santino to describe murder sites in Northern Ireland that had become shrines (Doss, 2018). The definition has expanded to include those who die engaging in routine activities in which there is a reasonable expectation of safety, such as driving a car to work (Ware, 2004). In addition, they can memorialise forgotten, marginalised or 'regular' members of society. The literature found that the development of spontaneous memorials is informed by several historical and cultural factors, including:

- Existential, spiritual and phenomenological ideas that link to the sense and meaning of a fatal place (Clark & Franzmann 2006, Grider 2006; Maddrell & Sideaway, 2010; Petersson, 2009).

- The impact of political, religious, cultural and social structures (Maddrell & Sideaway, 2010).

- How the practice of placing material things associated with the deceased by the site generates the presence of the deceased, and gives the place meaning (Petersson 2004, Petersson, 2009).

- How spontaneous memorials are distinct from traditional commemorative practices by offering a way for people to mark their own history, challenge society or unite in grief and anger (Doss, 2008).

Memorials that commemorate tragedy, death and disaster include ones to victims of drug overdose (n=3), roadside memorials (n=9), victims of terrorism (n=22), victims of suicide (n=1), victims of natural disasters (n=6), and memorials that commemorate the experiences of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTIQ+) communities (n=9), particularly in reference to the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic. Figure 5 identifies the subjects of commemoration in this field:
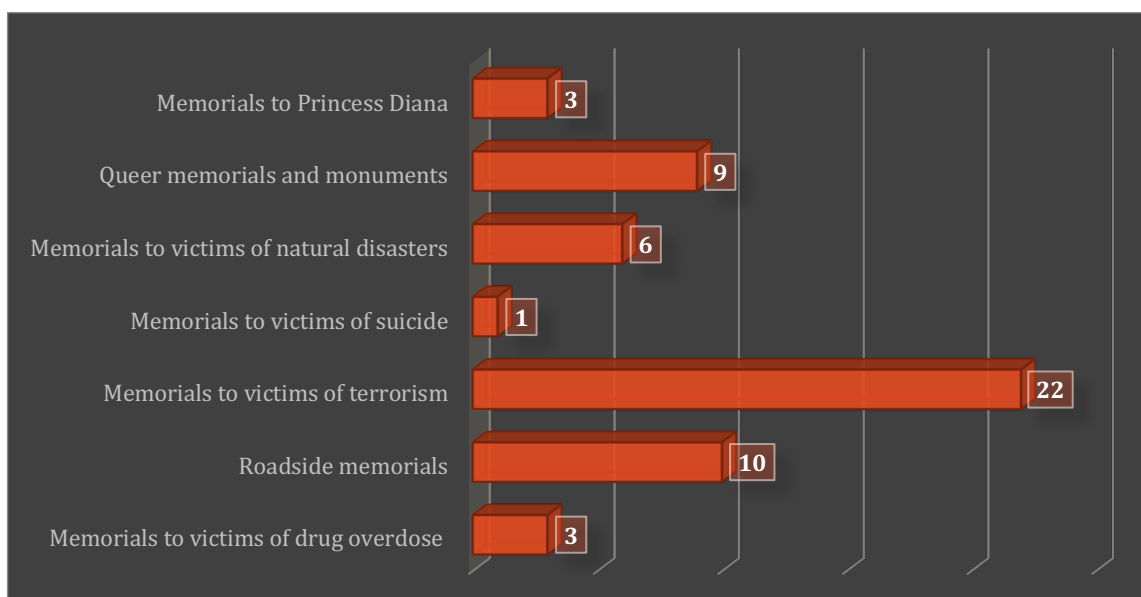

Figure 5: Counter memorials to death and disaster

4.1 Roadside memorials

The international array of temporary and spontaneous memorials created after the death of Princess Diana on August 31, 1997 is one of the most prominent examples of a spontaneous memorial (Ashton & Hamilton, 2008; Doss, 2008; Sully, 2010). Ashton and Hamilton (2008) note that the public outpouring of grief over Princess Diana's death was articulated in Australia through the construction of formal, unofficial, and temporary memorials. Although she remains one of the most famous road fatalities in history, Gibson (2011) notes that roadside memorials have a global cross-cultural history dating back centuries. Ten studies have explored roadside memorials in Australia, excluding that of Princess Diana's (Ashton & Hamilton, 2008; Baptist-Wilson, 2013; Clark, 2008; Doss, 2008; Gibson, 2011; Hartig & Dunn, 1999; Maddrell & Sideaway 2010; Smith, 1999; Ware, 2004; Welsh, 2017). After examining over 400 roadside memorials in Australia and New Zealand between 1989 and 2004, Clark (2008) argued that they challenge narratives of modernity and human frailty. Hartig and Dunn (1998) explored roadside memorials in Newcastle that focused on the roadside deaths of young people, particularly young men. They argue that roadside memorials should be viewed as symbols of societal flaws and a "testament to dominant and problematic strains of masculinity," which glorify hyper-masculinity rather than condemn unsafe road practices. Other studies include the *Road as Shrine Memorial* in Victoria which uses sections of road and landscape to memorialise highway fatalities and provide space for personal commemorations (Ware, 2004). The literature also includes other assessments of roadside memorials. Gibson (2011) argues that roadside memorials function as a catalyst in revealing the ever-present spectre of death and the fragility of human life. Baptist-Wilson (2013) acknowledged that landscape architecture is an important medium for the interpretation and expression of contemporary tragic events such as roadside deaths.

4.2 Counter memorials to honour victims of terrorism

Terrorism is a common theme in the global counter memorial genre with twenty-two national and international studies found in the review (Ashton & Hamilton, 2008; Allen and Brown, 2016; DeTurk, 2017; Evans, 2019; Frew, 2012; Frew & White, 2015; Hannum & Rhodes, 2018; Heath-Kelly, 2018; Jinks, 2014; Lewis et al., 2013; Micieli-Voutsinas, 2014; Monument Australia, n.d.a; Monument Australia, n.d; Moshenska, 2010; Sci, 2009; Silveira, 2019; Sodaro, 2017; The Guardian, 2017; Welsh, 2016; Widrich, 2019; Young, 2016; Zuber, 2006). Figure 6 highlights the historical events memorialised:
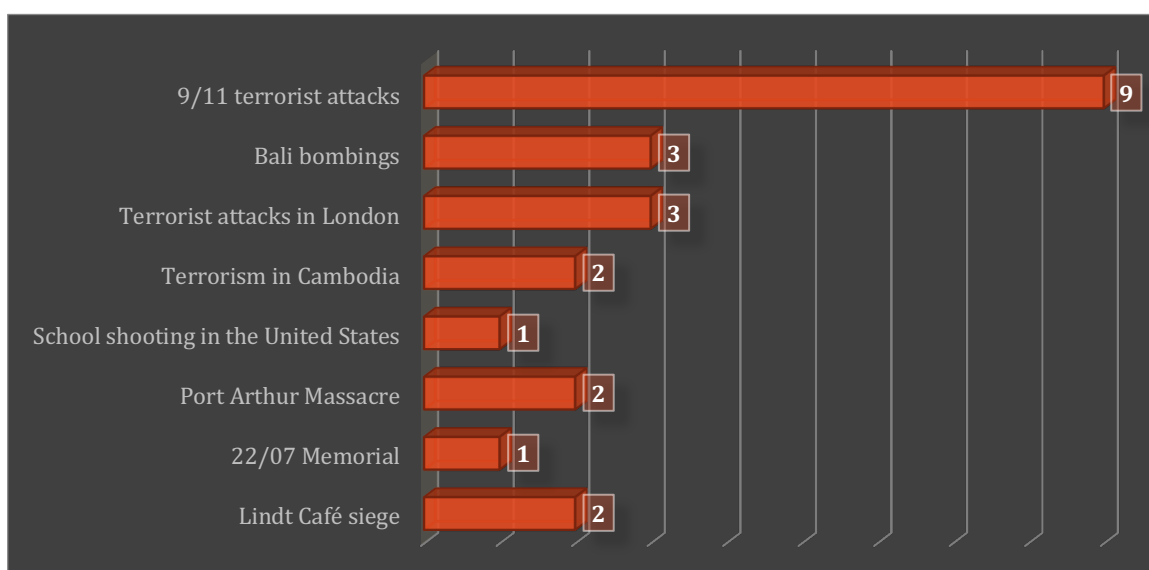

Figure 6: Terrorist attacks that influenced the development of counter memorials to victims of terrorism

Counter memorials to victims of 9/11 dominate the literature on a global scale. However, Australia's commemorative practices to terrorism were primarily influenced by three events: the Port Arthur Massacre (1996), the Bali bombings (2002), and the Lindt Café siege (2014). The website Monument Australia (n.d.) regards the Bali bombings as Australia's version of September 11, a perception that influenced the development of a *Bali Bombing Memorial* (2003) at the Gold Coast and the establishment of a water fountain in Carlton, Victoria (Ashton & Hamilton, 2008). Heath-Kelly (2018) acknowledges that in commemorations of human lives lost to terrorism, European and American memorials increasingly appeal to the aesthetics of 'nature' to symbolise societal regrowth. This is also evident in Australian memorials to victims of the Port Arthur Massacre and the Lindt Café siege. Frew (2012) and Frew and White (2015) studied *the Memorial Garden at Port Arthur historic site* (2000), which incorporates the remains of the cafe where victims were killed, a reflective pool, crosses engraved with the victims' names, and a plaque describing what happened on the day. The Lindt Café siege resulted in one of Australia's largest spontaneous memorials in Sydney's Martin Place which was transformed by more than 100 000 bunches of flowers (Monument Australia, n.d; Welsh, 2016). This spontaneous memorial of public grief inspired the development of a permanent Lindt Café siege memorial, titled *Reflection* (2017), which consists of 210 hand-crafted flowers embedded in the ground and covered by glass (Monument Australia, n.d). According to the New South Wales government, the "sea of flowers in the heart of the city signifies the heart of the community united in the face of tragedy" (Monument Australia, n.d), indicating that even a counter memorial can be enlisted in the cause of national unity.

4.3 Queer memorials and monuments

Although still relatively rare, queer memorials are a growing subset of counter memorials (Ashton, 2009; Orangias et al., 2018). Orangias et al. (2018) identified 46 queer memorials around the world which they define as sites that honour "gender and sexual minorities" and "represent communities that have often been excised in dominant public narratives" (p. 705). The stigma surrounding the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic (1981-) was one of the major factors that influenced the development of counter memorials and monuments to the LGBTIQ+ community in Australia. There are several memorials to AIDS in Australia, notably the *Fairfield Aids Memorial Garden* (1988) in Melbourne, the Memorial garden at Newcastle's John Hunter Hospital (1994), and the AIDS Memorial Bell in Sydney (2003). Interestingly, one of the most prominent counter memorials to AIDS is the *AIDS Memorial Quilt*– a series of cloth panels stitched together, each produced in memory of a person who has died from AIDS (McKinnon et al., 2016; Power, 2011). The first Australian *AIDS Memorial Quilt* was launched in Sydney on World AIDS Day in 1988. It was inspired and influenced by the original AIDS Quilt (1985) in America, and qualifies for consideration as a counter memorial by virtue of the fact that it challenges the public imagery and stigma associate with HIV and AIDS (Power, 2011). Other international studies relating to queer counter memorials focus on memorialising victims of homophobic violence (Boylan, 2013) and remembering the persecution of homosexuals by the Nazis (1933-1945) (City of Sydney, n.d; Dunn, 2019; Lehrman, 2003). *The Gay and Lesbian Holocaust Memorial* in Sydney (City of Sydney, n.d) is Australia's contribution to this development. The aim of queer counter memorials is to provide visibility, reduce stigma, educate the public about homophobic abuse and the attempted extermination of gender and sexual minorities, and to stimulate public debate about gender and sexual minority rights (Orangias et al., 2018).

4.4 Other counter memorials and counter monuments to death and disaster

Three studies focused on *the Anti-Memorial to Heroin Overdose Victims,* which was a public installation that sought to humanise the 331 overdose deaths in Melbourne in 2000 (Malins, 2016; Ware, 2004; Ware, 2008). This spontaneous counter memorial challenged the stereotype of the 'junkie' and encouraged viewers to adopt a more benevolent attitude by utilising a personalised

and humane memorial design (Ware, 2008). Harm Reduction Victoria's *Overdose Memorial Day installation* (2016) is another recent counter-memorial that uses public art such as graffiti to memorialise the names of victims to drug overdose in Melbourne's alleyways. (Malins, 2016). *The White Wreath Memorial* at the State Library of Victoria in 2001 was another spontaneous memorial that deployed traditional and counter memorial strategies to remember victims of suicide and make the public more aware of the prominence of suicidality (Ware, 2008).

Three studies focused on memorials to natural disasters in Australia and New Zealand (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020; Joyce, 2018; Logan, 2015). Logan (2015) explored the 1983 Ash Wednesday bushfire disaster through the burnt remnants of the former Cockatoo Kindergarten in the Ash Wednesday Memorial (1983). Smith (2016) discussed *the Black Saturday Memorial Tree* (2013/2014), a memorial of community hope, to the victims of the 2009 Black Saturday fires. Atkinson-Phillips (2020) notes that disaster memorials in Australia are often created to remember the experience of living through a disaster rather than focusing on loss of life. This is evident in the *ACT Bushfire Memorial* (2003), which is comprised of bricks on which survivors inscribed messages of loss which referenced their homes and their memories, rather than people (Atkinson-Philips, 2020). Counter memorials to natural disasters were also found in New Zealand, with a particular focus on the earthquakes in Christchurch. Joyce (2018) studied the *Stadium Broadcast* (staged in 2014), a radio memorial of archival recordings that hosts the memories of local people. According to Joyce (2018), the *Stadium Broadcast* reflects on the spatiality of radio sounds, post-disaster transitionality and the impermanence of place due to natural disasters. In disaster memorials, the relationship between humans and nature was another theme that emerged from the literature, specifically that of the Anthropocene, which highlights the fact that humans live "within a meteorological theatre that impacts and is impacted by their presence" (Widrich, 2019). As the Anthropocene refers to geological time, it is intrinsically linked to memory (Massolde Rebetz, 2019), and has resulted in a more sober view of memorials as geographical and ideological landscapes, with a focus on processes, rather than events (Widrich, 2019). Stanley (2019) explored this notion through an analysis of human relationships with the environment at the Kyneton Botanic Gardens (est. 1858) in regional Victoria.

The commemoration of famine and poverty also emerged as a theme from the literature (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020; McGowan, 2014). The Irish famine was another disaster memorialised in both Australia, New York, and Canada (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020; McGowan, 2014). Australia erected a *Memorial to the Great Irish Famine* (1845-1852) (1999), whereas New York developed *the Irish Hunger Memorial* (2002), which makes an historical connection with the ongoing issue of food poverty across the world (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020).

The memorialisation of animals is a less common theme in the literature (Eason, 2019). Eason (2019) explored online deathscapes for people who memorialise their pets and maintain a companion animal presence through virtual commemoration. The changing face of the expression of grief, using online platforms such as Facebook, blogs, discussion boards, Twitter and YouTube was discussed by Gibson (2013). She posits that both roadside memorial sites and Internet memorial sites "mimic graveyard or cemetery memorials . . . [and] virtual memorials may . . . become the chosen or dominant spaces for memorialisation, replacing real world geographical spaces and places." Gibson (2013) argues that online sites keep the memory of a deceased person or animal alive.

5. *Other counter memorials and monuments*

The review also found counter memorials and counter monuments erected to commemorate the experiences and deaths of asylum seekers (n=9), the Korean War (n=2), and peacekeeping operations (n=3).

5.1 Counter memorials to asylum seekers

Six studies explored memorials that commemorated the sinking of SIEV X, a fishing boat that sank in international waters, killing 353 asylum seekers (Andrews, 2008; Cole, 2017; Gibbings, 2010; Horsti & Neumann, 2019; Tello, 2016; Ware, 2008). The acronym SIEV stands for Suspected Illegal Entry Vessel and is used by the surveillance authority for any boat that has entered Australian waters without prior authorisation. Five studies focused on the Canberra *SIEV X Memorial* (2006) – an installation of 353 wooden poles, painted by community groups and school children (Andrews, 2008; Cole, 2017; Gibbings, 2010; Horsti & Neumann, 2019; Ware, 2008). Cole (2017) found that 20% of poles were decorated with Australiana images, including native animals, fauna, flora, tourist landmarks, Australian symbols and Indigenous artwork. A further 12% depicted landscapes of the Australian bush. Cole (2017) argues that the use of Australiana imagery reflected a desire on the part of the public to symbolise the inclusion of asylum seekers in their local areas. One study focused on three memorials to the sinking: the *SIEV X Memorial in Melbourne* (2002), a temporary light projection that "literally and figuratively illuminated the deaths that occurred as a result of the SIEV-X sinking"; the *Christmas Island SIEV X Memorial* (2001); and *the Janga/SIEV 221 Memorials* (2004) (Cole, 2017, p. 106). Horsti and Neumann (2019) note that a bench exists in Hobart to commemorate the SIEVX disaster, and that there are public memorials in each of Australia's six state capitals that acknowledge the experience of child migrants (Atkinson-Phillips, 2020). Baldassar (2006, p. 49) acknowledges that monuments have the power to turn migrants into citizens and uses *the Italian Pioneer Monument* (2008) in Perth as an example of a "de-ethicised homage to the Australian pioneer myth."

Each of the SIEVX memorials have political and moral connotations, further exacerbated by the events of 9/11, the context of the war on terror, and Australia's border security policies. This raised questions about who is human and who is grievable (Andrews, 2008). Cole (2017) argues that these memorials were developed to create cultural memory and to challenge a government rhetoric that sought to dehumanise, make invisible and suppress not only public memory of asylum seekers but also the public debate on how they should be treated. This was also evident in Dierk Schmidt's twenty-one part history painting called *SIEVX on a case of intensified refugee politics* (Tello, 2016). Schmidt's artwork identifies the forces that might have prohibited the remembrance of SIEV X, including portraits of Australian figures involved in asylum seeker discourse, such as Prime Minister John Howard, and Immigration Minister Philip Ruddock (Tello, 2016). This again reflected international trends. Beyond Australia, the literature also identified similarly contested memorials in the United States and Europe (Auschter, 2014; Widrich, 2019). Auchter (2013) explores the memorialisation of undocumented immigrants at the US-Mexico border, which has been controversial due to their legal status and the counter-memorialisation discourses that have arisen.

5.2 War and peacekeeping initiatives

Although war memorials dominate Australia's memorial practices, some wars are marginalised within Australia's commemorative landscape. This includes the Korean War (n=2), the Pacific War (n=1) and Australia's peacekeeping initiatives (n=3). The experiences of Australian prisoners of the Japanese in Thailand and Singapore were explored through the *Museum of Difficult Memories* (2009) (Pieris, 2013). The *Museum of Difficult Memories* asks people to address "important ethical issues in relation to Australia's shared history with Asia; its obdurate Eurocentrism and evasion of regional influences, its divisive rhetorical constructions of nationalism and deep-rooted anxieties based on residual prejudices" (Pieris, 2013, p. 116). Histories of conflict in Asia, particularly the Korean War (or the 'forgotten war') and the politically divisive Vietnam War, challenged the Eurocentric focus of many memorials, though they remain overshadowed by the World Wars and the Anzac legend (Pieris, 2013; Ward & Sharp, 2010). Two studies focused on the *Korean War Memorial,* designed by Jane Cavanaugh (Crawford, 1996; Ward & Sharp, 2010), which has a garden feel to it and one that represents a "welcome departure from the heroic

monumentality of traditional Australian war memorials" (Ward & Sharp, 2010, p. 58). This also serves to balance the tragedy of war with hope, much like the Taoist concepts of Yin and Yang which inspired it.

Two studies explored the *Shrine of Remembrance* (1941) at the AWM which is buried below ground, invoking the trenches of the First World War and resisting monumentality (Pieris, 2013; Ware, 2005). According to Pieris (2013, p. 112) the design suggests that the "weight of war, memory, and loss does not sit easily on the Australian psyche" which is in contrast to the traditional glorification and romanisation of Australian war memorials and monuments. Three studies focused on counter memorials to peacekeeping initiatives in Australian and internationally (Gough, 2002; Kerby et al., 2019; Ware, 2009), which focused on the *Australian Peacekeeping Memorial* (2017) in Canberra.

Conclusion

This systematic literature review identifies a small but growing body of work dealing with Australia's counter commemorative practices and the influences exerted by international, domestic, historical, cultural and aesthetic forces. The results show that Australia's counter memorial practices were initially influenced by the works of Holocaust counter memorials and the aesthetics of Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veterans' Memorial.* However, Australia's counter memorials differ from those in Europe and the United States through their deeper connection with, and representation of, nature. This was particularly evident in many counter memorials and monuments to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, Australian women, asylum seekers, and victims of terrorism, death and disaster. Future research could focus on the relationship between nature and Australia's counter commemorative practices, as well as exploring the Australian public's interpretation and understanding of counter memorials and counter monuments.

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Margaret Baguley is a Professor in Arts Education, Curriculum and Pedagogy at the University of Southern Queensland, Australia with a specialisation in visual arts. She has received numerous awards recognising the high quality of her teaching and research. She is currently the Associate Dean Research for the Faculty of Business, Education, Law and Arts. Her research interests encompass the arts, arts education, leadership, group dynamics and creative collaboration. She has an extensive number of publications including The Palgrave Handbook of Global Arts Education (Barton & Baguley, 2017, Palgrave MacMillan) and *The Palgrave Handbook of Artistic and Cultural Responses to War since 1914* (Kerby, Baguley & McDonald, 2009, Palgrave Macmillan). Dr Baguley is also a practising artist with 10 solo exhibitions and 47 group exhibitions with forty of these being invitational. Her most recent group exhibition received Australia Council for the Arts funding and she has been a recipient of grants from the Ian Potter Foundation, Craft Queensland, Arts Queensland and the Australia Council for the Arts. During 2020 Dr Baguley was one of a team awarded a USQ Learning and Teaching Open Educational Practice (OEP) Grant for the project titled 'Exploring social justice, democracy, human rights and citizenship: Engaging tertiary students through an open history textbook initiative'. Dr Baguley was co-awarded a Princeton University Library Research Grant (2020) with Dr Kerby to undertake research on the relationship between the artist and author of the Mary Poppins series of books. Dr Baguley is currently elected Vice-President of Art Education Australia (AEA), the national peak body for visual arts education.

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Appendix 1

Data Extraction Form

Identification Information

Full reference:
Summary of article:

Overview of memorials/monuments in source

Type of memorials/monuments discussed in source:
Name of memorials/monuments discussed in source:
Countries of memorials/monuments discussed in source:
Historical events, themes background associate with memorial/monument:

Analysis of memorials/monuments in source

Materials used and location:
Aesthetics and artistic interpretation:
Notes on the artist or designer and their thoughts:
Public reaction to the memorial/monument:
Extract and other notes: