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Navigating Realities – New Museology in a Dynamic-Equilibrium World:

an interdisciplinary and qualitative meta-synthesis of discourse about human and cultural rights, climate change, security, globalisation, civil society and sustainable development, and reflections on the role of cultural institutions in an era of transformation and risk

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Abstract

This thesis is an interdisciplinary and qualitative meta-synthesis of a diverse body of information relevant to the way human and cultural rights intersect with the economic, social and environmental pillars of development, and explores the relevance of these issues to contemporary cultural institutions. Recognising and responding to these intersections is necessary if humans are to rise to the challenges of modernity – rapid change; uncertainty about emerging risks; conflicts; moral ambiguities; social, cultural and ecological system failures; diminishing energy returns; and increasing complexity, interdependencies and fragility.

I argue that many public policies, governments and private institutions inadequately understand the threats and are failing to provide integrated responses. There is often a failure to recognise and incorporate principles of human rights, equity, participation, cultural diversity and sustainable development into policy and governance, this risks wider policy, program and institutional failures. As with many nations, Australia has 'sold' some of its freedoms for economic growth. Its democracy remains vulnerable given the inadequacy of its human-rights protections, and the expanding dominance of a corporate culture intrudes into all aspects of people's lives. The neoliberal agenda, adopted by many authoritarian as well as liberal states, has extracted heavy tolls on personal freedom, cultural integrity, the physical environment and finite resources. The long-predicted limits of growth are being reached, and a self-repairing biosphere is severely stressed; yet, institutional barriers (media, globalised business and politics) and instinctive human denials continue to allow established development-momenta, which are as harmful as they are unstoppable.

A methodological basis for this thesis was my experience managing a national human-rights counter-radicalisation program. This is described and presented as case studies in a separate appendix. The studies illustrate how such initiatives can be both culturally sensitive and compatible with human-rights principles. The design was novel because it used human-rights-based population-health models of intervention and applied these approaches to a new public-policy setting. The program's method was premised on the need to navigate the many risks and changes facing civil society and offers a template that may be used by social policy agencies and cultural institutions.

This thesis describes many of the determinants of future trends and their connections, and it links these to human rights and culture. It argues that alternatives to existing public-policy models of action in the domains of security, social and cultural inclusion, democratic participation and sustainable development require new strategies. Cultural institutions can and should be vectors where many of the challenges to civil society are enacted. New museology – as an inter-disciplinary practice that intersects with other inter-disciplinary methodologies – presents a model for integrated, sustainable and egalitarian approaches to natural and built systems.

To have a viable future on a habitable planet, humanity must make substantial social, economic, cultural, environmental, productive, distributive, political and legislative changes. Cultural institutions, such as museums, can play important roles in transformative processes: recording, educating, interpreting, bearing witness, preserving, re-creating, advocating, inventing, organising and leading. In our likely future, humans will have less scope for material consumption, but more scope for repairing local communities, ecologies, and social and cultural practices. The modern notion of the museum as a civic space – as a living institution integrated within the community and the environment it serves or is based – is compatible with a future society that is more equitable, sustainable and communal, rather than aspirational, materialistic and individualistic.

In a world of increasing uncertainties, where human societies are entering an unprecedented era of global atrophy and risk, museums have a critical role in mediating and supporting the transformation to a more sustainable and equitable future – a world of dynamic equilibrium – where there are greater opportunities for genuine human flourishing.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

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Conrad Peter Gershevitch
Bullaburra, November 2012

Publications during candidature

- 'Racism in Australia: is denial still plausible?', *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*, Kirwan Institute, Vol.3, No.2, Spring 2010, pp.229–250.

- 'Cultural Institutions: Canaries in the mineshaft?', *International Journal of the Inclusive Museum*, Vol.2, No.4, 2010.

- 'Freedom of Religion and Belief in a Plural Democracy: an inherent contradiction or an achievable human right?', Unity in Diversity (Townsville), and Freedom of Religion under a Charter of Rights (Canberra) conferences, 2009.

- *Freedom of Religion and Belief. Culture, Heritage and the Arts: a brief survey in Australia*, Australian Human Rights Commission and Australia Council, September 2011, co-author: Amareswar Galla.

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Contributions by others to the thesis

Any contribution made to the thesis by others is explicitly acknowledged in this thesis. I also certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work.

Statement of parts of the thesis submitted to qualify for the award of another degree

None.

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This thesis is the product of many years experience in the health, non-government and human-rights sectors. The experience has spanned project design and management, policy development, research, community liaison, advocacy and organisational representation. As such, for more than a decade I have been privileged to work closely with many of Australia's leading community representatives, academics and public servants committed to the human rights of culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse communities – indeed, too many people to mention.

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human rights, culture, cultural institutions, new museology, eco-museums, terrorism, globalisation, climate change, civil society, sustainable development

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CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS

ABS   Australian Bureau of Statistics
AHRC   Australian Human Rights Commission
APRO   Australian Partnership of Religious Organisations
ASPI   Australian Strategic Policy Institute
CEDAW   *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women*
CLDB   culturally and linguistically diverse background [§]
COAG   Council of Australian Governments
CPHR   Community Partnerships for Human Rights (Program)
CSR   corporate social responsibility
DIaC   Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Citizenship
FECCA   Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia
GDP   gross domestic product
GFC   Global Financial Crisis
ICCPR   *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*
ICERD   *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*
ICESCR   *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*
ICHRP   International Council on Human Rights Policy
ICOM   International Council of Museums
MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
NAP   *National Action Plan to Build on Social Cohesion, Harmony and Security*
nef   New Economics Foundation
NGO   non-government organisation
NHRI   national human-rights institution
OECD   Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR   Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RDA   *Race Discrimination Act* (Australia, C'th 1975)
UDHR   *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*
UNDP   United Nations Development Program
UNEP   United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO   United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA   United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR   United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees
WCAR   World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and
            Related Intolerance
WHO   World Health Organization

[§]   currently the common acronym, hence used in this thesis, to collectively describe ethnic,
      multicultural, or similar diversity

PART ONE

The Context: Global, Local and Individual

[1] INTRODUCTION

1.1 THESIS ISSUES AND STRUCTURE

This thesis examines national and international concerns which may appear disconnected, but as described in coming chapters, are interrelated: social inclusion, human rights, security, environmental sustainability, globalisation, market economics and population growth. I aim to highlight thematic interdependence and the need to respond to each with reference to the others. There are many ways to meet these challenges. One such is within the settings of cultural institutions. The infrastructure of museums, libraries, archives, galleries, heritage sites and public media offer opportunities to engage civil society in debates that educate, entertain and inspire action. Indeed, these institutions have a responsibility to hold a mirror to society, reflecting the realities of the past and present. Culture and heritage institutions can start the process of musealisation – or transforming centres of activity, both human and natural, into a form of museum – where new modes of living are interrogated, mediated and enacted.[1]

These intersecting issues are, in many ways, the experience of contemporary modernity: rapid change, conflict, future uncertainty, moral ambiguity and novel forms of connectivity. This thesis argues that many public policies fail to understand, or inadequately respond to, such challenges. A major concern is that excluding sustainable development, human rights, democratic principles and social justice from policy and institutional roles will result in continuing, and widening, governance failures. I describe the connections between, and determinants of, a number of global trends. Specifically, I explore the concepts and current debates about social inclusion (Section 3.3), human rights (particularly Sections 1.2.1, 2.5 & 4.2), cultural diversity (Section 1.2.2 & Chapter 4), security (Section 2.6), the nature of transformation and risk (Section 1.2.4), market economics (Section 2.3), globalisation (Section 2.1), trends such as population growth (Section 2.2) and climate change (Section 2.4), and consider Australia's experience as a multicultural democracy (Section 3.4). No understanding of these issues is possible without examining the national and international forces shaping the world; this is discussed with reference to how they relate to Australia in Chapter 2. The aspirations, and some threats, to civil societies are outlined in Chapter 3. These chapters, with the Introduction which explains terms and methodologies, are essentially scoping and contextualising in purpose.

Chapter 4 analyses international legal instruments, principles (standard-setting or aspirational) and research that reflects many of the issues described in past chapters. I also review cultural rights, given these remain an unfinished aspect of the normative human-rights system and are linked to subsequent discussions. Chapter 5 asserts that cultural institutions can be regarded as vectors where new approaches to recording, educating, debating and demonstrating challenges to civil society are conducted. Appendix 1 (accessible on-line) presents case studies illustrating how a cultural-rights approach to complex issues provided linked-up responses and helped achieve multiple goals. These studies are projects from a national initiative that were culturally sensitive and compatible with human rights. The program design was novel because it used rights-based, population-health models, applying them to an atypical public-policy setting. The program also demonstrates connection to wider issues and provides examples for cultural institutions facing challenges to their future relevance.

In summary, this thesis provides answers to four big questions: what is happening to our world, why is it happening, how can we think about these first two questions, and what are some solutions to the threats they present?

1.2 CRITICAL THEMES | LITERATURE REVIEW

I deliberately use the term themes, rather than theory, to refer to the ideas informing this thesis. The goal is to analyse circumstances facing humanity and to reflect on how many threats and uncertainties can be understood, and navigated, in the decades ahead. My purpose is to combine didacticism with pragmatism. Of course, a rich and complex body of theory surrounds the issues discussed. My choice, however, was not to assess selectively a body of contesting theories but to use pieces of information and widely accepted principles as the foundation upon which to construct my arguments. Although theorising was a path I might have chosen, such an approach, I believe, is of less value. My defence of this approach is that the philosophical bases for systems of human ethics or social construction are generally idealised (a common objection to Rawls' theory of justice[2]) and, in the 'real' world, practicalities mean that plans must be iterative and achievable. Humans will never live in Utopia. My hope for the future is that they *can* live. In one sense, this argument is that the ends can justify the means so long as action occurs within the general frameworks of global ethics and human rights, which I briefly describe in the following pages.

Three principles – as distinct from theories – informing this thesis are global ethics, human rights and the capabilities approach. The capabilities approach is closely linked to human rights, and it establishes a guiding framework for human flourishing, which, in turn, is compatible with sustainable development. Another important theme is that of culture: its nature, influence and importance to human functionings. Although there are numerous theories associated with culture, particularly how it pertains to global ethics and free will, I tend to mention these in passing, and concentrate on the effect of culture and the right to cultural identity.

I refer to the theme of health. This is significant for several reasons, especially its role as a litmus test for humanity. Health is a resource for living, a determinant of quality of life, and population-level measurements can be used to assess various forms of access and equity. Health promotion provides a holistic model for sustainable development and, when understood as encompassing physical, social, emotional and collective well-being,[3] health is the most important denominator for assessing whether development goals are achieved. In our era of economic-growth fetishism, where wealth is equated with human happiness, health-related notions of flourishing in a sustainable world offer an alternative existential model.

I also include other critical themes that relate more to the sciences, particularly physics. The technical details are complex; nevertheless, general systems, thermodynamics, chaos and network science are regularly described in texts about threats to the biosphere and humanity's role in the processes of change and, as such, require explanation with this scoping of the literature.

1.2.1 GLOBAL ETHICS, HUMAN RIGHTS, DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY

1.2.1.1 GLOBAL ETHICS

The first of these principles – global ethics – may inspire ambivalence from some quarters. These are not an exact set of beliefs, but values shaped by a range of influences, both religious and secular. Global ethics is a term that has been used in many ways, adding to confusion; for example, several non-government organisations (NGOs) talk of 'global ethics principles' inspiring human-development activities, but it has two formal definitions. The first was adopted by the interfaith movement. Theologian Hans Küng has been

instrumental in this process, helping to draft the declaration *Towards a Global Ethic*, which was endorsed (although not authorised) by representatives of numerous religions at the 1993 Parliament of the World's Religions.[4] The declaration's drafters aimed to highlight the concordance of values at the centre of religious belief systems: the moral equality of all humans and the desire for reciprocity of treatment. These values find explicit and implicit mention in most faiths. The declaration highlights the interconnectedness of life, stating all people are 'interdependent' and 'each of us depends on the well-being of the whole, and so we have respect for the community of living beings, for people, animals, and plants, and for the preservation of earth, the air, water and soil'.[5] It argues for universal (moral) standards associated with equality, liberty, truthfulness, and non-violence, which are elaborated in a set of accompanying principles.[6] Highly idealistic, the declaration has been criticised for being unrealistic and culturally hegemonic.[7]

A second definition of the term 'global ethics' by an international body is found in a cultural statement by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Released shortly after *Towards a Global Ethic,* UNESCO's *Our Creative Diversity* (1995) lists five core elements that reflect a universal value system.[8] These elements are equity, or recognition of the equality of all people regardless of class, race, gender, community or age. Equity applies to individuals and groups; for example, it includes preservation of the natural environment for use and enjoyment by future generations. The second element is human rights, with the qualification that rights are accompanied by duties and 'bonds without options are oppressive; options without bonds are anarchy'.[9] The third, democracy, is essential to give voice to the marginalised. The fourth is protection of minorities, who may face violence or exclusion on multiple levels, such as the denial of political rights. The fifth element is peaceful conflict resolution and fair negotiation: justice and fairness can be achieved only through negotiation not by imposed preconceived moral principles. UNESCO's global ethics is a framework that aims to promote peaceful solutions to disputes. Despite sharing many similarities with the 1993 declaration of the interfaith community, they are more thoroughly described[10] and draw on the commonality of ethical principles that form the basis of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) and related covenants on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, as well as the *UN Millennium Declaration*, which recommitted all nations to human rights in 2000.[11]

A form of global ethics is also reflected in *The Earth Charter*, which describes the values necessary for a sustainable future. Prepared by a consortium of civil society advocates, NGOs and academics, the Earth Charter Initiative is lobbying for its adoption by UNESCO as a soft-law agreement.[12] It consolidates principles of human rights, democracy, sustainable development, ecological protection, peace-building, respect and dialogue into a single document.[13]

These closely related expressions of global ethics – inspired variously by faith, human rights and environmentalism – are each consistent with the themes and values discussed in this thesis.

1.2.1.2 HUMAN CAPABILITIES

The capabilities approach was developed by Amartya Sen and expanded by the political philosopher Martha Nussbaum as a way of assessing human development. It emphasises the capabilities humans should value – rather than economics – to achieve progress and well-being. As its name implies, this is an 'approach': there is no definitive understanding of capabilities, nor is it regarded as a universal framework for social justice. Rather, it is a way of examining quality of life. Ingrid Robeyns describes it, not as 'a theory that will explain poverty, inequality, or well-being but as a theory that helps us to conceptualize these notions'.[14] She argues it is 'a broad normative framework for the evaluation of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies and proposals about social change in society'.[15] The capabilities approach has now suffused much of the language about progressive notions of human flourishing.[16] As such, it is typically regarded as a less theoretical, more practical tool, hence used in public policy by NGOs and activists for social transformation. The following are its main concepts.

First, functionings, or 'beings and doings' which are elementary things somebody can self-evaluate. A person may 'be' by achieving or aspiring to a condition; for example, they may be adequately nourished, literate and educated, happy, sad, or be a member of a group. What somebody may 'do' includes their choices and activities, such as growing vegetables, reducing the energy used to heat their home or voting in an election. Some functionings involve both being and doing (e.g. driving one's children to school every day so they can be educated). Functionings are morally neutral and, although they may be 'good' (e.g. being generous) or 'bad' (e.g. being selfish), how this is understood depends upon the

normative context, or the ideological, ethical, religious, cultural or other perspective from which the function is viewed.

The second concept: capabilities, are opportunities available to a person with which they can (or cannot) achieve life-goals, given available resources. Capabilities include freedoms that are options and exist formally (such as legal protections) as well as freedoms that are conceived as opportunities. There are various areas where a person may fully achieve their capabilities; these range across elementary physical aspects of living, the more intangible (i.e. philosophical), as well as those that reach beyond the individual to their wider world. Nussbaum has promoted a range of central capabilities, which she considers essential to being human, claiming they are superior to the system of human rights.[17]

Resources – the third concept in the model – are those things that help a person to achieve functionings (what they can be and do) and include elements such as income, liberty, goods, and access to natural services.[18] The value of any given resource may be determined by a 'conversion factor', which helps assess the quantum of functioning that can be extracted from it. These conversion factors are categorised in three ways: as personal (such as an individual's strength, gender, or intelligence), social (the setting where they live, such as the rule of law, gender equality and non-discrimination) and environmental (the physical setting, such as the quality of infrastructure, aridity, pollution, and climate). To estimate the extent to which a person can achieve well-being it is insufficient to know what resources are at their disposal; rather, the extent to which their personal, social and environmental circumstances may help them convert capabilities into flourishing.[19]

Sen's ideas are drawn from the philosophical notion of the means–end distinction, or whether something is valued for itself or as the means to an alternative, preferred result. Under the capabilities approach, assessments of quality of life and outcomes are based on people's access to freedom and life chances. The ends ('flourishing') are more important than the means (getting there); therefore, there is flexibility in how to achieve goals. It should not be assumed that income is the only pathway; rather, other means may help somebody reach their desired end. For example, if the aspiration is to live in society without discrimination based on sexuality, faith or race, then capability-supporting policies or laws may help achieve this goal.

One of the purported strengths of the capabilities approach is its accommodation of diversities. On the basis that humans are ontologically and physiologically similar, functionings, capabilities, resources (and their conversions) are non-prescriptive and may be adapted to a range of settings specific to personal circumstances. This claim has been contested on the grounds that all beliefs and values are shaped in the public sphere (communitarianism) and no single methodology can be both 'thick' (specific to behaviour and context) and sufficiently 'thin' (embracing universal norms[20]). The capabilities approach is regarded as thin because it applies to all. Communitarian criticism of liberal moral and political philosophy is largely premised on the belief that (because the individual is so embedded in context) no general system can be acceptable to everybody.[21]

Universal theories of justice are extensive and complex; my intention is not to analyse them here. As noted, the capabilities approach – as a framework to achieve good life-chances for human flourishing – is widely accepted, and has been applied both practically (as in the design of development or happiness indices[22]) and theoretically (such as informing social policy principles[23]). In this thesis, I use the capabilities approach to set a context and as a normative method to help determine whether human flourishing is achievable in the future.

1.2.1.3 HUMAN RIGHTS

Established in the years after the Great War of 1914–18, the League of Nations was the first attempt in the modern era to build some form of global governance to help prevent a similar, dreadful carnage from recurring.[24] However, the League failed, and the Second World War led to an even higher death toll, paid especially by civilian populations due to systematic crimes against humanity. The next venture in international governance saw the formation of the United Nations (UN) and a system of human rights, again born of an attempt to preserve peace and introduce a framework for global justice. Australia had a prominent role in the UN's formation. 'Doc' Herbert Evatt, the president of the General Assembly during its third session, helped shape the newly established body and led mid-power nations against attempts by more powerful states to structure the UN to serve their own interests.[25] For most of the UN's history, Australia has been a cooperative member, benefiting from close engagement with the UN[26] although, under the Howard government, Australia moved away from multilateralism due to the government's allegiance with the

Bush administration on issues such as the Iraq invasion, preventative warfare and carbon emission targets.[27] A change of government in 2007 saw Australia return to a more participatory approach.

Human rights are perhaps the UN's greatest cooperative achievement. They can be seen in two broad ways: first, as a set of mutually dependent rights and responsibilities, values by which humans should aspire to live within communities and societies and, second, as a system of agreements, internationally recognised, subject to international law and often enshrined in national and regional legislation. The UDHR is the foundation document for the ethical and legal framework of human rights. Promulgated in December 1948,[28] the UDHR has been described as 'arguably the most important document ever reduced to writing, whether on paper, papyrus, velum or tablets of stone'.[29] The declaration states that human rights are inalienable (they cannot be repudiated or given away to another person) and indivisible, meaning humans are entitled to all the rights set out in the UDHR, not only those politically or economically convenient to grant. These are the rights of all people, no matter an individual's political views, culture, sexual preferences, faith or racial group – or any other of the multiple determinants of human difference.

The UDHR lists fundamental human rights. These include, but are not limited to, the right to life, safety and security, leisure and cultural practice, adequate education, housing and health, to practice and adhere to a religious faith or hold to secular beliefs. However, they are restricted to what are often described as outer freedoms. Inner freedoms, conversely, describe self-created or relinquished freedoms – these distinctions are discussed in Section 3.2. Despite the clarity of the UDHR, it was soon realised that to declare all people have certain rights was inadequate: each right required detailed contextualising to be fully developed. For example, the notion of the right to security and safety is vague and relative. Therefore, in 1984, a more comprehensive treaty, the *Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,* was adopted to more fully describe these rights and better protect people at risk. Similarly, the need to protect the rights of people, seeking legitimate refuge from persecution, was outlined in the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* in 1951.

One way of regarding UN treaties is to understand in what ways they are either hard law or soft law. Soft law, sometimes known as pre-law, refers to non-binding agreements between

state parties; these are resolutions and declarations passed by the General Assembly (often without unanimity) that are neither represented in international law nor enforceable by courts. Soft laws tend to be aspirational, have moral authority, and be useful guides for state policies.[30] Conversely, hard law encompasses international agreements, such as UN conventions that become binding once a defined number of state parties commit to their ratification.[31] When states accede to a UN convention, they are required to reflect its principles in domestic legislation and, hence, are bound to international law.[32] The UDHR is a soft law and offers no protections. For its defined rights to have any effect, they required international normative expression through two conventions: the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,* 1966 (ICCPR) and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,* 1966 (ICESCR).[33] It is through the formal endorsement of these two conventions that nations participate in human-rights standards. However, states may choose to agree only to those rights they wish to support, and many have refused to ratify ICCPR and ICESCR. Some have done so, but have failed to protect human rights with local laws. Ideally, a nation will both ratify the conventions and maintain an independent human rights institution with sufficient authority to scrutinize compliance.[34]

Because human rights can be complex, to make them easier to understand, they are often categorised as being either positive or negative. Rights are understood as negative when denying certain freedoms would negatively affect the individual, for example, freedom of speech and freedom from violence or slavery. Alternatively, the rights to do, access, or receive things that one wants are considered positive rights, such as the right to adequate healthcare, education, or a minimum standard of living. Although this is a useful distinction, it is rather crude. Some rights can be positive and negative, or incompatible, especially when a choice must be made between competing rights.

Another rights-taxonomy is that of generations, although some have criticised this approach.[35] First- generation rights are civil and political and include such rights as the right to the franchise, freedom from discrimination, freedom of speech and assembly;[36] they encompass the negative rights as outlined in ICCPR. When first-generation human rights are restricted, second-generation rights are directly affected; these are the economic, social and cultural rights, such as the rights to education and to adequate housing, and the right to manifest a religion or belief.[37] These tend to be positive rights and are included in

ICESCR.[38] Third-generation human rights go beyond the social and political rights of individuals and consider the rights of groups over time; they may include the right to an environmentally sustainable future, the right of groups to collectively bargain, or for a culture to survive.[39] Although each rights-generation is important, and all rights are indivisible, some rights conflict while others can be eroded by pressure, such as political interference. Two examples can illustrate these challenges. The first is the right to life (article 3, UDHR), which the state has responsibility to protect. During a period of security alert, such as the threat of a terrorist attack, 'lesser' rights may need to be sacrificed to protect other rights; however, such an argument could lead, after some permutations, to the authoritarian regime which asserts that the protection of life requires the withdrawal of other rights. This scenario is relevant to whether certain rights are non-derogable, meaning they can never be surrendered, or derogable, meaning they may be suspended. The right to life is considered non-derogable, but the right to a fair trial may be derogable if it is believed (at a time of crisis) not withholding this right might place the life or safety of others in jeopardy.[40] In Australia, there was concern that security-related legislation, enacted during the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, unnecessarily infringe on a non-derogable human rights.[41] Further, it has been argued such trade-offs not only are unnecessary and harmful but can also be counterproductive.[42]

The second example concerns the freedom of religion and belief (article 18, UDHR, ICCPR), which has conflicted with a 2008 Victorian law concerning the rights to abortion. In this case, a well- intentioned decision to ensure rights of women conflicted with the right to conscientious objection.[43] The law states that if a woman seeks a termination from a medical practitioner who opposes abortion, it is mandatory she be referred to another who is known to have no such objection. The Catholic Church criticised this requirement because practicing Catholics will not conduct abortions, but the legal requirement they do so, or at least provide a referral for a woman seeking a termination, places them in a position of conflict where they must break either the law or their personal convictions.[44] This contentious issue, triggered by a single section (s.8) of the legislation,[45] does not invalidate human rights. Ethical dilemmas will always arise around social and cultural contests; human rights do not necessarily make intractable moral problems more or less easy to solve. The Victorian abortion law highlights that, unless the drafting process considers all rights-implications, legislation may be difficult to implement or may require

amendments to correct unintended (or deliberately inciting) clauses that infringe competing rights.

On the 60th anniversary of its adoption, Kevin Rudd, then Australian prime minister, eulogised the UDHR as 'one of the most defining documents on the protection of rights and freedoms in the history of humankind'.[46] While this support is commendable, its sincerity is questionable. In Australia, human rights continue to be protected more by tradition than by law – freedom is something citizens take for granted. Although enjoyment of personal liberty is considered typically Australian, Australia does not have a strong rights culture. Nor is it commonly realised that freedoms believed to be rights are unprotected by the Constitution and Australia is the only democracy that has failed to enact a national charter of rights consistent with ICCPR and ICESCR.

This thesis makes repeated references to democratic processes as integral to human rights and development. I do not discuss this at length, given democracy is a widely understood concept, certainly in the sense it is a set of 'institutional arrangements characterized by free elections with universal adult suffrage, principles of liberty (freedom of information and expression), the right to oppose government, the right of associational autonomy, a system with legal rules, and a notion of justice and fairness'.[47] Nevertheless, democracy is an elastic term that is even used as an oxymoron, for example, in the official title of the government of North Korea.[48] Democracy is understood and applied in many ways,[49] and is a complex and flawed system. This leaves it vulnerable to abuse.[50] As Winston Churchill remarked, '[it] is the worst form of government – except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time'.[51]

I briefly introduce two notions: cultural democracy and deep democracy. The first, which was common 40 or more years ago, is now used infrequently. It has been explained as comprising several related concepts: the protection and promotion of cultural diversity (effectively, cultural rights), active participation in community cultural life, citizen enablement in decisions affecting the quality of their cultural lives, and fair and accessible access to cultural resources.[52] For these reasons, it became closely associated with multiculturalism.[53] Essentially, the approach aimed to better recognise and enable cultural identities. This became lost in debates about whether culture should be imposed (by benign but inevitably biased elites) or determined by popular preferences (dictatorship of majority

taste shaped by corporate interests). Although cultural democracy is still regarded positively, it has been overtaken by the influence of neoliberalism.[54]

Deep democracy, a term that has gained currency more recently, has its origins in the 1990s. It takes the ideas implicit in cultural democracy and reinterprets them, providing opportunities to understand the structures and values of new forms of empowerment and expression. Democratic governance should include all individuals in the political process, but deep democracy goes further in both inclusion and dialogue. Deep democracy is a way of negotiating multiple layers of diversity, not only diversity in cultural or other identity-markers but also in opinions, conflicts, forms of communication, and levels of power and privilege. It is 'the experience of a process of flow in which all actors on the stage are needed to create the play that is being watched'.[55]

Scholars such as Arjun Appadurai argue that principles of deep democracy describe and explain significant social movements where local actions mediate global trends, especially when there is erosion of national authority: the level at which democratic governance is typically managed. It is through the work of civil-society organisations that new forms of valid, democratic actions are created and where new groupings are able to contest forms of (especially corporate) authority that are undermining individual freedoms, opportunities for collective development and the empowerment of communities.[56]

1.2.1.4 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

While human rights are achieved across civil, political, social and cultural activities, human rights also relate to economic equity, sustainability and quality of life. Because these issues are intertwined, they are difficult to disaggregate or discuss in isolation. Human rights, especially, are integral to the concept of human development. This is reflected in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report and agreed under the Millennium Declaration (both date from 2000), which list important human development goals.[57] These documents recognise that wealth, education, health, and cultural practice (as key areas of public policy) improve living standards and help build sustainable, free societies. UNDP's advocacy is compatible with Sen's capabilities approach and the notion that self-determination is both a principle and means to achieve development. Although development enlarges the choices available to people, by increasing their functionings and capabilities, it extends further into forms of value (such as the right to participate or to

safety) which are necessary to be creative, productive, to enjoy self-respect, empowerment and a sense of community belonging.[58]

However, development has been criticised for inherent contradictions, both as applied in anthropological sciences and as a tool of political dominance. It has been questioned whether development means improvements in the areas of material well-being, technology and economics, and (if equated with 'progress') whether this entails the substitution of traditional methods with alternative technologies, given 'old ways' inhibit development as defined by culturally dominant and imposed measurement tools. If so, will development affect lifestyles, knowledge and cultural practices? Development and humanitarian initiatives may actually represent a form of cultural hegemony or misplaced, albeit well-intentioned, interference.[59]

Another criticism is that human development is often reduced to 'development', which equates to measuring prosperity through the economic instrument of national per capita wealth.[60] In the context of globalisation, strong development proponents argue for economic growth on the basis that resource exploitation yields benefits to the poor in developing countries.[61] As discussed at Section 2.3, such assertions inconveniently fly in the face of contrary evidence. The problem for humanity, given population growth and the planet's ecological capacity, is that unlimited growth is an unsatisfactory paradigm. It can be argued that material satisfaction for the wealthier populations might never reach a fixed point and the secondary effects for poorer populations are likely to be only marginal: humanity needs several earths before any point of wealth-equity is achievable. According to the Working Group on Climate Change and Development, research shows that global economic growth is an extremely inefficient way to achieve poverty reduction.[62] Other models are needed if prosperity is to be achieved for humanity as a whole. The dilemma is that most governments in most countries have no visions that offer alternatives to the old development models. The Working Group argues that, faced with critical flaws such as climate change and redistributive failure, the official response has been persistence:

> [C]hanging course for a different sea or safe harbour is not considered an option. We must steam ahead, holed below the water line, through iceberg-infested waters, simply because that is the course originally set, and now no one feels able to change it.[63]

Some commentators on development aid have gone further. Raj Patel argues that global food production, supply and marketing has unseen and unknown histories, which have consistently been about exploitation of producers. In the past and present, these have been the rural poor across the world, but, particularly in the period following the Second World War, when food aid became a component of United States (US)-endorsed human development, they joined the armoury of global capitalism's strategy to expand profits and dominate world markets.[64]

Human development is often believed to apply only to the world's poor; this is inaccurate. It is 'development of the people, for the people and by the people'.[65] Human development, therefore, can be attained through policies of social inclusion: a social justice approach to lower barriers to education, health, wealth and self-realisation. As a principle, particularly when married to capabilities and human rights, and expanded with notions of sustainability and distributive equity, human development also becomes a model for hypothetical options in social, cultural and economic reinvention. Because human rights and community empowerment set the ethical and legal framework for the protection of groups who may be marginalised or exploited by those in dominant positions, these principles should be determinants of public policy and planning that have human development objectives, such as social inclusion and multiculturalism. This leads to the issue of culture: what it is, its significance, and its potential as a driver of social transformation.

1.2.2 DEFINING CULTURE

The word 'culture' has been described as one of the most complex in the English language.[66] It has been used to refer to prized moveable and immoveable iconic creations of the arts, such as works of literature, classical music, paintings or sculptures by famed artists – although these are also equated with an equally ambivalent term: civilization.[67] This definition may be valid, but it is partial. Three concepts of culture have influenced the social sciences. One concept regards culture as a quality differentiating humans from animals, another defines culture as something a person acquires, which infers some cultures and some people are able to acquire more or 'better' culture than are others. The third concept regards culture as a form of relativist expression: all humans are products of their culture, and human diversity is explained by culture, not by other determinants, such as race.[68] This last notion is focused on here.

Culture was defined by Edward Tylor in the late nineteenth century as a 'complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'.[69] However, this does not adequately account for its complexity. Medical anthropologist Cecil Helman provides an expansive explanation. He argues that, in every human group, there are three levels of culture. First, there is a tertiary level, which is visible to the outsider; it is what most people consider as culture: rituals, dress, cuisine and festivals. However, this is a façade beneath which is a range of implicit beliefs and rules that are a cultural 'grammar'. These form the secondary level of culture: assumptions known to members, or some members, which are rarely shared with outsiders. The primary level of culture, the deepest form, is where rules are intuitively known and taken for granted; they may be impossible to articulate because they are beyond awareness. Helman also argues that culture forms a 'lens' through which the world is seen, and people classified. All cultures separate humans into categories (gender, age, wellness, abilities and belongingness) and the ways people may move across and within such categories. This inevitably involves forms of stratification, for example, along lines of class, wealth, caste or professional status. Every stratum will possess various cultural attributes, such as manners, dress, communication, domestic arrangements, even diet: 'rich and poor, powerful and powerless – each will have their own inherited cultural perspective … in each case these people form a group apart with their own concepts, rules and social organisation'.[70] Culture is also relative and is best understood within its historical, economic, geographical and other contexts. This means a group's culture will be shaped by many factors; indeed, it is largely impossible to describe a culture so rarefied that it is untouched by others.

If Helman's definition is accepted, culture is omnipresent. It determines how humans live, behave, and think. It is so ubiquitous it may take on a form of transparency. People often accept what 'is' (being, or reality as it *appears* to be), simply 'is', without contemplating potential relativity, alternative meanings or interpretations. However, this transparency (known as 'emic' perception) tends to apply only to those who belong to the 'unseeing' cultural group. Cultural markers may be highly visible to those who are viewing what 'is' from outside (or 'etic' to) the cultural group.[71] This explains much exclusion, discrimination and culturally based reasoning.

Two examples may help illustrate this issue of cultural relativity. First, in the realm of contemporary fashion, Western society has many cultural norms for modes of dress, but the woman who wears a burqa may be highly visible although hidden behind heavy veiling; conversely, she may have low visibility in a Muslim country or within certain Muslim communities. Similarly, a woman who wears a bikini at an Australian beach may be perceived as the norm, whereas in other countries or different cultural contexts she may be inappropriately (and dangerously) visible. The second example draws on assumptions of neoliberal economics about the behaviour of 'the rational man'. These may seem self-evident to the Western-trained economist but inexplicable to a person who is not, especially if they come from a culture that does not preference self-interest over communal obligations, or does not consider human volition to be quantitatively measurable. Simply because a particular Western paradigm of political economy has international primacy does not make it objectively valid, as global conflict and exploitation bears continuing testimony.[72] Patel interprets the etic-emic divide a little differently, claiming that misperceptions are like a form of clinical delusion (known as *anosognosia*) where the blind actually believe they have sight.[73] He argues contemporary global economics has humanity captive in a political and cultural belief system that is 'not only delusional – it also distorts the way we see other people. Seeing fellow human beings as mere co-consumers blinds us to the deeper connections between us, and distorts our political choices'.[74]

Another way of viewing the complex pull of culture, and the way culture is negotiated by each person, is optimal distinctiveness. In this explanation, offered by Marilynn Brewer, people tend to locate a balance between the need to belong and to identify with a social group (this may be cultural, racial, or another identity-marker) and the need to express uniqueness, or individuation. This social-self helps to explain the paradox of the person who simultaneously seeks sameness and difference.[75] Yet another facet of cultural perception is, literally, what people see. Richard Nisbett experimented with Western (American) and Eastern (Chinese) subjects, who viewed complex images then interpreted and recalled them, to determine how images were imprinted on memory. The Asian culturally mediated way of looking is integrated and incipient, anticipating change and broadening connections. Western vision is linear: 'direct confrontation with problems is more a habit of Western culture; in many ways it is a defining trait'.[76]

Because it is deeply embedded in human consciousness and unconsciousness, the significance of culture is easily overlooked. So, too, is culture's relationship with human rights and development. Because culture is a strong determinant of how people live, the quality and meaning of their lives, and how they participate in society and the economy, human rights can provide the architecture that enables a language of cultural empowerment and equality. Culture rights are reinforced through the promotion of cultural liberty[77] and, as such, culturally, linguistically and religiously distinct groups are able to realise, as rights, their human and social development. These concerns have helped shaped concepts such as cultural democracy and multiculturalism.

1.2.3 POPULATION-HEALTH METHODOLOGY

Health is described in the 1946 World Health Organization (WHO) Constitution as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity'.[78] Linking this definition to the international standard of human rights being established at the time, the WHO Constitution states that the 'enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is a fundamental right of every human being without distinction'.[79] This is consistent with the UDHR, which affirms all people have a right 'to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services'.[80]

The purpose of a population-health approach is to understand and respond to a society's health status by examining all the issues affecting a population, rather than individual health or medical problems. This approach recognises important meta-effects, for example, how social stratification, wealth distribution, the physical environment, educational opportunity and other life-chances can shape the overall health of a population or sub-population (a large and identifiable group, such as an age-specific cohort). In this understanding, other factors are considered as equally vital as medical care, although, clearly, public health initiatives (such as mass immunisation) are crucial to good outcomes. WHO's definition is consistent with the notion of population health, where health includes the ability of people to respond and adapt to the challenges they experience in their lives.[81] Various life-quality, life-chance and behavioural factors may improve or diminish health. In addition, 'social determinants' are critical to the status of both individual and

community well-being. WHO describes these determinants as the conditions under which people are born, live, work and age. They are:

> shaped by the distribution of money, power and resources at global, national and local levels … The social determinants of health are mostly responsible for health inequities – the unfair and avoidable differences in health status seen within and between countries.[82]

This grounds the social determinants of health as those shaped by societies (including economic, cultural, political and environmental conditions), rather than those determined by increased individual risk, such as inherited predisposition to illness, disability, acquired injuries or diseases. One notable report on social determinants observed that health policy was once thought 'to be about little more than the provision and funding of medical care … more important for the health of the population as a whole are the social and economic conditions that make people ill and in need of medical care in the first place'.[83] One report author, Michael Marmot, played a prominent role in developing an evidence-base for the social determinants of health. Leading the Whitehall studies of civil servants over many years, Marmot examined the correlation between chronic illness, mortality and status within the stratified English public service. This ongoing research has definitively proven that the richer one is and the higher the social status one enjoys, the healthier one will be and the longer one will live.[84] The data, collected since 1967, illustrates that the lower the employment-grade of staff, the higher their probable burden of illness. This is reflected in mortality rates that are three times as high for junior staff as for the upper-echelon bureaucrats. These findings are a benchmark illustrating health disparities based on wealth and power. However, they have not provided all the answers about why social determinants are so important and there is continuing speculation about poor health among socially disadvantaged populations. These reasons may include stress, social exclusion, and limited self-determination.

Dennis Raphael argues social determinants of health primarily decide whether individuals will remain well or become unwell, claiming illness is a narrow definition of health. Social determinants also shape 'the extent to which a person possesses the physical, social, and personal resources to identify and achieve personal aspirations, satisfy needs, and cope with the environment'.[85] Raphael believes these provide a broader definition of health, with social determinants principally about the quality and quantity of resources available to members in any given society. This links population-health approaches to human

development. The WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health released a report on health equity in 2008 validating this view, claiming the 'conditions in which people live and die are ... shaped by political, social, and economic forces ... [at a global level] social injustice is killing people on a grand scale'.[86]

One way of addressing many problems of population health is through health promotion, which WHO defines as the process of enabling people to increase control over their lives to improve their health. The Ottawa Charter explains that to 'reach a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, an individual or group must be able to realise aspirations, to satisfy needs, and to change or cope with the environment'.[87] Because health is a positive concept, it relies on various group and personal resources and, therefore, is a wider responsibility than that of the health sector and it encompasses notions of well-being.

Many principles in the Ottawa Charter mirror the UDHR, with barriers to good health primarily human-rights barriers.[88] The experience in health promotion has shown many illnesses are located on a spectrum (from good to poor health, or, at high-risk to low-risk of illness) and, along this continuum, health conditions can stabilise, improve or worsen. In addition, partnerships, whole-of-government, whole-of-community, and intersectoral interventions at multiple points along this good–bad health spectrum can change attitudes, influence behaviours, increase knowledge, and lower risk. The Ottawa Charter and subsequent WHO health promotion statements are global calls to action using this approach.[89] Lowering the use of tobacco is an example of how these strategies work over time.[90] Health promotion, although not necessarily financially costly, is a long-term process. Changing attitudes, knowledge and behaviour across populations takes time, education, and requires complementary strategies. It is a generational agenda requiring institutional commitments and adequate funding to achieve measurable results.

Population health and health promotion methodologies influence this thesis for two reasons. The first reason is their link to quality of life and their part in informing discussions about well-being, freedom and prosperity – issues critical to debates about sustainability and growth. This can be generically summarised: good individual physical and psychological health requires that minimum standards of built and human-services infrastructure are available (the material necessities of life); human rights, justice and democracy are maintained (civil, political and legal necessities); there are opportunities for

the enjoyment of creative and cultural expressions (emotional and spiritual necessities); and these conditions exist in socially and environmentally conducive settings. At the population level, such requirements are necessary for human flourishing.[91] Based on principles of distributive equity and substantive equality, human flourishing is achievable through multiple strategies across many fields of action.[92] With this approach, the social, cultural, economic, health and political dimensions of well-being are considered together and valued equally. By addressing them simultaneously, planners can move towards the higher aspirations of human development.

The second reason for the influence of health-based methodologies is they describe how health-enhancing activities can be understood and applied holistically. Appendix 1 describes the way these methodologies informed several case studies, how the approach can be applied to social policy settings, including to cultural institutions, and ways they might engage with communities in times of rapid and disconcerting change.

1.2.4 NETWORKS, MOMENTUM, COMPLEXITY AND SYNCHRONOUS FAILURE

To understand the congruence of factors threatening sustainability and development, it is necessary to understand a confusing and interconnected world. Not only what these factors are, the drivers of change and emerging trends, but the nature of complexity itself: what it is and how it functions. Humans must deal with uncertainty and risk; today, they are doing so in a setting where transfers, communication and knowledge creation occurs faster than ever before.[93] This poses many questions for people administering government programs, conducting business or simply trying to survive: how can they negotiate ever-increasing complexity, what decisions should they make in a transformative world, why have past measures failed, and what thinking is needed in the future?

The assumptions of many of those who lead debates about culture, society and economics are often deterministic. Determinism holds that some cultures, faiths and races possess traits that will determine their future behaviours, for example, that some religions are innately anti-democratic or prone to violence.[94] Cultural determinism has influenced many claims about Islam, such as asserted by Samuel Huntington[95] or Robert Kaplan,[96] although the bias of these assumptions has been rigorously contested.[97] Religious and cultural differences do shape worldviews, are diverse, may not be conducive to peace and justice, and can be used in negative ways.[98] However, determinism – like those systems it criticises

for rigidity – is itself inflexible: it attempts to explain complexity in uncomplicated, causal ways. This may reflect an innate human need for binary forms of categorisation and understanding.

The risks associated with this thinking are described by Bob Hodge and John O'Carroll, who argue that multiculturalism, globalisation, intercultural and interreligious conflicts are dynamic, complex and rapidly transforming.[99] This creates many challenges. They propose that understanding chaos theory has practical applications for those struggling to understand an unpredictable world, warning typical responses to complexity involves resorting to conventional or reflexive actions. This response is due to the authority of linear thinking, a type of 'crisp' thought, modelled on scientific inductivism. In modern Western societies this is intuitively considered the way to analyse a difficulty: separate a problem into distinct parts, determine causes, effects, and keep concepts precise. This approach may work in stable conditions, nevertheless, 'in far from equilibrium conditions, processes can accelerate rapidly or change direction abruptly, producing contradictions and unexpected outcomes'.[100] In such conditions, 'fuzzy' or imprecise categories may work better than defined approaches. Quoting Lotfi Zadeh, Hodge and O'Carroll say the more complex and dynamic a condition, the less:

> meaningful are precise ("crisp") categories … if things are very complicated, you will struggle to understand them if you fall back on rigid, precise categories. Indeed, such rigid thinking can cause unforeseen problems, making a difficult situation worse. Simple, crisp thinking in these circumstances is not only useless, it is dangerous.[101]

Complexity and instability are also examined by Thomas Homer-Dixon who assesses the long-term viability of activities based on energy consumption and entropy. He argues that contemporary systems – due to the growth models driving globalisation – are far from thermodynamic-equilibrium and, as these systems continue, humanity pushes its conditions of living ever further from balance. The more this occurs, the more violent will be the eventual, but inevitable, return to equilibrium.[102] His view is echoed in a 2010 report from a United Kingdom (UK) think tank, the New Economics Foundation (**nef**), which expresses concern about widespread failures to understand the laws of thermodynamics. This, claims **nef**, is because politicians and civil servants are drawn from a narrow range of disciplines that afford them little comprehension about the limits of earth's resources and potential efficiency gains.[103]

Defenders of the status quo tend to dismiss claims humanity is collectively moving away from equilibrium and that global risks are real (or if they are, then exaggerated), or they believe human inventiveness will find ways to overcome problems. Such views are consistent with an intuitive recourse to linear thinking. Complacency can, however, be questioned simply because norms are best applied to conventional circumstances: the further circumstances move from conventionality and sustainability, the more unconventional approaches to change are needed.[104]

Reflexive responses to complexity sound a number of salutary warnings. For example, it may be counterproductive to enforce social and cultural norms, or that rigid responses to the asymmetry of terrorism pose a threat to national security. Unfortunately, when experiencing stress, humans will often seek authoritative figures who provide comfort through certainty, decisiveness, and who articulate their visions (or paranoias) in absolute terms.[105] If this is intuitive, and demonstrates how and why decisions are made in times of flux, it also illustrates why such approaches have often been disastrous or have led to endemic conflict. This dilemma is pertinent to contemporary problems – a time of entropy, change, risk and system-stress – even if it is perennial. Understandably, many people cocoon themselves in beliefs that offer straightforward answers to complex problems at the very time creative, fuzzy responses should be embraced. These reactions are typical of societies in denial, rendering impossible the forms of change required.[106] It reflects a problem anticipated by Hegel who believed civilizations collapsed due to 'morbid intensification of their own first principles'.[107] Under the prevailing political economy, where it is accepted that only competitive markets allocate resources efficiently, this has become an unassailable truth despite contrary evidence markets are typically unstable, unfair and inefficient.[108]

Another evolving discipline that helps explain transformation and risk also belongs to the realm of higher mathematics. Network science explores several processes including interconnectedness, or how everything (whether human or not) relates to larger systems; the paradox of small and big worlds, or the idea all humans function within small and often like-minded circles yet are only six degrees of separation from everybody else on earth; and vectors (or hubs) that amplify and build connectivity.[109] Network science explains, for example, how systems work at the cellular level and how diseases spread, how human societies operate and how technical infrastructure (such as the internet or electricity grids)

functions. The paradox of the similar-but-different, distant-but-close, separate-but-connected of the human condition becomes coherent once networks are understood. Network science can also help to manage risk and reduce threats, especially because many technology-based systems have become so connected and efficient they have become fragile and lack resiliency.[110]

A reason for the importance of networks is due to the momentum of human activities. This more speculative field draws on physics and applies it to social theory. It has been used to describe mass, velocity and the affect this creates over time, particularly on how systems build, self-perpetuate and (partly through networks) gather force.[111] These processes can be used in positive ways; for example, psychologists apply momentum to help teams perform better in competitive sports,[112] and it has helped drive positive political change, such as the Arab Spring movement of early 2011. More commonly, however, it has negative effects and can help account for the seemingly irreversible drift to events such as wars or the development of seductive ideas like radical ideologies. While people are in the grip of a momentum-experience they become blinded; this can explain why events occur that seem (with hindsight) perverse and destructive.[113] The metaphor of a wave has been used to describe momentum, with participants, like surfers, riding the wave's power;[114] this is akin to emic or insider perspectives of an event. Being part of events deprives people of objectivity; it enforces collective assent, or interpretation of events is rationalised so as to be defensible.[115] In public discourse about the factors threatening contemporary livelihoods – for example, climate change or inadequately regulated international banking – the array of voices arguing for rational or precautionary measures are persistently overwhelmed by the momentum of denial or self-interest marshalled against them.

Joseph Tainter's study *The Collapse of Complex Societies* confronts the nagging fear about these trends. Reviewing a number of past civilizations (with particular focus on the Roman Empire), he analyses the reasons for their demise.[116] Tainter's explains why the areas of risk, outlined in Chapter 2 of this thesis, may be harbingers of failure in the pillars supporting contemporary civilization.[117] If we understand risk and processes of change, it follows we can also recognise and exploit opportunities to avoid threats or, if a threat is so imminent as to be unavoidable, at least prepare. In Chapter 5, I explore how cultural institutions can play critical roles of memory, mediation and mobilisation in future societies fractured by multiple system reformations. This may appear to be a pessimistic

diagnosis. As already suggested, scholars who have explored these threats explain the process of collapse by drawing on network and complexity theory, as well as energy thermodynamics.

The laws of thermodynamics explain that energy can never be destroyed or created, only change form, and, when used, a proportion is lost for productive use. Because of progressive loss, in any given system energy tends to become less available over time; this leads to increasing randomness or entropy. These laws are true materially (the physical use of available energy sources) as well as in principle (in natural or invented systems, even where energy forms are not used). They can also be applied to understand the nature of complexity itself. For example, as systems become increasingly complex, the benefits that accrue will diminish in inverse proportion to the energy input. The case of medical science can illustrate this process. Early gains in public health (such as extending life expectancy and reducing the incidence of preventable illness) were relatively 'easy wins' with high-yielding results from low levels of investment. Over time advances have become less pronounced despite increasing investment (energy). Now, life expectancy and physical quality of life advances in micro-steps; this is a form of entropy. Figure 1.1 demonstrates how the benefits of complexity decline as a falling return on complexity investment.[118]
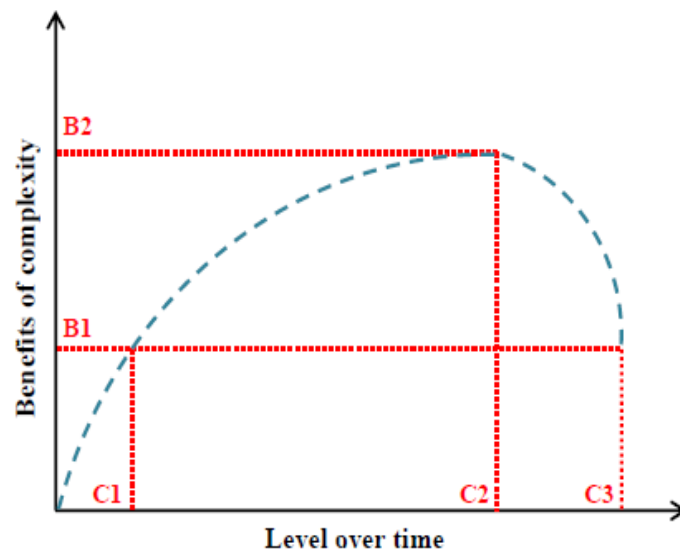

Figure 1.1: Declining benefits of complexity against complexity investments over time

Thermodynamics also applies to social progress. All civilizations are powered by energy. Today, the primary sources are fossil fuels. In the early phase of the modern industrial era, petroleum virtually bubbled out of the ground; in the early twenty-first century we face the

threat of peak oil, or the point at which more than half of all reserves will be exhausted and demand will outpace supply. When this occurs (as it inevitably will given it is a finite resource) energy derived from petroleum will become increasingly expensive. Additionally, discovering new reserves, extracting and processing them will be highly energy-demanding.[119] This will result in a declining benefit. When the point is reached where it costs more to access, or more energy is used in its extraction than produced in its conversion to power, it ceases to be a viable form of energy (see Figure 1.2). This is known as the energy return on investment and is another way of describing diminishing marginal returns (the difference between cost and benefit) but applied to energy rather than finance.

This gloomy truth will have profound effects on the future of human societies and threatens the contemporary world order. According to Tainter, when there are too few gains from investment in energy production, it is futile to continue the effort. At this point, there is a return to radical simplicity, or the collapse of a civilization, because there is inadequate energy to sustain it. In some cases, such as in Rome, the empire simply stopped expanding, and people moved from cities to an agrarian subsistence – the collapse was largely one of progressive decay.[120] Not all are so benign. Drawing from the evidence of collective behaviours, Ronald Wright illustrates how civilizations as varied as the Sumerian, Mayan and Rapa Nui (Easter Island) have been obliterated because they failed to understand sustainability. These recurring failures, Wright suggests, are a salutary warning against hubris. Contemporary civilizations are equally at risk, not only because of planetary limits but also because humans are 'predictable creatures, driven everywhere by similar needs, lusts, hopes and follies'.[121]

As well as diminishing marginal returns from globalisation, parallel processes of efficiency are compounding adaptive problems. Neoliberalism asserts that free markets are the best way to ensure efficiency. Competitive, profit-maximising firms, through processes of 'creative destruction',[122] constantly improve methods of production: inputs (e.g. labour and resources) and distribution.[123] Many of these efficiencies are achieved by limiting quality assurance during manufacture, by economies of scale achieved through mass production and materials acquisition, and by replacing labour with technology. The purpose of these activities is to remove redundancy or drag, and the momentum of design-innovation increasingly does so. However, a frictionless world is 'brittle', or one with little

resilience.[124] Maximising efficiency may bring benefits, such as improved amenities (for some) and economic savings, but it creates problems seldom acknowledged or discussed.
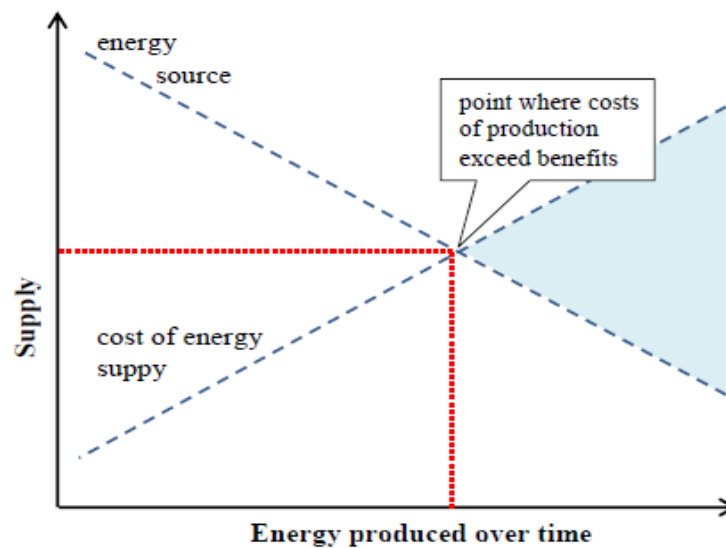
Figure 1.2: Diminishing marginal returns where the gains of energy production are exceeded by the costs

The way networks help reduce friction represents one of their risks. Homer-Dixon describes how the electricity grid, when interrupted, can trigger a sequence of supply failures.[125] Mark Roeder, Satyajit Das and Kevin Phillips (for instance) describe how the global economy was threatened by the international banking system's trading of collateralised debt obligations.[126] These examples refer to the way mass-networks, structured to optimise efficiency, can easily be disrupted. Small failures in a complicated, interconnected and reliant system leave it vulnerable. Global trade, communications and knowledge-transfer networks will continue indefinitely, it is assumed. However, these rely on specific conditions: existing resource and energy supplies (the materials needed to keep the system expanding), and the belief this can be maintained into the future (an imagined momentum). However, many stresses threaten to shake the foundations of these networks. This can lead to what is known as synchronous collapse or *hysteresis*.[127]

Tainter's theories about the collapse of civilizations are consistent with the panarchy hypothesis. Panarchy describes how systems function holistically, in particular economic, ecological and social models of change and stability. Crawford Holling has advocated the notion of panarchy (although the term dates from the mid-nineteenth century) and his work is drawn from systems theory and analysis of natural ecologies. This approach examines the degree of resilience within any given system and its flows in and out. How effectively a

system handles change determines its level of resilience. Examples from nature help to illustrate this. An ecology that has evolved over a long period may be highly complex; this complexity will be based on the way it is networked within a closed system. The web of life – plants, animals, microorganisms, climatic patterns – sustains a rich, balanced ecosystem. However, this is largely an endogenous survival. An exogenous event, such as climate variation or the arrival of new predatory species may trigger a failure of the total ecology. The web, or network, cannot cope with the stress of change and it collapses: the complexity, which had sustained it, is abruptly returned to simplicity. Multiple disruptions to a system amplifies the risks of failure. This is explained by four adaptive cycles, illustrated in Figure 1.3. The first cycle is exploitation (**r**), during which time a population expands and establishes itself; the next cycle (conservation: **K**) is the phase where the population reaches carrying capacity and stabilises; the third cycle (release: **Ω**) is one of sudden change that occurs when the population declines due to changed circumstances; the fourth and final cycle (reorganisation: **α**) describes natural selection where survivors adapt to new and altered conditions. These cycles can be seen as paralleling life cycles – birth, growth, maturity and death – but are also marked, at each stage, by dynamics of potential, connectivity and resilience.
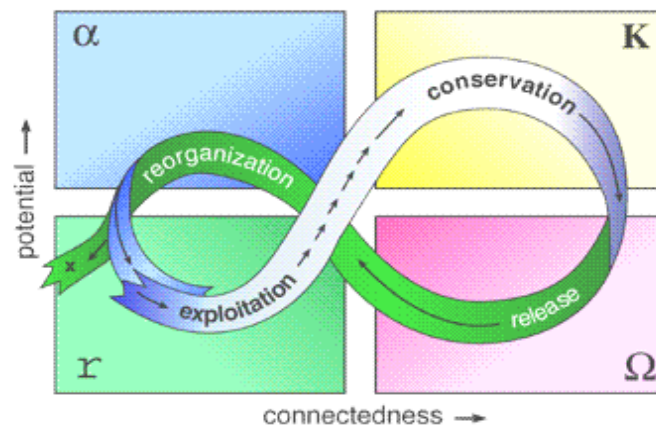
Figure 1.3: The adaptive cycle within systems [128]

Holling describes resilience as 'the ability of a system to absorb change and variation without flipping into a different state where the variables and processes controlling structure and behaviour suddenly change'.[129] He argues this has general significance. Because resiliency represents the property that sustains ecosystems, when lost, 'or when its limits are exceeded, unpredictability becomes dramatically increased ... If resilience

represents the sustaining foundation for ecosystems, then useful and usable knowledge and the social trust to apply that knowledge represents the sustaining foundations for social development'.[130] Panarchy is compatible with Ludwig von Bertalanffy's general systems theory, which holds that systems, while appearing different from each other, share common behaviours. This is known as 'isomorphism', or having similar structures or appearance across species or epiorganism (an interaction of individuals comprising a functional entity, such as a human society) despite different ancestry or form. Because natural systems are open, they cannot be predicted in the same way as closed systems.[131] As a result, their paths will be equifinal, or shaped by multiple factors interplaying in an open setting.[132]

These mechanisms describe the strengths and weaknesses of complex adaptive systems, of which our current global civilization is an example. The efficiencies that make this vast, technologically sophisticated edifice function depend on hyper-specialisation: skills which have increasingly replaced those of generalists. Although jacks-of-all-trades are adaptable and flexible, they are often made obsolete, expendable to gains in expert efficiency. Specialisation can be a weakness if it fails to see the big picture, connections, or has lost the skill to understand how total systems work, a problem acknowledged by even the well-known advocate of globalisation, Thomas Friedman.[133] There seems to be a syllogistic fallacy of specialism: that an expert in one thing is, *ipso facto*, an expert in others. Governments are dominated by certain sorts of specialists – lawyers, unionists, businesspeople, economists – but the art of government is (or should be) based on iteration, adaptation and generalism. Politicians are easily influenced by specialists who apply remedies seen through the narrow prism of their field of expertise and reinforced by super-specialist advice commissioned by departments, which compound the problem of narrow and rigid responses to change. Specialisation has, therefore, robbed many industries of their resilience and left them vulnerable.[134] Equally, community resilience is regarded by emergency-service planners as protective: a characteristic that can be mobilised to help recover after a disaster, and concerns have been raised about the widespread loss of resilience due to the gains, and specialisations, of modernity.[135] In this setting, when collapse occurs, it may do so painfully and spectacularly.[136]

These are complex theories and describing them so briefly does not do them justice. My purpose is to explain the basis for many predictions about the trajectory of global civilization. A concern about synchronous collapse is grounded on legitimate science and a

solid evidence-base about systems. In our anthropogenic world, we tend to see everything through the lens of human primacy – particularly a Western-paradigm scientific lens. This obscures another picture. In geological time, our constructed world is no more than a burst of energy on a living planet. The immediacy of being makes us blind to the existential long view. This failure is why some writers, such as Clive Hamilton, have pessimistically alluded to humanity's requiem, a view based on the momentum of the existing political economy, environmental science and human fallibility.[137] As Homer-Dixon, Stuart Sim and others argue, because we live in a hyper-networked world, and so many systems that support human functionings are vulnerable, this raises the risks that, as a species, we now face far-reaching synchronous-collapse events.

1.2.5 OTHER THEMATIC INFLUENCES

Many writers have influenced the analysis in this thesis; for example, Tim Jackson on redefining the notion of economic growth and Resa Aslan on globalisation and terrorism. I discuss these where appropriate in coming chapters. However, most influences can be clustered into three categories. First, because I am concerned with human well-being and adaptation, I locate human development within a reality setting that includes existential facts, such as a finite biosphere, limited resources and the laws of physics. Humans cannot influence these factors; they are simply the way things are. Second, other factors relate to the world as we have shaped it and are the conditions of contemporary life: economics, globalisation, pollution, security risks and the like – forces that make change difficult but which humans can influence if they so choose. The third category includes factors I see as 'normative'; they are largely subjective understandings, albeit with an accepted validity; they include notions of human rights and sustainable development. These distinctions between existing conditions, scientific facts and normative standards are vague and overlap; it is an imprecise description, merely a taxonomy intended to explain context.

Much of the literature seems to be of three types and deal with: (1) synchronous threats, (2) sustainable development and well-being, and (3) the analyses of human activities. Again, this categorisation is somewhat arbitrary; clearly concerns and approaches are shared, but there remain thematic purposes consistent with these descriptions. For example, books by Roeder, Sim, Wright, Homer-Dixon, Brendan Gleeson, Clive Hamilton, David Korten and Joshua Ramo deal with synchronous threats.[138] The methodology used by most writers is to

discuss the range of factors affecting society and the constraints on long-term growth, security and stability. They conclude there are unavoidable threats that challenge human survival. Most (Hamilton and Wright excepted) draw conclusions that seem almost naïve, avoiding discussion of the potential conclusions. Their works are like richly orchestrated and darkly thematic symphonies that end with short, unconvincingly cheerful codas. On the connection between prevailing crises and the role of cultural institutions, Robert Janes' *Museums in a Troubled World* can also be categorised as synchronous-threats literature. His approach is to raise wide-ranging challenges about the role museums could and should play, arguing their future relevance is contingent upon how they help audiences interpret and negotiate uncertainties. His analysis tends to focus on 'bricks and mortar' institutions that collect, rather than on living, embedded museums that are part of a social fabric and place.[139]

Other approaches include sustainable development and capabilities; they can also be seen as human-rights based. These address issues that relate to both the 'purpose' and quality of life. Some have already been quoted, such as Sen's work and the multi-authored reports of UNESCO, UNDP and other international agencies. These influences are raised further in Section 3.2 although reference to earlier writers on this issue are selective, given that scholarship about rights, freedom, agency and the effects of state and social control are so extensive.

The third group of writings I have mentioned is the human-activity-based approach to issues. This rather clumsily describes the rapidly growing body of literature on sustainable economics, consumption, anthropogenic climate change and – given a diminishing and damaging energy-base –the links between them. Some of the authors writing about these issues include Jackson, Patel, Geoffrey Miller, Clive Hamilton (he crosses both groups), Jane Jacobs and various **nef** publications. **nef** also advocates the notion of a world in dynamic-equilibrium, which it prefers to the 'steady state'.[140] The term dynamic-equilibrium is most commonly used in physics and biology, referring to proportionate loss and gain in a reaction. However, **nef** uses it as an antidote to claims that sustainability equals stagnation; they argue human societies *can* be healthy, functional and vibrant, yet still function within planetary constraints. Dynamic-equilibrium is where:

> within ecosystem limits, there is constant change, shifting balances and, evolution. 'Dynamic' in the sense that little is steady or stationary, but 'equilibrium' in that the

vibrant, chaotic kerfuffle of life, economics and society must organise its affairs within the parent-company boundaries of available biocapacity.[141]

As societies have become more secular, complex and technologically adept, their members have become progressively more stressed and confused, but also more specialised and segmented by their skills and socio-economic or cultural status. This atomisation has advantages. Networked specialists have improved technology and expand scientific knowledge at an astonishing rate, with the period between the development and mass commercialisation of new inventions (e.g. the iPhone and digital cameras) remarkably short. Such time-compression is accelerating the momentum of change, which has the added effect of aggravating emotional, spiritual, behavioural and psychic dislocation. This trend has other disadvantages; as well as the risks associated with a frictionless world, there are vulnerabilities due to myopia. Because people have an understandably limited capacity to comprehend multiple processes, externalities and hypotheses about global change, they are more prone to denial or recourse to simplistic explanations of events.

It was not always so. For much of history, the way most people gained a coherent explanation of events was through a religious belief system. Religions help explain what is and what it means to be (ontology); what we do, can and cannot know, and how to think to gain knowledge (epistemology); and how to act according to a moral code (axiology). Political ideologies and science-based ethics have attempted to outline alternative codified beliefs, constructing knowledge-systems around being, doing and behaving, but never so thoroughly as the major faiths or spiritual traditions. It could be claimed ideology and religion merely provide prefabricated worldviews and people remain intellectually indolent. But all – politics, faith and science – struggle to form viable existential explanations in the twenty-first century; all are challenged by the complex mix of functionings and reformations of contemporary life.

A goal of this thesis is to explore those conditions where capabilities are sufficient for flourishing at a level most people would consider satisfactory for a life worth living.[142] This involves exploring current events and processes as well as methodological understandings and normative ethical systems. Whatever the future holds, elemental aspects of being human will shape the quality of life and viability of civil society. Human determinants – such as culture and identity – are critical, and institutions that help negotiate, sustain and build well-being around identity, values and beliefs are particularly

important. Another thesis goal is to hypothesise what types of institutions may fulfil these roles. They may take many forms. They could be repressive agents of an authoritarian state, or they could be local, democratically managed cultural institutions. This may seem a surprising claim about a future path for organisations such as museums; I explain and elaborate on this hypothesis in Chapter 5.

Notes

[1] A Desvallées and F Mairesse, *Key Concepts in Museology*, Armand Colin, 2009, describe musealisation as the 'transforming [of] a centre of life, which may be a centre of human activity or a nature site, into a sort of museum', pp. 50–52.

[2] For example, Amartya Sen's analysis in *The Idea of Justice*, Penguin, London, 2010, 53 ff.

[3] Although vaguely understood, 'well-being' is generally regarded to mean quality of life.

[4] Jean Porter, 'The Search for a Global Ethic', *Theological Studies*, vol. 62, 2001, pp. 105–21.

[5] Parliament of the World's Religions, *Towards a Global Ethic (An Initial Declaration)*, Chicago, 1993, viewed 5 September 2011, <http://www.religioustolerance.org/parliame.htm>.

[6] Parliament of the World's Religions, *The Principles of a Global Ethic*, Chicago, 1993, viewed 5 September 2011, <http://www.religioustolerance.org/parl_rt1.htm>. The declaration document identifies four shared principles essential to a global ethic: commitments to a culture of (1) non-violence and respect for life, (2) solidarity and a just economic order, (3) tolerance and a life of truthfulness, and (4) equal rights and partnership between men and women. See the Global Ethic Foundation website <http://www.weltethos.org/dat-english/03-declaration.htm>.

[7] Alice Dwyer, 'Global Ethic – A postmodern oxymoron, or the opening to dialogue?', in C Cusack & P Oldmeadow (eds), *The End of Religions?: Religion in an Age of Globalisation*, Sydney University Department of Studies in Religion, 2001, pp. 52–69; also William George, 'Towards a Common Morality', *The Christian Century*, vol. 115, vol. 26, 7 October 1998, pp. 903–08.

[8] Described in Chapter 1, 'A New Global Ethics', pp. 33–51 of UNESCO, *Our Creative Diversity,* 1995.

[9] ibid., p. 41.

[10] The UNESCO framework is more rigorous because based on universal human-rights standards and has not had to compromise (that is, align with an array of potentially quite different religious moral codes) as did the Parliament of the World's Religions' declaration. Although this global ethic has value and reflects similar concerns, these constraints make it less encompassing than that of UNESCO.

[11] The framework for the UN Global Ethic, from *Our Cultural Diversity*, is summarised in the United Nations Development Programme, *Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*, UNDP, New York, 2004, p. 90.

12 Earth Charter Initiative, *Strategy and Focus Areas*, viewed 20 January 2012, <http://www.earthcharterinaction.org/content/pages/Strategy.html>.

13 The Earth Charter, viewed 20 January 2012, <http://www.earthcharterinaction.org/content/pages/Read-the-Charter.html>.

14 I Robeyns, *The Capability Approach*, Stanford, 2011, p. 3.

15 Robeyns, *The Capability Approach: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, Amsterdam, 2003, p. 5.

16 For example, in the UNDP World Reports (a good early example is the 2000 report: *Human Rights and Human Development* and, more recently the 2011 report, *Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All*); the work of the now de-funded UK Sustainability Commission; **nef** reports such as *Measuring our Progress*, London, 2011 and *National Accounts of Well-Being*, London, 2009; Tim Jackson's, *Prosperity without Growth*, Earthscan, London, 2009, 157 ff; international journals, (such as the Routledge *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1945-2829&linktype=145>; and borrowed in the social-inclusion policy framework in Australia, see Social Inclusion Board, *Social Inclusion in Australia: How Australia is Faring*, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Canberra, 2010, pp. 14–15.

17 Nussbaum says the areas where the individual may fully develop human capabilities are: life; bodily health and integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; other species relations (a concern for, and relationship with, the natural world); play; and control over one's environment (both political and material control), S Alkire, 'The Capability Approach as a Development Paradigm?' *3rd International Conference on the Capability Approach*, Pavia, September 2003.

18 Also known as ecosystem services, natural services are resources occurring as a regular part of a functional ecosystem such as rainwater, sunlight, organic decomposition, pollination and air purification.

19 C Kleist, *Global Ethics*, Marquette University, 2010; and I Robeyns, *Capability Approach: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, 12 ff.

20 Kleist, op.cit., Section 1, 'Background of Global Ethics'.

21 ibid.; see also Benjamin Gregg, *Thick Moralities, Thin Politics*, Duke University Press, 2003 , 57 ff; Andrew Dobson, 'Thick Cosmopolitanism', *Political Studies*, vol. 54, 2006, pp. 165–184.

22 For example, **nef,** *(Un)Happy Planet Index*, new economics foundation, London, June 2009.

23 For example, Social Inclusion Board, op.cit.

24 In the modern era. There had been earlier international treaties to establish governance-like structures; for example, the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years War and from which developed the notion of a 'family of nations' pursuing shared but different interests within a framework of underlying principles.

25 See <http://www.evatt.org.au/about-us/doc-evatt.html> viewed 24 November 2011.

26 Such as being part of the web of relations between many nations, societies and organisations, especially those related to health, education, science and culture; the capacity to help shape international policy developments and to influence global decisions through treaty bodies; to respond to crises; attend to other perspectives on world issues; link with development and aid

programs, and to participate in international evaluative programs.

27 Robert Manne, 'Little America: how John Howard has changed Australia', *The Monthly*, March 2006, pp. 20–32; Robert Garran, *True Believer: John Howard, George Bush and the American Alliance*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2004; Greg Sheridan, *The Partnership: The Inside Story of the US–Australian Alliance Under Bush and Howard*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2006.

28 UN official site, viewed 24 November 2011, <http://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/introduction.aspx>.

29 Justice Mary Gaudron, 'Remembering the Universal Declaration', address to the Jessie Street Trust, 3 March 2006, Evatt Foundation <http://www.evatt.org.au/papers/remembering-universal-declaration.html>.

30 K Abbott and D Snidal, 'Hard and Soft Law in International Governance', *International Organisation*, vol. 54, no. 3, summer 2000, pp. 421–56.

31 This may vary between conventions; a minimum number of acceding state parties will normally be agreed at drafting stage, once this number is reached, it 'comes into effect' as international law. Reasons for these variations are partly due to how relevant a law may be; for example, a lower number of states parties may be required for a treaty to have effect if it relates to maritime laws and a large number of UN member states are land-locked or have little interest in the issue.

32 For an explanation on the processes of signing, accession and ratification of UN treaties see the AHRC website, viewed 20 May 2012, <http://www.hreoc.gov.au/education/hr_explained/6_states.html>; see also the OHCHR, *Human Rights: A Basic Handbook for UN Staff*, undated, viewed 18 October 2011, <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/HRhandbooken.pdf>.

33 UN, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 1966, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm>; and *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 1966, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm>.

34 The role of national human-rights institutions, and a measure of their efficacy, is outlined in the Paris Principles: UN, *Principles Relating to the Status of National Institutions*, 20 December 1993. In Australia, the AHRC is the national agency that administers human rights legislation, monitors government compliance, educates the public, handles complaints relating to human-rights laws, and provides advice to courts and governments. While the AHRC has a legislative mandate to meet these standards (e.g. in relation to the freedom to investigate human-rights violations, contact the media, or report to parliament) whether it has the resource-capacity to do so is another matter. It is chronically under-resourced and often threatened with funding cuts.

35 The notion of the three human-rights generations was described by Karl Vasak in the late 1970s. His proposition was that the generations mirrored the principles of the French Revolution's liberty, equality and fraternity. Civil and political rights are about liberties; social, economic and cultural rights address (especially substantive) equality; and intergenerational, self-determination, collective and sustainability rights concern the 'brotherhood' of humanity (fraternity). K Vasak, 'Human Rights: A Thirty Year Struggle', *UNESCO Courier*, vol. 30, no. 11, 1977, pp. 29–32. Bulent Algan, 'Rethinking "Third Generation" Human Rights', *Ankara Law Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, summer 2004, pp. 121–55, gives an overview of the topic.

36 UN, UDHR, 1948.

37 UN, ICCPR; for example, if freedom from discrimination or to free speech is limited, this may affect individual access to education, culturally or socially based expression, or social and emotional well-being.

38 This is a generalisation: positive and negative rights do not neatly fall under either ICCPR or ICESCR; for example, the right to freedom of religion and belief (article 18) is controversial because it is a cultural (positive) right as well as a fundamental (negative) right, which is specifically listed under the ICCPR.

39 UN, *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*, 1992; UN, *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 2007.

40 See D Weissbrodt and C de la Vega, *International Human Rights Law*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, 59 ff, on ICCPR, derogable and non-derogable rights.

41 Law Council of Australia, *Anti-Terrorism Reform Project*, Law Council of Australia, Canberra, November 2008, 7 ff.

42 David Wright-Neville et al., *Counter-Terrorism Policing and Culturally Diverse Communities*, Monash University, 2007, 33 ff.

43 T Calma and C Gershevitch *Freedom of Religion and Belief in a Multicultural Democracy*, AHRC, August 2009, p. 9.

44 <http://www.theage.com.au/national/archbishop-in-abortion-law-threat-20080922-4lsl.html?page=-1>.

45 Parliament of Victoria, *Abortion Law Reform Act, 2008*, viewed 3 December 2011, <http://www.legislation.vic.gov.au/Domino/Web_Notes/LDMS/PubStatbook.nsf/f932b66241ecf1b7ca256e92000e23be/BB2C8223617EB6A8CA2574EA001C130A/$FILE/08-58a.pdf>.

46 From the Prime Minister's speech of 2 December 2008 to the House of Representatives reaffirming Australia's commitment to the UDHR. A speech, echoing these sentiments was delivered subsequently by the then opposition leader, Malcolm Turnbull; see House of Representatives Official Hansard, no. 18, 2008 (pp. 121,131–38), viewed 18 February 2011, <http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/reps/dailys/dr021208.pdf>.

47 Francesca Beausang, 'Democratising Global Governance: The Challenges of the World Social Forum', *Management of Social Transformations*, Discussion Paper no. 59, UNESCO, 2002, p. 9. <http://www.unesco.org/most/dsp59_en.pdf>.

48 The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is perhaps the world's most repressive, undemocratic regime.

49 For an enduring helpful guide to the challenges facing the term 'democracy', see Quincy Wrights' short summary for UNESCO, *Philosophical Enquiry into Current Ideological Conflicts: The Meaning of Democracy*, Paris, 1949.

50 Democracy can be manipulated by powerful corporate interests. There is a substantial body of scholarly analysis of this. See, for example, JL Staats, 'Habermas and Democratic Theory: The Threat to Democracy of Unchecked Corporate Power', *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 57, December 2004, pp. 585–94. There is also considerable discussion among independent think tanks and NGOs; see, for example, the discussion at 'Democracy and Corporate Power', Centre for Social Justice, Canada, 2012, <http://www.socialjustice.org/index.php?page=democracy-

corporate-power>; and 'Corporations: power and responsibility', openDemocracy, 2012, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/globalization-corporations/debate.jsp>.

51 See 'democracy-building.info', Switzerland, 2010, <http://www.democracy-building.info/index.html>.

52 'What is "Cultural Democracy"?' The Institute for Cultural Democracy, Seattle, 1998, <http://www.wwcd.org/cddef.html>.

53 Konai Helu-Thaman, 'Cultural Democracy for Whom? A View from the Pacific Islands', *International Association for Intercultural Education Conference*, keynote address, Adelaide, 19–24 May 1994.

54 See Alex Law's review, 'The Critique of Everyday Life and Cultural Democracy', *Variant*, no. 29, summer 2007, pp. 24–6.

55 Deep Democracy Institute, 'Deep Democracy explained', Portland, 2009, <http://www.deepdemocracyinstitute.org/deep-democracy-explained.html>.

56 See Arjun Appadurai, 'Deep democracy: urban governmentality and the horizon of politics', *Environment & Urbanization*, vol. 13, no. 2, October 2001, pp. 23–43.

57 For information on the Millennium Declaration, see <http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml>.

58 UNDP, *Human Rights and Human Development*, UNDP, New York, 2000, p. 17.

59 P Worsley, 'Culture and Development Theory', T Skelton & T Allen (eds), *Culture and Global Change*, Routledge, London, 1999, 30 ff.

60 UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities 2012/2013*, Nairobi, 2012, 31ff, argues there are five dimensions: as well as economically-based measures of productivity and infrastructure development, of equal importance are equity and social inclusion, quality of life and environmental sustainability.

61 Largely under the auspice of the Washington Consensus of the 1980s which pushed trade liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation in developing nations. This led to many economic and development problems and the approach began unravelling by the end of the century, see Charles Gore, 'The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries', *World Development*, vol. 28, no. 5, 2000, pp. 789–804.

62 Working Group on Climate Change and Development, *Other Worlds are Possible*, **nef** and the International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 2009, p. 12.

63 ibid., p. 9.

64 Raj Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, Portobello Books, Great Britain, 2007; in particular, Chapter 4, 'Just a cry for bread', 75 ff.

65 ibid.; also see UNDP, World Report, 2000, op.cit.

66 Raymond Williams, *Keywords*, 1976, viewed 4 May 2011, <http://pubpages.unh.edu/~dml3/880williams.htm>.

67 In its early years, UNESCO struggled with these concepts. In the late 1940s (especially as promoted by one of its first director-generals, Julian Huxley), art was regarded as 'the fruit of culture', which could be harnessed to build inter-civilizational dialogue for the purposes of peace-building; see K Stenou, *UNESCO and the Question of Cultural Diversity 1946–2007*,

Cultural Diversity Series no. 3, UNESCO, Paris, 2007. Contemporary interpretations of such concepts are now contested; for example, John Holden remarks that the use of the word 'culture' only poses the question: Whose culture? 'All judgements have become relative, suspect and tainted', *Capturing Cultural Value*, Demos, London, 2004, p. 23. The term 'civilization', also, is 'a problematic concept, because of its abuse, its ambiguities, its partisan connotations, and the arbitrary nature of the ways in which it is commonly characterized', as argued by Felipe Fernández-Armesto in 'Recognising civilizations: cultural contacts in global history and the role of the "stranger" effect', *Civilizations: How we see others, how others see us*, Proceedings of the International Symposium, UNESCO, Paris, 13–14 December 2001.

68   T Skelton and T Allen, *Culture and Global Change*, Routledge, London, 1999, 2 ff.

69   Quoted by C Helman in *Health, Culture and Mental Health*, Butterworth, Oxford, 2000, p. 2.

70   ibid., p. 4.

71   T Headland, *Emic and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate*, SIL International, Dallas, 1990.

72   For example, neoliberal economics as a source of persisting Global North exploitation of the South has a considerable body of literature, especially its association with unsustainable growth in a finite ecosystem. This is discussed further in Sections 2.1 and 2.3.

73   'Anosognosia' is a clinical term meaning the real or feigned ignorance of a disease or neurological defect, <http://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/anosognosia>.

74   Raj Patel, *Value of Nothing*, Picador, New York, 2009, pp. 21–2.

75   M Brewer, 'The social self: On being the same and different at the same time', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, vol. 17, no. 5, 1991, pp. 475–82.

76   JC Ramo, *The Age of the Unthinkable*, Little Brown, London, 2009, p. 211. Nisbettt's research is discussed in detail by Ramo at pp. 155–64.

77   Cultural liberty is explained as the freedom to choose and practice an identity, or identities, without exclusion or discrimination, see UNDP, World Report, 2004.

78   Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization, adopted by the International Health Conference in 1946: it has remained unamended since that time.

79   ibid.

80   UN, UDHR, article 25(1).

81   CJ Frankish et al., 'Background', *Health Impact Assessment as a Tool for Population Health Promotion and Public Policy*, Institute of Health Promotion Research, University of British Columbia, 1996.

82   WHO website, viewed 3 April 2011, <http://www.who.int/social_determinants/en/>.

83   R Wilkinson & M Marmot (eds), *Social Determinants of Health*, WHO, 2003, p. 7.

84   J Ferrie (ed), *Work, Stress, Health: The Whitehall II Study*, Council of Civil Service Unions, 2004; see also WHO Commission on the Social Determinants of Health, *Closing the Gap in a Generation*, WHO Press, Geneva, 2008.

85   D Raphael, *Inequality Spawns Sickness*, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Ottawa, November 2008.

86   WHO, *Closing the Gap in a Generation*.

87   WHO, *Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion*, 1986, which lists the determinants of health, many of which are fundamental human rights as outlined in UDHR.

88   ibid.

89   WHO, *Jakarta Declaration on Leading Health Promotion into the 21st Century*, July 1997; and the Global Consortium for the Advancement of Promotion and Prevention of Mental Health, *The Melbourne Charter for Promoting Mental Health and Preventing Mental and Behavioural Disorders*, 5th World Conference on the Promotion of Mental Health, Melbourne, September 2008.

90   As noted in the National Preventative Health Taskforce's *Australia: The Healthiest Country by 2020*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2008, p. 4; 19 ff.

91   A term increasingly favoured by reforming economists concerned with the erosion of civil society at the expense of economic efficiency, e.g. T Jackson op.cit., 43 ff.

92   A Sen, *Development as Freedom*, OUP, 2001; see especially 'Freedom and the Foundations of Justice' and 'Poverty as Capability Deprivation', pp. 54–110; see also T Jackson, op.cit., 171 ff; see also **nef**, *The Great Transition*, new economics foundation, London, 2010.

93   Thomas Homer-Dixon, *The Upside of Down*, Text Publishing, Melbourne, 2008, 7 ff.

94   UNDP, World Report, 2004, p. 5; also, Sen further takes up this theme in the following chapter, p. 19.

95   S Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Touchstone, London, 1996.

96   P Atkinson, 'Representations of Conflict in the Western Media', T Skelton & T Allen (eds), *Culture and Global Change*, Routledge, London, 1999, p. 105.

97   As examples, see Edward Said's works, such as *Orientalism*, Vintage, 1994, and *Covering Islam*, Vintage, 1997; the Alliance of Civilization, *Report of the High-Level Group,* United Nations, New York, 2006; and see Sen in the introductory chapter of UNDP, World Report, 2004, 19 ff.

98   Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Rowman and Littlefield, New York, 2000.

99   B Hodge and J O'Carroll, *Borderwork in Multicultural Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2006, 3 ff.

100   ibid., p. 8.

101   ibid., pp. 8–9.

102   Homer-Dixon, op.cit., 36 ff.

103   They tend to be drawn from the fields of economics, politics, history and the arts; **nef**, *Growth Isn't Possible*, by A Simms, V Johnson and P Chowla, new economics foundation, London, 2010, 15 ff.

104   Homer-Dixon, op.cit., 232 ff; Patel, *Value of Nothing*, 172 ff.

105   P Berman, *Terror and Liberalism*, Norton, New York, 2004, Chapter II, 'Armageddon in Its Modern Versions', 22 ff.

[106] C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species,* 118 ff; and Homer-Dixon, op.cit., 211 ff.

[107] Hegel, quoted in Homer-Dixon, op.cit., p. 178.

[108] Jan Kregel, *The Natural Instability of Financial Markets*, Working Paper no. 523, The Levy Economics Institute, Bard College, New York, December 2007, argues that false market equilibrium assumptions (the dominant economic paradigm) of stability is demonstrated by the 2007-8 global financial crisis. The issue of inherent market instability is examined further in section 2.3 of this thesis.

[109] C Kadushin, 'Introduction to Social Network Theory', Community Analytics, Baltimore, 2004, and <http://www.istheory.yorku.ca/socialnetworktheory.htm>.

[110] C Edwards, *Resilient Nation*, Demos, London, 2009, pp. 25–9.

[111] Mark Roeder, *The Big Mo*, ABC Books, Sydney, 2010, especially 115 ff.

[112] ibid., 98 ff

[113] ibid., 16 ff

[114] ibid., 113 ff

[115] A concept explored in detail in Elias Canetti's *Crowds and Power*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 1984. Canetti is particularly interested in the way individual identity (and free will) is lost within the proximity of compressed crowds, which then take on a collective 'life' and are easily vulnerable to influence by authoritarian figures.

[116] J Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988.

[117] When referring to 'contemporary civilization' in this thesis I mean the current interconnected, globalised world: 'We still have differing cultures and political systems but at the economic level there is now only one big civilization, feeding on the whole planet's natural capital', R Wright, *A Short History of Progress*, Text Publishing, Melbourne, 2004, pp. 124–5.

[118] J Tainter, 'Complexity, Problem Solving and Sustainable Societies', *Getting Down to Earth*, Island Press, 1996.

[119] The view that peak oil is imminent is contested by Daniel Yergin, *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World*, Penguin, 2011. Yergin claims new extraction technologies have made accessible substantial new oil reserves. His 'typically sunny outlook' has been questioned, inter alia, by Chris Nelder and Gregor MacDonald, 'There Will Be Oil, But At What Price?', *Harvard Business Review*, 4 October 2011, <http://blogs.hbr.org/cs/2011/10/there_will_be_oil_but_can_you.html> who argue that Yergin grouped several of fuel liquids and assumed they are equivalent in quality to crude oil; these charts 'hide the declining energy density, higher cost, and lower flow rates of these new resources ... and fraught with secondary effects like increasing carbon emissions, demand for water, and competition with food.'

[120] Homer-Dixon, op.cit., 246 ff.

[121] Wright, op.cit., p. 51.

[122] A term coined by Joseph Schumpeter; see T Jackson, op.cit., p. 96.

[123] ibid., 87 ff.

[124] Edwards, op.cit., see Chapter 2, 'A Brittle Society', 25 ff.

[125] Homer-Dixon, op.cit., 116 ff.

[126] Roeder, op.cit., 47 ff; also K Phillips, *Bad Money*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2009, see Chapter 1, 'The Panic of August'; also S Das, *Extreme Money*, Portfolio, Melbourne, 2011, 200 ff.

[127] From the Greek, *hysterein*, and usually applied to physics, one of its (varied) meanings is once a system begins to cascade into collapse it is too late to control or prevent its failure.

[128] Illustration taken from 'The Sustainable Scale Project', viewed 7 August 2011, <http://www.sustainablescale.org/ConceptualFramework/UnderstandingScale/MeasuringScale/Panarchy.aspx>.

[129] CS Holling, 'Surprise for Science, Resilience for Ecosystems, and Incentives for People', *Ecological Applications*, vol. 6, no. 3, p. 735.

[130] ibid.

[131] Closed systems are hypothetical settings where the laws of physics may be applied, and the settings at the outset will determine the settings at the end.

[132] L von Bertalanffy, *General Systems Theory*, 1968, viewed 7 August 2011, <http://www.panarchy.org/vonbertalanffy/systems.1968.html>.

[133] T Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Harper Collins, 2000, pp. 27–8.

[134] M Moore and F Westley, 'Surmountable Chasms: Networks and Social Innovation for Resilient Systems', *Ecology and Society*, vol. 16, no. 1, article 5. J Ramo op.cit., p. 198, says 'we are now tied to one another in ways we can't see, through webs of finance or disease or information, and – here's the dangerous paradox – the more closely we're bound, the less resilient we all become. [As networks] … become more densely linked they also become less resilient; networks, after all, propagate and even amplify disturbances. Worse, the more efficient these networks are, the faster they spread those dangers.'

[135] Edwards, op.cit., Chapter 8, 'A Resilient Nation', pp. 79–84.

[136] Ramo, op.cit., p. 172.

[137] C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2010, 11 ff; also Stuart Sim, *Carbon Footprint Wars*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2009, p. 4 and p. 22, quotes James Lovelock (inventor of the Gaia hypothesis) whose apocalyptic claims in The Independent are that humanity is doomed to near extinction within a few generations.

[138] B Gleeson, *Lifeboat Cities*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2010; C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*; Homer-Dixon, *The Up Side of Down*; D Korten, *The Great Turning*, Berrett-Koehler Publishers (San Francisco) and Kumarian Press (Bloomfield), 2006; Ramo, *The Age of the Unthinkable*; Roeder, *The Big Mo*; S Sim, *Carbon Footprint Wars*; and Wright, *A Short History of Progress*.

[139] R Janes, *Museums in a Troubled World*, Routledge, London, 2009.

[140] The notion of the steady state was first introduced by John Stuart Mill in *The Principles of Political Economy*, 1848. It was redeveloped in the postwar era, particularly among scholars interested in a general theory of systems (such as Kenneth Boulding) who were concerned about the relational effects between growth economics and the physical environment. The concept is promoted, inter alia, by the Centre for the Advancement of the Steady State Economy (<http://steadystate.org/>) and is summarised by Herman Daly in *Steady-State Economics*, Island Press, Washington, 1991, arguing 'production and consumption are not

precise words, since man can neither produce nor destroy matter and energy but only transform them from one state to another … [we may] define a steady-state economy as an economy with constant stocks of people and artefacts, maintained at some desired, sufficient levels by low rates of maintenance throughput, that is, by the lowest feasible flows of matter and energy from the first stage of production to the last stage of consumption.'

[141] **nef**, *Growth Isn't Possible*, p. 121.

[142] For a detailed explanation of prosperity as capability for optimal human functioning in a stable-growth economy, see, especially, T Jackson, op.cit., Chapter 3, 'Redefining Prosperity', pp. 35–47.

[2] THE WORLD AT A PRECIPICE

In the Introduction I presented some ways to think about well-being, equity and humanity's relationship with our planetary home. In this chapter I review six areas that form the crucible of change and pose major threats.[1] These divisions, however, are artificial because they intersect: globalisation has cultural, distributive and environmental effects; faith-based activism may be motivated by political, economic or social injustices; security threats may affect capital flows, investment and finances. Civil societies are built locally and, in an integrated and networked world, all people can help reconcile religious, racial and other divides. Understanding the collisions between trends is necessary if we are to respond.[2] Failure to do so is no longer a viable option.

2.1 GLOBALISATION

Globalisation is a significant force in the modern world, both its influence on society and how, in turn, this affects the planet's ecology. Although often assumed a recent phenomenon, globalisation is not new; indeed, it has been occurring for millennia. The Roman Empire was a globalising force across Europe, North Africa and the Middle East 2,000 years ago, and the establishment of trading routes along the Silk Road helped forge trade exchanges between the eastern and western reaches of the Eurasian continent.[3] The cultures of colonial powers are also testament to globalising forces, taking elements from diverse, dead or militarily subordinate cultures and hybridising them.[4] The interior of the English country home, so often seen as a quintessential expression of Englishness, provides an illustration: Chinoiserie on the mantelpiece, oriental rugs on the floor, Italianate artworks on the walls, Egyptian or classical motifs decorating the furniture, Bordeaux in a decanter, Latin texts printed in Venice lining bookshelves, stuffed heads of African game over the mantelpiece. Few cultural expressions could be more multicultural, more global.

WHAT IS GLOBALISATION?

Globalisation refers to processes affecting people, societies, economies and ecologies across the world. It is, nevertheless, a contested term with some arguing that alternatives such as 'global change' might be a better description.[5] Geoffrey Stokes, Roderic Pitty and Gary Smith argue that social and political commentators have used the term since the

1970s to refer to extensive changes that are in motion, but agree constructing a precise definition is difficult. They note, it 'signifies the growing interdependence and interconnectedness of states, peoples, economies and cultures, as well as public consciousness of that process'.[6] This consciousness of global change is a useful way of understanding not only historical and current trends, but potential futures.

Globalisation has had many effects, with philosophical and cultural consequences. As described by Frank Lechner, these effects have resulted in a compressed world that is increasingly seen as a single place. This means the issue of how the world should be ordered becomes a universal question. The answers to do so, however, come from an array of perspectives.[7] Lechner says that people must become reconciled to living in one world and, because contending views are frequently in sharp focus, world order is now a 'problem'. Not only do views conflict but the process itself is understood in different ways:

> [S]ome portray the world as an assembly of distinct communities, highlighting the virtues of particularism, while others view it as developing toward a single overarching organization, representing the presumed interests of humanity as a whole. In a compressed world, the comparison and confrontation of world views are bound to produce new cultural conflict … A globalised world is thus integrated but not harmonious, a single place but also diverse, a construct of shared consciousness but prone to fragmentation.[8]

Globalisation has had two modern iterations. The first era began as a result of European imperial missions but collapsed during the gold standard crisis in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The next era emerged after the Second World War and rapidly accelerated, largely as the result of planning by economists and politicians who feared protectionism had prolonged the Great Depression. The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 helped build the postwar international finance system and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank were established at that time; this put globalisation on a path associated with economic development.[9]

Four forms of flow are commonly seen to characterise globalisation: capital (investments by businesses or countries into the economies of other nations); labour (migration within and across countries); goods and services (such as exports and imports) and technological exchanges. As documented in Robert Reich's critique of what he calls 'supercapitalism'

(with its reference to Fascism[10]) globalisation is both the product and driver of an integrated world economy with industrial, political, technological, environmental, social and ethical dimensions. Reich does not ascribe the process as driven by institutional reforms, such as postwar financial planning, or to liberalism of Western economies during the 1980s, such as Reaganomics.[11] Rather, he sees globalisation as the consequence of the international power struggle between the USA, its democratic allies and the Communist block. From the late 1940s to the 1970s, during what Reich calls the 'not quite golden age',[12] there were vast investments in the transfer of goods (for military mobilisations), technological advances (again, in military-related communications, surveillance, space exploration and weapon design) and production (to support strategic alliances). These efforts built a momentum around speed, efficiency and the demand economy which let loose unrestricted corporate expansion, the results of which are commonly seen as globalisation.[13] The influence of globalisation in economics and the environment are discussed in 2.3 and 2.4; the remainder of this section focuses on a fifth and often-overlooked set of global flows – ideas, values and tastes – and the effect of these flows on culture.

THE EFFECT OF GLOBALISATION ON CULTURAL DIVERSITY

There are numerous cultural dimensions to globalisation, including a rapid increase in cross-cultural contact; the desire to improve living standards; demands for new commodities (which can involve cultural exploitation or theft); cultural colonisation and decline (such as language loss); increasing population mobility and the evolution of new identities resulting from attempts to maintain links to 'home' cultures and communities.[14]

Cultural globalisation has had both positive and negative effects, although such binary distinctions can be questioned. For example, it has been argued that globalisation has a generally good multicultural effect because it exposes peoples to new experiences and popularises novel cultural product, such as Bollywood movies.[15] These trends can sometimes challenge the dominance of Western cultural hegemony by demonstrating that not all influences on popular culture are derived from Europe or USA.[16] However, exposure to cultural diversity can encourage destructive consumption. Because of globalisation's integrational effects, it has brought into relief the frictions between culture, the environment and human rights. Populations in affluent Western countries are so

familiar with consumerism these behaviours are now culturally embedded. This has led to assumptions about 'rights' to certain lifestyles and purchasing patterns – without considering the wider effects. Indeed, neoliberalism has helped drive the concept of culture as commodity, with the citizen reshaped as consumer.[17] Some societies are so materially oriented, their 'culture' has morphed into little more than consumer preference; this is in ironic contrast with economically impoverished but culturally rich societies. Increasingly, as hitherto poor nations develop economically, consumption – proselytised through corporate marketing – is rapidly changing the behaviours of the new rich in those countries.[18]

This global division reflects the largely inequitable relationship between rich and poor nations. Exploitative trade and debt agreements often place impoverished communities and states in cycles of poverty where they are compelled to deplete the natural resources that represent their sole opportunity to build a more prosperous future.[19] Resource-usage often degrades an environment that has shaped local identity and provided scarce forms of capital. The demise of cultural distinctiveness in such communities represents the loss of an asset that connects and reinforces good health, self-esteem, belonging and social infrastructure.[20] Sen argues, although the international market culture is one manifestation of economic globalisation, those who find:

> the values and priorities of market-related cultures to be vulgar and impoverishing [equally] ... tend to find economic globalization itself to be quite objectionable. And yet often enough, they also see market-based globalization as hard to resist, given the reach and strength of the market economy and the sheer volume of resources it can bring to bear on reshaping the world.[21]

While this presents one moral conundrum, another is the problem:

> [of] the asymmetry of power between the West and other countries and the likelihood that this asymmetry will translate into destruction of local cultures … Such a loss, it is plausibly argued, would culturally impoverish non-Western societies. Given the constant cultural bombardment that tends to come from the Western metropolis … there are genuine fears that native traditions may be overwhelmed by the fusillade.[22]

Although recognising these threats, Sen disagrees that the solution lies in halting global trade, which often benefits developing economies. Asymmetries may be addressed by

strengthening local cultures, helping them resist 'forces of cultural invasion'.[23] Sim agrees, concerned a retreat from globalisation by countries fearing climate change will compound poverty in the Global South.[24]

Although wealth disequilibria are a problem at the national level, it is not solely a distinction between developed and developing states but within those already wealthy: the divide between rich and poor is expanding at a similar rate in the Global North as in the South (see Section 2.3).

Forms of exploitation recur around the world and relationships between capital and governance often impede development, human rights and sustainability in regions where this occurs. For example, as in Cambodia with farming communities evicted from traditional lands sold to tourist-resort developers;[25] in Africa where people are forced to live in permanently contaminated lands after completed mining operations;[26] and in Australia where dealers skim unreasonable profits from Indigenous central-desert artists.[27] It is particularly likely to happen where the interests of powerful businesses conflict with traditional or marginalised communities, as in the case of distant-water trawling, which has disrupted marine ecologies by over-harvesting small fry to manufacture pelletised food for the eponymous, 'sustainably-farmed' carnivorous-fish industry.[28]

Equally, the trade in antiquities and cultural artefacts to satisfy the dilettantism of the wealthy, often results in the desecration of sites, theft, and the denuding of context in fragile communities.[29] Intellectual property and culturally significant knowledge, especially of indigenous peoples, is frequently replicated, causing irreparable damage by revealing secret or ritual meaning, denuding cultural values, and leaving knowledge-systems hollow and bereft of mystique.[30] As an alternative, sustainable heritage development offers opportunities to maintain cultural identity and practices as a means of livelihood. If managed ethically – often within new museological settings – such development models allow for an equitable balance between tourism, economic independence and cultural maintenance.[31] UNESCO, in particular, has highlighted the need to maintain cultural diversity as the living heritage of all humanity, essential for cultural rejuvenation, a means of humanising globalisation and as a human right that strengthen communities.[32]

Globalisation has another consequence that is often overlooked. Putting aside postcolonialism and an unequal capacity to negotiate trade, the notion of human development that emerged in the postwar era was largely shaped by the Global North's rhetoric of benevolence regarding food and agricultural aid.[33] Food security has long been associated with politics. Patel traces these links from the Haitian slave rebellion of the eighteenth century (which left Haiti the poorest Caribbean nation) to the way Britain fed its restive domestic working classes with subsidised goods, transported from its imperial holdings, at the expense of the colonial inhabitants.[34] However, from the late 1940s, food took on new political dimensions and the distribution of food-aid became a central plank in the US global strategy to combat Communism, where any 'US-aligned government that found itself battling worker-led organising or, indeed, any plausibly left-wing political opposition could gain access to the US strategic grain reserve'.[35]

In this way, aid was linked to political favouritism. Because the international wheat trade was dominated by US production, the Americans kept prices low (with tariffs), hurting other producers while establishing reliance on its aid. In following decades grain was replaced by other but potentially more dangerous forms of assistance such as chemical fertilisers and genetically modified crops. These propelled the agrarian 'green revolutions' in countries such as India. Although the long-term consequences of these innovations in food production are still to be determined (it is increasingly likely they will be grim[36]), there were immediate benefits to US and European businesses directly supplying materials for these initiatives.[37] Treating aid as a proxy for corporate subsidies is not only a Cold War phenomenon. For example, the Howard government (which maintained the headline figure of international aid at 0.26%, well below the level set by the UN of 0.7% in 1970[38]) had a policy that most foreign aid would be delivered by, or purchased from, Australian companies. This effectively reduced an insubstantial aid budget even further, maintaining dependencies, and compromising most development goals.[39]

Despite the harm that consumption can inflict on cultural maintenance trade, in itself, is not necessarily damaging. When mutually benefiting both parties in an agreement, trade is inherently good, especially when it provides development pathways for poor communities.[40] Market failures are more likely when there is an unequal relationship between trading partners, one party exploits exclusive knowledge, or when unfair terms of contract are negotiated.[41] As noted by UNDP, the neoliberal model of efficient markets

may have enabled efficiencies but not equity; liberalisation has encouraged competition but not competitiveness; globalisation has not resolved inequities but often exacerbates them. Furthermore, many goods essential for human development are not provided by markets, even though subject to international competition. This has resulted in a 'fiscal squeeze on public goods, a time squeeze on care activities and an incentive squeeze on the environment'.[42] When markets dominate social and political processes, the benefits of globalisation are unevenly distributed, concentrating 'power and wealth in a select group of people, nations and corporations, marginalizing the others'.[43] Imbalances in economic power can trigger secondary effects such as financial instability, and, because they present opportunities for corruption, they may challenge people's ethics, resulting in the sacrifice of equity for profit.[44]

UNDP argues that the challenge of globalisation is not about halting market processes but strengthening local and international governance so as to preserve the advantages of global markets while continuing to offer 'enough space for human, community and environmental resources to ensure that globalization works for people – not just for profits'.[45] This describes globalisation that respects ethics (fewer human rights violations), equity (between and within nations), sustainability (environmental protection) and development (less poverty).[46] Certainly, the total disequilibria in wealth are diminishing in some nations, as evidenced by the increasing influence of China, India and new soft powers, such as Brazil.[47]

Globalisation is not solely a matter of economic and power disparities or cultural erosion, it shapes the total ecology, often permanently. Garnaut wryly observes, if economic principles establish that 'doing something would give lots of benefits now but would cause the extinction of our species in half a century, the calculation would tell us to do it'.[48] Because climate change is a global problem, questions of equity and accountability are important. The poorest of nations and peoples will be most affected by climate change despite having contributed the least to the problem (see Section 2.4). This should present a moral imperative to the Global North, not only to decarbonise their economies urgently, but to maintain the positive effects of globalisation and avoid abandoning the poorest peoples to the exigencies of an irreparably damaged climate. If not, this could lead to what Sim describes as a 'carbon footprint war'. He argues the international community must find new ways to conduct, or find substitutes for, existing forms of world trade. The Global

South needs its own culturally appropriate markets. Continuing as a cheap source of production for the North is little more than new colonialism, even if a move in this direction requires 'a radical change in mind-set as globalisation is currently envisaged'.[49] Such transformations are not solely a matter of governance, they mean business can no longer act independently of ethical responsibilities towards a global public good, where 'putting profits to shareholders before maintenance of the environment amounts to a form of violence against humanity'.[50]

Cultural globalisation is often seen as an outcome of successfully promoted Western cultural products. The material lifestyles depicted in this marketing promotes homogenisation and American culture (especially) at the cost of traditional cultures.[51] One effect has been increasing resentment towards, and the cultivation of, an anti-Western mood that often leads to more extreme responses.[52] The backlash against globalisation sometimes involves the creation of alternative – and extreme –visions of global order and world culture. The reaction to the influence of cultural colonisation has involved new protests throughout the world, including in Western nations.[53]

The very technologies that are a platform for Western marketing, such as the internet, are often used by communities to promote local identity, protect cultural integrity, and build global networks of people with shared culture, values and aspirations. Ironically, these technologies, which were seen as a way of opening minds have also helped reinforce worldviews that are closed and parochial. Online virtual communities offer as many positive opportunities to expose people to the constructive aspects of diversity as they do negative opportunities to sustain bigotry, or worse.[54] In recent years, terrorist organisations have often been active in countries where tensions between business, religion, undemocratic government and introduced 'liberal' (Western) culture are most acute. This, as an extreme reaction to globalisation, has frequently affected civilian populations who, ironically, are often opposed to it radical agendas (see Section 2.6).[55] However, rather than interpreting this as a response to threatened cultural identities, globalisation may have the *opposite* effect. John Tomlinson argues that, occasionally, it produces:

> too much identity ... in so far as [it] distributes the institutional features of modernity
> across all cultures, globalization produces "identity" where none existed – where before
> there were perhaps more particular, more inchoate, less socially policed belongings. This,

rather than the sheer obliteration of identities, is the most significant cultural impact of globalization.[56]

As an integrating process, globalisation is not solely one-sided and Westernising: homogenisation and colonialism do occur but are not uni-dimensional or uni-directional. Culture is dynamic and evolving and, although it may be vulnerable to globalising forces or misguided development initiatives, new and hybridised cultures emerge and global exchanges can shift the locus of cultural power-bases or redefine meaning.[57] Additionally, some iconic commodities that exemplify and amplify globalisation have been appropriated in surprising ways. For example, mobile phones are the most rapidly and widely diffused new technology in history; indeed, the mobile phone is the first telecommunications device with more users in the developing than developed world, and they are used in creative ways, helping to increase productivity and raise people from poverty. Given increases in connectivity, humans may now be even less than six degrees of separation from everybody else on the planet.[58] This experience is somewhat at odds with the commonly expressed concern that globalisation has increased the divide between the material and knowledge rich and the material and knowledge poor, with the latter victims of globalisation.[59]

Stokes, Pitty and Smith argue there have been three broad responses to the challenges posed by globalisation in Australia: neoliberalism, populist nationalism and cosmopolitanism. They believe many people regard globalisation and neoliberalism as identical – perhaps due to bipartisan political endorsement of macro- and micro-economic reforms, defended strongly in the media. The authors consider this a limited understanding of globalisation. Popular nationalists, like the One Nation Party, opposed the changes that opened Australia to international trade, condemned immigration policy because it failed to filter out those they saw as 'undesirable', and regarded globalisation as an assault on Australian identity and interests. Such narrow views have little chance of contesting neoliberalism because they do not provide a vision of how Australia should respond to a rapidly transforming world. Stokes, Pitty and Smith endorse the third response: cosmopolitanism, which acknowledges global challenges while respecting principles such as social justice and human rights:

> [U]niversalism espoused by global citizens does not imply any diminished commitment to Australia and its peoples. Instead, it involves a redefinition of Australian patriotism that

reaches beyond the limits of what the state or the dominant political elites or their popular protagonists, may deem appropriate.[60]

Those with a cosmopolitan outlook are sceptical of nationalism yet have a strong national allegiance. Interest in the country to which they primarily relate allows cosmopolitans to engage as global citizens and advocate for universal ideals. This perspective – which shares much with global citizenship[61] – is, however, a paradox. Global engagement involves both universalism (recognising those things common to humanity) and the specific, or particularism (the diversity within it). These two elements are part of a single nexus, united 'in terms of the universality of the experience and, increasingly, *the expectation* of particularity, on the one hand, and the experience and, increasingly, *the expectation* of universality of the other'.[62] This makes globalisation a 'form of institutionalisation of the two-fold process involving the universalisation of particularism and the particularisation of universalism'.[63]

Globalisation, then, describes a spectrum of processes from local to international, meshing people, ideas, organisations and nations in new relationships. It challenges self-determination, distributive equity, civil liberties and security while simultaneously reforming identities and forging novel cultural forms. Understanding these far-from-equilibrium conditions now presents one of the biggest challenges to future sustainability and well-being.[64]

2.2 POPULATION

'Populate or perish' was a catchcry in postwar Australia, a response to the way the country had been threatened by the Japanese Imperial Army during the Second World War.[65] In the decades following, Australia embarked on a strong immigration policy to increase its population. The concerns may have long since shifted from strategic defence to economic prosperity, but the issues associated with population, in Australia and internationally, are significant.[66]

Over the last 250 years, or approximately 10 generations, the growth in population – along with technological and communication capacity – has been the most remarkable feature of our species. It has caused what is known as the 'Great Acceleration', or explosion in human numbers and activities from circa 1800.[67] It is estimated that, in 1750, humans

numbered 791 million. By 1850, this had grown to 1.26 billion (an increase of about 50%). Over the following century, the population doubled to 2.52 billion, ballooning, by 1999, to 5.98 billion, an increase over two generations of more that 250%. On 31 October 2011, it was estimated there were 7 billion humans; this is projected to expand to 9.3 billion by 2050.[68] These increases are not globally even. Generally, wealthier nations, where populations are better educated and there are good-quality healthcare services and standards of living, birth rates are static or declining. Most growth continues in the poorest of nations. This is best seen by examining population distribution across the world over time. For example, 24.7% of the world's population lived in Europe in 1900. At the same time, 8.1% lived in Africa, and 57.4% lived in Asia. By 1999 – almost one century later – Europe's share of the world's population had halved to 12.2%, Africa had increased to 12.8% and Asia to 60.8%. These trends are likely to continue. By 2050, Europe's share will be down to 7% (only about 28% the size of its global population proportion of 150 years earlier), Asia will be relatively stable at approximately 59%, and Africa will expand to nearly 20% (see Figure 2.1).

The significance of global population growth can be summarised in four ways. First, more humans means greater competition between groups. This is essentially a supply and demand issue; as crowding increases, so does conflict over the declining availability of resources, living space and arable land. Given that such a large percentage of humans continue to struggle to meet Millennium Development Goals, aspiring to achieve basic material standards is inevitably related to this competition.[69] The global security implications of population growth are also recognised in recent strategic assessments.[70] Second, more humans means more pollution and a greater impact on the environment through deforestation, depleted natural assets and climate change. Over the next three decades as equatorial regions warm, flooding increases due to siltation, sea levels rise and monsoonal patterns shift towards the poles, conflicts over resources can only escalate.[71] Third, the more humans, the more culture. Cultural diversity increases with population increases, even if this is partly offset by cultural homogenisation, loss of cultural heritage and languages. Combined with declining space (and opportunities) for population expansion, this means greater cross-cultural and cross-religious contact. Fourth, the more humans the more difficult it will be to produce sufficient food to feed them.[72] While agricultural science has helped to increase yields in recent decades, there is limited

capacity to maintain ever-expanding harvests, especially as fertile land declines in acreage and water supplies diminish, as is predicted by many climate-change models.[73]

Date	European zone	Asian zone	African zone	North & South Americas	Oceania	Total population (x 000,000)
1750	163= 20.6%	502= 63.5%	106= 13.4%	18= 2.3%	2= 0.3%	791
1850	276= 21.9%	809= 64.1%	111= 8.8%	64= 5.1%	2= 0.2%	1,262
1900	408= 24.7%	947= 57.4%	133= 8.1%	156= 9.5%	6= 0.4%	1,650
1950	547= 21.7%	1,402= 55.6%	221= 8.8%	339= 13.4%	13= 0.5%	2,521
1999	729= 12.2%	3,634= 60.8%	767= 12.8%	818= 13.6%	30= 0.5%	5,978
2050	628= 7%	5,268= 59.1%	1,766= 19.8%	1,201= 13.5%	46= 0.5%	9,000 (approx)
2011	reached 7 billion					
2200	global population stabilises at 10,000 + (estimated)					

Table 2.1: human population growth since 1750 [74]

As early as 1798, Thomas Malthus speculated that exponential population growth would outstrip human food production capacity:[75]

> [The] power of population is so superior to the power of the earth to produce subsistence for man, that premature death must in some shape or other visit the human race. The vices of mankind are active and able ministers of depopulation. They are the precursors in the great army of destruction, and often finish the dreadful work themselves.[76]

Although Malthus's calculations, and the warnings of recent scientists such as Paul Ehrlich,[77] have not been realised due to changes not considered in their calculus, there must be a point in a finite space (our planet) at which populations become unsustainable or so large as to represent significant risk. This is especially so if the balance of survival is so finely calibrated that an unexpected event (such as a natural disaster) reduces agricultural production or the ability to access or transport food supplies. This fear is supported by the improbability that a complex adaptive system (i.e. global food production and distribution) will continue managing at the point of maximum connectivity and efficiency.[78]

As well as natural increases and decreases in populations (the number of births minus the number of deaths), other factors affecting global population distribution are the demand

and supply of labour and domestic crises (e.g. poverty or conflicts) which drive both voluntary and involuntary movements.[79] In 2009, approximately 25 million refugees were being assisted by the United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) with many temporarily supported in neighbouring countries that are, typically, poorly equipped to accommodate refugees due to inadequate infrastructure and opportunities.[80] When refugees return to their home-nations, if the reason for their flight has been resolved, such a return is optimal; if they cannot, few countries provide humanitarian programs for displaced peoples. Based on the size of its population, Australia is relatively generous, although the in-take meets only a fraction of demand.[81]

Since federation, natural increase has contributed more to Australia's annual population growth than migration. Nevertheless, due to ageing and declining female fertility, this has changed and immigration is now the main factor growing Australia's population.[82] As noted in a 2008 report,[83] female fertility has fallen over the last five decades, although rates may have stabilised in recent years. In 1961, Australian female fertility was 3.55; this fell to 1.73 by 2001, but (in 2007) had risen to 1.93. Compared with other developed economies, this is relatively high, although below the replacement rate of 2.1 (the level at which a population remains stable over time). For example, fertility rates are 1.4 in Italy and Germany, 1.3 in Japan, 1.8 in the UK, and 1.5 in Canada. An exception is the USA, where it is 2.1.

The reasons for change in Australian female fertility are likely to be due to several factors. Many adults delay establishing a family due to fears about the economic costs;[84] this has meant the average age of primigravidas has increased and, the older a woman of child-bearing age the lower her likely level of fertility. For example, in 2003, 41% of all first births were to women aged over 30 years, compared with 28% in 1993; typically, fertility rates are higher (and mothers are younger) among lower socio-economic status families than wealthy families.[85] Another important statistic is the working to non-working ratio. In 2007, there were five people in the workforce for every person 65 years or older; by 2045, this could be as low as 2.4:1. Australia's ageing population is a trend repeated in most member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). What this means for future prosperity, productive capacity and the services sector is concerning for governments,[86] hence the attention on research that suggests migration will help counter the effects of ageing by increasing the size of the labour force.[87]

Global population increase challenges conventional thinking about economics and its relationship with environmental and social policies. Planning for growth is based on assumptions of ever-expanding markets, production, consumption, and growing taxation receipts.[88] Increasingly, the long-term sustainability of these assumptions are being questioned and many economists, even if a schismatic minority, are suggesting growth could be measured in other ways and a new system of modelling must be developed that deals with the finite carrying capacity of land, risks to the biosphere, and realistic expectations of business.[89]

Population growth also poses ethical dilemmas for many environmentalists, who are sometimes ambivalent about humanitarian approaches to refugees. This dilemma prompts the question: Does the environment hold more importance than human life? Some groups, particularly those with covert racist agendas, have used concern for the environment and Australia's population carrying capacity as reasons for arguing against immigration and refugee programs.[90] In mid-2010, businessman Dick Smith fuelled often ill-informed public debate along these lines by sponsoring a documentary film about what he portrayed as an overpopulated Australia. The underlying premise of Smith's analysis is the direct link between human numbers, pollution output and environmental damage. However, not all human activities produce an equal effect on the environment. Some countries have, per capita, a small human footprint (the combined effects of pollution and resource depletion) and, as a result, their arable acreage carries large populations: the more polluting and consuming a society the fewer people its land can sustain. Australia's energy consumption (measured as kilograms of oil-equivalent per capita per annum) was estimated at 5,732 in 2000. This compared with 896 in China, 507 in Kenya and 135 in Bangladesh (where, in comparison, Australian consumption is 42.5 times larger).[91]

Smith's argument is not only exclusionist but simplifies the issue. Australia's environmental woes will not disappear with a smaller population. Damage is caused by other factors such as wasteful consumption and poor management of natural resources.[92] Ironically, despite the factually and morally questionable claims of Smith and others that a 'big Australia' of 36 million by 2050 (as predicted in the government's population report[93]) is too big, it is likely to be somewhat bigger. There is a 95% probability it will be as high as 43 million, driven by factors including 'major crises which generate refugee flows'.[94] In the postwar period, many of Australia's immigration source countries were European. This

meant the diaspora communities were largely 'white', Christian, and relatively easy to include into a conservative monoculture. Given global changes in fertility, northern Mediterranean rim countries are no longer feasible migration sources. The data, showing the growth of Africa and the continuing dominance of Asia, indicates Australia's demographic and economic future will inevitably be more diverse: culturally, racially and religiously.[95]

Generally, the consensus between multicultural and environmental civil-society organisations recognises that population growth can accommodate both humanitarian and economic concerns, provided the total ecological footprint is reduced or stable.[96] Interestingly, some intractable problems associated with population growth may offer opportunities. Until recent years, *Homo sapiens* was a nomadic or rural species; now, however, more people live in urban than in rural settings, a trend set to continue.[97] There is considerable research interest in urbanisation and – despite problems such as inadequate infrastructure and crime posed by urban drift, especially to slums – this trend may have positive effects.[98] Some of the benefits include better life-chances and equity for women, including the likelihood they will have fewer children, be better educated, wealthier, and able to escape more repressive domestic circumstances.[99] This trend raises two issues relevant to this thesis: the link to ecological and cultural sustainability through urban transformation, and the management of social stability and protection of civil rights in cities.

The first of these issues excites both environmentalists and urban planners.[100] A complex topic and difficult to summarise; one attempt is with the notion of 'lifeboat cities', a term used for environmentally sympathetic planning advocated by Australian scholar, Brendan Gleeson. Gleeson, describes 'greener', more self-sufficient and sustainable cities, supported by excellent transport infrastructure and where public amenities, human services and experiences (e.g. in education, health and entertainment) contribute significantly to employment and the economy; where food security is improved through local production in community gardens; and critical resources are gathered and used at their source (e.g. solar panels on roofs, water tanks in gardens). Gleeson believes that in the uncertain and volatile period ahead – triggered by climate change and related shocks – only by living in such cities will humans achieve quality of life, preserve cultural and moral values and maintain social civility.[101] Brand, from the environmental perspective, argues that nature

rejuvenates itself in surprising and rapid ways. Humans can best serve the environment, barring limited custodianship roles, by leaving most of it alone. A continuing concentration of humans into energy-and-food-sustainable mega-cities is good for both people and the planet.[102]

Brand's assertion leads to the second issue about population growth and urbanisation. Cities are already concentrated zones of diversity. Escalating human numbers, increasing mobility, transformations in city configurations – combined with civil, political and consumption-restraints – all pose questions for governance: how can the physical forms of cities be understood and designed, and how should they be envisaged and secured in terms of human capital? The first part of this question largely requires technical solutions to be explored by engineers, financiers, designers and similar experts. The second part requires moral debate and legislative remedies and is of more concern to (among others) civil-society organisations, lawyers, human-rights advocates, political scientists, anthropologists, sociologists, police services and security institutions. I make these points here, but elaborate on them further in Section 4.3.

This discussion has not yet addressed an important and related issue. As Fred Pearce argues, if demographics are destiny,[103] then the future may involve far fewer humans. Although global population will peak at over nine billion mid-century, from that point there may be a steady decline. Female fertility is falling almost everywhere and in some regions there are too few women to sustain populations. Pearce cites the Punjab, Korea, China, and old Eastern Germany in particular.[104] He warns, by the end of the current century, there will be fewer people on the planet and those remaining will be older than current averages.[105] This decline should help lower the total human footprint, providing there is a concurrent reduction in carbon emissions and consumption.

Will populations fall naturally, with declining fertility, or abruptly through the probable consequences of climate change: more conflicts, disease and starvation? It is said history often repeats itself. Some actions recur because human behaviours are universal traits and therefore predictable drivers of events. However, the consequences of repetition are seldom the same because contexts constantly change. The risks of damaging behaviours are present, as always, but the result of errors are likely to be amplified due to our globally networked world, with more severe effects than previously. Until the current era, the total

ecosystem could accommodate mistakes: there were fewer of us, and when we destroyed a landscape we moved and started exploiting new territories. Now the options are exhausted. Humanity utilises almost 150% of the stock of what the planet can naturally produce and absorb of our pollutants.[106] Few unspoilt natural reserves remain; climate is changing, reorienting where and how food is produced. This is our 'perfect storm' and there is little cushioning remaining to absorb coming shocks.

2.3 GLOBAL ECONOMICS: RISKS AND DIRECTIONS

Although Australia avoided many of the effects of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) – largely due to Chinese demand for Australian commodities – the structural, debt and growth problems suggest this is the greatest threat to international capital markets since the Great Depression and the beginning of a protracted period of instability with many predictive uncertainties.[107] In early 2009, Kevin Rudd (then prime minister of Australia) wrote an article arguing, that after 30 years, the neoliberal experiment had failed and, as a long-standing orthodoxy, it would be replaced by another: the social democratic pursuit of social justice based on equality and human-centred governance. He said neoliberalism and the free-market fundamentalism it produced 'has been revealed as little more than personal greed dressed up as an economic philosophy … ironically, it now falls to social democracy to prevent liberal capitalism from cannibalising itself'. Social justice is integral to social democracy, which, when functioning properly, is protected by government, which is not 'the intrinsic evil that neoliberals have argued it is'.[108]

At much the same time, Keynesian economist Robert Skidelsky more stridently echoed Rudd's views, claiming the GFC represented a moral and intellectual crisis. At heart, there were failures due to 'worship of growth for its own sake, rather than as a way to achieve the "good life". As a result, economic efficiency ... has been given absolute priority in our thinking and policy', leaving a 'moral lacuna ... [that] explains uncritical acceptance of globalisation and financial innovation'.[109] Such a system, which has orchestrated the fall of median incomes, 'the off-shoring of millions of jobs, the undermining of national communities, and the rape of nature', needs to be extraordinarily successful to command allegiance. Neoliberalism – that benefited a small financial plutocracy and resulted in egregious, even obscene, rewards for the privileged few – has triggered a backlash: economic conservatism's spectacular failures have profoundly discredited it.[110] Skidelsky

and Rudd both predicted that politicians would search for remedies that once seemed exotic. Hereafter, remedies would be based on 'radical' notions, such as economic growth 'does not, beyond a certain point, make people happier'. Indeed, stepping back from market-based globalisation, especially if this involves a reassertion of democracy, will probably increase people's quality of life.[111]

Four years later, despite the fragility of the world's economy and continuing threats of sovereign-debt defaults, such predictions appear almost naïve. It is therefore legitimate to ask whether neoliberalism is in retreat, is social-democracy reasserting social justice and progressive economics for the public good, or is moral panic and self-interest continuing because change is too difficult?

For more than 40 years after the Second World War, global geo-politics was divided between the capitalist camp, communism, and everybody else (then collectively described as 'the Third World'). With the collapse of the Communist block, and building on escalating processes of globalisation, neoliberalism became the dominant influence on economic and social policy.[112] Space precludes a detailed analysis of neoliberal theory, but three pertinent issues are noted.

The first is that neoliberalism, indeed any ideology, will be culturally grounded and therefore determined. This means theories of economic liberalism are based on assumptions about societies, economies and humans, particularly about how people in affluent European and North American countries appear to function and make lifestyle decisions. Fundamental to classical economics are the principles of rational choice and market equilibrium.[113] Rational choice is the guiding explanation for human decision-making and, hence, explains such things as spending behaviours.[114] Rationality suggests an ethical basis for self-interest; this drives the collective actions of business to maximise profits and therefore establish demand–supply equilibria[115] (the basis of the efficient market theory of Milton Friedman).[116] Although a cursory, or emic, assessment might bequeath this hypothesis with apparent logic, it is the logic of a specific culture: that of English-speaking, privileged, imperial and empirical traditions of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, subsequently re-interpolated by (equally privileged, culturally confined) conservative English and Chicago-school academics.[117] Intellectually, this theory espoused its superiority, and excoriated, the alternatives such as Keynesian and socialist

economics. However, the premise that equilibrium is a natural condition is a cultural *opinion* appropriated by neoliberalism, certainly not one universally accepted. For example, Jean Baudrillard argues the 'world is not dialectical – it is sworn to extremes, not to equilibrium, sworn to radical antagonism, not to reconciliation or synthesis'.[118]

Although the likes of Friedman had been ideological novelties, once given credibility (first by Ronald Reagan in the USA, then by Thatcher in the UK) the radicalism of fringe economics moved into the mainstream of international finance, fuelling corporatist expansion and changing the world.[119] Nevertheless, not all cultures share neoliberal logic, consider the behaviour of the rational man to be rational, nor that economic efficiency must override civic or social values.[120] Indeed, recent science discredits the notion of 'rationality'.[121] Enforcing an ideological world-view on those culturally, ethically, socially, religiously, philosophically or otherwise unwilling to embrace it is a recipe for conflict. As observed by Brazilian president, Luiz Inácio da Silva, the GFC was caused by 'the irrational behaviour of white people with blue eyes, who ... appeared to know everything, but are now showing that they know nothing'.[122] Cultural bias in economics has been illustrated by the attempt to impose a market-economy 'shock and awe' policy on post-Ba'athist Iraq in 2003.[123] It has also been argued that Western neoliberal banking practices have been fundamentally flawed and alternative models, such as Islamic banking, may have helped avoid the GFC: such views help contest at least some cultural myopia.[124]

The second issue is that global wealth and health disparities have led to conflicts.[125] Historically, these disparities may have been due to physical colonialism; such excuses for exploitation are no longer tenable. The justification of free markets and the opportunities afforded to global businesses to compete unfairly have replaced more overt forms of control. This has often kept developing economies indebted, degraded environments, impoverished populations, and encouraged government corruption when this served corporate interests[126] (see Section 2.6). More recently, multinational businesses have recolonised the world's poor through diet, with increasingly dire consequences.[127]

The third issue is that neoliberalism has been both a direct and indirect agent for human-rights abuses and, consequently, growing antagonism between competing nations, cultures and value systems. Global insecurity and the causes of intercultural and inter-religious violence are many. Nevertheless, injustices – resulting from intergenerational poverty,

labour exploitation, cultural misappropriation and displacement – often leads to violence. Terrorism, masquerading as a means to address such wrongs, is able to draw new recruits in settings of resentment. The opposite – cultures of peace, dialogue and respect – combined with a reduction in unfairness and exploitation, are likely to help reduce the threat of violence.[128]

These observations aside, trade and market-based economies, when fair and sustainable, can improve human development. Even some of the toughest critics of neoliberalism support free enterprise.[129] Market failures are due to several factors, including poor corporate social responsibility (CSR), unethical business practices (e.g. circumventing international or national laws), ignoring negative externalities[130] and exploiting unequal trade relationships.[131] As noted by Skidelsky, although benefits of globalisation are real, they have been exaggerated. Improvements are largely offset, such as by volatility, and globalisation has raised major issues of 'political accountability and social cohesion that are scarcely considered by economists, and only lazily by politicians'.[132]

The potential of CSR has been described in the UN Global Compact. Under this agreement, corporate signatories commit to 10 principles in the areas of human rights, labour standards, the environment and anti-corruption. By 2011, more than 6,000 companies in 135 countries had agreed to support the compact, demonstrating that some businesses *are* capable of marrying profit-making with ethics[133] on environmental protection, sustainable farming, and the negotiation of fair contracts with primary producers in developing economies.[134] Similarly, many Australian businesses recognise the benefits of immigration and cultural diversity.[135] Although CSR can be positive there are critics; for example, Reich and Guy Pearse question the intent and effect of such corporate commitments. They argue many companies fail to deliver any change but merely use CSR to promote themselves or 'green-wash' failure.[136] Further, Reich says CSR is a strategy often espoused by governments to avoid their job: governing.[137] Solving problems of pollution, inequity and exploitation, and regulating business conduct, does not simply 'happen', despite neoliberal claims. This role is the responsibility of governments, which they should exercise as a public good.

Several trends triggered the GFC while simultaneously inspiring scepticism about mainstream economics. Contested, are beliefs that high levels of growth are sustainable

over the long term; quality of life should be measured solely by quantitative data; economic efficiency must be the primary goal of policy (including social policy); personal and business choice should not be subject to government impediment, and the highest attainable goal of individuals – as citizens – is to maximise utility by maximising wealth. These assumptions have been questioned;[138] below, I note some of the criticisms associated with each.

The first, that high levels of growth can be sustained, was wryly answered by Kenneth Boulding: 'anyone who believes exponential growth can go on forever in a finite world is either a madman or economist',[139] and by Edward Abbey who observed, 'growth for the sake of growth is the ideology of a cancer cell'.[140] In the late 1960s a group of scientists, bureaucrats, politicians and influential thinkers formed a NGO, the Club of Rome, which published *Limits of Growth* in 1972. This report was immediately recognised for its analysis of the potential for economic growth, given the finite availability of natural resources.[141] Ironically, neoliberalism was soon elevated to its incontrovertible status and, by the late 1970s, an era of unprecedented economic, technological and production expansion had begun. Science, logic and (often) morality were relegated to the status of irrelevance. With the ideological war against Communism won by the late 1980s, the victors treated any political 'pinkness' expressed in democratic societies with contempt: a persisting attitude.[142] This age of expansion was accompanied by commensurate financial, service and industrial deregulation across most democracies. It was the short-lived era of belief in the perfect mechanism of self-correcting markets. However, history had not ended.[143] Rather, driven by market-myopia, capitalism was profoundly injuring itself. Increasingly distressed voices from environmental NGOs and scientists might still be dismissed as the fear-mongering of 'watermelons' (green outside, red inside[144]) had not the GFC so dramatically exposed the limitations of extreme money.[145]

It is still rare to question conventional economic theories without incurring reflexive disdain from most politicians and economic commentators, but the discussions are more frequent and gaining wider audiences. Indeed, there is an increasing body of analysis which argues against the growth paradigm's reliance on material production, fuelled by finite and harmful energy sources.[146] For example, modelling demonstrates that because of the compounding effect, each doubling of an economy's growth exceeds all previous energy-resource usage. Even a modest annual growth rate of 2.5% will have this result

within only 29 years.[147] This illustrates the risky assumptions of much conventional economics, given the planet's carrying capacity (natural production and natural absorption) has passed. An increasing number of economists argue these old models are unreliable. They do not claim growth is impossible in a dynamic-equilibrium world, rather, growth must be understood differently; for example, through ecological decoupling, or by producing services or experiences rather than gratuitous 'stuff'.[148]

The second belief is that the efficient market theory works. The immediate response, based on the evidence since 2008, is 'no'. According to Skidelsky, the GFC exposed the truth that behind 'the efficient market idea lay the intellectual failure of mainstream economics. It could neither predict nor explain the meltdown because nearly all economists believed that markets were self-correcting'.[149] Skidelsky, like other commentators on the crisis, remarks on the admission by Alan Greenspan (former Chair of the US Federal Reserve) that the entire regime of monetary management had been based on a flaw – this resulted in the collapse of the intellectual edifice of mainstream economics.[150] Rob Vos argues that since the 1776 treatise by Adam Smith (known as the father of liberal economics), it has been understood that markets are *not* self-regulating or correcting. Instead, they:

> depend on an array of institutions, rules, regulations and norms that help moderate their more destructive impulses ... The pioneers of the post-1945 mixed economy were persuaded by the experience of the inter-war years that unregulated markets were more prone to self-destruction ... Idle tools, wasted wealth, wretchedness and, ultimately, political strife proved too high a price to pay for stable money and flexible markets.[151]

Unshackled from the social-welfare state that dominated government policy in Global North countries, from the 1940s to late 1970s, followed approximately 30 years of free-market economics culminating, after an excess of debt-profiteering, with the GFC. Because financial institutions became so powerful during this period, their failure threatened to destroy the entire system of global capitalism.[152] As evidence of this failure, international banking (which had squandered trillions of dollars) required those previously despised entities –governments – to guarantee their debts. In this way, 'the profit was privatised, but the risk was socialised'.[153] Despite institutional share values collapsing, and their unethical conduct and incompetence revealed, senior banking executives continued to award themselves inflated performance bonuses each year; most of the world's multi-billionaires

have become rich from financial speculation, not from designing or producing things.[154] This scenario has been noted by many critics of the finance sector.[155]

Measures of wealth are also being increasingly questioned. This is normally evaluated through GDP performance: the measure of a nation's economic activity. GDP includes all financial goods and services produced in any given year; it is estimated by dividing the number of citizens to calculate an average standard of living. However, GDP does not measure many of the activities, good and bad, that are carried out. For example, household work, caring and volunteering make substantial economic contributions but are not measured; the costs of negative externalities (that make none), are counted.[156] Under the mainstream macro-economic model human progress, or well-being, is therefore equated with wealth (average per capita, based on GDP) but happiness and prosperity (as distinct from wealth) are *not* measured.[157] However, GDP modelling serves the current economic system well; although, with its focus on expenditure and unsustainable rates of production, it will not do so in the long term.

Faith in the viability of efficient market theory is shaken by the fact that it would have been swept aside by crises of its own creation had not state intervention, funded by pay-tax-as-you-earn citizens, preserved it from extinction. On grounds of resource limitations, it is equally questionable. Additionally, as expanded below, it fails the test of providing alternative forms of benefit.

The next belief, that happiness is largely determined by wealth, has a number of related philosophical issues: the purpose of living, what constitutes a 'good life', and economics as a public good. This last point encompasses the concern that the dominance of neoliberalism has seen its status evolve from being one approach to economic management, to an ideology and praxis that is an end in itself, where the primacy of markets, growth and consumption are so privileged that people, society, governments – indeed planetary survival – are subsumed by a market-efficiency zeitgeist that 'amounts to a pseudo-religion'.[158] The much-derided notion of gross domestic happiness, invented in the 1970s in the Buddhist Kingdom of Bhutan as a means of measuring and preserving its unique culture, has since been subject to scrutiny, and there have been concerted attempts to explore links between wealth and happiness to determine whether material accumulation results in greater life-satisfaction.[159]

Tim Jackson argues that what matters to humans is prosperity, not wealth. He quotes research identifying how most people describe those things that give them a sense of subjective well-being: only 7% mention money or their financial circumstances, whereas most value more collective or cooperative endeavours.[160] Jackson, influenced by Sen, divides prosperity into three broad categories: opulence (having many material goods), utility (the extent that satisfaction is gained from available commodities) and capabilities for functioning.[161] Jackson draws on Richard Easterlin's 'paradox', or research that demonstrated 'once a country had moved beyond a level of income where basic needs for housing, food, water and energy could be met, average happiness did not increase'.[162] These views are echoed by Clive Hamilton and Richard Denniss who present evidence that, beyond certain threshold points, happiness is not determined by wealth.[163]

The causes are not surprising. Societies oriented to high growth are on a kind of 'hedonic treadmill' where everybody is driven to compete with their peers.[164] Ironically, there is an inversely proportionate ability to do so with increasing commercial media promotion of acquisitiveness as the path to happiness. **nef's** Happy Planet Index provides a framework to measure what truly matters, or 'well-being in terms of long, happy and meaningful lives – and what matters to the planet – our rate of resource consumption'.[165] Nations assessed under **nef's** index are loosely grouped according to life expectancy, life satisfaction and per capita ecological footprint. Many small, relatively low-GDP nations score well across all these domains, but not those nations that embrace extreme free-market economics. Under the index of 143 nations, Costa Rica ranks most highly in terms of happiness, followed by various Central American, Middle Eastern, Central Asian and East Asian nations before the Netherlands (ranked 43), which is listed as the most 'happy' Global North country. Australia is ranked 102, its national pride intact by outranking New Zealand at 103 and the USA at 114.[166] The evidence, repeated across the literature, is that wealth does not make people happy; rather, it tends to increase stress, and the happiness-gains can be measured in diminishing marginal returns.[167] This demonstrates that the efficient market theory is flawed. It not only fails to deliver at the macro-economic level, it is falsely premised on an infinite resource base and is grounded on mistaken assumptions about what it means to be a human. This is unsurprising. As discussed in Section 3.1, being human is not about being *homo economicus* – or an individual, rationalising, self-maximising unit – it is about

finding contentment by having the resources and capabilities to flourish. This contentment is typically achieved through communal endeavours.

Social researcher Hugh MacKay describes the extended phase of narcissism and civic withdrawal that marked much of the Howard government's tenure of office, as Australia's 'dreamy period'.[168] MacKay believes this was due to several factors including reform fatigue, fear of exogenous threat and a media-fuelled culture of consumption.[169] Despite subsequent trends towards better saving behaviour, a National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling report notes the continuing misalignment in public understanding of 'cost of living' and 'cost of consumption', and many believe they are 'doing it tough' despite their stress being largely due to spending on discretionary items, not necessities.[170] While poverty continues to be the norm for much of humanity, many Australians seem cocooned in a mood of resentment combined with a belief that wealth is an entitlement.[171] These perceptions are denials of human vulnerability, mortality, thoughts and instincts;[172] they are a form of existential disconnection and an example of how siren songs of a neoliberal utopia threaten our future.

The final issue is whether protracted neoliberal reforms have hindered or helped social policy. Given a principle axiom of neoliberalism is the excision of government from most affairs (barring national defence), this question should be redundant. Nevertheless, it cannot be overlooked because of its effect on important policy issues, such as welfare, health, education and the administration of justice. Essentially, neoliberalism relies on the invisible hand of market supply and demand to shape social affairs; altruism and safety nets for the disadvantaged (such as the ill or disabled) are generally eschewed. Rather, it applies a form of neo-Darwinism where individuals, in the competition to survive, become either prosperous or marginalised. Human detritus, however, is not without value. When markets are unhindered, this creates demand for services or goods, which absorb available labour. Thus, there is a 'trickle-down' effect where, by making the very rich richer, the poor will also enjoy some benefits – in time, hypothetically.

Another way of examining the issue is to consider the socio-economic effects of neoliberalism: it has been spectacularly successful at transferring wealth to the world's rich, enriching them further. This has occurred at both national and international levels. For example, in the USA between 1979 and 2005, the top 1% of income earners enjoyed

almost a 200% increase in the value of their incomes while the poorest 20% increased their incomes by only 6%.[173] A similar pattern has been repeated in Australia[174] with wealth inadequately shared and redistributed. Over the same period, most developed nations embarked on programs of industrial labour reforms that undermined the conditions and security of employment for workers while strengthening the position of employers; this has had serious effects on the quality of family life and social capital.[175] Similarly, the belief that demand from globally rich nations for commodities will provide benefits for the global poor, are also deceptive. In relative and absolute terms, this has not happened; there has simply been more neo-colonialism, and existing elites in the Global South have enjoyed the same gains as the hyper-rich in the North.[176] Simultaneously, the impoverished everywhere, most acutely in poor nations, have been cruelly affected by spikes in the cost of basic foodstuffs. This has not always been driven by shortages due to crop failures or increasing demand for bio-fuel, but to currency speculation by financial institutions located in the wealthiest nations.[177]

Given neoliberalism has no interest in social policy, nor in government other than its marginal roles, the social contributions of neoliberalism must be judged on the benefits it has offered the majority of people in the majority of nations. These benefits, including the trickle-down effect, are largely illusory, or perverse, barring for a tiny minority who are already wealthy. However, even if gains had been tangible, this would not absolve neoliberalism because its ultimate reliance on growth is irrevocably destroying 'the nursery of civilization'.[178] This cannot be perceived, in any manner, as helping social policy. As Manfred Max-Neef summarises it, our current world is:

> accustomed to the fact that there is never enough for those who have nothing, but there is always enough for those who have everything. There are never enough resources to overcome poverty, but there are more than enough resources to satisfy superficial wants.[179]

Functioning within the biosphere's capacity, or recognising the limits of growth, is not a new idea. John Stuart Mill called this the stationary state,[180] a notion now more commonly described as the steady-state economy, or a society in dynamic-equilibrium. The 'great transition' to this form of flourishing,[181] both socially and economically, represents an alternative model of development, one that is consistent with potential roles for cultural institutions as described in Chapter 5.

The most significant planning uncertainty affecting the long-term macro-economic outlook is climate change. If capitalism is to have a future, it will need to work in new ways, reinventing itself and accepting that profitability must be based on low ecological-impact decisions, carbon-based economies are unsustainable, and business decisions have social, cultural, security, human-rights and political consequences.[182] These priorities are reflected in the UN Global Compact and discussed in the avalanche of reports summarising knowledge about human-induced climate change, its economic effects and the investments needed to decarbonise.[183] Energy transitions require economic transitions. This will lead to the obsolescence of infrastructure; it will require a rethink of business models and a workforce with new knowledge, expertise and attitudes. It will also create new industries, technologies, new forms of growth and business opportunities – a view endorsed by the UN.[184] As such, it is fair to assume global workforce mobility will continue apace.[185] There will also be population mobility, although its extent may depend on the success of future climate-change mitigation.[186]

These issues demand responses from government and business; both need to cooperate to support each other's interests. This cooperation requires better understanding of the conditions that promote affluent economies. For example, Richard Florida describes a 'creative class': skilled, mobile, educated and clustering in communities that are innovative, affluent and multicultural.[187] In a complex world – one negotiating ever-greater challenges of climate, social, technological, and cultural transformation and integration – new models of business, third-sector and government collaboration are crucial. This is asking businesses to be good corporate 'citizens' and to take more cosmopolitan approaches to enterprise management. Although CSR should be treated with scepticism, many businesses accept that profitability – although essential for their viability – must accommodate potential externalities and be reconfigured within longer cycles. Indeed, communities and businesses may be more willing to embrace change than governments, which often struggle to keep abreast of trends. In many democracies, inflexibility reflects political fears about public opinion and inspires public dismay; this is a serious threat to the health of democratic governance.

2.4 CLIMATE CHANGE

Inevitable climate change is a prominent subject of public discussions, policy development and political action. Despite this, the intersections between climate and cultural and human rights, population health, transnational diasporas and security – while closely connected – are still less prominent than economic issues.[188] The debate about climate change risk is regularly highjacked by political commentators and public figures on the basis that adaptation costs are too high, the evidence too limited and the probability too uncertain to justify the expenses associated with mitigation activities.[189]

Climate change can be of two sorts. First, anthropogenic, or human-made; typically, this is related to the release of carbon into the atmosphere caused by burning fossil fuels. It is also influenced by removal of natural carbon sinks (forests) to produce building materials or agricultural land-clearance (for example, to produce soy in the Amazon or palm oil in Borneo).[190] Often, forests have been replaced with grazing land for ruminants bred for food, which release vast quantities of methane thus worsening greenhouse effects.[191] As already noted, the consequences are now severe, rapidly increasing over the last two centuries. 'Never mind terra-forming Mars; we already live on a terra-formed Earth. We've been inadvertently adroit at it for ten millennia, even heading off an ice age' observes Brand,[192] hence our era's new palaeontological descriptor: the Anthropocene.

The second form of climate change has causes unrelated to human activities. This has always occurred for various reasons. Non-anthropogenic climatic variations can be both endogenous (coming from within the planet's boundaries) and exogenous (caused by events beyond). For example, endogenous changes could result from major shifts in the tectonic plates and subsequent release of gases and ash, cooling the atmosphere, or they may occur due to cyclic changes, the reasons for which science is still largely uncertain. Additionally, an exogenous event could include a large meteorite strike leading to catastrophic changes to the earth's atmosphere and, consequently, species extinctions as has been speculated occurred at the end of the Cretaceous period 65 million years ago. Non-anthropogenic causes are largely outside human prediction or capacity to influence. They also tend to be measured in geological time – over millennia or millions of years – and less relevant to concerns about human survival over the next few generations or hundreds of years. As such, the domain of action focuses primarily on anthropogenic

effects on the biosphere. Humanity's actions over the next generation will inevitably affect subsequent generations and, while geologically insignificant, in anthropocentric terms are critical. James Havelock has predicted human extinction within a century, and the views of many other climate scientists reflect similar concerns.[193] Along with consequences for humans, climate change is linked to the loss of biodiversity; this is widely regarded as an environmental risk as well as a further ethical issue.[194]

Using a human-rights lens to examine the relationships between climate change and human societies is helpful. However, climate change will affect the total human-rights landscape, having two broad effects, which can be described as primary and secondary effects. It will have a direct (or primary) effect on individual rights, for example to health, livelihood, social systems, cultural practice, how and where people live.[195] The way governments tackle climate change will also have particular (secondary) effects on human rights, such as those described below.[196] Although Australia makes a relatively minor contribution to global warming, it is part of the wider world.[197] It is demographically small, but collectively its actions are incommensurate with those of many other countries.[198] Additionally, Australia is vulnerable to condemnation if it fails to meet a reasonable standard of conduct as a national global citizen. It is also, among developed nations, especially likely to be severely affected by climate changes.[199]

Orderly movements of people, managed transnational migrations, basic human infrastructure – these will disintegrate if some of the predicted climate change proves to be accurate. In 2007, John von Doussa[200] outlined his concerns, lamenting that discussions were monopolised by economic, trade and security issues, while the social and human-rights implications of climate change seldom rate a mention. Von Doussa argued, when climate change is regarded as a human-rights issue, a picture emerges that differs from the quantitative analysis presented in scientific and economic statistics. This picture reveals increasing vulnerability to poverty, social deprivation, infectious and vector-borne diseases, conflict over diminishing supplies of water and arable land, and with the world's poor – notably women and children – disproportionately affected.[201]

These concerns are echoed by Mary Robinson[202] who warns that climate change is one of the greatest challenges ever to face humanity. Current trends of increasing drought, floods, severe storms and lower agricultural yields will worsen: both environmental and human-

rights issues. She is also concerned the poorest, who contribute the least to climate change, will endure most of its effects. 97% of deaths related to natural disasters occur in the Global South where, because they rarely receive media headlines, their stories are seldom heard.[203] Generally, says Robinson, people already impoverished and vulnerable will continue to be disproportionately affected by desertification, the degradation of once-fertile agricultural lands,[204] rising sea levels, spoilt freshwater reserves and lost livelihoods. The environmental consequences of carbon emissions released by industrialised and industrialising nations are therefore already undermining the:

> basic human rights of millions of the world's poorest people to life, security, food, health and shelter [and which] will continue to be violated … A human rights lens reminds us there are reasons beyond economics and enlightened self-interest for states to act on climate change.[205]

Over the years, there has been debate about whether environmental protection is a sub-set of human rights (given they are intended to improve human life) or the environment is of such importance that it subsumes them.[206] The proposition that the environment lacks intrinsic value is generally rejected and the consensus, now, is environmental protection and human rights are different but overlapping societal values.[207] If the world successfully moves away from carbon-based economies, to slow the speed of climate change, this will considerably affect how people will live. However, without this transition, the future is bleak. Already, some lands are so threatened, entire communities will need to resettle. Examples include some Pacific islands where, the World Bank reports, low-lying countries such as Kiribati could lose up to 80% of their land mass.[208] There will also be increasingly frequent and extreme cyclonic events, spread of diseases, falls in population-level health outcomes, and drastic cuts to agricultural yields in other Pacific states. It is likely that whole islander nations will resettle in other regions, such as in Queensland or New Zealand. These diasporas will quickly change and, without the source lands and societies to maintain, reinforce and replenish their cultures, they will eventually vanish. Climate change is therefore a cultural as well as human right. Although the connection is increasingly recognised,[209] those examining climate issues broadly treat culture as tangential to their interests or incorporated within a wider rights approach. Integrated planning, from local through to international levels, is essential to avoid the potentially catastrophic effect of climate change on human lives, rights and heritage.

If the predictions of many climate scientists eventuate, over the coming century what we may see with Pacific Island cultures (represented by numerically small populations) may happen on a vast scale affecting hundreds of millions of people. One reason for this bleak outlook is the projected changes to equatorial monsoons. If Tibetan glaciers continue to melt, and significant rainfall reductions combined with on-going down-catchment deforestation, the region faces a scenario where not only will delta countries such as Bangladesh risk inundation from the combined effects of rising sea levels and increasing siltation, but rivers, such as the Mekong, Indus and Yangtze, may have drastically reduced water flows.[210] If this occurs, regions such as southern China, Vietnam and India will not only face agricultural failure but also cultural extinction. To destroy a physical environment shared by humans is to destroy their cultures. To disrupt the hitherto largely predictable weather patterns in this part of the world is to create a scenario where almost a third of the world's population is on the move and some of its richest cultural heritage threatened.

This is a potential tale of unparalleled misery, but also one with inescapable global consequences. Existing deterrents and security arrangements will not prevent millions of climate refugees from pouring over national borders; nothing could halt such a myriad of desperation. As Wright observes, where societies have progressively lost their resilience and capacity for adaptive change, and circumstances lead to a sudden shift in global climatic patterns, 'the great experiment of civilization will come to a catastrophic end ... we have grown as specialised and therefore as vulnerable, as a sabre-toothed cat'.[211] In such settings, climate change would threaten not the higher aspirations of human rights and development, but their very survival. How will future governments respond under such circumstances? Will closed borders involve privileging some lives over others, if so, on what basis? Will laws suspend derogable rights to protect the general 'good' in a period of heightened security, if so, for how long? Will this include non-derogable rights? How will choice be made between the values of environmental protection and the preservation of human life?

The right to life, and the essentials that make life bearable, are first-generation human rights. However, given the high-probability of severe climate change, there will be little capacity to plan for second- and third-generation rights. Indeed, the whole concept of human rights will come under extraordinary pressure. In this situation – when norms of

social functioning and international relations are suspended – humanising frameworks will be lost in the tumult. Furthermore, extreme climate events are likely to be only one of several causes of systemic failure leading to synchronous collapses. While hypothetical climate effects in the Pacific and South East Asia refer to Australia's region, there are equally severe risks in other parts of the world. It is already known that desertification and mass starvation in Africa is linked to climate change, particularly changing rainfall patterns, caused by industrial activities in Europe.[212] In a world entering a period of unpredictability, during which accepted beliefs will be challenged, what are regarded as norms in many countries – democracy, freedom and a civil society – will be eroded. Fundamental human rights therefore need institutionalising, now more than ever, to help protect peoples' capabilities to function and flourish in a coming era of more change, not less – an era of greater threats to personal, national and global security.

This makes climate change a pressing ethical issue. However, the ethics extend beyond those related to humanity and other species (as in biodiversity loss) to global custodianship. This is not only about how humans are indirectly altering our planet, but how we are now speculating about doing so through intentional geo-engineering. Some geo-engineering ideas are about exogenous interventions (e.g. erecting huge shade 'space umbrellas'), but most are endogenous, such as seeding the sea and sky with sulphates and other minerals to restructure ocean acidity and atmospheric chemistry.[213] Humanity has a poor record of deliberate environmental manipulation (introducing species to new habitats, like the cane toad to Queensland, have been disastrous), and the notion of planetary-level tinkering terrifies as many scientists as it thrills. The topical issue of geo-engineering poses many moral questions, and it collectively indicts humanity for its hubris, indolence and incapacity for adaptive change (such as willingness to recalibrate aspects of our economic system) that something so profoundly risky and irrevocable is increasingly advocated as inevitable.[214]

Over the last 30 years, market remedies have dictated most policy and programs across all tiers of government. Today, the effects of climate change, questions about the equity of the current economic paradigm[215] and fears of ongoing global financial instability have led to widespread resentment that this deterioration has occurred under the sway of neoliberalism. Environmental activist, Paul Kingsnorth, has warned:

Take a civilisation built on the myth of human exceptionalism and a deeply embedded cultural attitude to 'nature'; add a blind belief in technological and material progress; then fuel the whole thing with a power source that is discovered to be disastrously destructive only after we have used it to inflate our numbers and appetites beyond the point of no return. What do you get? We are starting to find out.[216]

If nothing else, the looming crisis of environmental degradation and resource sustainability illustrates the failure of unfettered markets to regulate planetary-level development.[217] This conspicuous failure is driving a new economics where long-term planning, lower growth, CSR[218] and sustainable development are increasingly recognised in business and government planning.[219] It is also reflected in consumer preferences, purchasing and market behaviours, with growing awareness of the relationship between individual acts and their wider effects. It can be debated whether this shall genuinely make a difference or help address disequilibria of wealth between populations, but such awareness at least marks out shift in attitude.[220] Many of these issues are discussed in a 2011 report by the UN's environment program, which argues there is increasing awareness that a new paradigm, that does not destroy the environment or aggravate social disparities, is required. Increasing support for a green economy has been driven:

by widespread disillusionment with the prevailing economic paradigm, a sense of fatigue emanating from the many concurrent crises and market failures experienced during the very first decade of the new millennium, including especially the financial and economic crisis of 2008.[221]

Given the intersections between culture, rights and the environment, these issues represent more than threats or sources of guilt. They can be opportunities for justice, creativity and productivity which offer dividends for many more people than those directly involved. Transforming the local through collective and rights-based actions to build flourishing, sustainable communities is a goal where new museology can play important roles.

2.5 HUMAN RIGHTS, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

Nietzsche apocalyptically pronounced 'God is dead' in 1882.[222] Since then, there have been many attempts to bury religious belief. However, the predictions of God's demise and religion's inevitable decline have proved premature. As a 2004 report on religion in Australia observes, although Nazism, Communism and other secular ideologies have been

consigned to the 'dustbin of history', a remarkable feature of the twentieth century was the endurance of religions and their institutions.[223] So much so, 120 years after Nietzsche's proclamation, John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge undertook an extensive study of faith and concluded: God is clearly back. In answering why, they argue many causes are driven by globalisation. Secularists failed to recognise that those things they believed would erode religiosity have had an opposite effect:

> the surge of religion is being driven by the same two things that have driven the success of market capitalism: competition and choice ... The very things that were supposed to destroy religion – democracy and markets, technology and reason – are combining to make it stronger.[224]

The global resurgence of religion is a distinctive feature of the new century, with social, political, cultural, economic, and security ramifications. This has prompted considerable pejorative analysis over the last decade or so, for example, by Daniel Dennett, Christopher Hitchens and Richard Dawkins, who have focused on what they see as the harm and irrationality of religious belief.[225] Nevertheless, religion continues to dominate the lives of the majority of humanity, with scepticism claiming a relatively small proportion of affiliation.[226]

Religious experience is universal.[227] Although not all individuals have religious experiences, religion occurs across all cultures, races and epochs and inspires passionate commitments. As such, it continues to be a common driver of tensions between states as well as between, and within, communities. Indeed, since the late twentieth century, most conflict has decreasingly been manifested through conventional warfare (such as military conflict between combatants on behalf of a sovereign authority) instead, largely occurring between ethnic, tribal, political and religious groups, and in ways often anarchic and outside state controls.[228] Some claimants say there is no role for the state when it comes to matters of faith; although religion's enduring appeal often poses challenges to national authority.[229] When it does, this may demand intervention to protect national security, especially when the religious impulse becomes destructive, is harnessed to other agendas such as political activism, or is influenced by factors such as cultural conflict, economic disparity, or the denial of justice.[230] The current literature on terrorism frequently links its causes and appeal to religious extremism, particularly the distorting effects of 'perverted' religion.[231] In previous decades, the motives for extremist violence were often associated

with political, ideological or nationalist causes. These motives continue, but religiously inspired terrorism may also evolve into illicit businesses, especially if a terrorist group relies on the black economy to finance their activities.[232] Nevertheless, religion continues to be a critical ingredient in the complex mix driving local and global terrorist recruitment as well as some nationalist (even secular) political agendas.[233]

The effect of religion on global security has been described as driving either a clash or an alliance of civilizations. These bi-polar views see the international setting as one where either cultural incompatibility and competition (expressed through religion) leads to inevitable conflict, or where it is recognised there is sufficient consensus for constructive dialogue. The first of these propositions is famously argued by Huntington, initially in a short article and subsequently in his 1996 book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Huntington certainly acknowledges cultural influences – at individual and collective levels – but his response to a multipolar, multi-civilization world (as he describes it) is rigid. He approvingly quotes, unless 'we hate what we are not, we cannot love what we are. These are old truths we are painfully rediscovering after a century ... of sentimental cant'.[234] There is, Huntington claims, 'unfortunate truth in these old truths ... for people seeking identity and reinventing ethnicity, enemies are essential'.[235] Huntington sees ancient rivalries between Christianity and Islam as the main source of conflict, arguing, 'Islam's borders are bloody, and so are its innards'[236] and incredibly, given the USA is the most militarised and arguably most belligerent nation in recent history[237], that the Muslim propensity 'towards violent conflict is also suggested by the degree to which Muslim societies are militarised'.[238] His views have been contested by scholars such as Edward Said who criticised the advisory and academic infrastructure 'devoted to legitimizing and maintaining the authority of a handful of basic, basically unchanging ideas about Islam, the Orient, and the Arabs'.[239] In his 2003 preface to *Orientalism*, Said lamented that ignorance about the oriental 'Other' persists, saying:

> debate, rational argument, moral principle based on a secular notion that human beings must create their own history have been replaced by abstract ideas that celebrate ... Western exceptionalism, denigrates the relevance of context, and regards other cultures with derisive contempt.[240]

More recently, the UN Alliance of Civilizations was established to counter notions that civilizations reflexively clash and that promoting such notions risks increasing the

likelihood of identity-based conflict. The report of the High-Level Group argues the history of relations between groups from different cultural backgrounds had not always been one of violent confrontations but of constructive cross-fertilisation of ideas and peaceful coexistence. The clash theory is also criticised for being simplistic. Societies are often internally fluid and diverse; to describe them as collectively 'rigid' ignores more illuminating ways to understand identity and behaviours. The Alliance of Civilizations report counters the way stereotyping compounds misconceptions and entrenches patterns of hostility. It states that rifts:

> between the powerful and the powerless or the rich and the poor or between different political groups, classes, occupations and nationalities have greater explanatory power than such cultural categories. Indeed, the latter stereotypes only serve to entrench already polarized opinions (1.3).[241]

The report recalls that the UDHR covers rights to religious and cultural belief, expression and practice (2.1)[242] and warns that polarisation and conflict occur when rights are believed to be selectively protected (5.12).[243] This means 'establishing genuine dialogue among nations requires a common understanding of international human rights principles and a universal commitment to their full and consistent application'.[244] The report paints a complex picture about the rights, risks, influences and challenges of cross-cultural dialogue, from local to global levels. These issues have been noted by other authors who are concerned about the causes and effects of disparities in wealth, health and freedom, as well as the exercise of political, cultural and social self-determination.[245] Their analyses, when stripped of subjective content, are essentially about conflicts arising around small and large worlds, of universal versus particular projects: the dynamics of far-from-equilibrium change in a world catalysed by new technologies, new forms of engagement, new global risks and forms of compliance.[246]

God may not be dead, nor history ended; but neither has ideology. In all probability, the twenty-first century will be marked by global cultural politics involving global ideologies. Some ideologies will promote a tightly integrated and networked world; others will advocate diversity and cosmopolitanism; yet others will promote conformity to a religion and its associated values. In sociological terms, this has been described as a spectrum of views between *gesellschaft* (where rational order, neutral involvement and obligations to institutions are dominant) to *gemeinschaft* (where self-serving individuals and groups are

linked by impersonal but interdependent ties).[247] The concept of the post-secular city is one attempt to describe the role of faith-based organisations and the effect of religion in contemporary urban settings. For civil societies, the boundaries between science and faith, modernity and tradition, public ethics and private values, governance and free choice will continue to demand intra- and intergroup mediations.[248]

The world's major faith traditions share many concepts about the world and human agency. Much of this concordance is reflected in UN principles, global ethics, human rights and related secular inventions. However, the faiths also have many differences, and religion is likely to remain a site where morality in a globalised world is contested.[249] Not only will this contestation occur between different faiths, but internally: between progressive and conservative branches, between differing sects or churches, between members of different nations, cultural traditions and political views.[250] Contests may not be solely about scripture or tradition, but how these intersect with worldly debates, such as environmental custodianship or the legitimacy of declarations of war.[251] This will lead to conflicts between those whose faith-based ideologies drive political agendas as well as those who use faith to justify political objectives. This future will be one of continuing rather than diminishing complexity.[252]

Religion and its effects on international security are easily illustrated. The 1994 Rwandan genocide occurred in 'the most Christian of African nations';[253] here, the ethnic-minority Tutsis were massacred by their Hutu co-religionists, with Catholic nuns and Anglican bishops colluding in the killing of almost one million fellow Christians.[254] Conflicts in the former Yugoslavia – such as the siege of Sarajevo, the Srebrenica and Kosovo genocides – were committed by Bosnian Serb Christian militias against Muslim civilians. The crisis in Darfur has been aggravated by Janjaweed militia attacks on Christian communities. Until their defeat in 2009, the (largely) Hindu Tamils were in protracted conflict with the Buddhist majority in Sri Lanka. This list can easily be extended. Recent histories – in Ireland, Kashmir, the Philippines, Chechnya, Palestine and numerous other countries – have involved faith-based violence. However, crimes of genocide can be committed as easily by Christians, Muslims, Jews, atheists, socialists and fascists as well as by Europeans, Africans and Asians.[255] This is a potential all humans possess and, with a growing population, contacts increase and with it the probability of tension. Terrorism can be associated with geo-politics, history, wealth inequalities, and invasive cultural and

technological trends. At the local level, continuing inter-religious conflict may help fuel the radicalisation of alienated youth.[256]

As the Alliance of Civilizations report argues, global efforts to maintain security should be undertaken within a democratic and human-rights framework that simultaneously aims to address injustice and poverty, especially as they affect civil, political, economic and cultural life: a view echoed in *Civil Paths to Peace*, among other reports.[257] Although intercultural and inter-religious conflicts do cause violence, to assume religious beliefs are the only cause of terrorism (no matter what faith inspires it), is simplistic given the role of religion in peacemaking and peacekeeping.[258] Scott Appleby describes how discourse on the role of religion in deadly conflict tends to gravitate towards two interpretations. Religion is either despised for inspiring atrocities and dwelling in a modern dark age, or it is interpreted liberally where acts of violence – committed in the name of a religion – are dismissed as unrepresentative of the faith on whose behalf it was purportedly done. This is because the sanctity of human life is a key tenet of all major religions. However, behind this either–or method of interpreting religion and the acts of its adherents, is the assumption one must:

> decide whether religion is essentially a creative and "civilizing" force or a destructive and inhumane spectre from a benighted past … [this] is no less prevalent for being patently absurd … The cynics fail to appreciate the profoundly humane and humanizing attributes of religion and the moral constraints it imposes on intolerant and violent behaviour. The advocates of 'liberalized' religion fail to consider that an authentic religious precept … may end in subordinating human life to a higher good.[259]

Appleby believes religion can play a significant peace-building role, and its leaders must pursue three human-rights goals. These – especially for religions with traditions of misology – are first: promote human-rights norms, including the right to religious freedom as well as tolerance of religious outsiders within the faith. Second, religious leaders should give priority to inter-religious, ecumenical and interfaith dialogue to help avoid culturally or religiously grounded conflicts. Third, religious communities should engage in normative processes, especially in building cultures of dialogue consistent with human-rights standards and support peaceful conflict resolutions.[260]

Human-rights systems, however, can fall victim to religious or political extremists, both of whom could argue they are tools of control used by capitalist, secular or Western interests. The hypocritical or misleading use of human-rights language to camouflage exploitative or culturally insensitive actions help demonstrate that such claims are informed by empirical evidence.[261] Similarly, many European nations have not fully developed multicultural policies and – when race or faith-based conflicts arise – multiculturalism is blamed instead of ill-formed or competing government policies, or the under-resourcing of multicultural strategies. So too for other human-rights approaches established to fail.[262] Declarations may contextualise the principles of specific human-rights challenges, and conventions provide a framework for state-parties' action but, if nations choose to selectively ratify conventions, do not adequately interpret them in domestic legislation, and omit to properly monitor, report and implement these measures, it is unfair to criticise the normative instruments as a failure of human-rights principles.

In this system religion has a fraught status, particularly around the ambiguous areas of cultural rights and racism (see Sections 3.4.3, 4.1 & 4.2). The omission of discrimination on the grounds of religion and belief in the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discriminatio*n *1966* (ICERD) is problematic and, arguably, significant problems have arisen.[263] Article 1 defines racial discrimination as 'any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin' and is the basis for UN deliberations on action plans to address racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.[264] At the time of drafting ICERD, in the early 1960s, Arab states were reluctant to include religion because they did not want mention of anti-Semitism.[265] This is ironic because, in recent years, concern about Islamophobia has undermined ICERD's credibility as an effective instrument. Subsequently, the issue of religious discrimination has been addressed more by proxy than in tangible ways; this means there is no international legal remedy that applies to religious discrimination.[266]

Attempts to fill this gap have been linked to the idea of 'combating the defamation of religion' (CDR). Appendix A2.2 provides a brief outline of the international controversy associated with religious freedom: a digression from the thesis, analyses of these issues do, however, provide a wider picture of complexity that is relevant. Tensions associated with faith-hate, and discrimination against religious diasporas, are associated with an often-

shaky global security setting and add to risks. For example, at a critical time – when the world should have mobilized to address climate change – the events of 9/11 subsumed other pressing concerns. In the years following, many governments focused their energies and financial resources on fighting unwinnable 'cosmic' battles,[267] often making questionable strategic decisions. One such was the invasion of Iraq, falsely linked to Islamist terrorism.[268] Whether the Second Gulf War was about securing oil reserves for the Global North or a new form of crusade is, in a sense, irrelevant. Relevant is the high death toll, eroded trust, and lost opportunities. The accumulated costs to the US government of the Iraq venture was approximately \$3 trillion by 2007.[269] Taking into account the continuing costs since – and the costs for participating allies, such as the UK, Australia, Italy, Netherlands and Poland – the total costs are substantially higher.

With hindsight, the effects of 9/11 (Al-Qaida's aspiration to dismantle the Global North's power-base) are still unfolding.[270] The 2001 attacks triggered a decade-long diversion. Vast outlays on security, aimed at curtailing the activities of numerically-small terrorist groups, distracted the international community from energetically addressing the long-term effects of climate change.[271] Now, given the parlous state of finances in many countries, there are scant reserves remaining to invest in the structural transitions needed for the survival of democratic free-market economies.[272]

2.6 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

The Australian Government's 2008 security statement argues there are numerous threats to the safety of the state and its citizens, including risks from pandemics and natural disasters.[273] Nevertheless, fears associated with Islamist terrorism dominate the national and international security environment. Although this concern existed before 2001, it was amplified by the events of 9/11 and has remained a fear in popular and political consciousness, sustained by continuing terrorist activities around the world such as the 7/7 attacks in the UK which demonstrated 'home grown terrorism' is a novel and real threat.[274] Although not limited to a single community or religion, in recent years intelligence attention has principally focused on Muslims.[275] Since it is (widely) believed that the path to peace involves human rights,[276] and (conditionally) accepted that security infrastructure is an essential defence against terrorism,[277] it is reasonable to ask whether human rights and security are compatible, how they support social inclusion, and whether policies (such

as multiculturalism) help or hinder the well-being and protection of citizens: questions that become more acute when there are perceived security threats from within the state.

Debates about Islamist terrorism are frequently premised on the belief that violence is intrinsic to Islam. This view, promoted by Huntington, was largely ignored until 2001. After 9/11, it gained attention and was popularised and simplified by the media where generalisations and stereotyping aggravated reciprocal suspicions between Muslims and non-Muslims. The roots of Islamist terrorism – indeed the motivations of any terrorist organisation – are complex.[278] Some acts are committed by those opposed to the freedoms of democratic societies; others are born of anger at global injustice, cultural hegemony, political repression or unequal wealth and opportunity. It should not be assumed terrorists are 'insane' or live in an amoral vacuum, no matter how immoral their rationale and the results of their violence may be.[279] Reza Aslan argues that recent waves of terrorism, especially those associated with radical religion, are driven by 'cosmic' motivations: the players are engaged in an eternal war of righteousness, with God an active and present agent.[280] This makes contemporary terrorist threats less linear and harder to predict than in the past. It is a war – as interpreted from the radical perspective – about truth, justice, equity and freedom.[281]

Although there is no standardised definition of the term 'terrorism' it is generally understood to refer to the use of violence (such as the slaughter of innocents or the destruction of iconic symbols) to trigger psychic fear and garner publicity through media exposure; this allows otherwise excluded opinions to be considered in an asymmetrical conflict.[282] It is often the angry, marginalised, or those vulnerable to manipulation by self-interested or extreme groups, who turn to terrorism.[283]

Governments have the task of ensuring legislative responses to this threat are effective and proportionate. This can be a difficult balancing-act: strengthening security while avoiding the isolation of minorities where few of their number are likely to contemplate acts of violence.[284] As with many responses to 'wicked problems', remedies that assure some groups may alienate others.[285] Legal systems in liberal democracies are designed for open justice. The requirement that confidential information be protected for security purposes is a challenge to this well-established norm; this makes human right protections particularly important, even as they are threatened by continuing fears of terrorism.[286] Under the

common-law traditions of the UK, Australia and other Commonwealth countries, defendants are accorded various rights. The first of these is the presumption of innocence: prosecutors must prove, beyond reasonable doubt, that the accused committed the crime with which they are charged. Despite circumstantial evidence or popular resentments, all defendants are entitled to a fair trial. There must be evidence of committing, or planning to commit, a crime for the accused to be found guilty of an offence. Second, whether guilt is proven or not, the rights of the accused must be upheld. Third, preventative detention must be limited in scope and surveillance restricted. This helps to protect the privacy of all citizens[287] – granting unfettered rights to policing agencies can be a short cut to dictatorship.

These rights make the Australian legal system generally fair and transparent. However, at times they need to be balanced by actions to reduce society's vulnerability to destabilising threats. These threats are summarised in a UK discussion paper, which agrees that responses to terrorism challenge democracy. The dislocations accompanying successfully executed terrorist violence threaten democracy itself – one reason why terrorism is a chosen strategy. The challenge for free societies is to preserve hard-gained civil rights against arbitrary uses of protective powers, wielded to protect citizenry, while ensuring the:

> rule of law are not used as a cover by those who seek its overthrow … [and] for whom prosecution and punishment hold no fear, and who are prepared to take their own lives in destroying others, do not recognise normal processes of law or fear the consequences of detection.[288]

This paper highlights a paradox. Human rights are essential to a free society yet, in extreme circumstances, retaining them can leave a state vulnerable. Freedoms may provide the cover that allows terrorists to plan attacks against an open system. Ironically, injustice – a reason terrorists give for their actions – may best be addressed through human-rights approaches.

Immediately after the 9/11 attacks, the UN Security Council issued Resolution 1373, which called on states to take whatever steps necessary to limit the capacity of global networks to organise and execute acts of terrorism.[289] Later resolutions (1456 and 1566) noted that religion – perverted and extreme forms of Islam in particular – represents the primary threat. Resolution 1373 provided a mandate for the Australian Government to make many,

often controversial, changes to surveillance and detention laws.[290] Subsequently, other UN reports and statements, such as the CDR resolution,[291] were attempts to ameliorate the more reactive responses to 9/11 and emphasise that the actions of extremists, which are associated with ideological or other forms of struggle, do not represent mainstream religious opinions.[292]

In Australia, many security measures continue along the course established by the Howard government. These can be divided into three broad types. The first is hard security (such as border protection, enhanced customs and defence capability) where billions of dollars have been invested since 2001. While important, many hard-security measures are expensive and fail to address the actual causes of resentment and alienation.[293] The second type is security-related law legitimised by Resolution 1373. This response involved approximately 40 pieces of legislation that strengthened surveillance, detention and policing powers, a move criticised by human-rights groups and Muslim communities who felt it unfairly targeted them.[294] The third type is soft security, this was primarily pursued through the National Action Plan to Build on Social Cohesion, Harmony and Security (NAP), a whole-of-government approach to build more cohesive communities (see Appendix A1.1). A review of relative investments indicate that soft security outlays represent less than 0.4% of the security budget addressing the Australian terrorist threat since 9/11.[295]

Public discussion about hard-security responses to the threat of Islamist terrorism may aggravate fears in the general population, marginalise many Muslims, create a sense of limited options and increase resentment among those at risk of becoming radicalised. In particular, between 2001 and 2006, there was a sense of crisis and that Australia was at risk of being overrun by people through 'illegal' entry. The language used in public debates became emotive[296] and government policies associated with mandatory detention, the excision of territories from the migration zone and offshore processing all heightened perceptions that a threat existed from the (Muslim) 'Other. Protracted media coverage about refugees changed community perceptions, especially about Muslim and Arabic communities, and people of 'Middle Eastern appearance'.[297] Because links between Islam and terrorism continues to inform most planning among security agencies, this further unsettles the general community.[298] Writing about conditions in the UK after 7/7, Tariq Modood says the presence of Muslim minorities in countries that made half-hearted attempts to introduce multiculturalism policies (such as Germany)[299] combined with fears

about terrorism, has left multiculturalism vulnerable to criticism from governments of both the right and centre left. Rather than eschewing multiculturalism it is an essential tool to preserve community harmony within a human rights framework and, Modood claims, contrary to the view of critics, violent extremism has nothing to do with multiculturalism per se: terrorism intrudes into domestic matters from the international arena. Governments that allow political extremism to fester, often through ill-considered foreign policies and by blaming ethnic minorities and multiculturalism, risk losing the 'resource that is necessary for a long-term victory over domestic terrorism: namely, the fully and active "on-side" cooperation of the Muslim communities'.[300]

Islamist terrorism has often been tardily discussed by opinion-makers in the West.[301] Although loose international networks exist – often merely inspired by al-Qaeda – that wish to attack anybody opposing their interpretation of Islam, they are a small (but real) threat, especially because some control substantial financial resources giving them the capacity to illicitly purchase the means of mass lethality. These groups continue to recruit idealistic and confused young followers, although most recruitment occurs in only a few regions, such as Iraq, Gaza, Pakistan or Afghanistan.[302] Indeed, the activities of terrorist groups often reflect power struggles between competing, extreme positions, with most Muslims critical of their actions. As with any large population (in this case approximately 1.5 billion) its members hold widely differing views. The Muslim world is not monolithic but fractured and, in the Middle East for instance, there are tensions between political, largely secular positions (across the spectrum) competing with fundamentalist causes that may be relatively peaceful, moderate, or Wahabist (highly conservative).[303] Furthermore, ethnic and religious sub-groups (such as Shi'ite, Sunni, Alawite, Sufi or Ahmadiyya) often vie with each other. Among the most radical exists the view that most Muslims are betrayers of Islam and are greater enemies than pagans and Zionists. This attitude has led to the carnage of countless co-religionists, particularly since the 1990s.[304] Failure by the Western media to acknowledge this complexity confuses non-Muslim understanding of the issues.[305] The threat of terrorism, then, is not limited to the general community. Violence may occur within Muslim communities or be targeted at other minorities – such as Jews who report a rise in assaults when violence in the Middle East increases[306] – in addition, there are security risks associated with the far white right and some ethnic groups.[307]

Non-Muslim ideologies have also coloured international understanding about Islamist terrorism, encouraging a binary approach to issues. Drawing crudely on the clash of civilizations hypothesis was the axiom that people were either 'with' or 'against' those fighting a war on terror. As noted in the Introduction, inflexible approaches to far-from-equilibrium circumstances compounds problems by minoritising groups. This was famously achieved by US president, George Bush, in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. Bush's language, and that of many conservative allies and advisors, divided people into 'saved' and 'unsaved', 'evil-doers' and 'the righteous'. This was seen as code for Christian versus Muslim (although the satanic included socialists, homosexuals and Democratic voters).[308] Bush was not interested in the rule of law and human rights, having proclaimed at the National Security Council, 'I don't care about international law; I just want to kick ass'.[309] As Korten observes, this view was consistent with the perspective of an affronted empire. The USA has a plutocratic history that consistently favours wealth and corporate power at the expense of the subaltern amongst its citizens. Contrary to its propaganda of liberty and equality, the USA has a record of protecting elite interests, launching unilateral attacks and backing dictatorships.[310]

Kevin Clements argues that human activity is typically peaceful; most people live in relative social harmony, doing they need to ensure group and personal survival. This concord may be threatened by those seeking greater control, or who wish to achieve their objectives through coercion: the most common form of power play. This is regarded as normal, even if undesirable. Others, with little or no political power, may resort to violence as a means of coping with:

> humiliation, rejection, marginalization and exclusion. For these people violence is a way
> of communicating grievance, generating fear and arousing a negative reaction in order to
> expand their struggle. Terrorism, in this instance, is a particular crime of the unheard.[311]

Clements believes acts of terrorism are forms of sacrifice that demand broader acknowledgement of an agenda aiming to redress past sufferings and humiliation. Paul Berman, while not disagreeing, has a different perspective on Islamist terrorism. He argues the motives that triggered Western anti-liberalism in the 1920s (Fascism, Nazism, Stalinism) are shared by Islamism, and liberal traditions have been repeatedly warped to defend egregious crimes, including mass murder.[312] European totalitarianism was driven by a desire to rebel that mutated into a cult of death, sharing one ideal. It was:

not scepticism and doubt. It was the ideal of submission. It was submission to the kind of authority that liberal civilization had slowly undermined, and which the new movements wished to re-establish on a novel basis. It was the ideal of the one, instead of the many. The ideal of something godlike. The total state, the total doctrine, the total movement.[313]

Berman reminds readers that seemingly senseless violence, irrationality and fanaticism of Islamists are not traditions alien to the civilized West but share behaviours consistent with twentieth-century histories of Europe (think of the Dachau, Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps), Africa (the Rwandan genocide) and Asia (Mao's Cultural Revolution; Pol Pot's Cambodia).

The Australian Strategic Policy Institute's (ASPI) 2008 security assessment agrees that globalisation is driving 'forces of integration and fragmentation', that interconnectedness is not only a positive force, but a 'driver in identity conflicts'.[314] ASPI believes global security is complicated by factors such as demographics, energy, environmental pressures and technology,[315] but notes that while al-Qaeda remains organisationally coherent and has inspired much Islamist violence since 2001,[316] it is informal and local groups that may pose the greatest threat. The internet has democratised terrorism and fourth-wave terrorists continue to aspire to inflict catastrophic violence on civilians; this demands that states protect their security through national, regional and global measures. Military force, however, will not win contests 'against terrorism because it cannot address the political grievances that underpin terrorist causes',[317] a view shared with Aslan who argues terrorism is a battle for hearts and minds.[318] The reasons an individual chooses the path of violence are many – varying between countries and ideological contexts. Radicalisation is a process that mixes religious, social, political and cultural, issues; these *may* be linked to wealth or economic disadvantage, they *may* be associated with an aggrieved sense of justice; the evidence is unclear.[319] Increasingly, terrorism seems to arise in independent and self-radicalising cells functioning within, although incrementally disassociated from, the wider society in which they exist:[320] alienation, retaliation and affiliation all help fuel sentiments of the progressively radicalised. Inclusion, opportunity and respect are all qualities – if available in a society – likely to provide some protections, although no one strategy provides absolute guarantees. For these reasons, many national and international efforts to combat terrorism recognise both hard and soft approaches are needed.[321]

Many official government statements assert that terrorism, particularly when linked to religious beliefs, can be combated through human-rights-based approaches. In January 2009, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon called on states to adopt this approach by participating in the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.[322] Originally dating from 2006, this strategy contains four action areas: addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, preventing and combating terrorism, building national capacities to manage threats, and ensuring human rights form the foundation of activities.[323] Those measures that build resilience, encourage inclusion and support dialogue are integral to a human-rights context and may occur through direct action (as in human-rights complaint services), complementary actions (laws and programs that provide transparency and access to restorative justice) or indirect actions (such as a comprehensive multicultural policy).

Approaches to the threat of terrorism tend to be reactive and linear. The responsible agencies want clear answers to problems and for direct causal connections to cut through complexity. David Wright-Neville et al. argue this desire, while understandable, is risky. They say that the way these measures are delivered may increase sympathy for terrorism as a viable option for resolving grievances.[324] In particular, the legitimacy of law enforcement agencies, and governments that grant them counterterrorism powers, run the risk of alienating otherwise potentially sympathetic communities; a view shared by Modood, as previously noted. Wright-Neville et al. say this approach is also wasteful given the likelihood of false positives, or inaccurate reports about people behaving suspiciously, because this approach often results in stereotypical individuals being scrutinised while the atypical are overlooked. Not only does this amount to poor policing, but labelling and implementing draconian laws may have perverse effects; further, such approaches undermine the freedoms of all citizens. The sacrifice of personal liberties, in particular for people stereotyped as suspect, may be ineffective or counterproductive if:

> they lead to alienation, increased solidarity, and resistance in vulnerable communities …
> [they] are also less likely to be forthcoming with information that might alert authorities
> to terrorist threats ... that human rights can or should be traded in favour of increased
> security may ... amount to a 'flawed calculus'.[325]

This largely involves balancing competing risks. However, risk is often misrepresented by governments and the media for various reasons, such as ignorance or control. Denise Helly

warns that a central role of the state is to protect security. Yet, this has become a focus for legitimacy, a communication-vector, or a 'prism for the definition of social reality and state intervention'. She describes this as government by anxiety through systematic production:

> of 'neurotic' citizens who are scared off by the constant talk of health, environmental, terrorist, humanitarian and financial risks, as well other dangers (paedophilia, local delinquency, urban violence, drugs) by the media, experts, politicians and managers.[326]

Helly refers to Ulrich Beck's notion of the society of risk, meaning not that the world has become more dangerous but that it is the 'new referent for the interpretation of the physical, societal and political environment'.[327] This makes those areas where national security meets government policy on social inclusion a critical issue. It is an issue at risk of becoming synaptic: of inferring there is a point where security management ends and human rights start. The models that have been developed show linear pathways to violence (see Figure 2.1). With the proviso the authors recognise the complexities informing their models, this at least illustrates how simplified explanations may influence policy responses, which, in turn, assume certain actions, values and skills fit into clearly defined modes of operation. The thinking on how to address the uncertainties associated with terrorism, although evolving, is largely reactive and rigid. Complexity elicites the response that either doggedness or variations of old methods are the answer. This suggests new approaches are required to discourage commitment to acts of terrorism.
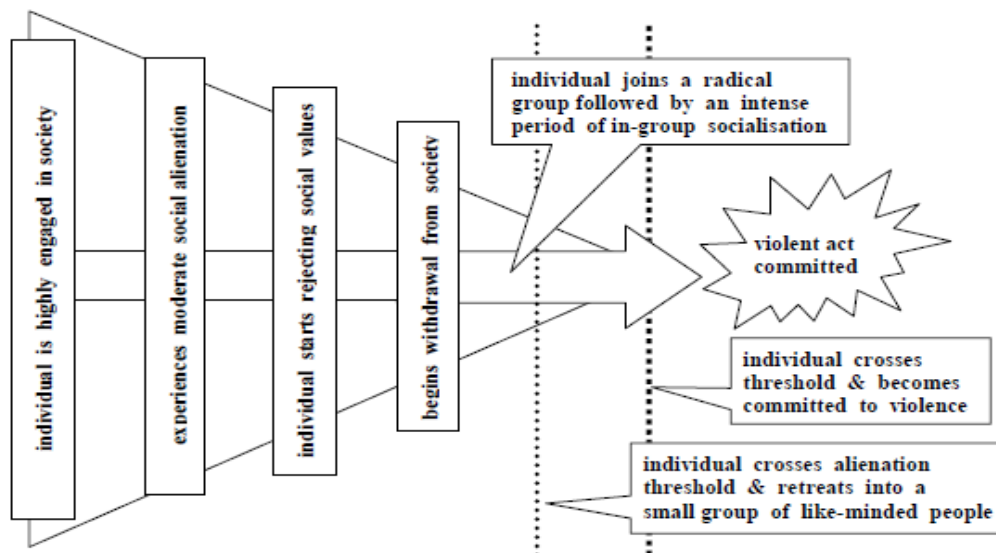

Figure 2.1: Trajectory towards becoming a terrorist

Adapted from Wright-Neville et al.[328]

Violence may be a manifestation of discontent that can be located on a spectrum. In this conceptual framework, at one end individuals feel included as respected participants in civil society. At the opposite end of the spectrum they may feel socially excluded, discriminated against, confined in poverty or similar socio-economic 'traps' and identified (or identifying) with marginalised communities. For the more included, individuals are generally low risk (but not absolutely, the motivations for violence are seldom simple); at the opposite end, what begins with marginalisation can lead to social disconnection and, ultimately, retaliation. These individuals are higher risk, although what comprises 'risk' cannot be easily determined; for example, somebody may be a risk of harming themselves, not others.

Social inclusion and human-rights measures, delivered through interventions at points along the exclusion-to-acceptance spectrum, can help halt or redirect alienation, or reduce the likelihood of an escalation to violence. Elsewhere, (Section 3.3) I note that social connectedness is a health promotion concept that may assist thinking about ways to improve social inclusion. At a population level, holistic health promotion approaches to changing behaviours and attitudes can similarly inform counter-radicalisation work. Evidence from the health sector shows this methodology improves outcomes; it is a rational and verifiable assumption that it will also work for social and security programs.[329] Although it is unwise to equate terrorist behaviours with psycho-morbidity (although it cannot be entirely excluded), health promotion methodologies offer useful ways to respond to multiple forms of exclusion as well as religious persecution. The hypothesis that human-rights approaches – delivered as a whole-of-community strategy and based on alternative models of intervention – are an effective strategy to reduce the risk of community marginalisation were tested and evaluated by a suite of national projects.[330]

As with results garnered in the health sector, security outcomes cannot be achieved quickly. They take time, effort, carefully calibrated programs of partnerships, institutional and government commitments. Counter-radicalisation programs – which recognise that multicultural and multi-faith diversity is an asset, human rights are non-negotiable, and capabilities should be addressed as part of broader development goals – reflect a vision of how social inclusion and cohesion policies can contribute to public safety. Future directions in counter-radicalisation activities could find different but complementary roles for both the human-rights and security agencies to play. They may also help reassure the

wider community, thus helping to maintain social capital. Similarly, more reflective approaches on the part of the media to cultural, religious and social inclusion, could create an expanding cycle of dialogue conducive to a civic culture that does not victimise and alienate its minorities. As a Chatham House report on the challenges of globalisation observes, social harmony relies on respect for religious and cultural diversity, within the bounds of the law and human rights. A breakdown of this relationship carries risks, where 'schisms are easily exploited and cycles of violence can easily take root'.[331]

COMMENT

The world is at a precipice. The Climate Institute, CSIRO, World Bank, UN agencies – among countless other voices – argue that inaction to substantially lower carbon emissions before 2020 mean it will be too late to prevent severe global warming.[332] Climate change is not the only threat, even if it is far-reaching. Population growth, unrestrained growth, resource depletion, intercultural and religious conflict, global disequilibria in wealth, justice and opportunity are creating a 'perfect storm' of uncertainty. The threats, however, are more extensive than those described in this chapter; for example, illicit trafficking of radioactive materials, cyber-espionage, and the risk-potential of nanotechnologies. Preventative measures associated with such fears occupy considerable efforts at intelligence agencies. Although concerning, these can be addressed with linear preventive actions and are therefore easier to control.

The current risk-setting is frustrating. We know what is happening and the measures needed to stop disasters of our own making; nevertheless, many people deny the precautionary warnings.

Humans are often selective in their acceptance of science. Many are confident science will, for example, cure cancer, expand agricultural yields in increasingly arid soils, suck carbon from the atmosphere, or provide evermore applications for personal digital devices: *deus ex machina*, the sciences will transmogrify our lives and save the planet. Although science will continue adding to the amenity and extension of life, our faith can be contrary. When it makes us well or adds pleasure for those already satiated, science is embraced. When science demonstrates we are destroying the conditions under which global civilization was established, many dismiss it. This is morbid delusion on an unprecedented scale. Seldom

has there been such compelling reason to accept scientific warnings, and there has seldom been such angry denial. This is a form of reverse reification: not to think of something abstract or imagined as real and tangible, but to think something real or tangible does not exist simply because it is undesirable. Given that science is inductive (based on empirical knowledge) to reify in reverse is to accept as true only those truths we choose and to declare as false those we do not.

The Global North's embrace of enticements and justifications, offered by some in the media and politics, helps many people to cavalierly excise facts from a canon of beliefs so it contains only ideas its own vanity permits.[333] Clive Hamilton compares this behaviour to the 1950s Sanandan movement. Here, Marian Keech purportedly channelled messages from an extraterrestrial being who predicted a global catastrophe after which only believers would be saved. Once the anticipated cataclysm failed to arrive, rather than abandoning Keech, her followers became more devout. The psychologist Leon Festinger investigated this counterintuitive phenomenon and named it 'cognitive dissonance'. He explained it as the tendency to associate with and only believe information consonant with one's existing beliefs.[334] Similar self-deceptions about the health of the biosphere are both endemic and dangerous. As Wright observes, drawing on a Margaret Atwood dystopian novel, humans doom themselves with false hopes, 'most of us will take a slim hope over prudent and predictable frugality. Hope, like greed, fuels the empire of capitalism'.[335] All will be well because we want it to be well in a world of lotus-eaters.

In the Introduction I briefly described the ethical and normative (UN soft- and hard-law) international system; discussed culture as a determinant of individual and collective identity and preferences, and how systems, networks and thermodynamics function. I see these as *a priori* and *a posteriori* facts and, although they may seem irrelevant in the face of pressing international concerns, failure to acknowledge these influences means we may fail to grasp tangible challenges. This is rather like trying to understand the botany of a tree only from what we can see above the ground. Principles of human rights and deep democracy offer intellectual and moral anchoring points that may complement other forms of anchorage, such as religious faith or science. Together, they can make a world in transformation more coherent. They also provide tools that may help construct a sustainable, viable future. Persisting influences of culture and faith, greed, tension between individual agency and collective coercion, and competing forces of universalism and

particularism, account for much of the conflict in the world today. Additionally, rights and development frameworks (encompassing capabilities and flourishing) offer strategies to build more civil societies. These pieces help form a picture described further in Section 4.3 and Chapter 5.

Optimists often claim the challenges facing humanity are surmountable.[336] However, humans must choose to surmount them. This largely relies on governments collectively agreeing on what the challenges are, how to address them, and then make good on their agreements. Yet, governments everywhere are challenged, not least because they confront mercurial and self-interested aspects of human nature. This means there are political inducements for governments to renege on commitments to change. Collectively, humans have trouble overcoming cognitive dissonances and visualising alternative realities. This is a concern given the stakes are vast and speculative.[337] When problems can no longer be ignored it will be too late to avoid crises. Because most systems of governance are so complex, atrophied and disempowered – often due to the momentum of globalisation and transnational corporatism[338] – most states are burdened by established practices and ideological commitments. This makes it more likely a dark age *is* ahead[339] because we will fail to do what is needed, adequately, or in time.

However, despite globalisation, there is a growing trend towards localism. In many ways this is positive, especially if the global and local can be balanced. Where there is a compulsion to move away from universalism and back to particularism, it is important to recall that universal principles and particular ideas do not always conflict. They also sit on a spectrum: related, opposite, but not necessarily opposed. The quest to find balance in a society is what Mill was first to call the 'stationary state', and others 'dynamic-equilibrium'.

Having described global risks – what, in the Introduction, I raise as one of the four questions of this thesis – Chapter 3 examines aspects of human nature and agency, the factors that help build or threaten civil societies, and answer (at least partially) why some of these changes are occurring.

Notes

1   R Costanza et al., 'Sustainability or Collapse: What Can We Learn from Integrating the History of Humans and the Rest of Nature?', *AMBIO*, vol. 36, no. 7, pp. 522–27.

2   Stefan Hajkowicz and James Moody, *Our Future World*, CSIRO, Canberra, 2010, which scopes many global trends (megatrends) and risks of 'megashocks' (similar to synchronous collapse events).

3   PFW Walbank, *The Awful Revolution*, Liverpool University Press, 1978, p. 23–32; and RHC Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe from Constantine to Saint Louis*, Longman, London, 1978, 177 ff.

4   Explored in detail in PW Stockhammer (ed), *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization*, Springer-Verlag, Berlin, 2012.

5   For example, T Skelton and T Allen, op.cit., pp.1–2; pp. 4–5.

6   G Stokes, R Pitty & G Smith (eds) *Global Citizens: Australian Activists for Change,* Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2008, p. 200.

7   Frank Lechner, 'The Globalization Website', Emory University, viewed 30 March 2012, <http://www.sociology.emory.edu/globalization/theories03.html>.

8   ibid.

9   Much of this information is from UNDP, World Report, 1999, 25 ff.

10   Notably Benito Mussolini's critique of what he called cradle-to-grave, conformist capitalism in its decadent phase, or supercapitalism – although he did favour 'heroic' capitalism. See B Mussolini, 'Address to the National Corporative Council', November 1933, in J Schnapp et al. (eds), *A Primer of Italian Fascism*, University of Nebraska Press, 2000, p. 158.

11   R Reich, *Supercapitalism*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2008, 65 ff. Reagonomics, or 'voodoo economics' as it was called by Reagan's Vice-Presidential colleague George Bush Snr (Murray Rothbard, 'The Myths of Reagonomics', 1988, Ludwig von Mises Institute, <http://mises.org/daily/1544>) was based largely on tax cuts, decreased social spending, increased military spending and financial deregulation – all intended to have various 'trickle down' effects (William Niskanen, 'Reagonomics', *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*, <http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc1/Reaganomics.html#>).

12   ibid., 15 ff.

13   ibid., 46 ff.

14   Arjun Appadurai, in a variant to Reich's taxonomy, for example, argues that (while over-lapping and multi-directional) globalisation involves five broad areas of 'flow': ethnoscapes (flows of people), ideoscapes (of ideologies), technoscapes (of technology), mediascapes (of information and images), and financescapes (capital), Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, University of Minnesota Press, 2003. See also WHO, *Cultural Dimension of Globalization*, 2012, <http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story012/en/index.html>.

15   Bollywood, as a form of 'Third Cinema' has been seen as a response to the cultural imperialism of the west, see H Tyrrell, 'Bollywood versus Hollywood: battle of the dream factories', Skelton & Allen (eds), *Culture and Global Change*, 265 ff.

16   ibid.

17   Tobby Miller, *Cultural Citizenship*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2006.

18   The wealthy in countries such as India and China are, simultaneously, embarking on lifestyles that parody Western behaviours or distort traits within their cultural traditions (weak points of greed-vulnerability that advertisers exploit in new markets). This presents moral challenges including: [1] how will demands be met given the limits of growth? (see 2.3), [2] with rising meat consumption (a common sign of affluence) combined with ecological impacts (clearing forests for ruminants, reduced water reserves, and arable land substitution: many more kilojoules of energy can be produced per hectare, and faster, from growing vegetables than raising cattle) how can long-term global food security be assured? and [3] on what grounds can wealthy nations argue against rising standards of living among the poor majority in the world? S Das, op.cit., 409 ff.

19   David Graeber, *Debt*, Melville House, New York, 2011, 368 ff, explores the concept of debt imperialism.

20   UNESCO, World Report, 2009, 167 ff, pp. 191–211.

21   Sen, Chapter 1, 'Cultural Liberty and Human Development', UNDP World Report, 2004, p. 20.

22   ibid.

23   ibid.

24   Sim, op.cit., 119 ff.

25   See 'Cambodia, Coastal Development Threatens Livelihoods', IRIN for the UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 6 October 2008, <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/80752/CAMBODIA-Coastal-development-threatens-livelihoods> and Eric Campbell, 'Cambodia Evictions', *Foreign Correspondent*, ABC, 10 October 2006, <http://www.abc.net.au/foreign/content/2009/s2634793.htm> both viewed 20 April 2012

26   DK Twerefou, *Mineral Exploitation, Environmental Sustainability and Sustainable Development*, see especially Chapter 3, 'Mining and Sustainable Development', Section 3.2 'Impacts of Mining on the Physical Environment', pp. 8–16, African Trade Policy Centre, Economic Commission for Africa, 2009.

27   Quentin McDermott, 'Art for Art's Sake?', *Four Corners*, ABC, 28 July 2008, viewed 1 May 2012, <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2008/07/28/2314182.htm>.

28   Farmed salmon are nourished in offshore hatcheries and fed pelletised food produced from 'small fry' (such as pilchards) that are normally harvested from the Pacific Ocean by trawlers from distant water fishing nations. Excessive over-cropping of small fish is affecting the food chain and stocks of larger species are declining. As a result, the fishing industries, communities, and indigenous fishing cultures along the coast of southern America are now threatened by the fleets that are destroying marine ecologies; see ML Weber, *What Price Farmed Fish*, SeaWeb Aquaculture Clearinghouse, 2003.

29   The case study provided by M Udvardy et al., 'The Transatlantic Trade in African Ancestors', *American Anthropologist*, vol. 105, issue 3, September 2003, pp. 566–80, provides an example of how forms of collection, and the limitations of existing deterrents and protections, allows the

desecration of cultural heritage in a developing nation. Other articles on the issue of cultural theft include E Nemeth, 'Cultural Security: The Evolving Role of Art in International Security', *Terrorism And Political Violence*, vol. 19, issue 1, 2007, pp. 19–42; K Alderman, 'The Ethical Trade in Cultural Property, *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2008; and M Fagence, 'Cultural Tourism: Strategic Interventions to Sustain a Minority Culture', *The Journal of Tourism Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, December 2001, pp. 10–21.

[30] An example of this is the sacred weavings of the Aymara from the Bolivian southern Altiplano (see Section 4.2). Social and environmental pressures, largely caused by globalisation, also erode resilience and adaptive capacity as knowledge and cross-generational alienation grows in vulnerable communities, *Weathering Uncertainty: Traditional Knowledge for Climate Change Assessment and Adaptation*, UNESCO & United Nations University, Paris, 2012, p. 51.

[31] Discussed in A Galla, 'The First Voice in Heritage Conservation', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, vol. 3, 2008, pp. 10–25.

[32] For example, the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, 2001; *Convention Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 2003; *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, 2005 – discussed further in Chapter 4.

[33] Edward Clay & Olav Stokke (eds), *Food Aid and Human Security*, E Clay and O Stokke, 'The Changing Role of Food Aid and Finance for Food', Frank Cass, London, 2000, pp. 13–48.

[34] Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, 82 ff; also observed by Graeber, op.cit., p. 6.

[35] ibid., p. 91.

[36] Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, 124 ff; Fred Pearce, *Peoplequake*, Eden Books, London, 2010, 84 ff.

[37] Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, pp. 75–98.

[38] UN, *International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade,* UN General Assembly Resolution 2626 (XXV), 24 October 1970, paragraph 43.

[39] P Singer and T Gregg, *How Ethical is Australia?*, Black Inc., Melbourne, 2004, pp. 17–27.

[40] Dan Ben-David et.al., *Trade, Income Disparity and Poverty*, see especially Alan Winters, 'Trade and Poverty: Is There a Connection?', pp. 43–69, WTO Publications, Geneva, 1999.

[41] For example, as discussed in UNDP, *World Report: International Cooperation at the Crossroads*, 'Unfair Rules: How the Trading System Favours Developed Countries', UNDP, New York, 2005, 126 ff.

[42] UNDP, World Report, 1999, p. 2.

[43] ibid.

[44] ibid., pp. 7–9. See also Kevin Clements, *Towards Conflict Transformation and a Just Peace*, '2.6 Economic Greed as Motivator', 9 ff, Berghof Research Centre, 2004.

[45] ibid., p. 2.

[46] These are broad themes across the 1999 report, but elaborated further in later UNDP world reports, in particular, *Human Rights and Human Development*, 2000, *Deepening democracy in a fragmented world*, 2002, *International Cooperation at the Crossroads*, 2005, and in 2010, *Development and Climate Change.*

47 P Kurečić and G Bandov, 'The Contemporary Role and Perspectives of the BRIC States in the New World Order', *Electronic Journal of Political Science Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, June 2011, pp. 14–32.

48 R Garnaut, *The Garnaut Review: Australia in the Global Response to Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2011, p. ix.

49 Sim, op.cit., pp. 160–161.

50 ibid., p. 161.

51 Even admitted by one of globalisation's keenest advocates, Friedman, op.cit., p. 9; see also H de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital*, Basic Books, New York, 2000, 207 ff; and UNESCO, World Report, 2009, Section 5.1 and 5.2, pp. 131–43 and 16 ff.

52 Philip Bobbitt, *Terror and Consent*, Knopf, New York, 2008, 'The Market State: Arming Terror', 85 ff; John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *God is Back*, Allen Lane, London, 2009, Chapter 9, 'All That is Holy is Profaned', 243 ff.

53 F Buttel, 'Some Observations on the Anti-Globalisation Movement', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.38, No.1, February 2003, pp. 95–116.

54 For an analysis of how individuals tend to have their political biases reinforced through ideologically sympathetic on-line communities see, for example, G Boutyline and R Willer, 'The Social Structure Of Political Echo Chambers', *Working Papers*, no. 57, Southern Illinois University, 25 May 2011.

55 See Michael Burleigh's, *Blood and Rage*, Harper Press, London, 2008, especially Chapter 8, 'World Rage: Islamist Terrorism', 346 ff; R Aslan, *How to Win a Cosmic War*, Arrow Books, 2009, 161 ff.

56 John Tomlinson, 'Globalization and Cultural Identity', p.272–3, David Held & Anthony McGrew (eds), *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Polity Press, 2003, pp. 269–77.

57 J Tomlinson, 'Globalised Culture: The Triumph of the West?', in Skelton & Allen (eds), op.cit., pp. 22–9.

58 S Brand, *Whole Earth Discipline*, Atlantic Books, London, 2009, pp. 51–5.

59 UNESCO, World Report, 2009, Section 5.1, 'Globalisation and new media trends', 131 ff, also describes some of the emerging counter-trends.

60 Stokes, Pitty & Smith, op.cit., 201ff

61 L Cabrera, 'Global Citizenship as the Completion of Cosmopolitanism', *Journal of International Political Theory*, Vol.4, No.1, 2008, 85 ff.

62 Emory University website, op.cit.

63 ibid.

64 The thesis of Ramo's book: the world – a highly complex and rapidly changing adaptive system – presents a paradigm entirely contrary to the expectations and capacities of most governments and their leaders to comprehend: 'We've left our future … largely in the hands of people whose single greatest characteristic is that they are bewildered by the present.' op.cit., p. 9.

[65] Although the term was coined by the Prime Minister, Billy Hughes, prior to the war: I Burnley, P Murphy and B Fagan, *Immigration and Australian Cities*, Leichardt: Federation Press, 1997, p. 13.

[66] For the international perspective, see UNDP, World Report, 2009.

[67] W Steffan et al., op.cit., 614 ff.

[68] UNFPA, *State of World Population 2011*, UN Population Fund, New York, 2001, p. 4.

[69] *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2011*, UN, New York, 2011, viewed 8 May 2012, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/11_MDG%20Report_EN.pdf>.

[70] R Lyon and C Leah, *Global Jigsaw*, APSI, Canberra, 2008, p. 5.

[71] As Australia is currently experiencing with lower than long-term average rainfall patterns in its south-east despite (at the time of finalising this PhD) a La Nina event and atypically heavy rainfall, see Climate Commission, *The Critical Decade*, Department of Climate Change and Energy Efficiency, Canberra, 2011, 32 ff.

[72] Poverty Reduction and Equity Group, *Food Price Watch*, The World Bank, August 2011, notes the world's food supplies are 'alarmingly low' (for some staple grains reserves are at their lowest levels since the early 1970s), this has been caused by both climate conditions and the increasing use of foodstuffs for bio-fuels which is greatly increasing prices at a time of major global famine (especially in the Horn of Africa).

[73] Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, pp. 123–40, queries the long-term viability of the Green Revolution (which helped to increase yields, and hence population growth, especially in India) but has left serious legacies and questions about its sustainability. See also UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *The Contribution of Sustainable Agriculture and Land Management to Sustainable Development*, Sustainable Development Information Briefs, issue 7, May 2009; and GC Nelson et al., *Climate Change: Impact on Agriculture and Costs of Adaptation*, International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, 2009.

[74] UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *The World at Six Billion*, New York, 1999.

[75] Pearce op.cit., 12 ff gives a good account of Malthusian theory and its cruel impacts, especially in Ireland.

[76] T Malthus, *An essay on the Principle of Population*, 1798, Chapter VII, p. 61.

[77] Most notably Paul Ehrlich's, *The Population Bomb*, Ballantine Books, 1968, in which the opening lines claimed that 'in the 1970s hundreds of millions of people will starve to death ... at this late date nothing can prevent a substantial increase in the world death rate.'

[78] Homer-Dixon, *Complexity Science and Public Policy*, Manion Lecture, Ottawa, 5 May 2010.

[79] UNDP, World Report, 2009, Chapter 2, 'People in Motion', pp. 21–46.

[80] The global total of uprooted people included 14.4 million internally displaced and 10.5 million refugees, UNHCR, 2009, viewed 8 March 2011, <http://www.unhcr.org/4a2fd52412d.html>.

[81] See DIaC, *Australia's Humanitarian Program 2012–13 and Beyond*, Canberra, December 2011, <http://www.immi.gov.au/about/contracts-tenders-submissions/_pdf/2012-13-humanitarian-program-information-paper.pdf>.

82   Australian Government, *Sustainable Australia - Sustainable Communities*, Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities, Canberra, 2011, pp. 13–24.

83   Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Families in Australia: 2008*, Canberra, 2008, 21 ff.

84   ibid., p. 24.

85   Peculiar given the wealthiest strata of society seems most concerned about affordability, see S Holton et al., 'To Have or Not to Have?', *Journal of Population Research*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 353–79.

86   The Treasury, *Intergenerational Report, Australia to 2050*, Commonwealth of Australia, January 2010.

87   P McDonald and R Kippen, *The Impact of Migration on the Ageing of Australia's Population,* Commonwealth of Australia, 1999, p. 21.

88   T Jackson, op.cit., Chapter 4, 'The Dilemma of Growth' and 'Structures of Capitalism', pp. 89–97.

89   For example, Tim Jackson, Herman Daly, Manfred Max-Neef, Clive Hamilton, **nef**, and others quoted elsewhere in this thesis.

90   Notably the political party, Australians Against Further Immigration. AAFI was attacked from many quarters for its links to the extreme, racist right. For example, the Hon Franca Arena, in the NSW Legislative Council, 20 April 1994, see <http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/hansart.nsf/V3Key/LC19940420026>. AAFI was deregistered by the Australian Electoral Commission in 2006 for failing to maintain sufficient member: see <http://www.aec.gov.au/About_AEC/Media_releases/2006/deregistration_aafi.htm> both viewed 2 May 2012; see also Ghasan Hage's analysis of the (occasional) links between environmental activism and white nationalism in *White Nation*, Chapter 6, 'Ecological Nationalism: Green Parks/White Nation', Pluto Press, Sydney, 1998, pp. 165–78.

91   World Resources Institute, *Earthtrends Data Table: Resource Consumption 2005*, the technical abbreviation is: [(kgoe){a}].

92   B Foran and F Poldy, *Dilemmas Distilled – Options to 2050 for Australia's Population, Technology, Resources and Environment*, CSIRO, 2002.

93   Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities, op.cit., and The Treasury (Australia) op.cit.

94   Queensland Centre for Population Research, *UQ Researchers Forecast Australia's Population Growth with New Model*, viewed 23 August 2011 <http://www.uq.edu.au/news/index.html?article=23137>.

95   Population management and its impacts relate, *inter alia*, to the economy, regional development, services, cultural and religious diversity, national identity, citizenship, environmental sustainability, community harmony, security, workforce and skills-needs and infrastructure. Some groups have advocated whole-of-government approaches to Australia's future population that address these issues. During the course of writing this thesis the Gillard Government established a new portfolio to do so: the Commonwealth Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities.

96 C Walker, 'Immigration and Population: Getting Balance in the Debate', *Australian mosaic*, issue 7, 2004, pp. 40–2, other articles in this edition also deal with the environment and sustainable populations.

97 UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2009 Revision*, New York, 2010, estimates half of all humans lived in an urban setting by 2009. The growth of urbanisation follows a similar pattern as numerical growth. For example, in 1900 approximately 13% lived in cities, by 1950 this had increased to 28.8%, by 2050 it is believed almost 69% will live in cities.

98 Edward Glaeser, *Triumph of the City*, Pan Books, London, 2011, Chapter 3 'What's Good About Slums', pp. 69–91

99 UN, *Millennium Development Goals Report 2011*, Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women, 20 ff; Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Chapter 8, 'Women's Agency and Social Change', pp. 189–203; Pearce, op.cit., Part 4, 'The Reproductive Revolution', pp. 133–86.

100 UN-Habitat, op.cit., Chapter 2.5 'Environmental Sustainability and the Prosperity of Cities', pp. 78–87.

101 Gleeson, op.cit., 129 ff, 182 ff. These are issues that are occupying significant attention in planning circles, see, for example, Danilo Palazzo and Frederick Steiner, *Urban Ecological Design: A Process for Regenerative Places*, Island Press, 2012; Elliott Sclar, Peter Brown & Nicole Volavka-Close (eds), *The Urban Transformation*, Earthscan, 2012, and Timothy Beatley, *Green Cities of Europe*, Island Press, 2012.

102 Brand, op.cit., pp. 32–3.

103 Eponymously attributed (but without a source) to Auguste Comte.

104 Pearce, op.cit., 107 ff (East Germany), pp. 164–74 (India and Korea) and pp. 94–107 (China).

105 Pearce's claims are generally supported by demographers although some organisations have calculated population growth differently and anticipate increases rather than stability followed by reduction, for example, UNFPA, op.cit..

106 World Wide Fund for Nature and Global Footprint Network, *Living Planet Report 2010*, Oakland, 2010, which describes the current extent of global over-consumption and various scenarios.

107 Leela Cejnar, 'The Global Nature of Competition', *Macquarie Journal of Business Law*, 2011, pp. 202–221.

108 K Rudd, 'The Global Financial Crisis', *The Monthly*, February 2009, pp. 20–9.

109 R Skidelsky, 'Where do we go from here?', *Prospect*, 17 December 2008.

110 ibid.

111 ibid.

112 Reich, op.cit., see Chapter 3, 'Of Two Minds', pp. 88–130.

113 J Baumol et al., *Economics: Principles and Policy*, Harcourt, Sydney, 1996, p. 12; pp. 30-54; 44 ff; 118 ff.

[114] Hamilton and Denniss, *Affluenza*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2005, 187 ff, observe the basis of market economics is threatened by the common and 'irrational' decision of many people to absent themselves ('down-shifters') because 'After decades of being told we will be set free if we allow the market to do what governments once did, we are now told by the neoliberals that we may not exempt ourselves from the dictates of the market. If becoming richer means becoming unhappier, that is the price we must pay… neoliberals are looking more and more like the new oppressors', p. 186.

[115] Another example of failure in efficient market theory (that rationality guides behaviour) is high-frequency trading (HFT), or computer-based share speculation based on complex algorithms. This means rational choices do not drive markets (companies, using this system, may 'own' shares for little more than a few seconds) only mathematical hypotheses about how they 'should'. HFT has been blamed for the May 2010 'Flash Crash', where the largest fall in Dow Jones' history lasted several minutes. Technical Committee of the International Organization of Securities Commissions, *Regulatory Issues Raised by the Impact of Technological Changes on Market Integrity and Efficiency*, IOSCO, Madrid, July 2011, pp. 19–30.

[116] There is much criticism that the underpinnings of efficient-market theory are structurally and behaviourally flawed, e.g. Philip Russel and Violet Torbey, 'The Efficient Market Hypothesis on Trial: A Survey', *B>Quest: a Journal of Applied Topics in Business and Economics*, 2002; and Robert Shiller, 'From Efficient Market Theory to Behavioral Finance', Cowles Foundation Paper no. 1055, Yale University, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 17, no. 1, Winter 2003, pp. 83–104. James Crotty, in *The Realism of Assumptions Does Matter*, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, March 2011, argues against 'Milton Friedman's fundamentally flawed positivist methodology, which asserts that the realism of assumptions has no bearing on the validity of a theory'.

[117] RH Nelson, *Economics as Religion*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001, explores many of the religious origins of schools of economics (Paul Samuelson representing the 'Cambridge' Keynesian perspective); Nelson links the Chicago School with the Protestant Reformation (especially Calvinism) and its related cultural and theological tenets.

[118] J Baudrillard, *Fatal Strategies*, translated Beitchman and Niesluchowski, Pluto Press, London, 1983, p. 7.

[119] The introduction to Reich's *Supercapitalism* provides a summary of these issues, pp. 3–14.

[120] Indeed, a crisis in confidence over a normative human rights system has been partly driven by the belief that (as a primarily Western construct) it over-emphasises individualism over communitarian values – this makes it an issue that is not solely economic, but also ethical and cultural; see Michael Ignatieff, *Human Rights as Idolatry*, Tanner Lecture on Human Values, Princeton University, April 2000.

[121] Satoshi Kanazawa, *The Intelligence Paradox*, John Wiley & Sons, New Jersey, 2012, 30 ff.

[122] Quoted in Das, op.cit., p. 403.

[123] D Whyte, 'The Crimes of Neo-Liberal Rule in Occupied Iraq', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2007, pp. 177–95; and 'Hire an American! Economic Tyranny and Corruption in Iraq', *Social Justice*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2007, pp. 153–68.

[124] T Beck et.al, *Islamic vs. Conventional Banking: Business Model, Efficiency and Stability*, The World Bank, October 2010, argue that while there are many similarities (and Sharia-compliant products have been structured to function in similar ways), nevertheless, Islamic banks have performed better during the GFC due to 'higher precaution in liquidity holdings and capitalization' which suggests they are more risk-averse (which is probably what consumers ultimately need from a bank).

[125] The persistence of these disparities is a repeating theme in UNDP world reports, which argue it is only by expanding peoples' capabilities and resources to flourish that global poverty and disparities in well-being (material and human rights) can be overcome. See, for instance, the twentieth anniversary edition UNDP, *The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development*, 2010.

[126] See papers in: Working Group on Climate Change and Development, *Other Worlds are Possible*, **nef**, London, 2009; Korten, op.cit., 196 ff; R Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*. The work of independent non-government organisations are also a source of reporting on these issues, e.g. groups such as CorpWatch, <http://www.corpwatch.org/index.php> or Amnesty International, *Introduction: Annual Report 2011*, <http://www.amnesty.org/en/annualreport/2011/introduction>, M Tharin, 'The World Bank and Climate Change: Sustainability or Exploitation?', *Upside Down World*, 11 February 2009.

[127] Barry Popkin, *The World is Fat*, Penguin Group, 2009.

[128] A Sen (chair) et al., *Civil Paths to Peace*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 2007; and, Alliance of Civilizations, *Report of the High-level Group*, 13 November 2006, United Nations, New York, 2006.

[129] **nef**, *The Great Transition*, approvingly quotes Sen's observation in *Development as Freedom* that to be 'generically against markets would be almost as odd as being generically against conversations with people', in the chapter 'The Great Rebalancing', 44 ff.

[130] Externalities are impacts on a person or group (whose preferences have been overlooked) and have not been party to decisions taken by others which effect them. They can be positive or negative. A common type of negative externality is pollution. When a company supplies goods to a buyer but, during manufacture, releases toxic wastes into the environment, those people effected were not a party to the agreement between maker and buyer, hence, had no decision-making role but are obliged to live with the consequences.

[131] A continuing problem for African nations, for example, see Washington Alcott, 'The Underdevelopment of Africa by Europe', *Revealing History, Remembering Slavery*, Manchester, 2012, <http://www.revealinghistories.org.uk/africa-the-arrival-of-europeans-and-the-transatlantic-slave-trade/articles/the-underdevelopment-of-africa-by-europe.html>; and, Nuhu Lemun and Canice Erunke, 'Historical Context of the Incorporation of Africa in International Politics', *African Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2012, pp. 27–42.

[132] Skidelsky, op.cit.

[133] UN, *Global Compact: Annual Review 2010*, New York, 2011, p. 6, and *Human Rights Translated* compiled by Castan Centre for Human Rights Law, p.vii; the UN Global Compact is on p. 147.

[134] For example, the work of the Fair Trade Foundation, <http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/>.

[135] Demonstrated, for example, through work of the Diversity Council of Australia an 'independent, not-for-profit workplace diversity advisor to business', funded by corporate subscription. While DCA's focus is on all diversity (note solely that based on cultural, racial and religious difference) its success is due to recognition by business that economic benefits accrue from addressing these issues in the workplace; viewed 25 April 2012, see <http://www.dca.org.au/>.

[136] Reich, op.cit., 168 ff; G Pearse, *Greenwash*, Black Inc, 2012; Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*, 81 ff.

[137] Reich, op.cit., Chapter 4, 'Politics Diverted', pp. 168–208.

[138] T Jackson, op.cit., pp. 87–102; see also the writings of Amartya Sen, Clive Hamilton, Raj Patel, Brendan Glesson and **nef** (as a few examples), quoted repeatedly in this thesis.

[139] A famous but hard-to-source quote, see Centre for the Advancement of the Steady State Economy, Arlington, viewed 1 May 2012 <http://steadystate.org/wp-content/uploads/Quotes_Steady_State_Economy.pdf>. Boulding's remarkably prescient understanding of open and closed systems (he draws on von Bertalanffy) and ecological finiteness is, for example, outlined in his 1966 paper 'The Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth'.

[140] Quoted in Das, op.cit., p. 424.

[141] The Club of Rome, *Limits to Growth*, by DH and DL Meadows and J Randers, Universal, 1972. Ugo Bardi's, *The Limits to Growth Revisited*, Springer, New York, 2011, concludes that the earlier 'limits' modelling is generally accurate and current events appear to be following the prediction curves.

[142] T Jackson, op.cit., p. 104.

[143] Frances Fukuyama, 'The End of History?', *The National Interest*, Summer 1989, p. 4, is the often-quoted observation that what 'we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government'.

[144] For example, see reference to this political insult aimed at the Greens on the ABC Media Watch site, viewed 20 October 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/transcripts/s1198314.htm>).

[145] To borrow from Satyajit Das: *Extreme Money: the Masters of the Universe and the Cult of Risk*, op.cit.

[146] Homer-Dixon, op.cit., pp. 198–203; **nef**, *Growth Isn't Possible*, 69 ff.

[147] The estimations by Roderick Smith, Royal Academy of Engineering, Imperial College, are described in Working Group on Climate Change and Development, *Other Worlds are Possible*, p. 11.

[148] T Jackson, op.cit., 67 ff.

[149] Skidelsky, op.cit.

[150] T Jackson, op.cit., pp. 30–31; Patel, *Value of Nothing*, pp. 4–7; Das, op.cit., K Roberts, op.cit., (whose books was written just prior to these admissions) anticipates the more full confession

when he quotes Greenspan's remarks in 2007 about the failure of the system of global securitization because 'they don't work', 96 ff.

[151] R Vos, 'The Crisis of Globalisation as an Opportunity to Create a Fairer World', *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, vol. 11, no. 1, February 2010, p. 146.

[152] David Smith, 'Capitalism's Pallbearers: The Companies that Run, and Could Destroy, The Global Economy', *Economy Watch*, 2 November 2011.

[153] Patel, *Value of Nothing*, p. 13.

[154] Roeder, op.cit., pp. 30–1 and K Phillips, op.cit., 64 ff, illustrates the rapid shift in financial rewards from those involved in tangible productive work to brokerage; also Reich, op.cit.,72 ff.

[155] *Inter alia*, those quoted hitherto: K Phillips, Reich, Roeder, Das, T Jackson and Patel.

[156] T Jackson, op.cit., 123 ff. GDP is normally summarized as consumer expenditure (C), government expenditure (G), total investment in fixed capital (I), and exports minus imports (eX-I), or with the equation $E=C+G+I+(eX-i)$.

[157] **nef**, *National Accounts of Wellbeing*, 'Why we need National Accounts of Wellbeing', pp. 11–14.

[158] M Max-Neef, 'The World on a Collision Course', *Other Worlds are Possible*, **nef**, 2009, p. 24.

[159] The idea that happiness is a measurable public good has now become mainstream. Bhutan's original notion was later adopted by **nef** who developed an international measurement instrument. In Australia, the broadsheet newspapers, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, announced in late 2011 it would regularly produce updates on gross national wellbeing; viewed 12 December 2011, <http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/society-and-culture/theres-so-much-more-to-wealth-than-money-20111207-1ojbx.html>. Ed Diener (who developed an early comparative national wellbeing index in the 1990s) and Eunkook Suh, 'Measuring Quality of Life: Economic, Social, and Subjective Indicators', *Social Indicators Research*, vol. 40, 1997, pp. 189–217, discusses the origins of social indicators of wellbeing, and some of their operational strengths and weaknesses: such analyses have clearly helped informed subsequently national indices development. Predating much of this work was Richard Easterlin's research into the 'paradoxical' links between wealth and happiness, 'Does Economic Growth Improve the Human Lot? Some Empirical Evidence', P David & M Reder (eds), *Nations and Households in Economic Growth*, Academic Press, New York, 1974; Sen's work, especially as reflected in the human development reports (UNDP) further helped expand understanding of their association.

[160] For example, family and spouse-relationships at 47%, community and friends 5%, religious life 6%, although health is ranked highly at 24%. T Jackson, op.cit., 36 ff.

[161] ibid., pp. 38–47.

[162] Patel, *Value of Nothing*, pp. 35–6, although these claims are often contested, for example, see B Stevenson and J Wolfers, 'Economic Growth and Subjective Wellbeing', *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, Spring 2008.

[163] Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit., 63 ff.

[164] The notion of a hedonic treadmill is used in much of the literature on well-being and consumption (e.g., by Clive Hamilton and **nef**); it derives from research that refers to the

concept of 'hedonic adaptation' (dating from the 1970s) which assumes gains in happiness are impermanent. However, recent studies indicate 'effort and hard work offer the most promising route to happiness. In contrast, simply altering one's superficial circumstances … [for example, by purchasing culturally iconic goods] may have little lasting effect on personal well-being.' Kennon Sheldon and Sonja Lyubomirsky, 'Achieving Sustainable Gains in Happiness ', pp. 82-83, *Journal of Happiness Studies*, vol. 7, 2006, pp. 55-86.

[165] **nef**, *The (un) Happy Planet Index*, Preamble, p. 1.

[166] ibid., see the HPI results table, p. 61.

[167] A mathematical algorithm may be applicable here; although happiness sometimes increases with income, ever-more income is needed to achieve diminishing happiness. For example, if sufficient income to achieve basic needs is met, subsequently ten times the income may only double a unit of happiness, this pattern repeats itself (so that 1,000% increase in income is needed for a 400% increase in happiness, or a 10,000% increase in income for a 800% increase in happiness), see Patel, *Value of Nothing*, p. 36.

[168] H MacKay, *Advance Australia ... Where?*, Hachette, Sydney, 2008.

[169] Chris Wallace, 'Libertarian Nation by Stealth', *Griffith Review*, edition 16, 2007, describes the way Howard manipulated a reform-weary public and radically shifted social culture while dismantling much of the residual infrastructure of the old welfare state in Australia.

[170] B Phillips et al., *Prices These Days!*, AMP.NATSEM Income and Wealth Report, issue 31, Sydney, 2012.

[171] A theme echoed in Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit., and MacKay, op.cit., but also in more informal commentary, e.g. Clementine Ford, 'Real Australians Rule the Lucky Country Myth', *Drum Opinion*, ABC, 17 January 2012, <http://www.abc.net.au/unleashed/3777144.html>.

[172] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, 1921, Project Gutenberg Ebooks, 2004, Chapter XV, 'Leaders and the Rank and File'.2, observes 'while people will readily believe that in a unimagined future and in unseen places a certain policy will benefit them, the actual working out of policy follows a different logic from their opinions ... whether the consumer will pay the price depends not upon whether he now wants a new hat or a new automobile enough to pay for them', suggesting that popular attitudes to the public good, and individual greed, have changed little over almost a century.

[173] Reich, op.cit., 105 ff; see also Christine Kelly, 'Generation Threat: Why the Youth of America Are Occupying the Nation', *Logos*, vol. 10, no. 4, 2011.

[174] Discussed in Gleeson, op.cit., in particular pp. 18–59. The inequitable distribution of wealth is described in ABS, *Household Wealth and Wealth Distribution, Australia, 2009–10*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, October 2011, and The Reserve Bank of Australia, 'The Distribution of Household Wealth in Australia', Richard Finlay, *Bulletin – March Quarter 2012*, <http://www.rba.gov.au/publications/bulletin/2012/mar/3.html>.

[175] Korten, op.cit., pp. 293–4; one of the principal themes in Reich, op.cit., see Chapter 3, 'Of Two Minds', pp. 88–130. From the Australian perspective, see John Quiggin, *Economic Governance and Microeconomic Reform*, and *The Intensification of Work and the Polarisation of Labor*, University of QLD, <http://www.uq.edu.au/economics/johnquiggin/>.

[176]   Vos, op.cit., pp. 143–60.

[177]   Das, op.cit., 388 ff.

[178]   Working Group on Climate Change and Development, op.cit., p. 13.

[179]   Max-Neef, op.cit., p. 22.

[180]   'I am inclined to believe that [the stationary state of capital and wealth] … would be, on the whole, a very considerable improvement on our present condition … I am not charmed with the ideal of life held out by those who think that the normal state of human beings is that of struggling to get on; that the trampling, crushing, elbowing, and treading on each other's heels, which form the existing type of social life, are the most desirable lot of human kind, or anything but the disagreeable symptoms of one of the phases of industrial progress.' JS Mill, 'Of the Stationary State', from *The Principles of Political Economy With Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*, 1848.

[181]   **nef**, *The Great Transition*.

[182]   Working Group on Climate Change and Development, op.cit.; see also T Jackson, op.cit., 198 ff.

[183]   Garnaut, op. cit., 113 ff; UN Environment Programme, *Towards a Green Economy*, UNEP, 2011 pp. 201–36; **nef**, *Growth Isn't possible*, pp. 118–24.

[184]   Analysed by UNEP, op.cit.

[185]   For example, as reported in 'The Race Against Climate Change: How Top Companies Are Reducing Emissions of CO2 and Other Greenhouse Gases', *Bloomberg Business Week*, 12 December 2005, viewed 13 January 2011, <http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_50/b3963401.htm>.

[186]   That is, a lower total population will help lower carbon emissions; on the other hand, increases may have negative climate impacts by placing greater pressures on ecologies, water supply, food security and human safety which, in turn, will drive people-movement. UNDP, World Report, 2009, Chapter 2, 'People in motion', especially 45 ff.

[187]   R Florida, 'The Rise of the Creative Class', *Washington Monthly*, May 2002.

[188]   The World Bank, *Turn Down the Heat*, Washington, 2012, is a notable recent addition to discussion about multifarious consequences of climate change, putting economic effects within a wider perspective.

[189]   In the case of Australia, despite being a wealthy country and (at the time of writing in mid 2012) in a secure financial condition, conservative politicians keeping arguing that 'now' is not the time to introduce a price on carbon-based pollution; for an example of commentary see Bernard Keane, 'When's a Good Time to Introduce a Great Big New Tax?', *Crikey*, 5 June 2012.

[190]   Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, Chapter 7, 'Glycerine Rex', pp. 165–214.

[191]   'Globally, ruminant livestock produce about 80 million metric tons of methane annually, accounting for about 28% of global methane emissions from human-related activities. An adult cow emits approximately 80–110 kg of methane, with about 1.2 billion large ruminants in the world, ruminants are one of the largest methane sources'. US Environmental Protection Agency, *Ruminant Livestock, Frequent Questions*, viewed 4 December 2011, <http://www.epa.gov/rlep/faq.html>.

192   Brand, op.cit., pp. 18–19. Brand quotes research that indicates human agricultural development and its accompanying wide-scale forest clearing, burning and methane production probably delayed (and has done so ever since) a long-overdue period of global cooling (an ice-age).

193   Sim, op.cit., pp. 19–39.

194   Markku Oksanen, 'The Moral Value of Biodiversity', *Ambio*, vol. 26, no. 8, December 1997, pp. 541–45.

195   World Bank, *Turn Down the Heat*, 43 ff.

196   International Council on Human Rights Policy, *Climate Change and Human Rights*, ICHRP, Versoix, 2008.

197   Garnaut, op.cit., 33 ff.

198   Per capita, Australians are amongst the highest greenhouse gas emitters in the world – discussed in more detail and referenced later in this section.

199   Because of its extreme climate variability, generally poor soils, predominantly coastal-based population centres, and the likely movement of the southern annular mode (which brings rainfall in the cooler months), see the Climate Commission, *The Critical Decade*, op.cit.

200   Von Doussa was President of the Australian Human Rights Commission between 2003–08.

201   J von Doussa, 'Climate Change: Catastrophic Impacts and Human Rights', speech delivered at the University of Adelaide, AHRC, Sydney, 11 December 2007.

202   The former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

203   Mary Robinson, 'Human Rights and Climate Wrongs', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December 2008. An exception to this claim could be the heavy flooding in Pakistan in July–August 2010, which inundated much of the country, although, once the flood peak passed, the issue vanished from news reporting.

204   A concern recently validated in Oxfam, *Extreme Weather, Extreme Prices*, September 2012.

205   ibid.

206   For example, see W Sachs, *Environment and Human Rights*, especially 32 ff.

207   OHCHR and UNEP, *Human Rights and the Environment: Rio+20 Joint Report*, UNON Publishing Services, Nairobi, June 2012, 10 ff.

208   S Bettencourt et al., *Not if But When*, World Bank, Pacific Islands Country Management Unit, 2006, 26 ff.

209   Asia Pacific Forum, *Human Rights and the Environment: Final Report and Recommendations*, September 2007; the AHRC's background paper *Human Rights and Climate Change*, 2008, UNDP, *Fighting Climate Change: Human Solidarity in a Divided World*, November 2007; ICHRP, *Climate Change and Human Rights*; and the Human Rights Council's resolution 7/23, March 2008, to undertake a detailed international analysis of the relationship between human rights and climate change.

210   A Dupont et al., *Climate Change and Security*, a Garnaut Climate Change Review report, June 2008.

211   Wright, op.cit., p. 53.

212   Charles Arthur, 'Revealed: how the smoke stacks of Europe and America have brought the world's worst drought to Africa', *The Independent*, 13 June 2002 at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/revealed-how-the-smoke-stacks-of-europe-and-america-have-brought-the-worlds-worst-drought-to-africa-645222.html>.

213   Clive Hamilton, *The Return of Dr Strangelove: The Politics of Climate Engineering as a Response to Global Warming*, June 2011.

214   Sim, op.cit., 102 ff.

215   T Jackson, op.cit., (the thesis of his book) but see especially Chapter 11, 'The Transition to a Sustainable Economy', pp. 171–85; K Phillips, op.cit., see especially Chapter 6, 'The Politics of Evasion: Dept, Finance, and Oil', pp. 154–78; Roeder, op.cit., 283 ff; C Hamilton, *Requiem For a Species*, especially Chapter 2, 'Growth Fetishism', pp. 32–65.

216   P Kingsnorth, in an on-line dialogue with George Monbiot, 'Is There Any Point in Fighting to Stave Off Industrial Apocalypse?', *The Guardian*, 17 August 2009.

217   'Neo-liberals in government also become notoriously reluctant to identify and respond to instances of market failure. Climate change is a potent example. What Sir Nicholas Stern legitimately describes as the greatest market failure in human history is dismissed by neo-liberals as a prescription for wanton interference in market forces.' Rudd, op.cit., p. 23.

218   Although corporate social responsibility is a fraught matter; Reich, op.cit., pp. 168–208, argues it is a diversion: corporations should not be expected to be 'responsible' (in the charitable meaning), just to act lawfully. Excessive reliance by politicians on CSR is a form of democratic failure and avoidance of governance responsibility.

219   T Jackson, op.cit., 143 ff.

220   C Hamilton, *Requiem For a Species*, pp. 77–84.

221   UNEP, op.cit., 'Introduction: Setting the stage for a green economy transition', p. 14.

222   Repeatedly in *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* (The Gay Science) and subsequently *Also sprach Zarathustra*, 1885, 'That which was the holiest and mightiest of all that the world has yet possessed has bled to death under our knives. Who will wipe this blood off us? With what water could we purify ourselves? What festivals of atonement, what sacred games shall we need to invent? Is not the greatness of this deed too great for us? Must we not ourselves become gods simply to be worthy of it?' Friederich Nietzsche, s.125 ('The Madman', 1882).

223   G Bouma et al., *Religion, Cultural Diversity and Safeguarding Australia*, DIaC, Canberra, 2004, p. 6.

224   Micklethwait and Wooldridge, op.cit., p. 21; p. 12.

225   The sustained critique of religion has included George Smith's *Atheism: The Case Against God*, Prometheus Books, 1979; Sam Harris, *The End of Faith,* WW Norton & Co., 2004; Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion*, Houghton Mifflin, 2006; Christopher Hitchens, *God Is Not Great*, Atlantic Books, 2007; and Daniel Dennett, *Breaking the Spell*, Penguin, 2006.

226   Approximately 16% of the world's population regard themselves as not religious (atheist, agnostic, humanist etc), 32.5% identify as Christian, 21.5% Muslim, 13% Hindu, 5.5% Buddhist, about 13% an array of smaller faiths. However, it is difficult to be certain about this

data which is fluid, and often skewed by individuals identifying with more than one belief category, see <http://www.adherents.com/> viewed 15 August 2011.

[227] Kanazawa, op.cit., p. 87.

[228] Michael Sheehan, 'The Changing Character of War', J Baylis, S Smith & P Owens (eds), *The Globalisation of World Politics*, OUP, 2011.

[229] A controversy that has persisted for millennia. Although resolved (briefly) by the Concordat of Worms in 1122, the contest between secular and spiritual realms of power continued; for example, famously, with Henry VIII's *Acts of Supremacy* in the early sixteenth century. More recently distinctions between church and state (or certainly the notion of no state interference) is covered by the First Amendment of the US Constitution which guarantees free exercise of religion, this is mirrored in s.116 of the Australian Constitution and are the bases for US and Australian claims that the state has no role in religious affairs. However, the matter is not so simple given the ways governments and religious institutions have, for example, cooperated around the delivery of human services. See T Calma and C Gershevitch, op.cit., 8 ff.

[230] Appleby, op.cit., Chapter 3, 'Violence as a Sacred Duty', pp. 81–120.

[231] The notion of 'perverted' religion has been used to explain the reason why recruits can be inculcated by terrorist networks to commit atrocities (G Bouma et al., *Religion, Cultural Diversity and Safeguarding Australia*, p. 105) as well as an apology for misdemeanours of co-religionists (e.g. Ameer Ali, 'Islam: A Multicultural Faith', *Australia mosaic*, issue 2, August 2003, pp. 9–10); it was the desire to co-opt religious leaders in the local Australian 'war on terror' that inspired the Howard Government's investment in the *National Action Plan to Build on Social Cohesion Harmony and Security* (see Appendix A1.1). An analysis of the misunderstandings around religion, terror and extremism is found in Adrian Pabst, 'Unholy War and Just Peace', *Politics and Religion*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2009, pp. 209–32; see also Desmond Cahill, *Paradise Lost: Religion, Cultural Diversity and Social Cohesion in Australia and Across the World*, National Europe Centre Paper no.79, University of Sydney, February 2003.

[232] Economic enticements may lead to a form of corruption from the original ideal that inspires a terrorist network and which may signify its decline, D Wright-Neville, 'Terrorism's Elusive Character', *Australian mosaic*, vol. 3, Winter 2003, pp. 5–8.

[233] The motivations and connections are not binary and I do not wish to give this impression. Berman, op.cit., 54 ff, provides a useful account of the complex web around Ba'athism (and its origins in both Nazism and socialism), Pan-Arabic nationalism, and its claims of Islamist credentials.

[234] Michael Dibdin, from his novel, *Dead Lagoon*, quoted in Huntington, op.cit., p. 20.

[235] ibid.

[236] ibid., p. 258.

[237] Korten, op.cit., 194 ff.

[238] ibid., p. 258.

[239] E Said, *Orientalism*, Vintage Books, New York, 2003, p. 302.

[240] ibid., p. xxvii.

[241] Alliance of Civilizations, op.cit., p. 3.

[242] ibid., p. 5.

[243] ibid., p. 19.

[244] ibid.

[245] Skelton & Allen (eds), op. cit.; Christine Fletcher (ed), *Equity and Development Across Nations*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney 1996; Sen, *Development as Freedom*, A Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*; Melinda Jones & Peter Kriesler, *Globalisation, Human Rights and Civil Society*, Prospect, Sydney, 1998.

[246] Aslan, op.cit., 18 ff.

[247] This distinction between community and society was first made by Ferdinand Toennies in the 1880s, see S Brint, '*Gemeinschaft* Revisited: A Critique and Reconstruction of the Community Concept', *Sociological Theory*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2001, pp. 1–23, or J Coleman, 'A Rational Construction of Society', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 58, no. 1, 1993, pp. 1–15.

[248] As outlined in the conference *Religion, Politics and the Post-secular City*, University of Groningen, 12–15 November 2008, viewed 25 April 2012, <http://www.rug.nl/let/onderzoek/ onderzoekinstituten/icog/tekstenactiviteitenkalender/2008-11-12_15-PostSecularCityCon ferenceProgrammev06.pdf>.

[249] Mark Juergensmeyer, *Global Rebellion*, University of California Press, 2008.

[250] G Bouma, *Being Faithful in Diversity*, ATF Press, Adelaide, 2011, pp. 36–8, calls this 'competitive piety'.

[251] In the case of Christianity, for example, J Wallis, *God's Politics*, Lion Hudson plc, Oxford, 2006, Part III, 'Spiritual Values and International Relations: When Did Jesus Become Pro-War?' pp. 87–208, contests (on both moral and theological grounds) much of the conservative Christian endorsement in the US of warfare in the Middle East; B Zwartz 'Anglican Leader and Pell in Bitter Row Over Climate', *The Age*, 25 October 2007 (<http://www.theage.com.au/news/ national/anglican-leader-and-pell-in-bitter-row-over-climate/2007/10/24/1192941151827.html>) reports the disagreement over climate change between leading Australian Anglican and Catholic clerics, see also Bishop G Browning, the Convenor of the Anglican Communion Environment Network, 'Christian Responses to Climate Change and Other Environmental Issues', Oxford University, August 2009 and the *Lima Statement and Action Plan*, Peru, August 2011

[252] Micklethwait and Wooldridge, op.cit., 354 ff.

[253] C Rittner (ed), *Genocide in Rwanda: Complicity of the Churches?*, Paragon House, Minnesota, 2004

[254] J Kritzinger, *The Rwandan Tragedy as Public Indictment Against Christian Mission*, 1996, at <http://www.reocities.com/missionalia/rwanda1.htm>.

[255] Berman op.cit., 103 ff; Aslan, op.cit., see Part Two, 'God is a Man of War', pp. 61–125.

[256] iCoCo, *Young People and Extremism*, Institute of Community Cohesion, Coventry, October 2007, 2.2 'Identification of Influencing Factors', pp. 8–11.

[257] Aslan, op.cit., 166 ff, argues that the best remedy to end endless cosmic conflicts is through the democratisation of states where radicalisation is most likely to develop.

258 Appleby, op.cit., especially part II on religious peace-building, 207 ff; see also I Silberman, 'Religious Violence, Terrorism, and Peace: A Meaning-System Analysis', in R Paloutzian and C Park (eds), *Handbook Of The Psychology Of Religion And Spirituality*, Guilford Press, New York, 2005, pp. 529–64, who follows a similar argument to Appleby.

259 Appleby, op.cit., p. 10.

260 ibid., p. 245.

261 A view most commonly held from the left-wing wing perspective, for example, see Prabhat Patnaik, 'A Left Approach to Development', *Economic & Political Weekly*, vol. XLV, no. 30, 24 July 2010, pp. 33–37; and Dominique Clément, '"I Believe in Human Rights, Not Women's Rights"', *Radical History Review*, issue 101, Spring 2008, pp. 107–129.

262 Fekete, op.cit., see 'Introduction', 44 ff and 135 ff.

263 Although article 5(d)(vii) does mention 'freedom of thought, conscience and religion' this is the context that such civil and political rights will not be withheld on the basis of race, nationality or ethnicity. Discrimination on the basis of holding a particular thought or religion is not – a subtle distinction. UN, *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (ICERD) 1965.

264 ibid., see also World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, *Declaration and Programme of Action*, United Nations Department of Public Information, New York, 2002.

265 Egon Schwelb, 'The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination', *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 15, issue 4, October 1996, pp. 996–1068.

266 There is, however, a non-binding soft-law: the *Religion Declaration*, see Section 4.2. In recent years, many GAR and UN agency declarations and conventions have attempted to redress this omission by referring to the fundamental right of belief and the rejection of religious discrimination in preambles.

267 As Aslan describes it in the title of his book: *How to Win a Cosmic War*. On p. 5 Aslan describes this as 'a religious war. It is a conflict in which God is believed to be directly engaged on one side over the other. Unlike a holy war – an earthly battle between rival religious groups – a cosmic war is like a ritual drama in which participants act out on earth a battle they believe is actually taking place in the heavens.' This term, however, was used earlier, see Juergensmeyer, op.cit., 212 ff.

268 Christopher Layne, 'Who Lost Iraq and Why it Matters', *World Policy Journal*, Fall 2007, pp. 38–52.

269 J Stiglitz and L Bilmes, 'The Three Trillion Dollar War', *The Sunday Times*, 23 February 2008.

270 One of Osama Bin Laden's goals of the 9/11 attack was to lead the USA to bankruptcy, argues Ross Gittins, 'A Vast Cost in Feeling Just a Little More Secure', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 September 2011.

271 P H Liotta, 'Boomerang Effect', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 33, no. 4, December 2002, p. 473-88, looks at the diversionary problems of the 9/11 response and the consequences of neglecting

emerging security problems such as climate change.

[272] Tim Fernholz and Jim Tankersley, 'The Cost of Bin Laden: $3 Trillion Over 15 Years', *The Atlantic*, 7 May 2011, http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2011/05/the-cost-of-bin-laden-3-trillion-over-15-years/238517/, argue that (unlike previous outlays to address public enemies) the economic benefits of pursuing Bin Laden have been non-existent.

[273] Australian Government, *First National Security Statement to the Australian Parliament*, address by the Prime Minister, the Hon Kevin Rudd, 4 December 2008.

[274] A term coined after the London public transport bombings of 7 July 2005 (known as the 7/7 terrorist attack) in which 52 people died, and subsequently, the attempted attacks in 2007, when it was realised that born and bred ('home grown') individuals had been inspired to commit these acts against fellow British citizens; see A Bergin et al., *Beyond Belief*, ASPI, Canberra, September 2007, especially 6 ff.

[275] ASIO, *Annual Report to Parliament, 2010–11*, Canberra, 2011, p. 7 warns of risks from the extreme right.

[276] Sen (Chair), *Civil Paths to Peace*, pp. 17–20.

[277] Although contested by some, for example, A Burke in *Fear of Security*, Chapter 6, 'The Wages of Terror 2001–07', Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2008, pp. 207–33.

[278] Appleby, op.cit., see 'Violence as a Sacred Duty: Patterns of Religious Extremism', 81 ff.

[279] The case of neo-Nazi, Anders Breivik, who killed 77 people in terrorist attacks in Norway in July 2011 on the grounds he was concerned about Muslims overrunning Europe, provides a rare opportunity to examine the sanity of a terrorist. The psychiatric reports conflict over his sanity, illustrating the diagnostic and ethical complexities associated with such analysis. Luke Harding, 'Anders Behring Breivik Says Questions Over Sanity Part of Plot to Discredit Him', *The Guardian*, 23 April 2012, viewed 20 May 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/apr/23/anders-behring-breivik-sanity>.

[280] ibid., 5 ff.

[281] ibid., 165 ff. Berman also gives an extensive account of the moral foundations of Qutb, op.cit., Chapters III and IV, especially 60 ff.

[282] Carsten Bockstette, *Jihadist Terrorist Use of Strategic Communication Management Techniques*, Occasional Paper no.20, George C. Marshall European Centre for Security Studies, December 2008; see also Charles Ruby, 'The Definition of Terrorism', *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 2002, pp. 9–14 and Tomas Precht, *Home Grown Terrorism and Islamic Radicalisation in Europe*, Danish Ministry of Justice, December 2007, 18 ff.

[283] Aslan, op.cit., 133 ff; Wright-Neville et al., op.cit., 105 ff.

[284] Wright-Neville et al., op.cit., p. 34.

[285] For an explanation of 'wicked problems' see Australian Public Service Commission, *Tackling Wicked Problems*, Chapter 2, 'Characteristics of Wicked Problems', Canberra, October 2007, pp. 3–7 <http://www.apsc.gov.au/publications07/wickedproblems.pdf>.

[286] International Council on Human Rights Policy, *Talking About Terrorism*, ICHRP, Versoix, 2008.

287 NSW Council for Civil Liberties' submission, *Terrorism (Policy Powers) Amendment (Preventative Detention) Bill 2005*, 29 November 2005, one of a suite of laws introduced in the post 9/11 period severely eroding civil liberties of all citizens by extending police powers to detain suspects for up to 10 years without trial, viewed 9 May 2012, <http://www.nswccl.org.au/docs/pdf/nswatb.pdf>.

288 UK Home Office, *Counter Terrorism Powers: Reconciling Security and Liberty in an Open Society*, 2004, p. 10.

289 UN Security Council, *Resolution 1373*, 28 September 2001, viewed 2 May 2012, <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/557/43/PDF/N0155743.pdf?OpenElement>.

290 International justification for Australia's counter-terrorism laws was provided by Resolution 1373, binding on the basis of Chapter VII, UN Charter. The report on Australia's compliance, by the special rapporteur, is generally supportive, although critical in some areas (M Scheinin, *Australia: Study on Human Rights Compliance While Countering Terrorism,* United Nations, 2006). In particular, [1] the government rushed the implementation of counter-terrorism laws, problematic given Australia 'has no federal human rights legislation capable of guarding against undue limits being placed on the rights and freedoms of individuals.' Speedy introduction, and limited community consultation led to the perception the laws target Muslims; [2] extended powers of the Australian Federal Police impose disproportionate interference with liberty and could restrict lawful demonstrations; [3] there is a need for better demarcation between intelligence-gathering and criminal investigations; [4] new long-term detention powers of ASIO, and [5] lack of clarity around terms in the legislation, such as 'advocacy' of terrorism. The counter-terrorism laws concerned many, especially law and human rights experts, and several NGOs. Legally-based criticism accused the government of acting mischievously, for example, M Head, 'Counter-Terrorism Laws Threaten Democratic Rights', *Alternative Law Journal*, vol. 17, no. 3, June 2002, claimed it is 'chicanery … to argue that the legislation is needed to fight terrorism … at least 24 Acts of Parliament already specifically punish every conceivable terrorist crime, such as murder, grievous bodily harm, criminal damage, arson, conspiracy and attempt … the government is pushing ahead with measure that will, in the name of protecting liberty, overturn long-standing legal and democratic principles'.

291 Appendix A2.2

292 See the Alliance of Civilizations report; UNESCO's 2009 world report on cultural diversity, and the UNDP's 2004 world report on cultural liberty.

293 Carl Ungerer, *Risky Business: Measuring the Costs and Benefits of Counter-Terrorism* spending, ASPI, Issue 18, Canberra, November 2008.

294 AHRC, *Combating the Defamation of Religions*, by C Gershevitch, Sydney, 4 July 2008, '2.5 Australian Counter-Terrorism Legislation and its Impacts on Potential "Target" Communities', pp. 20–1.

295 This is based on the estimated (Commonwealth-only) expenditure on terrorism-related measures as stated in C Ungerer's 2008 report, *Risky Business*, compared with NAP funding over the same period.

296 See also Section 3.6.

[297] J Fear, *Under the Radar*, The Australia Institute, Discussion Paper no. 96, Canberra, September 2007, 31 ff; P Manning, *Us and Them*, Random House, Sydney, 2006, 33 ff; AHRC, *Ismaʕ*, and more recently S Yasmeen, *Understanding Muslim Identities* 50 ff. Richard Jackson also offers a good summary of the way the discourse on 'Islamic terrorism' has been misleading and damaging, in *Religion, Politics And Terrorism*, Centre For International Politics Working Paper Series no. 21, University of Manchester, October 2006.

[298] Increasing Euro-zone security is leading to a reduction in trust between governments and Muslim communities, Fekete op.cit., p. 53.

[299] Countries such as Germany that focused only on immigration instead of multicultural policy now face a range of related domestic social problems, for example, see F Eckardt, 'Multiculturalism in Germany: From Idealism to Pragmatism and Back?', *National Identities*, vol. 9, no. 3, September 2007, pp. 235–45.

[300] T Modood, *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2007, p. 138.

[301] Advocated by Said since the 1970s, he raises this in the 2003 edition of *Orientalism*; since his death these concerns have been voiced by others; for example, Manning, *Us and Them*, p. 37 (who notes that: 'orientalism, as defined by Edward Said, [is] alive and well in …daily newspapers of Australia's biggest city'); Iain Lygo, *News Overboard*, Southerly Change Media, 2004, pp. 4–33; L Jacka and L Green (eds), *The New 'Others': Media and Society Post-September 11*, Media International Australia, no. 109, November 2003. It is also a concern raised by the Alliance of Civilizations, op.cit., pp. 30–1, pp. 40–2, and in Sen (chair), *Civil Paths to Peace*, 55 ff.

[302] Burleigh, op.cit., 346 ff.

[303] John Esposito and Dalia Mogahed, *Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think*, Gallup Press, 2007, see especially Chapter 1, 'Who Are Muslims?', pp. 1–28.

[304] Burleigh, op.cit., 396 ff; and Berman, op.cit., 'The Politics of Slaughter', 108 ff.

[305] Said, *Covering Islam*, 162 ff; Manning, *Us and Them*, 13 ff.

[306] Discussed in J Jones, *Report on Antisemitism in Australia*, 30 September 2008.

[307] See the ASIO op.cit., Section 1, 'The Security Environment 2010–11 and Outlook', pp. 3–8.

[308] Wallis, op.cit.

[309] Clements, *Violence is the Problem: Creative Non-Violence is the Answer*, pp. 6–8.

[310] Korten, op.cit., 196 ff, argues the USA has never been a true democracy. Its history (prior to, during and subsequent to the American Revolution) has favoured privilege; indeed, its constitution, institutions and social construction was, at inception, designed and maintained by an oligarchy which has pursued an imperial vision of *pax americana*. See especially Part III, pp. 159–250.

[311] Clements, op.cit.

[312] Berman cites, amongst others, the example of the anti-war socialists in pre-war France who, in the name of liberal principles, rebelled against their leader (Léon Blum, who was urging defensive measures against the Nazis) but ended up colluding with the Pétain Vichy government under occupation, Berman, op.cit., see Chapter VI, 'Wishful Thinking', 121 ff.

313   ibid., p. 46.

314   Lyon and Leah, op.cit., pp. 3.

315   ibid., 4 ff.

316   ibid., p. 20.

317   ibid., pp. 17–20.

318   Aslan, op.cit., Chapter 7, 'The Middle Ground', pp.161–176.

319   A Krueger and J Maleckova argue there are no clear links between personal wealth and terrorism in *Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?* Also see Lyon & Leach, op.cit., p. 20.

320   C Dishman, 'The Leaderless Nexus', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 28, issue 3, 2005, pp. 237–52; the process of independent functioning is been described by D Passig and A Hasgal as a complex adaptive system, one which can be countered (controversially) by using a similar adaptive approach; see 'Terror Cells as Complex Adaptive Systems and How to Overcome their Advantages', *Vanola*, Israel, (undated) <http://sites.google.com/site/vanola/alo ns-areas-of-knowledge/mrkwt-mstglwt-wrgwny-trwr/terror-cells-as-complex-adaptive-systems>.

321   Since 2005 this has been noted, *inter alia*, in the UN Counter-Terrorism strategy, Alliance of Civilizations', op.cit., UNESCO World Report, 2009, and Commonwealth of Nation's *Civil Paths to Peace.*

322   The conference was hosted by the UN Inter-regional Crime and Justice Research Institute. See <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=29632>, viewed 25 November 2011.

323   The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, adopted in September 2006. The strategy comprises a resolution and plan of action (A/RES/60/288) and aims to improve national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. The action plan is divided into four areas: to [I] address conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, [II] prevent and combat terrorism, [III] build countries' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the UN, and [IV] ensure respect for human rights and rule of law as the fundamental basis in the fight against terrorism, see <http://www.un.org/terrorism/strategy-counter-terrorism.shtml> viewed 25 November 2011.

324   D Wright-Neville et al., *Counter-Terrorism Policing and Culturally Diverse Communities*, Monash University, Melbourne, 2007.

325   ibid., pp. 34–5.

326   D Helly, 'Breakdown in Legitimacy? Immigration, Security, Social Cohesion and Nativism', *Metropolis*, Canada, September 2008, pp. 32–5.

327   ibid.

328   Wright-Neville et al., op.cit., p. 108.

329   ibid., p. xii; see also D Wanless, *Securing Our Future Health*, HM Treasury, London, 2002, p.47; and J Catford, 'Advancing the "Science of Delivery" of Health Promotion', *Health Promotion International*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2009, pp. 1–5.

330   The approach used in the Community Partnership for Human Rights Program, see Appendix

A1.1.

[331] Chatham House and Global Terrorism Research Centre, *Globalisation's New Challenge*, 2007, p. 20.

[332] For example, Climate Commission, op.cit.; World Bank, *Turn Down the Heat*; CSIRO, *Climate Change: Science and Solutions for Australia*, June CSIRO Publishing, 2011.

[333] ibid.; Jane Jacobs, *Dark Age Ahead*, Random House, New York, 2004 argues there is an optimistic assumption that, when things are bad, a beneficial pendulum will result in a corrective stabilization of a major problem, but 'powerful persons or groups that find it in their interests to prevent adaptive corrections have many ways of thwarting self-organizing stabilizers … or circumstances may have allowed cultural destruction to drift to a point where the jolts of correction appear more menacing than downward drift.' pp. 21–2.

[334] C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*, pp. 95–7.

[335] Wright, op.cit., p. 123.

[336] Sim, op.cit., 159 ff (dealing with global trade); T Jackson, op.cit., 187 ff (discussing economics); C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*, 128 ff (regarding climate change adaptation); Gleeson, op.cit., 182 ff (on sustainable cities).

[337] A form of population-level cognitive dissonance, or 'bulverism' (an argument based on the assumption that a position is false); C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*, 97 ff.

[338] Korten op.cit., see Chapter 7, 126 ff.

[339] To use a term borrowed from Jacobs' book (op.cit.)

[3] A CIVIL SOCIETY?

It is often just assumed that 'civil society' is a desirable social condition, however, it is neither easy to define civil society, nor is it clear what the role of its institutions should be, nor its viability given the many pressures it faces. Do we mean global, national, local or virtual societies or, collectively, all organisations that do not represent institutions of state or capital? What some may regard as civility, others may view differently; on this basis, how do we decide what comprises 'civility'?[1]

Ideas and ideals about society have been the subject of debate for millennia. The first systematic analysis of the state in the Western intellectual tradition was by the Greek philosopher Plato in the fifth century BC; he described the just society as one where people dedicate themselves to the common good and practice virtues of wisdom, courage, moderation and justice.[2] Some of his prescriptions are still valid; others less so. Although many classical authors discussed the nature of the state, much of their effort focused on governance (particularly constitutional formations) and human agency as civic obligation rather than as self-realisation. This clearly reflects the socio-political context, in particular, of the Roman imperium: free will and the notion of a social contract were underdeveloped, irrelevant, or found only in elite philosophical reflections.[3] From the Renaissance, the literature again flourished, with an interest in how the state is structured and authority exercised (e.g. Guicciardini and Machiavelli in Italy and, a century and a half later, Hobbes in England); debate continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as absolutist regimes declined, the middle-classes expanded and revolutionary movements grew.[4] However, from the late nineteenth century, there was less interest in the concept of civil society because social sciences tended to focus on a two-sector world: the free market (particularly liberalism) on one hand, and the state (nationalism and variations of totalitarianism) on the other. Indeed, many of the ideological conflicts of the twentieth century – such as between communism and Nazism, or Marxism and capitalism – were between two systems even though they often overlapped or hybridised. Only in recent decades has the idea of a third sector – an additional system to the market and state, representing the interests of civil society – been recognised.[5]

This period of neglect has not helped develop an understanding of how societies and economies interact. The many responses to narrow two-sector thinking – such as

cosmopolitanism, cultural democracy or capabilities – illustrate attempts to locate culture, human rights and social justice as foundational principles upon which to build more inclusive communities. The Centre for Civil Society describes the third sector as the domain of 'uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values', with institutional forms different from those of the market and government, although with boundaries that are often blurred and embracing 'a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power'.[6]

Third-sector organisations vary in size and activity and include, for example, sporting clubs, community associations, chambers of commerce, churches, trade unions, professional associations and welfare organisations. Robert Putnam argues that non-political organisations are vital for democracy because they add to social capital, helping to bind connections within society, although their representativeness and the purported benefits to democracy have been questioned, especially when civil-society institutions attempt to exert political influence.[7] However, both Putnam and John Ralston Saul argue, this critique of civil-society institutions is problematic.[8] More recently, even some conservatives have advocated a revitalisation of community (effectively the third-sector), what Phillip Blond and David Cameron call 'big society'.[9]

In Australia, many components of civil society are far from healthy, despite denials from conventional political quarters.[10] Although the realms of civil-society activism may seem (or be criticised as) idealistic, it can be argued these are vital if societies are to remain cooperative and resilient; there are strong grounds to claim that the tangible and intangible structures that shape societies are essential for human adaptation, even if they occasionally precipitate conflicts. This is a 'fork in the road' issue that may divide people on perceived biases or belief, for example, that advocacy may smack of eco-socialism, religious bias or 'class warfare'. I submit it will be civil societies – built on foundations of equitable governance, accountable institutions, global ethics, cooperative behaviour and mutual respect – that will support a sustainable future worth living in, even if often noisy and confusing. The alternative – surrendering to collective incivility – will not. Because societies are complex adaptive systems, highly integrated, energy and resource dependent, those that are rigid and persist with old paradigms will be incapable of change and susceptible to violence and fragmentation. They will self-select for failure in potential periods of contingency, such as synchronous collapse.[11]

In this chapter, some elements of civil society are examined. This includes how humans self-perceive, function, flourish, and relate to each other; how government policies often respond to an increasingly complex, unpredictable world; how societies reflect and communicate; and how existing frameworks – such as human rights – are essential prerequisites for healthy societies.

3.1 BEING HUMAN

Humans are an evolved organic life form. Taxonomically, we belong to the kingdom Animalia, the phylum Chordata, the class Mammalia, and the order Primate (a classification we share with apes). A human body comprises 72% water, 21% protein and 7% bone minerals. Chemically, this usually constitutes oxygen (61.4%), carbon (22.8%), hydrogen (10%), nitrogen (2.6%) and calcium (1.4%), which together account for approximately 98.2% of the body's composition. The remainder forms a cocktail of trace elements, including phosphorous, potassium, sulphur, silicon, magnesium, zinc – even mercury and arsenic.[12]

While this mix may not vary greatly from the chemistry of many other chordates, in some ways humans are markedly different to other life forms. Our species combines a highly social nature, relatively high intelligence, manual prehension (allowing fine-motor skills) and an adaptive flexibility to changing environmental conditions. Within a short geological timeframe, these qualities have allowed humans to multiply rapidly and, through our mastery of technologies harnessed from various energy sources, to change the architecture of our planet's ecology, meteorology and geography.[13] Although a single species, humans are physiologically diverse. The old anthropological differentiations of race are now contested, because they have often been used to denote intellectual or other forms of inferiority between visibly different groups. Nevertheless, based on ancestry – particularly long histories in defined geographical locations – humans illustrate significant range in eyes; body hair; skin colour; height; fat- to-body-mass ratio; life expectancy; response to consumed food, stimulants and medications; and vulnerability to differing illnesses.[14] Yet, humans are classified as a single species: we successfully reproduce across races, share the same genome, and have a common evolutionary history and, therefore, similar behavioural, social, cognitive and ethical traits.[15]

For most of our history, humans have functioned as hunter-gatherers in small mobile social groups. Early erect hominids, such as *Australopithecus*, originally came from north-eastern Africa. It is now believed modern man, *Homo sapiens*, separated from a common ancestor approximately 200,000 BP (before present) and, from circa 70,000 BP, slowly spread out of Africa.[16] Some regions, such as Australia, were quickly colonised, others more recently, with the southern Americas and New Zealand occupied within the last 15,000 years.[17] In some regions, early agrarian settlements began circa 10,000 BP[18] with large and complex urban centres established approximately 5,000 years ago in locations such as Mesopotamia and Egypt. Only then were written forms of communication invented, giving us a partial record of human activities and individuals we can name, stretching back to approximately 3,000 BC. This means the norms of human life, as we commonly know it, represent only a fraction of our history. Because of our relative longevity, humans have been shaped more by culture than by physiological evolution over this time, and our intelligence has not kept pace with increasing technological sophistication.[19]

If we consider recent events in human development (the last 6,000 years) as the percentage of time when we were human, *and* a tiny proportion of us lived in a recognisably settled community with some social and technical specialisation, this represents approximately 3% of our species' history. For the remaining 97%, *Homo sapiens* were nomadic foragers living in extended family groups, with no technology, limited communication skills, vulnerable to the exigencies of climate, disease and predation, and a life expectancy seldom exceeding 30 years.[20] Our current world civilization represents an even smaller proportion of our history. Only since the beginning of the twenty-first century, have more humans lived in cities than on the land.[21] Industry, as a carbon-powered process of mass production, has existed for scarcely two centuries. Electrical power for domestic use has been available for little more than a century, and only among the most privileged groups in the most technologically advanced nations. The efficient removal of sewage and supply of water (again in the most developed cities) has been available only since the late nineteenth century.[22] Efficient, large-scale, global distribution networks are a postwar invention.[23] Personal computers became available to wealthy people in wealthy countries in the 1980s. Modern medical care (e.g. antibiotics, mass immunisations and blood transfusions) was introduced during the lifetime of many elderly people who are still living. In short, this era

of technological and scientific progress – if measured as spanning little more than 150 years – represents only 0.075% of human history.[24]

Despite this, due to rapid population growth, many more people have experienced modernity than have not. Basic advances in material conditions in the developed world – clean water, adequate nutrition and shelter, efficient removal of human and animal faeces, and primary care – have driven the quality and longevity of life in an unprecedented way: 'civilization does not run deep in time, but it runs wide'.[25] Apart from a number of notable exceptions, most people can now expect to live in comparatively good health into their 70s and, frequently, much longer. Progress against MDGs has done much to extend these benefits to the Global South, although, as discussed in the previous chapter, the gains are relatively meagre and come with costs.

These observations merely begin to explain what it is to be human. What happened during the pre-modern 97% of our history? How were we shaped over 190,000 years, from the emergence of *Homo sapiens* to the formation of early agrarian settlements, and how – over this expanse of almost 10,000 generations – have human ethics, faith, language, culture, diet, socialisation and behaviour become genetically encoded and established? Today, as we try to envisage a sustainable future within the planet's biosphere, a failure to recognise who and what humans are means we will fail to acknowledge our collective weaknesses and the means to manage change.

In an extensive review of scientific literature, Nicholas Wade collected evidence on what he calls 'the faith instinct'.[26] Wade particularly notes the apparent interdependence and concurrence in the development of language, music, dance and religion. Indeed, language – that most distinct of culture markers – is almost certainly to have been the last of these human inventions. Musical expressions and a shared sense of belief probably predate the human ability to express abstract thought in dialogue. It would appear that music and dance – fundamental cultural expressions – meet innate emotional needs, including to bond with one's social group or clan. Solidarity helps guarantee survival, with accepted practices and understandings about what is 'right' and 'wrong' within the social group also forming part of an axiological foundation that could be regarded as being essentially religious. This understanding of human social evolution helps to explain the co-dependency of religion and culture. This co-dependency provided the scope for individual creativity (the origins of

'the arts'), the transmission of religious and cultural knowledge, the relationship between human survival and the natural ecology, and the *sine qua non* of creativity and culture to human identity and communal survival.

Drawing on anthropological data about remnant ancient social groupings, Wade describes how humans have functioned as collectives and pre-morals, evident in some primates, eventually grew into complex ethical systems. As this occurred, rituals based on cultural practices and beliefs helped strengthen group cohesion. Although elaborate ritualised behaviour comes with enormous opportunity costs in effort and time (which could be spent gathering food, for example), it bestows significant natural-selection advantages to a group. Within the pre-modern community, the intensity of internal bonding and support was matched only by an antagonism towards external (competing) communities. Such dichotomous behaviour reflects the necessities of survival: when living in an uncertain and violent world, the stronger a group's bonding, the greater the likelihood it would *collectively* survive.[27] This offers an insight into the evolution of religion; it also explains why humans are tribal. As a species, we instinctively wish to belong to one or more groups – Brewer's notion of optimal distinctiveness[28] – helping to reinforce and shape individual identity and give meaning to peoples' lives. For participants in communal activities, bonding has benefits, including health benefits. In its extreme forms, however, the need for belonging can become toxic. It can be expressed, for example, through crimes of race-hate, terrorism or mob violence. This explains, from an evidence-based anthropological perspective, why humans are capable of enormous self-sacrifice, collective action and compassion, as well as cruelty and selfishness.[29] Our long evolutionary history has hard-wired us with these instinctive behaviours, as Ronald Wright observes:

> we are at best the heirs of many ruthless victories and at worst of genocide. We may well be descended from humans who repeatedly exterminated rival humans – culminating in the suspicious death of our Neanderthal cousins some 30,000 years ago.[30]

Moving inside the structure of the pre-modern community provides further insight into humanness, helping to account for individual (rather than group) behaviours. Geoffrey Miller, an evolutionary psychologist, explains this primarily in terms of establishing reproductive opportunities. He argues that most behaviour represents forms of trait-display to competitor-peers for power or pairing. His interest is to understand the drivers of

contemporary narcissistic consumption, which has its own (evolutionary) logic but not necessarily (economic) rationality. He argues that each decision we take to consume – whether food, clothes, education, media or leisure – is driven by instinctive needs to display and act as a form of marker, broadcasting direct or indirect messages to demonstrate belonging or to attract, reject, impress or dominate others.[31] The extent to which, and how, humans manifest trait-display choices are determined by personality. Miller's definition of personality is drawn from behavioural psychology, which identifies only six general characteristics, or universal qualities, that transcend culture, time, age, gender and other variables. Because these attributes can manifest themselves in differing patterns and in varying degree across individuals, this model actually includes 171 differing personality-types. Along with general intelligence, the five primary dimensions of personality are agreeableness, openness, conscientiousness, extraversion and stability (or emotional neuroticism).

How humans are statistically spread across each of these characteristics can be plotted on a bell curve (see Figure 3.1). Using intelligence as an example: numerically, most individuals will fall in the middle of a spectrum from low to high intelligence quotas (IQ) with equally small numbers at each end. If the average level of intelligence is 100, an approximately equal number of humans will fall within the lowest IQ percentile as within the highest. Similarly, most humans will be of average agreeableness, with the bottom 1% containing an equal number of (extremely disagreeable) people as the top 1% (the exceptionally agreeable). This pattern repeats for the remaining four personality characteristics. Although personality qualities may be inherited, the big five dimensions are also environmentally determined.[32] In the same way that understanding innate human *group* behaviours helps to interpret a range of community perceptions and attitudes, knowledge of the types and distribution of *individual* behaviours is useful for understanding the drivers of personal choices.

In the way that humans have an inescapable social and behavioural legacy, shaped by evolutionary history, they also have a dietary legacy. Hunter-gatherer diets share broad similarities across the world and primarily consist of high-fibre fruit, nuts and tubers, occasionally supplemented by animal protein eaten raw or cooked.[33] Meat, like seasonal nuts, is nutritionally dense and may be high in fat, making it a valuable source of energy. Sweet foods, such as honey or ripe fruit, are relatively scarce in the natural world and are

prized for taste, enjoyment and as an energy source. Generally, humans have instinctive cravings, and feel a sense of satiation when they consume meat, fatty salty and sweet rich foods.[34] Of course, hunter-gatherers spend a considerable amount of time and exert much effort collecting their food. This maintains high levels of physical fitness and low levels of body fat in a way now rare for most people. Although evolutionarily determined optimal food varieties still comprise part of our diets, humans supplement their nutritional intake in many ways. Most foodstuffs now commonly consumed were rarely or never eaten by *Homo sapiens* before the agrarian revolution. Although wholemeal grains typically provide healthy additions to diet, they can be harmful to some people by causing a range of gastric complaints. However, processed grains, especially those genetically modified (for example, to boost gluten content) offer limited health benefits. When low-fibre, high-carbohydrate foods are combined with humans' innate consumption preferences, the results can be detrimental, especially when they comprise a large percentage of diet. These goods, which dominate contemporary food production and distribution – deliberately fortified with trans-fats, corn syrup, sodium, other preservatives and chemical flavour enhancers – are escalating obesity rates across the world.[35] Global food distribution and fast food chains capitalise on our taste vulnerabilities and, increasingly, produce unsustainably vast quantities of toxic foodstuffs, enhanced to improve shelf life, texture and taste appeal, cheap to purchase (in the short term), and detrimental to health when overconsumed.[36]
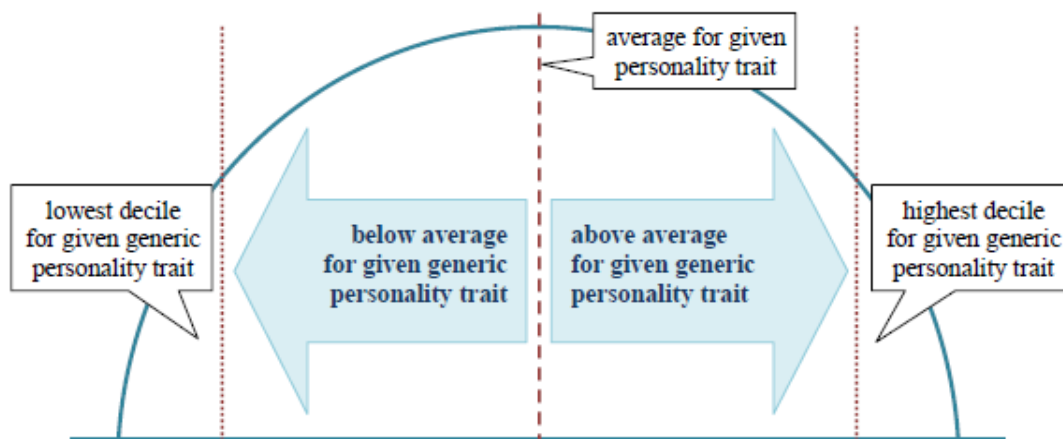

Figure 3.1: Bell curve illustrating the distribution of human personality traits.
These can be applied to each of the qualities of intelligence, stability,
agreeableness, openness, conscientiousness and extraversion.

Given contemporary lifestyles, this form of processed food is perfectly designed and cleverly marketed to guarantee high levels of consumption. In a free society with a

demand-driven economy, the purchase of such commodities is a matter of individual choice. Unfortunately, at the population level, these choices have costs. Modified, commodified and overabundant foods that exploit inherent taste preferences, and are consumed in tandem with sedentary lifestyles, are pincer movements against human health and well-being.[37] They represent a package of factors that are directly escalating chronic disease in developed countries such as Australia, where, as in many other parts of the world, knowledge about nutrition and the availability and affordability of healthy food is a matter of equity, reflecting broader socio-economic segmentation.[38] Indeed, in this context, it is legitimate to ask whether, based on information and income, consumers do have genuine free choices. As Richard Wilkinson and Michael Marmot observe, 'because global market forces control the food supply, healthy food is a political issue'.[39] There are also justice and environmental concerns when corporations, driven by market forces, use competition knowledge and promotional advantages to exploit the poor in both developed and developing nations.[40] The price of a fast-food hamburger is an example where, factoring in all the negative externalities (such as soil and water degradation, deforestation, pesticide contamination, greenhouse gas emissions, employee exploitation and public health costs) a US$5 Happy Meal costs, in real terms, more than US$200: an unhappy price that will need to be paid in full at some future time.[41] As Patel argues in his study of industrial-scale agriculture, with its global supply chains and marketing controlled by the corporate food oligopoly: in the interests of profit, it makes people sick, destroys the environment, gouges producers and assaults civil liberties. Agreeing with Wilkinson and Marmot on the food system's political dimensions, Patel says that calls for food sovereignty are also calls to action over the 'poverty caused by the food system at both ends, rural and urban, in poor neighbourhoods across the planet. For what happens in the fields and in the cities is intimately connected and is ... part of the same problem'.[42] Among the solutions proposed is greater community ownership and community production of food. The 'greening' of urban landscapes is not only about health; self-determination and contesting corporate systems of production are also about long-term environmental sustainability and food security.

For those holding religious beliefs, the mind–body divide is also a distinctive human quality. While there are known and measurable links between spiritual or religious beliefs and human psychological and somatic (physical) conditions, this is different from asserting

that being human is to have an immortal soul.[43] Atheists believe this is a matter of unverifiable opinion, and should not be regarded as a defining aspect of humanity. However, what is distinctive are near-universal beliefs about such matters,[44] which, as already noted, are culturally based and critical to issues of rights, agency, determination and peace-building. Therefore, humans can also be defined on ethical grounds. Ethics has been a domain of philosophical enquiry and religious teaching for millennia. More often than not, there are disagreements about what it is to be human, the nature of the social contract, proper conduct, free will, the afterlife, existence, matter, divinity and infinity. Although much is disputed, there is frequently agreement, with religions sharing many ethical principles. This is the subject of continuing interreligious and interdisciplinary dialogues, across faiths and cultures, exploring notions such as global ethics, interdenominationalism and cosmopolitanism. No universal morality is accepted: the closest agreement to a human-centred value system is that of human rights.

The particular points I wish to reiterate are the importance of culture and belonging as shapers of identity – to be human is to be cultural and social – and, other than behaving collectively, equally important is the lived environment. Associations between the physical world, individual capabilities, functionings and cultural constructions, are all necessary ingredients of being human.

3.2 BEING FREE

There is a wistful or perhaps resentful saying: youth is wasted on the young. As with such platitudes, it contains an element of truth. Equally, it might be argued, freedom is wasted on the free. Freedoms – such as those of assembly, speech and expression – are often taken for granted in liberal democracies and, because most people *believe* they are free, consider they know what freedom is without thinking much about it. However, freedom has meanings seldom considered by those who live in 'free' societies. Two centuries ago, Arthur Schopenhauer reflected on the false assumption that, at any moment, a person can commence another manner of life. Yet, people are often astonished to discover they are 'not free, but subjected to necessity' and from the beginning to the end of life 'must carry out the very character which he himself condemns'.[45]

Although the philosophical and legal complexities of freedom are beyond the scope of this thesis, a brief examination of freedom helps contextualise some of the issues discussed in this and other chapters. Debates about freedom are often framed by theories associated with the interdisciplinary studies of political psychology and sociology, which question how people develop and why they behave as they do. The following remarks are based on the premise that humans have an individual consciousness and collective awareness; they are informed by several fields of philosophy including utilitarianism and liberalism.

Freedom is usually understood narrowly and politically (in which case 'liberty' may be a more apposite term) and means the ability to do as one wishes, to be without external restraints or coercion.[46] Because restraints are seldom considered until experienced, people tend to take freedom for granted. For example, we are unlikely to appreciate an ability to walk with comfort until our mobility is limited by a sprained ankle (a minor restriction) or by severed nerves in the vertebrae leading to quadriplegia (a severe restriction on the freedom of mobility). Similarly, minor restrictions on freedom of speech, such as limitations on the right to vilify on the basis of race, may antagonise those who resent the physiognomy of other members of society. In different settings, restrictions on freedoms of speech can be severe, as in authoritarian states where people may face lengthy and punitive jail sentences or cruel forms of incarceration for criticising the regime, even privately. These examples illustrate how forms of outward restraint may differ in degree. The greater the restraint, the more that freedom is limited and (probably), the greater the effect on those experiencing it. Humans are social and the manner in which their relationships are established and maintained are culturally symbiotic. In other words, the diversity of ways that people negotiate social relationships over time will reflect – but also iteratively shape – culture. This allows communities to balance their needs for self-preservation and self-fulfilment with the requirements of social order and desire to achieve two forms of liberty. The first is liberation from negative factors: such things as hunger, fear, disease and oppression. The second liberty is enjoyment of positive freedoms such as potential, personal or group well-being, good health, education and cultural participation. Both forms of liberty, and the social contexts needed to sustain them, are included in the UDHR and related covenants; they reflect notions of positive and negative rights described in the Introduction.

In addition to what is commonly understood as freedom, there is another form: the state of individual autonomy that allows for the exercising of free will. Although influenced by external circumstances, this has been described as 'inner freedom'. For centuries, the issue of free will has exercised the minds of philosophers (who questioned the boundaries of individual responsibility and choice) and theologians (who questioned the level of choice humans truly have, given an omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent God). Many have debated whether free will exists at all.[47] The argument that free will is impossible (determinism) centres on the belief that a combination of past events, current circumstances and the laws of nature will determine everything that occurs in the future. Known as 'incompatibilism' (because free will and determinism are incompatible), this scepticism has pre-Socratic ancestry and recent defenders. For instance, it was a strong influence among the Puritan founders of America and shaped many of the corporatist attitudes that subsequently developed.[48] Indeed, because the predeterminism of Calvinism was accompanied by a belief in human depravity, it complemented the dehumanising premises of neoliberalism, especially the view that – because humans are driven by self-interest and their fate is preordained – the impoverished live miserably because it is their necessary condition.[49] Determinism's gloomy outlook has been hotly denied by those who hold compatibilist opinions.[50] Korten, for example, criticises the exclusivist attitudes of Calvinism and neoliberalism, which combine righteousness with wealth and power, this:

> provides a foundation for an easy alliance between contemporary religious theocrats and contemporary corporate plutocrats. The theocrats affirm the moral righteousness of the plutocrats, and the plutocrats provide media and funding support for politicians committed to the theocrats' restrictive social agenda. [51]

While agreeing there are deterministic pressures shaping and impeding free will, I believe absolute determinism is either unprovable or so finely calibrated as to be inconsequential; nor can it account for chaos and randomness. To be ideologically deterministic is synonymous with authoritarianism. The capacity to exercise free will, and to have personal agency, *should* be an essential human quality. Anything less is to diminish what it is to be human. This is not a rigorous, philosophically defensible argument, rather an expedient and (admittedly imperfect) foundation upon which to defend the future of civil society.

The common belief – that we exercise free will – is essential to individuality and identity. However, free will is challenged because it cannot be decoupled from external influences (such as culture, social pressures and historical context) and it may be surrendered willingly. This makes free will a paradox. Freedom is most likely perceived to exist when exercised in concert with other humans and in a community, even a virtual community, because participation provides belonging and helps shape the experiences behind constructions of personal and group identities. Modern societies are interdependent; to survive, members rely on larger systems.[52] This has the effect, ironically, of increasing insecurity (at both individual and group levels) resulting from reduced autonomy and choices, despite an illusion of excessive choice. If a group member *privately* holds dissenting opinions, they will feel the pressure of social conformity compelling them to think and behave *publicly* in conforming ways. Globalisation, monolithic government, fears about terrorism, poverty or climate change – these are examples of external threats that put pressure on individuals and groups, who share interests or identities, to understand and negotiate what seems a hostile world. If they feel oppressed or marginalised within a larger society, their dislocation may become acute. Alternatively, such threats may encourage social or cultural surrender to a dominant norm. The experience of an overwhelming sense of external threat can lead people to fear freedom and seek forms of safety that work against their self-interests, especially their outer, political freedoms, even if at an unconscious level.[53]

Erich Fromm explored these ideas in *The Fear of Freedom.* Writing during the Second World War, Fromm was concerned that similar conditions existed in America (where he had sought sanctuary), as those that had allowed Fascism to flourish in Europe, notably the insignificance and powerlessness of the individual. He challenged the conventional belief that, by freeing people from external restraints and forms of authority, democracy supports a true form of individualism.[54] Because citizens in a democracy have the freedom to express thoughts and feelings, it was assumed individuality was almost automatically guaranteed. However, Fromm argued that the freedom to express thoughts means something only 'if we are able to have thoughts of our own; freedom from external authority is a lasting goal only if the inner psychological conditions are such that we are able to establish our own individuality.'[55]

Seventy years after they were written, Fromm's observations have continuing prescience. As Gleeson has observed about his legacy, Fromm anticipated the destructive power of unfettered neoliberalism to erase human liberty.[56] Although infrequently quoted, many contemporary authors echo Fromm's concerns. For example, the body of literature on 'affluenza';[57] Reich's study on the supercapitalism that has transformed business and democracy;[58] Berman's warning that state-sponsored terrorism often has liberal roots;[59] and John Kampfner's documentation of the way civil liberties have been eroded on the pretext of improving security and prosperity.[60]

Although people who experience material fulfilment without constraint enjoy a form of liberty, this refers to outer freedom. The individual who enjoys human rights and who can exercise both outer and inner freedom is likely to be the most free. This privilege, however, is infrequently experienced due to the pervasive influence of culture. If the explanation provided in Section 1.2.2 is held to be true – that culture is collectively formed over time, mirroring, shaping and enforcing community and social relationships – then it is one of the most potent forces affecting individual behaviour, knowledge and thoughts. This means, ironically, that the *right* to culture is contradicted by the way culture impedes inner freedom: an individual may make decisions (as an internalised process of exercising free will and choice) but these are inevitably informed by external, lived experiences embedded in cultural context. To expect somebody to shed their cultural identity, to be 'assimilated', or willingly (or without harm) disassociate themselves from their cultural roots is both a human-rights issue and an impossible expectation, intruding on inner freedom and cultural liberty.

Cultural background shapes what we will, or can, see and be. It provides us with language to express feelings, wants, and to negotiate relations with other people. However, languages are partial. They enable and disable expression by being selectively articulate. Each language has its own way of interpreting and explaining reality: words for expressions or ideas that exist in one language often do not appear in another. When a language dies a variation in the diversity of understanding, and, therefore, of human being and doing, also dies.[61] As Orwell graphically portrayed in his dystopian novel, *1984*, language *is* meaning, simultaneously empowering and disempowering cognition, shaping consciousness and the interpretation of reality. Most people function from the emic perspective most of the time and use language without realising that how and what they

are, hear, feel, think, judge, interpret and desire are shaped by language.[62] Nor do they recognise its evolutionary significance. Languages emerged as humans evolved morally, religiously, culturally and socially. These aspects of identity are intertwined, providing natural selection advantages to groups.[63] Language, coupled with our social nature, is fundamental to human survival and collective success. However, given the conformity language imposes, this has contrary and negative effects on freedom, individuality and identity.

Global trends associated with consumption, market economics and its effects on equity were anticipated in the nineteenth-century Marxist literature. They continued in Fromm's critique that unconstrained capitalism compounds individual alienation, and they persist as a truism of contemporary multidisciplinary analyses, even among those with free-market sympathies.[64] Within this broad criticism are claims that excessive consumer cultures rob, or obscure, inner freedom. Egregious consumption also reflects and feeds upon innate human traits in pernicious ways. Consumerism can separate individuals from their community and culture under the guise of greater choice (or freedoms from, and to, things) even if, ultimately, this encourages greater insecurity and alienation. Consumerism, as an aspect of cultural life, offers a panacea or escape from anxieties in those societies overloaded with direct and embedded messages. Geoffrey Miller argues that visible and tangible trait-display is the underlying cause of consumption: people consume to attract mates, to position themselves in a social hierarchy and to signal they belong to (and perhaps dominate) a group. This means humans typically seek to acquire culturally iconic goods, even when they recognise such consumption is excessive, comes with high opportunity costs, or that a consumable is elastic (it may be easily and more cheaply replaced with another or a replica).[65] Consumption is a species-trait with deep conscious and unconscious determinants. It is rational – grounded in the instinct to pair with mates with optimal fitness characteristics – yet irrational: the belief it works, one would want it to work, and (if it did work) that it would bestow meaningful benefits beyond a narrow coupling opportunity.[66]

Evolutionary psychology may provide a scientific explanation for narcissistic consumption, but there is a long tradition of moral philosophy that has taken a similar approach, questioning the purpose of running on a 'hedonic-treadmill'.[67] In his 1776 treatise, Adam Smith recognises that pursuit of material goods is, in effect, trait-displaying

when he observes for most wealthy people, 'the chief enjoyment of riches consists in the parade of riches, which in their eye is never so complete as when they appear to possess those decisive marks of opulence which nobody can possess but themselves'.[68] Similarly, in 1848 Mill inquired why it is a matter of congratulation that 'persons who are already richer than anyone needs to be, should have doubled their means of consuming things which give little or no pleasure except as representative of wealth'.[69]

Fromm considered that excessive consumption indicates lack of originality in thinking, feeling and willing. Recognising this, however, is difficult for people who are embedded in the daily complexities of living and, because they have so many desires, their main problem is they cannot all be met. Fromm observed that most human energy is spent trying to obtain what is wanted, even though few question whether they know, or their pursuits are consistent with, their *true* wants. This is disturbing, because it questions the basis of most activity. People typically dismiss it, yet:

> all this bespeaks a dim realization of the truth … that modern man lives under the illusion that he knows what he wants, while he actually wants what he is supposed to want. In order to accept this it is necessary to realize that to know what one really wants is not comparatively easy … but one of the most difficult problems any human being has to solve. It is a task we frantically try to avoid by accepting ready-made goals as though they were our own.[70]

Some of Fromm's views may have been drawn from Rudolf Steiner who believed there are two forms of freedom: thoughts and actions. Steiner held that inner freedom is achieved when the gap between perception (the external world) and the inner world is bridged; 'true' freedom is only possible when this occurs. The extent to which the individual is able to separate from (generic) wider social and cultural pressures determines whether they can 'count as a free spirit within a human community'.[71] Steiner distinguishes between inner and outer worlds, arguing that humans are formed by both. Where a person is unable to achieve freedom for themselves, they comprise part of the wider social 'organism' but where conduct springs from 'individual ethical intuitions' this contributes to the process of developing moral activity, thus 'the moral life of mankind is the sum total of the products of the moral imagination of free human individuals'.[72]

Atypical groups or individuals often feel they face a barrier of conformity that leaves them excluded, demands they surrender their identity, or expects they repress intuitive, personal characteristics. These pressures are not new; they were described by Mill (again) as the way society issues its own mandates (proscriptive sociocultural norms) that impose:

> a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression … Protection ... against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough: there needs protection also against the tyranny of prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them … and compel all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own.[73]

Like other collective behaviours and cultural influences, consumerism encourages compliance with social norms. Consumption provides psychical gratification (helping people feel good about themselves: successful, beautiful, competent), physical gratification (offering sensory comforts) and social signalling (trait-displaying desirable characteristics).[74] However, because consumption is linked to conformity, and conformity helps maintain economic efficiency and activity, mass-media marketing benefits from and, therefore, helps promote, conformist images of success. As argued by Clive Hamilton, personal (particularly inner) freedom is manipulated by powerful external forces, especially those of consumer capitalism. Sharing Fromm's approach to human desire, he agrees that many people have difficulty knowing who they are and how they can advance their interests. Rich countries generally focus on the promotion of economic (and to a lesser extent political) rights, while poorly protect forms of inner freedom essential for people to live to true human purpose.[75] Because there are few impediments to fulfilling most material desires or capabilities, Hamilton says the issue is not whether people have an ability to flourish but whether they choose to do so. He asks, 'will free citizens choose to imagine, think and reason in a "truly human" way or are they conditioned or predisposed to pursue a stream of pleasurable episodes and never fulfil their capabilities and thus their potential as humans?'[76]

Hamilton's question is prompted by his concern that, since the early 1980s, neoliberal policies have been responsible for the atrophy of individuality, because 'consumer capitalism encourages anodyne conformity and one-dimensionality, and an intolerance of those who wish to break out of the expressions of individuality manufactured by the

market'.[77] This form of capitalism is characterised by a created society, distinctive in its encouragement of impulsive greed, moral and intellectual weakness, the very purpose of which is to 'make us the slaves of our passions … [and where] happiness is to be had through a series of instant pleasures'.[78] Hamilton is concerned that consumption has evolved into a cultural trait in developed economies, with many social and political consequences, including a rejection of nonconformity. Because cultural diversity is the most overt form of human difference, this helps explain some iterations of racism and cultural determinism. Such social exclusion may lead to other forms of rejection, for example, of people with a disability or atypical sexuality.

Not only does consumption increase conformity in consumer-based societies but, says Sen, consumerism also transcends immediate social and cultural settings, making cultural liberty important in political and economic spheres.[79] Even the idea of poverty cannot be fully understood without considering its cultural dimensions and people in the Global South face different, albeit equally acute, challenges retaining free will and identity. This is due to imported modes of consumerism continually undermining local cultural distinctiveness. Sen says choosing a lifestyle is not simply a matter of choice, but of whether people from precarious cultures are able to resist the 'thunderous exposure to Western influences'.[80]

While consumerism has inspired a recent body of critical literature, the concern is not new. Writing in the late 1950s, Vance Packard cited research indicating there is no proof 'material goods such as more cars or more gadgets has made anyone happier – in fact the evidence seems to point in the opposite direction'.[81] He also quotes a contemporary who claims economic depressions are not all bad because they produce 'a climate in many respects more productive than prosperity – more interesting, more lively, more thoughtful, and even, in a wry sort of way, more fun'.[82] Packard observes, with some foresight, that the 'larger moral problem of working out a spiritually tolerable relationship between a free people and an economy capable of greater and greater productivity may take decades to resolve'.[83] More than 50 years later, the ethical conundrums are still debated, although ecological and resource constraints may resolve the philosophical problems simply by ending the behaviour.

However, there are additional harms associated with overconsumption. The more injustice and exploitation in the world, the more insecure it becomes. The more insecure, the more fearful people become, and the more they escape into materialism or the shallow lures of fundamentalisms. Thus, they progressively lose capacity for inner freedom, rational thought and free will. This may encourage further consumption, leading to more exploitative production and fuelling the injustices that caused problems originally. The destructive cycle is perpetual, exponentially benefiting corporatist interests while shepherding evermore people towards the certainties of authoritarian or simplistic answers. This obscures the possibility of understanding the relationships between freedoms and security, rights and responsibilities, wants and needs.[84] Kampfner claims citizens have incrementally relinquished their liberties in a largely unconscious pact – iteratively forged over the years by increasingly complicit and kleptocratic governments – who offer wealth (as if this is the sole goal of life) only by sacrificing freedom.[85]

Even if these losses were acknowledged as poor secondary effects by neoliberal defenders, they would counter with the claim that unrestrained economic freedoms are a necessary condition for political liberties to flourish.[86] However, radical liberalism functions in the opposite way. Money buys freedoms and to be impoverished in an economically liberal society is to have few freedoms. Indeed, the more wealth-creation is privileged as the prime agency of social transformation, the more societies become stratified and unjust.[87] In addition, if it is accepted that affluence and liberty are positively associated, it should be recognised they are also negatively associated. This means extreme and simplistic approaches have extreme effects, and complex diverse nations must rely on hybrid poly-ideological and flexible methodologies as the basis of preserving civil society.

All freedom has a context. This includes the cultural setting that defines what personal liberty means and may be used, its axiological interpretation, and any limitations on freedom deemed essential for the health, well-being, and credibility of the person and the group to which they belong. Weighing up the demands of single or collective needs vary. Plural societies – especially multiracial, multifaith and multiethnic societies – are challenged to find ways of including groups different from the mainstream. Freedom, because it is enacted in some form of collective setting, is never absolute but hedged by obligations and prohibitions imposed for an (assumed) public good. Extreme individualism may represent a form of avoidance of socio-cultural reality: humans are not alone and

against each other, as represented in the conservative English tradition and voiced by Margaret Thatcher when she claimed there is no such thing as society.[88] Rather, we all belong to a group (or groups) shaping, enabling and making demands.

Therefore, it could be argued, societies that follow the multicultural path are not only freer but may also be safer. The homogenising tendencies of groups marginalise differences, if for no other reason than to protect members from engaging with inner freedoms – which demand intellectual and moral effort. Homogenisation also reinforces power relations; an example of this has been described as a form of (racial) social contract where skin colour indicates and determines status.[89] Nevertheless, the pulls within society and individual consciousness are broadly dichotomous: one direction is towards universalism (conformity and belonging), the other towards personal preferences and the particular. Inevitably, diversity will be present in all societies. It will occur in monocultures (e.g. due to personality or congenital differences) but will be prolific in plural societies. The more monocultural a society, the more will outsiders appear as alien and threatening to the 'in' group. This has two effects. It encourages persecution of the excluded (purposefully) and of the innocent (collaterally). When a society pathologises its fears of difference – such as Nazi paranoia about Jewish blood contaminating the Aryan race or McCarthyist investigation of accused socialist sympathisers – the innocent will be among the victims. Indeed, the slightest suggestion of dissent may result in bystanders being caught in a dragnet of conformity policing. Attempts by state authorities to enforce sameness will inevitably create frictions since absolute uniformity is an impossible goal – although other forms of conformity are achieved, with increasing success, by more covert methods, such as through the marketplace. Protecting cultural liberty helps counter some of these trends (or at least offer protections) by helping some people to express their identity. Inner freedom is difficult to achieve without a setting where civil liberties and democracy set the outer context of community relations, and legislative protections shield individual differences.

It is not only possible, but common, for people to have most of their human rights realised, but not to be fully free.[90] Because dysfunctional social processes (such as overconsumption) prevent a conjoint realisation of freedom and human rights, this may account for forms of psychological dissonance among those confused about their available choices, their freedoms and rights, or the expectations placed upon them. This may

manifest in several ways, from suicidal ideation and self-harm to obsessive behaviours.[91] Von Bertalanffy's attempt, in the 1960s, to develop a general theory of systems led him to observe that the social structures of 'the affluent societies'' expanding economy could only be sustained because of commercial, political, advertising and other forms of propaganda. This turned citizens into 'automata, homeostaticlly [*sic*] adjusted conformers and opportunists'.[92] He believed this was a necessary step to engineer society to the financial system's goal of increasing production, the consequences of which have been unprecedented increases in psychiatric morbidity. Despite changes in material circumstances, 'novel forms of mental disorders appeared as existential neurosis, malignant boredom … forms of mental dysfunction originating not from repressed drives, from unfulfilled needs, or from stress, but from meaningless of life'.[93]

This concern has been more recently expressed by Hamilton and Denniss who report on the failure of wealth to purchase happiness or prevent an epidemic of depression and suicide in Australia, and by **nef** who aim to demonstrate that wealth is not a gauge of gross national happiness.[94] Psychiatric morbidities are likely to occur when individual will is at (especially hidden) variance with group demands and, increasingly, in settings where the expectations of society are less consistent, and there are more options for whom to refer for a sense of righteousness or direction. A challenge for plural societies – given atrophying democratic institutions and civic disengagement – is to make space for numerous groups and dissenting voices, to shield each from the demands of others, to determine points of consensus about standards of conduct, and to find ways for each to contribute to the whole while maintaining civility and principles of natural justice and egalitarianism.

These issues relate to freedoms of speech and action, which also happen to be interests of strident libertarians who (selectively) decry 'the nanny state'. Attacks on so-called nanny statism typically rely on the argument that governments should not impose real or imagined barriers around choice. Superficially, this may seem reasonable. On examination, however, questions arise. One concern is the principle that rights are accompanied by responsibilities and, whenever a person chooses a course of action, it comes with consequences. For instance, they may choose to eat healthily, exercise and seek medical advice if required, or they may make other choices, such as to use licit and illicit drugs, overeat or lead a sedentary lifestyle. While choices should be made freely, one moral issue is who is responsible for the *consequences*, and how. Internationally, public health

infrastructure is buckling under the population-level burden of non-communicable illness, or normally preventable illnesses that are the outcome of choice.[95] This means, collectively, poor decision-making represents a vast negative externality where ill-informed or wilful lifestyle choices have an effect on public health: it transfers the costs from the primary agent to everybody else. Further, other consumption choices have wider consequences. The libertarian argument holds that the user should pay, and individuals must be responsible for their actions. This leaves governments in an awkward position. If they legislate to ban harmful practices, or fulfil a duty-of-care to educate people about potential health-risks, or introduce consequential penalties (e.g. refusing to cover the cost of palliative care for smokers with lung cancer, or enforcing nutritional standards in mass-marketed foodstuffs) this is critiqued as unreasonable interference.

However, poor lifestyle choices have, broadly speaking, three kinds of effects. First, there are ecological, human rights and health implications.[96] Second, there is an equity effect; people of low socio-economic status – in both poor and rich countries – are most vulnerable, being more likely to smoke, be inactive and eat toxic foods. Ultimately, they pay a price with early-onset morbidity, premature mortality and lower levels of well-being: these are the social determinants of health. [97] The third effect is cost. The decision to live 'toxically' will result in someone, or something, ultimately paying a price; if not the person making the choice then it may be shared through the economic subsidy of healthcare provision.

How much personal power does the individual really have in making a choice? Multi-national food corporations – integrating production, distribution and advertising – deliberately target the most vulnerable in both developed and developing nations, exploiting the poorly educated, impoverished, powerless and aspiring to sell them a toxic dietary lifestyle.[98] Globally, the evidence of this achievement is documented in crippling and rising levels of non-communicable morbidity.[99] Further, as already noted, numerous social and cultural determinants will influence individual thought and action. The dominance of mass-marketing, the commercial media and social expectations all conspire to compel many people to make decisions that seem to promise fulfilment and well-being but ultimately are unsatisfying or harmful.[100]

These issues suggest there are recurring patterns of secondary effects of both choice and faux choice, which the neoliberal position on the limits and responsibilities of governments fails to acknowledge. These effects do not account for the price the majority of humanity is expected to pay for the marginal benefits of radical liberalism. For years, some of the most powerful global institutions – international finance corporations – resisted government attempts to regulate their activities. When (as discussed in Section 2.3) the system buckled because of a flawed calculus, instead of allowing these institutions to fail, governments drew on public revenue to ensure their survival.[101] This action parodied free-market principles in that failed institutions were rewarded for their recklessness.[102] A similar logic is used in criticism of the nanny state. Timid government attempts to limit damaging lifestyle choices are condemned by syllogistic libertarian demands that the individual be simultaneously entitled to make poor decisions and avoid paying the price: an argument that effectively says it is reasonable to privatise damaging behaviours while socialising the costly consequences.

There are questionable assumptions in public debates about freedom and the exercise of power.[103] The rhetoric, particularly libertarian, is that state institutions (primarily) impose limitations on people and organisations to operate freely. Removing the authority and reach of governments, it is argued, provides greater space for markets to function, and for people to express individual preferences.[104] However, power does not reflexively respond in this way. If one source of constraint is removed (such as punitive state controls), the lacuna is quickly filled by other forms. It is not as though withdrawal of state power, whether democratic or undemocratic, leaves a permanent sphere of liberty in which non-state actors can continually thrive. The removal of one form of domination merely offers opportunities for alternatives to fill the void. This domination may come from various sources: ideology, religion, plutocracy, corporatism, dominant social groups, or from alliances of such interests. Whether this is 'good' or 'bad' depends on the perspective of those who support them; however, if they impede the human rights and capabilities available to citizens, from a normative perspective it can be argued they are generally negative. Ideally, what fills the void is civil society, moderated by constant recalibration of freedoms, constraints, responsibilities and rights, overseen by transparent and accountable governance.

A challenge facing many states is the consequences of dogged opposition to democratic institutions, ironically, at a time of expansion in the number of nations governed

democratically. Among the forces behind this trend are corporate interests, on the grounds that free enterprise can flourish only in fully liberalised states, which, additionally, represents a necessary condition for democracy. This argument is based on the premise that individual *capacity* to exercise free choice (potential or hypothetical freedom) is the same as *actual* free will and liberty (incipient or tangible freedom). Democracies often impose less restraint on business expansion, but this is largely contingent on governance that is weak or compromised, hence the tendency of many corporations (deliberately or otherwise) to undermine state controls. Small enterprises, which are more likely to engage fairly in free markets, are easily excluded by big business, which also tend to be favoured by government.[105]

Typically, public discourse on these issues is polarised because any criticism of oligopolistic capitalism is reflexively attacked as unreformed Marxism. However, many of the first philosophers of liberalism anticipated that the current form of capitalism would be anti-competitive and would impede effective functioning of market mechanisms. Radical socialism, which argues for the eradication of free markets, conversely, is an extreme reaction to this threat.[106] Debates have become so entrenched, and the histories and causation so complex, that they are beyond the awareness or understanding of most voters; this makes it difficult to shift the momentum of the existing political economy. Because corporate interests are supported by extreme wealth, a largely complicit media and manufactured cultural industry, the system is presently unassailable.

Ironically, although a largely materialist and consumption-based culture thrives, it has not made people happier or healthier, and has left many apprehensive and confused about their world.[107] This has resulted, peculiarly, in resentment towards government combined with a growing sense of entitlement: people want governments to 'do' and 'give', but they do not wish to pay, and they begrudge government interference. This has created a setting where a conservative approach, or dogged support for a compromised system, is contrasted with various forms of activism spread across the political compass. The remaining space – where rational dialogue on how to build sustainable, democratic, genuinely free-market societies – is like an island slowly being submerged by a rising tide of denial or dogma. Given the volume and breadth of reactive, linear and self-interested views, opportunities to debate the transformations needed to preserve the global civilization, that most people assume will continue into the future, are diminishing.

3.3 FOUR SOCIAL CONDITIONS FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: SOCIAL COHESION, SOCIAL INCLUSION, SOCIAL CONNECTEDNESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

On 13 February 2008, the first action of the new government in the national parliament was to deliver the National Apology to Indigenous Australians for the damaging policies, implemented over many years, of forcibly removing children from their families. This apology to the Stolen Generations was widely praised as both an act of reconciliation and inclusion of Aboriginal citizens into civil society. Kevin Rudd, then prime minister and leading force behind the apology, may be judged kindly by history for this gesture, a public policy (the government believed) that would be a defining agenda of its tenure in office.[108]

The origins of the social-inclusion approach date from 1974 when the secretary of state for social action in the conservative French government, René Lenoir, argued up to 10% of the population were '*les exclus*'. Subsequently, with election of the socialist Mitterrand government in 1981, the concept was developed further to incorporate those who were excluded from society on more than economic grounds.[109] Later, the idea crossed the English Channel, and it was extended under the Blair government in the UK from 1997. The British wanted inclusion policies to address material disadvantages (e.g. homelessness, workforce participation and education attainment) and to have social-justice dimensions.[110] New Labour's application of social inclusion has been analysed widely, with some commentators believing it compromises principles of social democracy and camouflages neoliberalism behind a mask of welfare.[111]

For such a well-used term, there is no widely accepted definition of 'social inclusion' or its sibling concept, 'social exclusion'. The British Social Exclusion Unit described social inclusion as the conditions (or locations) under which individuals or groups live and experience a combination of problems, such as poor housing, low incomes, unemployment, limited skills, high-crime and family breakdown – factors often aggravating the extent of disadvantage.[112] Another definition emphasises the complex and interrelated determinants that may lead to exclusion, noting it affects the quality of individuals' lives directly as well as society generally. It is a multidimensional process involving:

> a lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in

the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas.[113]

The problem with understanding social inclusion narrowly (i.e. determined solely by economic participation) is one can be financially secure yet experience exclusion in other spheres of life. The Social Policy Research Centre states that, unlike the notion of poverty which refers to a lack of resources, exclusion is a more complex concept uncovering layers of division based on race, culture, gender and location, which may be overlooked when the focus is on resource allocation. The term also helps highlight structures, such as negative community attitudes, that may deny rights and exclude people from social participation.[114] Samina Yasmeen quotes Julian Le Grand's definition of social exclusion as:

> a condition where individuals or communities are geographically part of a society but *feel* that they cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens because, *in their perception*, a) conditions and institutions exist that actively limit or deny such participation, and b) where societal and/or governmental agencies portray them as 'outsiders'.[115]

Yasmeen expands this definition, arguing exclusion may be misconstrued, for example, by those who mistakenly believe they are excluded. This variance does not render the perception of exclusion meaningless; it may remain a contributor to how somebody relates to society. Nor is it a 'unidirectional and uni-dimensional phenomenon. The "excluded" minority are not immune to the phenomenon of excluding others: they may also relatively or absolutely exclude the majority or other members of the minority community'.[116]

In the Australian policy setting, the term 'social exclusion' is used infrequently, perhaps due to its negative inference and governments prefer to promote positive approaches to reducing disadvantage. However, if social inclusion policy fails to recognise the factors that lead to exclusion it may fail its objectives; as Chris Ryan and Anastasia Sartbayeva argue, the terms are synonymous but describe different ends of a single dimension.[117] This is also acknowledged by Ratna Omidvar and Ted Richmond, who explore its relevance to ethnic minorities, claiming it is about belonging, acceptance and recognition in various domains of life in a new country and, simply, 'social inclusion ... can be seen as the dismantling of barriers that lead to exclusion in all these domains.'[118] Extending this

definition, social inclusion could be understood to accommodate any groups that are marginalised, such as Indigenous peoples, the disabled, or members of religious minorities.

Social inclusion is distinct from a similar term favoured by the Howard government and some European states: social cohesion.[119] In Australia's case, a change in government and a new policy focus on inclusion led to some confusion. Because of the tendency to use terminology that captures the ideological intent of the government of the day, and to reflect this in a fluid policy context, there is a risk meaning will be misconstrued. This laxity is a problem, with consequences for understanding in the wider community and for policy generally.[120] Both terms reflect dynamic issues, making durable definitions difficult. Nevertheless, in a general sense, both have specific and useful meanings. To avoid inherent contradictions, they can be defined as having an overt (or primary) meaning, but also more nuanced (or secondary) meanings that can shift rapidly with changing circumstances.

The word 'cohesion' refers to bringing together, adhesion. It is a centripetal idea, of the disparate being attracted towards a mainstream. This can be seen as either positive or negative, depending on its use. Post-9/11, it was occasionally employed by security-focused, nationalist advocates – an approach that garnered some criticism.[121] Conversely, inclusivity is about inviting or helping others to participate, or to be part of something on equal terms. Superficially, inclusion is a more positive idea than cohesion, but if inclusion is given a standards-setting role (e.g. of raising the level of economic participation in target groups) this may curtail its potential and infer a policy goal is to leverage the non-included into a (possibly rejected) included norm. In terms of social capital, it could be said cohesion is about bonding or building social strength within communities that are largely homogenous and where values are shared and understood;[122] whereas inclusion is about bridging capital, or bringing diverse communities together to build shared understandings and a mutually respectful civic discourse.

Because the word 'cohesion' has some connotations of homogeneity, this implies its opposite (heterogeneity, or pluralism) may be harmful to social relations. Not only is such a view unrealistic (no society can be completely homogenous), it denies the dynamism of societies that are creatively complex. Further, many members of society may actively prefer diversity to monoculture. If the cohesion approach entails less endorsement of choice and freedom, it may be seen as inelastic and more conformist.[123] Therefore, social

cohesion has been regarded as less compatible with human rights and as missing opportunities associated with visions of social cohesion that involve participatory citizenship.[124]

Establishing a clearer distinction between primary and secondary meanings of social inclusion and cohesion (see Table 3.1), may help to overcome potential confusions as well as explain why the inferences contained in the terms have elicited responses from critics who, for example, are apprehensive about implied goals of sociocultural conformity. The terms could be described as value-sets (which are essentially intangible), as well as principles upon which tangible programs are built. Both approaches can help negotiate subtle distinctions between a commitment *to* something rather than conformity *with* it. Indeed, social cohesion is an idea that could assist to ameliorate the negative, restricted risks of bonding social capital if associated with multicultural principles.[125]

Table 3.1: Example of primary and secondary meanings of social inclusion and cohesion that could be applied in the Australian social policy context

Meaning	Social inclusion	Social cohesion
Primary meaning (ideal long-term meaning)	Social justice, belongingness, ending exclusion, the removal of barriers to participation, equity for all in society, with actions informed by human-rights principles	Creating a national and shared ethic, meaningful to all citizens irrespective of culture, religion or socio-economic status, framed by principles of democracy, human rights and cosmopolitanism
Secondary meaning (pragmatic meaning, as currently or recently used in public policy)	A social policy tool to improve the standards of living of disadvantaged members of society through greater economic participation	A concept promoted directly to targeted members of society, encouraging national commitment and national 'values' that override partisan or individual identities

In Australia, social-inclusion policy under the Rudd government largely replicated the British system but was adapted to domestic needs and precedents, such as the South Australian model.[126] Thus, the government sought ways to resolve systemic disadvantages and barriers to human development, albeit primarily focused on poverty alleviation. The first major statement by the Social Inclusion Board paid cursory acknowledgement to human capacities and to how these can translate to social inclusion. Although a policy heavily promoted by Labor during the 2007 Australian federal election campaign, attention

wavered during the government's first term;[127] the second-term minority Gillard government was more preoccupied with environmental, refugee and infrastructure issues.[128] Social inclusion, which continues to be neglected as a comprehensive policy framework, does not meet its potential, in particular, to encompass culture and the capabilities approach.[129] On the rare occasions that ministerial speeches are made, they continue to refer to social inclusion as a goal achieved through economic participation: a process that occurs primarily through education, workforce and support services enabling employment, such as childcare, and the participation of people with a disability.[130] This idea of social inclusion infers the community is largely culturally homogenous (with the exception of Indigenous Australians). It also infers barriers to wealth and knowledge exclude, not other restraints, such as structural discrimination on grounds of gender, age, race or faith. This narrow application of the determinants of social inclusion not only fails to recognise the complexity of diverse societies but poses a potential risk.

 To illustrate this limitation, racism and other forms of discrimination have direct effects on the social and emotional well-being of individuals. Depression, workplace prejudice, community threat and the like have direct economic effects, and not only for those immediately affected. At a population level, failures of social inclusion increase morbidity and limit productivity.[131] This omission in policy discussions is concerning; to exclude cultural dimensions runs the risk that social inclusion programs may unintentionally discriminate on various grounds. In a truly inclusive society, these identity-markers, at a minimum, will be respected. More properly, they can be seen as an asset enriching civic life. Failure to consider culture potentially discredits social-inclusion approaches, although the announcement in 2011 of a renewed multicultural policy may encourage engagement with these issues in ways better reflecting the diversity society.[132]

Figure 3.2 illustrates how, against social inclusion measures, a population group can be disadvantaged. Influenced by research conducted by Riaz Hassan into how Australian Muslims are poorly included,[133] the indices shown could be extended to cover other determinants of social inclusion, such as rates of home ownership, levels of perceived fear, and sense of cultural connectedness. However, the point is clear: collectively (at the sub-population level), Muslims are poorer, unhealthier, more excluded and experience greater economic disadvantage than does the 'average' (or baseline norm in the general population), despite achieving higher levels of educational attainment. The most likely

reason for the disparity is that Muslims are an easily identifiable, culturally atypical group and, consequently, are treated with suspicion by the mainstream.[134] A similar pattern of exclusion can be applied to others, such as black Africans[135] and Indigenous Australians. Some definitions of social inclusion (quoted above) infer that unless culture is included as a measure, it will be ignored. This is also a human-rights and development issue: culture, race and faith can all be constraints that reduce capability conversion factors. Figure 3.2 illustrates social inclusion can be measured on a spectrum. An individual's (or group's) position will determine how included or excluded they are, contingent on the indicator in question. This notion of continua, discussed in Section 2.6 relating to the application of health promotion methodologies to counter-radicalisation, is equally applicable to understanding the social inclusion model.
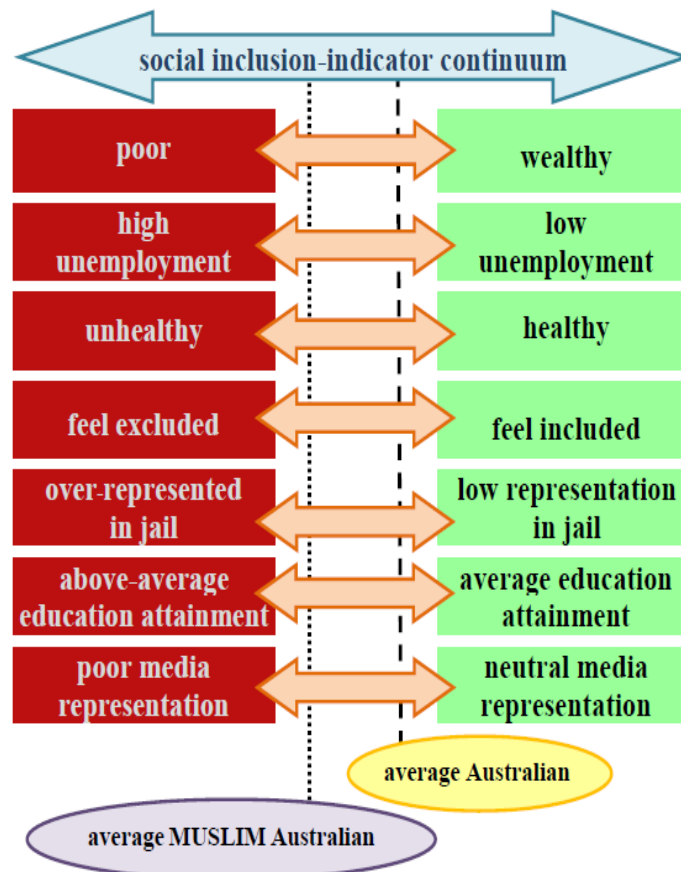

Figure 3.2: Social inclusion indicators showing a sub-population's exclusions due to cultural factors

These observations largely focus on culturally diverse communities. However, there may be barriers to applying social-inclusion to other population groups, such as the elderly and young, because multiple *determinants* (not just multiple exclusions) add complexity to the

conditions in which people live. This is to be expected, given forms of exclusion rarely occur alone. For example, those with low educational attainment tend to be at higher risk of unemployment or working in poorer paid, dangerous or physically demanding jobs; they are more likely to eat poorer quality foods and experience higher burdens of morbidity earlier and more severely than the well educated.[136] In short, negative effects compound and reinforce each other leading to compounding disadvantages. This pattern is consistent: the more excluded the individual the more likely this will progressively worsen, affecting their quality of life. Life-chances are, therefore, critical. Research shows those children from households with high reliance on income support, where little priority is placed on education participation and there are low levels of community connectedness, are more likely to experience forms of exclusion as young adults. At a population level, family background is an indicator of one's socio-economic future and, it follows, long-term physical and mental health.[137] Another study, which researched older adults, showed the higher the range of lifetime inclusion experiences (such as good health, paid employment and satisfactory income), the higher the probability of avoiding isolation and attendant risks leading to social exclusion. This is a major concern: Australia's ageing population, combined with increasing diversity, poses challenges for future service delivery. The more people are able to age independently, while maintaining personal well-being, the greater the capacity to manage service demand.[138] As these cases illustrate, whether young, old or culturally distinct, at a *population* level social inclusion is another way of addressing the determinants of health where cohorts of at-risk groups can be tracked, across time, because the extent of their exclusion tends to remain an identifier across their life histories.

A related concept is social connectedness. This describes the quality and quantity of associations people have (either face-to-face or online) with others in their circle of family, friends, colleagues and community. The more socially connected a person, the greater their sense of self-control and independence. The higher a person's self-determination and capabilities, the better their health outcomes. While mainly used in population-health literature, the term 'social connectedness' is increasingly referenced in wider public policy.[139] Social connectedness may be used as an indicator of inclusion and can be measured by determining the extent of both bonding and bridging social capital. It suggests a dynamic where minorities retain their identity but can still forge links with other communities. The concept of connectedness is distinct from cohesion and inclusion, which

(as discourses of power) may be treated with scepticism by communities in socially and economically marginal positions who suspect these approaches represent covert acculturation.[140] The associations between connectedness, agency and well-being are also of interest to health promotion,[141] and a 2011 Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) report recognised that the principles of social inclusion have strong links to health. Accordingly, AIHW bases its taxonomy and analysis of chronic-disease indicators on factors directly linked to the socio-economic determinants of health which are influenced, in turn, by social-inclusion policy.[142]

One way of resolving deficits in social-inclusion policy is to re-envisage it as a capabilities model. The fact that governments adopted social inclusion rather than the capabilities approach may be due to timing: social-inclusion policies were developed first. Because the capabilities approach relates to human development outside the paradigm of economic participation, it focuses on disadvantage broadly and is culturally neutral. Government programs often inadvertently benefit those who need them least because those with high capabilities (e.g. the healthy, wealthy and educated) can better exploit opportunities offered by equal access than those with lower capabilities (e.g. the poor, uneducated or culturally excluded).[143] Subaltern groups rarely have the power to control external social and economic conditions. While laws and programs may *aim* to ensure equality, and thus establish them in principle, equality may not exist *in reality,* and some people experience limited capabilities that exclude them at multiple levels. From both capabilities and human-development perspectives, inclusion is a matter of social justice. Social justice – which affirms equity across all aspects of civil society – encompasses principles that are an 'essential component of the social democratic project'.[144] Internationally, there has been agreement that social policy should aim to improve material outcomes and well-being for all excluded members of society. These principles are reflected in the UN's framework the *Common Understanding of a Human-Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation,* which lists elements that are 'necessary, specific, and unique to a human rights-based approach' to development.[145] These elements are participation, empowerment, locally-owned and driven development, agency, and a focus on the marginalised or disadvantaged. The socially inclusive Apology to Indigenous Australians could be replicated with other groups that have experienced degrading treatment or social exclusion, such as asylum seekers unjustly detained for many years. Admitting past failures could be

a way of inducting such groups into the wider community through a similar reconciliatory process.[146] It could also help destigmatise victims and to advocate that some attitudes – such as racism – are cruel and ignorant.

As time has passed since 9/11 and the Bali bombings, community security concerns have gradually abated. News reporting has shifted from international to national coverage and the passage of time has seen fear of terrorism gradually replaced by economic worries. By 2008, Unisys security reports show that apprehension focused on rising interest rates, to be subsequently replaced with fears about the global economy, (perceived) rising unemployment and personal-information theft.[147] Other research released by the Scanlon Foundation maps Australian social cohesion. It demonstrates that although most people feel socially and economically included and comfortable, significant pockets of resentment and xenophobic fears remain.[148] This has been validated by studies undertaken by James Forrest and Kevin Dunn who have mapped the demographics of racism.[149]

Both inclusion and cohesion are valuable adjuncts to the discourse on how citizens should act as members of a diverse society. People may feel included in their local (or virtual) community but disengaged from the life of the nation, especially if they belong to a group marginalised by pejorative public opinions. These concerns could reconnect to a policy principle that existed until the mid-1990s: social justice.[150] The terms social inclusion, connectedness, justice and cohesion are, or were, in use as various policies; nevertheless, they are members of a 'concept family' that advocates good (fair, just, equitable) outcomes for all members in society. They aim to address discrimination, barriers to attainment, and encompass affirmative action. The policy name is of marginal relevance; what matters are normative principles behind government decisions to protect justice, equity, freedom and participation. These principles, when much of the rhetoric is removed, are development, democratic and rights-based. While it may be novel to central policy planners to take such approaches, they would help ensure inclusion measures also address exclusion, cohesion and the many cultural, social and economic impacts that are goals of a social inclusion agenda.

Mark McDonald and Carsten Quell, writing from a Canadian perspective, defend multiculturalism and human rights while emphasising the importance of both cohesion and inclusion. They argue integration only occurs where reciprocal respect and understanding

is established between host nation and a minority group. At least two phenomena work in this dynamic. The first, inclusion, focuses on social and economic issues through the removal of barriers to immigrant and refugee settlement, including racism, discrimination and poverty. They see inclusion as different from cohesion, which is determined by the quality and form of relationships within society. How the values and interests of its members converge help to form a sense of shared identity (often described as 'national character'), which includes the degree of openness a society may have to diversity. For culturally and linguistically diverse background (CLDB) communities 'cohesion is about the capacity for reciprocal attachment to and identification with the host society'.[151] In balancing inclusion with civic cohesion, McDonald and Quell warn that one does not automatically foster the other and these processes may develop independently. If so, this may result in formation of parallel lives and where communities are disconnected from the whole. Without 'a sense of civic cohesion and common purpose, groups and individuals, even if they are not socioeconomically disadvantaged, may see themselves as "outsiders"'.[152] Such forms of exclusion are incompatible with UNESCO's global ethics, which holds that bonds without options are oppressive, and options without bonds may lead to anarchy. The optimal balance between freedom and constraint is one of democracy's challenges; objectives of inclusion policies should aim for this equilibrium.[153]

Modood also discusses the challenges of balancing cohesion with inclusion. He argues that national identity alienates some people because of fears it may inspire exclusionary or xenophobic discourse. However, inclusive concepts of national identity can be valuable for overall cohesion, because all groups need to be able to build civic connections. If this model is not multicultural, nor based in equity, national identity may have perverse effects. Modood believes multicultural citizenship is strengthened by pluralist collective identity, and that citizenship must be a respected, dialogical system, not one reduced to legal rights.[154] Concerned that notions of national identity have frequently been antagonistic towards diversity, Modood explores the forms of public policies that help civic inclusion to work. He does not propose an 'unreformed' model of nationhood but a flexible, responsive one. While recognising that globalisation, communications, migration and new cosmopolitan identities may contribute to the dissolution of the structures and sentiments of nationhood, they 'do not so damage national citizenship that it cannot be a container for multicultural currents'.[155] However, post-9/11 fears can make it easy for 'ordinary, decent

people to be very anxious and – where multicultural national identities are weak … to wrap themselves in strong nationalisms, militarisms and other dichotomizing, confrontational ideologies'.[156] The solution is not to privilege strong minority identities over weak shared ones. Modood believes it does not necessarily follow that cultural or religious identities will be intrinsically divisive, but they do 'need a framework of vibrant, dynamic, national narratives and the ceremonies and rituals which give expression to a national identity'.[157]

Although Modood, and McDonald and Quell are commenting about exclusion on the basis of culture or faith, their arguments could be applied with equal ease to any group segmented by forms of marginalisation. For example, Gleeson cites research into culturally mainstream communities in regional Australia that are excluded by multiple barriers, including infrastructure, education and training, workforce participation and income.[158] So entrenched, this has led to new subcultures that – combined with intergenerational ill-health, poverty, ignorance, and located in places rarely visited by the wider population – they have become breeding grounds for alienation.

Governments seek clear parameters within which to plan and deliver programs, finding crisp delineations helpful. If these delineations come at a cost – inflexibility, or a failure to respond to the dynamic complexity of transforming social, cultural and economic conditions – they risk leading policymakers into rigid planning or fads. One year, the justice model works, the next year cohesion, the following year inclusion. The cohesion-inclusion divide represents this risk; neither approach offers remedies for fraught policy dilemmas. Attempts to capture definitive meanings fail to appreciate they are fluid concepts, describing changing conditions in complex settings. To be included, an individual, or a group, must be included *in* something. In a multicultural, democratic society, there must at least be some normative understanding of what constitutes such a society and the conditions that allow it to flourish. Multicultural democracy,[159] the governance and ethical principles behind it, help bind plural communities together and can be a rallying point in times of crisis. A more calibrated approach may be to recognise that social cohesion and social inclusion describe different facets of the same issue, and both have a place in the lexicon of public policy.

3.4 MANAGING CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL DIVERSITY IN GLOBALISED SOCIETIES

In its 2004 world report, UNDP scopes the importance of cultural liberty as a critical condition for human development.[160] It argues that, because most nations are culturally diverse, multicultural democracies, although imperfect, are the best form of governance. Australia and Canada were the first countries to introduce national multicultural policies.[161] However, the Howard government progressively withdraw commitment to multiculturalism, an approach of concern to many concerned with social justice and, in 2007, the AHRC published a position paper defending multiculturalism.[162] This mirrored many of the themes outlined by UNDP. In summary, both reports explain that the suppression of cultural identities can lead to conflicts, cultural freedoms are essential for human development, and human-rights principles establish the framework for productive, harmonious social relations.[163]

The AHRC position paper argues that multicultural policy neither defends special favours for minorities nor encourages segregation. Quite the opposite, it demands commitment to democratic systems, participation in the wider community, relinquishing traditional hatreds and behaving with civility towards fellow citizens; these are responsibilities that accompany civil and political rights.[164] Nor does multiculturalism belong to any particular political ideology,[165] rather, it is an inclusive policy framework recognising people's identities and rights (including rights to inclusion and participation):[166] compatible with cosmopolitanism and cultural democracy, multiculturalism is an approach that is both radical and progressive.[167] Multiculturalism is also a civil-society building tool that protects cultural liberty. This is not about preserving tradition: 'people should not be bound in an immutable box called "a culture"'.[168] Cultural liberties help expand people's options about how they live, not penalise them for their choices. UNDP argues that debates are often polarised between the upholding of national distinctiveness on one side, and safeguarding cultural heritage in the face of globalisation on the other. This is a misleading dichotomy, because 'cultural identities are heterogeneous and evolving – they are dynamic processes in which internal inconsistencies and conflicts drive change'.[169]

However, multicultural policy has seldom been debated in Australia with reference to human rights, either as a legislative instrument or as an ethical framework.[170] In recent

years, it has been equated frequently and incorrectly with settlement services and the inducting of humanitarian entrants into Australian society.[171] Additionally, multicultural policy has instigated surprisingly little discussion about culture. Critics, who argue multiculturalism is a form of apartheid and insist on immigrant assimilation, ignore the impossibility of shedding cultural, religious and other identities solely because a person has moved to another country. Attempts to enforce conformity may confound aspirations of cultural liberty and are thus more likely to aggravate social disharmony than to repress diversity. Furthermore, there are benefits gained by nurturing creative classes which draw inspiration from diversity.[172]

Ironically, governments that champion individualism are often most concerned about the extent of cultural and religious pluralism and promote nationalist concepts of cohesion. Helly argues that immigration has a dual status, which illustrates a liberal paradox: an economic logic of openness, but a political logic of closure. Openness 'stems from capitalist development … closure, from each state's need to maintain the uniqueness of its nation and civil society compared with other states and societies'.[173] Dismissing the dividends of pluralism neglects forms of capital that grow from nurturing pluralism,[174] although focusing solely on the economic benefits can result in inequitable wealth transfers; for example, when immigrants trained in a developing country are attracted to work in Australia, a rich country that has inadequately invested in education.[175]

Increasingly, multiculturalism is regarded as a framework for contesting discrimination, especially on the grounds of race, ethnicity, nationality and faith, and it is understood to help balance centrifugal forces in plural societies. As reflected in much of the UN literature, freedom and human development rely on the recognition and enforcement of civil, political, social, cultural and economic human rights; by upholding rights, people are protected from the state and its agents, and from abuse by others. Democracies are threatened when subgroups (whether citizens or non-citizens) are treated differently, stigmatised through implicit or complicit exclusion, or are denied selected rights.[176]

A common criticism of multiculturalism is that it encourages ghetto[177] with critics offended that some communities act to preserve aspects of their identity which distinguish them from the mainstream. For example, the continuing use of first languages (as in public signage) and celebrating cultural events have been interpreted as either sinister or a

rejection of Australian 'values'.[178] As well as questionable from both human rights and libertarian perspectives, such views are irrelevant.[179] Providing conduct is lawful, people are free to go about their affairs unhindered. A society that bans harmless but atypical conduct is a society on a path towards banning other forms of identity expressions that deviate from social, sexual or behavioural norms. How such norms are decided, interpreted and policed are questions no free society should ask. If it imposes norms, according to one particular standard, it heads towards totalitarianism. A state that genuinely respects human rights must also support principles of multiculturalism because these complement the protections enshrined in ICESCR which cover individual and (certain) group rights.

In large and diverse societies, inevitably, some members will call for the derogation of certain freedoms, whether collective (such as religious expressions) or individual (such as gender identity). There will be many motivations for such calls for prohibition, but two particular reasons help explain why. First, there is concern that some minority groups pose a threat to the majority. These concerns may be legitimate, as already discussed in relation to terrorism. The reflexive assumption, especially since 9/11, is that such groups are religiously inspired, despite tangible threats coming from other sources.[180] A fundamental principle underpinning Australian legal institutions is the assumption of innocence: people cannot be punished for hypothetical or imaginary crimes. The state has intelligence and police agencies responsible for investigating those suspected of planning violence; it is their role to act independently and with probity to protect society from harm. It is not the job of non-executive players to provide unsought vetting and policing of (religiously or ethnically) 'suspect' communities for, what they perceive, *might* occur. This is an alternative form of theocracy.[181]

Another reason for calls to selectively curtail rights is that assaults upon minorities are manifestations of power politics. All societies are stratified, and certain groups will have more power than others. With this power comes privilege and privileged voices will be heard above those with little influence. Privilege is inevitably valued; it offers control and security, it may be wielded benignly and with good intention, but it may also preserve the status quo. Discourses about multiculturalism are littered with examples of how power and privilege are used to ensure certain traits are marginalised and how members of minorities are accepted only if they reject aspects of their identity.[182] Australia, typical of other countries, has forms of privilege that are a legacy of history. Public calls for selective

exclusions, banning certain practices or the enforcement of conduct are attempts to maintain hegemony, power, and to exclude rival ideas from jostling for recognition. A peculiarity of this situation is it is often those excluded by their low socio-economic status who most resent competition from emerging, culturally-distinct groups seeking to find their own place within a mainstream society and culture. This is a form of struggle to avoid ending at the bottom of a socio-cultural 'barrel'; it is a struggle that typically becomes ugly and embraces violent notions of racism.[183] In a democracy, people have the right to express opinions and attempt to maintain their status. However, to observe that unequal power relations even exist often borders on taboo. Societies can only consider themselves truly democratic and egalitarian when there are established mechanisms to ameliorate the influence of those striving to maintain their place at the expense of the disempowered, and to provide authentic platforms for the marginalised to be heard and inequity corrected. These issues also relate to cultural rights, explored further in Section 4.2.

The threats posed by religiously inspired terrorism has increased interest in, and support of, interfaith activities. In Australia, the Howard government believed the interfaith movement could complement security objectives by encouraging greater respect between religions.[184] Further, the concept of 'core Australian values' became closely linked to discussions about religion and 'integration' of all CLDB groups. This focus on religion distracted government efforts from multiculturalism and race discrimination, with interfaith activities almost becoming their surrogate. The causes of this are unclear: it may have been because distinctions between interreligious dialogue and multiculturalism were poorly understood, the decisions could have been political or unintentional.[185] Whatever the reasons, these approaches were consistent with the clumsy way religion is often 'managed' by secular states.[186]

A common source of conflict is passages contained in some central religious texts that may provoke members of another religion because they feel this somehow offends their beliefs. This can be an excuse to persecute those of different faith.[187] One of the premises of interfaith dialogue is that critical inquiry may better help dissipate antagonism between and within faiths than punitive legislation. For these reasons alone, the role of interreligious activity is seen as justification for government endorsements.[188] However, interfaith work has the potential to ameliorate other social tensions. It is common for diaspora communities to have escaped persecution in their home nations, yet continue to experience

intimidation from fellow, former nationals who have different religious, racial or ethnic affiliations. For example, the Bahá'í community from Iran have been persecuted for many years by an often repressive Shi'ite regime and legislature.[189] Overseas events, such as civil disturbances, persecution, assassinations and genocide, have the potential to affect expatriate communities and inflame tensions in ways that reflect what is happening abroad.

Multiculturalism in Australia has mainly dealt with diaspora communities as a secular access-and-equity issue. It has not dealt significantly with culture and almost never with religion. In the same way that racism could be redefined in hard-law treaties to recognise religious discrimination, multiculturalism could better recognize religion as a feature of diversity. This was a deficit in prior multicultural policies although the 2011 iteration acknowledges religion as a dimension of cultural diversity for the first time.[190] This approach is essential in multifaith societies because it helps address some of the risks posed by extreme forms of religious expression.[191] However, concerns about interreligious conflict and its peaceful negotiation are global, not specific to any one country. International attempts to build peace can be difficult, such as those UN resolutions that aimed to 'combat' religious defamation.[192] Among the criticism of these resolutions is their use human-rights language and legal instruments to privilege Islam because it is the only religion that claims their faith can be defamed;[193] although flawed, these resolutions are compatible with other international standards (see Appendix A2.2).[194] Furthermore, religious freedoms are important for human development. As outlined in a report by the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion and Belief, discrimination can equally affect civil and political rights as economic, social and cultural rights, and religious exclusion can damage the life of an individual, their family and community, affecting their health, education, employment and standard of living.[195]

Although freedom of opinion may be exercised through public comment, behaviour, writing or artistic expressions, societies place boundaries around these freedoms. Laws exist that proscribe defamation and obscenity; as a whole, societies continually formulate implicit codes of conduct, which are largely based on intuitions, traditions and religion. The idea that unrestricted liberties are untenable is not new. By the late Renaissance, European literature regularly explored ethical dilemmas associated with conduct outside normative standards (then primarily meaning religiously dictated morals). As the public expression of free thought became increasingly possible during the seventeenth century,

these notions were examined more boldly. For example, although his motives remain cryptic, Shakespeare's Iago exemplifies the free agent who acts outside ethical or social codes. If we compare Shakespeare's character (*Othello* dates from approximately 1603) with an antihero of later that century, we see how the depiction of unaccountable human agency has evolved. In Thomas Shadwell's 1675 play, *The Libertine*, Don John and his acolytes rob, murder and rape as the whim takes them. This is a caricature of then-popular philosophical conceits about Nature that had been advocated by England's first significant public sceptic, Thomas Hobbes. Libertinism was heavily based on naturalism, typically illustrated by Adam and Eve prior to The Fall being favourably compared to beasts.[196] This 'pre-lapsarian' innocence represented a human ideal where behaving naturally was a moral imperative. Don John's justification for his conduct was that self-restraint would be a denial of his nature and, therefore, immoral.[197]

Such sophistry may appear puerile until one reflects that similar logic continues to be used to justify different, albeit equally offensive, conduct. The white supremacy movement considers it reasonable to humiliate and threaten homosexuals, Jews, other minorities and (occasionally) inflict physical hurt on them. Despite public vilification being a form of violence, it is asserted that the conscience of those expressing 'white pride' should not be restricted.[198] Their relative freedom to do so can be contrasted with the way most democracies response to slander in civil law. For example, a journalist who broadcasts unverifiable claims that damage a person's reputation may be sued (along with their publisher); a business that makes unverifiable public claims about a competitor's goods, thereby harming their business, may receive severe penalties under trade practice laws.

Typically, the rule of law will set limits on freedoms of expression and speech, requiring it remains within the boundaries of what is deemed 'reasonable'.[199] These limitations are seldom questioned in certain domains of life, but in others – such as racial, religious and cultural matters – protections are poor, and voices are often raised to defend an entitlement to express vile opinions.[200] There is a salient point about rights to personal expression that is easily overlooked: while people have the freedom to form views that are dictated by their conscience and experience – opinions others may dislike or emphatically disagree with – and the right to express these opinions privately, it does not follow this transfers to an *additional* right to impose their opinions on others and in the manner of their choosing. When opinions are highly offensive, or incite violence, they cross the line of acceptability.

What *does* incite violence or *is* offensive, however, is not always easy to define. Subjectivity should not provide sufficient justification for inaction. Judicial discretion and interpretation of law is, generally, a reliable foundation for a just decision about what comprises a reasonable public expression of opinion. The shortcoming – when it comes to race, faith and culture – is the limited law for judges to interpret or under which the aggrieved can take action.[201]

For many, the 2008 election of Barack Obama to the US presidency was highly symbolic. It demonstrated that a country with a history of black African enslavement, home to the Ku Klux Klan and, since emancipation, over a century of social, political and economic exclusion, could overcome its past. This may augur well for a future where racism based on physiognomy recedes in significance, but it does not mean racism is disappearing.[202]

Racial distinctions are a product of the anthropological sciences and date from the late nineteenth century, a time of enthusiasm for categorising and describing visible differences between humans. Labels such as 'Mongoloid', 'Negroid' and 'Caucasian' described common features of people of Asian, African or European descent and often carried with them prejudiced assumptions. In its extreme form, especially during the early twentieth century, eugenics were promulgated under regimes, such as Nazi Germany.[203] The very notion of race, however, is now contested and racism does not necessarily survive due to the existence of 'races'. Human genetics has demonstrated race is a meaningless concept and many scholars maintain race to be a construct with potent social and political effects but with no basis in biological fact.[204] Nevertheless, many reasons are used to concoct categories based on old anthropological markers such as skin colour, hair, height and eye structure. Common types of racism – such as the use of slang to denigrate people – are evolving into more covert forms, informed by cultural, religious or subtle ethnic markers which stigmatise an individual or group. This trend is likely to continue given globalisation and the mass-movements of people.[205] When populations settle into new communities, they may retain, deliberately or not, a distinct presence.[206] When this happens, racism is able to morph and be expressed in novel ways such as credophobia, cyber-racism and xeno-racism.[207] More commonly, superficial physiological distinctions, compounded by cultural difference, help maintain myths and, consequently, racial discrimination;[208] beliefs that can be reinforced in unintended ways.[209]

Because physiognomy cannot be changed, or modified only with expensive surgery, race is not a matter of choice. This is sometimes seen as an argument that makes racial discrimination less acceptable than discrimination on other grounds that may be freely chosen (such as beliefs). In the case of religion, it could be argued it differs from a person's physiognomy because faith is a matter of choice. However, like culture, religious belief can be deeply ingrained into individual identity and psychology. On this basis, we can question whether faith is, indeed, simply chosen.[210] Some representatives of religious organisations contest the suggestion that faith is substantively different from physical identifiers, arguing faith is not necessarily subjective but an unmoveable reality.[211]

Transnational population movements may be a consequence of globalisation, while also providing economic benefits; however, when immigrant communities experience racism and exclusion, imposed by a resident citizenry resentful of their presence, host nations have an obligation to protect minorities via criminal laws and policing (a universalist approach) and (particular) multicultural and inclusion policies. When they become victim of persistent discrimination, minority groups will also be vulnerable to alienation. If severe and protracted, this may make them resentful and prone to retaliation. Cultural democratic approaches, as a way of building community with others of shared identity, are relatively easy through the use of communication technologies such as cable television and the internet.

The structure of communities within communities presents challenges to national self-imaginings, community harmony and cultural maintenance.[212] Because minorities are growing and ever diversifying, governments have two equal duties of care. The first is to ensure people are treated with justice, equity and in a manner consistent with the civic experience of the population majority;[213] this may involve substantive equality programs that can cause resentment from some within the mainstream. The second duty is to manage possible security issues: protecting the minority from the majority and vice versa, and preventing intercommunal tensions from escalating. As argued in the 2002 report of the World Conference against Racism, the maintenance of civil society – given that racism and related forms of discrimination can easily increase in these settings – is a critical role of government.[214] UNDP also offers four principles that inform multiculturalism in global contexts. First, defending traditions (which are not always a necessary good) can restrain development although (second) it is essential that diversity be respected. Third, imbalances

in economic and political power threaten cultures of weaker communities that may need protecting, and fourth, diversity generally thrives in an interdependent world, especially when people feel permitted to have multiple and complementary identities.[215]

Human rights are an internationally recognised system, but with imperfections. The same can be said of multiculturalism with some criticisms deserving consideration. Among these is the argument that, if interpreted narrowly and strictly, multiculturalism can work against personal liberty, with various approaches described as either 'thin' or 'thick' versions.[216] The case of gender suppression as cultural practice (which could occur under a thick iteration of multicultural policy) is often mentioned, particularly by Susan Okin.[217] While there have been vigorous responses to Okin,[218] the debate demonstrates why multiculturalism could benefit from being re-envisaged as a human-rights-based policy because it may help conciliate between competing values and act as a tool to build civil society. For example, laws and dispute mechanisms may help protect the rights of women subject to violent or restrictive domestic lives within some minority communities. These instruments would override conflicting claims by patriarchs who argue physical restraint or unfettered sexual access is a cultural norm. Such an approach to multiculturalism is compatible with the view that, in the fight against racism and related intolerance:

> the legal human rights-based approach must be complemented by intellectual and cultural strategies aimed at reaffirming the value of multiculturalism within and among States, as well as respect for cultural diversity and for universal human rights.[219]

3.5 CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY

The concept of the citizen is inextricably linked to the nation state. While citizenship is now a widely accepted institution, with precedents in antiquity, its current status is quite recent.[220] For instance, it was not until 1984 that Australians ceased to be British subjects, and Australian nationality and citizenship became singular concepts.[221] The construct of the nation is also relatively modern, being well established for little more than 200 years, particularly with the formation of European states during the nineteenth century.[222] Ideas of national self-determination gathered pace in the twentieth century, and it was only in the decades after the Second World War, with decolonisation and establishment of the UN, that a global community comprising nation states was comprehensively in place.[223]

Modern nations originally tended to coalesce around monarchical systems although, in Northern America and France, they did so around new republics. Existing nations were strengthened, and new ones made more possible, with improvements in technology, communications, transport infrastructure and centralised political control. Their cohesion tended to be associated with notions of shared kinship, culture, geography, laws and politics. Indeed, many national myths are about homogeneity: aspects that are shared and help define the distinct qualities of a nation and provide national 'narratives'.[224]

Citizenship represents the official form of membership, and affiliation with, a particular nation and can be of value to both the granter and grantee. It is a form of social contract, effectively a promise (even if one is born with, or never sought, such a 'contract') that each party will work in the interests of the other. The citizen will be loyal to the nation, may be required to fight to protect it, will abide by its laws, and may carry certain other responsibilities. The nation, through its governance and those agents who act on behalf of the executive, will defend the realm (its territories and populace from external threats), maintain social stability, laws and institutions so that citizens can live in relative safety (from internal threats) and ensure basic material requirements. In the modern democratic understanding of res publica, the responsibility of the nation to protect 'the rights of man' is a primary responsibility to its citizens.[225]

Superficially, this contract between citizen and nation seems reasonable. However, the relationship is not straightforward, and citizenship in a heterogeneous state can be contested by questioning the:

- conflicts between ethics (a personal sense of right and wrong), duty (a public obligation to the demands of civic authority) and the manner in which dissent can be expressed[226]
- possibilities of multiple or global citizenships in an age of transnational diasporas
- unequal power relations between an individual and the monolithic state
- social divisions within a nation between the citizen and aliens
- effects when nationalist agendas harness citizenship to incite antagonism towards atypical members of society
- role of human rights in defining the freedoms of citizens
- how, when and why a citizen becomes 'Othered' or made alien in their own nation.

Although such issues are relevant to current debates on citizenship, many are not new, having often inspired exploration of universal challenges of the human condition. As early as 442 BC, Sophocles dissected the competing ethics of state and private responsibility in his play *Antigone*,[227] and, with the formation of states in the mid nineteenth century, Alexis de Tocqueville detailed and compared governance problems in France with American democracy.[228]

In recent years, Australian citizenship has received much attention and an Australian Government department was renamed to denote this particular responsibility (Immigration and Citizenship). To prove its validation of national identity, the Howard government introduced a test in 2007 for those seeking citizenship – a controversial matter, albeit one replicated in other countries.[229] Most questions in the test covered lifestyle, Anglo-centric culture, history and 'Australian values' – a term frequently used by politicians at the time. Particularly contentious was the perception of the state as either aiming to inculcate communities or exclude those who were too different, or lacked the capacity or will to conform. It also sent subliminal messages to the Australian-born (already citizens) that those seeking citizenship needed to prove their loyalty by passing the test or would be otherwise suspect – of what, was not clear, but the inference was social insularity at best or insurrection at worst. Consequently, this strategy was criticised for being conformist and capitalising on a general mood of post-9/11 apprehension.[230] Ironically, certainly from a conservative political perspective, testing had perverse effects, with many British and European immigrants disinterested in citizenship while those with greater need for a new national home – such as African refugees – clamoured for citizenship, yet had difficulty passing the test.[231]

Despite the government's enthusiastic endorsement of Australian citizenship, it is an amorphous concept, poorly described in law and with vague privileges. In its closing weeks, the Howard government released a publication that emphasised citizenship is about belonging to a distinct national community with shared values, institutions and identity, but one demanding sacrifices and obligations. The publication asserts traditional and relatively simplified visions of the citizenship ideal. However, this marketing exercise is ambiguous about those rights prospective citizens might expect to enjoy. Consistent with an assimilationist agenda, *Becoming an Australian Citizen* says new citizens are expected to have appropriate levels of English competency, knowledge of Australia's history, heritage,

people and 'unique national culture'; this will help 'foster a cohesive and integrated society with a sense of shared destiny and, should the need arise, shared sacrifice for the common good'.[232] It also states 'citizenship provides for an overriding commitment to Australia' and for citizens to build 'an even stronger and more united' nation.[233]

The document also lists Australian values, perhaps an antidote for 'un-Australian' conduct. These include freedoms of speech, association and religion; equality under the law, of opportunity, between men and women; tolerance; respect and compassion for those in need; peacefulness; and respect for equal worth, dignity and individual liberties.[234] These values (many of which are neither values nor unique) 'reflect strong influences on Australia's history and culture. These include Judeo-Christian ethics, a British political heritage and the spirit of the European Enlightenment.'[235]

Citizenship may imply rights; it may also infer values are stable and enduring, yet little can be guaranteed. Citizens and prospective citizens must take on trust that 'values' have effect as legally enacted civil liberties. However, while Australian citizenship provides certain privileges (e.g. the franchise and to hold a passport[236]), generally, the rights of citizens are unprotected by the Constitution or statutory charter. This is confirmed in another government publication released at the same time, the *Readers' Guide: Australian Citizenship Act 2007*. This Act introduced the citizenship test regime and, as the guide explains, the purposes of the Act were not to define the legal effects of citizenship other than its acquisition or loss. These are covered by other laws. Of note is the qualification there is no:

> reference to Australian citizenship in the Australian Constitution and consequently there are no explicit constitutional rights of citizenship. Whether there are any implied citizenship rights ... is something for the High Court of Australia to determine, not the Parliament.[237]

This reality, that citizenship fails to confer rights because most rights cannot be guaranteed, is poorly understood by most Australian citizens, whether born with or seeking this status. These inconsistencies highlight the fragility of individual freedoms as well as the real value of citizenship, especially from a state that expects more than it is prepared to give. Confusing government rhetoric about human rights can be illustrated in several ways. The health sector offers one example. While many public health services proclaim their

commitment to patient rights, the Australian Commission on Safety and Quality in Healthcare has issued a carefully worded *Australian Charter of HealthCare Rights,* that says the Australian Government 'commits to international agreements about human rights which recognise everyone's right to have the highest possible standard of physical and mental health'.[238] It goes on to explain what the citizen can 'expect from the Australian health system'.[239] The operative word, 'expect', reveals the myth at the centre of such well-intentioned claims: Australian human rights are ideas, not legal guarantees. They are neither enshrined in law nor secured as a normative tool for citizens to protect their health or the services to which they (should be) entitled.

Australia was founded by supplanting its First Nation peoples; it has been rapidly populated by diverse migration flows, and is multifaith and multiethnic. The idea it has a distinctive national character is problematic unless it can be understood as being essentially multicultural. This means, to function, communities must be party to a reciprocal social contract where individual and group identities are respected, but where rights are paired with responsibility. Hence, the importance of social cohesion – or certain shared public ethics and forms of participation to which citizens should commit – to make inclusion meaningful. *Becoming an Australian Citizen* portrays citizenship to joining an elite club – belonging to 'a distinct national community' with both tangible and intangible rules – where membership is selective and entails accepting ordained beliefs that demand adherence. The tangible rules (such as the legal system) are clear and responsible, but the intangible rules are not. It is unclear, for example, what is meant by statements such as citizenship relies on 'sentiments of nationhood and enduring attachment to what Australians hold in common [providing] ... common reference points'.[240]

John Biles and Paul Spoonley interrogate the assumptions embedded in this type of document. They question how societies, that receive immigrants, ameliorate the alienation and exclusion experienced by many young people through the promotion of a highly inclusive national identity and whether such a clearly articulated and immutable identity 'acts as an appropriate and impermeable membrane to exclude those elements that are unable or unwilling to be assimilated into the national identity of the state in question'.[241] This debate, they argue, is whether a national identity should be sufficiently amenable to accommodate new identities, especially the culturally diverse, or whether core values of citizenship are truly universal. If the latter, does this serves to dictate who can or cannot be

accepted as a citizen? Such a view holds that citizenship and national identity are inextricably linked. However, in many ways this stance is belated. Most countries that supported high levels of immigration now host diverse populations, which 'short of massive expulsions and the wide scale revocation of citizenship (which is abhorrent to liberal democracies and contrary to international law), will continue'.[242] For regimes that proselytise on the desired qualities of new citizens, selective acculturation tools (such as citizenship tests) are intended to limit cultural diversity while running new arrivals through orientation programs to encourage increased assimilation. However, when institutional, social and normative structures remain untouched under such a system, there are implications for both national identity and security.[243]

Related to the role of citizenship, is a 'problem' in many countries: the issue of national identity.[244] Active promotion by centralist governments – combined with persisting beliefs, fears and practices within the majority of a population – tends to construct an image of the nation as encompassing various (usually 'unique') qualities advocated as an ideal to cultivate, protect and comply with. Commitment to this partly fabricated, partly tangible collective imagining is the process of bonding to a national identity. If citizens cannot envisage being members of society within the nation, then, without belonging, they may be alienated from it. When individual or collective identities are disengaged, or find few meaningful points of connection with sanctioned standards of the social, economic, political and cultural life expected of citizens, the process of national identification fails. Ideals of citizenship that are inflexible or conformist can aggravate identities by inflaming differences and, perversely, wedge people from wider society. Conflicts often occur when mainstream citizens perceive minorities as nonconformist. These differences can relate to indigeneity, migration status, race, religion, or other determinants such as gender, disability or sexuality. The way such groups are accommodated in a citizenship culture will affect how the state manages social cohesion and inclusion. Ultimately, how this is negotiated will be shaped by the way identity is respected.

Humans have many identities, and identity can be understood in many ways.[245] A person may have a gender identity (a sense of being male, female, or an alternative such as transsexual); a career, family or religious identity, or an identity associated with a sport or hobby. Sometimes people wear different identity 'hats' depending on the circumstances. They may also perceive an issue through different identity 'lenses', helping them to

recognise the complexity or perspectives of certain issues. Paradoxically, identity may appear contradictory in some people, such as those who demonstrate behaviours and attitudes that differ across the domains of their life. For example, an apolitical public servant who carefully adheres to procedures may be an unconventional activist in their private life. This is not necessarily inconsistent; rather, it shows they can comply with professional standards – indeed, such a dual approach to life and work may be part of their identity.

Often people will choose their identities, such as membership of a professional body. Sometimes identity cannot be chosen or disguised, such as one based on skin colour. For others, the issue is more complex, as it is for those belonging to ethno-religious groups. Some people may have many identities, moving between them depending on circumstances. Hyphenated descriptors, such as Aboriginal-Australian or Chinese-Australian, are also used to denote identity. This offends some people; others welcome it as one aspect of an expression of who they are. Identity – as the way a person chooses or 'grows' to create meaning in their life and to negotiate their internal and external realities – is such a fundamental feature of the human condition that it may be a better defining quality of difference than culture, language or race.[246] That is not to diminish or differentiate identity from these attributes; instead, it is a way of explaining how and why these qualities shape and define a person or group.[247]

Brewer analysed these tensions when developing the concept of optimal distinctiveness. She says the instinctive need for belonging can sit on a continuum where, at either extreme, a person's sense of worth is threatened. Being distinctive (highly individuated) leaves the individual vulnerable to isolation or exclusion, even when they excel in something desirable. Showing little distinctiveness (low individuation) entails surrendering much of one's identity. As such, 'social identity derives from a fundamental tension between human needs for validation and similarity to others (on the one hand) and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation (on the other)'.[248] Brewer argues the individual is pulled between the need to belong to a group and the need to express a separate identity. Similar to the way economic theory posits market forces of supply and demand trend towards equilibrium, Brewer plots differentiation and assimilation preferences on a plane; the point of intersection represents where the individual finds an optimal position between the need to conform and to self-express.[249]

Because identity recognition acknowledges the uniqueness of both the individual and group, it involves both personal and collective self-determination, making it an issue of civil liberties. Identity preservation often becomes political, particularly when dealing with shared identities, culture and the perception of associated injustices.[250] Collective mobilisation to defend identity does not necessarily involve disloyalty to the state or a shared concept of citizenship. However, the popular media may portray it in this way given it often responds negatively to any specially claimed status that implies a rejection of dominant cultural, social or political-economic paradigms. Such actions are a human right and do not necessarily compete with ideas of national identity, indeed, they can be complementary, especially if they embrace liberal traditions.

Identity is typically interpreted through the cultural lens of the viewer. For example, the wearing of a headscarf by some Muslim women is often criticised as a form of gender suppression, but many Muslim women feel this choice gives them more freedom, not less. It provides an escape from unrelenting cultural expectations or unwanted sexualisation generated by media and advertising which, ironically, promotes alternative forms of gender suppression and exploitation.[251] Identity, however, can be associated with risks. This can occur where an identity is unbalanced or exclusive, such as when an individual freely chooses, or is deceived into accepting, a mono-identity of the kind often linked to political or theocratic fanaticism.[252] The criticism that multiculturalism has an ideological effect, inferring it places principles of identity preference above those of the common good, is a misrepresentation. It also ignores that much human thought and behaviour is informed by an ideology of some sort. Such criticism is essentially a debate about whose ideology is better – a subjective and ultimately futile task, even if it is accepted there are some absolute standards that help determine preference. No matter which side is chosen, extreme ideology is particularly problematic because, by definition, it will not tolerate competitors.[253]

There are dangers in excessive affiliation to any single identity and, in far-from-equilibrium circumstances, most humans seem to want guidance from an authoritative figure that provides comfort through decisiveness, and who articulates their fears in simple terms.[254] This is often ideological. Young people, especially those angered by injustice or alienated from society or their own community, are at risk of turning to radical doctrines. A major challenge for civil societies is to therefore remain engaged with those at risk of

surrendering their free will or identifying with mono-identities.[255] Modood argues that, despite the caution with which nationalism should be viewed, there are protective factors associated with a healthy vision of a national identity and an acceptance that rights must be accompanied by civic obligations.[256] Authentic multicultural democracies respect the identities of their citizens, accepting this as a cultural norm. They will also be made more cohesive by a sense of responsibility that accompanies rights. This form of social contract helps builds citizen loyalty and supports constructive responses to change and crises.

Globalisation and its accompanying cultural products have eroded personal and collective identities, weakened national sovereignties and individual rights, and degraded citizenship.[257] These trends, however, can be countered by citizens empowered by democracy and equity. The erosion of institutional and social conditions erodes the value of citizenship, whereas a robust citizenship, built on healthy civic participation and rights, helps protect institutions of state governance. Such symbiosis can provide the real value of national distinctiveness where citizens have strong individual and group identities and, in turn, actively defend the structures of nationhood.

3.6 PUBLIC OPINION AND HOW IT IS SHAPED

Public opinion is a potent force heavily influencing the direction of civil society. It can shape cultural trends, political decision-making and power dynamics. Paradoxically, it has the capacity to drive change and force reluctant public leaders to follow progressive measures; yet, is also susceptible to manipulation by forces that fear or seek to exploit it and, perversely, it can be harnessed to work against the public good.[258] As observed by Mill over 150 years ago, public opinion can represent a form of tyranny as destructive and potent as that exercised by political despotism.[259] Seen thus, public opinion has significant human-rights implications.

Public opinion is most commonly influenced by politics, corporate interests and the media, although these are not easy to disaggregate given their interests are entwined. Jürgen Habermas argued that, in Western democracies, public opinion is susceptible to manipulation by elites (particularly politicians and capital).[260] Herbert Blumer is less proscriptive than Habermas and believes public opinion differs from collective behaviour (as expression of mass consumer preference), it cannot be simply classified and may

comprise many opinions on numerous issues held simultaneously and in conflict.[261] Toby Miller analyses the complex interplay between corporate and media interests, and how they have influenced US citizenship, consumption and public knowledge. He argues these forces have so altered America that it has become the least socially mobile Western nation. Given the dominance of market economics:

> the role of government has been redefined, at least rhetorically, from a sometimes feisty agent stabilizing labor and capital via redistribution, to a mendicant servant of capital with some residual duty of care to the citizenry.[262]

Miller observes that even outwardly innocuous media, about the weather or food, are used politically and to reinforce consumption stereotypes. His is concerned that global commodity chains have influenced types of citizenship and political engagement, creating a culture of acquisition and belonging that is unaware, or moved by, 'the oppressive, unhealthy and destructive character of the regime under which [US citizens] live and are governed'.[263] This failure highlights the difficulties of finding common ground between often-competing strands of the political right: economic conservatives (who are not necessarily social conservatives), and many social conservatives who often dismiss the principles of market economics. Economic conservatives may have fostered the current materialist climate but this is often critiqued by social or religious conservatives who see commercialism as too secular or as having harmful moral consequences.[264]

An interesting comparison to Miller's theoretical approach is the qualitative research of Maggie Hamilton into the experience of being an Australian girl. Similarly, she is concerned with cradle-to-grave global marketing, the alliance of advertisers, child psychologists and social researchers in exploiting the vulnerabilities of children to sell goods and develop lifetime brand loyalty. Hamilton argues that the next generation of girls is at risk of becoming compulsive consumers: highly conformist, prematurely adult, sexually active, and obsessed with fashion, belonging and materialism. Simultaneously, they are at risk of mental-health problems, disconnection from realities (community, nature, their own exploitation) and evolving into a generation, collectively focused on acquisition and appearance. This is a form of gender abuse and violates the rights of the child. However, the problems are largely ignored because they are driven by corporations and advertisers, in tandem with a range of media, especially commercial television, the

internet and magazines, all coordinating their efforts to capture a receptive demographic. Hamilton argues that girls in late childhood define their social worth and success:

> by the brands they wear, eat and live with … functionality takes a back seat to the belief that along with ownership of a brand comes success and admiration ... Impressionable, and painfully vulnerable to social pressure, tweens and teens are willing to give up their inner freedom in exchange for the hopes of social acceptance ... promised by marketers.[265]

Other feminists have echoed Hamilton's concerns. Melinda Tankard Reist fears these trends – mass media marketing, consumption and popular cultural product – reflect a 'pornographied' society. She says the messages delivered reflect a culture so obsessed with body image that the freedoms of young females are limited; the pressures are so powerful that we are producing a homogenised generation. Rather, we should encourage independent thought and exploration of the world that 'goes beyond the airhead cult of celebrity and fashion – to have aspirations beyond being Miss Silicon 2008'.[266]

Although public opinion, consumer preferences and citizen knowledge are valued because they can be harnessed for profit and control, as Toby Miller ironically observes, 'glorification of consumers rarely endorses organized political action by them'.[267] Indeed, corporations often deploy the discourse of opposition to exploitation, repackaging it for their own interests. Meredith Levande, writing about the use of pornographic female images by the popular music industry, says the:

> use of feminist rhetoric with sexual commodification is not incidental; since media companies now distribute pornography, there is an economic interest in promoting ideals that are in line with the bottom line ... where all the outlets are forced to mainstream pornography in peer-pressure-filled efforts to keep up and compete.[268]

Gail Dines agrees, documenting the strong links between 'industrial scale' pornography, mass-marketing and popular culture.[269]

Critics of the media's role in manipulating public opinion express concern that, as shareholders of public companies increasingly gain control of media organisations, profits become more important than the public good, and the news media chase stories that are quick and cheap to produce at the expense of considered, in-depth coverage. In this environment, images of the world are not so much reflected as they are refracted to

reinforce consumers' existing worldviews with all their embedded prejudices.[270] Hegemonic corporations, interested solely in profit maximisation, are unconcerned with individual freedoms, diversity or social inclusion, unless they can be exploited to increase sales or market share.[271] Whether this is pursued through presenting difference as positive or through demonising difference is immaterial: it merely depends on which position is the most profitable. Advocacy for social justice is often more expensive for corporations than avoiding it. When profits are made outside of regulatory or normative moral frameworks, businesses may be at the sharp point of cultural, economic and political conflict.[272] A persisting fear about commercial media, given its power and influence, is that these outlets are easily tempted to influence public opinion in clandestine ways: to behave illegally and, through combined threat and inducement, to corrupt others, including politicians and police. These were demonstrated to be genuine concerns when the protracted bribery, telephoning-hacking and related criminality at the UK branch of News Corporation between 2005 and 2011 became known.[273] Journalist and activist John Pilger claims the media often colludes with kleptocratic governments; a view sympathetic with Boulding's observation that 'a world of unseen dictatorship is conceivable, still using the forms of democratic government'.[274] Pilger argues that many democracies are succumbing to corporate dictatorship behind a media facade, where journalists, whether wittingly or not, are trained as:

> tribunes of an ideology that regards itself as non-ideological, that presents itself as the natural centre, the very fulcrum of modern life [that] may very well be the most powerful and dangerous ideology we have ever known because it is open-ended.[275]

Echoing Berman's concerns about the common failings of liberal democracies in condoning or even sliding into extreme political views,[276] Pilger warns (despite many of liberalism's benefits) of false perceptions and complacency, 'if we deny its dangers, its open-ended project, and the all-consuming power of its propaganda, then we deny our right to true democracy'.[277]

Business as usual – whether political, financial or corporatised media – is difficult to redirect, not least because of the enormous momentum behind it.[278] However, if businesses and media conglomerates are not regulated to curtail the worst offenders of malfeasance, the system of global capital is at risk. This is ironic, given that neoliberalism has

constructed a self-referential edifice with its own logic of self-regulation and perpetual growth, which is, simultaneously, self-destructive. This view of an internationally oppressive and influential media that is primarily motivated by business inducements and skewed by culturally narrow perspectives, is made by Philippa Atkinson. She complains media bias often deliberately obscures the real causes of conflicts, exaggerates the 'savagery' of those involved and complements a Western political agenda that often fuels peripheral wars by condoning exploitative free-market practices. This remains 'part of a broader post-Cold War trend of the establishment of the supremacy of the Western liberal ideology and market-driven culture'.[279] If the clash-of-civilizations concept has validity, it could be applied to the way – in rich and poor nations alike – public opinions are shaped by the monolithic assault of Western values and modes of consumption that are largely invented media products.

Public reactions to the Schapelle Corby trial in Indonesia, in 2005, illustrate the way the media and public opinion can feed off each other. This was an example of how fascination with a celebrity (however defined) can shift rapidly – favoured one week, victimised the next, criminalised the week after, then redeemed. The saga of celebrity role-changing can last for years, feeding a seemingly endless hunger for information, recycled innuendo or accusation. These narratives become a form of desublimated expression, or projection, of the human condition. In the Corby case, audience reactions to media reports were often racist: they assumed Corby was innocent, the Indonesian legal system would fail to deliver justice,[280] and an Islamic Indonesian judiciary would issue racially biased judgements – phobias laced with irony and error.[281] With the lens of commercial media often distorting international events, vulnerable audiences may be incited to respond xenophobically towards other cultures, persuaded the world is violent and their fears legitimate. As Corby's story unfolded over the years, combined with revelations of a criminal history in the family, her victim status changed and, with it, public opinion. There seemed to be resentment about previously felt empathy or her betrayal of a communal sense of superiority over foreign barbarism. Nevertheless, with many opportunities for future interpolation of Corby's life-vagaries, this attitude may change with audiences having her story implanted in their collective consciousness. This is a similar experience to the Chamberlain family. Their case evolved into a multi-decade tale of intrigue and accusations after the disappearance of their child, Azaria, at Uluru in 1980.[282]

In Australia, the media encompass a wide range of technologies, political orientations and audiences, although electronic and print media are largely privatised and in the hands of large corporations such as News Ltd and Fairfax. The main alternative is a small community broadcasting sector and government-owned, free-to-air networks (ABC and SBS), which provide television, radio and internet services. Privately owned cable television has increased the number of available channels, Satellite TV has brought further diversity and the internet offers vast opportunities for smaller private and community organisations to produce content.[283] Nevertheless, media controlled by major corporate players dominate – with egregious content conformity – information and entertainment consumed by most audiences. Thus, the advertiser–publisher relationship shapes the media landscape and greatly influences Australian social and cultural life.

The mass media broadly reflects the belief that Australia is a secular society with Judaeo–Christian values,[284] although there are often tensions between a secular world-view and Christian-influenced ethics that find expression in the media. Most ethnic community conflicts tend to be reported and interpreted in culturally deterministic ways that seldom consider other possible causes, although most commentary is based on a cultural perspective that reflects Australian norms. These norms are often reinforced by the attitudes of influential citizens, particularly politicians, frequently reported in the media. A 2009 study of public statements across the major political parties revealed the influence of embedded conservative Christian values or cultural assumptions.[285] Although politicians, like all citizens, have the right to freely practice any religion or hold any beliefs, problems may arise if this is not disclosed or is used mischievously to influence or 'wedge' public opinion.[286]

Print media content ranges from ostensibly balanced and factual reports to opinion pieces; the latter are dominated by the views of polarising commentators (sometimes called 'trolls' for their aggressive or opinionated style) who are typically conservative and suspicious of pluralism and human rights.[287] Talkback hosts on commercial radio reflect similar views and are commonly drawn from the same group. They attempt to exploit prejudices among listeners and mobilise public opinion, often against Muslims, refugees, asylum seekers and other diaspora communities, although this easily shifts to other targets as opportunities arise, such as the unemployed, single mothers, 'greenies' or Indigenous Australians.[288] There has also been debate about the content and effects of reporting from newsrooms.

Some researchers have argued there persists a systematic bias, and a longitudinal review of the print media revealed a deeply embedded set of views that reinforce Anglo-Christian (or at least, Western) worldviews.[289] If true, such biases would merely reflect the broad form of Australian society, even if undesirable because of its potential subjectivity. In a culturally and religiously plural society, when prejudiced views are presented as objective truth, there are likely to be ramifications for social cohesion.

Despite occasional lapses by newsrooms, and the opinions of a small group of columnists and vitriolic commercial broadcasters, Australian media are full of what can be described as lifestyle stories. Indeed, this comprises much of the print media. These continue to reflect consumer preferences which are increasingly integrated into a globalised world interested in overseas travel, ethnic cuisines, foreign film, arts, crafts and goods reflecting cultures and values distinct from those of mainstream Australia.

Nevertheless, the media often functions in vicious cycles: fears about intercultural violence and social conflict can fuel fears in the wider community which, in turn, creates media copy for further fear-mongering. Some in the media have short-term interest in doing this because it provides self-perpetuating stories with sensational content.[290] Since 2001, the media's relation with Islam has been particularly controversial. In Australia, as in other countries, there has been repeated negative stereotyping that reinforces prejudices about Muslims, along with a tendency to link reporting about terrorism with Islam.[291] While terrorist attacks are a legitimate (albeit remote) concern, and the media have a role to inform the public of real threats, reporting that reflexively makes this association has significantly effected Australian Muslims and undermined community relations.[292] Muslim frustration with this approach continues to be reported in research.[293]

This century, the main incidents attracting frenzied media attention in Australia were, first, the events that began when the Norwegian boat *Tampa* rescued asylum seekers from a sinking vessel off the West Australian coast. This occurred just prior to the 9/11 attacks and was followed (among other events) by the Bali bombings in 2002 and 2005, the Australian embassy bombing in 2004 in Jakarta, the 7/7 London bombings in 2005 and the attempted attacks in 2007, numerous arrests of alleged 'homegrown' terrorists in England and Australia, as well as years of horrific internecine conflict in Iraq and ongoing conflict with the Taliban in Afghanistan. The Howard government adeptly used *Tampa*, and

subsequent incidents, to reinforce through the media, a connection between Muslim asylum seekers and the risk of domestic terrorism.[294] This manipulation, repeated in following years, embedded a relationship between the communication agents of government, and certain members of the media, which compounded perceptions in the community that Muslims are a threat, Islam is an inherently violent religion, and national security should be a higher priority than human rights.[295] Peter Manning argues that 'dog whistling' became common in Australian fear-politics in the post-*Tampa* period. Dog whistling refers to the use of language that appears superficially neutral but contains a hidden narrative of alternative 'meanings'. For those who use it, the utility of dog whistling is its plausible deniability even when its encoded messages of fear and division inflict social harm.[296] The way mass media and politics have colluded to shape Australian public opinion has been analysed by Josh Fear who argues, because many voters privately hold views far more extreme than those generally accepted, politicians must choose between leading:

> public opinion on an emotionally charged issue such as race and risk a voter backlash, or they can take a populist approach and inflame prejudice in the community. Some want to have it both ways: to send a message of support to voters with racist leanings, but not to alienate those for whom an appeal to prejudice would be anathema.[297]

Dog whistling is frequently a tactic used by politicians who work covertly with (usually extreme right-wing) commentators 'to disseminate the right messages'.[298] Mastering the art of double meaning, of presenting texts with both exoteric and esoteric content, was a key strategy of Leo Strauss, the political philosopher who most influenced US neo-conservatism. It is perhaps unsurprising this has morphed into the vulgar form of dog whistling now employed by his widely disbursed students in Republican administrations, from where the tactic has spread.[299]

Local and state media also played a role in publicising one of the most divisive issues involving Muslims. Due to rapid growth, improving prosperity and geographic spread, Muslim communities have often sought to build new religious schools or mosques. Planning decisions about development applications are the responsibility of local governments, and such applications have triggered local protests. These have not been limited to concerns relating to zoning and development such as changes in traffic flow and noise but have sometimes included religious and cultural bigotry. Tabloids and talkback

radio keenly commentated on these events, their approach ranging from balanced to inflammatory. For example, in May 2008, a local council rejected on zoning grounds an application to build an Islamic school in the outer, south-western Sydney region of Camden; this gained national media coverage, and locals were recorded vociferously and offensively complaining they did not want the school built in their community.[300] Such events have also fuelled satiric comedy. The ABC television satire *The Chaser* publicly displayed a model of a mosque in the wealthy Anglo-Australian Sydney suburb of Mosman; it advised local residents it was to be built nearby and filmed the generally horrified reactions of passers-by.[301] Humour, here, highlighted largely hidden problems relating to more-covert local-government decisions about such matters. One study into the way councils use by-laws to limit the rights of cultural and religious minorities suggests these decisions are often problematic.[302]

The most notorious event of recent years involving the Australian media and Muslim communities was the December 2005 riots at Cronulla, a beachside suburb in southern Sydney. Some 5,000 people gathered to 'protect *their* beach' from a perceived threat of Muslim men or 'Lebs' (people of Lebanese ancestry, not necessarily making any distinction with Muslims) arriving from western Sydney to use the beach and, allegedly, to harass local women and lifesavers. Cronulla is the only seaside suburb with a rail link to the hotter western suburbs where many Muslims and people of Middle-Eastern ancestry live. The subsequent police report noted the role of certain media players who helped instigate and organise the event. In particular, one commercial-radio talkback commentator gave airtime and encouragement to racist agitators, approving their hate-speech.[303] Such events, where the media shapes public opinion about Muslims, are not unique.[304] It has been a trend across the world, often because of the multinational structure of conventional media, which share stories as well as inherent editorial biases.[305]Although victims of poor media standards are usually minority, disempowered or visibly different groups, in other regards they are everybody. For example, the media have consistently passed judgement on the illicit drug trade. Public health experts have argued for years that zero-tolerance approaches (like alcohol prohibition in the US) have only served the interests of organised crime, doing little for users.[306] No matter the medical and social evidence or the authority and criticisms of the approach, a rational debate on reform is impossible because much of the commercial media are sensationalist, and advocate of punitive policing and sentencing

measures.[307] Despite decades of failure and immeasurable human suffering, the media ensure that alternative approaches to the problem are continuously stymied.

At its worst – and failures at the now-defunct *News of the World* provide an example – when the mass media is unaccountable or perverted not only will it intimidate governments, corrupt police, and behave cruelly to victims it sees as threats or newsworthy, it also determines what people know, believe, and think.[308] A study by Wendy Bacon into Australian press reportage on the issue of climate change highlights how the media achieves such control. She says the issue is not 'one of free speech or the right of a few individuals to push their ideas but the market power of a dominant company to build support for particular policies'.[309] Bacon documents News Ltd's near monopoly and the flagrant bias presented in articles and opinion pieces targeting government policy and climate science.[310] Given its principles and methodology, bias is inappropriate in a profession committed to objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, ethical standards and providing a public service.[311] The problem is that the quantity and quality of journalism produced by the formal media is declining; indeed, it is increasingly opinionated, inaccurate, and propandises the interests of those corporations that employ journalists.[312] Such blurring of truth – what Marshall McLuhan referred to, half a century ago, as the messages embedded in the medium and Packard warned as the hidden persuasions of advertising – are now the status quo in converged, transnational information and marketing products.[313] We now live in what Kenneth Galbraith described as a society where people are 'surrounded by a systematic appeal to a dream world which all mature, scientific reality would reject'; it is one where its members advertise their 'commitment to immaturity, mendacity and profound gullibility. It is the hallmark of our culture.'[314] This is not in the public interest; it does not strengthen civil society, nor does it protect ideals of human freedom, rights and agency.

While these trends in mass media and advertising are alarming, they also need to be seen in the context of counter trends. Some of these are positive; others are not. On one side of the picture is the decline of traditional media institutions, such as the 'media mogul' who controls national or global networks of radio, television, newspapers and even film, music and web production. Here, the old business model of tabloid and broadsheet newspaper printing is in serious decline and the public often gain information from other, often free, sources. This is eroding the ideological monoliths of public-opinion formation that have

shaped mass media for more than a century.[315] Although some may welcome the trend to more sceptical, resourceful or quizzical audiences, this is only part of the picture. The internet, indeed convergent technologies, was heralded as a catalyst for diversity and creativity, but unsurprisingly, people have not always used them this way. Rather than democratising knowledge and opening minds, the opposite may be occurring, although traditional media outlets are actively responding to these challenges to their authority.[316]

For all its faults, mainstream media and cultural product promoted a degree of social normality that was largely inclusive (even if intolerant of ideas or groups on the periphery of norms). Now, because the citizen can tailor the media they receive, the information they read, the truth they know and the opinions they wish to hear, this is driving people into ever-narrowing groups and marginal opinions. It is not encouraging an open society or an exchange of ideas; instead, it is self-reinforcing user-generated content.[317] Anyone can become a citizen journalist or opinion author. This does not necessarily mean they are an expert writer, trained journalist or reliable researcher – and their motives may be far from enlightened.[318] Indeed, the new realm of the media as shaper and reflector of public opinion is often the prejudiced views of anonymous authors who communicate with virtual communities in the blogosphere.[319] Everybody has (or should have) the right to personal expression and the opportunities provided by social media have had demonstrable democratic effects.[320] Yet, the issue of how social media operates is fraught. The principle that applies to conventional social domains should perhaps be applied to this new realm as well. Web-based hate speech is not an opinion expressed in private: it is a public statement to the world. The laws of defamation and discrimination that place limits and impose penalties for such expressions in the real world should equally apply to the virtual world. The law, however, still has far to go to address this new media and its negative effects.[321]

COMMENT

This chapter does not pretend to comprehensively examine civil societies. Civil societies are shaped by factors mentioned only obliquely: education, open justice, law enforcement, democratic participation, community engagement, transparent governance and healthy environments. The list is too long to cover thoroughly. However, the selection of issues examined was not arbitrary. My goal was, first, to help answer one of the questions raised in the Introduction: not only what, but *why* the things that are happening are happening.

The second goal was to make connections between culture, rights and civil society because they relate to the case for the role of cultural institutions made in Chapter 5.

Humans are agents and arbitrators of their survival or extinction. Repeatedly, we have invented the means of our flourishing or demise. The ancient Sumerians believed they were witnessing the end of days when their carefully cultivated world was erased by floods unconsciously orchestrated by their own works.[322] Not as cataclysmic (yet), our networked, international civilization has rendered itself vulnerable in different but equally dangerous ways. Existing cultural preferences, social pressures and the political economy all conspire to erode agency, responsibility and standards consistent with global ethics. Instinctive behaviours, the primacy of the market and the exercising of power all combine to inhibit real opportunities for human-flourishing. For example, when Hamilton and Denniss observe, 'the epidemic of psychological disorders is, at least in part, the price we are paying for decades of economic reform, the ceaseless promotion of market values, and the associated erosion of traditional supports in family and community', they acknowledge those trends limiting opportunities for a system which could better provide opportunities for inner freedom (the particular), cultural liberty and other outer rights (the universal).[323]

I particularly wish to highlight links between individual preferences, collective norms and identities (this chapter) and wider trends in cultural and social change, the political economy, demographics and the physical environment (Chapter 2), which, in turn, have had effects (across local to global levels) on development, distributive equity and stability. Human needs, behaviours and beliefs – combined with available resources and environmental assets – are the root causes of social and cultural formations. These symbiotically shape, and are vulnerable to being influenced by, inventions that compete with other volitions (for power, dominance, wealth). Single and group beings and doings at once fulfil and fuel need, development and invention, but simultaneously destroy, exploit and deplete. The capacity for imagination, morality, agency, self-actualisation and aspiration are unique human qualities – although offset by equally strong requirements for affirmation through conformity, belonging and status. These relationships are depicted (albeit, simplistically) in Figure 3.3, which shows innate needs for inner, outer and group freedoms (denoting requirements for individual and social expression) and how these function within the context of a wider society, which, in turn, is part of a global setting with its parameters of ecological limits and cultural, economic and social effects.

This view has parallels with Korten's argument that there was a shift in attitude towards community, which began approximately 5,000 years ago with emergence of the idea of 'empire'. He links this with studies on gender, scale and religiosity. His thesis is that, for most of human history, deities were linked to fecundity, nurturing and protection. These were feminine earth gods, ensuring balance and dialogue within social groups, including early city-states. The earth gods were eventually paganised and replaced by sky gods, or masculine gods of empire building linked to domination, expansion and hierarchy (although, as a practising Christian, Korten makes the proviso there were concurrent traditions of nurture and egalitarianism within sky-god faiths). These are largely opposite social, cultural and power paradigms. One is about birth, husbandry and dialogue (the feminine) and the other war, destruction and authority (the masculine). The experience of empire and its associated values of privilege, exploitation and favouritism are generally accepted as the norm, because histories are typically written by imperial chroniclers. However, this history and the behaviours linked to it have been catastrophic to most people, and to the environment. Korten calls for a rebalancing between these intuitive gendered tendencies, believing democratic free communities that live within the biosphere's limits are the necessary condition for survival.[324]
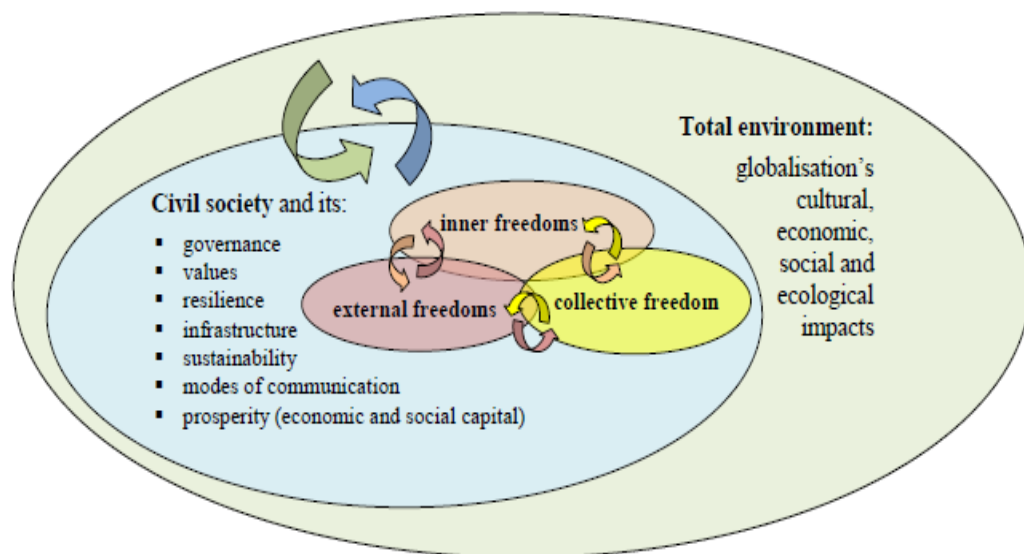

Figure 3.3: The relationship between the total environment, civil society and the human need for freedoms

Civil society, besieged by consumerism and mass-marketing, appears increasingly brittle. Simultaneously, state power has been undermined by globalisation, especially from threats to economic sovereignty, and politicians have often capitalised on opportunities afforded

by community fears. As a controversial BBC program posits, politicians have discovered new ways of restoring their authority:

> Instead of delivering dreams, politicians now promise to protect us from nightmares. They say they will rescue us from dreadful dangers we cannot see and do not understand. And the greatest danger of all is international terrorism … But much of this threat ... is a dark illusion spread unquestioned by governments around the world, secret services and the international media.[325]

Clement agrees about the role of politics. He warns that history teaches us, where 'there is a reassertion of military solutions to political problems without an exhaustion of non-violent negotiated solutions, citizen rights and fundamental democratic principles are jeopardized'.[326]

Humans tend to respond to the challenges of diversity and change either conservatively or progressively. Conservative voices have been loud in recent years,[327] warning *les exclus,* or the 'Other', will destabilise society, take jobs, devour resources, eschew 'mainstream' attitudes, and that security is guaranteed by enforced conformity.[328] The progressive path is different. Here, pluralism is normalised, nourishing communities, promoting cosmopolitanism and a global citizenship that embraces the values of compassion abroad and active engagement at home. These attitudes are not based on 'tolerance' but on the principle that, when people behave with reciprocal respect, differences can be negotiated and conflicts resolved.[329] Progressive approaches are primarily rights-based and recognise that with freedoms come responsibilities, violence is not a solution, and democracy, the rule of law and social justice are protected. Such approaches rely heavily on the civic moral sophistication and resilience of citizens: qualities eroded in recent decades. Carl Ungerer argues community resilience requires a better understanding about what it means to be a member of a diverse, modern state where rights and responsibilities of both the state and its citizens relies on agreement around values. This requires peoples of different faiths, cultures and beliefs to 'explore their pluralism and diversity through a common political process and a shared public morality'.[330]

I hope to have at least partly illustrated that it is illusory to believe the existing social, economic and environmental conditions are satisfactory. Although utopian dreams are unrealistic, this should not deflect humans from aspiring to more equitable and engaged

forms of civic life, nor from imagining pathways to do so.[331] Carl Sagan's reflection on the relative insignificance of the pale-blue dot of Earth shares, across the millennia, the spirit of *Somnium Scipionis*.[332] For all humanity's:

> imagined self-importance [and] delusion that we have some privileged position in the Universe ... Our planet is a lonely speck in the great enveloping cosmic dark. In our obscurity, in all this vastness, there is no hint that help will come from elsewhere to save us from ourselves.[333]

This recurring apprehension can provide motivation for transformative action. As various authors argue, there is a need for a transition or turning: to find balance between the market and non-market, the private and public, growth and its limits, the individual and community.[334] Thus, it may be possible to ensure future societies are worth inhabiting *because* they respect civil liberties, are peaceful, sustainable, creative, prosperous, and function in dynamic-equilibrium.

We need to re-imagine how these societies might look. In many ways they will mirror current arrangements; in other ways, they will be decidedly different. For example, such a society will have a restructured economy, less self-interested media, a re-engineered welfare state, restrained plutocracy and strengthened democratic structures. New industries (e.g. solar, wind, thermal and hydropower generation), improved and sustainable food production (e.g. organic farming or 'slow food'), expanded human services (e.g. education, mentoring, health, aged, respite and child care), experiential amenities (e.g. cultural, artistic and community development[335]), urban renewal (e.g. maintenance, enhancement, greening and restoration) and ecological reconstruction (e.g. removal of waste, pests and pollutants; revegetation and the consolidation of degraded systems) are some activities of future free-market civil societies, based on productivity without growth, that are environmentally, culturally and socially sustainable, and compliant with principles of human development and rights.[336] In such steady-states, humans will have to share more, mobilise their bodies more, and be more socially connected.[337] This will bring significant benefits in terms of health, equity and creativity. In these societies, cultural institutions will have opportunities to fulfil activist and leadership roles as never before.

Notes

1   Berman, op.cit., 95 ff, provides an analysis of the writings of Sayyid Qutb, the founder of radical Islamism, and describes how he explained sharia law to be based on human rights, absolute equality and dignity. Qutb's notion of civil society (a brutal theocracy) is, therefore, at complete loggerheads with how it is understood within the Western liberal democratic tradition.

2   AD Lindsay, Introduction, xxxv ff, Plato, *The Republic*, Everyman's Library, London, 1942.

3   Philosophers and historians such as Aristotle and Polybius wrote on constitutional variety and stability. Their interest was the determinants of successful statehood (a concern, given incessant wars between Greek city-states) and, later, surprise at the success of Rome, often attributed to its mixed Constitution (Polybius, *Histories*, Book VI); a legacy that helped lay the basis for the American Constitution two millennia later. Self-reflection, individual agency, determination and rights were rarely explored given (at least in its early centuries) Rome's reliance on domination, plunder and slave labour (although there was sociopolitical unrest, always brutally repressed, such as the Third Servile War led by Spartacus in the first century BC, and – ultimately successful – Christianity); notable exceptions included philosophers, who were also often politically active, such as Cicero, Seneca and Boethius.

4   Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961, pp. 163–86; R von Friedeburg, 'State Forms and State Systems in Modern Europe', *EGO/European History Online*, 2010.

5   Jacques Defourny, 'From Third Sector to Social Enterprise', C Borzaga & J Defourny (eds), *The Emergence of Social Enterprise*, Routledge, London, 2001.

6   Centre for Civil Society, 'What is civil society?', London School of Economics, viewed 6 July 2011, <http://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20100820110531/http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/introduction/what_is_civil_society.htm>.

7   Robert Putnam, 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 6, no. 1, January 1995, pp. 65–78. See also Carolyn Hendriks, 'The ambiguous role of civil society in deliberative democracy', *Australasian Political Studies Association*, ANU, Canberra, October 2002, viewed 3 May 2012, <http://arts.anu.edu.au/sss/apsa/Papers/hendriks.pdf>.

8   John Ralston Saul criticises much of what he calls the 'corporatism' of contemporary society, where kleptocratic and plutocratic systems – in effect, collusion – persuade citizens to relinquish their rights, freedoms and opportunities to special interests; indeed, it is these interests that largely manipulate what citizens know and think, and do (or passively not do) against their own interests, *The Unconscious Civilization*, Penguin, Melbourne, 1997, 76 ff.

9   Phillip Blond was instrumental in starting a discussion on the notion in conservative political circles with his article, 'Rise of the Red Torries', *Prospect*, 28 February 2009, with David Cameron describing the policy shift (the basic assumptions of 'Big Society') in mid 2010 after leading the Conservatives to a (coalition) victory in the UK; see Mark Smith, 'The Intellectual Roots of Big Society', Marina Scott (ed), *The Big Society Challenge*, Keystone Development Trust Publications, Cardiff, 2011, pp. 27–35.

10   Civil society components that are threatened, or unrealised, include: genuine representative democracy and its institutions (such as proportional representation and full public administration

transparency); a culture and legislative regime of human rights; government policies that support and enforce the principles enshrined in such legislation (for example, multiculturalism and social justice) and programs (such as public education) that advance messages of respect and understanding; a public discourse (particularly in the commercial media) that does not stereotype or promote social division for profit; a collaborative society where there is greater cooperation between government, non-government and business sectors, and where citizens live and work with each other 'civilly'. This includes the opportunity to be truly free, to realise human capabilities without doing so at the expense of others (locally or globally) and to express individual and collective identities. See: the *Democratic Audit of Australia*, a collaboration between the Australian National University and Swinburne University of Technology, <http://democraticaudit.org.au/>; the Centre for Policy Development, <http://cpd.org.au/about/> (both viewed 12 May 2012); P Singer and T Gregg, op.cit.; and Ian Marsh and David Yencken, *Into the Future*, Black Inc, Melbourne, 2004.

[11]   Ramo, op.cit., p. 8; p. 10.

[12]   Ed Uthman, *Elemental Composition of the Human Body*, 2000.

[13]   Steffan et al., op.cit.

[14]   Guido Barbujani, 'Human Races: Classifying People vs Understanding Diversity', *Current Genomics*, vol. 6, no. 4, 2005; and N Rosenberg et al., 'Genetic Structure of Human Populations', *Science*, vol. 298, issue 5602, December 2002, pp. 2, 381–85.

[15]   American Association for the Advancement of Science, Chapter 6, 'The Human Organism', 1990, viewed 15 May 2012, <http://www.project2061.org/publications/sfaa/online/chap6.htm>.

[16]   Göran Burenhult (ed), *The First Humans: Human Origins and History to 10,000BC*, 'Towards Homo Sapiens', Harper San Francisco, 1993, pp. 55–73.

[17]   J Steele and G Politis, 'AMS C-14 Dating of Early Human Occupation of Southern South America', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, vol. 36, issue 2, February 2009, pp. 419–29; and in the case of New Zealand, for more recently: Auckland History Museum, *Natural History Questions*, 2011, <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/349/natural-history-questions>.

[18]   This corresponded with shrinkage of the vast northern ice sheets which occurred approximately 12,000 BP, see Wright, op.cit., p. 32.

[19]   ibid., p. 35 and Kanazawa, op.cit., 23 ff, 49 ff.

[20]   Burenhult (ed), op.cit.

[21]   UN, *World Urbanization Prospects: 2009 Revision*, New York, 2010; Glaezer, op.cit., 247 ff, however, argues living in settlements, especially cities, has created the greatest opportunities for human flourishing.

[22]   Although presented in a humorous and lay manner, S Levitt and S Dubner, in *Super Freakonomics*, Allen Lane, 2010, pp. 7–11, make a serious point by describing the crisis of equine faecal matter that was overwhelming many large industrialised cities circa 1900 (in New York alone that year, approximately 2.27 million kilograms of waste per day had to be disposed).

[23]   Reich, op.cit., pp. 60–5.

[24]   It has been this period, certainly since the start of the 'great acceleration' of the Industrial

Revolution, that has occupied the minds of many defenders of neoliberalism. Saul, op.cit., argues that the defence of corporatism as a natural condition of human society is largely based on history and ideology since that time, not prior, which had a different approach to the value of money, 82 ff.

25 Wright, op.cit., p. 32.

26 N Wade, *The Faith Instinct*, The Penguin Press, New York, 2009.

27 ibid., see in particular pp. 74–97.

28 Brewer, op.cit.

29 A controversial topic and subject of debates in sociology, evolutionary theory and ethics. The paradox of alternative (often extreme) responses to the religious experience is explored by Appleby, op.cit.; Kevin Laland and Gillian Brown, *Sense and Nonsense: Evolutionary Perspectives on Human Behaviour*, OUP, 2011, review the range of approaches to understanding the biological, anthropological, cultural and behavioural evolution of humans. Bruce Knauft, 'Violence and Sociality in Human Evolution', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 32, no. 4, 1991, pp. 391–428, examines violence in simple societies; Wade, op.cit., also provides a summary of the anthropological research into reasons for violence towards 'others'.

30 Wright, op.cit., p. 31.

31 Geoffrey Miller, *Spent*, Random House, London, 2009.

32 ibid., Miller examines this over several chapters but introduces it in Chapter 9, 'The Central Six' (meaning the Big Five and the sixth determinant, general intelligence) 144 ff.

33 F Dorey, *Homo Sapiens – Modern Humans*, Australian Museum, 2011, viewed 30 March 2012, <http://australianmuseum.net.au/Homo-sapiens-modern-humans/>; for more detailed analysis see H Kaplan et al., 'A Theory of Human Life History Evolution: Diet, Intelligence, and Longevity', *Evolutionary Anthropology*, April 2000, pp. 156–85.

34 G Zhao, Y Zhang, M Hoon et al., 'The Receptors for Mammalian Sweet and Umami Taste', *Cell*, vol. 115, October 2003, pp. 255–66; and J Krebs, 'The Gourmet Ape: Evolution and Human Food Preferences', *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, vol. 90, no. 3, September 2009, pp. 707S-711S.

35 D Bloom, E Cafiero, E Jané-Llopis et al., *The Global Economic Burden Of Non-Communicable Diseases*, World Economic Forum, Geneva, September 2011, p. 9; A Prentice and S Jebb, 'Fast Foods, Energy Density and Obesity, *Obesity Reviews*, vol. 4, issue 4, November 2003, pp. 187–94; C Ebbeling, D Pawlak and D Ludwig, 'Childhood Obesity: Public-Health Crisis, Common Sense Cure', *The Lancet*, vol. 350, 10 August 2002, pp. 473–82.

36 A good summary is found in the International Labour Organization's, *The Impact of Global Food Chains on Employment in the Food and Drink Sector*, Issues Paper for the Tripartite Meeting to Examine the Impact of Global Food Chains on Employment, Geneva, 2007. See also Popkin, op.cit., Chapter 4, 'The World is Flat – and Fat', pp. 83–100.

37 These foods are targeted to consumers at an early age leading to a health epidemic, Obesity Policy Coalition, *A Comprehensive Approach to Protecting Children from Unhealthy Food Advertising and Promotion*, written by S MacKay, N Antonopoulos, J Martin and B Swinburne,

Melbourne, 2011.

[38] WHO, *Global Status Report on Non-Communicable Disease*.

[39] Wilkinson & Marmot (eds), op.cit., p. 26.

[40] For example, the case study of petroleum producers in Nigeria, see Uwem Ite, 'Poverty Reduction in Resource-Rich Developing Countries: What Have Multinational Corporations Got to do With It?', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 17, issue 7, October 2005, pp. 913–929. In the case of food producers, see Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, Chapter 9, 'Chosen by Bunnies', pp. 253–291; and Popkin, op. cit., 95 ff.

[41] Patel, *Value of Nothing*, 43 ff; Jamais Cascio, 'The Cheeseburger Footprint', *Open the Future*, 2010, viewed 20 January 2012, <http://openthefuture.com/cheeseburger_CF.html> models the impacts of cheeseburger consumption in the USA (factoring in all the ingredients and production elements), estimating 195,750,000 metric tons of carbon are emitted per annum.

[42] Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, pp. 316–17.

[43] YJ Yeung and Y Chan, 'The Positive Effects of Religiousness on Mental Health in Physically Vulnerable Populations', *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2007, pp. 37–52.

[44] Kanazawa, op.cit., 87 ff

[45] Arthur Schopenhauer, *The Wisdom of Life*, eBooks@adelaide, 2010, viewed 2 January 2012, <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/s/schopenhauer/arthur/wisdom/index.html>.

[46] Sen's analysis of freedom develops from this premise to his defence of capabilities as the necessary framework for human development, see *The Idea of Justice*, 227 ff.

[47] C Joad, *Guide to Philosophy*, Chapter 9, 'The Problem of the Self: Freedom and Determinism', Dover, New York, 1957, pp. 229–58.

[48] An influence Guy Rundle, in 'Go(l)d becomes the ground of American life', *Crikey*, 30 August 2012, argues is now fully evident. Writing about this alliance in the Republican Party's 2012 presidential ticket, he says 'the religious and economic wings … have fully met – it is a fundamentalist theocratic party, but the fundamentalism is that of the market and the individual.' This has made current iterations of Republicanism (says Rundle) an 'intellectual/philosophical slum ... one where the society is indifferent to whether you live or die, but vitally concerned with what you read, see, ingest or do with your body.'

[49] RH Nelson, op.cit., explores the religious (especially Protestant) foundations of the Chicago School and how it has advocated economics as a rational ('scientific') discipline rather one with a public ethics (skewed liberal) and cultural agenda.

[50] A discussion of these issues can be found in Gilbert Ryle's *Dilemmas*, Cambridge University Press, 1964.

[51] Korten, op.cit., pp. 164–5, Saul, op.cit., similarly comments on these connections, 22 ff.

[52] A widely accepted view since Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Anchor Books, New York, 1966.

[53] Reflexive behaviours given human evolutionary history (discussed in Section 3.1), and the

intuitive response to optimise distinctiveness, as hypothesized by Marilynn Brewer and described in Section 1.2.2.

[54] A fear anticipated a century earlier by Alexis de Tocqueville who observed 'Despotism ... appears to me peculiarly to be dreaded in democratic ages', *Democracy in America*, from 'Book Four: Influence of Democratic Opinions on Political Society', 1835, 1840, University of Adelaide, 2008.

[55] Erich Fromm, *Fear of Freedom*, Ark, London, 1985, p. 207. Fromm is interested in freedom and the individual; there is little discussion in his book on collective thinking and the potential consequences such as violent responses through protest or terrorism.

[56] Gleeson, op.cit., p. 14.

[57] A key message of which is materialism robs people of their autonomy, see Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit., p. 15; see also O James, *Affluenza*, Vermillion, 2007; or J de Graaf and D Wann, *Affluenza: The All-Consuming Epidemic*, Thomas H. Naylor, 2001.

[58] Reich, op.cit., in particular 'Of Two Minds', pp. 88–130.

[59] Berman, op.cit., pp. 128–53, describes the contemporary liberal response to extremism, itself often extreme.

[60] John Kampfner, *Freedom For Sale*, Simon & Schuster Australia, Sydney, 2010, also describes how those who enjoy relative prosperity often do so at the expense of continuing political and civil repression, pp. 15–39 (for example, Singapore) and pp. 40–78 (China).

[61] Colonial notions about 'primitive' languages, cultures and beliefs were often based on a failure to understand that worldviews were alternative existential interpretations, difference is not the same as absence, an absence does not deny the presence of other ideas that are, in their form, absent from the other's perspective; this can also be understood with reference to the notion of the emic and etic, discussed Section 1.2.2. On Australian indigenous languages, see Lorraine Bonython, 'Aboriginal Languages: too little, too late', *Second Language Learning and Teaching*, vol. 3, 2003; on the importance of language as the framework for epistemic understanding, see Humberto Maturana, 'Biology of Language: The Epistemology of Reality', Chapter 2 of GA Miller & E Lenneberg (eds), *Psychology and Biology of Language and Thought, Academic Press,* New York, 1978, pp. 27–63.

[62] There is not scope, here, to analyse language, signifiers and meaning; a seminal introductory work is Roland Barthes' *Elements of Semiology*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1967.

[63] Wade, op.cit., Chapters 3–5 'The Evolution of Religious Behaviour', 'Music, Dance and Trance' and 'Ancestral Religion', 38 ff.

[64] Gleeson, op.cit., quotes Engels: 'Let us not, however, flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human victories over nature. For each such victory nature takes its revenge' p. 69, and throughout *Lifeboat Cities* which critiques how neo-liberalism has wrought social, ecological, democratic, economic and infrastructure damage in Australia in particular; see also C Hamilton, quoted in Section 3.2, or Toby Miller in Section 3.6, or UNDP world reports of 2000 and 2004.

[65] G Miller, op.cit., Chapter 16, 'The Will to Display', pp. 277–307.

[66] ibid., 90 ff.

67   A turn of phrase used in various texts, such as **nef**, *Growth Isn't Possible*, p. 20, and Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit., 60 ff.

68   Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations, Glasgow*, 1776, Book I, Chapter XI, Part II.

69   JS Mill, from 'Of the Stationary State', op.cit.

70   Fromm, op.cit., pp. 216–18.

71   Rudolf Steiner, *The Philosophy of Freedom*, Rudolf Steiner Archive, 1918, from Chapter 14, 'Individuality and Genus'.

72   ibid.

73   JS Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859, OUP, London, 1974, p. 9.

74   G Miller, op.cit., 52 ff.

75   Clive Hamilton, *The Disappointment of Liberalism*, Australia Institute, August 2004, p. v.

76   ibid.

77   ibid., from pp. vi.

78   ibid.

79   Sen in UNDP, World Report, 2004, Chapter 1, 'Cultural Liberty and Human Development', 2004, p. 13.

80   ibid., p. 20.

81   Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, Penguin, Middlesex, 1960, p. 212.

82   ibid., p. 213.

83   ibid., p. 214.

84   Burke, op.cit., 234 ff.

85   The thesis of Kampfner's book*, Freedom for Sale*, op.cit., first stated, p. 5.

86   The hypothesis, largely drawn from Milton Friedman (*Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962), of Fukuyama (op.cit.) and a basic tenet advocated by neoliberals since the 1980s; see also Ken Farr, Richard Lord and Larry Wolfenbarger, 'Economic Freedom, Political Freedom, and Economic Well-Being', *Cato Journal*, vol. 18, no. 2, Fall 1998, pp. 247–262). This view continues to be vigorously promoted, e.g. by the conservative US think-tank, The Heritage Foundation (in partnership with The Wall Street Journal), argue (purportedly based on Adam Smith) that the more economically free the more politically free a population. To prove their point they publish an index of economic freedom (see: <http://www.heritage.org/index/default>) which, in their top ten 'free' countries include as the two most economically free Hong Kong (an administrative district of Communist China) and Singapore (a pseudo-democratic, repressive one-party state, see Kampfner, op.cit., pp. 15–39).

87   Patel, *Value of Nothing*, 113 ff.

88   Margaret Thatcher in an interview with *Women's Own* magazine, 31 October 1987, sourced from the Brian Deer website, viewed 13 February 2012, <http://briandeer.com/social/thatcher-society.htm>.

89   Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1999.

[90] Freedom, in this sense, is not intended to mean free to act without limitation. Some argue that true freedom is to voluntarily will what the social requires of the individual – this could suggest there would be no conflict and the person feels both free and gains group affirmation. Rather, it is meant to imply that free will is exercised (if this is ever wholly possible) without any form of *excessive* (external forms such as political or commercial) compliance.

[91] This is difficult to defend with firm data but is an observation made based on existing statistical trends (*inter alia*) in illness, mortality and consumption. Some issues are discussed in R Wilkinson and K Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equity Makes Societies Stronger*, see especially Chapter 3 'How Inequality Gets Under the Skin', Bloomsbury Press, New York, 2010, pp. 31–45; others, quoted elsewhere such as Hamilton and Denniss, also accept this premise.

[92] von Bertalanffy, 'Beyond the mass robot', op.cit., pages unnumbered.

[93] ibid.

[94] **nef**, *The (un) Happy Planet Index*; and Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit., 113 ff. Particularly interesting is the latter's observation that, because affluenza is meant to make people happy but does not, drug companies 'engage in disease-mongering by describing, medicalising and exaggerating normal problems and turning them into clinical conditions [We] … come to believe that there is something wrong with us, rather than something wrong with society. This protects the social order from radical criticism. The medical industry serves to calm the eruptions of social distress by diverting blame from social structures to dysfunctional individuals', p. 120.

[95] WHO, *Global Status Report on Non-Communicable Disease*, M Chan in the Foreword, explains that alcohol consumption, tobacco use, physical inactivity and poor diet has created a global epidemic of diabetes, cancer, cardio-vascular and chronic respiratory diseases which 'already extends far beyond the capacity of lower-income countries to cope. In the absence of urgent action, the rising financial burden of these diseases will reach levels that are beyond the capacity of even the wealthiest countries ... to manage'.

[96] The over-production of food and its impact on both the physical environment and the wellbeing of primary producers have already been raised in Sections 3.1, 2.1 and elsewhere in Chapter 2.

[97] For a discussion on the socio-economic gradient see Wilkinson and Marmot, op.cit. It could also be argued those of lower intelligence are more vulnerable; this can be supported by the general hypothesis of Kanazawa, op.cit., chapters 2–4, pp. 23–72, who explains that individual intelligence is typically reflected in socio-economic status, with those more aligned with adaptive norms (average intelligence) more likely to conform with evolutionary preferences: the tastes marketers exploit.

[98] A case study, for Brazil, is provided by Carlos Monteiro and Geoffrey Cannon, 'The Impact of Transnational "Big Food" Companies on the South', *PLoS Med*, vol. 9, no. 7, 2012.

[99] WHO, *Global Status Report on Non-Communicable Disease*, 33 ff; Popkin, op.cit.; and, Marion Nestle, Food Politics: How the Food Industry Influences Nutrition and Health, University of California Press, 2003.

[100] Nadine Henley, 'Free to Be Obese in a "Super Nanny State"?', *Journal of Media and Culture*, vol. 9, issue 4, September 2006.

[101] Robert Marks, in *Learning Lessons?*, UTS, 2012, p. 2, refers to this as a 'quiet coup'

[102] Patel, *Value of Nothing*, p. 13. Although predating the GFC by several years, the well known article by (international fund manager and investor) George Soros, 'The Capitalist Threat', *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 279, no. 2, February1997, at <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/soros.htm> , warns of the risk of extreme free-market economics to 'open and democratic society.' This issue is also one of 'a market for lemons'; inherent in this rational economic argument is that the market should never support enterprises which are fundamentally untrustworthy and cannot support themselves. Subsidies or other interventions that preserves them skews an economy away from equilibrium. On this basis the 'sour' market of failed financial institutions should never have been bailed-out and the fact that they were is fundamentally contrary to the neo-liberal credo, hence the notion this was a 'parody'.

[103] Saul, op.cit., especially Chapter 3, ' From Corporatism to Democracy', pp. 76–116 offers an overview of this trend in many democracies.

[104] ibid., 78 ff.

[105] K Phillips, op.cit.,154 ff, examines the dynastic nature of US leadership and its ongoing affiliation with corporate capitalism; Reich, op.cit., especially Chapters 4 and 5, explores the close links between growing corporate power under a deregulated economy; see also D Manier, *Monopoly and Competition: Government Intervention and its Effects on the Free Market*, March 2010, <http://damienmanier.com/2010-03-29/monopoly_and_competition/>.

[106] Patel, *Value of Nothing*, pp. 61–9; Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 121 ff.

[107] Discussed elsewhere in this thesis: earlier in this section and Sections 2.3, 3.6 and 4.2.

[108] As explained by then Shadow Minister for Social Inclusion, Julia Gillard, 'Social Inclusion: A New Portfolio, a New Approach', in a speech to the Centre for Public Policy, Melbourne University, 10 April 2007, <http://publicpolicy.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/527198/gillard.pdf>.

[109] H Silver, 'Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms', *International Labour Review*, vol. 133, no. 5–6, pp. 531–78, and Australian Institute of Family Studies, *Social Inclusion: Origins, Concepts and Key Themes*, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Canberra, October 2008, p. 1

[110] Australian Institute of Family Studies, op.cit., also referenced from an unpublished AHRC paper, *'The Dutiful But Defeated' Life Chances, Social Inclusion and Capabilities*, 2008, which quotes J Ottman, '"Inclusion and Exclusion" Solidarity in the Welfare State: the Question of Being In or Out', *Dead/Lines: Contemporary Issues in Legal and Political Theory,* AHRC Doctoral Colloquium, School of Law, University of Edinburgh, 28- 29 May 2008, p. 3; D Gordon, *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain*, York, 2000. The survey is available at <http://www.jrf.org.uk/bookshop/eBooks/185935128X.pdf>. The 'Monitoring poverty and social exclusion' series began in 1998. Its annual reports provide an independent assessment of progress made in eliminating poverty and reducing social exclusion in Britain.

[111] Tony Fitzpatrick, *After the New Social Democracy*, especially in Chapter 1, 11 ff.

[112] Now re-formed as the Social Exclusion Taskforce, the working definition is listed on the Local Government Improvement and Development website: <http://www.idea.gov.uk/idk/core/page.

do?pageId=71633>; also quoted in AIFS, op.cit. p. 4.

[113] R Levitas, quoted in AIFS, ibid, p. 5.

[114] P Saunders, *Can Social Exclusion Provide a New Framework for Measuring Poverty?*, Discussion Paper 127, Social Policy Research Centre, University of NSW, October 2003.

[115] Yasmeen, op.cit., p. 3.

[116] ibid., p. iv.

[117] C Ryan and A Sartbayeva, 'Young Australians and Social Inclusion', *Australian Social Policy Journal*, no.10, 2011, p. 2.

[118] R Omidvar and T Richmond, *Immigrant Settlement and Social Inclusion in Canada*, Laidlaw Foundation, Toronto, 2003, p. 1.

[119] Social cohesion, community cohesion (and more currently) social inclusion, are closely linked concepts derived from the academic view of social advantage and disadvantage. The terms are commonly used nationally and internationally in community, economic, business, government and policy settings. As a result, scope and definitions of the concepts differ widely, for example, ranging from a focus on respect for diversity to security and economic priorities and can thus depend on emerging evidence (but limited from peer reviewed sources) or new social modelling, organisational and sector agendas, or new policy direction.

[120] Recent frameworks around healthy built environments include the importance of social cohesion as a population-level outcome of integrated local area planning; however, what they mean is the benefits to social capital and this relates more to participation and inclusivity, rather than rejection of social norms by alienated minorities. For example, Australia's National Urban Policy includes goals under 'Liveability' that include the objective to 'support community wellbeing' and states that community 'wellbeing brings together economic, social and environmental factors with democratic, spiritual, emotional and cultural dimensions. It values healthy individuals as well as healthy communities; reflects new and traditional learning; and seeks to increase both the equity and sustainability of wellbeing.' Australian Government, *State of Australian Cities 2011*, Department of Infrastructure and Transport, Canberra, 2011, p. 198.

[121] Inferred in the policy and programs language of an Australian conservative government, e.g. the *National Action Plan to Build Social Cohesion, Harmony and Security*, 2006, or *Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity*, 2003, both imply diversity may threaten cohesion. Ted Cantle, *Community Cohesion: A New Framework for Race and Diversity*, MacMillan, London, 2008, 50 ff, distinguishes between 'social cohesion' and 'community cohesion' and the way the concepts are often confused; see also Y Alam and C Husband, 'Parallel Policies and Contradictory Practices: The Case of Social Cohesion and Counter-Terrorism in the United Kingdom', C Husband (ed), *Social Cohesion, Securitization and Counter-terrorism*, COLLeGIUM Helsinki Collegium, 2012, pp. 136–56; there are also reflections on conflicts in notions of cohesion and security in *Security and Social Cohesion – Deconstructing Fear (of Others) by Going Beyond Stereotypes*, Trends in Social Cohesion, No.11, Council of Europe Publishing, January 2005.

[122] Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York 2000, 22 ff; Michael Woolcock, in 'The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes', *Isuma: Canadian Journal of Policy Research*,

vol. 2, no. 1, 2001, pp. 1–17, adds the notion of linking to bonding and bridging capital, this refers to the reaching-out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, thus enabling members to leverage a wider range of resources than are normally available in a community.

[123] Andrew Jakubowicz, 'The Media and Social Cohesion', J Jupp et al. (eds), *Social Cohesion in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2007, 158 ff.

[124] L Buckmaster and M Thomas, *Social Inclusion and Social Citizenship Towards a Truly Inclusive Society*, Research Paper No.08 2009–10, Parliamentary Library, Australian Government, Canberra, October 2009.

[125] As referenced earlier, this is the view argued by Tariq Modood.

[126] Government of South Australia, *People and Community at the Heart of Systems and Bureaucracy*, Adelaide, February 2009.

[127] Why is unclear, however, given the urgent demands to respond to the global financial crisis the government was largely mobilised to this purpose – and achieving social inclusion can be fiscal drag, not one often pursued politically in times of economic constraint.

[128] An easy way of reviewing the progressive neglect of the whole social inclusion agenda of the Labor Government is to track the latest reports, research and other papers that deal with this issue on Australian Policy Online which collates and publishes all related outputs across a range of policy areas and draws some rather long bows in its selection listed under this category.

[129] Although a 2011 document plagiarises it; see, Social Inclusion Board, *Social Inclusion in Australia*; the model on pp. 14–15 is drawn from the capabilities approach but simplified and unreferenced.

[130] For such a heralded approach to equity-reform the social inclusion approach continues to be muted. The Commonwealth Government website (<http://www.socialinclusion.gov.au/about>) primarily includes information on changes to government policies that may impact on socially disadvantaged groups (so it seems largely incidental), while the 'news' files (<http://www.social inclusion.gov.au/news>) offer sparse reading; similarly, I have found that connecting to the 'social policy' link on Australian Policy Online (a constantly up-dated portal offering the most recent publications such as research, reports and statements relating to public policy, see: <http://www.apo.org.au/social-policy/225>) typically has no offerings under the heading 'social inclusion' as was the case when this was viewed on 16 May 2012.

[131] Appendix A2.1.

[132] Such as the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet's submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Migration's inquiry into multiculturalism which argues multiculturalism 'involves building a harmonious, cohesive society, where all members have the opportunity to attain their full potential … This policy … complements the social inclusion agenda by emphasising fairness and inclusion for all Australians, regardless of cultural, religious or linguistic diversity.' Viewed 16 September 2011 <http://aph.gov.au/house/committee/mig/multiculturalism/subs/sub82.pdf>.

[133] Riaz Hassan, 'Social and Economic Conditions of Australian Muslims', *Challenges to Social Inclusion in Australia: The Muslim Experience Conference*, Melbourne, November 2008; and

Yasmeen, op.cit.

134 Kevin Dunn et al., the *Challenging Racism Project* has tracked over many years the reasons for, and extent of, racism in Australia. The findings show the highest levels of anti-Muslim sentiment in NSW, in particular parts of Sydney (56.6% for the Sydney statistical division, see <http://www.uws.edu.au/social_sciences/soss/research/challenging_racism/findings_by_region> viewed 17 March 2011, can be read at.

135 AHRC, *In Our Own Words*, Sydney, June 2010.

136 Wilkinson and Marmot, op.cit., 10 ff.

137 Ryan and Sartbayeva, op.cit., p. 24.

138 P Farquhar and S Pollock, *"It's a Wellbeing Thing": Understanding How Socially Isolated Older People Perceive and Contribute to their Own Wellbeing*, Wesley Mission Victoria, 2011.

139 For example, in New Zealand, see <www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/documents/2005/sr05-social-connectedness.pdf> viewed 2 June 2012.

140 As noted in the case studies in Appendix A1.1, such alternative models, which are human rights-based and offer alternative ways of understanding the dynamics within tightly knit and vulnerable communities, may provide helpful approaches to strengthening civil society and discourage radicalisation at the same time.

141 M Mulligan, C Scanlon and N Welch, 'Renegotiating Community Life: Arts, Agency, Inclusion and Wellbeing', *International Journal of Community Research and Engagement*, no. 1, 2008, pp. 48–72.

142 AIHW, *Key Indicators of Progress for Chronic Disease and Associated Determinants*, Canberra, June 2011.

143 Universal health care is an example. Such programs are designed to reach everybody on an egalitarian basis but, perversely, high-capability groups tend to experience optimal access, or 'inverse care', see WHO, *Primary Health Care Now More Than Ever*, WHO Press, Geneva, 2008, p. xiv.

144 K Rudd, quoted from *The Monthly*, in Section 2.3.

145 Quoted in AHRC, *Social Justice Report*, Chapter 2, 'Achieving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health equality within a generation', 2005.

146 This has happened, or there have been calls this should happen, for other groups. For example, to the 'stolen' English children of the immediate postwar period, see the media report by S Maiden, 'Rudd leads emotional apology to children removed from families', *The Australian*, 16 November 2009, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/rudd-leads-emotional-apology-to-children-removed-from-families/story-e6frg6nf-1225798179628>; another example is the proposal by a Senate committee that there be a formal apology to those women who had their babies forcibly removed at birth, see D Harrison, 'Joint call for nation to apologise over forced adoptions', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 March 2012, <http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/political-news/joint-call-for-nation-to-apologise-over-forced-adoptions-20120229-1u3ga.html>.

147 Unisys regularly surveys on security concerns, its Security Index for May 2008 showed significant drops in Australians' concern about national security (war and terrorism) which

masked a sharp increase in worries about financial security owing to interest rates and lower workforce participation. By 2012 the major security fear of Australians was credit card identity theft, see <http://www.unisyssecurityindex.com/usi/australia/reports> viewed 2 May 2012.

[148] Andrew Markus et al., *Mapping Social Cohesion*, for example, see negative attitudes towards government assistance for cultural maintenance (p. 71) and towards immigration (p. 78).

[149] J Forrest and K Dunn, 'Constructing Racism in Sydney, Australia's Largest EthniCity', *Urban Studies*, vol. 44, no. 4, 2007, p. 699.

[150] The Commonwealth issued *Towards a Fairer Australia: Social Justice Strategy Statement 1990–91*, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra, 1990, stating it had 'implemented a wide range of fundamental social justice reforms which incorporate a mix of remedial and preventative measures that provide direct assistance to people experiencing disadvantage and assist them to escape that disadvantage ... [the statement outlined government] reforms which progress its objective of achieving a fairer Australia.' With the election of the Howard Government virtually all reference to social justice disappeared from government statements; ironically, the only agency that promotes the notion (in relation to the 2011 multicultural policy) is DIaC, see James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2002, p. 14, who observes, social justice 'was pushed off the agenda at the Commonwealth level in 1996, with the newly elected conservative government instructing its public servants not to use the expression'.

[151] M McDonald and C Quell, 'Bridging the Common Divide: the Importance of Both "Cohesion" and "Inclusion"', *Metropolis*, December 2008, pp. 36–7.

[152] ibid.

[153] It also needs to include the realisation of human rights and personal freedom – these are also essential to achieve social inclusion given that both individual and collective identity is almost inevitably shaped and determined by culture. The policy intent of social inclusion may be rendered meaningless if there is a failure to address the exclusion of minorities, *inter alia*: their socio-economic-status disadvantages; experience of discrimination, labelling and exclusion; their need to freely express their identity and beliefs (within the same legal and ethical parameters that apply to all other members of society); 'information poverty', and risk of economic, cultural and other forms of exploitation or misappropriation.

[154] Modood, op.cit., p. 146.

[155] ibid., p. 147.

[156] ibid., p. 149.

[157] ibid., p. 149.

[158] Gleeson op.cit., 46 ff, cites Natasha Cica's account of socially and economically marginalised communities in fringe Hobart.

[159] UNDP, World Report, 2004.

[160] ibid., 27 ff.

[161] See Appendix A2.3.

[162] AHRC, *Multiculturalism: A Position Paper*, Sydney, 2007, p. 3.

163 UNDP, World Report, 2004, quoted selectively from pp. 2–12.

164 Principles laid down in the Galbally Report of 1977, see J Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 86 ff; the notion of reciprocal respect is reflected in the Commonwealth Government's 1989 *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*; see also AHRC, *Multiculturalism*, p. 5.

165 For example, 'Multiculturalism is … an ideology that envisions a society in which many cultures thrive almost independently of one another, or at least separately, as does French Quebec in largely English Canada, from where we've imported this folly. And the government programs it inspired have aimed above all to get immigrants to preserve their cultures. What's more, they tend to treat these new arrivals not as individuals to be assimilated, but as members of a tribe with whom we must negotiate.' Andrew Bolt, 'Multiculturalism is What its Fans Dare Not Say', *The Herald Sun*, 26 February 2011.

166 'As an attempt to protect people and to apply justice in diverse societies, multiculturalism entails a continuous tension between universal individual rights and group rights, providing security and guaranteeing equal and fair treatment to all.' S Silvestri provides a good summary in 'Cutting the Fog: Multiculturalism, Religion and the Common Good', *Global Experts*, 27 June 2011.

167 See Section 1.2.1.3; also <http://www.wwcd.org/cd.html>.

168 UNDP, World Report, 2004, p. 88.

169 ibid., p. 90. See also UNESCO, World Report, 2009, 231 ff.

170 FECCA, 'Celebrating 30 Years of Advocacy: From Access and Equity to Multiculturalism and Human Rights', *Australian mosaic*, issue 23, October 2009 – a rare example of purposeful linking of multicultural policy with human rights – the issue that was closely examined in this edition.

171 Australia has distinct policies, programs and government responses to each of:

1. cultural diversity (addressed through the principles of multiculturalism)

2. settlement services (to specifically assist with the settlement of CLDB arrivals; these services include, English language education, employment, bridging qualification and health programs)

3. humanitarian programs (linked to UNHCR-managed refugee resettlement: with these programs Australia meets its obligations under the Refugee Convention and, based on its population size, is relatively generous)

4. asylum seekers (or the management of 'unlawful non-citizens' who come to Australia through means other than international resettlement programs, such as those attempting to enter by boat).

Confusion about these different activities, and their associated policies and programs, has been reflected in public attitudes as well as discourse in the media. Misconceptions have also, on occasion, been used mischievously to fuel community concern about new arrivals, most notably since 2001 (see Section 3.6).

172 Another feature of multiculturalism is that, like social inclusion, it supports bridging social capital although rarely described as such. Multiculturalism also creates the environment where it

is more possible to enjoy the economic benefits of the cultural interface: an integral part of globalisation. This is compatible with Richard Florida's (op.cit.) notion of creative classes.

[173] Helly, op.cit., p. 13.

[174] See Appendix A2.1.

[175] This is such a problem in health professions that WHO have released guidelines on ethical recruitment to limit the negative effects on the health infrastructure of developing countries: WHO, *Global Code of Practice on the International Recruitment of Health Personnel*, 2010.

[176] With the exception of substantive equality measures which are, in effect, a means whereby certain individual members of minority or disempowered groups (such as people with a disability, women, children, or Indigenous people) are treated differently so as help them gain relative equality.

[177] Research shows that even ethnic business precincts (such as a China Town, or Little Italy) do not necessarily indicate a high population density of residents of the ethnicity represented, see J Collins and P Kunz, 'Ethnicity and Public Space in the City: Ethnic Precincts in Sydney', *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2009, 60 ff.

[178] For example, from the dedicated anti-multiculturalist Andrew Bolt: Multiculturalism 'has people of different ethnic backgrounds encouraged to maintain "their" cultures. It has the effect of entrenching differences, rewarding the least integrated and inhibiting integration. In fact, for many years "integration" has been a dirty word ... Many Australians have rightly regarded it as not just encouraging tribalism, but implying a contempt for "Australian" culture, however defined .' A Bolt, 'The Media Does Not Even Understand the Debate it's Trying to Stop', *The Herald Sun*, 20 February 2011.

[179] Liberal politician, Senator George Brandis, argues in his 2009 Alfred Deakin Lecture, 'We Believe: The Liberal party and the Liberal Cause', *The Australian*, 26 October 2009: 'liberals … stand between the individual and society and to assert the rights of the individual whenever the pressures, demands or prejudices of the social mainstream would diminish them. That is liberalism's historic role, and it is that conviction which has animated every liberal reform which has extended the boundaries of human freedom'.

[180] Such as the extreme political right (e.g. white supremacists) and possibly environmental or left activists. C Ungerer, *A New Agenda for National Security*; and R Lyon and C Leah, *Global Jigsaw*, ASPI, 2008.

[181] Under separation of power principles the executive function carries out tasks such as policing. The Christian Democrat NSW member of parliament, Reverend Fred Nile, is well-known for regular insinuations about Muslim communities, such as they should be banned from joining the armed forces (AAP, 'Muslims in Ranks a Recipe For Disaster: Nile', *ABC News*, 9 November 2009, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2009-11-09/muslims-in-ranks-a-recipe-for-disaster-nile/1135314>), that Islamic clothing should be prohibited (Widyan Al Ubudy, 'Nile is Denying Muslim Women their Freedom', 24 June 2010, *Sydney Morning Herald*, <http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/politics/nile-is-denying-muslim-women-their-freedom-20100624-z1fs.html>) and there should be a moratorium on Islamic immigration to Australia ('Islam', The Christian Democratic Party, 2011, <http://www.cdp.org.au/federal-policies/islam.html>).

[182] The discussion about Muslim assimilation and shedding of somehow 'offensive' manifestations of religious affiliation are symptomatic of this unofficial testing-regime of commitment to Australian cultural norms – discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.

[183] Hage, *White Nation*, 28 ff; and *Against Paranoid Nationalism*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 2003.

[184] This claim is hard to specifically reference; it is an observation based on the author's experience while director of the peak-body FECCA. While there has been considerable analysis of the Howard Governments' aversion and progressive retreat from multiculturalism, at the same time it did invest more attention and resources into interfaith activities as a proxy (either intentionally or unintentionally), especially post 9/11. Its interest in the work of APRO, funding through DIaC of research and resources into religious diversity and interfaith dialogue (e.g. Desmond Cahill and Michael Leahy, *Constructing a Local Multifaith Network*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2004) and the NAP aimed at including Muslim communities into the larger Australian civil society (see Appendix A1.1) are some examples.

[185] The distinctions between multiculturalism and interfaith are [1] multiculturalism outlines principles that inform, and are expressed in, policy and program settings that assist with the settlement and inclusion of immigrants and diverse religious and cultural minorities into a mainstream society (while encompassing respect for minorities by the larger group) within a human rights framework, while [2] interfaith dialogue is about diverse religious groups communicating so as to build reciprocal respect and understanding. The main similarity is that both concepts are about building dialogue across diversity, which *may* also encompass cultural differences, and both terms can help build bridging social capital.

[186] Viet Bader, *Secularism of Democracy? Associational Governance of Religious Diversity*, Amsterdam University Press, 2007, as argued in the Introduction, 'Contested religious pluralism', 17 ff.

[187] As noted in Section 2.6, in relation to the experience of the Bahá'í.

[188] Jeremy Jones, Executive Council of Australian Jewry and APRO member.

[189] Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Crimes Against Humanity: The Islamic Republic's Attacks on the Bahá'ís*, New Haven, 2012.

[190] Australian Government, *The People of Australia*, DIaC, Canberra, March 2011, p. 2, adopting the multicultural advisory council's references to religious diversity, AMAC, *The People of Australia*, April 2010, p. 12.

[191] Modood, op.cit., 37 ff.

[192] AHRC, *Combating the Defamation of Religions*, 7 ff.

[193] E.g., Christopher Hitchens, 'Push to Criminalise Criticism of Islam', *The Australian*, 9 March 2009.

[194] Alliance of Civilizations, op.cit., section V, 19 ff; and the *World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance: Declaration*, UN, September 2001, General Issues 2, 8, 59–61, 67 and 108; and Programme of Action, II.14, 46–7, 49, 79, 171–2.

[195] A Jahangir, *Promotion and Protection of All Human Rights, Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Including the Right to Development*, 6 January 2009.

[196] Gershevitch, *The Origins and Influence of Continental Libertinism and Free Thought on Restoration Literature*, University of Sydney, 1990, see especially pp. 30–45 on the naturalism origins of free thought.

[197] G Ungerer, *Thomas Shadwell's The Libertine (1675): A Forgotten Restoration Don Juan Play.*

[198] Gail Mason, 'The Reconstruction of Hate Language', Katherine Gelber & Adrienne Stone (eds), *Hate Speech and Freedom of Speech in Australia*, Federation Press, Sydney 2007, pp. 34–58; Evelyn Kallen, 'Hate on the Net: A Question of Rights / A Question of Power', *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, no. 2, December 1997.

[199] RDA, s.18D.

[200] Electronic Frontiers Australia argued that websites 'are public in a rather different fashion to radio or television broadcasts, since the web is a "pull" medium rather than a "push" one. In particular, they are not intrusive: web sites do not appear on computer screens unbidden; one must choose to view a web site, taking affirmative action to do so', *Submission to HREOC on Online Hate Speech and Section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, AHRC, 2002.

[201] Kate Eastman, 'Problems of Evidence in Hate Speech Cases', Katherine Gelber & Adrienne Stone (eds), *Hate Speech and Freedom of Speech in Australia*, Federation Press, Sydney 2007, pp. 106–28. These limited options, however, may become more limited in the future. Following a finding in the Federal Court in September 2011 against trollumist, Andrew Bolt, that he racially vilified a group of Indigenous Australians, Tony Abbott, Leader of the Opposition, declared he will amend s.18C of the RDA to (he claims) protect freedom of speech, see Andrew Crook and Matthew Knott, 'How Bolt Got Abbott to Start the Freedom Wars', *Crikey*, 7 August 2012.

[202] Sandy Watson, 'Editorial: Media and "Race"', *PLATFORM: Journal of Media and Communication*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2011, pp. 3–4.

[203] Gregory Carey, *Genetics, Politics and Society*, Human Genetics for the Social Sciences, Colorado University, 2010, 9 ff; eugenics also had vigorous defenders in the US, England and other democracies – including many highly regarded and 'respectable' advocates.

[204] A Smedley and BD Smedley, 'Race as Biology if Fiction, Racism as a Social Problem is Real', *American Psychologist*, vol. 60, no. 1, 2005, pp. 6–26.

[205] UNDP, World Report, 2009.

[206] J Crush and S Ramachandran, *Xenophobia, International Migration and Human Development*, Research Paper 2009/47, UNDP, September 2009.

[207] Credophobia refers to the fear of religions or religious creeds. Xeno-racism is a fear of 'The Other', not just hatred of the racially distinct; Fekete, op.cit., pp. 9–20, quotes Sivanandan to explain it as racism that cannot be 'colour-coded ... and therefore passed off as xenophobia, a "natural" fear of strangers ... it is racism in substance, but "xeno" in form. It is [institutionalised] racism that is meted out to impoverished strangers even if they are white.' Cyber-racism is racism that 'happens in the cyber-world ... On the internet, cyber-racism can take the form of a website itself, its written content, its images, blogs, videos and online comments.' AHRC, *Cyber-racism and Human Rights*, January 2011, viewed 8 May 2012, <http://www.humanrights.gov.au/racial_discrimination/publications/cyberracism_factsheet.html>.

208 Arun Kundnani, *The End of Tolerance*, Pluto Press, London, 2007, 42 ff; George Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2002, 7 ff.

209 For example, the use of ethnic descriptors by policing agencies. While this use may serve some operational purposes, such labelling is problematic when repeated by the media in ways that seem to reinforce racial stereotypes associated with criminality. See AHRC, *Ismaɛ*, 3. Public Language; b) Police.

210 Wade, op.cit., 98 ff.

211 For example, A Cameron of the Standing Committee, Synod of the Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney (submission 1533), or Fred Nile the Christian Democratic Party (submission 1001) to the report *Freedom of Religion and Belief in the 21st Century*, 13 August 2011, <http://www.humanrights.gov.au/frb/frb_submissions.html>.

212 Cantle, op.cit, 188 ff.

213 This is consistent with Viet Bader's notion of 'minimal (universal) morality' that underpins associative democracy, op.cit., 20 ff.

214 UN, WCAR Report, 'Plan of Action', V.210–212; III.58.

215 UNDP, World Report, 2004, 88 ff.

216 R Hansen, 'Multiculturalism Through Thick and Thin: Social Cohesion and Identity in the Shadow of Terrorism', *Metropolis World Bulletin*, Vol.7, September, 2007, says 'a "thin" version of multiculturalism holds that religious and cultural rights flow from and are subservient to liberal individual rights … "Thick" multiculturalism is very different. It elevates group identity above individual rights and holds that in the event of a conflict, group rights win', p. 11.

217 Susan Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1999.

218 Hodge and O'Caroll, op.cit., p. 50. The argument that multiculturalism may condone gender suppression has been discussed often, for example, in R Gressgard and C Jacobsen, 'Questions of Gender in a Multicultural Society', *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, vol. 11, no. 2, August 2003, pp. 69–77; S Song, 'Majority Norms, Multiculturalism and Gender Equality', *American Political Science Review*, 2005, vol. 99, no. 4, pp. 473–89; the respondents to Susan Okin in the anthology edited by Cohen, Howard and Nussbaum, op.cit.

219 Human Rights Council, Compilation of Conclusions and Recommendations Adopted by the Intergovernmental Working Group on the Effective Implementation of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (item 33), 18 February 2008.

220 Citizenship is quite rare in history, its early form emerged in ancient Greece, was expanded under the Roman imperium, but did not re-emerge until the development of the modern nation; Derek Heater observes, 'citizenship needs the legal construct of a state to which the individual can relate', *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 29.

221 *The Meaning of Citizenship* on the National Archives of Australia website: <http://www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/Publications/research_guides/guides/ctznship/chapter1.htm>.

222 Heater, op.cit., 54 ff.

223 Growth in numbers of UN member states gives an indication of the growth in numbers of new nations: in 1945 there were 51 original members, as of 2011, 193 members. The UN listing, viewed 10 November 2011, can be read at <http://www.un.org/en/members/growth.shtml>.

224 A Smith, 'The Myth of the "Modern Nation" and the Myths of Nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 11, issue 1, 1988, pp. 1–26.

225 Chantale Mouffe, 'Citizenship and Political Identity', *October*, vol. 61, Summer 1992, pp. 28–32.

226 This is a blurred distinction and I am simplifying the dichotomy: a sense of duty may be ethically motivated and work in the private sphere and, on the other hand, the notion of obligation to a 'parent' state may be seen not only as a duty, but an ethical obligation.

227 Sophocles, *Antigone*, Dent, London, 1963, pp. 1–41. In this Greek tragedy (5th century BC) Antigone buries her brother Polynices according to ritual despite his having been declared an enemy of the state by King Creon. Antigone's actions are based on personal principles (responsibility to family) rather than state edict, thus exemplifying a perennial conflict between public and private morals.

228 De Tocqueville insightfully argued 'it is easier to establish an absolute and despotic government amongst a people in which the conditions of society are equal, than amongst any other; and I think that if such a government were once established amongst such a people, it would not only oppress men, but would eventually strip each of them of several of the highest qualities of humanity', op.cit., 'Book Four: Influence of Democratic Opinions on Political Society'.

229 Fekete, op.cit., 67 ff. Similar tests are conducted in many European nations; for example, see the 'Life in the UK Test' website, Home Office UK Border Agency, viewed 1 May 2012, <http://lifeintheuktest.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/>.

230 The peak body FECCA has criticised the unfairness of the citizenship test (<http://www.fecca.org.au/Media/2008/media_2008005.pdf>) and news stories covered concerns raised by Richard Woolcott who led a review of the test (<http://www.news.com.au/heraldsun/story/0,21985,23868842-662,00.html>); the AHRC lodged three submissions between 2006 and 2008 on the test, arguing that while it is a matter of legitimate state discretion, there were discriminatory impacts associated with the way it is structured and the nature of the questions (<http://www.humanrights.gov.au/legal/submissions/2008/20080605_citizenship_test.html>).

231 This is described in the official assessment: Australian Citizenship Test Review Committee, *Moving Forward...Improving Pathways to Citizenship*, chaired by R Woolcott, Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department, August 2008, pp. 42–3, explains that humanitarian entrants attempt to gain citizenship as soon as possible (although they often find it difficult, p.26) but the 900,000 eligible permanent residents (many of whom are from the UK or New Zealand) have not taken up citizenship.

232 Australian Government, *Becoming an Australian Citizen*, Canberra, September 2007, p. 2.

233 ibid. The word 'provides' is particularly confusing: does this mean that citizenship is empowering, or is it an obligation, expectation, or normative condition of those who take the oath of allegiance?

234 ibid., p. 5.

235 ibid., p. 5.

236 ibid., pp. 3–4.

237 Australian Government, *Readers' Guide: Australian Citizenship Act 2007*, Chapter 2, 'Overview of the Act. What the Act covers', pages unnumbered, Canberra, October 2007.

238 Australian Commission on Safety and Quality in Healthcare, *Australian Charter of Healthcare Rights*, Sydney, 2008.

239 ibid.

240 Australian Government, *Becoming an Australian Citizen*, p. 1, p. 5.

241 J Biles and P Spoonley, 'National Identity: What it Can Tell us About Inclusion and Exclusion', *National Identities* vol. 9, no 3, September 2007, pp. 191–95.

242 ibid., p. 194.

243 ibid., p. 195.

244 A widely discussed 'problem'. Some analysis of the issues include Jurgen Habermas, 'Citizenship and National Identity: Some Reflections on the Future of Europe', *Praxis International,* vol. 12, no. 1, 1992, pp. 1–19; Baogang He, 'The National Identity Problem and Democratization: Rustow's Theory of Sequence', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 36, issue 1, January 2001, pp. 97–119; A Wodak et al., *A Discursive Construction on National Identity*, Edinburgh University Press, 2009; and an interesting assessment of national identity and the media in Canada by Tom Henighan, *The Media, Globalization, and the Problem of National Identity*, <http://tomhenighanjournal.wordpress.com/think-about-it-a-few-of-toms-talks-and-articles/the-media-globalization-and-the-problem-of-national-identity/>.

245 'There is no one self always at work', Lippmann, op.cit., Chapter XII, 'Self-Interest Reconsidered'. 2, is an early observer of the way multiple forms of self-identification mediates how the individual interprets their social and cultural milieu.

246 Modood, op.cit., 130 ff.

247 This view of identity, while generally accepted, has also been questioned; for example, see J Tomlinson, 'Globalization and Cultural Identity', p. 271-72, who argues 'It is a common assumption that identity-formation is a universal feature of human experience … But … it does not follow that this invariably takes the form of identity construction as we currently understand it in the global-modern West … understanding what we call "identity" may not be a universal, but just one particular, modern, way of socially organizing ... cultural experience.'

248 Brewer, op.cit., pp. 477–78.

249 ibid., p. 477.

250 Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, pp. 14–15, argues culture does not involve 'simply the possession of certain attributes (material, linguistic, or territorial) but the consciousness of these attributes and their naturalization as essential to group identity. [This moves the notion of] ... culture as substance to culture as the dimension of difference, to culture as group identity based on difference, to culture as the process of naturalizing a subset of differences that have been

mobilized to articulate group identity', thus making cultural identity, potentially, a potent political issue.

251   For example, see G Coslovich, 'Making Sense of Dress', *The Age*, 1 November 2008.

252   Ian Kearns and Rick Muir, *Citizenship in a Multicultural Democracy*, Institute for Public Policy Research, London, 2006.

253   Melvin Hinich and Michael Munger, *Ideology and the Theory of Political Choice*, University of Michigan Press, 1996, pp.2–3, p. 9, p.11. Ideologies tend to dichotomise: the orthodox and the heterodox, the 'right' and 'wrong'; while moderate ideological positions may compromise (or at least rationally debate issues) the more extreme an ideology , the greater the resistance to consider alternatives, ibid., 16 ff.

254   Berman, op.cit., 22 ff.

255   Sen, writing about *Civil Paths to Peace*, 'We Can Best Stop Terror by Civil, Not Military, Means', *The Guardian*, 9 November 2007, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/nov/09/comment.terrorism>.

256   Modood, op.cit., 146 ff.

257   Reich, op.cit., Chapter 4, 'Democracy Overwhelmed', pp. 131–67, Toby Miller, *Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitanism, Consumerism, and Television in the Neoliberal Age*, and, from an Australian perspective, Gleeson op.cit., pp. 46–59, 153 ff; C Hamilton, *The Disappointment of Liberalism*

258   Lippmann observed in the early 1920s that, already, for those in power 'persuasion [was] ... a self-conscious art and a regular organ of popular government. None of us begins to understand the consequences, but it is no daring prophecy to say that the knowledge of how to create consent will alter every political calculation and modify every political premise', op.cit., Chapter XV 'Leaders and the Rank and File'.4.

259   JS Mill, *On Liberty*, argues: 'like other tyrannies, the tyranny of the majority was at first ... held in dread, chiefly as operating through the acts of public authorities. But reflecting persons perceived that when society is itself the tyrant – society collectively over the separate individuals who compose it – its means of tyrannizing are not restricted to the acts which it may do by the hands of its political functionaries'.

260   Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, MIT Press, 1991, see especially Chapter VII, 'On the Concept of Public Opinion', 236 ff.

261   Blumer's ideas and contributions are described in Thomas Morrione, 'Herbert G. Blumer (1900-1987): A Legacy of Concepts, Criticisms, and Contributions', *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 11, no. 1, Spring 1988, pp. 1–12.

262   Toby Miller, op. cit, 6 ff.

263   D Barney, 'Review of Cultural Citizenship', *Canadian Journal of Sociology Online*, July–August 2007.

264   Jim Wallis, op.cit., especially 209 ff; and Korten, op.cit., 219 ff. This observation should be tempered by noting that conservative alliances are highly varied and there can be (among some in the Christian right) a meeting of minds with secular neoliberalism, see also Section 3.2.

265 Maggie Hamilton, *What's Happening to our Girls?* Viking, Penguin, 2008, pp. 2–43.

266 MT Reist, 'The Pornification of Girlhood', *Quadrant*, no. 52, issue 7–8, July August 2008, p. 16. Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit., p. 57, put it: if 'adults who are sexually attracted to children are called paedophiles, what do we call adults who set out to make children sexually attractive? Advertising executives.'

267 'Glorification of consumers rarely endorses organized political action by them ... Eulogies to public opinion and rational choice do not carry over to endorsements of social activism. People are sovereign when they purchase, but magically transmogrify into "special interests" when they lobby … Since its inception, TV has been regarded principally as a means of profiting and legitimizing its controllers ... populist TV disempowers audience knowledge in key areas of public life.' T Miller, op.cit., pp. 12–13.

268 M Levande, 'Women, Pop Music, and Pornography', *Meridians*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2008, pp. 299–300.

269 Gail Dines, *Pornland*, Spinifex Press, Australia, 2010, see especially Chapter 3, 'From the Backstreet to Wall Street: The Big Business of Porn', pp.47–59.

270 Lynette Sheridan Burns, '*Comfort or Curse?*', OUP, Sydney, 2001, pp. 23–39.

271 The protection of human rights, the redistribution of wealth and the advancement of egalitarianism is (or should be) the role of government and, it is fair to ask, why should corporations be interested in these issues given their 'job' is to maximise profits and share dividends? Indeed, these are often at loggerheads with, or impeded by, the promotion of equity and justice. Reich, op.cit., 169 ff.

272 Human Rights Watch, *On the Margins of Profit*, written by Lisa Misol et al., HRW and Centre for Human Rights and Global Justice, New York, February 2008, viewed 10 April 2012, <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/bhr0208_1.pdf>.

273 For example, Sarah Ferguson, 'Bad News', *Four Corners*, ABC, 29 August 2009, <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2011/08/25/3302121.htm>, ABC News, 'Key Players in the News of the World scandal', ABC, 17 November 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-07-06/key-players-in-news-of-the-world-scandal/2784372>, both viewed 27 November 2011; and Christopher Hitchens, 'A Hypocritical Public Lapped up the News of the World's Indiscretions', *The Australian*, 13 July 2011.

274 Quoted in Packard, op.cit., p. 149.

275 John Pilger, *The Invisible Government*, Information Clearing House, 16 June 2007.

276 Berman, op.cit., 124 ff, describes how French socialists in pre-war France (despite their moderate and anti-war credentials) progressively moved from conflict-avoidance, to appeasement, and eventually became fascist collaborators.

277 Pilger, op.cit.

278 Roeder, op.cit.

279 Atkinson, op.cit., p. 103.

280 The Australian public's response to the Corby trial gained international attention, for instance, see A Shah, *Schapelle Corby: national icon*, 21 May 2005, <http://www.indianexpress.com/

oldstory.php?storyid=70731> or R Phillips, *The Howard Government, Australian Media and the Schapelle Corby Case*, 6 June 2005, <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2005/jun2005/corb-j09.shtml>.

281 Bali, where the trial was conducted, is a predominantly Hindu province as were most trial judges.

282 John Bryson, *Evil Angels*, Penguin, Melbourne, 2000; the case continues to gain media attention with a fourth inquest held in early 2012, e.g. Kristy O'Brien, 'Azaria Inquest Hears Evidence of Dingo Attack', *ABC News*, 25 February 2012, viewed 12 May 2012, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-02-24/azaria-inquest-starts-darwin/3850990>.

283 This section draws on work by Andrew Jakubowicz, in particular, 'Religion, Media and Cultural Diversity' in J Jupp (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Religion in Australia*, CUP, Melbourne, 2009.

284 This has been particularly prominent since the Howard Government promoted the notion of 'Australian values' as part of its [1] attack on social justice-related 'political correctness', [2] search for national unity in the face of exogenous (terrorist) threats, and [3] conformist/wedge tactics associated with asylum seekers. While the values are, *per se*, reasonable and applicable (see DIaC, Living in Australia>Australian Values>Questions and Answers, <http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/values/background/#d>) their linking with citizenship testing and, generally, a normative cultural framework has inspired satire on the grounds of hypocrisy and inconsistency; for example, by the Australian values website, purportedly hosted by the 'Department of Mateship and Fair Dinkum Aussie Values', see <http://valuesaustralia.com/>.

285 A Crabb, 'Invoking Religion in Australian Politics', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2009, pp. 259–79.

286 For example referring to, but perhaps not naming, certain religious propositions for secular or political purposes, or indirectly labelling others who are not 'mainstream' (ie: nominally Christian). The issue of religion in politics, as noted at footnote 213 of this chapter, is also contentious because of the way s.116 of the Constitution has been interpreted and applied.

287 Urban Dictionary, viewed 6 May 2012, <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=trollumist>. Trolls also function in the domain of 'private' social media, see W Phillips, 'LOLing at Tragedy: Facebook Trolls, Memorial Pages and Resistance to Grief Online', *First Monday*, vol. 16, no. 12, 5 December 2011.

288 P Adams and L Burton, *Talkback: Emperors of Air*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1997. Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit., p. 18 also argue that 'conservative politicians and radio shock jocks vilify the poor'.

289 Jakubowicz, 'Religion, Media and Cultural Diversity', op.cit., pp. 655–56.

290 P Scott, 'On the Fringe: Journalism, Representation and Cultural Competence', *Journalism Theory in Practice*, OUP, Sydney, 2001, pp. 131–36.

291 For a discussion of these issues in the English media see RM Sanz Sabido, 'When the "Other" Becomes "Us"', *PLATFORM: Journal of Media and Communication*, vol. 1, 2009, pp. 67–82; and Wright-Neville et al., op.cit., '4.6 The Media', p. 35.

292 Referenced elsewhere in this thesis, e.g. Yasmeen, op.cit. Concerns about the effects of

counter-terrorism legislation have also been reported, for instance, in the report of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Intelligence and Security, *Review of Security and Counter Terrorism Legislation*, Chapter 3, pp. 23–38, which acknowledges the impact the laws have had, specifically on Australian Muslims.

293   Yasmeen, op.cit., pp. 49–53.

294   For example, the way then Defence Minister, Peter Reith, during the closing days of the 2001 national election campaign, used the *Tampa* incident to suggest 'boat people' might introduce terrorism into Australia. Two days after the attack on the World Trade Centre Reith gave four interviews during which he connected the government's clampdown on boat people with efforts to combat terrorism. See A Henderson, 'Our Wartime Paranoia has a Long and Ignoble History', *The Age*, 13 January 2003; also Hodge and O'Carroll op.cit., 'Rethinking Tampa', pp. 21–34.

295   J Ewart and J Posetti, *Talkback Radio*, Reporting Diversity, undated; and G Phillips, *Media Analysis Report, Australian Television Current Affairs*, Reporting Diversity, 2009.

296   P Manning, 'Media Reporting Toes the Government Line', *Australian mosaic*, 2004.3, pp. 24–5; S Stockwell, 'Two to Tango', *Australian mosaic*, 2004.1 pp. 11–13; S Luckman, 'People Like That', *Australian mosaic*, 2004.1 pp. 24–6; and Fear, op.cit., pp. 4–16.

297   Fear, op.cit., p. 23.

298   ibid., p. 33. Graeme Turner, 'Politics, Radio and Journalism in Australia: The Influence of "Talkback" ', *Journalism*, vol. 10, no. 4, 2009, pp. 411–30, gives an account of the connections between commercial broadcasters, conservative politicians and dog-whistling.

299   Nicholas Xenos, 'Leo Strauss and the Rhetoric of the War on Terror', *Logos*, Spring 2004, discusses Strauss's immense (and fundamentally anti-democratic) influence and the methods he advocated to effect political change, including the use of writings that mythologised, had layers of exoteric and esoteric meaning and distinguished between vulgar, wise and gentlemen (hence requiring various messages).

300   As shouted at journalists, among other reasons, 'we don't want them' and 'pretty soon you won't be able to get bacon on your fucking hamburgers anywhere no more.' Transcript of 'Dangerous Ground', *Four Corners*, ABC, March 2008, <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/content/2008/s2185494.htm>.

301   *The Chaser's War on Everything – Mosman Mosque*, 14 July 2006, viewed 1 May 2012, <http://thechaserswaroneverything.blogspot.com.au/2006/07/chasers-war-on-everything-mosman.html>.

302   For example, S Ngui, *The Rights of Religious Minorities*, 4R's Conference, Sydney, 2 October 2008. This is an area of potential racial or religious discrimination that could be researched in more detail.

303   See the report on the Cronulla riots to the NSW parliament by Norm Hazzard in 2006. Included is a supplementary report into media coverage by Catherine Lumby. Almost impossible to access, the contents of this report are best ascertained by reading summaries of them, see <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2006/nov2006/rio1-n30.shtml>, <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2006/dec2006/rio2-d01.shtml> and

<http://www.wsws.org/articles/2006/dec2006/rio3-d02.shtml>.

304 For an account of how it has occurred in the UK see David Bates, 'Making the White Folk Angry', *PLATFORM: Journal of Media and Communication*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2011, pp. 8–25.

305 Said, *Covering Islam*, p. xii and p. xlviii.

306 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *World Drug Report*, documents the extent and health impact of the global illicit drug industry; see also the Global Commission on Drug Policy, *War on Drugs: Report of the Global Commission on Drug Policy*, June 2011.

307 Two examples from early 2012 can illustrate this continuing issue. Nicholas Cowdery, former NSW Director of Public Prosecutions, expressed concern about the 'symbiotic relationship between certain parts of the media and certain parts of politics' which prevents a balanced public discourse on illicit drug reform (speaking on the ABC, *PM*, 2 April 2012, <http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2012/s3469404.htm> about the Australia21 report by B Douglas and D McDonald, *The Prohibition of Illicit Drugs is Killing and Criminalising Our Children and We are All Letting It Happen*, Canberra, 2012, <http://www.australia21. org.au//publications/press_releases/Australia21_Illicit_Drug_Policy_Report.pdf>. On 20 February *Media Watch* ran a story on the way the commercial media have run a concerted attack against the Attorney-General, Greg Smith (from a conservative government) for his supposed soft approach to petty crime, <http://www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/transcripts/s3435257.htm>.

308 Zdener Urbanek, observing that people in dictatorships are more fortunate than those in democracy in one respect: they 'believe nothing of what we read in the newspapers and nothing of what we watch on television, because we know its propaganda and lies ... we know that the real truth is always subversive.' Quoted by Pilger, op.cit.

309 Wendy Bacon, *A Sceptical Climate: Media Coverage of Climate Change in Australia*, Australian Centre for Independent Journalism, UTS, Sydney, 1 December 2011, p. 63.

310 ibid., Australian tabloids, broadsheets, their readership and owners are listed on p. 23. Across the ten newspapers researched 82% of articles published by News Ltd were negative, sources for commentary included 6% academic, 2% NGO, 1% think tank (all of which include negative views) and 1% scientific – civil society views were largely absent from coverage (42 ff). The report concluded that the only national paper (*The Australia*) has behaved with bias, hypocrisy (64 ff) and 'rather an open and competitive market that can be trusted to deliver quality media, we may have a case of market failure'.

311 Deuze provides a good overview of the generally accepted ideology of journalistic practice, and some of the confusion and varieties of understanding facing the profession (for the five ideal traits, see p. 447). M Deuze, 'What is Journalism? Professional Identity and Ideology of Journalists Reconsidered', *Journalism*, vol. 6, no. 4, September 2005, pp. 442–64.

312 International Council on Human Rights Policy, *Journalism, Media and the Challenge of Human Rights Reporting*, ICHRP, Versoix, 2002, 28 ff; T Hass and L Steiner, 'Fears of Corporate Colonization in Journalism Reviews' Critiques of Public Journalism', *Journalism Studies*, vol.3, issue 3, 2002, pp. 325–341; Robert McChesney, 'The Problem of Journalism', *Journalism Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2003, pp. 299–329.

313 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, Abacus, London, 1974 edition, famously argued

that 'the medium is the message'. This notion has since become a platitude but was regarded as an important insight when first published in 1964; Packard, op.cit., some of the particular issues of validity and morality are well summarised in the final two chapters, pp. 197–216.

[314] Kenneth Galbraith, 'Economics and the Quality of Life', *The Essential Galbraith*, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 2001, p. 104.

[315] S Barnett, *Journalism, Democracy and the Public Interest*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, September 2009.

[316] For example, N Newman, *The Rise of Social Media and its Impact on Mainstream Journalism*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, September 2009.

[317] L Adamic and N Glance discuss the way liberal and conservative bloggers function in like-minded networks, see *The Political Blogosphere and the 2004 US Election,* Proceedings of the 3rd International Workshop on Link Discovery, March 2005; see also Roeder, op.cit., pp. 87–93.

[318] N Newman, *Mainstream Media and the Distribution of News in the Age of Social Discovery*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, July 2011.

[319] ibid., is generally positive about citizen journalism; others, such as Paul Andrews, 'Is Blogging Journalism?', *Nieman Reports*, Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard, Fall 2003, pp. 63–4, are more sceptical. See also Ray Maratea, 'The Blogosphere as Public Arena', *Social Problems*, vol. 55, issue 1, 2008, pp. 139–60 who discusses the blogosphere, as a new cultural phenomenon, to influence and express public opinion in novel ways.

[320] Clay Shirky, 'The Political Power of Social Media', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 1, January/ February 2011, pp. 28–40.

[321] In the case of Australia, see Eastman, op.cit.

[322] Sumerian agricultural practice and its environmental impact is hard to determine given its antiquity and confusion with well-known flood myths (e.g the *Epic of Gilgamesh*) which seem to describe declining land arability (due to salination) combined with severe weather events. See JD Hughes, *An Environmental History of the World*, Routledge, New York, 2009, pp. 33–8 and James Tennett, 'Confluence of Climate Change and Cultural Complexity in Southern Mesopotamia', paper no. 178–3, *Geological Society of America*, Seattle, November 2003. Also of interest for its explanation of Sumerian decline, using Joseph Tainter's model, is William Thompson, 'Complexity, Diminishing Marginal Returns, and Serial Mesopotamian Fragmentation', *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol. X, no. 3, 2004, pp. 613–52.

[323] Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit., p. 119.

[324] Korten, op.cit., see especially Part II, 'Sorrows of Empire', pp. 91–142.

[325] A Curtis, *The Power of Nightmares*, BBC, 2005: a series that explores the origins of the war on terror, in particular the competing (yet complementary) roles of Islamist groups and US neo-cons.

[326] Clements, *Violence is the Problem*, p. 7.

[327] Fekete, op.cit., see Chapter 3 'Enlightened Fundamentalism? Immigration, Feminism and the Right', 77 ff; and Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism*, 69 ff.

[328] Here, I refer to diversity more broadly, while this includes cultural or religious diversity (see Burke, op.cit.) it also includes the social excluded mainstream, as Hamilton and Denniss, op.cit.,

pp. 139–140 have observed, there is 'a strange inversion of the arguments about welfare for the poor. The problem with giving poor people welfare, we are told, is that hand-outs discourage them from providing for themselves. [They become] ... more dependent on charity ... This view of welfare payments is common in Australian political debate ... Its popularity masks the hypocrisy on which it is often based. We are told that welfare payments for wealthy people act as incentives ... while welfare payments to poor people act as disincentives to work and take responsibility for themselves.' These arguments can be depicted with an equation where the extent of greed and fear in a society, combined with ignorance, can predict the extent of decline in civil society: $greed^v \ x \ fear^v \ x \ ignorance^q = social \ fracturing^e$.

[329] See Hodge and O'Carroll, 'Tolerance Paradoxes', op.cit., 43 ff.

[330] Carl Ungerer, *A New Agenda for National Security*, p. 10.

[331] 'Across the late-twentieth century, generalized utopian alternatives have faded away. Not only has the projection of blueprints for change become unfashionable and the genre of utopian novel writing died, we have also come to distrust deeply the residual utopianism of our urban planners' says Paul James, 'Our Cities are Us', *Harvard International Review*, vol. XXXIV, no. 1, 2012; this end of (typically collective) utopianism, says James, has been replaced by a focus on the individual or family, that mediates social relationships through mass or social medias, and is expressed in selfish consumption, aggravating problems of sustainability, climate and inequity.

[332] Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (*The Republic*, Book VI, Loeb, London, 1977) provides an account of key beliefs in classical cosmology that placed earth at the centre of the universe, around which the heavens revolved. At the same time, it located a supreme deity (God) within this system as its prime mover. Subsequently, these views shaped Christian theology and metaphysics, profoundly influencing how people – from the European cultural tradition – interpreted the heavens.

[333] Carl Sagan, 'The Pale Blue Dot', quoted by Brett Evans in 'A World of Our Own Making', *Inside Story*, 17 February 2012, viewed 2 February 2012, <http://inside.org.au/anthropocene/>.

[334] For example, **nef**, *The Great Transition*; Korten, op.cit., pp. 27–40; Gleeson, op.cit., pp. 104–5 talks about new-order transitions, Homer-Dixon in his speech 'The Great Transformation', and T Jackson, op.cit., p. 172 on the transformative agenda (in preference to revolution).

[335] UN-Habitat, op.cit., p.45, argues that cultural identity, tangible and intangible heritage are being successfully harnessed in many cities to bring about social and economic transformations.

[336] While T Jackson, Gleeson and NGOs such as **nef** (cited elsewhere) have presented cases for a new social, economic and environmental 'order', this is now a mainstream issue. As observed in UNEP's report on the green economy, it has floated 'out of its specialist moorings in environmental economics and into the mainstream of policy discourse', op.cit., p. 14.

[337] Glaezer, op.cit., argues this is a role (and benefit) provided by functional, greener, urbanscapes, 223 ff; pp. 267–68.

PART TWO

The Response: Opportunity, Action and Hope

[4] CULTURAL RIGHTS AND THE NORMATIVE INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK

Thus far, this thesis has largely discussed context: the challenges facing the world, some of the social and policy issues important for building respectful and cohesive societies and the implications of cultural liberty and freedom. This was presented within the broader framework of human rights, global ethics and capabilities. Part 2 builds on this context.

Chapter 4 examines how understandings about culture are evolving, especially in relation to converging issues of sustainability, development and peace-building. Cultural expression and creativity are necessary for greater human flourishing and a full realisation of rights, they are also meaningful and enacted by people locally and in the context of their lived social, environmental, political and cultural milieu. This is the terrain where cultural institutions – particularly museums – will need to maintain and expand their niches. It examines the significance of culture: first, by analysing some of the international literature, conventions and concerns about cultural rights, and second, by reflecting (in Chapter 5) on the challenges facing cultural institutions, given the range of challenges to future human well-being.

As noted in Chapter 1, culture describes some of the most complex and varied human creative products as well as social, ethical, spiritual, ideological, political, behavioural and ontological conditions, knowledge and actions. The word 'culture' has many uses and meanings, and is understood in widely varying ways by different people in a variety of places and times. Sixty years ago, culture was still understood as referring to 'civilization' or 'the arts': equally elastic terms. Today, after decades of post-modern, structuralist and relativist critique, these notions (culture, art and civilization) are viewed less absolutely and with more ambiguity than in the past.[1]

4.1 UNESCO'S CHANGING UNDERSTANDING OF THE MEANING & SIGNIFICANCE OF CULTURE

The evolution of the understanding of culture is reflected in the definitions found across publications released by UNESCO since 1946, the year the organisation was established. Compared with the way culture was defined several decades ago, the definition of culture in UNESCO's *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue* (2009 World Report) reflects the shifting knowledge about what culture is, its importance to humanity, and its

association with human rights. The Helman definition (in Chapter 1) is largely functional: it explains the way culture is formed and functions within social units and how it influences individual thoughts and actions. UNESCO's approach to defining culture is more meta-analytical. It amalgamates, summarises and reviews a global body of knowledge about cultural functionalism. A review of UNESCO's definitions provides a useful way of viewing how convergences around culture, sustainability, security and human rights have developed over the last half century, and how these have informed various reports, action plans and treaties.

UNESCO was established in the immediate postwar period and, like the umbrella UN, its mandate focused on peace-building and human rights. UNESCO's approach to conflict prevention was to encourage mutual respect through education that aimed to overcome the ignorance and suspicion that have often led to violent conflicts. UNESCO's Constitution famously states, because 'wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'.[2] UNESCO promoted culture because it believed sharing 'artistic riches' would help to build global peace. The concept of 'unity in diversity' was coined to describe how, through mutual understanding, people could be freed from their separate cultures and better enjoy the common heritage of humanity.[3] In the earliest UNESCO reports of the late 1940s, culture refers to works of art ('the fruit of culture');[4] the role of culture as a determinant of human identity was not yet defined.[5]

As well as postwar peace-building, one of UNESCO's urgent tasks was to help redress culture-related crimes committed during the Second World War. For this purpose, it defined culture largely in terms of property and its theft in the *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, 1954* (Hague Convention). This treaty was a response to the Nazi despoliation of cultural sites (the great museums, libraries and galleries of Europe), as well as the theft of cultural property, primarily from European Jewry, and its removal to collection sites within the Third Reich.[6] These actions were primarily motivated by greed and, although the Nazis were generally antagonistic to 'degenerate' art (works typically produced by Jews, primitives, socialists and 'the insane'[7]), they were more preoccupied with the pressing tasks of racially-motivated human genocide than with genocide through stealth, or the eradication of groups through indirect means as was occurring, for example, at the same time in Australia.[8]

The Hague Convention defined cultural property in three ways. The first two definitions relate to property with universal cultural-heritage values, such as immoveable monuments of architecture, art and history. These include religious, secular and archaeological sites, as well as groups of structures. The second definition covers moveable property: items such as manuscripts, books, art or collections.[9] The third definition encompasses cultural property, which includes those buildings that preserve or protect movable cultural property, as well as 'centres containing monuments' ('centres' meaning cities or neighbourhoods).[10] These definitions illustrate that culture was already understood as an endowment existing in relation to a wider, inhabited, living, human ecology. The Hague Convention also reflected the thinking that was developing at that time about the importance of culture to peoples' quality of life. As early as the fifth session of the General Conference in 1950, it was noted that the UDHR – which had been promulgated two years previously – affirmed 'everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community (and) to enjoy the arts'.[11] By 1951, some cultural activities were classified as actions that served human rights. Because the early 1950s were a period of escalating postwar decolonisation – with culture claiming an important place in the identity politics of nation building – it was increasingly recognised that culture (as a vector of UNESCO's peace-building mandate) could no longer be understood solely as meaning works of art.[12]

In the year of its introduction the Hague Convention was immediately expanded with a first protocol; 44 years later, in 1999, the *Second Protocol to the Hague Convention* (Second Protocol) was adopted. At this time, during the various ethnic and faith-based conflicts between Balkan states after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Europe witnessed a return of the types of crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Nazis and their allies half a century earlier. The deliberate targeting of cultural property, in particular by Serbian forces, not only contravened the Hague Convention, but was also a deliberate attempt to commit cultural genocide.[13] This attempt was pursued through the eradication of the traditions, stable community structures, infrastructure (such as buildings) and movable heritage materials (paintings, books, manuscripts), which comprised a meaningful ethnic, religious and cultural context for minority communities who had been an integral part of the Balkans for centuries.[14] In this context, the Second Protocol maintained the definition of cultural property used in the Hague Convention (article 1(b)) but aimed to ensure it better complemented 'rules governing the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict [and to] …

reflect developments in international law'.[15] The Second Protocol, therefore, was responding to the ways in which culture was being used by the late 1990s as part of the 'armoury' of some combatants in military conflicts. It is interesting to compare this recent codicil, even if it is more inferred in those UNESCO cultural conventions of four and six years later, where we see tangible evidence of changing notions of culture.

The type of cultural genocide inflicted during the Balkan conflicts was specifically addressed in the UNESCO *Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage, 2003*, which notes those clauses in the Hague Convention's preamble that explains damage to cultural property represents damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind.[16] It also links the protection of culture with human rights, the preamble stating, 'intentional destruction may have adverse consequences on human dignity and human rights'. It requires states to respect rules relating to 'the criminalisation of gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, in particular, when intentional destruction of cultural heritage is linked to those violations'.[17] Article I warns that destroying cultural property prevents the transmission of knowledge to future generations; although this article is not linked specifically to human rights, it does infer that an intergenerational right is violated through the intentional destruction of cultural heritage. The events in the Balkans, as an example, clearly had human-rights implications.[18] The destruction of cultural heritage directly effected the rights of those who were being deliberately targeted. This is because human identity, through membership of a shared community, participation in cultural activities, access to culturally appropriate education, freedom of religion and belief, and practice of beliefs, are all rights described in the UDHR and protected in subsequent conventions.[19]

Article 6 of the Second Protocol ('respect for cultural property') states there is no justification for attacking cultural property unless, through its function, it has been deliberately made into a military objective. Even so, the principle of 'proportionality' must be applied to minimise the effect on the site in question. Article 7 ('precautions in attack') outlines how, in cases of armed conflict, military forces must do whatever possible to verify whether the object of an attack has immovable cultural significance or contains materials of movable cultural value. If it does, attacks should be cancelled, suspended, or care taken to reduce the damage to cultural property to a minimum. Article 15 ('serious violations under this Protocol') states it is an offence for any person to intentionally make protected cultural property the object of an attack,[20] to deliberately use cultural property or its surroundings as a

part of a military action,[21] or to steal, pillage or vandalise cultural property.[22] These articles in the Second Protocol emphasise the importance of cultural property and the duty of care imposed on combatants in the field to ensure it is protected. The reasons are not solely for the intrinsic value to humanity of significant heritage, but also for the human and cultural-rights implications of its destruction, theft or vandalism.

Moving forward 16 years – from promulgation of the Hague Convention to the next UNESCO treaty relating to culture – the definition of cultural property was changed and expanded in the *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 1970* (1970 Convention). Cultural property now includes specimens of flora, fauna and minerals and objects of palaeontological interest; property relating to history, technology and social history; objects of ethnological interest; musical instruments; and sound, photographic and cinematic materials.[23] This shows how culture was now perceived as more than iconic works of civilization; it includes ephemera, the practical tools of civilization, and samples of important natural heritage. The treaty reflects some of the remaining legacies of the Second World War, such as the need to address misappropriated cultural property, but more specifically focuses on the fragility and endangered status of much culture. For instance, the preamble says, 'it is essential for every State to become increasingly alive to the moral obligations to respect its own cultural heritage and that of all nations', and that cultural institutions 'should ensure that their collections are built up in accordance with universally recognized moral principles'.[24] This indicates that the protection of culture was increasingly being linked to the protection of human rights; it placed clear obligations on cultural institutions to consider human rights along with ethical acquisition practices, and to reconsider the retention of those artefacts with ambiguous provenance or ambivalent ownership status.[25]

The definitions contained in the 1970 Convention were expanded two years later in the next UNESCO cultural convention – perhaps the best known of all its treaties – the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972* (World Heritage Convention). Its preamble states:

> cultural heritage and natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only
> by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions

which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction.[26]

Harking back to the 1940s' defence of universal cultural and natural heritage values, the World Heritage Convention states these are important to all peoples, and there must be safeguarding of 'this unique and irreplaceable property … as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole … [given] the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening them'.[27] Whereas earlier treaties had tended to focus on culture as property, the World Heritage Convention is concerned with heritage more generally, dividing it into three broad categories. The first is monuments, which includes architecture, monumental sculptures and paintings, cave dwellings and the like, 'of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science'.[28] The second category is buildings and sites that are 'works of man or the combined works of nature and man', including those of universal value from historical, aesthetic, anthropological and ethnological points of view.[29] The third comprises geological and physiographical formations (especially endangered habitat), natural sites of beauty or importance to science, and natural features of value from either aesthetic or scientific points of view.[30] The World Heritage Convention is noteworthy for regarding world heritage as definitively either of natural heritage significance, human heritage significance, or (simultaneously) of both human and natural heritage significance. This linking of broad heritage types heralds later recognition that human relationships with the environment are of primary importance to culture, and that actions are required to sustain the biosphere. However, as the 1970s progressed, attention was increasingly turned to the need to protect and preserve not only the natural world but also culture in all its forms.[31]

Leaving aside the *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, 2001* (specific to the protection, salvaging, archaeology and ownership of materials collected from underwater sites and related laws of the sea), the next UNESCO convention illustrating significant development in the understanding of culture did not appear until 31 years later. By the time the *Convention for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICH Convention) was adopted in 2003, two years after the proclamation of the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2001* (UDCD), a new discourse on culture, human rights, global ecology and sustainability had emerged. The lacuna between the World Heritage Convention and the ICH Convention, nevertheless, was a period during which progress was made in understanding culture. In particular, over the course of these three decades,

awareness of the exponential effects of globalisation became apparent. This recognition is reflected in the *Mexico Declaration on Cultural Policies* (Mexico Declaration) released after the World Conference on Cultural Policies held in Mondiacult in 1982. The Mexico Declaration provided a new way of describing culture, explaining that, in its widest sense, culture includes:

> the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs.[32]

The Mexico Declaration strongly focuses on the importance of culture in development and the human right to culture,[33] acknowledging the links to individual identity and self-determination. This recognises qualities about culture that reflect both the universal and the particular: processes that are deeply personal and local, yet with transcendent qualities giving them the potential to build dialogue across humanity.[34] Although the wording of the Mexico Declaration demonstrates an increasingly sophisticated analysis of culture, it has not been without criticism. One such is the ambiguity about whether it describes the diversity of expressions or merely forms of social organisation.[35]

The conceptual changes between 1972 and 2003 encompassed several areas. These included an appreciation that development should not be restricted to economics and the goals of growth should include cultural development, individual and collective fulfilment, and general welfare. By the time the issue was discussed at the Stockholm Conference in 1998, culture was recognised as perhaps humanity's greatest asset and essential for sustainable progress.[36] Another area of conceptual refinement was respect for the role of cultural diversity in social inclusion, whether of endogenous cultural minorities or transnational diasporas from various cultural settings. As early as the 1980s, the debate about culture, therefore, was seen as critical for community harmony in multicultural nations. By the time the Mexico Declaration was issued, this understanding included an acceptance that, in an interdependent world, no culture can exist in isolation and that cultural diversity must be managed within societies; this reinforced culture as a potentially political issue. Following from this principle was the need to pursue intercultural dialogue in peace-building. In a globalised world, it was recognised that much diversity is at risk of disappearing, particularly in societies facing the

onslaught of Western (notably US) cultural content and values. This demanded they required protection; as such, by the late 1990s cultural policy was viewed as a key plank of sustainable development.[37]

The ICH Convention presented important priorities for action in the redefined domain of culture that was anticipated, but not fully developed, in the Mexico Declaration. Adoption of the ICH Convention marked the culmination, after 50 years, of a comprehensive suite of treaties covering:

- the protection of culture during armed conflict
- the illicit trafficking of cultural property
- iconic cultural artefacts that are moveable, immoveable and tangible
- natural heritage
- cultural landscapes
- human underwater heritage
- intangible heritage (the most fluid and fragile, yet fundamental to identity and expression).[38]

Intangible heritage is a form of culture, which Richard Kurin describes as 'the culture that people practice as part of their daily lives … often described as the underlying "spirit" of a cultural group'.[39] The ICH Convention has been seen as a complementary instrument to the World Heritage Convention (which the former references in its preamble[40]). It is linked to the 2001 *Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage* (2001 Proclamation), which lists the first 19 'outstanding cultural spaces or forms of expression', and which recognises the universal value of significant forms of oral culture.[41] The 2001 Proclamation was intended to be a partial 'corrective' to the World Heritage List, which, because of its focus on iconic physical sites (such as monuments) rather than on iconic intangible expressions, could be regarded as culturally biased.[42] The ICH Convention, which is notable for its attempt to address the last major gap in protections covering the full range of cultural diversity in a sustainable-development and human-rights framework, reinforces this by describing such heritage as:

> transmitted from generation to generation … constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history … [providing] them with a sense of identity and continuity.[43]

Given the complex forms of intangible heritage, it is difficult to define its parameters and to decide what to target for preservation. The ICH Convention opens by referring to existing international human-rights instruments, in particular the UDHR, ICESCR and ICCPR,[44] stating, for its purposes, the only intangible heritage covered is that which is 'compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development'.[45] It also recognises that globalisation and the accompanying social transformations produce conditions 'for renewed dialogue among communities ... as does the phenomenon of intolerance, to grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of intangible cultural heritage'.[46]

The significance of the ICH Convention, explains Koïchiro Matsuura, is that for the first time nations had available a universally-valid 'standard-setting instrument to assert [UNESCO's] conviction that intercultural dialogue and respect for cultural diversity and tolerance are among the surest guarantees of peace' and that all cultures should be regarded as having 'equal dignity'.[47] Matsuura emphasises the themes outlined in the UDCD: that cultural diversity is as necessary for humanity as biodiversity is for nature, cultural diversity is the common heritage of humanity, recognition of cultural diversity humanises globalisation, human rights help guarantee cultural diversity, and culture is a necessary component of human development. These UDCD principles have been reaffirmed by UNESCO in the 2009 World Report, discussed below. The ICH Convention gives effect to aspirations contained in the UDCD and demonstrates the progress made over previous decades in understanding culture.

Two years after the ICH Convention (which Australia has not ratified[48]) came the most recent of the UNESCO cultural treaties: the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, 2005* (DCE Convention). Among the range of cultural conventions, this treaty most explicitly links culture with human rights. There is additional (inferred) expansion of the notion of collective rights and the most detailed explanation of the need to integrate culture into sustainable development. Previously, sustainable development, human development and cultural protection had largely separate but parallel histories (see Appendix 3). It is only since the mid 1990s that the role of culture as an integral part of development policies has been fully understood, and although these sectors often continue to move along different trajectories, there has been an integrated approach

reflected in the UNESCO treaties and reports since *Our Creative Diversity* appeared in 1995.[49]

In its comments on whether Australia should ratify the DCE Convention,[50] the AHRC noted it is essentially a treaty that defines cultural practice and preservation as human rights. This is linked to sustainable development and, therefore, associated with international cooperation, aid and (because of its integrated approach) has the potential to contribute towards a global culture of peace.[51] In the DCE Convention, the importance of human rights is noted repeatedly:[52] the preamble proclaims it celebrates 'the importance of cultural diversity for the full realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the UDHR and other universally recognised instruments'. Article 2 ('Guiding Principles') says cultural diversity relies on human-rights protections such as freedom of expression, information and communication, and article 5 commits state parties to achieve the purposes of the DCE Convention 'in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and universally recognised human rights instruments'.[53]

Drafting of international treaties is complex, usually involving lengthy negotiations and compromises, and the DCE Convention generated considerable disagreement. When UNESCO member states voted on its adoption, four abstained (Australia among them) and two voted against it, including the USA. US concerns created the most controversy, with the influential audiovisual industry lobbying against it on the grounds it would restrict free trade. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) had been deadlocked on the issue of audiovisual cultural product since 1993, with America and European countries arguing over restrictive quotas on US films. In this circumstance, the DCE Convention was seen as a potential barrier to the expansion of US businesses. Although he believes their more strongly stated claims were exaggerated, Alan Brouder describes how the US delegation claimed that the wording and definitions in the DCE Convention were vague. More legitimate, says Brouder, was the argument the convention could potentially restrict access to information for the citizens of signatory nations. If so, this would be contrary to several human-rights principles, such as article 19 of the UDHR.[54] However, article 2 of the DCE Convention precludes clauses being invoked to infringe any human right, making the US apprehensions largely unfounded. Although he dismisses most of the US assertions, Brouder does suggest the DCE Convention is limited and weakened by the lack of any significant obligations imposed on signatories. It should have been the first international treaty to protect minority

rights; instead, it is something of a 'paper tiger'.[55] These deficiencies are largely the result of the USA's influence over the drafting because it feared that an empowering hard law could potentially justify the formation of barriers to US cultural products. This political and economic pressure also explains the failure to include enforceable obligations and poor reporting arrangements. For example, if state parties oversee a decrease in cultural diversity under their watch, they can omit to report this trend; thus, non-reporting becomes misleading.[56]

One of the DCE Convention's most contentious clauses, article 13, says state parties 'shall endeavour to integrate culture into their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development'.[57] David Throsby argues such a reference to culture in human development is unclear and there are no agreed models on how it should be done,[58] this reflects still-evolving understandings of the intersections between development and culture. Throsby proposes five principles for the culture sector that are compatible with environmentalism: intergenerational equity (the protection of culture for future generations); second, intragenerational equity (equality of access on a non-discriminatory basis to ensure development is consistent with poverty alleviation); third, cultural diversity is itself a value in much the same way as biodiversity; fourth, the precautionary principle (if cultural sustainability is threatened, risk-averse approaches should be adopted); and fifth, interconnection (recognition that economic, social, cultural and environmental systems cannot be seen in isolation).[59] Throsby proposes that these principles can be used as a short-list to measure whether policies meet cultural-sustainability standards; they are also consistent with the principles outlined by Holling (quoted in Chapter 1) regarding sustainable ecosystems.[60]

Biodiversity helps preserve complex systems, which may be compromised by species loss, and it provides a genetic repository from which future adaptive opportunities may be drawn. Cultural diversity is similar: the totality of diversity is itself a resource, one that is essential for continuing processes of creation, re-creation and cultural survival.[61] This recognition has arisen due to apprehensions that creeping international monoculturalism, driven by globalisation, may erode inventiveness. Human diversities provide a repository of varied beings and doings in thought and action; this enriches and expands innovation.[62] Because cultures are fluid forms of collective expression, they simultaneously influence, and are influenced by, creative interpretations, fusions and additions. These meanings of culture,

'one self-referential, the other self-transcending – are indissociable and the key to the fruitful interaction of all peoples in the context of globalisation'.[63]

The 2009 World Report summates UNESCO's work on culture over the preceding sixty years and provides renewed intellectual and ethical rationales. Among its explanations, UNESCO describes culture as constantly evolving and shifting in form, comparing it to a river flowing through lands and giving life. Despite seeming to take a similar shape from day-to-day, it is never the 'same' river. This is an ancient analogy: 2,500 years ago, Heraclitus observed that no person can step into the same river twice, because neither the river nor person will be the same.[64] On this understanding, culture should not be thought of as a noun, but a verb; not as an object, but an action. Because culture can be easily reified – or assumed to be real solely because imagined – it is ontological, increasing the likelihood it will be seen as fixed, rather than as a contingency. Culture, therefore, is simultaneously a stock and a flow. It is a body of accreted material with collective meaning, but unstable and in flux. It is not only a past inheritance, but a future project.[65]

The 2009 report also argues that human-development initiatives that do not integrate culture into their planning are more likely to fail than those that do, and poverty-alleviation programs are more likely to work if they are empowering.[66] Since the World Heritage Convention, the co-evolving interdependence of the human and the natural world has been recognised. On this basis, climate change will have potentially devastating and widespread consequences for human and cultural rights.[67] Therefore, it could be questioned whether culture is one of the pillars of development or, rather, an embedded feature of the economic, social and environmental actions that must be addressed if sustainable development goals are to be realised.[68] A further aspect noted in the 2009 World Report is that intercultural dialogue is critical for peace-building. This is consistent with UNESCO's foundation role as a contributor to world peace through promoting education, science and culture. Reciprocal understanding of cultural difference through intercultural dialogue helps to dispel stereotypes, expose cultural reductionism and encourage the acceptance of difference.[69] In this, UNESCO echoes many other international reports and authors.[70]

4.2 CULTURE AND HUMAN RIGHTS: AN OFTEN FRAUGHT RELATIONSHIP

Cultural rights are meant to protect the practice of a culture, including religion, spiritual beliefs, language, rituals, institutions, social norms, and tangible and intangible heritage. Because culture is such a profound influence in defining individual and group identities, the right to engage in cultural activities is necessary for both individual and collective self-determination. Cultural rights apply to contemporary participation, but they equally apply to the rights of future generations to enjoy their heritage.[71] Given this explanation, cultural rights may seem relatively straightforward; nevertheless, they are quite controversial.

Development in the understanding of culture has mirrored refinements in the understanding of human rights. As described in Chapter 1, human rights are broadly grouped into three categories, (1) civil and political, (2) economic, social and cultural, and (3) collective.[72] How these relate to the various UNESCO definitions of culture are informed by the generally accepted premise that all human rights are of equal importance, inalienable, indivisible, but also interrelated and co-dependent. Although inalienable and indivisible, to some extent human rights can be interpreted as culturally relative while remaining universal in their principles.[73] Cultural rights are an amorphous subset of the human-rights system, which may partly explain hesitance regarding their realisation. Understanding the complexity of cultural rights, however, helps to enlighten some of the cultural and religious tensions at the centre of clash-versus-alliance debates about civilizations.[74]

Cultural rights are sometimes regarded as 'underdeveloped'.[75] This may be compounded by difficulties associated with defining culture compared with defining the more tangible freedoms and development goals. It has been proposed that cultural rights should be achieved progressively and that they are subsidiary to more pressing rights, such as those relating to life and security.[76] This two-tiered approach has been criticised for missing the interrelatedness of many aspects of life and embedded cultural presence.[77] Because cultural rights contribute to self-realisation, they are not supernumerary, but rather 'capacities of capacities … insofar as they contribute to the effective exercise of other human rights, at the heart of which lies our sense of dignity'.[78]

To understand why many governments are suspicious of cultural rights, it is necessary to recall the way human rights have been classified. Negative rights are those that protect

people from something or that may cause harm if removed, such as freedom of speech or freedom from violence. Alternatively, the rights to do, access or be given something are positive rights; they may include the right to be protected from harm, and the right to be given adequate healthcare, an education or minimum standard of living. Although useful distinctions, they are simplistic. Some rights can be both positive and negative, and they may conflict when a choice must be made between competing rights. Another way of classifying rights is by 'generations', where the first generation includes the negative rights of civil and political life (covered in ICCPR), the second generation represents the positive rights of social, economic and cultural life (covered in ICESCR), and the third generation refers to the rights of groups over time. This third generation may include, for example, the right to an environmentally sustainable future, to collectively bargain, and for certain cultures to survive. Like the positive–negative binary, the generations idea is helpful to understand complex taxonomies; however, because human rights often help resolve intersecting claims in changing circumstances, applying 'labels' is difficult – and the most difficult are cultural rights. The first subset of rights (civil and political) includes those where state action can most easily be achieved. These rights are protected legislatively, but often passively, with little need for direct intervention. The next subset – economic, social and cultural – requires action. Their protection *adds* to the quality of life by going beyond protection from harm, to enlargement. States are often reluctant to venture into this area.

Although these taxonomies offer uncomplicated explanations of complex protections, they may establish a mistaken idea of primacy within the rights system, with positive rights seen as more important than negative rights, or first generation rights more important than second or third, or vice versa. However, there is something of a 'rights-symbiosis' where establishing sound civil and political rights provides the foundation on which to build other, equally necessary, rights.[79] Because many civil and political rights are difficult to achieve, the protections pertaining to social, economic and cultural rights (which should follow) are neglected or placed in a 'queue', awaiting protection in an indeterminate future. The right *to* certain things is substantively different from the right to be protected *from* them. When the notion of entitlement enters the debate so do arguments about whether one person or group's rights can or should be preferred, or whether this may lead to socially or culturally perverse effects, such as social disunity. These claims are essentially a digression. Culture is a

collective experience; it is formed collectively over time; it is enjoyed, preserved, developed and provides for collective benefits.

Human rights have been criticised on the basis they inadequately address collective freedoms[80] and are fallible because they apply primarily to the individual. In the field of culture (as distinct from racism and related intolerance[81]), this has led to debates concerning whether the liberty to enjoy cultural activities applies to the group or to individuals only. While human rights are commonly described in UN declarations, conventions and reports in a way that infers the singular, they can be interpreted (but are often specifically defined) as applying to group rights, intergenerational rights, or both. The UDHR (articles 22 and 27) suggests access to one's culture, and related rights protecting culture (e.g. education or religious belief), are typically enjoyed as a family, group or community. ICCPR states (article 18) that a person 'either individually or in community with others and in public or private ... [may] manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching'; article 21 recognises the right to peaceful assembly, and article 22, 'the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests'.[82] Although ICCPR does refer to a *person's* right to do such activities, its meaning relies upon being *collective*. Practicing a religion, joining an assembly, associating with others, all self-evidently imply those with whom a person has the right to consort will share at least some common ideas and values. Necessarily, the rights according to one are nominal if they fail to apply to a group in this context. Rights in other treaties extend the notion from the collective to the intergenerational. For example, the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (DRIP) lists the rights of indigenous people to traditional lands, and that these be preserved in a form that remains physically (legally) accessible and ecologically (usable and healthily) sustainable. Given this explanation links past custodianship with ongoing tenure, it is a right spanning past to future generations.

The links between culture and human rights, along with intercultural dialogue and peace-building, have been integral to UNESCO's advocacy for the role of culture in development.[83] As noted in Section 4.1, many of its soft- and hard-law treaties complement UN attempts to enforce universally accepted human-rights principles. Some conventions make specific reference to this role, thus bringing cultural protection within the ambit of international law. UNESCO's 2009 World Report recognises that the human-rights system has been questioned from two opposing views. One view accuses the system of being a form of Western cultural

imperialism, especially when practices such as slavery or state authoritarianism conflict with human-rights norms.[84] Another perception is that cultural diversity results in a relativisation of principles and, therefore, poses challenges to the universality of human rights.[85] However, culture has never been fixed; this dynamism leaves it open to change, including change that may be related to human rights. Because human rights are indivisible, they are also interdependent and linked. UNESCO says this must be negotiated through dialogue and embedded into domestic and cultural settings to promote the universality of human rights, even when interpreted through differing cultural lenses. Indeed, the recognition of such diversity 'grounds the universality of human rights in the realities of our societies by drawing attention to their appropriation by all individuals who can identify these rights with a sense of ownership, regardless of language, tradition and location'.[86] This does not mean rights can be relativised and, consequently, fail universal standards.

First Nation peoples have been particularly vulnerable because cultural rights remain neglected. Nevertheless, indigenous perspectives highlight the nexus between culture, environment, intergenerational custodianship and responsibilities to preserve coexistent and reciprocal cultural and physical conditions. The *Indigenous Peoples' Seattle Declaration* states, despite being most adversely affected by globalisation, indigenous peoples are best placed to offer alternatives because their:

> sustainable lifestyles and cultures, traditional knowledge, cosmologies, spirituality, values
> of collectivity, reciprocity, respect and reverence for Mother Earth, are crucial in the search
> for a transformed society where justice, equity, and sustainability will prevail.[87]

The arguments put forward by the world's indigenous communities intuitively recognise and rely on the relationship between culture and ecology.[88] Similar conclusions have also been drawn by environmental scientists, such as Holling, who noted that ecosystems function by following general patterns found in all systems. Conclusions can be drawn from evidence that 'social-ecological systems act as strongly coupled, complex and evolving integrated systems'.[89] This has lessons for governance and planning at local and global levels, because resilience requires understandings of both the ecosystems and the knowledge of local users: the 'outdated perception of humanity as decoupled from, and in control of, nature is an underlying cause of society's vulnerability'.[90]

ICCPR protects the rights of minorities, including indigenous groups, to enjoy their cultures, practise their religions and use their own languages.[91] It notes that environmental contamination or destruction may affect a group's traditional practices, such as hunting, fishing, and land ownership and use, which are all manifestations of culture; this is also reflected in the DRIP.[92] Although recognition of indigenous rights is included in international treaties, indigenous peoples worldwide remain victims of some of the most destructive environmental damage and loss of intangible heritage.[93] They also remain vulnerable to exploitation by global business, for example, traditional medical knowledge about the healing properties of plant extracts, and holistic ways of treating illness. Not only has this knowledge influenced Western biomedical research and treatment, it has provided information that led to new (and profitable) therapeutic goods. Misappropriated knowledge and abuse of intellectual property will continue to be a contentious issue until systems of cultural justice and fair-trading are more equitable for indigenous peoples. They sit squarely in the domain of cultural rights.[94]

Cultural rights have also been brought into focus due to events such as identity-related genocide, profits gained from exploiting vulnerable communities, and theft of cultural knowledge. It could be argued these examples neither justify nor discount cultural rights. On the basis they are reprehensible, such crimes may be punished under civil laws covering intellectual property or under criminal laws relating to murder or the destruction of private property. Recourse to such remedies, where they exist, do not render cultural rights irrelevant. In fact, the principles of cultural rights can set standards for domestic laws, better protect rights, and provide appeal-mechanisms for the vulnerable. However, because of their subaltern status, the strength of community advocacy for these rights will generally be ignored or contested by groups with greater influence and resources. Those whose interests compete with minority rights are easily able to leverage fear, obfuscation or misunderstanding about hypothetical threats, they claim, are associated with cultural practices.

One particularly fraught cultural right relates to female genital mutilation (FGM): an ancient ritual practised in a number of religions. It is particularly prevalent in northeast Africa and involves the mutilation (sometimes radical removal) of the external genitalia of small girls. This act is usually done privately, without safe medical procedures, by women and with maternal consent.[95] As with many entrenched cultural practices, contesting FGM is difficult.

On one hand it should be condemned as a tradition that conflicts with multiple human rights, such as to be protected from cruel and degrading treatment;[96] the rights of children to be protected from physical or mental violence;[97] and the rights of women.[98] Further, there are emotional and psychological traumas associated with an involuntary act that denies individuals the right to express fully their sexual identity. In this circumstance the rights of women and girls to be protected from harm, and to a decent standard of health, clearly overrides any claimed cultural rights. On the other hand, FGM is typically practised by poorly educated women who live in poverty and the small stipend they receive for conducting the procedure is essential to their material survival; this makes it a human-development issue. Combating FGM is linked to progressive education, training (such as elementary midwifery), establishing alternative models of economic livelihood, and promoting the idea it can be transformed into a symbolic rite of passage rather than a painful and permanent mutilation.[99] Although FGM may seem an ethically unambiguous example of how cultural rights are moderated under the umbrella framework of human rights, even this practice is riddled with contradictions. Culture, rights and preferences are so fluid and personal that credible arguments have been presented that render FGM another continuing, contested domain over female bodies, illustrating how cultural rights may pose wicked dilemmas.[100]

Another example of the debate over cultural rights, in some liberal democratic states, relates to the burqa (a complete body covering) and hijab (headscarf), both worn by some Muslim women to conform to Islamic cultural traditions. Several reasons have been given for why the practice should be banned, including the paranoid suggestion these garments could conceal the accoutrements of terrorism, the practice is an offensive reminder of female repression by patriarchal Islamism, and that it is a divisive antisocial statement of the separation of Muslims from wider society.[101] However, that some people are uncomfortable with women wearing prescribed cultural clothing is irrelevant to the fact that to prohibit their choice to do so is contrary to human rights that protect personal expression, beliefs, religious practice, culture, conscience and movement. Particularly problematic is that such prohibition would be highly selective. These calls do not include claims, for example, that the habits worn by Catholic nuns or the saffron robes of Buddhist monks offend civil society. In addition, complaints about segregation are hypocritical or, at best, misleading. The issue is not about social inclusivity or openness, but a closed form of cohesion that demands

compliance.[102] Calls for bans on Islamic garb reflect deep-seated faith-hate directed towards a group visible to a culturally intolerant minority. Here, reference to a 'minority' needs elaboration. Typically, collective intolerance is fostered when radical elements successfully masquerade as representing 'majority' views. For example, ultraconservative Christian groups – who would typically alienate more laissez-faire members of the public – proclaim themselves as the legitimate voices of Christianity, which, despite a retreat as the dominant ethical and cultural influence in most Western societies, remains its progenitor. As progressive Christian voices have lamented – such as Bouma, Korten and Jim Wallis – it is extreme and conservative views that now frequently occupy the public sphere as the normative Christian opinion on such issues.[103]

The issue of Islamic clothing sits in the midst of public arguments about the presence of Islam in Western society and the cultural rights of Muslims.[104] The legal and moral contexts are the right to freedom of religion and belief,[105] and the principle that some public expressions (even those that do no harm) should be protected from coercion from the norms of a dominant group. Therefore, it represents a conflict between the subaltern and hegemonic: between those who are disempowered and those who possess and use power (although similar forms of compliancy, of course, occur in some Islamic states[106]). This hijab furore also illustrates how groups with entrenched privileges may attempt to mobilise legal or policing powers to enforce their preferred sociocultural norms. A woman dressing in distinctive ways, even modestly compared with fashion norms, may be highly visible. Thus, what should be inconsequential becomes, from the etic perspective, menacing. This menace is because it represents an idea, fabricating a new anxiety. Concerns about female safety (often expressed, ironically, by groups with very different moral positions: conservative Christians and liberal feminists) have the most substance. Yes, women – as any group who may be vulnerable – must be protected from violence, rape and other forms of abuse; however, the rule of law and state intervention must be applied *equally*. To target interventions against one group is morally questionable. When cases of abuse are forensically examined, to assess whether cultural influences have shaped the conduct of the perpetrators, it will often be the case that culture has been a factor. It is inevitable that cultural and religious determinants will shape some violent behaviour – but so will personal history, personality traits, intelligence and other influences.[107] While some perpetrators may be Muslim, many may not be. If violence against women is a trait shared by adherents of a

range of religions as well as by the irreligious, why should Muslims be singled out for special treatment? It could easily be argued that gangster rap music and its misogynistic subculture are more morally offensive and violent. The main difference is Global North economic and cultural interests have decided rap is marketable, profitable and – therefore – permissible.[108] Western corporate advertising may have pornographied and commodified Western culture, but this is considered acceptable because it is a norm, now sanctioned by the popular media and overlooked by governments.[109] Although this example reveals the power of cultural politics, the logic used to criticise cultural rights should be applied equally to all. If this view is accepted, the belief that cultural practices that do no tangible or direct harm should be subject to prohibition, is revealed as either irrational or discriminatory.

In a similar vein, Charles Mills describes racism as reflecting a form of unspoken social contract, where the history, sociology, philosophy and exercise of power is based on, or articulated by, 'white' voices and agents. This, he claims, represents a racial contract, a term used not only normatively 'to generate judgements about social justice and injustice, but descriptively to explain the genesis of the society and the state, the way society is structured, the way the government functions, and people's moral psychology'.[110] Mills focuses primarily on race whereas Carole Pateman uses the same framework to explain gender power-dynamics.[111] The notion can be extended to other forms of contract where minorities, who fail to conform to dominant cultural or religious norms and have little real power, are effectively excluded from exercising self-determination or influence in any tier of society. These issues – balancing public and private, rights and responsibilities, equity and privilege, conformity and nonconformity – are rationales for multiculturalism. Critics such as Okin are actually attacking cultural rights. She takes a rather binary interpretation of human rights, assuming that either culture comes first (as a right), or it does not.[112] This is a reductionist understanding, seeing culture as fixed and unchanging. UNESCO argues culture can accommodate human rights and vice versa: rights are not 'imposed at the expense of cultural integrity, but rather as being declared from within the cultures in order to fulfil a need'.[113]

Vulnerable groups, therefore, should not be threatened by cultural rights. As repeated throughout the human-rights system, a right only applies when it does not impinge on others. The claim, that cultural rights protect fixed and immoveable practices, is mistaken.[114] Cultures constantly evolve and human rights have the potential to take harmful practices and guide their evolution.[115] Cultural rights can be secured, and cultural practices preserved,

through such transmogrification: a view supported by Farida Shaheed, the Human Rights Council's independent expert on cultural rights. Shaheed's 2010 report argues that, because cultures are living and dynamic, they can assist with peace-building, community harmony and poverty-reduction. Nor can cultural rights be equated with relativism; if cultural practices impede human rights they require modifying or discarding. Shaheed says protecting 'cultural diversity is less about preserving cultural goods and practices as they exist ... than about ensuring the conditions which make possible the continuous creation and development of cultural goods and practices'.[116] Despite their importance, as well as the numerous references to cultural rights in international human-rights laws and declarations, Shaheed agrees that cultural rights remain undeveloped. This is a problem for democratic states, because they are obliged to ensure freedom of their citizens, including their cultural heritage and protection from forms of discrimination, such as racism. This right, 'to participate in cultural life entails respecting and protecting cultural heritage in all its forms, including intangible heritage ... [and through] sustainable development'.[117]

Cultural rights, heritage conservation and religion can conflict, particularly if embroiled in contested issues. Three examples illustrate such tensions. The first is that of the Babri Mosque in Uttar Pradesh, a state in India and home to more than 30 million Muslims. Built in the years after the Mughal victory in 1527, the mosque was located on the legendary birthplace of Rama, a Hindu God. The construction of Babri was a symbolic act associated with imposing a new religion over recently conquered territories. In 1992, against a Supreme Court ruling, a crowd of Hindu nationalists demolished the ancient mosque. In the aftermath, riots erupted in cities across India leading to the deaths of over 2,000 people.[118] Centuries-old conflicts can retain their immediacy and potency among those with strong religious zeal.[119]

The second example is that of the Bamiyan Buddas located in Afghanistan. Dating from the fifth century, these were once the largest statues of the Buddha in the world. Mullah Omar, spiritual leader of the Afghan Taliban, which controlled most of the country between 1996 and late 2001, initially agreed to protect this iconic heritage. His decision was reversed in early 2001 and, despite international pleas to leave the statues untouched, prior to their demolition the Taliban stated the Buddas violated the Islamic prohibition against sacred images and, therefore, had to be destroyed:

All the statues in the country should be destroyed because these ... have been used as idols

and deities by the non-believers ... They are respected now and may be turned into idols in future too. Only Allah, the Almighty, deserves to be worshipped, not anyone or anything else.[120]

The people of the Bamiyan region are Shi'ite Muslims and had strongly resisted the Sunni Taliban. The decision to destroy the statues was probably an act of sectarian vengeance as well as a form of cultural genocide. Although Buddhist, the statues had long been regarded by Muslim locals as important to their heritage.[121]

The third example relates to the controversy that arose due to a development application to build an Islamic cultural centre in New York two blocks from 'ground zero', the original site of the World Trade Centre. There was an extraordinary domestic response to the proposal, despite the US Constitution's First Amendment which prohibits impeding the free exercise of religion or freedom of speech. This angst was reflected in polling demonstrating that, although many Americans opposed the centre's opening, there was grudging recognition of its constitutionality.[122] What motivated the opposition was complex; it may have been antagonism to Islam or a sense that the symbolism of the site would be compromised by an Islamic presence within a certain radius. If so, this raises moral and legal questions: what *is* a reasonable radius, do Muslim deaths in the World Trade Centre give Islam no right to grieve or to condemn the 9/11 attack, is Islam (collectively) accountable because of the act of a few (if so, does this rule apply when Hindus, Christians or Jews – for example – commit atrocities), and how long will it be before interreligious reconciliation is possible? The building application triggered strong reactions far from the site. For instance, Terry Jones, pastor of a small congregation in Gainesville, Florida, and author of *Islam is the Devil*, planned to burn copies of the *Qur'an* to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the 9/11 attack. His threat prompted global anger, including demonstrations in Kabul and threats to attack Christians and Americans across the world if the burning took place.[123]

It could be argued that such events are driven by many processes, not solely irreconcilable religious differences. Faith seems an obvious cause of conflict, but so too are cultural, social and political differences. Therefore, remedies aimed at peace-building should be based on rights to culture, belief, expression and justice. As noted elsewhere in this thesis, Australia's lacklustre multicultural policy, unrealised action on human rights and political dog-whistling mirrors other failures such as neglect of cultural-rights principles in human services

provision and in the arts, culture and heritage sectors.[124] However, governments not only wish to avoid inciting conflicts between cultural or religious groups. In a neoliberal age, they are reticent about spending public monies on what may be perceived as personal preferences (such as cultural expressions) that could be achieved through market mechanisms.[125] Claims that social, cultural and economic rights may be too expensive, disruptive, anti-competitive or complex to protect with legislation are governmental lexicons of procrastination or ambivalence. Although cultural rights may pose challenges for politicians, because they are difficult and easy targets of media misinformation, this does not legitimise their neglect.

The links between cultural rights and the arts and heritage are significant, but largely ignored in public debate and policy. When combined with religion, there is an added dimension of complexity. Any explanation of the distinction between culture and faith is necessarily vague and contestable; boundaries are fluid and differ within cultural and spiritual contexts, constantly confounding attempts at a systemic definition.[126] In some religious traditions, a deity or spiritual beings may dwell in, or be inextricably linked with, human-made cultural artefacts. For example, the Aymara people in the southern Altiplano in Bolivia regard their weavings as communal objects that embody ancestral souls. Known as the sacred weavings of Coroma, some of which are several hundred years old, many were stolen or purchased illegally and later appeared at a US 'ethnic art' exhibition in 1988. The loss of the weavings caused trauma in the community, with many members distressed about the loneliness and sadness of their ancestors who had been removed from their communal home. The artefacts were seized and subsequently repatriated to the Aymara. This was a rare but significant case of how culture and spirituality are enmeshed: a nexus easily misunderstood by those lacking cultural knowledge, but central to issues around cultural rights and sustainable heritage.[127]

When religio-cultural artefacts are deemed desirable by wealthy art collectors two things immediately happen. First, hermeneutics reorients their value. This may shift an object's status from having negligible financial worth but vast religious value (from the perspective of the holders of cultural and religious traditions) to one of vast financial worth but negligible religious value (from the collector's perspective). At the same time, an artefact's perceived aesthetic value may change from a parochial object imbued with arcane spiritual qualities to that of an irreplaceable work of art. The artefact itself has not changed, only the way it is subjectively viewed or coveted. Second, when this transformation occurs and objects are removed from their religious and cultural context, if involuntary, this may have profound

effects on those who lose possession.[128] As well as legal and ethical considerations of theft, fraud and misappropriation, such occurrences have cultural-rights implications. In the case of many indigenous spiritual traditions, the cultural–faith distinctions are also problematic.[129]

The *Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights* (Fribourg Declaration) was issued in 2007 as an aspirational but non-binding standard. It makes explicit the interdependency of culture and human rights (article 1), its relationship with sustainable development (Preamble (6)), and that individuals and groups are entitled to self-determination on the basis of cultural identity (articles 2 and 3).[130] The Fribourg Declaration also affirms that cultural rights are necessary to preserve the cultural and creative heritage of humanity (article 3) and are consistent with peace-building (Preamble (3)). Sen argues that culture and development must coexist, although he recognises that forcing people and groups to choose between traditional and potentially new practice may require certain cultural compromises. He accepts that sometimes culture must be a victim of development – if such decisions can be freely made, they should be considered.[131] Where cultural beliefs and human rights conflict, it is usually possible to negotiate some form of compromise. When this is impossible, it indicates the cultural practice in conflict with the normative standard must be so rigid and harmful to individual or collective well-being it should be surrendered to the more compelling rights of humanity.

Poor levels of trust between culturally distinct communities, and between majority and minority communities, are a continuing problem.[132] The choices between inclusion (positive and assisted participation in civil society norms) and assimilation (indirect, enforced or resentful compliance to norms) are those of balance.[133] This should involve supporting cultural diversity and strong identities – necessary for inner and outer freedom and the realisation of cultural liberty – while preserving a legal framework that makes citizenship, or affiliation with both local and national communities, relevant for all members of society. The social cohesion approach – if structured around human capabilities, cultural liberty, human-rights standards and collective cultural competence – can support intercultural dialogue and enablement. Governments everywhere have opportunities to trust people to act collectively and decently and to decide how to promote this enabling. Such an approach would not absolve governments from protecting their citizens and balancing freedom with tasks necessary to maintain the state and its members from risks associated with cross-cultural or cross-faith conflicts.[134]

In Australia, as in many Western nations, there is little capacity to address issues associated with cultural rights, although there are several areas where Australia has accountabilities and systems of review. These are obligations under international treaties and national law relating to ICESCR, ICCPR, the DCE Convention, the *Australian Human Rights Commission Act, 1986* and the DRIP.[135] The DCE Convention, which Australia ratified in 2009, comes with reporting and (voluntary) funding obligations, some of which can be interpreted as relating to cultural rights. These include recognising that cultural diversity and human rights are linked and must be protected and promoted as such (article 5), reporting on the treaty to UNESCO every four years, undertaking education and public awareness in relation to the DCE Convention's obligations (article 10), promoting the diversity of cultural expressions domestically, and cooperating internationally by providing preferential treatment to developing countries (article 16).[136] At the time of writing this thesis, it is unknown how Australia will respond to the obligations that accompany treaty ratification. Australia has also ratified ICCPR and ICESCR – which give effect to the UDHR – but unlike with other conventions, Australia has never made laws that implement fully its obligations under either convention. This makes Australia the only democracy without a constitutional or legislated charter of rights.[137]

Although ICCPR has not been given effect with domestic legislation, the AHRC does have related functions, albeit limited to conciliation and reporting on breaches to parliament. ICCPR includes several articles pertaining to cultural rights. For example, article 1(1) states all people 'have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development'; article 18, previously cited, protects religious freedoms (including parental rights to educate their children according to their faith); article 19 protects the right to hold opinions without interference; and article 27 refers to states where ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities live, and 'persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language'.[138]

Another UN treaty that partially addresses cultural rights is the *Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief* (Religion Declaration). Its aim, without contradicting other human-rights treaties (article 8), is to remove discrimination on the basis of religion. This includes the right of a child to be

religiously educated according to their parental or guardian's wishes (article 5(2)), rights with a cultural dimension (article 6) such as specific days of religious celebration (h), the establishment and maintenance of charitable institutions (b), to use articles of faith (c), and to produce publications on religious issues (d).[139] Although the AHRC has functions under the Religion Declaration and ICCPR, it has none regarding ICESCR. This means it cannot investigate many important rights unless there is some way to determine they are covered by other treaties. For example, ICESCR states special protections 'should be accorded to mothers during a reasonable period before and after childbirth. During such periods working mothers should be accorded paid leave, or leave with adequate social security benefits'[140]: the issue of paid maternity has been politically contentious in Australia. Elsewhere, it lists other rights such as the entitlement to participate in cultural life, to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress, and the conservation and diffusion of culture.[141] The only way Australia is held accountable is a periodic review process conducted by a UN treaty council, which can report failures to meet obligations under ICESCR, potentially exposing Australia to international scrutiny. In December 2008, the UN adopted the *Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. This requires state parties to recognise the competence of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which, in the case of a failure in domestic remedies, may hear complaints from parties who claim their rights have been violated. The committee will then make public and send to the state party its report on whether rights protected under ICESCR have been infringed. To date, Australia has not indicated whether it will ratify this protocol.

Globalisation may have led much of the world down the path of economic growth, but this has affected ecological sustainability and cultural diversity.[142] Rapidly expanding in the aftermath of the Second World War, Australia took advantage of these changes and its development has been formed by these trends. Australia increased its population through the immigration of people displaced by war or who sought a better life; it used this opportunity to embark on major infrastructure expansion and, somewhat later, revamped the macro economy (largely by dismantling the social welfare state and through fiscal, monetary and micro-economic reform). Australia continues to rely on net inflows of skilled labour to grow the workforce and meet national development needs. It is now part of the international financial, labour market, trade, resources, technological, knowledge and cultural sectors: Australia's prosperity and intellectual and social capital have been built on a progressively

open policy of global integration.[143] This transformation has come with costs and consequences. After the war the White Australia policy was retained, despite the arrival of increasing numbers of people the policy was intended to restrict. By the early 1970s, the British monoculture was under strain and it was realised the public sphere had to be shared with people from outside the cultural mainstream, even if hedged by qualifications and assumptions.[144] Multiculturalism was the often-grudging response to these realities. By the time multicultural policy had matured in the mid 1980s, Australia was at the forefront of addressing issues of diversity (discussed in more detail in Appendix A2.3).

Since the mid 1990s, this has progressively changed. Despite belated recognition that Australia's economic future lies in the Asia-Pacific,[145] global recognition of the importance of culture has overtaken Australia's progressive past[146] and, since 1996, Australian governments have generally sought to excise cultural diversity from public and political discourse.[147] Ambivalence seems to be grounded in fear of the (collective) 'Other' and belief that the protection of cultural diversity by cultural rights may lead to social fracturing.[148] This view is countered in the UNDP's 2005 World Report, which argues that global conflict and declining security have been fuelled more by economic and cultural inequalities than a clash of cultures[149] and the way to address these problems is to build wealth in multicultural democracies.[150] This is an international endorsement of the principles and benefits of multiculturalism; it is also an effective way to support cultural rights. Because Australian policy and lawmakers largely fail to understand the importance of culture, and are mostly disengaged from the human-rights system, claims it is a functional multicultural democracy are questionable by many UN standards.

4.3 DIVERSITY, RIGHTS & ENVIRONMENT: URBAN CHALLENGES IN A TRANSFORMING WORLD

As noted in the Introduction, the methodology of this thesis was partly influenced by case studies that are described in Appendices A1.1–4. These studies (several national projects) were based on an integrated, interdisciplinary approach to understand and respond to radicalisation. The conceptual frame included various principles (such as community ownership, participation, human rights and substantive equality), circumstances (social marginalisation, alienation, discrimination and intercultural conflict) and strategies (a combination of resource and communication infrastructure development, research and direct

action). The approach was simple, yet holistic and largely untested. It was based on the notion that when settings are fluid, asymmetrical and uncertain, responses should not be crisp and linear, but iterative and fuzzy. The methods were grounded, the responses open.

Managing these projects reinforced two important understandings for me. The first, already argued, is that many problems humanity face are complex, fast, new and dangerous. This requires responses that are sufficiently flexible and inventive for the circumstances. Nevertheless, by their very nature, these responses will often be radical, atypical, and may be strongly contested by those who prefer more traditional methods. The second understanding, or perhaps reminder, is the importance of cities.[151] Cities are the crucible of contemporary civilization. They are the primary source of threat, but since *Homo sapiens* have become a species more urban than agrarian, they are also the sites where most problems can be resolved. Bouma observes, 'urban life is absolutely dependent on social cohesion grounded in interdependence. Without diversity, cities die'[152] and Glaeser, 'cities enable the collaboration that makes humanity shine most brightly.'[153] As humanity urbanises, it concentrates within the metropolis all the challenges of resource usage, environmental effects, food security, population growth, sustainability, intercultural and interreligious coexistence, crime,[154] struggles over (and for) power and equity between government, corporations and civil society, along with denominational issues of rights, responsibilities, freedoms and constraints. It is through urban renewal and reinvention that humanity will succeed or fail in its efforts to survive in conditions of global dynamic-equilibrium.[155]

As noted in the introduction, these observations have been thoroughly explored by others;[156] my goal is to apply what is known across various disciplines and add to discussions about how it may be used creatively, especially by the culture and heritage sector. Based on a review of literature, the issues I raise are at least partially covered by many authors, theoretically or through situation analyses. However, less material takes a comprehensive approach; for example, attempts to systematically integrate principles of social justice and cultural liberty into public policies on substantive equality (to support capabilities for social inclusion and cohesion) and mediated through forms of deep democracy to support sustainable developments.[157]

Because the lived experiences of change are so rapid and profound, most people struggle to conceptualise, adapt and reorient; meanwhile, their efforts are further hampered by meta-

contextual factors. One such factor is the rigidity of fixed views and existing structures; in other words, not only do tangible institutions (such as forms of government) push against counter-trends and new formations (such as alternative sources of information or social activism) but also intangible constructs (such as ideologies or collective behaviours). Finding stability, authority or certainty in this world, where entrenched forms conflict and compete with novel ones, is well nigh impossible.

Another inhibiting factor is language. By 'language' I mean the vector for expressing ideas, describing (or enabling descriptions about) reality, where words more-or-less accurately represent and convey meaning in ways that are consistent and comprehensible for most people. If this seems obscure, some examples may illustrate those fault lines where language, meaning and communication rupture. In politics, the Left and Right divides, or archetypal socialist–capitalist conflicts, persist. They do on the assumption that one or the other position represents a fixed set of beliefs: that one view is progressive and advocates collectivism, egalitarianism and resource reallocation (for instance), and the other focuses on individualism, enterprise, liberty and social convention.[158] This binary, with points between that demonstrate greater or lesser adherence to the archetype, continues as a conceptual norm, despite creative attempts to make the model two-dimensional by introducing a liberal versus authoritarian (social) belief scale that intersects the Left–Right (economic) axis.[159] Yet, this model is limited. The political spectrum has dissolved; new, hybridised and reconfigured ideologies are emerging exemplified, for example, by the emergence of Red Toryism and Blue Labour in the UK.[160]

Now, progressives can be conservative, liberals may advocate wealth distribution, conservatives (when it suits them) will dismantle traditions and assault values. The confusions are not confined to the realm of political ideology; rather, being 'political' (or motivated by partisan interest) intrudes across most domains of life even as established beliefs are disintegrating. Environmental activists may advocate nuclear energy;[161] religion is not synonymous with ignorance nor secularism with enlightenment;[162] democracy does not guarantee freedom; greater choice does not equate to greater happiness; digitally mediated networks and omnipresent communications do not necessarily offer real socialisation and human connection; and neoliberalism – which promised to make us wealthy and set us free – has been exposed as propaganda of a global plutocracy, impoverishing the quality of many lives and degrading the environment.

The world is splintering and fracturing at the same time it is homogenising and integrating: new creative opportunities are appearing, new boundaries are forming, and new norms invented. Contemporary events are marked by paradoxical changes: absolutes are dissolving into ambiguities, and authorities into ambivalence. Simultaneously, the opposite is occurring: information is growing exponentially, but knowledge is increasingly compartmentalised, hyper-specialisation and technological sophistication are opening previously unimagined opportunities even as they destroy resilience and render communities vulnerable.[163] Multiple diversities (particularity) are necessary to hold together (universal) systems. Yeats's apocalyptic text is disturbingly redolent:

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre
> The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
> Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world ...
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity.[164]

This is the context in which humanity must rise to its challenges and, as previously observed, the setting to do so is urban. Outlined below are some ideas and observations relevant to this issue, which transition to the themes discussed in Chapter 5.

In Section 3.3, I presented the notion of how various social-inclusion indicators could illustrate the extent of relative exclusion of members of a population sub-group (such as may be determined by faith, race, ethnicity, or other forms of identity-markers). Using this approach, and broadening it from a sub-population comparison to a whole-of-population level, and taking a range of indicators that can be tracked along a spectrum of attainment, can help determine the overall extent of a society's sustainability (illustrated in Figure 4.1). This is a highly simplified model, albeit one that could easily be expanded by detailing categories of measurement, (subgroup) indicators, and a scoring system recording a population's degree of sustainability in terms of its resource usage, effect on the environment, social health and extent of human flourishing.[165] Such a model is vulnerable to the ideological assumptions that shape the content and values of each of these categories; this means it could be skewed to acquire desired results rather than applied as an objective instrument. This does not necessarily invalidate the tool; rather, it makes it flexible, able to serve the purposes of those who apply it. Measurement frameworks that can be personalised are not uncommon; for

example, the OECD has developed the Better Life Index, which allows users to select topics (values) of importance to them. Based on personal preferences, the index measures whether an OECD member nation is providing its citizens with 'a better life'.[166]

The notion behind a sustainability pendulum is to circumvent some of the problems of binary thought entrapped by fixed normative meanings that are typically coupled with explanations about politics, economics, culture and linguistics. By developing a thorough range of sustainability indicators (the model here is only illustrative) that are qualitatively and/or quantitatively measurable, it may be possible to audit with greater objectivity whether human development is (genuinely) 'free', 'democratic', 'healthy', or whichever other aspirations a region or nation determines should be its planning targets. This hypothesis is consistent with the evolving thinking about forms of positive social interactions, such as deep democracy, or of a reconceptualised understanding of the meaning (and value) of social contractism.[167]

Discussing these opportunities, Arlene Goldbard argues that humanity is on the cusp between cultural eras, where modes of thought, or intellectual transaction, are subject to a form of scientific taxonomic processing. By comparison, the next era will be more grounded in human narrative, plurality and interaction. In this emergent system:

> culture is the crucible for all positive development. At this transitional moment, many of us see the shift happening, but the news hasn't yet broken through to people who operate many of our social institutions, which is why it is often so easy to describe the new paradigm to ordinary people and so hard to get bureaucrats and officials to see it. [168]

The premise behind the need for better, universal accountability systems for human and natural ecologies is fundamentally moral. As discussed, the five essentials of a global ethic are equity (including environmental equity), human rights, democracy (as a principle, not necessarily of any fixed form), the protection of minorities (or human diversity) and the peaceful resolution of conflict. These are not only internally consistent with each other but are also consistent with integrated planning methodologies for sustainable societies and are based on negotiating compromises between competing demands over wealth, culture, resources, power and values.

To 'govern' – cities, communities, diversity, and natural capital – humans need not only tangible authority and institutions (administrations, laws, and command over resources) but

also objective and comparable tools of measurement and acceptable standards of conduct. This last requirement is effectively provided by the international human-rights framework which incorporates ethical decision-making (such as global ethics and soft laws) and is, as much as practicable, based on universal norms. Certainly, UNESCO and other UN agencies claim the universality of the human-rights system can be (somewhat) tempered by local circumstances or relativism.[169] How community cohesion is sustained in the metropolis, along with its handmaiden concepts of inclusion, harmony and connectedness are challenges for effective associative democracy.[170] The sustainability pendulum could integrate these standards into its design premises.
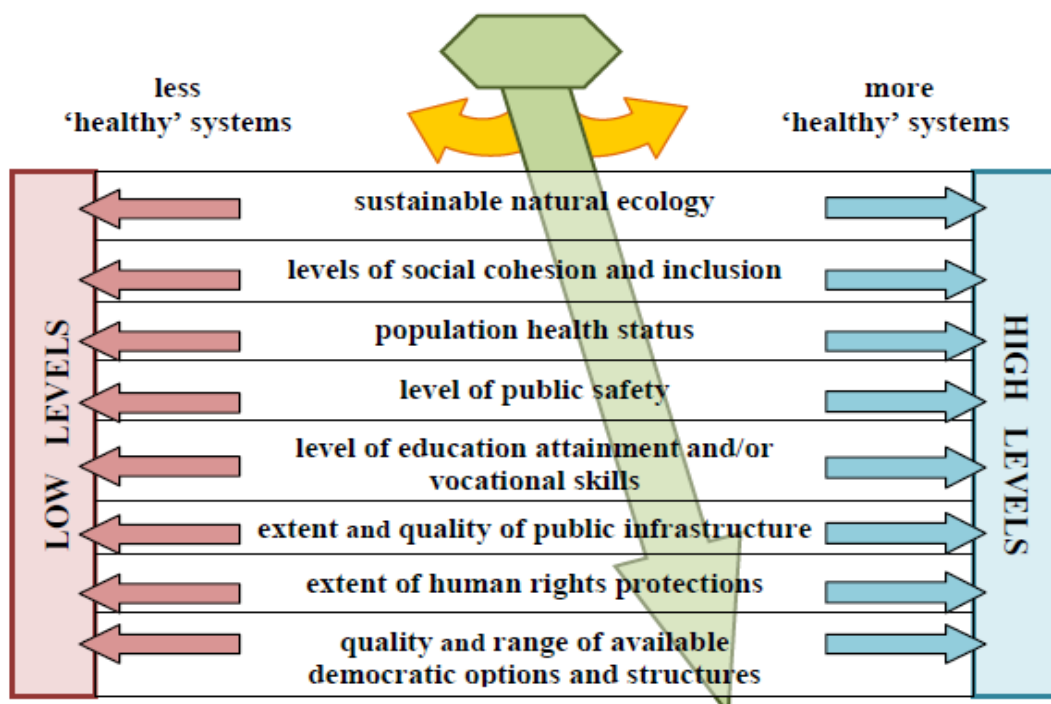

Figure 4.1: Sustainability 'pendulum' indicating the health of human and natural services in any system

Being and living with fellow humans is a messy business. Deep and participative democracy, human rights, negotiation through intercultural and religious dialogue and other forms of purposeful interaction are complex and seldom definitive. However, our rapidly transforming, interconnected and chaotic world is the setting where human players must strut and fret their hour upon the stage. If these subjective and iterative methods are the tools, what are the workshops? I attempt to answer this question by offering a strong contender in Chapter 5.

Notes

1. Examined in more detail by A Galla and C Gershevitch in *Freedom of Religion and Belief, Culture and the Arts*, AHRC, Sydney, 2010, pp. 7–9; pp. 13–16.

2. UNESCO Constitution, signed 16 November 1945, and which came into effect on 4 November the following year, having been ratified by 20 nations, including Australia, <http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>.

3. This was promoted as an important aspect of culture from the agency's earliest days (the term was coined by its first Director-General, Julian Huxley, in his report of 1947), but continues to noted in UNESCO's recent publications; for example, the release of the 2009 World Report deliberately frames culture within this context: 'Although sometimes construed as being of secondary importance, cultural diversity needs to be placed at the heart of policies for the furtherance of international cooperation and cohesion, in line with the UN Millennium Development Goals. It aims to provide a concrete contribution to the agenda of sustainable development and peace based on "unity in diversity".' viewed 20 February 2010, <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=39882&URL_DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html>

4. Stenou, op.cit, p. 87.

5. ibid., pp. 81-2.

6. Anne Rothfeld, 'Nazi Looted Art: The Holocaust Records Preservation Project', *Prologue*, vol. 34, no. 3, fall 2002; see also M Müller and M Tatzkow, *Lost Lives, Lost Art*, Vendome Press, 2010.

7. Stephanie Barron (ed), '*Degenerate Art': The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991 and Peter Adams, *Art of the Third Reich*, Abrams, New York, 1992.

8. Gary Foley, *Australia and the Holocaust: A Koori Perspective*, The Koori History Website, 1997, provides a comparison between the ideas, methods and experience of genocide by the Jewish people under Nazi Germany, and indigenous Australians since colonization. Some of the continuing 'genocide-like' experiences in Australia (relating to the Stolen Generations and Northern Territory Intervention) are also discussed in Gershevitch et al., 'Racism in Australia: Is Denial Still Plausible?', *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2010, 232 ff.

9. UNESCO, *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, The Hague, 14 May 1954, Chapter 1, article 1(a).

10. ibid., Chapter 1, article 1(c).

11. UN, UDHR, article 26(1).

12. Stenou, op. cit., pp. 90–1.

13. D Nersessian, 'Rethinking Cultural Genocide under International Law', *Human Rights Dialogue: Cultural Rights*, 22 April 2005, defines cultural genocide as attacks that go beyond 'the physical and/or biological elements of a group and seeks to eliminate its wider institutions ... Elements of cultural genocide are manifested when artistic, literary, and cultural activities are restricted or outlawed and when national treasures, libraries, archives, museums, artefacts, and art galleries are

destroyed or confiscated.' Although the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, 1948, does not specify culture as a means to commit genocide.

14 Also known as ethnic cleansing: the more common term that describes crimes against humanity which incorporate cultural genocide and were widespread during the Balkan wars of the 1990s, see <http://www.ppu.org.uk/genocide/g_bosnia.html> viewed 20 February 2010. To illustrate this form of genocide persists: for example, are claims made by the Dalai Lama that the Chinese government is practicing cultural genocide on the Tibetan people (*BBC World News*, 16 March 2008, viewed 20 February 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7299212.stm>). It is difficult to reference Tibetan or Buddhist archives because many of these are hacked, presumably by Chinese agents or sympathisers.

15 UNESCO, *Second Protocol to the Hague Convention*, The Hague, 26 March 1999.

16 The preamble to the *Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage* references articles 8(2)(b)(ix) and 8(2)(e)(iv) of the *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*, and, article 3(d) of the *Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia*, related to the intentional destruction of cultural heritage.

17 ibid., article IX.

18 The majority of human rights were violated during the Balkans conflicts, in particular, but not solely, UDHR, articles 3, 5–10, 12, 13, 17(2), 19, 20, 22, 25(1), 26 and 27.

19 The UDHR, as a soft-law document that outlines the principles of fundamental human rights, was made tangible in 1966 with the two hard-law treaties that represent the foundations of practical rights protections (coming into effect in 1976), ICCPR and ICESCR.

20 UNESCO, *Second Protocol to the Hague Convention*, 1999, article 15.1(a) and (d).

21 ibid., article 15.1(b).

22 ibid., article 15.1(e).

23 Article 1 ('cultural property') from UNESCO, *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*, Paris, 14 November 1970.

24 ibid.

25 ICOM, *Running a Museum: A Practical Guide*, see Geoffrey Lewis, 'The Role of Museums and the Professional Code of Ethics', pp. 1–16; Lyndel Prott, 'Illicit Traffic', pp. 197–205; and the *ICOM Code of Professional Ethics*, pp. 220–31, Paris, 2004.

26 UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, Paris, 16 November 1972.

27 Preamble to the World Heritage Convention, ibid.

28 ibid., article 1.

29 ibid.

30 ibid., article 2.

31 Stenou, op. cit., p. 103.

32 UNESCO, *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*, World Conference on Cultural Policies,

Mexico City, 6 August 1982.

33   ibid., *Cultural Dimension of Development*, article 16: 'Balanced development can only be ensured by making cultural factors an integral part of the strategies designed to achieve it; consequently, these strategies should always be devised in the light of the historical, social and cultural context of each society.' Under *Culture and Democracy*, article 17 references the UDHR's article 27 (freedom to participate in the cultural life of the community).

34   Stenou, op. cit., p. 105.

35   CB Graber, *Substantive Rights and Obligations Under the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity*, Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research, May 2008, p. 3.

36   This conference, which represented the culminating event of the *World Decade for Cultural Development*, was designed to transform the ideas in UNESCO's *Our Creative Diversity* into policies and practice, see the UNESCO website: <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=18717&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html> viewed 24 March 2012.

37   ibid., summarised from pp. 104–10.

38   Intangible heritage is defined in the Convention as being manifested through oral traditions (including language), performing arts, social practices such as rituals and festivals, knowledge and practice about the universe, and traditional artisanship. This form of heritage has been described partially and variously with such terms, for example, as 'folklore', 'ethnographic culture', 'popular culture' (not meaning commercial 'pop' culture).

39   Richard Kurin, 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a critical appraisal', *Museum International*, vol. 56, no. 1–2, 2004, p. 67.

40   'Noting the far-reaching impact of the activities of UNESCO in establishing normative instruments for the protection of the cultural heritage, in particular the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972' from UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris, 17 October 2003.

41   The list, and its explanation, can be found at <http://www.unesco.org/bpi/intangible_heritage/index.htm> viewed 10 September 2011.

42   In that the World Heritage List excludes the cultures of many states (especially those in the 'south') given many of these lack sites or monuments; Kurin, op.cit., p. 69.

43   ibid., article 2 'Definitions'.

44   In the Preamble of UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 2003.

45   ibid., this means the convention will not protect any intangible heritage if it impedes human rights or causes harm to others (such as women, children, the disabled), this is discussed further in section 4.2 dealing with cultural rights.

46   ibid., Preamble.

47   UNESCO, *Cultural Diversity: Common Heritage, Plural Identities*, K Matsuura, Preface, p. 4.

48   The Howard government refused to ratify the convention based on concerns that too much power to critique state parties was potentially vested in non-government organisations (see ICH

Convention, Article 15 'Participation of communities, groups and individuals'). The AHRC strongly advocated for its accession in September 2008 (see AHRC, *Ratification of 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*) but a decision from the Labor government is still pending as of July 2012.

49   UNESCO, *Our Creative Diversity,* Executive Summary, 15 ff.

50   The Australian Government announced it had lodged the instrument of ratification on 23 September 2009 (see: <http://www.environment.gov.au/minister/archive/env/2009/pubs/mr20090923a.pdf>) with the treaty coming into force in December 2009.

51   AHRC, *Ratification of 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, Sydney, 2008, s.12.

52   ibid., s.15.

53   UNESCO, *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, (DCE Convention), Paris, 20 October 2005.

54   A Brouder, 'The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity: Treacherous Treaty or Compassionate Compact?', *Policy Papers on Transnational Economic Law*, November 2005, pp. 3–5.

55   ibid., p. 7.

56   Graber, op.cit., p. 8, disagrees that the convention is effectively protectionist because it 'does not impose binding and enforceable obligations on the Contracting Parties'.

57   UNESCO, DCE Convention, article 13.

58   D Throsby, *Culture in Sustainable Development*, UNESCO, Sydney, 14 January 2008, p. 3.

59   ibid., pp. 4–5.

60   CS Holling et al., 'Resilience and Sustainable Development', pp. 437–40.

61   UNESCO, World Report, 2009, p. 19.

62   ibid., Chapter 6, 'Creativity and the marketplace', pp. 161–85.

63   ibid., p. 28.

64   Heraclitus, fragment DK B91, 'it is not possible to step twice into the same river, nor is it possible to touch a mortal substance twice in so far as its state is concerned. But, thanks to the swiftness and speed of change ... it scatters [things] and brings [them] together again ... it forms and dissolves, and it approaches and departs', viewed 2 December 2011, <http://www.heraclitusfragments.com/files/e.html>.

65   UNESCO, World Report, 2009, p. 20.

66   ibid., 191 ff.

67   ibid., 203 ff, see also ICHRP, *Climate Change and Human Rights*.

68   ibid., 41 ff, which discusses the Inuit case that linked for the first time climate change to and intergenerational cultural rights. To some extent the notion has moved on from the view commonly expressed a decade or so ago, for example, as outlined in J Hawkes, *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability*, Common Ground Publishing, Melbourne, 2001.

69   ibid., 41 ff.

70   For example, the Alliance of Civilizations, op.cit., section II ('Guiding Principles') pp. 5–6; Sen (chair), *Civil Paths to Peace*, 'Why do respect and understanding matter?', pp. 15–26; UNDP, World Report, 2004, especially Chapters 1 and 2.

71   Illustrated in perhaps the best developed cultural rights treaty, the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (DRIP), 2008, for example, article 11(1) states indigenous peoples have the 'right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures'; article 13(1) that they 'have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons'; and article 25, their 'right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard'.

72   Landman, *The Scope of Human Rights*, AHRI-COST Meeting, Oslo, March, 2005, pp. 3–5.

73   UNESCO, World Report, 2009, 223 ff.

74   Much of this section taken from Galla and Gershevitch, op.cit.

75   Farida Shaheed, *Report of the Independent Expert in the Field of Cultural Rights*, United Nations, New York, 22 March 2010, Part II Cultural rights: conceptual and legal framework, A.1.3, p. 3. Also, UNESCO, World Report, 2009, p. 228.

76   ibid., p. 230; see also Koji Teraya, 'Emerging Hierarchy in International Human Rights and Beyond', *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 12, no. 5, 2001, pp. 917–941, who argues there is an implicit hierarchy, with non-derogable rights privileged over others.

77   UNESCO, World Report, 2009, p. 230.

78   ibid., p. 230.

79   ibid., 233 ff.

80   Teraya, op.cit., p. 921; P Parkinson, 'Christian concerns about an Australian Charter of Rights', *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 83–121.

81   The scope of these issues is described on the Durban Conference website: <http://www.un.org/WCAR/> and, more recently, the second international (review) conference on racism, xenophobia and related intolerance: <http://www.un.org/durbanreview2009/>. While Section 1(7) of the *Outcome Document of the Durban Review Conference* states that 'cultural diversity is a cherished asset for the advancement and welfare of humanity at large and should be valued, enjoyed, genuinely accepted and embraced as a permanent feature which enriches our societies', this is essentially a document about racism not the preservation of cultural diversity, see <http://www.un.org/durbanreview2009/pdf/Durban_Review_outcome_document_En.pdf> all viewed 20 February 2012.

82   UN, ICCPR.

83   UNESCO, World Report, 2009, see section 8.1, pp. 221–30.

84   For an analysis of how and why human rights may be perceived as a Western construct see Makau Mutua, *Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

85   UNESCO, World Report, 2009, p. 226.

86   ibid., p. 225.

87   Indigenous Peoples' Caucus, *Indigenous Peoples' Seattle Declaration, on the Occasion of the Third Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organization*, December 1999, viewed 20 February 2010, <http://csdngo.igc.org/Indigenous/indig_seattle.htm>.

88   UNESCO, *Weathering Uncertainty*, op.cit., explores in detail both the impact upon indigenous communities, but also the adaptive and management potential of indigenous knowledge in the face of climate change.

89   CS Holling et al, 'Resilience and Sustainable Development', pp. 437–40.

90   ibid.

91   UN, ICCPR, article 27.

92   UN, DRIP, especially articles 3, 11, 12, 25, 26, 29 and 31.

93   ibid., noted in the Preamble; UNESCO, UDCD, article 1 ('cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations'); UNESCO, *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue*, Part 1, 'Cultural Diversity: What is at Stake?', Chapter 1, 1.2 'National , religious, cultural and multiple identities', 19ff; the UNESCO, *Declaration on the Responsibilities of the Present Generations Towards Future Generations*, November 1997, also covers (generically) issues of common heritage and its preservation, see articles 7 and 8, viewed 26 March 2012, <http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13178&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>.

94   One well-known example of bio-piracy occurred when the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial research, studying the ethnobotany of San (Bushmen) of the Namib Desert in 1996, ascertained the plant Hoodia had medicinal properties and sold the patent to Unilever to manufacture an appetite suppressant. This was seen as exploitation of indigenous knowledge and was successfully contested in the courts, see S Vermeylen et al., 'Intellectual Property Rights Systems and the Assemblage of Local Knowledge Systems', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, vol. 15, 2008, pp. 201–21.

95   WHO, *Female Genital Mutilation*, Fact Sheet No.241, February 2012, viewed 5 May 2012, <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs241/en/>.

96   UN UDHR, article 5.

97   UN, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, New York, 20 November 1989.

98   See general resolution 14 of the 9th session (1990) of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), viewed 5 July 2011, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/recomm.htm>. The harm caused by FGM, and its human rights implications, are reported in the OHCHR fact sheet relating to CEDAW on harmful traditional practices affecting the health of women and children, viewed 8 January 2012, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/cedaw_crc_contributions/TheWorkingGrouponGirls.pdf>

99   Erin McSorley, 'Transforming Cultural Conventions', *10/11 Journal: Alternative Solutions for a Sustainable Future*, Atlantic International Studies Organization, Spring 2011, pp. 46–52.

100 For example, S Gilman, ' "Barbaric" Rituals?' in J Cohen, M Howard & M Nussbaum (eds), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1999.

101 See Julie Posetti, 'Media Representation of the Hijab: Case Study 1', *Journalism in Multicultural Australia*, Reporting Diversity, 2005.

102 ibid., 4 ff. This is ironic: some conservatives (especially religious conservatives) who advocate for the primacy of individualism often criticise the human rights system because it is so focused on personal freedoms rather than community 'norms' (especially those norms that social conservatives approve).

103 They argue such opinion must be contested by open and progressive (theological) Christian views; G Bouma, *Being Faithful in Diversity*, pp. 62–63; Korten, op.cit.; J Wallis, op.cit., Introduction and Chapter 1, 'Take Back the Faith: Co-opted by the Right, Dismissed by the Left', 3 ff.

104 The subject of Christian Joppke's, *Veil: Mirror of Identity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2009, although (as Joppke notes in the Preface) the Islamic veil had been the subject of numerous other books in preceding years, particularly those analysing French responses.

105 UN, ICCPR, article 18.

106 J Rehman, 'Accommodating Religious Identities in an Islamic State', *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2000, pp. 139–165.

107 For example, WHO, *Violence Prevention – the Evidence*, WHO Press, Geneva, 2009; International Council of AIDS Service Organizations, *Gender, Sexuality, Rights and HIV*, Chapter 2, 'Socio-Cultural Factors', pp. 8–17, Toronto, 2007; and, Magali Bouchon, *Violence Against Women: Gender, Culture and Societies*, Médecins du Monde, 2009.

108 J Richardson and K Scott, 'Rap Music and Its Violent Progeny', *Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 71, no. 3, 2002, argues that rap culture is a form of cultural expression that merely mirrors the inherent violence in American society meaning that it can readily be normalised. S Best and D Kellner, in 'Rap, Black Rage, and Racial Difference', *Enculturation*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1999, Spring 1999, agree saying 'rap violence replicates the exorbitant competitiveness of contemporary capitalism, while its ferocity is part and parcel of a society that places sex and violence at the centre of its media culture, and is not hesitant to use extreme force to defend the interests of its ruling elites, whether in the form of police brutality against the underclass or military intervention against declared enemies of the state'; T Adams and D Fuller, 'The Words Have Changed but the Ideology Remains the Same', *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 36, no. 6, July 2006, pp. 938–57, discuss the continuing misogynistic tone of much of this music idiom and M Neal, 'Sold out on soul: The corporate annexation of black popular music', *Popular Music and Society*, vol. 21, issue 3, 1997, and J Metcalf, 'From Rage to Rap and Prison to Print', *European Journal of American Studies*, no.2, 2009, discuss some of the ways the subculture became appropriated by the commercial media simultaneously valorising, containing and exploiting it.

109 Gail Dines, 'Pornography is a Left Issue', *Z Net*, December 2005; see also G Dines, R Jensen and A Russo, *Pornography: The Production and Consumption of Inequality*, Routledge, New York, 1998, Chapter 3, 'Dirty Business' and Chapter 4, 'The Content of Mass-Marketed Pornography'.

110 C Mills, op.cit., p. 5; Chapter 1, 'Overview', pp. 9–40, explains his understanding of the racial

contract.

111 The way the notion of social contract (applied to subaltern groups) has been extended to feminist studies is outlined in Charles Mills and Carole Pateman, *Contract and Domination*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2007.

112 Okin, op.cit.

113 UNESCO, World Report, 2009, p. 225; see also the section 'Cultural Rights', pp. 226–30.

114 ibid., 226 ff.

115 ibid., p. 20.

116 F Shaheed, *Statement by the Independent Expert in the Field of Cultural Rights*, 31 May 2010, p.3, UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights website, viewed 20 May 2012, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/CulturalRightsEnrichUniversalHR.aspx>; and F Shaheed, *Report of the Independent Expert in the Field of Cultural Rights*, 22 March 2010, paragraphs 30–1.

117 F Shaheed, *Statement by the Independent Expert* , p.3; and *Report of the independent expert in the field of cultural rights*, 22 March 2010, Paragraphs 49–50.

118 'Mob Rips Apart Mosque in Ayodhya', *BBC News*, 6 December 1992, see <http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/december/6/newsid_3712000/3712777.stm>.

119 Juergensmeyer, op.cit., pp. 109–12.

120 Quoted by Thomas Barfield in 'Idol Threats', *Religion in the News*, vol. 4, no. 2, Summer 2001, <http://www.trincoll.edu/depts/csrpl/rinvol4no2/Idol%20Threats.htm>.

121 Pierre Centlivres, 'The Controversy Over the Buddhas of Bamiyan', *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, issue 2, 2008; and Babak Dehghanpisheh, 'Rebuilding the Bamiyan Buddhas', *Newsweek*, 31 December 2001, viewed 2 May 2012, <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/3067334/>.

122 See *The Economist* website for reports of these polls, viewed 28 August 2010, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2010/08/islamic_cultural_centre_sorta_near_ground_zero>.

123 For example, reported by Robert Mackay and Damien Cave, 'Florida Pastor Says Koran Burning Still On', *The New York Times*, 8 September 2010, viewed 10 November 2011, <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/09/08/florida-pastor-says-koran-burning-still-on/>.

124 Gershevitch, 'Through a Glass Darkly', *Australian mosaic*, issue 8, 2004, pp. 33–6.

125 Holden, op.cit.

126 Galla and Gershevitch, op.cit., p. 13.

127 E Bergman, 'Reversing the Flow of Traffic in the Market of Cultural Property', *Journal of the South and Meso American Indian Rights Centre*, Confronting Cultural Extinction: vol. 10, no. 2, Summer, 1996.

128 D Chang, 'Stealing Beauty: Stopping the Madness of Illicit Art Trafficking', *Houston Journal of International Law*, Spring, 2006.

129 K Mikhailovich et al., *Freedom of Religion, Belief and Indigenous Spirituality*, AHRC, Sydney, May 2011.

130   Fribourg Group, *Cultural Rights, Fribourg Declaration*, Fribourg University.

131   Sen, *Development as Freedom*, pp. 31–2.

132   Commonwealth Group on Culture and Development, *Commonwealth Statement on Culture and Development*, Commonwealth Foundation, 2010, pp. 3–4.

133   UNESCO, World Report, 2009, p. 235.

134   These need to be sensible, balanced and not encourage collective paranoia as a means to keep citizens compliant and fearful, Burke, op.cit., 234 ff.

135   Although a pre-law treaty the DRIP lists a number of cultural rights that apply to indigenous Australians and are included in other conventions to which Australia has acceded.

136   UNESCO, PPDCE Convention; UNESCO, *30 Frequently Asked Questions*, 2005, pp. 6–7.

137   E.g., Australia has given effect to its obligations under ICERD through the RDA and CEDAW through the *Sex Discrimination Act*, *1984,* <http://www.hreoc.gov.au/about/legislation/index.html#ahrc>.

138   UN, ICCPR.

139   UN, *Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*, 1981.

140   UN, ICESCR, article 10(2).

141   ibid., article 15.

142   Globalisation is not only harming cultures but cultural diversity – the distinction being that diversity itself is threatened and must be protected, UNESCO, World Report, 2009, 'Executive Summary', p. 2.

143   J Teicher et al., *Australian immigration: the triumph of economics over prejudice?*, working paper no. 33, Centre for the Economics of Education and Training, Monash University, December 2000, <http://www.education.monash.edu.au/centres/ceet/docs/workingpapers/wp33dec00teicher.pdf>; John Quiggin, 'Globalisation, neoliberalism and inequality in Australia', *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 240–59, <http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/eserv.php?pid=UQ:10951&dsID=jq-elr99.htm>; DIaC, *Fact Sheet 4 - More than 60 Years of Post-war Migration*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2009, <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/04fifty.htm>; Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Annex 1: The nature and future of globalisation', *An Australia-USA Free Trade Agreement: Issues and Implications*, August 2001, <http://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/aus_us_fta_mon/Annex1.pdf> all viewed 28 April 2012.

144   M Lopez, *The Origins of Multiculturalism in Australian Politics*, 156 ff.

145   Australian Government, *Australia in the Asian Century*, Canberra, October 2012.

146   Discussed in detail with reference to the 2009 World Report, but other reports such as UNDP's 2004 and 2009 World Reports, and the 1998 and 1999 reports dealing with globalisation, consumption and development, viewed 20 February 2010, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2010/>.

147   Gershevitch et al., 'Racism in Australia'.

148   On the contrary, cultural rights, seen within a frame of intercultural dialogue and peace-building can promote civil paths to peace – this is the message of UNESCO, other UN agencies, the

Commonwealth Secretariat, and numerous scholars working in the field as already referenced.

[149]   UNDP, World Report, 2005, Chapter 5, 'Violent Conflict–Bringing the Real Threat into Focus', 151 ff; the Alliance of Civilizations, op.cit., (3.3), p. 7; and Sen, *Civil Paths to Peace*, 33 ff.

[150]   Meaning they must be free, Sen, *Development as Freedom*, pp. 13–34. These principles have not only had influence on UNDP reporting, but on key bureaucrats within Australia; e.g., Ken Henry, *How Much Equity Should we Allow*, Australian Council of Social Services Conference, April 2009, viewed 2 December 2011, <http://taxreview.treasury.gov.au/content/Content.aspx?doc=html/speeches/05.htm>.

[151]   UNFPA, *State of World Population 2007*, argues: 'Decisions taken today in cities across the developing world will shape not only their own destinies but the social and environmental future of humankind', p. 76.

[152]   Bouma, *Being Faithful in Diversity*, p. 52.

[153]   Glaeser, op.cit., p.247.

[154]   For an overview of crime being a consequence of global trends in economics, environmental degradation, urbanisation, population growth and mobility, see Juma Assiago, *Promoting Urban Crime Prevention Strategies in Africa*, UN Habitat Program, May 2005.

[155]   James, and UN-Habitat, op.cit., both provide an overview of many of these issues and concerns about population, growth, sustainability and equity.

[156]   See endnote 139 (in the Introduction) where some antecedents of dynamic-equilibrium or steady-state notions are described, beginning with Mill then 'rediscovered' along with theories about general systems in the 1960s and 70s (Kenneth Boulding, Herman Daly and Club of Rome report in particular). Earlier predictions are now proving to be accurate, as discussed in much of the work of contemporary scholars and NGOs such as **nef**. In relation to urbanisation, this has generated considerable interest (to give Australian examples) among government (e.g. the COAG cities reform agenda: <http://www.coagreformcouncil.gov.au/agenda/cities.cfm>) and think tanks (e.g. the Grattan Institute, see: <http://grattan.edu.au/home/cities>) as well as being the focus of a UN program on sustainable urban development, the Human Settlement Program, UN-Habitat: <http://www.unhabitat.org/>.

[157]   This is a rather jargonistic way of describing, in essence, how new museological methods can be applied to social and cultural transformations, discussed in Chapter 5.

[158]   Hinich and Munger, op.cit., 12 ff.

[159]   For example, the idea of a 'political compass', see <http://www.politicalcompass.org/>.

[160]   Typified, by political conservative, Phillip Blond's argument: conservatives, 'who believe in value, culture and truth should therefore think twice before calling themselves liberal. Liberalism can only be a virtue when linked to a politics of the common good, a problem which the best liberals ... recognised but could never resolve. A vision of the good life cannot come from liberal principles. Unlimited liberalism produces atomised relativism and state absolutism. Insofar as both the Tories and Labour have been contaminated by liberalism, the true left-right legacy of the postwar period is, unsurprisingly, a centralised authoritarian state and a fragmented and disassociative society ... the left was right wing years before the right, and it created the conditions

for universal self-interest under Thatcher. The current political consensus is left-liberal in culture and right-liberal in economics ... precisely the wrong place to be', op.cit.

[161] Environmentalist, Stewart Brand, op.cit., claims he is an 'ecopragmatist', arguing that necessity demands humans reconsider the merits of taboos such as geo-engineering, nuclear power and genetic engineering.

[162] As Berman demonstrates, liberal progressives have a worrying history of behaving like Fascists; and Scott Appleby that the religious motive is often enlightened and progressive (both referenced previously); others such as Bader, op.cit., and Bruce Ledewitz, *Hallowed Secularism*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2009, question the authoritarian secular perspective that would (quite unrealistically) excise personal religious belief from all but the private dimension of life.

[163] CS Holling et al, 'Resilience and Sustainable Development', pp. 437–40; Edwards, op.cit., 25 ff.

[164] William Butler Yeats, *The Second Coming*, 1920, viewed 20 May 2012, <http://www.yeatsvision.com/secondnotes.html>.

[165] Although not expressed in this way (and in more detail) since developing this notion I have found similar models being tentatively explored by others, for example, see Chye Kiang Heng, Lai Choo Malone-Lee and Melissa Reese, 'Culture and Sustainability: Exploring the Nexus in the Context of Globalizing Asian Cities', *Making Culture Count Conference*, University of Melbourne, 2–4 May 2012, and who focus on culture as a driver of sustainable development.

[166] OECD, *Better Life Index*, viewed 2 December 2011, <http://oecdbetterlifeindex.org/>. Another, similar type of wellbeing model is the Inclusive Wealth Index, published by UNEP, which argues the true achievement of sustainable development is to improve levels of human wellbeing. The IWI measures nations' mix of manufactured, natural and human 'capital stocks' to do so. UNEP and UNU, *Inclusive Wealth Report 2012*, Cambridge University Press.

[167] New ideas about the social contract are beyond the scope of this thesis. The main issues can be reduced to notions of consent and justification (see Fred D'Agostino, Gerald Gaus and John Thrasher, 'Contemporary Approaches to the Social Contract', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward Zalta (ed), 2011) where, in plural societies, it is impossible to gain universal consent, and hence 'contractual' endorsement by a whole society, on any issue. Therefore, decisions with collective effects are matters of justification (and, it could be argued, utility). How these are decided and justified become political issues, as well as those of public opinion and, often, corporate demands. This makes the issue highly subjective. Clearly, my sympathies lie less with those of expediency and maintenance of existing (political-economic) norms, and more with collectivist, democratic and evidence-based approaches that are outlined in the texts referenced elsewhere, e.g. from UNESCO, UNDP, **nef**, Appadurai, Clive Hamilton, Sen, Jackson and others.

[168] Arlene Goldbard, 'Arguments for Cultural Democracy and Community Cultural Development', '*GIA Reader*, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring 2009.

[169] UNESCO, World Report, 2009, p. 225.

[170] Bader, op.cit., 35 ff.

[5] RECOGNISING THE POTENTIAL OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

[T]he museum ... is or rather should be one of the most highly perfected tools that society has available to prepare and accompany its own transformation

Hugues De Varine [1]

Hitherto, I have discussed a range of disparate concepts and themes. In some ways, this follows the path of analysis I previously called 'synchronous threats scholarship', which is inspired by a number of issues ranging from fears about global climate change, security threats[2], health and wealth inequalities. In the domain of museology this approach is, for example, recognised by Janes in his 2009 book *Museums in a Troubled World: renewal, irrelevance or collapse?* The purpose of this chapter is not to examine museography (museum practice), but rather to draw together the ideas already covered and reflect on the roles cultural institutions (see 5.4) can play in the future musealisation of societies.[3] By expanding on some of the ideas that appear across the scholarship and linking notions of sustainable development, rights, democracy and new museology we can imagine a general strategy for future human well-being that incorporates museums. Before proceeding to explore these ideas, I briefly return to the trends that set the wider picture in which cultural institutions now exist and will be required to function in the future.

5.1 FLOURISHING HUMAN SOCIETIES: FUTURE CHALLENGES

Since the 1970s, beyond the fear of species extinction due to nuclear war, there have been concerns for human survival due to resource depletion. Following the Club of Rome's precocious 1972 *Limits of Growth*, the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) released the 1987 report *Our Common Future*, which established the principle of sustainable development. This became a foundation concept for understanding human activities in a finite world. The report explains sustainable development means the exploitation of natural resources to meet current requirements but without denying the ability of future generations to also do so. It recognises that development has limitations imposed by technology and society 'on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities'.[4]

In planning for sustainability, development is often described as occurring within three pillars or under three broad domains of action in economics, the environment and society; these are acknowledged in international frameworks as being mutually reinforcing and interdependent.[5] However, this notion has been contested on the basis that sustainable development paradigms that fail to include culture as a fourth pillar may create new dependencies. Keith Nurse argues peoples' identities reflect systems and epistemic frameworks that shape how they understand and live in the environment; therefore, culture 'shapes what we mean by development and determines how people act in the world'.[6]

If we accept humanity relies on four development pillars, and the viability of our future is contingent on the health of these pillars, this is deeply concerning. To recap issues under each category:

> **Economic sustainability** is being undermined by the accepted orthodoxy that development is achieved through growth, and growth is driven by material production, although exponential expansion (of this type) in a finite world is impossible. Not only is the economic model unsustainable but, in recent decades, it has been so ideologically driven that disparities in material well-being have been largely ignored. Simultaneously, the leadership and imagination needed to escape the existing paradigm is lacking, the global financial system faces ongoing instability and uncertainty, and transnational corporations dominate national interests and the public good through economic manipulation and control over what people know, think, believe and consume through their ownership of global media and marketing networks.
>
> **Environmental sustainability**, equally, is in a perilous state. Human exploitation of the physical world has depleted resources, polluted and destabilised ecosystems and resulted in mass extinctions of flora and fauna. This is insignificant compared with the global effects of anthropogenic climate change due to the use of fossil fuels and industrial-scale agriculture. Production growth, combined with an increasing population, is stripping the planet, while atmospheric temperatures are expected to increase, at best between 2° and 4 °C by the end of this century. The prognosis is for changed ecologies, resulting in mass population movements, starvation, disease and conflict.

Social sustainability has been eroded by the unrelenting focus on growth and on maximising efficiency and technical innovation. Although some of this has been beneficial, gains have been offset by considerable negative effects. Social sustainability is compromised by population increases, mobilities, new epidemiologies of morbidity, privatised and underfunded human-services infrastructure, and failures in both the Global North and South to equitably allocate resources to those most in need. Indeed, the fundamental model of economic globalisation gouges primary producers and manual workers, increasingly impoverishing them while degrading cultural and social capital. This is accompanied by the continuing failure to implement the full range of human rights in virtually every country. Such challenges highlight the structural flaws in many democracies, which have become immobilised by the breadth and speed of change, leaving them little capacity or resilience to adapt.

Cultural sustainability has been undermined by the rapid introduction of Western cultural products. Changes in traditional lifestyles have been driven by demography, technological developments, communications, environmental degradation, conflict, corruption, mobility, and new forms of poverty. Further, economic globalisation has been endemic, influencing almost everybody. While some of these trends have been positive, generally, they have transformed most societies. Production – in agriculture, trades, manufacture – combined with mass transportation, has changed the way most people live. For the world's poor, this has had particularly destructive consequences. Cultural integrity remains one of their few assets; when undermined (by whatever means), populations are exposed to social dissolution and increased rates of physical and psychological morbidity.

The four pillars of sustainable development are interconnected. All are affected by the negative externalities associated with globalisation. As repeatedly affirmed by scholars across a range of disciplines, and international government and non-government agencies, new approaches are needed that incorporate the pillars into a holistic system of development, underpinned by human rights and democratic participation. This is reflected in the *Earth Charter,* which draws together important domains of action on sustainability and describes the values required to ensure a viable human future in balance with the biosphere.[7]

The agenda for transformative change faces three fundamental challenges, some of which have already been discussed. First, denial: a refusal to accept threats are real and the responses necessary, second, the inability to act because of entrenched, often-competing interests, and the momentum of institutional behaviours that prevent altruistic or nimble responses, and third, the failure to imagine, plan and act in interdisciplinary and integrated ways. The third challenge is perhaps the greatest. While governments often talk about 'joined-up solutions' or 'breaking down silos', this is largely rhetorical; interdisciplinary and collaborative approaches are inherently complicated and seldom realised.[8]

However, templates exist to do so, and health promotion, urban planning (which sometimes work together[9]) and ecomuseology (which should) provide helpful models and share some common features. Although there may be other collaborative and interdisciplinary fields of professional endeavour, these three (health promotion, urban planning and museology) are particularly well developed, provide comprehensive approaches, and have the potential to shift existing policy paradigms, although none yet have sufficient traction or authority to take the lead. An international conference, *Transformations*, held in Canberra in 2005, explored the intersections between human rights and development, culture, ecological sustainability and integrated local-area planning.[10] This event brought interdisciplinary thinkers and practitioners together who found, unsurprisingly, that their approaches and interests closely aligned. A tentative start to dialogue in Australia, similar cross-fertilisation of ideas and sectors continues in measured steps across the world.[11] Flourishing free societies that function in global dynamic-equilibrium and within necessary biospheric constraints, is the vision splendid of many writers.[12] In reality, it is a modest goal, although one seemingly impossible given the greed, scepticism and indolence arrayed against it. Best-practice activities or models of success can help demonstrate what the future world might look like, how it may function, and the kinds of practical steps that could help achieve positive change. Building healthy, cohesive and sustainable local communities is a large part of the urban planning and ecomuseum agenda; an agenda supported by principles of equity, civil rights, cultural and heritage values, and which provide theoretical and practical frameworks for human development. This locates advocates of integrated urban planning and new museology as allies and key agents of change.

5.2 WHAT IS A MUSEUM?

In 1931, Cassell and Company published *The Science of Life* by H.G. Wells and Julian Huxley, two British polymaths of the early twentieth century. In this extraordinary volume, divided into nine books and covering 876 illustrated pages, the authors distilled essential knowledge of almost everything to do with life on Earth: its origins, appearance, human evolution, the achievements of scientific scholars, human ethics and more. It is a work of extraordinary ambition and sanguinity, but also hubris. It reflected a belief the 'common man' was entitled to understand science and, with knowledge, dispel the dark ages of ignorance. Although didacticism of this type persists,[13] it is recognised that knowledge cannot be so easily condensed and classified. In some ways, certainly in the past, museums had a similar intent.

From the nineteenth century until recent decades, museums in the Global North were typically housed in grand buildings and packed with eclectic collections: reconstructed skeletal remains, melancholy victims of taxidermy, dissected gemstones on crowded shelves, well-oiled miniature machine replicas that would spring into life on pressing a button or winding a crank. The history of the Western museum over a century or more reflects a conscious and unconscious history of Western perceptions about humanity, the natural world and the imperial mission. In the early twentieth century, as with Wells and Huxley's book, these included the optimistic belief that European colonialism would bring enlightenment to the rest of the world; a view which embraced (simplified) Christianity, (purportedly) benign autocracy and (limited) exposure to the achievements of 'civilization'. The benefits of such a mission were typically resented by those upon whom it was imposed, and it degraded many of the human and natural systems of the conquered.[14] The museum was a type of cultural charnel house as well as a memorial to empire; in Australia, this meant a memorial to the virtues of the greatest nineteenth century power, the British Empire, and to the settlers who dispossessed Australia's First Nation peoples. In the postwar era, Western museums remained places of remnant colonial triumphalism although, since then, most have attempted to dismantle this legacy.[15]

If museums served these purposes, even unconsciously, their origins were well intentioned. They were places of study, dedicated to storing and exhibiting objects illustrating antiquity or natural history. The derivation of the word 'museum' comes from the Muses: classical

Greek female deities of intellectual pursuits, such as poetry, music, dance, philosophy and astronomy. During the Hellenic and Roman eras, places of learning were commonly understood (even metaphorically) as those where the Muses resided. Scholars unsurprisingly drew on this concept from the Renaissance; hence the birth of the modern museum as a place of learning, research, exhibition, contemplation and amusement.[16] The relative 'worth' of contemporary cultural institutions continues to be typically based on their running costs compared with those of competing forms of popular entertainment.[17]

International peak body the International Council of Museums (ICOM) – while noting that museums have evolved in line with social developments – defines a museum as:

> a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.[18]

Such a definition makes the notion of museums highly elastic, in that they can take many forms. These forms include the organised management of living systems, such as botanical and zoological gardens; galleries, archives and libraries; online repositories; and whole communities and their lived environments. A distinctive feature of modern museums is that they collect and display things, activities shared with museums of the past. Nevertheless, while object-centred museography may serve valuable purposes, and is the activity most people associate with museums, it is not the only model. This presents museums with a range of philosophical challenges; an issue explored below.

Mark O'Neill describes museum diversity, explaining they may be primarily dedicated to maintaining a site of cultural or heritage significance; may deal with a specific theme, such as natural history, technology, visual arts or geology; or may target a particular audience, such as children or people seeking enriching artistic experiences. Museums can be 'introverted' (focused on preserving and displaying artefacts) or 'extroverted' (focused primarily on meeting immediate community or client interests), or they may attempt to balance these inward-looking and outward-looking approaches.[19] O'Neill's explanation demonstrates how museums, collectively, are well placed to respond to contemporary issues: recording, interpreting, and helping to find meaning, sanctuary and coherent themes for audiences in the confusion of current events, as well as envisaging the future. This is a

substantial claim, which may seem to be detached from the daily business of museum work. Because museums are (at least partially) products of their time, this could be one of museology's tasks: a self-analysis of how they have historically understood and fulfilled their roles.[20] This may be of most interest to the expert; nevertheless, evolving rationales and changes in museum programs and curatorial practices could help illustrate to lay audiences the shifts in societal attitudes about nature, cultural and physiological diversity over the last century.

Although some museum roles may be new, many will continue the positive traditions of past museography, albeit in new ways. Museum activities today will reflect government policies; wider social, political, cultural and other events; public reactions to and expectations of museum services; and the museum's own decisions about how inclusive it will be of topical issues and existential challenges. Furthermore, museums increasingly endeavour to engage with communities as spaces of representation, cultural maintenance and local significance, including those that relate to intangible heritage and diversities of content and expressions.[21] This means they may be ideological or pedagogical; they may explore intersections between local, national and global issues; and they may be sites where meaning is found and conflict negotiated.

Museums, therefore, are often important interpreters of events with human-rights dimensions; for example, where there have been histories of racism, colonialism, cultural misappropriation or the repression of minorities, such as the poor, anathematised or indigenous peoples.[22] Some museums provide a public platform bearing witness to experiences of suffering or injustice. The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh is one such institution; it preserves the site of a notorious security prison in which the Khmer Rouge tortured and murdered suspected political opponents. The museum maintains the prison as it was when the Khmer Rouge were driven from the capital in 1979, though it includes rooms filled with photographs of victims, instruments of torture and numerous skeletal remains. While it is a disturbing place to visit, the museum serves a valuable educational function for contemporary Cambodians and is a site of remembrance.[23] Another example is the Robben Island Museum in South Africa. Like Tuol Sleng, it is a former prison site; although not as brutal, it became equally symbolic in a more positive way. Nelson Mandela and many other black, Indian or coloured males were incarcerated there between 1964 and 1991 for opposing the apartheid regime. This made Robben Island

synonymous with the fight for freedom – the decommissioned prison is now preserved as a reminder of this struggle.[24]

Because museums may preserve, explain and present the varieties of human identity, experience and dissent; they can occasionally challenge elites, national or political ideologies antagonistic to diversity, or competing narratives. Elaine Gurien observed that 'museums can be safe places for unsafe ideas'.[25] This can make museums controversial. Although some may embrace such a role, other museums may avoid controversy. At other times, there may be an expectation of an engagement, but museums may fail to meet the challenges they present for themselves.[26] When this occurs, failure might not be due to a lack of professionalism or commitment by staff, but to tensions, invisible to the public, which pull the institution in contrary directions. For example, conflict may arise between a director and the museum's governing body (especially if board members are political appointees[27]) or between curators and financial sponsors. Increasing reliance on private enterprise, compelled by diminishing government revenues, can homogenise content and drive public museums to collaborate with corporate funders, compromising curatorial independence and objectivity.[28] These features of museums raise important questions of ethics, culture, community and 'place'.

The ethical questions arise from the first principles of museography. If objects are collected, then how, why and what criteria are used? Some may be altruistic; others may be about power and authority – as already observed regarding the imperial museum. Other than as a repository, what is the fundamental purpose of a museum and its collection, and how is it to be used? The logical answer is that objects are interpreted, but this necessarily involves biases that will be influenced by a range of factors, particularly cultural interpretations. If, a century ago, museum exhibits were chosen to demonstrate the exceptionalism of European civilization, man's dominance over nature or the barbarism of 'savages', does this imply that the choice of museum exhibits in the twenty-first century will also be made on the basis of pedagogical or ideological preferences? Moral issues associated with the acquisition and retention of misappropriated objects were raised in Section 4.2. The question of legitimacy and authority are equally difficult: Who is qualified to interpret objects, through what lenses are they viewed, how is value (whether economic, aesthetic or cultural) measured, and what does it signify?[29] Sceptical responses to these questions can be seen to threaten the legitimacy, not only of museums, but claims that absolute meaning can be found in

anything.[30] While important issues, I do not interrogate them here; my primary purpose is to illustrate that traditional museography (focused on form or objects, rather than content or meanings) is challenged by how to relate to, and provide meanings for, audiences. Peter Davis ponders the paradox:

> Museums and museum objects may be seen as symbols of solidity in an age of change and uncertainty, but can they also be recognized as part of post-modern society with the label of permanence that their collections and monumental buildings imply?[31]

Consideration of objects, and their origins, necessarily involves who, or what, created them. Objects will have cultural dimensions (encompassing possible religious, economic and political aspects), an ecological provenance (from where they have come and from what they are made), and community or group significance (aesthetic, symbolic, esoteric or other forms of meaning). Objects and places form complex connections with people, individually and collectively. These relationships (between things and locations) are easily overlooked and commonly discounted in a world focused on growth and change. Yet the significance of place – how people relate to and are nurtured by place, and how place has multiple layers of value – is essential to considering how humans might imagine, be reconciled with, and plan for the future. Notions of community, identity and place are dynamic; they overlap and, although difficult to define, are profoundly important to people. They may take many forms, coalesce, shift or evolve. In the way that single identities can be understood to exist, so too can group or community identities; and the same way that a place – whether urban, rural, heritage, natural, human-made or hybrid – has an identity, it too will be dynamic and constantly changing. These fluid relationships between people and nature are existentially important and, because of human omnipresence, it could be said virtually every corner of the planet is an anthropogenically modified landscape. Brand argues, when we examine prehistoric evidence, even when we romanticise notions of wilderness, past and present, human fingerprints can be found everywhere.[32] The symbiosis between human and natural ecologies was recognised as early as the World Heritage Convention, in particular, the idea of 'cultural landscapes' or the ways humans interact as a dynamic force shaping the natural environment over time and where each mirrors the other. This is a phenomenon:

> with a tangible and an intangible identity. The intangible component arises from ideas and interactions which have an impact on the perceptions and shaping of a landscape, such as sacred beliefs closely linked to the landscape and the way it has been perceived over time.[33]

This notion of landscapes helps reinforce an understanding and respect for place in the consciousness and value systems of those societies that have forgotten or dismisses its existence. However, it is easily revivified when local communities discover that a government agency or a corporation (or both in collusion) ride roughshod over their interests and destroy a sense of place. The frenetic pace of coal seam gas (CSG) extraction is an example of how community groups have been catapulted into angry coalitions of action in the face of environmental devastation and threats to livelihoods, lifestyle, food security and heritage.[34] What many citizens in wealthy nations such as the USA and Australia are now experiencing with new generation CSG technologies has long been the type of lived experience of people in poor nations. As corporate power and energy demand increases, resources become scarcer and the momentum of growth balloons, it is likely the privilege of living in the Global North will erode and the lifestyles of inhabitants will begin to mirror those of their peers in the South. This is an opportunity cost of the political economy that most of its victims reflexively support: the potential sacrifice of their places of meaning to the alternative goods of consumption and corporate profit.[35]

Among the ways a place can be interpreted, Peter Davis argues two are particularly important for museums: places are defined by the people and shifting communities who live in them, and each will have their unique understanding and relationship to a place. A place may gain its distinctiveness by acquiring a certain 'patina', or it will have an 'elusive particularity, so often valued as "background noise" ... the richness we take for granted',[36] denoting its special attributes, whether these are a crowded urban landscape or bucolic calm. The value of place and its real and symbolic importance is not only recognised by social scientists. These bonds transcend formalistic notions of beauty or amenity; a site or region may have profound emotional, spiritual and aesthetic attributes, meaningful only to people who have deep associations with it. A barren wasteland may be overflowing with markers of significance for those who are able to identify with such a place. For example, in her 2011 Boyer lecture, novelist Geraldine Brooks reflected on her connections to her Australian homeplace. She observed how harsh critics of the 'cultural dead heart' of suburbia only saw:

> [a] mean and unaccommodated material existence, but did not grasp the emotional and imaginative richness of the lives played out against those frugal backdrops. They deplored the conformity, but they did not see that its corollary was a sustaining solidarity. They did

not grasp that the bedrock value of that time and place was an enduring and defining Australian sense of shared community.[37]

Many of the qualities to which Davis and Brooks refer are cultural – a symbiosis where social norms and culture are shaped by place which, in turn, is adapted to the requirements of community identities. Accounts of the inherent relationships between humans and the places where they live presents a challenge to museums: how they represent, explain or preserve intangible, dynamic and borderless spaces and meanings. The importance of these connections has a broader significance than that relating solely to museums, a theme continued later; first, however, I return to the question heading this section: what is a museum? The bonds between people, culture and place cannot be resolved through the traditional, confined museum practices of collecting and displaying, and only in a limited way through curatorial interpretation. The response has been a new approach to museography that involves revaluing and re-envisaging community, nature and culture (see Figure 5.1). This approach has shifted the museum's role from the provider of elite entertainment, or at least such a perception,[38] to the enabler of sustainable development and social egalitarianism, in short, to an agent of transformative change.

5.3 NEW MUSEOLOGY AND ECOMUSEUMS

The ambiguities around whether community, culture, identity and place are absolute (universal and fixed) or specific (particular to an innumerable array of circumstances), and the tensions these create for museums, have been largely resolved by a new form of cultural institution and its practice: the ecomuseum. That stated, ecomuseology remains an evolving practice and concept. Some definitions help explain what ecomuseums attempt to achieve and why.

An ICOM description, dating from 1978, states an ecomuseum uses science, education, active public participation, and any other means available to solve community problems, while managing and studying the total heritage of a community including its natural environment and cultural milieu. Essentially, 'the ecomuseum uses the language of the artefact, the reality of everyday life and concrete situations in order to achieve desired changes'.[39] In France, being the first country to embrace and develop the notion, commentators focused on community involvement and direction. Pierre Mayrand argued the

ecomuseum is not 'an end to itself, it is defined as an objective to be met'. Rene Rivard distinguished ecomuseums from traditional institutions, where museum=building+ collections+experts+public, whereas the ecomuseum=territory+heritage+memory+ populations.[40] More succinctly, and highlighting collective approaches to conserving traditional human activities integrated with their associated ecosystems, the ecomuseum is 'a dynamic way in which communities preserve, interpret, and manage their heritage for sustainable development. An ecomuseum is based on a community agreement'.[41] Mark Stokrocki focuses on the intergenerational and equity aspects, and defines an ecomuseum as a learning centre where a community's past, present and future association with its environment helps to mediate 'transitions in a culture at a time of rapid change … [the ecomuseum's] mission is to protect human dignity and to link generations'.[42]

Ecomuseography did not spontaneously appear. It was a product of social changes in the 1960s and had a variety of antecedents. A review of these helps place their context in museology.

The rapid growth in museums in the late nineteenth century was largely due to generous philanthropy, civic pride and a genuine desire to provide opportunities for moral and cultural enrichment for the communities where local museums were founded.[43] These museums tended to promote the disciplines of classical archaeology, natural science and the fine arts. However, they declined in the early twentieth century due to rapidly changing cultural, political and economic conditions. Enthusiasm for museums was transferred to new institutional forms, especially those focusing on 'folk' culture including the *hembygdrörelse* movement in Sweden and *heimatmuseums* in Germany.

From the late 1800s, the Swedes exerted considerable efforts to conserve their national culture and natural heritage. Particularly influential was Artur Hazelius, who began collecting information about traditional dance, music, stories and costumes. He presented much of this material in an ethnographic exhibition which used wax figures to portray Swedish culture to audiences. Subsequently, he helped establish Skansen, an open-air museum presenting the nation's architectural heritage, along with furnishings and garden designs. Once established in 1891, Skansen became a living site for festivals, performances and practical demonstrations. As Karin Norman observes,[44] these approaches to folkloric culture anticipated the ecomuseum and reflected the wish to identify and celebrate the roots

of national ethnicities – an interest shared and explored widely across Europe at the time.[45] Unfortunately, some developed sinister overtones. During the 1930s in Germany, the Nazis used the *heimatmuseum* (what had started as an innovative approach where small local museums celebrated regional cultures) as a tool of nationalist and racist propaganda and Aryan mythology; these have been described as the perverted forerunners of ecomuseums.[46]

The popularity of folk museums that began between the wars has continued in a different form with an interest in regional cultures. Loïc Vadelorge observes that the nationalistic trends in large European museums tended to decline after the Second World War due to increasing internationalism. Vadelorge argues the 'mounting importance of the regions is a turning point in European history, which the museums reflect' and the 'globalisation of cultural exchange', combined with a reassertion of local distinctiveness, has driven these trends.[47] Although the two differ, the local-history museum does share much in common with the folk museum, but neither is modelled on forms of radical community participation typical of ecomuseology.[48]

The 1960s and early 1970s – a time of social and political questioning and upheaval – provided the impetus to radically reappraise the whole idea of museums. This led to changes in the discipline and emergence of what is still referred to as 'new museology'. As with ecomuseology, new museology is a somewhat amorphous concept. In the same way many people questioned existing perceived wisdoms (such as the arms race, gender and racial inequality, civil rights and nascent concerns about environmental protection) museums also reflected on their purpose. ICOM's tenth general assembly, held at Grenoble in 1971, issued a statement calling on the world's museums to reassess the needs of the public they served, to focus on the social environments where they operated, and to take advantage of the expertise residing in communities.[49] This challenged well-established values in many museums. ICOM further extended these principles in the following year (in Santiago, Chile) with a resolution stating that a museum is an institution serving the society:

> of which it forms an inseparable part and … contains the elements which enable it to help in moulding the consciousness of the communities it serves, through which it can stimulate those communities to action … by linking together past and present, identifying itself with indispensable structural challenges and calling forth others.[50]

The Santiago resolutions link the work of ICOM with UNESCO and the latter's concerns about global disparities in development and justice. Davis observes that these radical ideas were the turning point in museological thought, despite largely being overlooked at first, particularly by museums in English-speaking nations. After Santiago, a critical role of museums was to 'mirror' societies – to reflect the good, bad and unique of a nation's or region's history, culture and environment – and to debate these in engaging and honest ways. However, a subsidiary issue remained unresolved: who museums represent or serve.[51] New museology is not synonymous with ecomuseology; however, the ecomuseum is very much a product of new museology, as are community, folk, and other forms of active museography.[52] Lorena San Roman argues that museums must 'play a role in the polemics of the country and in its socio-economic development' because, if they do not, they run the risk of disappearing.[53] San Roman's perspective, a museum manager from Costa Rica, is noteworthy because that nation has been remarkably successful in taking a holistic approach to its environmental, economic and social development and sustainability. Not only does Costa Rica consider itself a national park[54] but also, according to **nef**, a planned approach to the four pillars of development, combined with a rigorous defence of human rights, has resulted in the world's happiest (and a relatively healthy) nation.[55] In many ways, these integrated, citizen-focused and environmentally sensitive approaches to planning share values and methods with ecomuseology.

The ecomuseum community and site where this form of activism occurs may be *any* community or site. Such an approach decouples the museum from high art, or the selective preservation of objects based on subjective and culturally determined preferences. This goes to the fundamental issue of culture: what it is, its importance to humans, and its relationship with the natural world. As discussed in Section 4.1, UNESCO (although, arguably, with embedded cultural biases[56]) incrementally separated the concept of culture from art and, while respecting the essential and replenishing connections between them, focused on the sources of creativity: culture as various forms of tangible and intangible knowledge and practice. Based on the principle that most places have unique qualities – certainly qualities meaningful to their inhabitants – a vast diversity of sites are legitimate settings for ecomuseums. These can range from degraded urban slums and industrial 'rust-belts'[57] to rural regions and ancient and historically significant townships. The potential, commitment, capacity, willingness and determination of a community to make their place (as joint human

and natural ecologies) a site of living heritage preservation and maintenance can set in motion the creation of an ecomuseum.

One of the early ecomuseum experiments was based in Le Creusot, a commune of Saône et Loire in Burgundy. This region had industrialised during the early nineteenth century and was a centre of metallurgy, coal mining, ceramics and glass manufacturing. In the postwar period, the area went into slow decline; this became acute by the early 1970s with tensions emerging between workers and factory owners over concerns about the viability of continued production and decreasing output. The radical new notions of community-based museology were mobilised to assist the community through its period of transition and regeneration and, in 1973, the first Creusot-Montceau Ecomuseum was established. It opened in its early form while several factories continued production and, in this iteration, the museum became involved in the cultural appropriation of history, advocacy for workers' rights, and preservation of industrial heritage and practices. This meant the ecomuseum was quickly politicised.[58] In what became an often-fraught project, the first attempt failed, to be resurrected in 1985 by another museum, which also failed. More recently it was renamed and continues as an ecomuseum, albeit one focused more on industrial archaeology and preserving a past than on maintaining living heritage.

As a pioneering ecomuseum, Creusot-Montceau's chequered history is perhaps less significant than its effect on the region's population. For three decades the museum helped communities deal with their traumas, memories, and reconciled past achievements with the present.[59] In many countries, the de-industrialisation of large, formerly flourishing regions is a common and often deeply unsettling experience for those displaced by change. These issues are not solely economic or technological; they also have psychic effects on those communities that have forged intergenerational associations with place, lifestyle and culture. In such settings, the new museum can be transformative, it may be of a 'radically new kind [with] revolutionary pretensions ... [having] ambition to provide a framework of local and even national regeneration'.[60]

Another example helps illustrate the way principles of ecomuseology are delivered in practice along with genuine transformations. Ha Long Bay forms part of the Gulf of Tonkin to the east of Hanoi in northern Vietnam. The bay consists of approximately 1,600 small (typically uninhabited) limestone islands that rise precipitously from the water and were

shaped by changing sea levels. It is a complex waterscape, rich in marine life and endemic flora; so famed for its natural beauty, Ha Long Bay was listed by as a World Heritage Site in 1994.[61] Because humans have lived there for thousands of years, much valuable heritage resides in the bay. However, due to years of warfare, mining in the hinterland and poorly regulated industrialisation and development, the region's environment severely eroded, the physical health of communities declined, and the continuation of cultural traditions were threatened. Urgent measures were required to remediate these problems. This was seen as more than a local need. Due to its significance, Ha Long Bay is an iconic Vietnamese site and its reclamation became a matter of national pride. Established progressively from 2000, the Ha Long Bay Ecomuseum was eventually recognised as Vietnam's first national ecomuseum in 2006, and it began operating under this title from 2008.[62] The ecomuseum takes a holistic and sustainable approach to the region's social, cultural and economic development and to its ecological protection.[63] Although the long-term effects of the museum are yet to be determined, the indicators suggest the health and well-being of communities is improving in measurable ways (for example, reduced rates of HIV infection), unique cultures are protected (such as through a 'floating museum' where the traditional lifestyles of the fishing communities are preserved), levels of pollution are decreasing, and ecological and cultural tourism (and hence the economy) are thriving.[64] Much of the drive and commitment to make these changes have not come from the centralist communist government, but from the local level where models of community participation and empowerment have been used. This demonstrates that even in undemocratic nations, models of effective local decision-making that determines people's quality of life (deep democracy) can be employed to genuine effect.[65]

To some extent, these examples illustrate the three main characteristics of ecomuseums: (1) flexibility around settings and need, (2) community participation and democratic involvement, and (3) a commitment to place, encompassing holistic management of heritage resources in their environments. This means ecomuseums are unlikely to be confined to a single monolithic site; rather, they range across spatial and conceptual territories in a 'hub and spoke' model – a major departure from past museum design. Their essential 'anarchy' (where power is devolved and structure created through collective consensus) is a contrast to the order and implied authority in traditional museology – although this does not mean there is less rigor or conceptual energy driving ecomuseum establishment and maintenance.

As well as contesting institutional authorities, community empowerment reorients the notion of value, generates alternative interpretations of history or social relations, re-positions the importance of oral history, and emphasises the relationships between people, and between people and place.[66] Gerard Corsane developed 21 principles of ecomuseums and community museology. Among these, he identifies the equal importance of immovable, movable and intangible cultural heritage; the focus on sustainable development and responsible resource use; the promotion of multi- and interdisciplinary approaches to research; interconnections between nature and culture, past and present; and benefits for local communities, such as regeneration and strengthened social capital.[67] Ecomuseums provide valuable insights into the role museology may play in a future where culture, people and their environments function within a sustainable-development model.
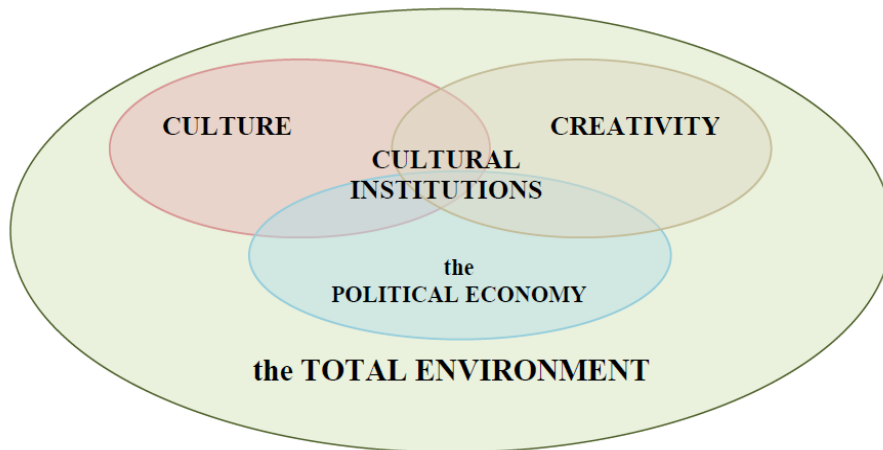

Figure 5.1: Cultural institutions as places of memory and change at the intersections between the political economy, culture (including society), creativity (including the arts and technology) and the total environment

There are now many such socially engaged museums across the world, especially in Europe where, in 2007, they numbered 287.[68] Other issues and methods integral to the ecomuseum approach include social cohesion and inclusion, human development and respect for human and cultural rights. Deep, local democracy and equity are also necessary to the process, and tend to work because the methodology draws on fundamental strengths and capacities of humans and societal structures. O'Neill argues museums need to integrate their purpose and functions into current circumstances. Their best hope for survival is not about understanding *what* they are for, but – based on community relationships – *who* they are for. If museums move in this direction:

they may cease to be the more or less helpless victims of change, and choose their own direction … The future of museums depends on the depth and authenticity of this relationship, which is as important, morally and intellectually, as the authenticity of the objects [they house] themselves.[69]

Although not all museums can or should be ecomuseums – and their normative roles of collecting, interpreting and displaying objects are a valuable and continuing role – the ecomuseum model broadens the conceptual frame of cultural institutions and their potential association with civil society.

5.4 CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS, INDUSTRIES AND INDICATORS

The term 'cultural institution' (which includes museums and their variants) is a generic descriptor for public spaces and publicly accessible services that negotiate, maintain or present culture and cultural activities in their many forms. This broad understanding, which reflects the definitions of cultural heritage found in the UNESCO conventions, includes cultures linked to the society, political economy, environment, media, faith, ethnicity, industry, science and the multiplicity of human diversity. Although cultural institutions cannot be described as core creative arts, they can certainly nurture and have strong relationships with the arts; this makes them core creative industries.[70] For example, in Australia, the ABC and SBS are well-established government-funded cultural institutions. Although much of their output is not 'creative' product per se (such as news, current affairs and sport broadcasting), they do support a range of creative industries, creative artists, and produce and promote cultural works and, occasionally, works of art.

Although cultural institutions should be sensitive to the ebb and flow of contemporary events, they are also potentially vulnerable to them. They cannot be solely dispassionate repositories and display sites of human and natural products, even if artefact-based heritage preservation is a valuable function some fulfil. Cultural institution studies, especially in Europe, regard the cultural sector as 'historically evolved societal forms of organising the conception, production, distribution, propagation, interpretation, reception, conservation and maintenance of specific cultural goods'.[71] This approach is not so rigorously promoted in Australia with many cultural institutions yet to envision themselves as egalitarian civic spaces, as independent network hubs (bridging and interpreting the past, present and future, the local with the global), and as places to reflect and reconcile contemporary social

realities, contested ideas and the marginalised. The creative and democratic potential of cultural institutions (such as ecomuseums) have also been inadequately addressed, where they struggle to transform themselves into dynamic places where citizens can actively participate in social, economic, political and cultural life.[72]

Creative industries work across the spectrum of arts and culture but do so for profit (even if on a socially entrepreneurial basis) and contribute to economies through either domestic or international sales. They are associated with activities such as architecture, fashion and design, music production and distribution, other performing arts, book production, and the media (television, radio, film, advertising and graphic arts).[73] One definition is 'those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property'.[74] The creative industries are also creative 'in the sense of employing artists'[75] and, historically, have contributed to artistic and cultural heritage, both of ephemera and more substantial works. Creative industries do present a counterpoint to many cultural institutions, and the boundaries between the sectors understandably blur and overlap. Because they are typically based on business models, creative industries rely on the production of cultural goods for which there is substantial public demand.[76] The issues of mass production, commodification and marketing mean these goods may promote and reinforce conformity and compliance with norms. Cultural products released by commercial media – such as most films, sitcoms, radio, popular music, fashion magazines and computer games – are likely to take these forms. Given the synchronicity of production, economies of scale add further to this trend. For example, the fashion industry, film distributors and media outlets (many with integrated and co-dependent business investments) collaborate to maximise potential sales through cross-promotion and advertising.

It has long been recognised this challenges the heritage arts as well as cultural productions that are complex, individualistic or do not conform to standardised cultural norms. In the middle of the last century, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer argued that the market place, especially through the influence of the media and centralised power, encouraged a limited but dominant popular culture. They assumed this trend would ensure subaltern or subcultures would progressively diminish due to majority preferences and demand. This was seen as a cyclic process where, the more culture is mass-produced, the more that dissent and diversity is restricted. In turn, this progressively limits the range of available cultural

experiences, narrowing consumer preferences, tastes, and further guaranteeing ready and predictable markets for the cultural products invented by corporate interests.[77] Considerable evidence validates the fears of those who hold this pessimistic view, such as Fromm, Toby Miller, Clive Hamilton, Dines and Levande, quoted previously.

Although (at a global level) these are justified concerns, dystopian visions have not yet born fruit with a sufficiently large proportion of humans continuing to seek expressive and creative forms, and the means to satisfy spiritual or aesthetic needs, that sit outside a populist norm. The Marxist interpretation of how capital will recruit cultural product to maximise power, surprisingly, has omitted one of the bases of Marxist dialectic: the very structures created by the market economy have also born its antithesis. This includes, as a reaction to the universalism of globalised culture, a reassertion of cultural (and often religious) identity and an exploration of cultural origins and expressions which, in turn, are reshaping culture and the arts. The reassertion of regionalism and local distinctiveness is a symptom of this trend. UNESCO's concern to maintain the diversity of cultural expressions reflects an awareness that, through globalisation, cultural product increasingly conforms to a largely Western materialist paradigm. Nevertheless, UNESCO also takes a more positive approach to creative industries as a means to achieve economic development in parallel with free cultural expression.[78]

The relationship between these sectors: the creative industries (largely business and demand-driven) and cultural institutions (based on aesthetic, social and heritage values) is symbiotic, yet distinct. Although both sectors have valuable functions and exert considerable influence, debates about culture and cultural policy can result in a conflation of the two. This is misleading. Although creative industries may produce cultural goods in high demand and that fetch high prices, this does not mean they are of high quality, provide high levels of public good or long-term satisfaction. Indeed, they may do the opposite, particularly with gratuitous resource wastage, such as mass-produced ephemera. However, creative industries can largely protect their own interests. They ride the dynamics of a mercurial market, responding to elasticity in price demands, product inventiveness and preference signalling; indeed, this immediacy encourages forms of 'creative destruction', which work in the producers' interests.[79] Cultural institutions have far less potential to do so. This means that cultural Darwinism – where only the appropriately fit and trait-displaying cultural forms survive – may be a recipe for disaster.

In the same way biodiversity is necessary for ecological health, arts diversity is necessary for social and cultural health. In the long term, if cultural institutions suffer at the expense of a majority's cultural whimsy, the wellsprings of creative industries may be undermined. This will damage a system of cultural replenishment and re-creation as well as deprive those wanting continued access to a variety of cultural experience. It also poses significant risks for human rights and political liberty. The arts are only occasionally subversive but, when they are, this may be beneficial, as when they question or satirise authority.[80] All countries evaluate their financial status – current accounts, GDP, comparative standards of living, taxation revenue and the like – however, human need should not be subservient to the demands of economics, which provides only one (often-unreliable) indicator of performance in one aspect of activity. Conversely, the social health of nations requires greater attention than it has received, including investments in human and cultural rights, ends in themselves. When these rights are achieved societies are more productive and people live more satisfying lives which, in turn, provides economic benefits.[81] This raises further questions: what instruments help measure the status and performance of culture, both at population and institutional levels? How can performance of cultural institutions be measured and to what standards? Difficult questions to answer, one approach is through the evolving concept of cultural indicators.

The Urban Institute, using what it calls 'cultural vitality indicators', makes a helpful attempt at a definition, saying cultural indicators:

> measure the practice of creating, disseminating, validating and supporting arts and culture as a dimension of everyday community life and conditions. These indicators are comparable across communities around the nation and recurrent over time ... [domains of measurement include] presence of opportunities for cultural participation, cultural participation itself, and support for cultural activities.[82]

Interest in indicators has grown since 2001, the year the UDCD and its associated action plan were adopted, although several years earlier UNESCO had started exploring how indicators could better integrate culture in human development models.[83] The UDCD plan does not directly call on state parties to develop indicators, but it lists domains of action. These include supporting diversified media content (12), developing policies to preserve cultural and natural heritage, intangible heritage, and to combat illicit trade in cultural

products (13), fostering international research (15), and assisting with the emergence of new cultural industries (17). In Australia, the UDCD and its action plan are not well known. This is unfortunate given they can assist with the task of developing cultural policies: the principles stated, and the actions outlined, provide a framework for most of the attributes that should be incorporated into policies addressing culture, heritage and artistic creation, while taking account of globalisation and sustainable development. UNESCO says the purpose of cultural indicators is to provide information about a society, even if there is no intent to evaluate the cultures within it.[84]

Indicators clearly have functions at national and local levels, but some work has examined their use as a tool for local governments. Agenda21, an international program established following the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992, argues that cultural indicators are critical for ensuring culture is embedded as a pillar of sustainable development. This is recognised by the International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA) and Eurocult21 (Urban Cultural Profiles Exchange Project), which analysed qualitative and quantitative culture-related data (such as cultural policies) from several centres across Europe.[85]

On cultural-indicator design, an Agenda21 working-group commented, it is 'a fragmented field and lacks consensus',[86] and IFACCA, that it is 'still largely under development, particularly in their relevance to policymaking and program delivery. There are, therefore, reasons to be wary of cultural indicator frameworks … developed to date.'[87] This has meant indicators have been seldom utilised. IFACCA notes that some of the problems include definitions, difficulties with data collection, overly vague objectives, and a lack of international consistency. Nevertheless, countries may take a range of approaches and produce varying ideas based on differing circumstances and needs, although improvements in indicators are not solely matters of statistical collection and manipulation, but of gaining clearer understandings about the web of relationships between the arts, arts policy, policy analysis, and their effects on cultural sectors.[88] The Agenda21 paper notes that the ways cultural indicators are defined varies, based on requirements and context. As such, if policymakers can evaluate local cultural needs within the context of other issues (e.g. urban planning, environmental management, economic context and human ecology), indicators can be developed that are based on relatively generic criteria. They include examples of

social inclusion, public space and cultural projects, culture and the economy, governance, and the extent of cultural rights available to communities within planning parameters.[89]

Cultural-indicator design and application may be an emerging practice, but this does not preclude its use; dynamism and flexibility make it a useful tool to audit change in transforming societies. A first-consultation draft of cultural indicators for Australia, released in mid 2011 for the Culture Ministers Council, loosely clusters indicators into three themes: economic development, cultural value, and engagement and social effect.[90] Although the draft paper mentions pertinent issues – such as intangible heritage (although misleadingly[91]) and assets such as community knowledge – it maintains a division between arts and culture as a broad 'sector' and with others that are statistically measurable. In relation to this thesis, the draft model demonstrates two deficiencies: first, the primacy of economics to measure cultural value and strength, and second, segmentation from the issues of environmental maintenance and community empowerment. Given concerns associated with the reliance of economic growth on resource exploitation, and its frequent effects on human rights, it could be argued this goes beyond the mandate of cultural policy and its measurement tools. If so, this is an example of the persisting failures of interdisciplinary and intersectoral planning. Although sustainable development requires such approaches, it remains beyond the capacity of public policy to deliver, whether due to political intransigence or a failure of knowledge or imagination. It is also restricted (in Australia) by three tiers of government and the disconnection between centralised planning and local government where some of the most inventive cultural management occurs.[92]

These dilemmas are repeated in other countries. For example, John Holden has reported on the culture sector in the UK and identified how cultural institutions have been progressively shaped into platforms to deliver government social and economic policy objectives. He says this trend began in the 1980s when the British conservatives 'decided that culture should be the handmaiden of the economy ... and cultural institutions justified their existence by showing that they increased tourism, regenerated cities and helped businesses to succeed'.[93] This trend continued under New Labour, which, although more sympathetic to culture for its own sake, worked hard to ensure expenditure could be justified and maintained tight control over outlays. The paradox of this situation (it will be different for other sectors) is that government assumes it requires tangible evidence that funding has quantitatively achieved its intention, but the measurement tools that report on outcomes enforce compliances that

are inconsistent with the rationale and purpose of creative endeavours. In this sense, general policy or fiscal objectives dictate the specific requirements of the cultural sector; it is also discriminatory.[94] Holden argues that the system requires an overhaul of the relationship between government, community and cultural institutions. This would require a new understanding of public 'values' that are shaped by anthropological, environmental and intangible accounting.[95]

For cultural institutions to achieve the goals of new museology, several conditions are needed. As well as a methodological commitment among museum professionals and community support, is preparedness on the part of governments to reliably resource museum practice, without interference. In particular, there needs to be a sympathetic body of policy settings. If not, many of the approaches of new museology will be stymied. As Holden's analysis of culture-sector funding illustrates, there are models that demonstrate more constructive government approaches; the challenge is to persuade them these models 'work'. One way to do so is to provide evidence that arts funding has positive secondary effects, such as improving health and well-being. Although contrary to the principle that art and culture exist for their own sake, it could be argued that a pragmatic approach is necessary given this is an insufficient rationale to garner government support.

Research conducted by Martin Mulligan, Christopher Scanlon and Nicky Welch provides evidence of dividends from cultural investment. Based on community arts projects in Victoria, Australia, they explore alternative ways of understanding the links between the arts and well-being. The authors claim that repeated attempts to demonstrate measurable improvements to health, based on arts interventions, continues to be unconvincing because too much research uses loose concepts (e.g. social capital) and there has been excessive reliance on the association between inputs (e.g. arts projects) and outcomes (social change or better health). They posit that, although relationships and effects are indirect and diffuse, arts-based activities can improve well-being by enabling 'narratives of action' around disturbing social changes. They argue:

> the open-ended nature of the arts can help to generate and sustain webs of meaning at a time when shared narratives of meaning of community are being challenged by the disruptive effects of the intersecting social processes of 'globalisation'.[96]

This understanding of the effects of globalisation on individuals and communities is paralleled in Aslan's book about the causes of religious radicalism and international terrorism. If this seems an unlikely comparison, it should be noted there is increasing evidence that social alienation has many causes and effects that are profound, rapid, systemic and unavoidable. This is putting stress on people, communities and institutions. In such conditions, when many identity-markers are eroded (e.g. a sense of class, gender or nationality), others (e.g. ethnicity or faith) may replace them. Aslan argues globalisation is an issue not only of technology and transnational relations, but also of a human 'sense of self in a world that is increasingly being viewed as a single space'.[97] Globalisation, he says, has changed the idea of self and the way individuals interact with society:

> [How] we conceive of our public spaces, how we interact with like-minded individuals, how we determine our religious and political leaders, how we think even about categories of religion and politics – everything about how we define ourselves as individuals and as members of a larger society is transformed in a globalised world because our sense of self is not constrained by territorial boundaries.[98]

Aslan does not dismiss the importance of local distinctiveness, associations with shared values and places. He argues generically that responses to modernity and uncertainty are added stressors on individuation, identity, and these internal and external resources are compromised by intersecting and overlapping changes and effects.

Given this sense of uncertainty, Mulligan, Scanlon and Welch reveal three main issues emerging from their study. First, the enormous community changes occurring due to globalisation, which, in turn, confronts personal identity and sense of belonging. Second, community arts help create an individual or collective awareness that action in local settings is possible. Third, community-arts participation helps to foster local engagement.[99] The authors argue that, for communities experiencing prolonged buffeting and reconstitution due to globalisation, cultural activities can play an important role by 'providing a sense of narrative and purpose, and so facilitate a sense of agency, offering people the means of piecing together the fragments of life and a coherent sense of self'.[100] The critical concept here is 'agency'. The authors conclude this is the key notion to draw from their work: the arts help build agency for individuals and groups in an age of confusion and change, this, in turn, strengthens community capacity and improves population-level health. Religiosity may

have a similar effect.[101] Clearly, the same applies to the human experience of cultural identity: the loss, theft or dilution of cultures has resulted in fractured, scattered, disempowered and sick peoples. The reverse is equally true, and the work of some cultural institutions, such as facilitating the repatriation, reconnection and rebuilding of cultures, has empowered and rehabilitated communities.[102] Cultural revivification has been accompanied by improving physical and psycho-social health. Cultural loss often results in 'sick' people; therefore, cultural replenishment can make them 'well' again.[103] The role of museums in strengthening community cultural vitality, as the Urban Institute describes it, has real value.

In many research settings, a discovery that may seem novel often affirms trends that are largely predictable because they concern what it is to be human and to function in a complex web of social interactions, culturally shaped behaviours, together with needs for self-expression and self-determination. The evidence – drawn from history, ethics, and data across many disciplines – is clear about the material, civil and political conditions humans require to flourish and, similarly, the complementary environmental, social and cultural conditions. None of this is remarkable. What is, are the impediments to its realisation. Contesting the status quo and promoting sustainability, liberty and human development against opposing interests therefore becomes ideological: a decision to act based on a commitment to ideals, beliefs and expectations. Activism may come from many sources – from individuals, civil society institutions, businesses, not-for-profits – and it often becomes a political statement accompanied by consequences. As advocated by several scholars of museology, cultural institutions that step beyond a cautious framework of conservation and collection may become social, cultural and environmental activists for change, even anti-authoritarian.[104] This has been integral to the whole notion of new museology.

The belief among many cultural institution professionals: that 'authoritative neutrality' provides some distance from uncomfortable contemporary trends, almost certainly does not.[105] One of the challenges arising from new museology is the choice museums will be required to make on a particularly wicked issue. If their future is to be embedded in communities – helping to mould the consciousness of the societies they serve – where does this leave the role and representation of business and neoliberal values, especially given their influence over many popular cultural forms? If museums choose egalitarianism, equality and democracy over corporate interests, they will be normatively positioned on the political Left. In contrast, if they accept the participation and values of neoliberalism and its

advocates, will this entail endorsing interests that are contrary to those of communities, collective decision-making and conservation? Can museums equivocate between almost mutually exclusive value systems? These questions represent a form of political wedge. When San Roman argues 'using a museum as a political instrument must be avoided', she refers to party politics.[106] Politics, understood as internally conflicting interrelationships between people involving power and authority,[107] may relate to civil government, more often, however, they are distinct from them. The choices cultural institutions make in this political setting will inevitably locate them with a particular ideological stance. Ultimately, this is a choice between new and old museology: between community, heritage and ecology and market interests which, by their very definition, are self-interested and exclusive. Once a cultural institution has made its choice, what will be the consequences? This may range from withdrawal of corporate sponsorship (upon which many rely) to conflict with governments (also funders) as well as alienated community groups.

5.5 MUSEUMS AND OTHER CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS: THEIR PLACE IN A NEW WORLD

In the fields of urban planning and micro-economic reform, there are scant but intriguing references to the role of cultural institutions in a dynamic-equilibrium world. For example, Gleeson and Tim Jackson each refer to the opportunities for culture as a means of supporting prosperity, or human flourishing, without the social, environmental and human-rights costs of the neoliberal growth paradigm.[108] In planning frameworks, cultural services and human services tend to be referred to as separate notions, rather than as associated. However, cultural activities have numerous and important effects. They have low environmental consequences, can provide meaningful employment, and skills and sector development; but they also provide many social benefits. These activities should be conceptualised broadly – culture is not necessarily or solely the creative arts but collective memories, beliefs, practices and communication forms. As such, human services may encompass a range of acquired technical skills, knowledge and behaviours (as in manufacturing and production, animal or plant husbandry, or mentoring and teaching), which includes many cultural elements. Figure 5.2 depicts how the transfer of intergenerational knowledge will benefit multiple human generations and bring direct and

measurable gains at macro levels as well as indirect gains (human well-being benefits) at the community level.

Jacobs is particularly concerned about a risk of contemporary civilization falling into a new 'dark age'; this has repeatedly occurred in the past whenever memories are forgotten from one generation to the next. She argues that traditional human fears – often represented as the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: famine, war, pestilence and death – were never joined by a fifth demonic rider, forgetfulness.[109] Jacobs does not identify memory with intangible heritage, but it is an important aspect of her argument, for example, in the way she discusses the people of Ireland and their stubborn, collective remembrance of values and experiences, especially how song and narrative helped the Irish to hold fast, miraculously and persistently, to what truly mattered to them collectively. Jacobs says this is evidence of the 'emotional powers of the arts – authentic arts, not official propaganda – (which) are obviously central to every culture'.[110]
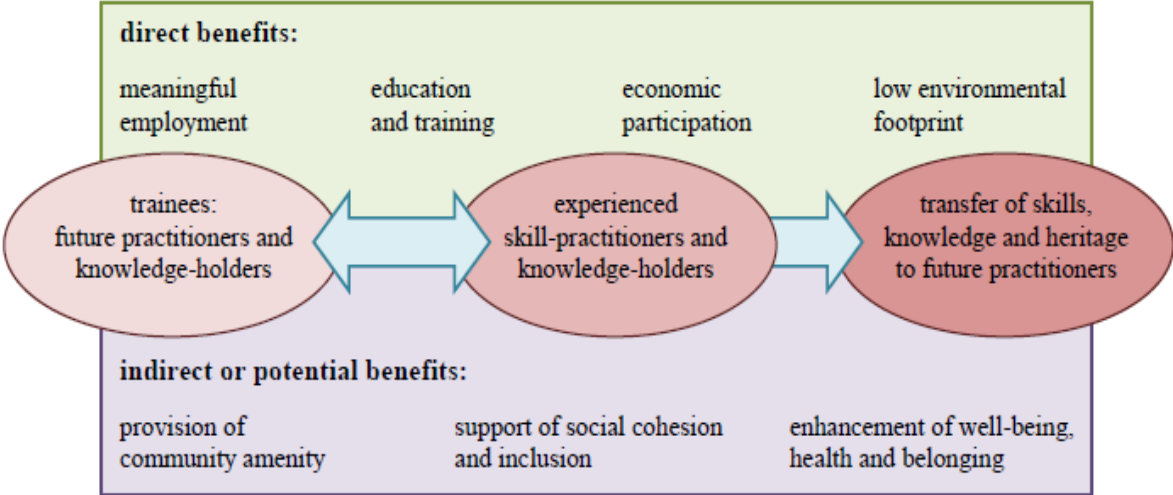

Figure 5.2: Direct and indirect benefits of
intergenerational skills and knowledge transfers

Jacobs says the Japanese follow a similar path, 'vigorously maintain[ing] a program of supporting living national treasures: people who are living masters of Japanese arts', she argues these are examples of the way a culture can avoid falling into a dark age despite it appearing 'objectively, to be its destiny'.[111] Many other examples of sustainable heritage development can readily be added to those Jacobs mentions; as described in Section 4.2, this is a leading preoccupation of UNESCO.[112] Jacobs is also concerned that withdrawal of

support for the arts, along with many other 'non-essential' human services, is not only a false economy but a folly that risks damaging quality of life and amenity. Applying economic-efficiency principles to intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge is particularly problematic, and Jacob observes:

> [When] a culture is rich enough and inherently complex enough to afford redundancy of nurturers, but eliminates them as an extravagance or loses their cultural services through heedlessness of what is being lost, the consequence is self-inflicted cultural genocide.[113]

This relates to concerns about the effect of a frictionless society. As discussed in Chapter 1, the relentless drive for efficiency (primarily for economic benefits) necessarily deletes what is deemed redundant, especially processes that do not appear to yield immediate benefits, and may be substituted by a cheaper or multipurpose alternative, or that may have intangible qualities. This view, argues Roeder, is premised on the assumption that the only determinant of value is financial, but those things – institutions, traditions, habits, processes, people – deemed surfeit on efficiency grounds may have real values which cannot be, nor should be, solely determined by their profit-making potential.[114] As Holden points out, not all values are captured by the marketplace and, in the culture and heritage sectors, there are 'non-use' values, which include existence, option and bequest values; these accrue quantifiably in less tangible ways because they are not part of a conventional market.[115] The effects of extreme efficiency on people, organisations and practices have included the loss of skills, knowledge, and communal quality of life. The potential to rediscover what has been lost is important for many reasons, not only for cultural or heritage preservation but also for social resiliency and future creativity. This potential may be retained in various ways, the expertise residing in educational and cultural institutions being one example.

Education takes many forms; it includes not only scholarship but a wide range of training, and formal and informal experiential learning, such as through trades and manual work. Learning can be achieved in an array of settings. This is typically thought to be primary, secondary and tertiary schooling, the vocational education and training sector and on-the-job learning. While this is true, much cultural learning is gained through families, social networks and participation;[116] this may be the case for all people but the more traditional a society (less industrialised or commercialised) the more likely it is learning will occur through less formal, institutionalised or accredited training. Museums have the potential to

straddle these different forms of knowledge transfer; although they are institutional and structured, museums can simultaneously be repositories, advocates and patrons of valuable cultural and community knowledge. Kjell Engström has described this role, in particular referring to the potential of ecomuseums as experiential hubs, where learning can be gained through participation and contact with living cultural traditions independent of the formal education system.[117] Some museums with artisans on site can help to serve as a collective memory. For example, the Cobb & Co Museum in Toowoomba, Australia, which houses the national horse-drawn carriage collection, has set aside part of the museum for workshops that maintain a range of otherwise obsolete heritage trades associated with the pre-automobile era, such as black- and silver-smithing, stone masonry, leather plaiting and millinery. Members of the public can view artisans at work or participate in a class.[118] The availability of such resources and opportunities is consistent with the idea that a museum should 'function as an instrument for local development and identity forming … [helping people to be] aware of their own situation, as well as show them their history through the presentation of culture relics'.[119]

Because museums help preserve heritage and memory – they conserve – this can create a perception of conservatism. However, museums that actively interpret ICOM's lead since the Santiago principles can be effective sites of participation, interrogation and (potentially) social activism. Increasingly, this activism is likely to centre on events affecting communities that museums serve. Humanity survives by functioning within the biosphere, this survival is largely based on our capacity to utilize available renewable and non-renewable resources, such as arable land, water, lumber, minerals, fish stocks, and sources of energy such as fossil fuels. Without these resources, our ways of being and doing, as they now exist, would be impossible. Many processes are counter cyclical, such as a growing population impeding chances to lift billions of people out of poverty, or global corporatism undermining many aspirations for democracy and choice. These contrary trends represent forms of conflict; the zones in which they violently pull apart or abut are where changes need to occur.

At these conflict zones – points of environmental, political, social, cultural and economic pressures – the transformative agenda will either succeed or fail. Although this may occur in many ways, it is believed it will almost certainly be by coalitions of civil society activists and community groups as opportunities, shared concerns, or impetus-forming events

occur.[120] Arrayed against reforming trends will be conservative or cautionary influences in politics, community, corporate interests and the extensive, independent structures that support the current system, such as well-funded NGOs, think tanks and media networks.[121] Those who attempt to shift the momentum of attitudes and behaviours away from the interests of those who benefit most and hold much of the world's power, wealth and influence (the new form of imperium as Korten describes it[122]) are commonly scorned as being utopian, socialist, recalcitrant or unable to work in the 'real' world. For example, when Keynesian economists questioned the viability of the global financial system and proposed alternative models to neoliberalism, pro-market critics responded with diatribes, for example claiming people 'have no desire to live in a yurt under a workers' soviet'.[123] Any questioning of neoliberalism is still reflexively viewed as a retreat to socialism, not as an alternative free-market system aiming to shift the focus of decision-making and benefits to the long-term interests of a majority of citizens.

Many cultural institutions and museums will have critical roles to play at zones of contact and conflict. These roles are not the sole responsibility of any person, organisation or sector, or for any pre-determined ideological stance. Rather, it is a matter of reflection on what each is willing and able to contribute to public discussions or actions. Many ways of being, doing and creating are required if there is to be systemic and genuine change. Receptive and rational voices need to join, be heard and respected, in conversations about sustainable and equitable planning and development. The history and role of museums, combined with the potential of musealisation, infers what, how, when and where museums might become part of events that reorient life over coming decades.

The future may be uncertain, but its shape will be largely determined by actions taken today. These actions should be many and various. One argument is that the only way humans can continue to live sustainably is by radically restructuring society, technology, the economy, and by pursuing 'a simpler way'. Ted Trainer, for example, advocates this approach, arguing it will involve refocusing from a lived internationalism (unless this can be maintained through new low-footprint technologies) to a largely imagined one and, therefore, a new localism. In these circumstances, communities would become highly dependent on regional ecosystems and social cohesion. In many ways, this represents a return to the conditions under which humans existed for most of our species' history and where people have strong incentives to behave collectively, accepting cooperation for the

greater good. This system 'is very different from that in consumer capitalist societies. It would transform politics from a conflict-ridden pursuit of self-interest'.[124]

Trainer's view is echoed by Gleeson, who believes that if anything like the conditions we experience in the Global North are to continue, it is inevitable governments will form 'guardian states' to oversee the transition of economics, production, public policy, infrastructure and ecological stewardship. He regards this as a temporary measure, required only until a point of dynamic-equilibrium is reached between human activities and the biosphere, at which time many constraints may be lifted. However, Gleeson emphasises that because such guardianship will require prohibition on some conduct (which may encroach on derogable human rights as well as the freedom to participate in behaviours with harmful secondary effects), this is a public good that must be restricted by duration and mandate. His argument is that although a prolonged period of transition and limitation will be compulsory (hence constraining some individual freedoms), these essentially relate to spending preferences (consumption rights), not civil, political, cultural and social rights, inner freedom, and non-derogable rights. Indeed, Gleeson conjectures this phase may provide many opportunities for new creativity, invention and expression.[125] It may also be a period where community, caring and compassion will supplant other more socially and environmentally destructive behaviours.[126] He believes care 'is the antithesis of complacency and, ultimately, of narcissism. It demands that we see ourselves as needy, at best temporarily capable, and bound indissolubly in networks of interdependency with humans and nature'.[127] True human freedom he argues (agreeing with Fromm) is not found in isolated and selfish individualism but in 'spontaneous activity, love and work'.[128] A caring society is likely to be healthier, not only because compassion and reciprocity are certain to have beneficial health effects, but because it will be safer, fitter and more appropriately nourished.[129] These observations, which are compatible with the value placed on cultural rights and cultural liberty (from sociological and international normative stances) and opportunities for human flourishing (from sustainable economic perspectives), are the means to revalue and reassert freedom, deep democratic participation and those 'things that matter'[130] (from the perspective of political philosophy).

In one of its reports on sustainability, **nef** speculates on what future society may look like if things 'turn out right'.[131] Its vision is of human development that focuses on the principal conditions for genuine flourishing and prosperity. This necessarily entails discussion on how

urban living will be substantively changed, requiring a range of transitions across the realms of economics, governance, energy, food production and security, a refocus on localism and reconnection with community, and genuine reform around issues of equality and distributive equity. **nef** also advocates the need for vast re-skilling, arguing that, from making clothes to growing, preparing and preserving food, and repairing household goods:

> [and even] the making of music and art – simple skills that were taken for granted by countless generations have withered. A wide range of activities, goods and services was incorporated into the market as it expanded, like a cuckoo in the nest, displacing other ways of organising life. They were then commodified and sold back to the people from whom they were taken. The subtle knife of the market severed individuals, families and communities from their abilities to do things for themselves.[132]

An economics-based NGO, **nef** raises this culturally-grounded argument on the basis it is self-evident. Although connection with notions of heritage values and conservation are not made directly, this is what **nef** means: the intangible cultural heritage that has been largely forgotten or diluted since the mid twentieth century and needs to be reclaimed and revalued. **nef** calls for a renaissance in the arts and artisanship, and argues that cultural flourishing will be an integral process of a great transition. This will need to inspire creativity, be reflected in mass media, and position culture as a productive activity. In particular, the transition must 'embrace a great democratisation of the arts, turning us from passive spectators in our own lives back into active participants in it'.[133] These issues are also raised in a UN-Habitat report on the world's cities that notes the importance of quality of life factors – largely shaped by cultural life, creativity and social vitality – which help determine a city's productivity.[134]

Even government documents are cautiously beginning to reflect many of these principles. For example, a public health checklist used in New South Wales to help assess the effects of urban development applications on community well-being meticulously describes the multiple, complementary and intersecting physical requirements for healthy living.[135] These requirements include decent housing, physical activity, nutritious foods, good transport availability and connectivity, reasonable employment options (preferably close to place of residence), a pleasant environment including adequate levels of open public space and amenity, social cohesion, capital and safety. Research conducted by the City Futures Centre at the University of New South Wales, to strengthen the knowledge of how urban

infrastructure complements public health, indicates there are three domains that support well-being. These are (1) the quality of the built environment (the totality of urban infrastructure planning), which helps people to be active, (2) the availability of healthy food options, and (3) the strength and connections within communities.[136] The public health checklist also explains there are common elements between health and sustainability. These include environmental, economic, social and cultural issues, a focus on people, quality of life, equity, and commitment to public participation. Sustainability is now the dominant paradigm in urban planning and development, and health is seen increasingly as a core component.[137] Additionally, the checklist explains that inclusion of public art helps to:

> reflect local character in public space. Importantly, artistic and cultural representation cannot be imposed on a community but should be a product of a process of community engagement where local people have had an opportunity to be involved in the design and development of public art, space design and cultural interpretation.[138]

This health checklist, linked to sustainable urban planning and based on a plethora of peer-reviewed evidence, has not triggered a furore of criticism claiming it advocates 'socialist-style yurt-living'. Yet, its standards for urban development mirrors much of the (apparently) radical work of Sen, Jackson, Gleeson, Jacobs and other scholars who have envisioned freer, more equitable and sustainable settings where human flourishing can occur.[139] Their arguments are also based on urban planning, environmental, technological, economic, sustainability and related issues.[140] However, if such visions of future societies are accurate, even partially so, this makes them relevant to cultural maintenance and revitalisation. In an era of anxiety and rapid change, cultural agency and self-determination are also means of preserving memory, of healing injured people and places, and of strengthening civil society. It is increasingly recognised that culture, including the arts, has a role 'in tackling complex social, environmental and economic problems affecting community well-being', and integrated, whole-of-government approaches are required to do so.[141]

It is a relatively straightforward task to interpret how the role of the new museum is compatible with the transitions to more equitable, sustainable and prosperous futures; in these scenarios, cultural institutions gain a resonant purpose and function.[142] Douglas Worts has used the mirror metaphor to explain how museums can support self-reflection and learning by helping populations understand their cultural pasts, and so enable them to live

consciously in the present while working to a more desirable future.[143] In questioning how well museums currently fulfil this potential, Worts says that fundamental shifts in how we conceive 'urban and pluralist cultures are needed if we are to adequately address the complex sustainability challenges already on our collective doorstep'.[144]

Janes agrees, quoting Wackernagel and Rees's assertion that local communities are fundamental to adaptation: '[T]he most critical social condition for sustainability is a shared commitment to community cohesion (both local and global) and a sense of collective responsibility for the future'.[145] Museums, especially those with close associations with local communities, are well positioned to strengthen both bonding and bridging social capital. Janes argues that, as public institutions, museums have moral and intellectual obligations to interrogate the status quo. Few other social or cultural institutions have the trust and credibility to fulfil this role. Therefore, it is time to act by broadening 'the purpose of museums to encompass critical thinking, mindfulness and social responsibility. Human adaptation lies at the heart of the current global challenges and mindful museums can help'.[146]

This advocacy is consistent with the call made 40 years ago, at the ICOM Santiago Round Table, that museums are well-placed and enabled to shape community consciousness and stimulate actions to help resolve contemporary problems. This is 'the most rational and logical course of development for museums, so that they may best serve society's needs'.[147] Such a course also offers one of humanity's best opportunities to manage change within complex adaptive systems: methodically, inclusively and with equity. The reason again relates to the importance of place. Place is the *locus amoenus*, the site where people, culture and communities can coalesce around collective and deep democratic processes of sustainable development, inclusion and cohesion. Localism (particularism) provides a site where people can contribute small actions to larger projects. Localism allows for experimentation: those fuzzy, creative trials that, being less constrained by the logic or domination of exogenous or self-interested authorities, gain clearer understandings of, and commitment to, global (universal) issues.[148]

As noted previously, if cultural institutions choose to step beyond a cautious framework of conservation and collection, they may become environmental, political, cultural or social activists for change. Such a role involves risk, to which many large institutions are

understandably averse or constrained. As Helly observes, risks are rarely objective and are unequally distributed. Although the underprivileged are especially vulnerable, the world is not divided into victims and decision-makers; events are caused by multiple agents, which, in turn, are affected by other decisions and trends. There is no absolute group that 'makes decisions and holds the power to change the situation; there is no conspiracy, but simply a chain of events, trends and plans'.[149]

In a recent opinion piece, Ann Moyal quoted several scientific authorities who have lamented the persistence of 'two cultures' – the sciences and humanities – described by Snow in his 1959 Rede Lecture.[150] Moyal argues that, today, when the threat of climate change poses the greatest problem in human history, maintaining opposition between these disciplines is a waste of energy and time. Humanity needs 'everything in the Enlightenment toolbox, science and arts included, to undo the destructive practices of modernity'.[151] Although successful re-partnering between science and the humanities is more an aspiration than reality, the way cultural institutions, particularly ecomuseums, can achieve an integrated approach to the four pillars – culture, environment, economics and society – are a best-practice sustainable development model. Janes goes so far as to suggest museums, if they meet their potential, may create a collaborative third culture. Museums are 'particularly suited for this renewal [and] the troubled world and its citizens are crying out for this leadership'.[152]

Notes

[1] Quoted in A Hauenschild, *Claims and Reality of New Museology*, Smithsonian Centre for Education and Museum Studies, 1988.

[2] Including a range of security concerns, such as food security (lost agricultural acreage due to climate, degradation, development or structural production changes), energy security (such as peak oil), as well as physical security (safety from acts of violence).

[3] Terms derived from word-stem 'muse' have distinct meanings. These are explained in A Desvallées and F Mairesse, op.cit., 'museology' refers to all the attempts to think and theorise critically about the field of museums – it is the study, not the practice of museums, pp. 53–56; 'museography' to the allied aspects of museology (a museographer designs museum and exhibitions), pp. 52–3; 'musealisation' to the 'transforming [of] a centre of life, which may be a centre of human activity or a nature site, into a sort of museum', pp. 50–52.

[4] World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, OUP, 1987, p. 8.

[5] For example, *The 2005 World Summit Outcome: Resolution Adopted by the UN General*

Assembly, I.10, 15 September 2005, viewed 20 September 2011, <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/487/60/PDF/N0548760.pdf?OpenElement>.

6   K Nurse, *Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 2006, p. 37, viewed 20 September 2011, <http://www.fao.org/SARD/common/ecg/2785/en/Cultureas4thPillarSD.pdf>.

7   The Earth Charter simply summarises the situation described throughout the thesis: 'The dominant patterns of production and consumption are causing environmental devastation, the depletion of resources, and a massive extinction of species. Communities are being undermined. The benefits of development are not shared equitably and the gap between rich and poor is widening. Injustice, poverty, ignorance, and violent conflict are widespread and the cause of great suffering. An unprecedented rise in human population has overburdened ecological and social systems. The foundations of global security are threatened. These trends are perilous—but not inevitable.' The charter then goes on to call for a 'shared vision of basic values to provide an ethical foundation for the emerging world community [affirming] ... interdependent principles for a sustainable way of life as a common standard by which the conduct of all individuals, organizations, businesses, governments, and trans-national institutions is to be guided and assessed.' See <http://www.earthcharterinaction.org/content/pages/Read-the-Charter.html>.

8   As Jacobs argues, op.cit., p. 99, humans have made little progress in dealing with whole systems, we tend 'to become arrested in the stage of singling out isolated bits, with little grasp of how these interact with other bits of integrated systems. Very partial understanding combined with typical scientific overconfidence emboldens us to accept mistakes we would not otherwise accept'.

9   For example the healthy urban environments program, see: J Kent, SM Thompson and B Jalaludin, *Healthy Built Environments*, City Futures Research Centre, UNSW, Sydney, 2011.

10   *Transformations: Culture and the Environment in Human Development*, Canberra, 7–9 February 2005. The conference was convened jointly by FECCA, the ANU, UNESCO, the Planning Institute of Australia, and the Australian Local Government Association.

11   For example, the series of international conferences on environmental, social, cultural and social sustainability organised by the Common Ground group, see <www.onsustainability.com>. Also significant is the work of Agenda21 for Culture (see: <http://www.agenda21culture.net/>) and UCLG (United Cities and Local Governments) initiatives which focuses on the role of culture, at the integrated local area planning level, to effect social, economic, environmental and cultural transformations, see <http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/>. The fifth anniversary report of Agenda21 for Culture, *Cities, Cultures and Developments*, 2009, provides a good example of the integrated approach to development that is taken, see: <http://www.agenda21culture.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=88%3Areport-5-cities-cultures-and-developments-a-report-that-marks-the-fifth-anniversary-of-agenda-21-for-culture-&catid=58&lang=en>.

12   I have quoted writers who do so such as Gleeson, Sen, T Jackson, Korten, C Hamilton and Brand throughout this thesis.

13   For instance, Bill Bryson's *A Short History of Nearly Everything*, Black Swan, 2003.

14   Patel, *Stuffed and Starved*, p. 82, quotes 'Although the British insisted that they had rescued India from "timeless hunger" … an 1878 study published in the prestigious Journal of the

Statistical Society contrasted thirty-one serious famines in 120 years of British rule against only seventeen recorded famines in the entire previous two millennia … Millions died, not outside the 'modern world system' but in the very process of being dynamically conscripted into its economic and political structures. They died in the golden age of Liberal Capitalism'.

[15] See Anna Jones' discussion on controversial exhibitions that examine the 'privative' influence on Western art in 'Exploding Canons: The Anthropology of Museums', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 22, 1993, 204 ff; see also Peter Davis on universal museums, op.cit., 29 ff.

[16] The more modern use of the word also relates to the French 'amuser' (also derived from the Greek 'Muse') but has connotations of entertainment. It was also argued, by public intellectuals such as Bernard Shaw in the late nineteen century, that education is best achieved if delivered in an entertaining manner, thus, museums also served the additional purpose of simultaneously educating and amusing their visitors.

[17] D Worts, 'Transformational Encounters: Reflections on Cultural Participation in Ecomuseology', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, vol. 31, 2006, 128 ff; and Janes, op.cit., 94 ff.

[18] ICOM, viewed September 2011, <http://icom.museum/definition.html>.

[19] M O'Neill, 'Museums and their Communities', G & B Lord (eds), *The Manual of Museum Planning*, 2nd edition, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, 1999, pp. 19–21.

[20] As noted by A Desvallées and F Mairesse in the Introduction to *Key Concepts in Museology*, p. 18; A Jones, op.cit., p. 213, references some of these analyses of anthropology and museums.

[21] A Galla, *Heritage Curricula and Cultural Diversity*, Office of Multicultural Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1993.

[22] Also see J Clifford, 'Museums as Contact Zones', D Boswell & J Evans (eds) *Representing the Nation: A Reader*, Routledge, London, 1999.

[23] For information on Tuol Sleng museum see <http://www.tuolsleng.com/history.php> and <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuol_Sleng_Genocide_Museum> viewed 10 December 2011.

[24] For information on Robben Island museum see <http://www.freedom.co.za/intro.html>, viewed 10 December 2011.

[25] EH Gurian, 'Keynote Speech, ICOM General Conference', Vienna, August 2007, <www.icom.museum>.

[26] The former Director of the National Museum of Australia discussed some of the challenges national museums may face in addressing controversy in D Casey, 'Culture Wars: Museums, Politics and Controversy', *Open Museum Journal*, vol. 6, September 2003.

[27] For example, this issue is reported in Hansard with a detailed analysis of the 'stacking' of National Museum of Australia's board by political appointees, personally associated with the Prime Minister, who were expected to promote a particular ideological position on the museum, Senator K Lundy, 25 March 2004, 21,987 ff, see <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/chamber/hansards/2004-03-5/0171/hansard_frag.pdf;fileType%3Dapplication%2Fpdf>.

[28] Janes, op.cit., Chapter 4, 'Debunking the marketplace', pp. 94–120.

[29] Clifford, op.cit.

30 For example, Holden, op.cit., p. 23, observes: 'The post-modern questioning of concepts such as beauty, truth, delight, transcendence and the like, coupled with the insight that these are temporally and geographically specific , have made using them in debate an embarrassment at best, contemptible at worst. The use of the word "culture" itself now begs the immediate response "whose culture?" All judgements have become relative, suspect and tainted'.

31 P Davis, op.cit., p. 31 and p. 33.

32 Brand, op.cit., see Chapter 8, 'It's All Gardening', pp. 235–73.

33 Quoted by Rita Colantonio Venturelli in, 'Areas of cultural and ecological re-equilibrium in human settlements', *Ekistics*, vol. 69, July December 2009, p. 184.

34 For example, this has been reflected in films and current affairs reports such as (in Australia) Matthew Carney, 'The Gas Rush', *Four Corners*, ABC, 21 February 2011, viewed 18 August 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2011/02/21/3141787.htm> or in the US, Josh Fox's documentary movie, 'Gasland', see < http://www.gaslandthemovie.com/> viewed 18 March 2012.

35 This is a common experience of economic and cultural globalisation. While there are clear causal connections (growth increases the demand for energy and resources which, in turn, harms physical landscapes) the cultural impacts are more complex. Tomlinson, for example, attacks the 'crude homogenization thesis' where globalisation is seen as responsible for lifting people out of their anchoring in particular localities. He argues a form of deterritorialisation occurs, where globalisation penetrates local communities 'in such areas of mundane cultural experience as our interaction with globalizing media and communication … or in the transformation of local into increasingly "international" food cultures … What is at stake in such examples is a transformation in our routine pattern of cultural existence which brings globalized influences … into the core of our locally situated lifeworld', see 'Globalization and Cultural Identity', p. 273.

36 Clifford and King, quoted in P Davis, op.cit., pp. 22–3.

37 Geraldine Brooks, 'A Home on Bland Street', *Boyer Lecture 2*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 27 November 2011.

38 Loïc Vadelorge observes in 'European Museums in the Twentieth Century', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2010, 312 ff, that while critics such as Pierre Bourdieu insisted museums are class-ridden institutions – and there is certainly some truth in this – nevertheless, European museums have a long history of popular patronage and support; folk and local history society museums, also, have and continue to be largely supported by general community members.

39 ICOM, Natural History Committee, quoted in P Davis, op.cit., p. 81.

40 Quoted in P Davis, *New Museology, Communities, Ecomuseums*, 2011.

41 Quoted in P Davis, *Ecomuseums*, pp. 81–82, who notes ecomuseums should not be confused with natural history and ecological museums or interpretation centres; the second quote comes from the Ecomuseum Observatory, 2010, p. 85.

42 M Stokrocki, 'The Ecomuseum Preserves an Artful Way of Life', *Art Education*, vol. 49, no. 4, 1996, pp. 35–6.

43   ibid., 39 ff.

44   K Norman, 'Controlling a Future by Admiring a Past', *Ethnos*, vol. 58, nos. 1–2, p. 40.

45   This enthusiasm was particularly common amongst composer-musicologists; for example Percy Grainger's exploration of ancient English folk traditions, Joseph Canteloube in France, Béla Bartók in Hungary or Leoš Janáček in Czechoslovakia.

46   P Davis, *Ecomuseums*, pp. 50–5, describes the *hembygdrörelse* and *heimatmuseums.* Also providing a useful short explanation of the rise of the ecomuseum, see Maurizio Maggi, *Ecomuseums in Europe: what they are and what they can be*, IRES, Piemonte, June 2000, Section 3, 'The Evolution of Cultural Heritage'.

47   Vadelorge, op.cit., pp. 314–16.

48   In Australia local historical society museums, usually run by enthusiast amateurs on a volunteer basis, are often a small version of the traditional museum. They may be chaotic repositories of ephemera from a region's past but many of the objects that can be found there are fascinating, touching and a testimony to past lives of hardship, compassion or ingenuity. Although these museums provide important local links between contemporary and past regional heritage (reflecting innate human needs for order, control and preservation) they fill only part of what local cultural and heritage institutions could be under the ecomuseum model.

49   ICOM, 'Resolution No.1: The Museum in the Service of Man', 10th General Assembly, Grenoble France, 10 September 1971.

50   ICOM, 'Basic Principles of the Integral Museum: Resolutions', *Round Table*, Santiago Chile, 30 May 1972.

51   SE Weil, 'What is the Proper Business of the Museum: Ideas or Things?', *Muse*, Canadian Museums Association, Ottawa, vol. 7, no. 1, 1989, pp. 28–32; T Bennett, 'Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Object-Hood and the Governance of the Social', *Cultural Studies*, vol. 19, no. 5, 2005, pp. 521–47; A Appadurai, 'Grassroots Globalisation and the Research Imagination', *Public Culture*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1–19; J Mack, 'The British Museum and Other Theatres of Memory', *The Museum of the Mind*, London, the British Museum Press, 2003, pp. 11–23.

52   P Davis, *Ecomuseums*, p. 63.

53   L San Roman, 'Politics and the Role of Museums in the Rescue of Identity', in Patrick Boylan (ed), *Museums 2000: Politics, People, Professionals and Profit*, Routledge, London, 1992, p. 29.

54   Combined conservation and reforestation resulted in an increase in forest coverage from 21% in 1987 to over 50% twenty years later, at the same time this small central American state is the second largest producer of bananas in the world (along with high production in coffee and cattle). This is testimony, argues Stewart Brand, to the success of the approach to wild forests as commercial gardens, op.cit., 247 ff.

55   **nef**, *The (Un) Happy Planet Index*, p. 28.

56   UNESCO's history of interpreting and promoting culture and its values has not been perfect, for example, the *Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage* (2001) listing was meant to be a 'corrective' to omissions in the *World Heritage Convention* (1972) which had been culturally biased against intangible forms of heritage values. UNESCO was also founded on the notion that

sharing 'artistic riches' would help build global peace and through 'unity in diversity' people would (by mutual understanding) be freed from their separate cultures and better enjoy common human heritage. Although these may (still) be regarded as a valid rationale, nevertheless, they also reflect (or infer) embedded assumptions about cultural values and purpose.

57 A point Venturelli, op.cit., also makes when she observes that modern Western thought 'has tended to see the concepts of nature and culture as distinct from each other and, as technological progress advanced, even opposite … UNESCO's action for the protection of cultural landscapes of universal value is one such initiative. However, action should also be undertaken to manage landscapes that do not have universal value, because these too have the potential to rebalance ... the areas where the dense concentration of functions associated with technological culture has replaced ... other components of the total landscape'.

58 Information about the Creusot-Montceau Ecomuseum can be found on their website, viewed 16 December 2011, <http://www.ecomusee-creusot-montceau.com/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=36>.

59 For a history of the Creusot-Montceau Ecomuseum see Octave Debary, 'Deindustrialization and Museumification', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September 2004, pp. 122–33.

60 ibid., p. 126.

61 Although this was extended in 2000. See the UNESCO World Heritage List, viewed 20 January 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/672>.

62 European Heritage Association, *The Best in Heritage: Museums in Sustainable Development: Ha Long Ecomuseum*, 2008 Presentation, viewed 20 January 2012, <http://www.thebestinheritage. com/presentations/2008/museums-in-sustainable-development-_-ha-long-ecomuseum,21.html>.

63 Worts, op.cit., pp. 141–42.

64 For example, A Galla, 'Culture and Heritage in Development: Ha Long Ecomuseum', *Humanities Research,* vol. 9, no. 1, 2002, pp. 63–76.

65 A Galla, 'The First Voice in Heritage Conservation', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, vol. 3, 2008, pp. 10–25.

66 P Davis, *New Museology, communities, ecomuseums*, 2011.

67 Stephanie Hawke, *Sense of Place, Engagement with Heritage and Ecomuseum Potential in the North Pennines*, Newcastle University, December 2010, 209 ff.

68 Especially in Italy (n=103), France (n=84) and Spain (n=38); outside of Europe there are another 54 with 11 each in Brazil and Canada, seven in China and 9 in Japan. MR Ferraris and R Perticaroli, 'A Short Panorama on Ecomuseums in Europe', ECOMEMAQ First International Conference, Heraklion, Crete, October 2007. Increasingly, these museums work together as a network to exchange information and collaborate, see the Declaration of Intent from the *Long Networks, Ecomuseums and Europe* meeting, Trento, Italy, May 2004, and the first international conference on ecomuseums and living communities is scheduled to be held in September 2012, <http://www.mela-project.eu/events/details/conference-ecomuseums-2012>.

69 O'Neill, op.cit., p. 34.

70 D Throsby, *Creative Australia*, Academy of the Social Sciences, Occasional paper 3/2008,

Canberra, 2008.

71 Translated from T Zembylas, *Kulturbetriebslehre* (cultural institution studies) *Begründung einer Inter-Disziplin*, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004, p. 13.

72 Casey, op.cit.

73 J Howkins, *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money From Ideas*, Penguin, London, 2007, 789 ff.

74 UK Department for Culture, Media & Sport, *Creative Industries Mapping Document*, 2005, p. 5.

75 Cultural Ministers Council, *Vital Signs: Cultural Indicators for Australia*, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Canberra, 2010, p. 9.

76 Janes, op.cit., 94 ff, argues that economic imperatives are driving many cultural institutions to behave like cultural industries in order to 'survive'.

77 Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, Continuum, London, 1997, notably the chapters 'Universal and Particular', and 'Society', pp. 199–261; see also L Zuidervaart, 'Theodor W. Adorno', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* E Zalta (ed), *2011*, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2011/entries/adorno/> under the sub-heading '2. Dialectic of Enlightenment' – the translated title of a book co-authored by Adorno with Max Horkheimer and published in 1947. Adorno and Horkheimer scoped much of the Frankfurt School's critique of society, culture, the arts, and failures of liberalism and markets (particularly in the aftermath of the Second World War); their work influenced the development of critical theory and later Marxist philosophers such as Habermas and Marcuse.

78 In September 2009 UNESCO held its first world forum on creative industries and culture in Monza, Italy, see <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=35024&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>.

79 T Jackson, op.cit., p. 96.

80 Paul De Bruyne and Pascal Gielen (eds), *Community Art: The Politics of Trespassing*, Valiz, Amsterdam, 2011; and Carol Becker, *The Subversive Imagination*, Routledge, London, 1994, especially Chapter 8, 'Herbert Marcuse and the Subversive Potential of Art', pp. 113–129. A contemporary example of how subversive art has instigated transformative protests against authority is the role of music in the 'Arab Spring', such as (a nom-de-plume) Ibn Thabit's protest songs, see Nadia Lane, 'Libyan Rap Fuels Rebellion', *CNN*, 30 March 2011, <http://ireport.cnn.com/docs/DOC-582738?ref=feeds%2Flatest>.

81 Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 289 ff.

82 Urban Institute, *Cultural Vitality in Communities*, by M Jackson et.al., Washington, 2006.

83 For example, P Pattanaik, *Cultural Indicators of Wellbeing*, UNESCO occasional paper no.2, Geneva, 1997, 11 ff.

84 An approach adopted since the early development of cultural indicators. Terry McKinley argues 'the ultimate test of a particular culture is whether it fosters an expansion of human capabilities and choice – whether it enables people to live well … [this is really about] examin[ing] human development from a "cultural perspective" … with particular focus on how people's quality of life is determined by how they are able to live together and the value systems that animate their

intentions', from *Cultural Indicators for Development*, '1. The Evaluation of Culture', UNRISD and UNESCO, Geneva and Paris, 1997, see: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001241/124176eo.pdf>. More recently, an explanatory document for UNESCO's *Culture for Development Indicator Suite* continues to emphasize culture as a factor that is not measured for its own sake, but as a measure of how it helps achieve other goals, stating, 'culture facilitates and multiplies opportunities for individuals and societies to expand their choices, to foster a sense of well-being and to cope with processes of change and globalization', *Analytic Framework*, 2011, p. 5, <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/Conv2005_CDindicators_Analytical_en.pdf>.

[85] See Jill Robertson (ed), *Urban Cultural Profile Exchange Project in the 21st Century*, Eurocult21, Helsinki, 2005.

[86] Agenda21 for Culture, *Cultural Indicators and Agenda21 for Culture*, Working Group on Culture of the United Cities and Local Governments, Barcelona, 2006, p. 2.

[87] IFACCA, *Statistical Indicators for Arts Policy*, D'Art Report no.18, Sydney, May 2005, p. 13.

[88] ibid.

[89] Agenda21, op.cit., Annex 1, pp. 4–5.

[90] Culture Ministers Council, op.cit.

[91] It claims Australia is a signatory to the ICH Convention, thereby acknowledging 'the importance of maintaining and recording intangible cultural heritage for present and future generations' (ibid., p. 45), this is not true according to UNESCO's state parties list, viewed 13 February 2012, see: <http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?KO=17116&language=E&order=alpha>.

[92] Christopher Hudson, 'Cultural Development and Local Governments in New South Wales', Agenda21 for Culture, *Cities, Cultures and Developments*, United Cities and Local Governments, Barcelona City Council, October 2009, pp. 89–96 discusses some of these issues from an Australia perspective. The case for the importance of local government to cultural development generally (not just the Australian setting) is made by Inge Ruigrok, 'The Missing Dimensions of the Millennium Development Goals: Culture and Local Governments', pp. 7–23, as well as by A Galla, 'Locating Culture in Sustainable Development,' pp. 25–32, both papers in Agenda21 for Culture, *Culture, Local Governments and Millennium Development Goals*, United Cities and Local Governments, Barcelona City Council, June 2009.

[93] Holden, op.cit., p. 15.

[94] ibid., p. 21. Holden argues the cultural sector uniquely experiences a set of government negative biases, for instance, justification for military funding is not on the grounds it is 'subsidised' and business schools demonstrate excellence through 'case studies' whereas the arts only have 'anecdotal evidence', pp. 26–27.

[95] ibid., pp. 34–49.

[96] Mulligan et al, op.cit., pp. 49–50.

[97] Aslan, op.cit., p. 19.

[98] ibid.

[99] Mulligan et al., op.cit., p. 60.

[100] ibid., p. 63.

[101] N Klocker, B Trenerry and K Webster, *How Does Freedom of Religion and Belief Affect Health and Wellbeing?*, VicHealth, Melbourne, March 2011.

[102] Clifford, op.cit.

[103] This has long been recognised; in relation to indigenous wellbeing, this was scoped in the landmark report by Pat Swan and Beverley Raphael, *Ways Forward*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1995.

[104] Norman, op.cit., p. 41.

[105] Janes op.cit., 59 ff.

[106] San Roman, op.cit., p. 28.

[107] Definition from The Free Dictionary, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/politics>.

[108] Gleeson, op.cit., p. 163; T Jackson, op.cit., p. 182.

[109] Jacobs, op.cit., p. 8, p. 173.

[110] ibid., p. 173.

[111] ibid.

[112] The importance of culture in sustainable development and peace-building is also made in the *Commonwealth Statement on Culture in Development*, op.cit.

[113] ibid., p. 160.

[114] Roeder, op.cit., 281 ff.

[115] Holden, op.cit., 31 ff.

[116] Laurent Lehmann et al., 'Cumulative Cultural Dynamics and the Coevolution of Cultural Innovation and Transmission', *Journal of Evolutionary Biology*, vol. 23, issue 11, November 2011, pp. 2356–2369.

[117] K Engström, 'Cultural Development through the Interaction between Education, the Community and Society at Large', *UNESCO International Conference on Education*, 43rd Session, Geneva, September 1992.

[118] See <http://www.cobbandco.qm.qld.gov.au/> viewed 30 January 2012.

[119] Hauenschild, op.cit.

[120] This has been observed by authors concerned with imminent social and environmental collapse, such as Korten, op.cit., pp. 315–59; C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*, 222 ff; and **nef**, *The Great Transition*, 'How to take the first steps', 94 ff.

[121] For example, Clive Hamilton traces the history of organised science scepticism, especially in the US where neo-conservative think tanks and media outlets, that had for years denied the harm caused by tobacco, were recruited to seed public doubt about climate change, see *Requiem for a Species*, 98 ff.

[122] Korten, op.cit., especially Chapter 13, 'Wake-Up Call', pp. 217–36, although this is his main thesis.

123 The *Independent on Sunday*, late 2008, criticising those who were proposing a rethink on the impacts of market economics on society and the environment given the GFC; quoted in T Jackson, op.cit., p. 104.

124 T Trainer, 'The Simpler Way', *Australian mosaic*, issue 7, 2004, pp. 21–2.

125 Gleeson, op.cit., see especially Chapter 9, 'The Guardian State', pp. 115–28.

126 ibid., 172 ff.

127 ibid., p. 180.

128 ibid.

129 Wilkinson and Marmot, op.cit., see especially sections on stress (2), social exclusion (4) and support (7), food (9) and transport (10).

130 **nef**, *The Great Transition*, p.36

131 ibid., 4 ff.

132 ibid., p. 67.

133 ibid., pp. 70–1.

134 UN-Habitat, op.cit., p. 41.

135 NSW Health, *Healthy Urban Development Checklist*, Sydney, 2009.

136 Kent, Thompson and Jalaludin, op.cit., 35 ff.

137 NSW Health, op.cit., p. 147.

138 ibid., p. 98.

139 It also aligns with UNFPA's vision for urban futures, see *Unleashing the Potential of Urban Growth*, Chapter 6, 'A Vision for a Sustainable Urban Future', pp. 67–75.

140 Jon Hawkes, 'Challenges for Local Cultural Development', Agenda21 for Culture, *Cities, Cultures and Developments*, United Cities and Local Governments, Barcelona City Council, October 2009, pp. 67–79 provides a good summary of the intersection between these issues and the need for integrated action at the local level with cultural development at the centre of transformative change.

141 D Mills and P Brown, *Art and Wellbeing*, Australia Council, Sydney, 2004, p. 7.

142 UN-Habitat, op.cit., p. 44, for example, argues how cities are boosting their competitive advantages (and productivity and with it greater human flourishing) by utilising both tangible and intangible heritage to drive social and economic transformations.

143 Worts, op.cit., p. 141.

144 ibid.

145 Janes, op.cit., p. 180: Wackernagel and Rees developed the notion of ecological footprints.

146 ibid., p. 183.

147 ICOM, Basic Principles of the Integral Museum: resolutions, op.cit.

148 Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, Chapter 8, 'The Production of Locality', 178 ff believes 'the histories through which localities emerge are eventually subject to the dynamics of the global ... there is nothing mere about the local.'

149 Helly, op.cit., pp. 32–5.

150 CP Snow, *The Two Cultures,* Cambridge University Press, 1984.

151 Ann Moyal, 'Interdisciplinary Approaches', *Ockham's Razor*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, viewed 26 February 2012, <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/ockhamsrazor/interdisciplinary-approaches/3848214> note, the citation includes statements made by Peter Doherty and Lesley Head.

152 Janes, op.cit., p. 181.

[6] CONCLUSION: ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE

> Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing.
>
> – Arundhati Roy

Our planetary home is changing – fast. As change escalates, the coming decades are likely to be some of the most challenging in human history: different, but equally as fraught as the precipitous Cold War era and its threat of nuclear Armageddon. Now, there are multiple impending risks. Each, on its own, would represent a significant challenge; taken together, they may be sufficient to trigger a systemic failure of contemporary global civilization in much the same way as spatially-constrained civilizations failed in the past. One way of considering these risks is by assessing whether humans are able to navigate such treacherous waters. Some threats are the result of human activity, while others are natural; neither type can be accurately predicted because knowledge is limited and the trajectories of change are often unclear. Any predictions will be largely based on probability and risks; these can be reduced to three general themes.

First, as of October 2011, the human population was 7 billion. Estimates indicate it will be more than 9 billion by 2050 and could reach 15 billion by 2100.[1] If these estimates are accurate, population growth will seriously threaten the planet's carrying capacity. If the population slowly decreases after a circa-2050 peak, as some have proposed,[2] hopefully, it will be a managed decline, not one induced by violent shocks such as wars, droughts or worldwide famine. The main uncertainty is whether the population will continue to increase or will stabilise and, if it returns to sustainable numbers whether this is possible without triggering synchronous collapse before it occurs.

Second, in June 2011, there were 393.7 parts per million (ppm) of carbon in the Earth's atmosphere.[3] The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Control reports, to avoid dangerous climate change, global temperatures must not exceed the safe 'guard-rail' of 2 ℃. This will require stabilising atmospheric carbon at 450 ppm.[4] All indications are this cannot happen. The momenta of economic expansion, energy demand and production mean we will exceed these targets.[5] This may lead to increases of 4 ℃ (substantially higher over land), triggering tipping-points and leading to run-away temperature rises: the unknown territory of human-induced climate change.[6] The critical issue is whether humanity can collectively change its habits and choose survival by shifting lifestyle expectations.[7]

Third, there are limits to growth. The 30-year update of the Club of Rome's report notes, by the early 1980s, the human footprint was more than the Earth's capacity and exceeded it by 20% in 1999.[8] Ten years later, the Global Footprint Network estimated this had reached 44%: the equivalent of almost 18 months for the world to absorb the pollutants and replenish stocks that humanity uses each year.[9] EET analysis[10] also indicates many mineral reserves, critical in the manufacture of new technologies, will be exhausted by mid century.[11] Struggling to meet the voracious global demand for commodities, production relies on energy reserves to make and transport goods; currently, this energy source is finite and its effects toxic.[12] Given that the edifice of contemporary global civilization is falsely premised on the infinite availability of raw materials and energy, its future is in doubt.

Economics, corporate greed, available resources and ecological carrying capacity are in conflict, as are politics, ideologies, religions and cultures. It has always been so; the difference in the twenty-first century is that these forces are enacted at an international level, systems are globally integrated and vulnerable at a time when they have lost much of their resilience, and there are no unspoilt new lands to which people can retreat and start afresh.[13]

Among those who contemplate these issues is the commonly expressed belief that risks can be managed.[14] Given events are occurring on a planetary scale and over many decades, this is a comforting, superficially rational delusion to maintain. An optimist could argue that humanity, through a combination of extraordinary and atypical leadership, collective intelligence, unprecedented collaboration and luck, will ameliorate these threats. In this optimistic scenario, the human population will stabilise, new low-carbon technologies will keep atmospheric conditions at 'safe' levels, geo-engineering will mitigate lethal residual effects, science will invent a new green revolution to feed more people and meet energy demands, growth will be decoupled from material production, developed nations will (at least partially) redistribute their wealth and, inspired by a spirit of reciprocity, there will be a 'great turning' from models of domination to 'earth communities'.[15] Alternatively (as has repeatedly occurred in the past), the momenta of existing systems, behaviours and enmities will guarantee that imminent threats are ignored or denied and, consequently, the existing global system and many of the vulnerable environments that support it will fail. Nobody knows what might unfold; all predictions are speculative. We can, however, imagine possible futures and attempt to construct them. Although the evidence of history suggests a grimmer

outlook, humans are surprisingly adaptable and resourceful: transformative change can never be ruled out.

Because the state of play suggests our species' survival options are shrinking, many voices articulate alternative visions to the existing norms. Some come from international agencies who argue for rights-based approaches to culture and development; others, from international collaborations of experts explaining the steps required to prevent disasters; and still others from think tanks outlining feasible but alternative economic models under which humanity could continue to flourish. Many opinions – regarded as rational by some, subversive by others – propose holistic responses; they advocate for cosmopolitan, distributive and rights-based changes. This suggests there may be use for an often-overlooked tool in humanity's survival kit: ethics.[16] Common among calls for change is the support for human-centred (or values-based) approaches to guide how reformative choices are made.

In this thesis I looked at four big and inter-related questions, suggesting some answers may be found in musealisation and museography which offer constructive methods and settings to resolve many social, cultural, economic and environmental challenges. The first three questions – what is happening to our world, why is it happening, and how can we think about these issues? – I have attempted to answer across the first four chapters. In Chapter 2, I argued the dominant model of the global political economy is driving population increases, resource depletion, anthropogenic geoengineering, and intercultural conflict. This has placed contemporary civilization in a position of vulnerability, where risks are often underestimated or unrecognised.

In Chapter 3, I discussed some factors that shape civil societies. Acknowledging these – even elemental issues such as what it is to be human, the ways we live in society and how we respond to notions of freedom, the alien, or our place in the world – is often forgotten, assumed or accepted without question. Self-reflection is easily substituted with self-obsession. Exaltation of the individual over the group, validated by media–corporate coalitions, has weakened democracy as an ideal and an institution. Simultaneously, it has homogenised culture and eroded individuals' sense of agency, creating new dependencies.

In Chapter 4, I explored culture, including its relationship with the natural world and the largely neglected association between culture and governance (of societies, the conditions that make society possible and environmental husbandry). There is insufficient attention on

the imminent (experiences of people, place, well-being, their agency and freedom) and a hyper-focus on the liminal or theoretical (perfecting economic modelling, production micro-efficiencies, or niche innovations). Effort could be more fruitfully directed to managing the challenges of modernity in jointly human and nature-centred ways.

Chapter 5 aimed to answer the fourth question – what are some solutions to the challenges posed by the first three – by arguing cultural institutions can be vectors for transformative change in a world in crisis. New museology as a principle and the ecomuseum as a site, share much in common with other interdisciplinary approaches such as urban planning. I do not wish to imply that the existing infrastructure of museums should be radically changed – many of their roles continue to be valid – nor should their future be restricted to the existing stock of institutions. Rather, the future may be one in which the relevance of museums increases as their number, scope, diversity, roles and responsibilities expand. It may be a new era for museology, an area of the musealisation of human societies as they strive for dynamic-equilibrium.

In the future – a world increasingly urban, crowded, conflicted, resource poor, and where cultures, peoples and faiths encounter each other as never before – museums can be sites of collective, democratic decision-making, where information is sublimated into knowledge, global problems are faced at the local level, and the dehumanised is re-humanised.

Notes

[1] UNFPA, op.cit., p. 4.

[2] Pearce, op.cit., Part 3, 'Implosion', 107 ff; and Brand, op.cit., 58 ff.

[3] Recorded at the Mauna Loa Observatory, Hawaii, viewed 4 August 2011, <http://co2now.org/>

[4] Garnaut, op.cit., 29ff; World Bank, *Turn Down the Heat*, xiii ff.

[5] There are many analyses of these concerns, for example, **nef**, *Growth Isn't Possible*, 52ff; T Jackson, op.cit., pp. 49–86; Garnaut, op.cit., 29 ff; C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*, 190 ff.

[6] Again, a much-reported concern, for example, see Climate Commission, op.cit., 48 ff; Homer-Dixon, *Up Side of Down*, 16 7ff; **nef**, *Growth Isn't Possible*, 31 ff.

[7] A question continually tested through UN processes. For example, the *Framework Convention on Climate Change Durban Conference* (November/December 2011) agreed to establish a new global treaty by 2012 under which all member states will agree to binding carbon reductions, see *Report of the Conference of the Parties on its seventeenth session*, FCCC/CP/2011/9/Add.1, 15 March 2012, viewed 14 May 2012, <http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2011/cop17/eng/09a01.pdf>.

8   D Meadows and J Randers, *Limits of Growth, the 30-year update*, Chelsea Green, 2004, p. 5.

9   Known as 'global footprint accounting'. See Global Footprint Network, D Pollard (ed.), *Living Planet Report 2010*, WWF Report, London, Oakland and Gland, 2010, pp. 32–49.

10 EET (exponential expiration time analysis) measures, given exponentially increasing demand for a finite natural resource, when a given commodity will be extracted to exhaustion.

11 Al Bartlett, http://www.albartlett.org/articles/art_forgotten_fundamentals_part_5.html (on EET); GM Mudd's analysis, *The Sustainability of Mining in Australia*, Research Report No. RR5, Department of Civil Engineering, Monash University and Mineral Policy Institute, 2009, states that for 'commodities, such as gold, lead and zinc, present economic resources will last for approximately three decades or less … The critical underlying issue which remains poorly recognised and understood in the mining industry is the environmental costs associated with the continually increasing scale of the mining industry. Considering the perpetual decline in ore grades and increasing waste rock produced, this points to potentially increasing environmental costs in the future in terms of energy, water, greenhouse emissions and the like – especially if these aspects are analysed with respect to unit mineral production and not ore throughput … Ultimately, the sustainability of the mining industry continues to hang in the balance', p. 127.

12 **nef**, *Growth Isn't Possible*, see the chapter, 'Peak Oil, Gas and Coal? pp. 69–84.

13 Brand, op.cit., pp. 246–7, 'Humans invade new places, wreak destruction, then eventually settle down ... Lately we've run out of unpopulated places to invade, and we say we'd like to stop invading each other. If we can keep climate change from forcing us back into the invasion game, how would settling down once and for all work? The encouraging lesson from prehistory is that settling down means inhabiting a place with such close attention that the practices of "tending the wild" and agriculture blur into one.'

14 C Hamilton, *Requiem for a Species*, 128 ff.

15 As described by Korten in the title of his book, op.cit. For speculation about the most optimistic scenario for global development by the late 21st century, see Neva Goodwin, 'An Overview of Climate Change: What does it mean for our way of life?' *Global Development and Environment Institute Working Paper No.08.01*, Tufts University, 2008.

16 Homer-Dixon, *The Great Transformation*, Essen, 2009, summarises many of these synchronous risks but presents the challenges as existential and moral issues.

APPENDICES

The appendices provide supplementary information about some of the issues discussed in this thesis as well as a description of the case studies that were a methodological influence. The appendices' contents page is reproduced below. They can be accessed on-line by going to the following URL:

https://docs.google.com/open?id=0B1fjqNpm0Oo9VjNudWZveTJmbVU

Appendix 1

Culture in Public Policy: Illustrating Innovation

A1.1   The Public Policy Context

A1.2   Program Principles, Methodology, Purpose and Design

A1.3   Three Case Studies

A1.3.1   Case study 1: It's Your Right!

A1.3.2   Case study 2: In Our Own Words

A1.3.3   Case study 3: Articles of faith

A1.4   Evaluating the effects

A1.5   Conclusions

Appendix 2

Supplementary analysis of issues raised in the thesis

A2.1   The national benefits of diverse immigration flows in a global economy

A2.2   Exploring the notion of 'combating the defamation of religion'

A2.3   Multiculturalism: a short history in Australia

Appendix 3

Convergence in Sustainable Development and Culture

Appendix Endnotes

REFERENCE LIST

Note: references in this list include those that appear in the appendices

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