At a time of acute sensitivity to questions of social dislocation, economic inequity and political upheaval, the Globalism Research Centre is committed to rethinking the relationship between the global and the local. The Centre’s primary intellectual task is to understand the processes of change and continuity in order to think through cultural-political questions about sustainable living in a globalizing world. In particular, it is concerned with facilitating and enhancing activities of cultural dialogue across the continuing and positive boundaries of cultural diversity in the world today. This entails responding to key political issues of the new century across all levels of community and polity; from the remaking of institutions of global governance and global civil society, to the reconstitution of the nation-state and the reformations of local regions and communities. It entails working across the lines of critical theory, applied research and political debate. We begin with the place in which we live and then seek to draw lines of co-operation and reciprocal connection with others—locally, regionally, nationally and internationally.
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In my childhood, I was fascinated with drawing planes, cannons and tanks. Especially during the Chinese Cultural Revolution times, I painted on the wall with themes on beating down American imperialism or overthrowing Soviet Russia revisionism. As a boy, my fever for war and my worship of power reached a peak. I even cherished the illusion that together with Chairman Mao we might liberate the human being! Nowadays, while I run back to these childhood stories, the laddish puerility makes me laugh—but I am also fearful that human ferocity and hatred could easily resurge. The causes of wars and social catastrophes are derived from such ambition, distrust and animosity.

On 14 August 2003, just two hours after my arrival at New York City, I encountered a terrible blackout that extended to the east of Canada. Being in darkness for two days in a completely disabled New York City, I experienced the horrible living atmosphere of ‘war’. In the following days, news about anti-terrorism and the war with Iraq flooded into newspapers, TV, magazines and the Internet. The US government constantly sent alerts to the public, warning of possible terrorist bombings here and there. All of a sudden the peace disappeared in our life, and we became nervous, worried, afraid and hateful. The fear and hatred overwhelmed the sympathy and compassion in our heart. We started to look around and doubted who are the enemy and the terrorist. You? Him? Or me? We lost not only a sense of order but also of reason.

Australia is a continent surrounded by water. As such, Terra Australis has historically been a place of profound mystery. The huge flat land, extensive seas, sunshine and distinctive animals and plants are characteristic and strange. People have always yearned for it—Australia has been a place of dreams. There is now a punitively tight security regime surrounding Australia. However, there are still large numbers of refugees coming to Australia. The leaky, dangerously overloaded boats still, despite the perils, bring hundreds of refugees from South-East Asia. These are people who dream of participating in a life rich in possibilities for themselves and their children. The work that I have made has as its conceptual premise the enormously important social and political issue of illegal migration and anti-terrorism laws. I hope my works reveal the ghastliness of the war, as well as to recall our love and consciences in praying for peace.

Guan Wei

Ship of Fools was painted as a response to the American led ‘war on terror’ in Iraq. It is an appropriation of the moral allegory by Hieronymous Bosch that was painted in 1490-1500. Morgan’s interpretation was first exhibited in the exhibition ‘Guess Who’s Coming To Dinner?’ in Brisbane, 2003.

Les Morgan is represented by McCulloch Gallery, Melbourne.

Printed on sugar-cane paper. No timber was used in the production of this report.
Introduction

1.1 Manifesto

The tumultuous and uneven globalization of social relations has forced upon us the task of re-imaging a better world. The presumed lack of alternatives to market globalism constitutes a world-wide challenge which entails developing deeper understandings and more powerful explanations. This requires a renewal of critical engagement. The homogenizing effects of global movements of people, ideas, goods, and money all too easily conceal the continuing divergence of the extremes of human existence. The billions around the world who live precarious lives are threatened by malnutrition, disease and violence that know no borders, and yet, for people looking across the Googled Earth from metropolitan centres, these social problems remain largely invisible. Moreover, we are threatened by global war-without-end and environmental crisis. Our work is explicitly dedicated to cultivating and creating ethical Left alternatives.

The Melbourne-based Globalism Research Centre is committed to exploring the relationship between the global and the local. We seek to create a more deeply democratic world in which all communities and individuals can participate in determining their futures. The emergent forms of transnational and global consciousness call for creative and ethically engaged approaches to making sense of shifting constellations of identity. A crucial dimension of our mission is critical cosmopolitanism and global citizenship, complemented by a concern for diversity and dialogue across political and cultural boundaries. While nation-states remain important for certain forms of regulation and redistribution, we see a need for modes of governance that respond adequately to local and global problems. Strengthening of democratic participation might take many forms, from revitalized local forms of governance to the democratization of global economies—for instance, through mechanisms of transnational financial regulation and taxation.

We recognize the diverse philosophical and theoretical traditions out of which we work, seeking to balance Western orientations with insights drawn from non-Western philosophies. We are developing richer and deeper narratives about globalization and globalism. Social scientific understandings and explanations are necessarily interpretative, temporal and historical. An adequately understood notion of causality is central to our attempts to tell better stories about globalization. We are sceptical of all forms of exclusive theoretical and theological truths, without foreclosing on the possibility of spiritual and aesthetic insights. We are united in our desire to apply both critical-reflexive and ethnographic-immersive approaches to our work. We believe in methodological openness and intellectual curiosity. Our methodological and thematic perspectives are framed by ethical concerns. Cognizant of maintaining a tight link between theory and practice, our work focuses on ‘reinserting the importance of politics and culture—not ‘culturalism’—into globalization debates still dominated by economistic perspectives.

Key problems face us all in the twenty-first century: constraints on the movement of people across borders; the uneven production, exchange and consumption of those foundational conditions of human life: food, water, health, and culture; the global manifestations of violence and war; the exploitation of bodies, environments and the global eco-sphere; the undermining of relations of difference and equality; and the lack of democratic self-determination. Recognizing these issues, we have developed research projects that focus on the sources of insecurity, community sustainability and formation, the ideologies of globalization, the historical trajectories
of globalizing dynamics, global education and cultural exchange, global democracy and sustainable governance of the world economy. We are committed to working within existing and developing networks of fellow scholars, and with community activists, civil movements and policy-makers across the world. Reaching out to others is central to the building of a better world.

1.2 Background and Principles

The Globalism Research Centre was initiated in 2000, with an extended period of consultation and development, and then formally inaugurated in 2002. Its brief is to initiate and manage research projects involving academics, researchers, and government and community-based practitioners from diverse backgrounds. These collaborative projects draw on expertise from across the university and beyond, in fields such as global politics, international relations, community studies, cross-cultural communication, international education, international trade, productive diversity and media studies. This work involves creative dialogue and exchange within the university across departments, faculties and schools, and beyond the university limits into the public sphere of community, governmental and non-governmental contexts.

The work of the Globalism Research Centre comes together around a number of core principles:

- The research is engaged and committed to making a difference.
- The research aims to move creatively between on-the-ground inquiry and generalizing theory.
- The research is reflexive. Engaged reflexive research entails objectively stepping back. In other words, the passion of engagement needs to be carefully qualified by the reflexive dimension of objective distance.
- The research involves a mutual and slowly negotiated relationship between researchers and other participants, including local communities. All participants are to be involved whenever possible as partners in a dialogue of exchange and mutual learning.
- The Centre aims to build long-term commitment to its research partners and to its research themes. In other words, the Globalism Research Centre is not pursuing a series of discrete research investigations. Rather, it is engaged in setting up an enduring and interconnected matrix of projects, intended to contribute to an overall understanding of the world today and its sustainability. The substance of the Centre is intended to be much more than just the sum of its projects.
- The Centre has a duty of care to the people with whom we work to appropriately protect privacy and security, to negotiate the boundaries of knowledge, to properly acknowledge sources, and to return the outcomes of our work to the community in a reciprocal relationship of mutual learning.
- The material gained from the research will remain publicly accessible for all communities and researchers, apart from material that we are ethically prohibited from making public. Culturally or politically sensitive material will remain confidential between individual researchers and the people with whom they are working collaboratively. Otherwise, our work aims to be freely available.
1.3 Activities

The Globalism Research Centre works across the realms of research, teaching and community engagement. In particular it:

- undertakes engaged research into globalization, transnationalism, nationalism and cultural diversity. It seeks to understand and critically evaluate current directions of global change, with an emphasis on the cultural implications of political and economic transformation.
- educates the community, both local and global, about both the difficulties and the possibilities of globalization and cultural diversity.
- provides research consultancy to all levels of government, industry and community, from the local to the international.
- organizes and sponsors conferences, forums and seminars to debate, critically analyze and formulate policies for global, national and regional organizations and agencies.
- offers a rich research milieu for postgraduate study in the fields of globalism, transnationalism, multiculturalism, nationalism, identity politics and cultural diversity.
- builds long-term transnational links with other world centres of excellence.

1.4 Highlights in 2007


The year was marked by major engagement with communities and governments in Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and India, as well as in Australia. Research partnerships were actively maintained with the University of Madras in Chennai, the Globalization Research Center at the University of Hawai’i, the Institute on Globalization and the Human Condition at McMaster University.
Olive McVicker at the Hamilton Climate Change Workshop, Australia, February 2008. Olive has been a member of the Globalism Research Centre’s Critical Reference Group since 2004.
in Canada, the Universiti Malaya, the University Sains Malaysia (USM) and the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, among others. New projects were established in Timor-Leste, where our research presence and standing continues to grow, while in Papua New Guinea our work with the Department for Community Development culminated in a major policy realignment being presented to Parliament and being accepted as the guiding policy on community engagement for the foreseeable future. We were represented on the review panel for the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, the International Secretariat for the United Nations Global Compact Cities Programme, the advisory group to the Helsinki Process on Global Governance, and the executives of the Global Reconciliation Forum and the Globalization Studies Network.

The Centre co-organized conferences in Amsterdam (The Netherlands) and Paris (France). Locally, we were heavily involved in the second ‘Two Fires Festival of Arts and Activism’ in Braidwood, Victoria, convening an academic forum on ‘Identity and Environment’. The Centre also hosted a number of public lectures in Melbourne from visiting international scholars including John Hutnyk, Academic Director of the Centre for Cultural Studies at Goldsmiths College, University of London; Terrell Carver, Professor of Political Theory, University of Bristol; Glen David Kuecker, Associate Professor of History, DePauw University, Greenacres; and Zhang Xinhua, Director, Center for Policy and Strategic Studies, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.


Victoria Stead, Karen Halve, Secretary Joseph Klapat, Julie Smith, Yaso Nadarajah and Paul James, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea (2008)
The report *Creating Community: Celebrations, Arts and Wellbeing within and across Local Communities* was publicly launched by the internationally acclaimed performer and festival director Robyn Archer in early 2007. This was the outcome of the work of nine researchers from the Centre across a four-year study of the specific contribution that arts-based activities in local communities can make to the wellbeing of those communities. The report addresses wider questions of the changing nature of local community in the contemporary world. As well as contributing to the *Creating Community* report, Martin Mulligan and Pia Smith also completed an evaluation report for Regional Arts Victoria on its Regional Cultural Partnerships Program: *The Case for a Regional Arts Development Officer Network in Victoria*. Other major research reports in 2007 included *Good Practice in Transnational Education: A Guide for New Zealand Providers* written by Christopher Ziguras for Education New Zealand Trust, and *Mapping the Pursuit of Gender Equality: Non-Government and International Agency Activity in Timor-Leste*, written by Damian Grenfell and Anna Trembath for Irish Aid and the Office for the Promotion of Equality (Timor-Leste).

In 2007, the Globalism Research Centre launched the third and fourth issues of its journal, *Local–Global: Identity, Security, Community*. The third issue, *Exploring the Legacy of Judith Wright*, contained papers from the first ‘Two Fires Festival of Arts and Activism’ held in Braidwood, Victoria, in 2005, and celebrated poet Judith Wright’s legacy. The fourth issue, *Food, Farming and Community*, focused on the outcomes of collaborations between researchers at the Centre and people living in the Hamilton region in south-west Victoria. *Local–Global* is a collaborative international journal concerned with the resilience and difficulties of contemporary community life. It is a tangible outcome of the Globalism Research Centre’s efforts to draw together groups of researchers and practitioners located in different communities across the world to address critical issues concerning the relationship between the global and the local.

The Helen and Geoff Handbury Community Fellowship Program continued to be an integral part of the Community Sustainability program. The Fellowship Program is a scholarship fund providing financial support for research projects that mutually benefit the Southern Grampians region and RMIT University communities. Another four fellowship grants were awarded in 2007, bringing to sixteen the total number of awards granted since 2002.
1.5 Research Themes

Within our central theme of transformations and continuities across the realms of globalization and localization, the four key areas of our research are as follows:

1. Globalism and Nationalism
   - ideas of globalism
   - global governance
   - histories of globalization
   - political and ethical engagement

2. Sources of Insecurity
   - violence and social disintegration
   - globalization and human insecurity
   - nationalism, religion and identity
   - the Asian tsunami

3. Community Sustainability
   - wellbeing and social health
   - changing patterns of community and polity
   - global cities, global localities
   - Indigenous communities as they face modernizing pressures
   - cultural diversity and social cohesion
   - ‘sense of place’, environment and community

4. Border Knowledges and Global Learning
   - globalizing education and new learning
   - language-communities and collective learning
   - knowledge systems across borders of difference
   - transnational movement of refugees and asylum seekers
   - settlement of diasporas and migrant communities

Pots being sold at Luro market, Lautem district, Timor-Leste (2007)
Political Ideologies and Social Imaginaries in the Age of Globalization

Manfred B. Steger

Neoliberalism. Neoconservatism. Neofascism. Postmarxism. Postmodernism. Postcolonialism ... The remarkable proliferation of conventional ‘isms’ adorned with these two prefixes casts a long shadow on the contemporary relevance of traditional political ideologies. No longer confined to the ivory towers of academia, this gnawing sense of sailing into uncharted conceptual waters pervades today’s public discourse. Is there, indeed, something genuinely ‘neo’ about today’s isms? Have we really moved ‘post’ our familiar political ideologies and social imaginaries? I suggest that there is, in fact, something different about today’s political belief systems: a new global imaginary is on the rise. It erupts with increasing frequency within and onto the familiar framework of the national, spewing its fiery lava across all geographical scales. Stoked, among other things, by technological change and scientific innovation, the global imaginary destabilizes the grand political ideologies codified by social elites during the national age. Thus, our changing ideational landscape is intimately related to the forces of globalization, defined here as the expansion and intensification of social relations across world-time and world-space.

The rising global imaginary finds its political articulation not only in the ideological claims of contemporary social elites who reside in the privileged spaces of our global cities. It also fuels the hopes, disappointments, and demands of migrants who traverse national boundaries in search of their piece of the global promise. Thus, the global is nobody’s exclusive property. It inhabits class, race, and gender but belongs to neither. Nor can it be pinned down by carving up geographical space into watertight compartments that reflect outdated hierarchies of scale. The multiple inscriptions and incomplete projections of the global on what has been historically constructed as the national have become most visible in the proliferation and reconfiguration of what counts as ‘community’. For this reason, one of globalization’s most profound dynamics has been the messy and incomplete superimposition of the global village on the conventional nation-state and its associated key concepts of ‘citizenship’, ‘sovereignty’, ‘territoriality’, ‘borders’, ‘political belonging’, and so on. At a bare minimum, we are witnessing the destabilization of taken-for-granted meanings and instantiations of the national.

Consider, for example, today’s asymmetric wars pitting shifting alliances of nation-states and non-state actors against amorphous transnational terrorist networks that nonetheless operate in specific localities—usually in ‘global cities’ like New York, London, Madrid, or Delhi. New global pandemics expose the limits of our national public health systems. Nationally-framed environmental policies cannot respond adequately to accelerating global climate change. Conventional educational and immigration schemes based on national goals and priorities are incapable of preparing shifting populations for the pressing tasks of global citizenship. Large-

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scale sports events like the soccer world cup, originally designed for competing national teams, no longer make sense in a global environment in which the best athletes play for city-based teams, thus pushing their fans’ divided loyalties to the limit. And the list goes on.

This essay can only offer a brief assessment of the changing ideological landscape; I have provided a much more detailed treatment in my recent book on the subject. But there is little doubt that the fundamental changes affecting political belief systems have not been adequately described or analyzed in pertinent literature. Well-intentioned attempts to ‘update’ modern political belief systems by adorning them with prefixes resemble futile efforts to make sense of digital word processing by drawing on the mechanics of moveable print. The failure to redraw our ideological maps appears most glaringly in leading academic textbooks where the grand ideologies of the national age—complemented by various neo-isms—continue to be presented as the dominant political belief systems of our time. To grasp the novelty of today’s political belief systems, we must realize that large chunks of the grand ideologies of modernity—liberalism, conservatism, socialism, fascism, and communism—have been discarded, absorbed, rearranged, synthesized, and hybridized with new ideas into ideologies of genuine novelty. However, before we discuss the dynamic underlying the changing ideological landscape—the gradual shift from the national to the global imaginary—let us establish the foundation for our discussion by considering the key concept ‘ideology’.

Ideology as Invective

Ideology is a loaded word with a checkered past. Most people today regard it as a form of dogmatic thinking or political manipulation. Virtually no one associates it with analytic clarity or scientific rigor. And yet, this is precisely how idéologie was envisioned by a French aristocrat at the height of the Reign of Terror. Count Destutt de Tracy coined the term for his rationalist method of breaking complex systems of ideas into their basic components. Consciously directed against established religion and its transcendental claims to absolute Truth, the ultimate purpose of Tracy’s new ‘science of ideas’ went far beyond intellectual contemplation. The postulation of ideology’s scientific truths was to guide the practical improvement of the new French Republic that emerged from the convulsions of the Revolution. Brandished as the infallible instruction manual for political and social reform, idéologie was the rallying cry of Tracy’s small circle of Enlightenment thinkers affiliated with the newly-founded National Institute of Arts and Sciences in Paris. Young Napoleon Bonaparte, too, embraced ideology on his rise to power but swiftly discarded its social prescriptions when members of the Institute dared to impede his political ambitions. To add insult to injury, he accused the Institute’s absent-minded ‘idéologues’ of failing to grasp the imperatives of modern statecraft. The ensuing battle over the ‘real’ meaning of ideology was decisively won by the wily Emperor, for it was his pejorative connotation that stuck in the public mind.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the term acquired additional derogatory punch in radical circles inspired by the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Their German Ideology defined it as a deliberate distortion of

material reality that served the ruling classes as a convenient cloak for economic exploitation and political oppression. At the dawn of the twentieth century, ideology continued to be condemned as a tool of mass manipulation employed with equal skill by ruthless captains of industrial capitalism and radical left-wing revolutionaries. The crimes of these ‘ideologues’—a term now reserved for modern dictators and their unscrupulous propagandists—reached new heights in their genocidal regimes, ghastly concentration camps and sprawling gulags. As political philosopher Hannah Arendt put it in the early 1950s, ‘Not before Hitler and Stalin were the great political potentialities of ideologies discovered’.5 Attentive to the public’s disaffection with these ‘ideological’ excesses, shrewd postwar politicians quickly fell back on Bonaparte’s successful strategy of presenting themselves as level-headed solvers of concrete problems with nothing but contempt for anything that smacked even remotely of ‘ideological thinking’. And yet, their professed pragmatism was belied by an Iron Curtain that separated the world into two opposing isms.

Academics, too, found themselves deeply entangled in the sticky web of Cold War ideology. Soviet dialecticians invented new categories for the many degradations of ‘bourgeois ideology,’ while their Western counterparts contrasted the ‘highly emotive’ content of (communist) ideology with the ‘value-free’ character of (liberal) social science. Claiming to analyze politics and society in a strictly ‘objective’ manner, they disparaged ideology as the pernicious product of tyrannical minds obsessed with discovering ‘how populations and nations can be mobilized and manipulated all along the way that leads to political messianism and fanaticism’.6 Following Arendt’s influential conflation of ideology with ‘totalitarianism,’ Western academics developed new typologies and classification systems designed to capture the essential features of ‘pathological’ political belief systems. The least derogatory meaning bestowed upon ideology during these polarizing Cold War years was ‘party affiliation’, used by public-opinion researchers as a scientific measure for voters’ electoral preferences. Reduced to this label, ideology managed to eke out a living in a small corner of the political science discipline.7 At the same time, however, media-savvy campaign managers returned to the old stereotype by hurling ‘ideology’ at their opponents’ cheap political rhetoric, biased views, and self-interested ‘spin’.

With the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites precisely two centuries after the French Revolution, communism was pronounced dead and the Anglo-American variant of liberal democracy was elevated to the ‘final form of human government’.8 Triumphalist voices in the West celebrated the ‘end of ideology’ as though competing political ideas had overnight turned into curious relics of the past. China’s gradual shift to a party-directed capitalism and the rapid decline of Third World Marxism only seemed to confirm the ‘passing of an illusion’, as a nonchalant French commentator referred to the demise of communism.9 It took the al-Qa’ida attacks of 11 September 2001 to expose the naïveté of such premature

hopes for a de-ideologized world. The familiar Cold War equation of ideology with the totalitarian schemes of depraved minds received a new lease on life in President George W. Bush’s characterization of jihadist terrorists as the ‘heirs of all murderous ideologies of the twentieth century’.

Although the Bush administration has come under severe criticism for its engagement in Iraq, many people today support Bush’s assertion that the Global War on Terror amounts to an ‘ideological war that is going to last for a while’.

Ideology as Political Belief Systems

Moving beyond the invective, let us now consider ideology as evolving and malleable political belief systems that emerged during the American and French Revolutions and competed with religious doctrines over what ideas and values should guide human communities. Although ideology adopted a ‘secular’ perspective on these fundamental questions, it also resembled religion in its attempts to link the various ethical, cultural, and political dimensions of society into a fairly comprehensive belief system. Imitating its rival’s penchant to trade in truth and certainty, ideology also relied on narratives, metaphor, and myths that persuade, praise, condemn, cajole, convince, and separate the ‘good’ from the ‘bad’. Like religion, it thrived on human emotions, generating rage, fear, enthusiasm, love, sacrifice, altruism, mass murder, torture, and rape, much in the same way as religious doctrines have run through the gamut of human virtues and vices.

Hence, it would be unfair to confine ideology to its harmful manifestations. What, for example, about its moral influence on human conduct or its crucial role of generating bonds of solidarity that result in enduring human communities? Its pejorative connotations notwithstanding, ideology deserves a more balanced hearing—one that acknowledges its integrative role of providing social stability as much as its propensity to contribute to fragmentation and alienation; its ability to supply standards of normative evaluation as much as its tendency to oversimplify social complexity; its role as guide and compass for political action as much as its potential to legitimize tyranny and terror in the name of noble ideals.

Drawing on this appreciative conception of ideology that takes seriously the indispensable functions of political belief systems irrespective of their particular contents or political orientations, I define ideology as comprehensive belief systems comprised of patterned ideas and claims to truth. Codified by social elites, they are embraced by significant groups in society. All political belief systems are historically contingent and, therefore, must be analyzed with reference to a particular context that connects their origins and developments to specific times and spaces. Linking belief and practice, ideologies encourage people to act while simultaneously constraining their actions. To this end, ideological codifiers construct claims that seek to ‘lock in’ the meaning of their core concepts. Michael Freeden refers to this crucial process as ‘decontestation.’ Although successfully decontested ideas always require more explanation and justification, they are held as truth with such confidence that they no longer appear to be assumptions at all.

Ultimately, the major ideational claims give each ideology its unique configuration. As Freeden puts it, ‘An ideology attempts to end the inevitable contention over concepts by decontesting them, by removing their meanings from contest. ‘This is what justice means,’ announces one ideology, and ‘that is what democracy entails.’ By trying to convince us that they are right and that they speak the truth, ideologies become devices for coping with the indeterminacy of meaning.14 Ideological ‘morphologies’ can thus be pictured as decontested truth-claims that serve as devices for coping with the indeterminacy of meaning as well as instruments for facilitating collective decision-making. These interlinked semantic and political roles suggest that control over language translates directly into power, including the decision of ‘who gets what, when, and how.’15 Thus, ideologies are not merely justifications of economic class interests or impractical metaphysical speculations but fairly comprehensive programs designed to shape and direct human communities in specific ways.16

**Ideologies and Social Imaginaries**

To understand the main causes and impacts of the fundamental changes affecting the ideological landscape of the twenty-first century, we must link political ideologies to the overarching ‘social imaginary’. Constituting the macro-mappings of social and political space through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world, this deep-seated mode of understanding provides the most general parameters within which people imagine their communal existence. Drawing on Benedict Anderson’s account of the imagined community of the nation, Charles Taylor argues that social imaginaries are neither theories nor ideologies but implicit ‘backgrounds’ that make possible communal practices and a widely-shared sense of their legitimacy. The social imaginary offers explanations of how ‘we’—the members of the community—fit together, how things go on between us, the expectations we have of each other, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie those expectations. This background understanding is both normative and factual in the sense of providing us both with the standards of what passes as common-sense.17 Much in the same vein, Pierre Bourdieu notes that the social imaginary sets the pre-reflexive framework for our daily routines and social repertoires. Structured by social dynamics that produce them while at the same time also structuring those forces, social imaginaries are products of history that ‘generate individual and collective practices—more history—in accordance with the schemes generated by history.’18

Despite their intangibility, however, social imaginaries are quite ‘real’ in the sense of enabling common practices and deep-seated communal attachments. Though

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capable of facilitating collective fantasies and speculative reflections, they should not be dismissed as phantasms or mental fabrications. As shared visions of self and community, social imaginaries often find expression as namable collectivities such as ‘Americans’ or ‘Hutus’. Endowed with specific properties, social imaginaries acquire additional solidity through the social construction of space and the repetitive performance of their assigned qualities and characteristics. Thus feigning permanence, social imaginaries are nonetheless temporary constellations subject to constant change. Social imaginaries acquire additional solidity through the (re)construction of social space and the repetitive performance of certain communal qualities and characteristics. And yet, they are temporary constellations subject to change. At certain tipping points in history, such change can occur with lightning speed and tremendous ferocity.

The social revolutions in the Americas and Europe, for example, made visible the transformation of the old social imaginary in a dramatic way. For many generations, the old modes of understanding had reproduced divinely-sanctioned power hierarchies in the form of tribes, clanships, trading city-states, and dynastic empires. Between 1776 and 1848, however, there arose on both sides of the Atlantic the familiar template of the ‘nation’ now no longer referring to the king at the pinnacle of the state hierarchy but to an abstract ‘general will’ operating in free citizens fighting for their homeland. The political message was as clear as it was audacious: henceforth it would be ‘the people’—not kings, aristocrats, or clerical elites—that exercised legitimate authority in political affairs. Over time, the will of the people would replace monarchical forms of communal authority based on transcendental powers emanating from a divine realm beyond the nation. Thus, modern nationhood found its expression in the transformation of subjects into citizens who laid claim to equal membership in the nation and institutionalized their sovereignty in the modern nation-state. But who really counted as part of the people and what constituted the essence of the nation became the subject of fierce intellectual debates and material struggles. Seeking to remake the world according to the rising national imaginary, citizens exhibited a restlessness that became the hallmark of modernity. As William Connolly observes, ‘Modern agencies form and reform, produce and reproduce, incorporate and reincorporate, industrialize and reindustrialize. In modernity, modernization is always under way.’

Countless meanings and definitions of modernity have been put forward in the last two centuries. They extend far beyond familiar designations referring to a historical era in the West characterized by its radical rupture with the past and its ensuing temporal reorientation toward notions of infinite progress, economic growth, and enduring material prosperity. As philosopher Jürgen Habermas reminds us, modernity is inextricably intertwined with an expanding ‘public sphere’—the incubator of modernity’s tendency to ‘create its own normativity out of itself’. Various thinkers have elaborated on the main dynamics of modernity: the separation of state and civil society; conceptions of linear time; progressive secularization; individualism; intensifying geopolitical rivalries that facilitated the formation and institutionalization of modern nation-states. But who really counted as part of the people and what constituted the essence of the nation became the subject of fierce intellectual debates and material struggles. Seeking to remake the world according to the rising national imaginary, citizens exhibited a restlessness that became the hallmark of modernity. As William Connolly observes, ‘Modern agencies form and reform, produce and reproduce, incorporate and reincorporate, industrialize and reindustrialize. In modernity, modernization is always under way.’

19 This propensity of social imaginaries to give birth to ideologies that serve primarily on the level of ‘fantasies’ constructing political subjects has been emphasized by Slavoj Zizek, Mapping Ideology, Verso, London, 1994, pp. 1–33.
21 On the useful notion of historical ‘tipping points’ as particular combinations of dynamics and resources that can usher in a new organizing logic, see Saskia Sassen, Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2006, Chapter 4; and pp. 404–5.
The multiplication of nation-states; new orders of rationality and their corresponding domains of knowledge; the uneven expansion of industrial capitalism; the rapid diffusion of discursive literacy; the slow trend toward democratization; and so on. The detailed genealogy of these features need not concern us here. What we ought to consider straightaway, however, is the centrality of the national in the modern social imaginary.

**Ideologies and the National Imaginary**

New treatments of nationality and nationalism appearing on the academic scene since the early 1980s have advanced convincing arguments in favor of a tight connection between the forces of modernity, the spread of industrial capitalism, and the elite-engineered construction of the ‘national community’ as a cultural artifact. As Eric Hobsbawm notes, ‘The basic characteristic of the modern nation and everything associated with it is its modernity’.24 Even scholars like Anthony Smith who reject the modernist view that nations were simply ‘invented’ without the significant incorporation of pre-modern ethnic ties and histories, concede that nationalism represents ‘a modern movement and ideology, which emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Western Europe and America’.25 Smith’s definition of nationalism as an ‘ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of a nation’ usefully highlights the idiosyncratic ways of processing and disseminating secular ideas that emerged in the nineteenth century as a distinctive feature of modernity. As Tom Nairn explains, ‘An ism ceased to denote just a system of general ideas (like Platonism or Thomism) and evolved into a proclaimed cause or movement—no longer a mere school but a party or societal trend’.26 In other words, ideas acquired alluring banner headlines and truth claims that resonated with people’s interests and aspirations and thus bound them to a specific political program. Having to choose sides in these proliferating battles of political ideas, like-minded individuals organized themselves into clubs, associations, movements, and political parties with the primary objective of enlisting more people to their preferred normative vision of the national.

There is, however, a serious downside to Smith’s definition: it turns nationalism into an ideology of the same ilk as liberalism or conservatism. This begs the question of how nationalism can be both a distinct political ideology and a common source of inspiration for a variety of political belief systems. Sensing the overarching stature of the national, Benedict Anderson and other social thinkers with an anthropological bent have resisted the idea that nationalism should be seen as a distinct ideology. Instead, they refer to it as a ‘cultural artifact of a particular kind,’ that is, a relatively broad cultural system more closely related to ‘kinship’ and ‘religion’ than to ‘liberalism’ or ‘conservatism.’27 Following their intuition, then, I suggest that we treat the national not as an ideology in its own right but as a crucial component of the modern social imaginary. As such, the ‘national imaginary’ corresponds to what Benedict Anderson has called ‘modern imaginings of the nation’ as a limited and sovereign community of individuals whose knowledge of each other is, in most

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cases, not direct but mediated in linear time through the diffusion of discursive literacy. To a large extent, this was made possible by the invention of printing technology embedded in nascent capitalism.  

Assigning a prominent role to the national imaginary in the making of the modern world might strike some readers as idealist obscurantism, or—as some Marxist thinkers would have us believe—as a ‘reification’ or ‘mystification’ inherent in the class bias of this author. But most Marxist perspectives on modern social development propagated in the last century have been haunted by their consistent underestimation of nationalism’s generative power. As Cornelius Castoriadis put it wryly, ‘That a ‘mystification’ has effects so massively and terribly real, that it proves itself to be much stronger than any ‘real’ forces (including even the instinct to self-preservation), which ‘should have’ pushed the proletariat to fraternization long ago, that is the problem’. In short, the national has decisively coloured the modern social imaginary. Indeed, we ought to treat the national not as a separate ideology but as the background to our communal existence that emerged in the Northern Hemisphere with the American and French Revolutions. The national gave the modern social imaginary its distinct flavor in the form of various factual and normative assumptions that political communities, in order to count as ‘legitimate,’ had to be nation-states. Thus, the ‘national imaginary’ refers to the taken-for-granted understanding in which the nation—plus its affiliated or to-be-affiliated state—serves the communal frame of the political.

What, then, is the precise relationship between the national and ideology? Or, to reverse the question, what is the connection between political belief systems and the national imaginary? My thesis is that ideologies translate and articulate the largely pre-reflexive social imaginary in compressed form as explicit political doctrine. This means that the grand ideologies of modernity gave explicit political expression to the implicit national imaginary. To be sure, each ideology deployed and assembled its core concepts—liberty, progress, race, class, rationality, tradition, community, welfare, security, and so on—in specific and unique ways. But the elite codifiers of these ideational systems pursued their specific political goals under the common background umbrella of the national imaginary. Liberalism, conservatism, socialism, communism, and Nazism/fascism were all ‘nationalist’ in the sense of performing the same fundamental task of translating the overarching national imaginary into concrete political doctrines, agendas, and spatial arrangements. In so doing, ideologies normalized national territories; spoke in recognized national languages; appealed to national histories; told national legends and myths; or glorified a national ‘race.’ They articulated the national imaginary according to a great variety of criteria that were said to constitute the defining essence of the community.

However, whatever ideologies purported the essence of the nation to be, they always developed their truth-claims by decontesting their core concepts within the national imaginary. Liberals, for example, spoke of ‘freedom’ as applying to autonomous individuals belonging to the same national community, that is, the liberties of French, Colombian, or Australian citizens. The conservative fondness for

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28 Anderson, Imagined Communities, pp. 6-7.
31 Craig Calhoun argues that such nationalist ‘essentialism’ represents one of the guiding assumptions in modern thinking on matters of personal and collective identity. See Craig Calhoun, Nationalism, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1997, pp. 18–20.
‘law and order’ received its highest expression in the notion of national security. Tellingly, even the ostensibly-internationalist creed of socialists and communists achieved its concrete political formulation only as German social democracy or Soviet Russia’s ‘socialism in one country’. For two centuries, the partisans of political ideologies clashed with each other over such important issues as participation, the extent of civil rights, the purposes and forms of government, the role of the state, the significance of race and ethnicity, and the scope of political obligations. Clinging to their different political visions, they hardly noticed their common embeddedness in the national imaginary. Insisting on their obvious differences, they hardly questioned their common allegiance to the overarching national imaginary. After all, the business of modern political belief systems was the formidable task of realizing their core values under the banner of the nation-state—the ceaseless task of translating the national imaginary into competing political projects. By the early decades of the twentieth century, ideologies had been so successful in (re)producing the modern order of nation-states that national identity seemed to be the natural starting point for all humans. Thus attesting to the pervasive powers of the modern imaginary, significations of the national became so common that they turned almost invisible. Commenting on this process, Michael Billig has coined the term ‘banal nationalism’ to refer to ‘the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced’. These routines, Billig contends, ‘are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have supposed. Daily, the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’ in the lives of its citizenry’. While embodying ideational diversity, the grand ideologies of modernity nonetheless underwrote the common ‘banal’ project of flagging the nation.

Ideologies and the Global Imaginary

In the aftermath of World War II, new ideas, theories, and practices produced in the public consciousness a similar sense of rupture with the past that had occurred at the time of the French Revolution. Novel technologies facilitated the speed and intensity with which these ideas and practices infiltrated the national imaginary. Images, people, and materials circulated more freely across national boundaries. This new sense of ‘the global’ that erupted within and onto the national began to undermine the normality and self-contained coziness of the modern nation-state—especially deeply engrained notions of community tied to a sovereign and clearly-demarcated territory containing relatively homogenous populations. Identities based on national membership became destabilized. During the early decades of the Cold War, the changing social imaginary led prominent thinkers in the First World to proclaim the ‘end of ideology’. As evidence for their assertion, they pointed to the political-cultural consensus underpinning a common Western ‘community of values’ and the socio-economic welfare-state compromise struck between liberalism and democratic socialism. Conversely, detractors of the end-of-ideology thesis seized upon the decolonization dynamics in the Third World as well as the rise of the counter-cultural ‘new social movements’ in the 1960s and 1970s as evidence for their view that the familiar political belief systems were being complemented by ‘new ideologies’ such as feminism, environmentalism, and postcolonialism.

The most fundamental novelty of these ‘new ideologies’ lay in their sensitivity toward the rising global imaginary, regardless of whether they were formulated by the forces of the New Left or the cohorts of the New Right. Starting in the late 1970s, and especially after the 1991 disintegration of the Soviet Union, the ideas of the New Right gained the upper hand across the globe. By the mid-1990s, a growing chorus of global social elites was fastening onto the new buzzword ‘globalization’ as the central metaphor for their political agenda—the creation of a single global free market and the spread of consumerist values around the world. Most importantly, they translated the rising social imaginary into largely economistic claims laced with references to globality: ‘global’ trade and financial markets, ‘worldwide’ flows of goods, services, and labor, ‘transnational’ corporations, ‘offshore’ financial centers, and so on.

However, globalization was never merely a matter of increasing flows of capital and goods across national borders. Rather, it constitutes a multi-dimensional set of processes in which images, sound bites, metaphors, myths, symbols, and spatial arrangements of globality were just as important as economic and technological dynamics. The objective acceleration and multiplication of global material networks occurs hand in hand with the intensifying subjective recognition of a shrinking world. Such heightened awareness of the compression of time and space influences the direction and material instantiations of global flows. As sociologist Roland Robertson has pointed out, the compression of the world into a single place increasingly makes the global the frame of reference for human thought and action. Globalization involves both the macro-structures of community and the micro-structures of personhood. It extends deep into the core of the self and its

dispositions, facilitating the creation of new identities nurtured by the intensifying relations between the individual and the globe.\textsuperscript{35}

Like the conceptual earthquake that shook Europe and the Americas more than two-hundred years ago, today’s destabilization of the national affects the entire planet. The ideologies dominating the world today are no longer exclusively articulations of the national imaginary but reconfigured ideational systems that constitute potent translations of the dawning global imaginary. Although my account of this transformation emphasizes rupture, it would be foolish to deny obvious continuities. As Saskia Sassen notes, the incipient process of denationalization and the ascendance of novel social formations depend in good part on capabilities shaped and developed in the national age.\textsuperscript{36} Today’s discursive pre-eminence of the ‘market’, for example, harkens back to the heyday of liberalism in mid-Victorian England. And yet, this concept is no longer exclusively tied to the old paradigm of self-contained national economies but also refers to a model of global exchanges among national actors, subnational agencies, supranational bodies, networks of non-governmental organizations, and transnational corporations. Our New World Order contains a multiplicity of orders networked together on multiple levels. Disaggregating nation-states struggle to come to grips with relational concepts of sovereignty while facing unprecedented challenges to their authority from both subnational and supranational collectivities.\textsuperscript{37}

As I have argued previously, ‘market globalism’ emerged in the 1990s as a comprehensive ideology extolling, among other things, the virtues of globally


\textsuperscript{36} Sassen, \textit{Territory, Authority, Rights}, p. 402.

\textsuperscript{37} For a helpful discussion of ‘disaggregating states’ in the global age, see Anne-Marie Slaughter, \textit{A New World Order}, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2004.
integrating markets. Ideationally much richer than the more familiar term ‘neoliberalism’ suggests, market globalism discarded, absorbed and rearranged large chunks of the grand ideologies while at the same time incorporating genuinely new ideas. The outcome was a new political belief system capable of articulating the global imaginary in concrete political programs and agendas. However, no single ideational system ever enjoys absolute dominance. Battered by persistent gales of political dissent, the small fissures and ever-present inconsistencies in political ideologies threaten to turn into major cracks and serious contradictions. As the 1990s drew to a close, market globalism found itself challenged on the political Left by ‘justice globalism,’ an alternative translation of the rising global imaginary propagated by a global justice movement supporting the idea of ‘globalization-from-below.’

Although some political commentators have suggested that virulent forms of national populism embodied by the likes of Jean-Marie Le Pen and Jörg Haider constitute the most powerful right-wing challenge to market globalism, I contend that this designation belongs to ‘jihadist globalism’. Far from being a regionally contained ‘last gasp’ of a backward-looking, militant offshoot of political Islam, jihadism of the al-Qa’ida variety represents a potent globalism of worldwide appeal. In response to the ascent of jihadist globalism epitomized by the terrorist attacks of September 11, market globalism morphed into imperial globalism. This hard-powering of market globalism has been widely read as clear evidence for the staying power of the national, most clearly reflected in American Empire and its unilateral desire to remake the world in its own image. And yet, as Jan Nederveen Pieterse has demonstrated, American Empire is not at all incompatible with the rising global imaginary.

Potent as they are, the dynamics of denationalization at the heart of globalization neither propel the world to an inevitable endpoint nor have these forces dispensed entirely with vast ideational and material arsenals of the nation-state. The national is slowly losing its grip on people’s minds, but the global has not yet ascended to the commanding heights once occupied by its predecessor. It erupts in fits and false starts, offering observers confusing spectacles of social fragmentation and integration that cut across old geographical hierarchies of scale in unpredictable patterns. Consider, for example, the arduous processes of regional economic and political integration that are limping along on all continents. Still, expanding formations like the European Union—however chronic their internal tensions—have become far more integrated than most observers predicted only a decade ago. As the national and the global rub up against each other in myriad settings and on multiple levels, they produce new tensions and compromises. Putting the analytic spotlight on the changing ideological landscape not only yields a better understanding of the dominant political belief systems of our time but it also helps us make sense of the accelerating compression of time and space. The short duration and unevenness of today’s globalization dynamics make it impossible to paint a clear picture of the New World Order. But the first rays of the rising global imaginary have provided enough light to capture the contours of a profoundly-altered ideological landscape.

38 Steger, Globalism.
Creating Community in a World of Uncertainty: From Australia to Sri Lanka

Martin Mulligan

After going through a period of feeling very uninspired by what he perceived to be a narrowing of attitudes and preoccupations of the majority of Australians, the veteran social researcher Hugh Mackay released a new book in 2007 in which he suggests there are some grounds for thinking that the ‘Dreamy Period’ is coming to an end and that more people are wanting to move from individual preoccupations to new forms of social engagement. The early signs, he warns, may be no more than ‘straws in the wind’, but there appear to be new preoccupations that suggest people are thinking about the costs of being disengaged from society and politics. Mackay lists a range of growing social concerns, which include the climate change debate and the related debate on nuclear energy; concerns that incidents of ethnic conflict could put at risk our much-vaunted ‘multicultural society’; and a view that political excesses—such as in relation to our involvement in the war in Iraq and the introduction of rather extreme industrial relations laws—had become the cost of political quiescence. He detects new forms of activism, particularly among the young and often using the Internet, and he suggests that Australians may have finally come to terms with the revolution in gender roles that began in the 1970s. While there may be concerns about ethnic conflict, Mackay suggests that most Australians see multiculturalism as a reality that cannot be changed and as a potential strength in the modern world.

Mackay detects a desire to rebuild local communities that may have become more fractured and dysfunctional during the Dreamy Period. For older people, he suggests, this may be partly driven by a nostalgia for what they remember as more friendly neighbourhoods of the past. They are now expressing a desire to at least know their neighbours by name and to have a ‘nodding acquaintance’ with their circumstances. ‘The need for a sense of place that is both secure and familiar is strong within us’, Mackay writes, and organizations ranging from local government to Clean Up Australia are trying to build on that sentiment. In an interesting twist, Mackay suggests that older Australians might have something to learn from the ‘tribal’ tendencies of the young about supporting each other. He suggests that by the age of eighteen, many young people have gone through a significant bout of depression about coping with the stresses and strains of modern life and that many appear to reach the conclusion that ‘the most precious resource they have is each other’. It may indeed be the younger generation, Mackay concludes, who can reignite the ‘dream of community’ even if those communities take many new forms.

Mackay admits that the conclusions he draws from his wide-ranging interviews and focus groups must be treated as speculative, but he is adamant that there has been a significant change of mood in the nation.

1 Mackay made this point in an interview for the ABC television program Compass in November 2004.
3 ibid, p. 286.
4 ibid, p. 287.
5 ibid, p. 289.
Researching the Changing Nature of Local Communities

Discussion of mood shifts is interesting, but it clearly needs to be related to a deeper analysis of longer term social changes. For example, a range of sociologists\(^6\) have noted that nostalgia for community has been simmering alongside the growth of individualism for quite some time. Furthermore, it has been argued that predictions regarding the demise of local communities in the face of globalization were greatly exaggerated because local, or ‘face-to-face’, communities have continued as an essential ‘layer’ of social formation.\(^7\) Within the health-promotion field there has been a prevailing sentiment for at least ten years that investments in the ‘wellbeing’ of local communities can help to prevent a range of health breakdowns, and a team of researchers in the Globalism Research Centre recently completed a three-year study for the Victorian health promotion agency VicHealth on the efficacy of its strategy of investing in community arts in order to strengthen community wellbeing.\(^8\) This study was conducted across four very diverse Victorian communities (from inner urban to outer regional) and it concluded that innovative and creative community development practices have been effective in helping people to find a more secure sense of belonging in a changing world. Hopefully the mood shift detected by Mackay will mean that effective community development practitioners and community activists will find more fertile ground to work in and that their efforts will be more highly valued by society at large. However, the study conducted by the Globalism Research Centre concluded that in the contemporary world—in which the local is being constantly reshaped by the global—community formation must be a dynamic and ongoing process. Any captured sense of community can only be transitory because the ongoing search for identity and belonging in a changing world must be restless.

There are, of course, many forms of community that are not spatially bounded. Major developments in communication technologies in recent decades have made a host of non-local communities more viable. The compression of space and time under the conditions of globality means that people can now have a much stronger sense of belonging to communities of interest or identity that extend across cities, nations and even the planet. However, regardless of what choices individuals might make about participating in ‘abstracted’ communities we must all live, in an embodied sense, somewhere and the places where we reside physically must fulfill many of our most basic human needs (for example, access to food and drink, access to medical facilities, a sense that we ‘belong’ somewhere and that we can feel safe in the place where we reside physically). Without discounting the importance of other forms of community, this essay focuses on the changing nature of local communities under the conditions of intensifying globalization. It will draw substantially on the already-mentioned study conducted for VicHealth. However, it will also draw on more recent research by the author and others in the Globalism Research Centre on the experience of rebuilding local communities in parts of Sri Lanka that were devastated by the 2004 tsunami. While this research is in its early stages it can provide a very important comparison with the research on local communities in a country like Australia.


\(^{7}\) See, for example, Paul James, *Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In*, Sage, London, 2006.

Before looking at those research outcomes we must seek some clarification about why we might continue to use the term ‘community’ when there is little consensus about what it actually means. As far back as 1994, the historian Eric Hobsbawm wrote, rather famously: ‘Never was the word ‘community’ used more indiscriminately and emptily than in the decades when communities in the sociological sense became hard to find in real life’.9 Some respected scholars have even counselled against using the word ‘community’ because it is open to abuse, but that advice has fallen on deaf ears.10 In trying to grapple with changing meanings of the word many sociologists return to the famous book of Ferdinand Tönnies which was published in 1887 in German with the title *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. The two German terms have been translated into English as ‘community’ and ‘society’, and the popular interpretation has been that Tönnies described an historic shift when the emphasis changed from people living predominantly in relatively small rural communities bound by long-established traditions to people living predominantly in cities bonded in a more mechanical way by the structures and conventions of the nation. Tönnies can be read as a critic of modernity in that he tended to counterpose *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, yet near the end of his book he wrote that ‘the essence of both Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is interwoven in all kinds of associations’11, and that he was himself a socialist in the tradition of Marx.12

What has given Tönnies’ book some enduring appeal is probably the notion that different forms of association can overlap, and sociologists continue to search for *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* characteristics in contemporary communities. However, Tönnies presented an evolutionary account of changing social formations and

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12Ibid, p. 33.
projected a progression towards more utopian forms of community in the future. Emile Durkheim entrenched the notion of historic progression of social formations even more when he criticized Tönnies for favouring *gemeinschaft* over *gesellschaft*. In his book *The Division of Labour in Society*, Durkheim argued that new forms of solidarity and citizenship were emerging within modern large-scale social formations and that community had become a moral force rather than a sense of obligation to the past.

There is a danger in stretching the notion of community to cover the entire realm that Habermas called the ‘public sphere’. This is effectively what Talcott Parsons did in 1961 when he introduced the notion of the ‘societal community’, and while that notion tantalized some later scholars it only served to create confusion regarding different layers of social formation. More recently, it has become fashionable to use the term ‘civil society’, following the work of Anthony Giddens and Robert Putnam. In an important new contribution to this debate, Jeffrey Alexander has proposed the term ‘civil sphere’ to bring it closer to Habermas’ notion of the ‘public sphere’, and he has returned to Durkheim’s interest in trying to understand the conditions in which strong notions of justice and solidarity will emerge. However, as one review of Alexander’s book pointed out, his starting point ‘calls for stripping the project of its evolutionary mooring and unsubstantiated optimism’ and it is based on the realization that a civil sphere ‘exists, to the extent that it does, as a never-ending, non-teleological collective effort’.

If we combine Alexander’s notion of the ‘civil sphere’ with Benedict Anderson’s influential conception of the nation as an ‘imagined community’, we can see community as an act of consciousness that can manifest itself at all levels of social integration from the local to the global. Community, I will argue here, is the product of some kind of collective effort to create a sense of association, or even ‘belonging’, and this subjectivity must be constantly created and recreated in response to changing circumstances. It is critical to relate this dynamic sense of community to the conditions of globality, in which the layers of social extension—from the local to the global—interact much more directly and rapidly with each other than at any time in the past. Fortunately for the rest of us, Gerard Delanty has made an excellent start on this rather daunting task with his concise, yet incisive, review of the literature.

**Delanty’s Contribution**

Delanty begins by pointing out that Tönnies was not the first to think of community as a tension between loss and recovery. Indeed, Delanty argues, prevailing Western conceptions of community from the ancient Greeks onwards have combined ‘nostalgic narratives of loss’ with ‘utopian dreams’ of the future. This is what has given them popular appeal. ‘Community exerts itself as a powerful idea of belonging in every age,’ he wrote, and this is what gives it ‘persuasive power’ and even a kind of perennially subversive character. At the same time, Delanty asserts,

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13 As discussed by Delanty, *Community*, pp. 36–7.
14 First published in 1893.
19 Delanty, *Community*.
20 ibid, p. 11.
there has always been an ‘ambivalence’ at the ‘heart of the idea of community’. It has been used to refer to both ‘locality and particularness’ and also to the sense of a ‘universal community in which all human beings participate’. This was expressed by the Greeks as the idea that community belongs in the relationship between the polis and the cosmos.

While earlier notions of community tended to define it in opposition to the state, the rise of modernity led to the idea that community could be defined in opposition to ‘society’—as reflected in Tönnies work—and community was assigned by sociologists and anthropologists alike to the realm of culture rather than politics. This ‘cultural turn’ in discourses about community led to widespread predictions regarding the demise of community. As mentioned earlier, Durkheim’s sociology led to an interest in ‘civil society’ as distinct from ‘community’, and sociological interest in community continued to fade until Victor Turner (1969), followed by Anthony Cohen (1985), emphasized the importance of community as a symbolic expression, or assertion, of a sense of belonging. According to Delanty, what sociologists failed to notice for a long period of time was that community continued to be a form a civic association, even a radical form of collective mobilization that was more political than cultural in intent.

Rather ironically, it was the Chicago School of urban sociologists who began to revive interest in locality communities in the 1940s and 1950s. Early work on the emergence of new forms of local communities within urban conglomerates was subsequently picked up by influential writers such as Manuel Castells and Mike Davis. An important contribution of this school of thought was to stress the importance of communication in the formation of community. In Delanty’s words, ‘Community is communicative in the sense of being formed in collective action based on place’ and this is important to the ‘building of personal identities’. The resurgence of interest in community led to the emergence of communitarianism as an ideology. While Delanty detects several distinct strands of communitarianism—from a dominant liberal version to a more marginal version that tried to reinvent community in the guise of radical pluralism—he concluded that it became, in the main, politically conservative. Delanty refers to the work of Nikolas Rose in saying that conservative communitarianism became a ‘quasi-governmental discourse that facilitates new technologies of power and social management’ (as manifested in the ‘Third Way’ politics of British Prime Minister Tony Blair). Radical pluralism drew inspiration from the fact that most Western societies have become far more ethnically diverse as a result of mass migrations and that this has led to policies favouring multiculturalism. While Delanty suggests that the reality of ethnic diversity makes it even more important to make community formation a more conscious process of communication and negotiation he also suggests that multiculturalism has been based on the faulty premise that ethnic groups will remain internally homogeneous in new and changing social settings. We have moved beyond multiculturalism, he suggests, to a point where ‘pluralization’ has transformed ‘the relationship between state and society’.

21 ibid, p. 12.
23 Delanty, Community, p. 71.
24 ibid, p. 88.
25 ibid, p. 110.
If we start to see communities as being ‘wilfully constructed’ and as being ‘defined by practices rather than by structures or cultural values’, Delanty argues that we can think of many ‘social movements’ as being ‘communities of dissent’. In this sense, social movements can move beyond a form of political mobilization to become a *habitus* (to borrow Bourdieu’s term) in which practices define a sense of belonging. If we emphasize the importance of communication for the formation of communities, Delanty continues, we can also see the formation of ‘postmodern communities’ that are interested in the ‘re-enchantment of everyday life’. Here Delanty suggests it is useful to introduce a distinction between ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ communities. Many writers, notably Manuel Castells, have expressed great enthusiasm for the transformative power of ‘virtual’ communities that can cross boundaries of space and time and promote a new sense of cosmopolitanism. However, such communities are likely to be thin rather than thick in terms of the sense of belonging that is engendered. At the same time, Delanty suggests that new networks created by computer-mediated communication, can ‘enhance local forms of belonging rather than undermine them’.

Let me illustrate the importance of Delanty’s contribution by referring to a much less successful attempt to frame the discussion on identity and belonging in the contemporary world. A recent edition of the journal of the International Sociological Association—*International Sociology*—was dedicated to an exploration of what has been called a ‘relational approach to social identities’, with Spanish sociologist Ainhoa de Federico de la Rua providing the theoretical introduction to a range of case studies seeking to use this way of locating ‘social networks’. De Federico de la Rua describes it as a ‘structural interactionist’ approach to questions of social identity, and begins with the idea that there is a layer of social formation that fits in between the individual search for identity and the sense of belonging to a nation. This is what the author defines as a ‘meso’ layer fitting between the ‘macro’ and the ‘micro’. Instead of using the terms such as ‘community’ or ‘civil society’, De Federico de la Rua talks of ‘networks of social relations in which individuals are embedded’. This approach tries to capture a more dynamic understanding of social formation, insisting, for example, on using the term ‘identification’ rather than ‘identity’. However, it collapses the complexity of social formation into three very broad and rather hierarchically defined categories and it leaves out the global dimension of social formation altogether. It is far less elegant, and ultimately much less successful, than Delanty’s way of distinguishing between the normative function of community as a search for belonging and the layers of social extension that extend from the local to the global.

Delanty’s ‘central argument’ is that ‘Community is relevant today because, on the one side, the fragmentation of society has provoked a worldwide search for community, and on the other … cultural developments and global forms of communication have facilitated the construction of community’. Whereas many have predicted the demise of community—firstly under the tramping feet of modernity and then drowning in the swirling complexities of globalization—Delanty suggests that ‘the persistence of community consists in its ability to communicate ways of

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26 ibid, p. 130.
27 ibid, p. 132.
28 ibid, p. 185.
30 ibid, p. 690
belonging, especially in the context of an increasingly insecure world’.\textsuperscript{32} However, it is impossible to make sense of community formation in the contemporary world unless we shift the emphasis from forms of social organization or sites of meaning to an understanding that community involves systems of communication about belong. Meaning is no longer given or passed on within stable social institutions but ‘is more and more constructed by a vast variety of social actors’ who must act individually and collectively to make sense of their experiences. Communities that are thus created do not simply reproduce meaning, they also produce it. Globalization continues to dissolve old certainties and thus intensifies the search for the security of belonging, and, at the same time, new forms of communication facilitate the creation of new forms of belonging. New forms of community that extend way beyond the constraints of locality rely on the use of imagination and, in turn, this can change the ways in which people think about the dynamic nature of local communities. Ironically, an increased capacity to imagine community and the growing desire of individuals to find a sense of belonging within discursively constituted communities makes the ‘finality’ of community impossible because it ‘ends up [being] destroyed by the individualism that created the desire for it’.\textsuperscript{33}

Delanty’s dynamic conception of community is focused on processes that are ‘more likely to be expressed in an active search to achieve belonging rather than in preserving boundaries’.\textsuperscript{34} While politically conservative notions of community can be used precisely to preserve boundaries and promote social exclusion, the noble aim of his book is to retrieve a conception of community that can be used to enhance social life for the maximum number of people, based on a deep understanding of the conditions of globality. He concludes that the ‘revival of community is undoubtedly related to the crisis of belonging in relation to place’; new forms of community have ‘not been able to substitute anything for place’.\textsuperscript{35} He suggests that more work needs to be done to establish whether or not imagined communities can establish a ‘connection with place’. This provides a perfect segue back to the research, mentioned earlier, conducted by a team in the Globalism Research Centre for VicHealth on ways of using the arts to create more resilient local communities.

\textbf{Some Reflections on Creating Community}

As already mentioned, the study conducted by a team of researchers in the Globalism Research Centre for VicHealth focused on four diverse place-based Victorian communities. They included an inner-urban community centred on St Kilda; an outer-urban community centred on Broadmeadows; a rural community centred on the popular rural town of Daylesford in the state’s central highlands, and a regional community centred on Hamilton in the state’s western district. The study used a ‘social mapping’ methodology developed by the Globalism Research Centre that includes methods ranging from quantitative surveys to ‘strategic conversations’ and the collection of relevant stories. Conducted over a period of three years, it culminated in the writing of a major report. The report endorsed VicHealth’s strategy of investing in community-arts initiatives to create more inclusive and dynamic local communities, however, it was also able to draw on the very rich documentation of local social experiences to address much broader social themes, such as the changing nature of local community life. These complexities related to the much-stated goal of increasing social inclusion, the role of place understanding

\textsuperscript{32} ibid, p. 187.
\textsuperscript{33} ibid, p. 192.
\textsuperscript{34} ibid, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{35} ibid, p. 195.
in the creation of local communities, broader issues related to identity and belonging, and issues related to participation and agency within communities.

In using the title *Creating Community* we tried to capture the dynamic sense of community formation in the contemporary world that Delanty also evokes. The study focused on community arts and celebrations, and we found that individuals engaged in a personal search for meaning in the face of uncertainty and risk may well turn to artistic modes of expression, such as creative or biographical writing and visual arts, to make sense of their lived experiences. This, in turn, can enable them to see how their own life narratives interlink with those of people who live in the same local communities. People who are feeling isolated—such as mothers with young children or people with chronic illness—or people who are new to a local community may seek out opportunities for shared creative expression in the form of community choirs or community theatre projects. Many festivals or even more spontaneous celebrations may offer a sense of identity and belonging that does not involve serious commitment on the part of participants. A very successful Multicultural Planting Festival in the Broadmeadows area enabled people from diverse cultural backgrounds to participate in local landscape restoration work while, at the same time, offering gifts of food and/or performance from their own cultural heritage. Many people living in the Hamilton region were inspired by the challenge of helping to create a very special community celebration—the Top of the Town Ball—that simultaneously lifted community spirits and raised a staggering $269,000 for the local hospital.

A focus on shared creativity can greatly enrich the task of community building and sometimes a local initiative will resonate widely. An Anti-Racism Action Band (A.R.A.B.) that was formed in the Broadmeadows area to respond to a growth of anti-Muslim sentiment following the events of September 11, 2002, attracted over one hundred young participants. In less than two years the group had given more than eighty performances across Melbourne, with a total audience of around 20,000 people. At the same time that A.R.A.B. was being formed, religious leaders belonging to an inter-faith group in Broadmeadows were able to appeal to a sense of community in the area during an impressive campaign against an upsurge in racism and religious intolerance following the Bali bombings.

There are, of course, many community art projects that are narrow and unimaginative in their aims and methods, or paternalistic in their desire to serve the ‘needy’. Such projects will do nothing to build a sense of community. Social inclusion, our study showed, should aim to give people more choice about the extent to which people want to participate in their community. For example, a resident in a St Kilda rooming house for people who have trouble finding secure and affordable accommodation told us that he enjoyed the practice of conjuring up stories from his past experience since joining the Roomers Magazine writing group. However, he used the practice to retain a certain distance from others living in the same rooming house. He enjoyed the idea that he could mediate his engagement with others by sharing his stories when he chose to. In our report we concur with Richard Sennett’s observation that in the face of greater uncertainty and risk many people want to ‘make their experiences cohere’ by creating a sense of ‘narrative movement’ in their lives.36 We argue that the creation of stronger self-narratives can give people a stronger sense of agency in the way they negotiate their social relationships. For many people whom we interviewed this involved a desire to have a stronger sense of belonging to place. For example, weavers from a wide range of cultural backgrounds joined a project

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initiated by an arts officer working for the local government authority covering the Broadmeadows area because it acknowledged their diverse cultural traditions in the process of creating a single woven tree that reflected the area’s natural heritage and Aboriginal cultural heritage.

Our study focused on creative, artistic processes that have been used to create a stronger or more inclusive sense of identity and belonging on the part of individuals and groups living in particular local communities. This emphasis on creativity reflects the point made by Delanty that in a context of global flux and uncertainty communities are a product of the imagination rather than the outcome of a society’s institutional arrangements. Whereas community development as a field of practice in Australia may sometimes reflect rather naïve forms of communitarianism, we argued that it has been greatly enriched in recent years by a closer engagement with community arts practices. Rather than seeing local communities as a precondition for meaningful social interaction the emphasis shifts to community as an act of creative imagination related to the constant search for identity and meaning in a changing world. This way of seeing community formation in the contemporary world also gives rise to a more dynamic understanding of social inclusion as a policy goal. A prevailing sense of local community-identity might reflect only the goals and aspirations of those who dominate local institutions or even those who are promoting particular economic development strategies for the region concerned. For example, identity claims for those wanting to promote tourism or business investment in an area will often be based on a very narrow reading of the area’s history and/or its social or natural characteristics. More inclusive expressions of community identity in the present must involve the negotiation of overlapping, sometimes competing, identity claims. Mass migration and increased mobility mean that local communities around the world are in a process of constant transformation and this will be reflected in the way that competing identity claims are negotiated.

Nurturing a stronger ‘sense of place’ in the Australian context often involves a critical review of European settlement practices that failed to understand the ecological realities of the ‘new’ land or the presence of an ancient human society. Critical thinking about history can lead to reflections about what might constitute a stronger sense of belonging to place, and, as Keith Basso has suggested, ‘[p]lace-based thoughts about self lead to thoughts of other things—other places, other people, other times, whole networks of associations that ramify unaccountably within the expanding spheres of awareness’. However, thinking about the past can only partially prepare us for the changing nature of community life in the present. For as Doreen Massey has insisted, space is ‘the sphere in which distinct narratives coexist’. A focus on spatiality ‘entails the recognition that there is more than one story going on … and that these stories have, at least, a relative autonomy’. Massey sees great potential in the way that communities of place might deal with ‘coexisting multiplicity’ because it could lead to a new ‘radical openness’ that ‘revolves around the openness of the future, the interrelatedness of identities and the nature of our relations with different others’. This may be overstating the potential of place-related processes of community creation, but our study did reveal some creative work taking places in all four local communities at the intersection of place, identity and change.

Massey’s point about ‘coexisting multiplicity’ reminds us that communities of place are not bounded by their relationship to space because associations can cut across that form of identity. We found it useful to distinguish three forms of community relations that can operate simultaneously at a local level. First, we identified ‘grounded community relations’ in which the salient feature is attachment to particular places and particular people through relations of mutual presence and placement. This sense of community is bounded, both ecologically and socially, but the sense of belonging to such communities is bounded only by a taken-for-granted sense of commonality that may remain subliminal until unexpected challenges arise, whether they be in the form of personal crises or some change of circumstance for the community as a whole. By contrast, ‘way-of-life community relations’ give primacy to an adherence to a particular way of living that is bounded by norms of right and wrong, appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. For such communities, place and presence are less important than they once were because communication technologies enable people to sustain a sense of belonging and improved travel technologies enable them to meet and attend occasional gatherings. However, at a local level, way-of-life communities will promote their claims for a normative form of community identity. The third form of community relations that we identified is what we called ‘projected communities’, and here the emphasis is on the creation of new spaces in which people can invent new ways of living and new forms of personhood. This is probably the most nebulous form of community because creative spaces that are opened up—often through the use of internet sites such as YouTube—may be highly transitory. It is a possibility that excited the English sociologist Nikolas Rose. However, as Gerard Delanty has warned, such virtual communities may be overrated in their importance.41 Our study suggested that some forms of community art—for example, community theatre—can open a local space for the exploration of new forms of identity so ‘projected’ communities can be embodied and local as well as abstracted and virtual.

Of course, there can be problems in suggesting a typology of community forms because others might haggle over the accuracy of the naming or the description of key characteristics. Others will want to add other forms of community altogether. The key point, however, is to understand that community formation operates within different, yet overlapping, social spheres, and at different levels of integration and consciousness. This makes it even more important to think of community as an act of creative imagination, as Delanty suggested.

Before moving on it is important to mention one more of the key findings emerging from the study. Many people involved in community development as a field of practice or people who promote it as a policy objective emphasize the importance of active participation in community life. The study did confirm the importance of programs and projects—for example, art or writing classes, community choirs—that give people an opportunity to participate actively in an exploration of their lived experiences. Such opportunities can be particularly important for people who are feeling socially isolated. However, we also found that big events, such as festivals, can simply result in an ‘avowal’ of community that is enough for many participants. In other words, it may be enough for many people to feel that they belong to active and interesting local communities even if they have little time or inclination to participate more actively in community activities. An avowal of community is an important outcome of community ‘celebrations’ as distinct from more active forms

41 Delanty, Community.
of community participation. When we conducted a survey of people attending a range of such public events we found that a surprisingly high proportion (40.7 per cent) said their motivation was to ‘support my community’, while a smaller number (33.6 per cent) ticked the box saying that they had come ‘to have some fun’.

A Much More Challenging Context for the Creation of Community

While local communities in Australia have faced some significant upheavals in recent decades—from, for example, economic ‘restructuring’ that has reshaped employment prospects—such upheavals have been far less challenging than those facing local communities in many countries of the Global South. Sri Lanka, for example, is a country in which local communities have long been divided by a protracted civil conflict that has created new tensions related to ethnicity and religious affiliation. This was further compounded when the devastating tsunami of December 2004 killed around 35,000 people living in local coastal communities and left more than 100,000 people homeless and displaced. The present author is in the early stages of a three-year research project focused on the recovery of local communities in the wake of the tsunami disaster, and while that study is in its early stages it is interesting to compare the prospects for community formation in Sri Lanka and Australia.

Perhaps the first point to make is that while the tsunami was acknowledged as a national disaster the civil conflict between the Sri Lankan government and its armed forces on the one side and the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) on the other has been far more insidious and consequential in terms of its negative impact on community formation. The armed conflict has claimed at least 20,000 lives over the last twenty-five years and it has left a stubborn legacy of bitterness that has poisoned relationships between the Sinhalese majority (around 70 per cent of the population), the Tamil minority (around 15 per cent of the population) and the substantial Muslim minority (around 9 per cent of the population). Although the conflict is overtly between those who support a Sinhalese/Buddhist identity for the nation as a whole and those who are fighting for a Tamil homeland, it has engulfed everyone. The very large Muslim community in the Ampara District of the eastern province, for example, has attracted the ire of the LTTE for wanting to stay neutral in the conflict, and they have found themselves caught in the crossfire between the Tamil army and the national government’s army that is entirely Sinhalese.

When the national government and the Tamil Tigers agreed to a ‘ceasefire’ and a process for negotiating a peace settlement in 2002, a new era seemed to have opened, and the promise of peace continued through to 2005 despite the slow and tortuous nature of the negotiations mediated by Norway. The tragedy of the 2004 tsunami seemed to create a new impetus for a meaningful peace settlement, but a failure of leadership by both the government and the LTTE led to renewed conflict and tension. While the world responded with unprecedented generosity to the tsunami disaster, the task of rebuilding so many shattered communities has been largely beyond the capacity of a national government that was not able to secure peace. The rebuilding task was not adequately devolved to local authorities, and three years after the disaster, many people were still living in temporary accommodation. Furthermore, persistent allegations that the national government had favoured the Sinhalese-dominated southern province over the Tamil-dominated provinces of the east and north in the allocation of funds and resources for the rebuilding effort led to a further increase in ethnic tensions.

Sri Lankan tradition—regardless of ethnic origin—has emphasized the importance of family and place identities. The sense of local community was, of course, cut
across by caste divisions in rather hierarchical forms of social organization. Yet, the tradition of clan and place identity is evoked more often in contemporary Sri Lankan society than it is, for example, in contemporary Australian society. At the same time, a respected scholar of Sri Lankan history, Eric Meyer, has suggested that at the time of independence from Britain in 1948 Sri Lanka was better placed than India to escape the shackles of its colonial history. Although the British had consciously fostered divisions between the Sinhalese and Tamils (for example, by favouring the appointment of Tamils in the public service) the caste system was breaking down much faster in Sri Lanka than India and the country had a high rate of literacy. English had been adopted as an unofficial common language and it was widely used. Furthermore, Meyer pointed out, Sri Lanka’s position on the planet meant that it had long-established trading relationships with nations stretching from eastern Asia to Europe and this created a sense of global awareness that was harder to detect in post-independence India.

Well before independence had become inevitable, the British government established a commission headed by Lord Donoughmore to look at ways in which the island’s ethnic plurality might be adequately reflected in terms of political representation. Some have argued that this led to an upsurge in separatist identity politics, but it also led to prolonged national debate about how to create a nation-state in such a complex society, with particular emphasis on the protection of ‘minority rights’. In the lead-up to independence, the British established another commission, headed by Lord Soulbury, to draft a constitution for self-rule. The draft constitution fudged the difficult questions about how to reflect the nation’s ethnic diversity in forms of political representation, but it is important to note that a federal model with four, or even eight, semi-autonomous provinces, was still being discussed after independence.

The formation in 1931 of the Sinhala Maha Sabha had led to an increasing domination of the independence movement by Sinhalese politicians who promoted Sinhalese language and Sinhalese ‘values’ as being the necessary icons for national independence. The Sinhalese-dominated United National Party was in power when independence was finally achieved in 1948 and while it promoted Sinhalese nationalism it adopted a fairly liberal attitude towards the ‘ethnic minorities’. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) was formed in 1951 to promote a stronger commitment to Sinhalese nationalism, and when the party gained power in 1956, with important support from politically active Buddhist monks, it made Sinhala the de facto national language and began to promote Buddhism as the ‘national’ religion. In 1972, a government dominated by the SLFP ensured that Sinhala language and Buddhism were given clear preference within a new national constitution, and although subsequent governments led by the United National Party tried to water down this hegemony Sinhalese nationalism was entrenched within the conception of the independent state.

Sinhalese nationalism is based on a set of popular myths about the history of the Sinhalese people. For example, it has long been held that the Sinhalese were in Sri Lanka long before the Tamils began to colonize the north and east, and that they were somehow superior in being of Aryan origin (from northern India) rather than Dravidian (southern India). It is commonly held that Tamil kings frequently tried to annex Sri Lanka to Tamil Nadu in India and that the Sinhalese became the guardians of the most pure form of Buddhism. Since the late 1970s, such claims have been hotly contested by younger historians who have pointed to a more complex process of identity formation. While the Sinhala language is clearly northern Indian in origin, it is now clear that the early northern Indian settlers in Sri Lanka mixed with the early southern Indian settlers and that Sinhalese people can trace their origins to Tamil Nadu and Kerala as well as northern India. Indeed, for a long period of time Sinhalese kings followed the practice of taking their wives from elite families in Tamil Nadu. Younger historians are emphasizing the idea that Sri Lanka is truly a ‘hybrid island’, and this makes modern segregation strategies painful and freshly divisive. The evidence suggests that migrants from both northern and southern India began to settle in Sri Lanka at a similar time and that they often lived in mixed local communities. From this it is clear that Sri Lankan Tamils have as much claim to historical continuity as the Sinhalese and that they are no less loyal to their homeland.

Sadly, the emergence of Sinhalese nationalism as a dominant political ideology in the period since independence has not only created new ethnic tensions across the nation, it has also led to the creation of a separatist Tamil nationalism fighting for an independent Tamil Eelam. The SLFP government led by Solomon Bandaranaike, which took power in 1956, not only moved to make Sinhala language and Buddhism the symbols of a new national identity, it loudly asserted that national unity necessitated a ‘unitary state’ that would rule out any form of autonomy for the provinces. A highly centralized form of government, centred on Colombo, left the

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44 See Wickramasinghe, Sri Lanka in the Modern Age, p. 97.
45 ibid, for a discussion of this challenge to prevailing myths, pp. ix–xvii,
46 Meyer, Biography of an Island includes a useful review of the literature on the origins of Sinhalese and Tamil Sri Lankans
47 ibid.
Jaffna Tamils’ of the country’s north-east with nowhere to go except towards some form of separatism, and it also undermined the effective development of local and provincial government. It is difficult to see how the counter-position of Sinhalese and Tamil nationalism can now be resolved because they are defined, however falsely, in opposition to each other. The younger generation of scholars who have engaged in Sri Lanka’s version of the ‘history wars’ have helped to undermine the bogus claims of Sinhalese nationalism used to promote Sinhalese hegemony and they have suggested that hybridity should be seen as an asset for Sri Lanka in the face of complex processes of identity formation in the contemporary world. However, the ongoing conflict between the Sinhalese-dominated government and the Tamil separatists has created a profound pessimism that overshadows such work at present.

**Focusing on the Rebuilding of Local Communities in the Wake of the Tsunami**

While conditions in Sri Lanka seem inauspicious for any efforts aimed at reasserting the importance of community, Yaso Nadarajah and I are involved in a post-tsunami study of community revival that suggests that all is not as gloomy as might be expected. We are looking at the rebuilding of tsunami-devastated communities at Seenigama in the Galle District, at Hambantota on the island’s south-east corner, and at Thirrikovil and Sainthamaruthu in the Ampara District further to the north. The village of Seenigama is only about two hours south of Colombo, and this community, located near an important Buddhist temple, is entirely Sinhalese. Nearly half the people living in Hambantota are Muslim and that proportion was even higher in fishing communities that lived nearest to the sea when the tsunami claimed around 3000 lives in Hambantota. Thirrikovil is a historically important Hindu community centred on an ancient Hindu temple that was badly damaged by the tsunami, while Sainthamaruthu is a densely settled Muslim community where around 6,000 people died. While this research is still in its early stages it is clear that a strong sense of community identity has helped to rebuild shattered lives in all four communities, even if the enormity of the tragedy continues to prey on the minds of those who survived.

In Seenigama the task of rebuilding was made easier by the existence of a dynamic local non-government organization called the Foundation of Goodness, and many people were able to move into new houses that are not far from where their old houses once stood. While significant challenges remain for tsunami survivors in Seenigama and questions linger about the role that FoG will play in the future, FoG founder Kushil Gunasekera has some justification in claiming that the wave of destruction has been turned into a wave of opportunity for those who survived. At Hambantota, a broadly-based, multi-faith community committee was set up soon after the tsunami struck in order to ensure that aid was distributed fairly and according to need. Their task was a daunting one and it was not made easier when local and national authorities decided that the tsunami survivors would be relocated into a ‘new town’ to be built several kilometres from the sea. Hambantota is close to the home territory of national president Mahinda Rajapakse. After the tsunami, he promised to fast-track major new developments for the town. However, the fishermen who had lived close to the sea—the majority of whom are Muslim—resented the forced relocation to the large ‘new town’, and the construction of a very large new harbour for container ships has cut the main access road to the old town, disadvantaging the local traders, 80 per cent of whom are Muslim. Muslims

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49 The so-called ‘Ampara District’ probably should be named the Kalmunai District because Kalmunai is much older and bigger than the Sinhalese ‘enclave’ at Ampara.
have also complained about the allocation of housing in the new town and some have suggested that the new developments being promoted by Rajapakse are designed to favour the Sinhalese over the Muslims. Hambantota has long been a very ‘politicized’ community—with a strong presence of the radical Sinhalese Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP). This has probably led to political interference in the allocation of new houses. However, it also means that there are many people in the community who know how to advocate effectively for their interests, and there is bound to be strong resistance to plans that will disadvantage sections of the community.

Three years after the tsunami, the new community of over 6,000 households in Hambantota was struggling with poor infrastructure related to roads and transport and the provision of clean water. For the residents, the long-term benefits of such a massive relocation remained in doubt. Meanwhile, the area near the sea where many of the survivors had lived has been zoned to become a ‘marine park’ aimed at attracting more tourists. Tourism is at a low ebb in Sri Lanka following the sharp escalation of the civil war during 2007, and it will probably take years to recover even if the conflict is settled in some way. So the plans for the old town may fail and the overall planning for a much larger town will be compromised. There is no guarantee that the promise of an international airport, rail links and improved road links will ever materialize and, in the meantime, most people in Hambantota face a very uncertain future in regard to livelihoods.

Tamil Hindus have been living at Thirrukovil for around two millennia. Local legend has it that the first temple built there, on the coast, is now under the sea and people say they caught sight of it when the approaching tsunami waves sucked back the ocean’s edge for more than a kilometre. The dry-land temple that was proudly facing the sea was badly damaged when the waves struck and several rows of houses were demolished. Many of those who had lived in the vicinity of the temple, and who depended largely on fishing for their livelihoods, have been relocated to a permanent settlement several kilometres inland and it is difficult for them to get to the sea and to the village. Much effort has focused on rebuilding the temple. It has re-emerged as a strong symbol of resistance. However, the biggest uncertainty facing the people of Thirrukovil stems not from the local impact of the tsunami but from national and regional conflicts. Not long before the author visited the Ampara District in late September 2007, the national government had proclaimed that the south-eastern provinces had been ‘liberated’ because the Tamil Tigers had been driven out. The reality is that the region remains heavily militarized; if you travel on a bus, for example, you have to get out frequently to walk through military checkpoints while the vehicle is examined forensically. Heavily-armed young Sinhalese soldiers patrol the streets, while local police have their own, separate, checkpoints. The Tamil Tigers have been largely excluded from the south-east because the breakaway ‘Karuna Faction’ (TMVP) has done a deal with the army to share control of the region. Some villages are clearly under the control of the TMVP and in these villages young and heavily armed rebel soldiers patrol the streets. The atmosphere is very tense.

Since the long conflict began, local communities in the Ampara District have become more heavily segregated into separate Hindu and Muslim districts, with each community having its own local government authority. The town of Ampara was created soon after national independence as a Sinhalese enclave in the region and there are a few other Sinhalese enclaves outside Ampara and the number of Sinhalese ‘settlers’ is increasing. Those who have supported the Tamil liberation struggle have been critical of the Muslim communities in this district because they
have long opposed the war, even though they favour some form of autonomy for the province. Throughout the district, there are new settlements for war refugees (mostly from the north) as well as the new settlements for tsunami victims. Standing among the ruins of old houses near the sea in places such as Thirrupukoil and Sainthamaruthu it is easy to think that the tsunami came recently rather than three years earlier and it is obvious that the national government has contributed less to the reconstruction than in places like Hambantota. The death toll was high in Sainthamaruthu because a natural canal channeled the killer waves deep into the densely-packed community. A range of international NGOs have a high profile in the reconstruction of Sainthamaruthu, with the Irish NGO GOAL being singled out by local guides as being particularly effective. In the absence of government-led reconstruction, the people of Sainthamaruthu have been forced to rely on assistance from the global community. Despite the ever-present and rather eerie reminders of the destruction wrought be the tsunami here, the people of Sainthamaruthu are busily going about their business, and there is a sense of resilience that was surely tested in the extreme.

Clearly, the rebuilding of viable local communities in tsunami-ravaged parts of Sri Lanka faces enormous, ongoing challenges, especially in the regions right along the east coast that have also been war zones for nearly a quarter of a century. It will surely take a decade or more to get back to some sort of ‘normality’ in the wake of the tsunami. However, there are also many inspiring stories of how people have helped each other. For example, very few children who lost both parents have been put into orphanages because other, sometimes distant, relatives have taken them in. Small local organizations—such as the Al-Hikma Foundation in Hambantota—have risen to the task of looking out for those who are most in need. Many people who lost almost everything in the tsunami have told the author that relatives, friends and neighbours have given them enormous support, even if they also lost much in the disaster themselves. People who have said that their lives are a real struggle since the tsunami have also said that they would not want to live anywhere else. No doubt a disaster can strengthen the resilience of those who survive. The memory of how people from right across Sri Lanka rallied to help the disaster victims is well entrenched in the minds of those victims. There are many stories to say that ethnic divisions were frequently put aside in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami, and such stories were still being told three years on. While both the national government and the Tamil Tigers failed to turn this into an enduring ‘peace dividend’ it will remain as an enduring memory.

The Foundation of Goodness in Seenigama is a particularly interesting example of a local organization that rose magnificently to the task of rebuilding a shattered community in the wake of the tsunami. This foundation already existed when the disaster hit and it already had a community development plan for a village that had depended too long on the unsustainable ‘coral mining’ industry. As a successful businessman, FoG founder Kushil Gunasekera had many contacts in Sri Lanka and abroad, and, as manager of Sri Lanka’s most famous cricketer Muttiah Muralitharan, he had many contacts in the world of cricket. His family home at Seenigama had already been operating as a guest house that attracted international tourists. Kushil was lucky to escape the tsunami himself when his home was destroyed, but he was able to use his business office in Colombo to contact his extensive international networks to appeal for assistance and the funds came flooding in. He organized visits to Seenigama by high-profile cricketers Ian Botham, Kapil Dev, Steve Waugh, and Shane Warne, and he used the profile gained from such visits to get substantial donations from cricket organizations around the world.
In one sense, FoG was responsible for a cricket-led recovery for a local community in cricket-mad Sri Lanka, and considerable emphasis was placed on creating sporting facilities for the traumatized community. However, the mobilization of international support for the village was much more broadly based than that, and FoG was not only able to rebuild houses, it also established new community centres, a clinic, a computer-training centre and other livelihood-training centres. It improved facilities at the local primary school and funded a host of scholarships for older children to go on to secondary or tertiary education. Of course, the key questions are whether this model of community development can be sustained when disaster aid dries up and whether or not it could be replicated in villages lacking a well-connected person such as Kushil Gunasekera. These are questions that the Foundation itself is grappling with and it has already tried to replicate aspects of what it has done at Seenigama in other villages in the district. However, it raises lots of interesting questions about how local NGOs in countries such as Sri Lanka might operate in the context of globalization.

Naomi Klein includes a chapter on what happened in Sri Lanka in the wake of the tsunami in her usefully provocative book about ‘disaster capitalism’. She went to the ‘fishing and faded resort village’ at Arugam Bay, on Sri Lanka’s east coast, about six months after the tsunami and soon after visiting war-torn Iraq. She chose this location because it was in the war zone of the east and also because it had been held up by the Sri Lankan government’s tsunami reconstruction agency as being an example of a place where it would be possible to ‘build back better’. Klein’s analysis is that the tsunami was seen nationally as a golden opportunity to clear the coast of all the ‘unauthorized’ settlements occupied by people who worked in fishing in order make way for tourist hotels and resorts for the wealthy. This fits the overall argument of the book, which is that global corporations and the champions of the globalized market often see disasters, whether natural or human-made, as an opportunity to strengthen the operation of the market economy. Of course, the argument that war is a good business opportunity for many corporations is a familiar one, but Klein extends this to suggest that natural disasters can clear the way for a new upsurge of private enterprise. Perhaps the most interesting example that she marshals in defence of this thesis is that the aging neoliberal warrior Milton Friedman, in his final public intervention before he died, lobbied the Bush administration in the US very hard, and apparently quite successfully, to take advantage of the destruction caused by Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans to create a fully privatized education system in the devastated city. Friedman, it is argued, saw this as an ideal opportunity to demonstrate to the rest of the country that private education is far superior to any form of public education.

There are significant elements of truth in what Klein says about planning for post-tsunami reconstruction in Sri Lanka. A coastal ‘buffer zone’ in which rebuilding would not be permitted was announced within days of the disaster, yet hotels and resorts were allowed to be rebuilt where houses were excluded. New coastal management strategies rejoiced in the removal of unsightly squatter camps adjacent to beaches and suggested new regulations to make sure that the beaches remained tidy and clean. However, the situation was and is far more complex that Klein suggests. Unplanned developments right along the coast had caused damage to coastal ecosystems and it would be better to create more open space adjacent to the beaches, but there was also a point in trying to prioritize the rebuilding of

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51 ibid, p. 386.
the tourism industry because it did provide jobs for some people and livelihoods for even more. Of course some forms of tourism will benefit local people more than others and that distinction was not made in the reconstruction strategy, but a blanket criticism of tourism per se seems unjustified. There are many people in Sri Lanka trying to promote more ‘sustainable’ forms of tourism, and many people living in local communities would welcome new tourist developments. There is a limit to how many people can earn their livelihoods from fishing—and there are growing concerns about the danger of depleting the stocks of certain fish. So there is a clear need to diversify local economies, and some form of tourism is an obvious candidate. Sadly, the debate about sustainable forms of tourism has become a little irrelevant anyway because the worsening civil conflict has ensured that existing tourist resorts are almost empty.

In her macro-analysis of ‘disaster capitalism’, Klein has left out the importance of micro-enterprises, small business and civil society. In Sri Lanka, the emphasis needs to be on rebuilding community—at both local and national levels—so that civil society can demand more appropriate and effective political leadership. Klein’s analysis offers little hope for those who have suffered disaster.

**Closing Remarks**

Work done in the Globalism Research Centre on the constant creation of local communities in Australia, Sri Lanka, Papua New Guinea and elsewhere in the context of constant global change bears out Gerard Delanty’s conception of community as a practice of the imagination related to a constant search for identity and a sense of belonging. We have placed more emphasis than Delanty on the reflexive creative processes that might nurture a sense of community, and we have at least partially answered the question he posed at the end of his book about the importance of place for imaging community in the modern world. Projecting a ‘sense of place’ can be one important foundation for a sense of community. We have suggested a different way of naming forms of community that overlap at the level of the local, while two of these three forms of community relations—’way-of-life’ and ‘projected’ relations—can also extend far beyond the local.

A dynamic understanding of community creation can greatly enrich the practice of community development because it turns community building into an art rather than a mechanical task. In our study for VicHealth, we noted that community development as a field of practice in Australia has been greatly enriched by its relatively recent engagement with community-arts practice. This has opened up new ways of thinking about social inclusion, shifting the emphasis from ‘disadvantage’ to the creation of narratives that might give people greater agency in the face of uncertainty and change. Rather than complain about the differing, often imprecise, ways in which people are using the word ‘community’ we might marvel at the multitude of ways in which communities are being created by those who choose to participate.

Our study of community building in tsunami-ravaged parts of Sri Lanka is in its early stages, yet we can already say that community plays a crucial role in the rebuilding of shattered lives. People rally to help each other in a crisis, and community becomes the focus of the desire to rebuild social integration. Things that people may take for granted before a disaster—such as ease of getting to shops or schools, or the existence of public spaces in which people can simply encounter others—all need to be reconstructed. Community can become a forum for ensuring an equitable distribution of aid and a brake on the corruption of aid processes. Decisions that are made in the immediate aftermath of a disaster can either help
or hinder the reformation of community in the affected areas, yet such decisions will often be made by people who know little about the communities concerned. In Sri Lanka, many international NGOs and government agencies rushed in to distribute aid, sometimes tripping over each other in the process. In many cases they designed the new houses that people would be allocated—resulting in the rather ridiculous decision to build igloo-shaped houses in one village in the Ampara District—and they often determined the priorities as to what else was given in aid. The whole process of aid distribution had to be slowed down after the initial chaos so that a much better-informed process of needs analysis could be undertaken. In Hambantota, the community reasserted itself through the formation of a broadly based committee to monitor the process of aid distribution.

Sri Lanka shows that when a nation is badly divided, communalism will nevertheless rise. This can lead to new forms of fragmentation, as seen in the Ampara District, but it can also put more emphasis on local communities as a locus for the negotiation of diverse concerns and interests. Unfortunately, the centralized polity that has been created in post-independence Sri Lanka means that local government has been poorly developed and poorly resourced. This has seriously undermined the effectiveness of tsunami recovery work because the polity is not able to respond to the demands of community.

Writers such as Jeffrey Alexander and Gerard Delanty help us draw an important distinction between the ‘civil sphere’ as a space in which forms of solidarity can emerge and community as an act of imagination in a complex and changing world. At the national level in Sri Lanka, the civil sphere has been heavily politicized since independence, and this means that community formation at all levels of society often emerges as a form of resistance to divisive identity claims. Importantly, the country still has independent media and free speech, but the failure to resolve the long conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils subverts all expressions of the nation as a community. This percolates down, in varying degrees, to manifestations of community at a local level. In other words, the negative politicization of the civil sphere at the national level has reduced the space for community formation at a local level as well and yet the assertion of community at a local level will continue to emerge as forms of resistance to national agendas. The challenge for those who want to promote peace and reconciliation in Sri Lanka is to try to make sure that local manifestations of community are inclusively complex and not simplistically divisive.

Compared to Sri Lanka, the civil sphere in Australian society remains more independent of the polity and national politics intrudes much less at the level of local community formation. Nevertheless, we have come through a period when the Howard government tried to impose a narrow and divisive conception of identity on the nation—as seen, for example, in the ‘history wars’, the treatment of refugees and changes to the citizenship test—and this did impinge on our capacity to dream up more inclusive expressions of identity at all levels, from the local to the national. The Rudd government's early and eloquent apology to the stolen generation of indigenous Australians had a cathartic impact for the nation as a whole and suddenly the search for identity seems more appealing again. If Hugh Mackay had written his book after the change of government he may have been more certain about the change of mood and the opportunities to temper rampant individualism with potentially inspiring expressions of community. It remains to be seen if such opportunities will be seized or wasted.
St Paul’s Cathedral, Melbourne, and the ‘Make Poverty History’ banners promoting Melbourne events (2007)
Personnel

3.1 Core Researchers

Paul James
Director (to December 2007; Academic Director from January 2008); and Professor of Globalism and Cultural Diversity

Recent research: theories of nationalism and globalism; political violence in places of upheaval; transnational movement and cultural identity; theories of social formation including tribalism, traditionalism, modernism and postmodernism. His books include Nation Formation (1996); Work of the Future: Global Perspectives (1997); Tour of Duty (2002 with Matthew Sleeth); Global Matrix: Nationalism, Globalization and State-Terrorism (2005 with Tom Nairn), and Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In (2006).

Manfred B. Steger
Academic Director (to December 2007; Director from January 2008); and Professor of Global Studies

Recent research: globalization; ideology and non-violence in the Americas, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Australia. He is the author of fourteen books, including Globalism: Market Ideology Meets Terrorism (2005), dozens of articles and book chapters, and numerous reviews, and his work has been widely cited in the pertinent literature. His study Globalism: The New Market Ideology (2002) won the 2003 Michael Harrington Award of the New Political Science section of the American Political Science Association.

Martin Mulligan
Deputy Director; and Senior Research Fellow

Recent research: sense of place and community wellbeing in particular Victorian communities; the recovery of local communities in post-tsunami Sri Lanka; strategies for nature conservation in the post-colonial era; rethinking attitudes to water in Australia and internationally; social history of ecological thought and action. His books include Ecological Pioneers (2001 with Stuart Hill) and Decolonizing Nature (2003 with William Adams).

Damian Grenfell
Research Program Manager (Sources of Insecurity); and Research Fellow

Recent research: social conflict; identity; violence; nationalism; social movements; globalization; global protest movements. His research is driven by an interest in insurrection, resistance and dissent. The interest in social movements and resistance politics has provided an impetus for research into forms of nationalist insurrection and post-conflict reconstruction, especially in terms of how we understand the nation-state in a period of intense globalization. The Sources of Insecurity program provides the basis for this research, with Timor-Leste the major research focus.
Yaso Nadarajah
Research Program Manager (Community Sustainability); and Senior Research Fellow

Recent research: practices that mediate between the two phenomena of ‘globalization’ and ‘localization’; community wellbeing; practices of engagement and differences, particularly as this relates to modes of knowledge and learning and identity formation; social justice and citizenship

Christopher Ziguras
Research Program Manager (Border Knowledges); Director of Research, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning; and Associate Professor of International Studies

Recent research: globalization and higher education; regulation of international education; teaching and learning in international education; World Trade Organisation and services; the internationalization of publishing; sociology of-health. His writings include Transnational Education: Issues and Trends in Offshore Higher Education (with Grant McBurnie), 2007.

Kim Humphery
Associate Dean (Research and Innovation), Design and Social Context Portfolio

Recent research: histories, practices and theories of consumption, particularly in Australia; the history and ethics of ‘Western’ and cross-cultural research practices in Australia; the history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health and health interventions

Tom Nairn
Innovation Professor of Nationalism and Cultural Diversity

Recent research: nationalism and internationalism; genocide and national violence; the break-up of Britain and the Scottish parliament; the United Kingdom under Tony Blair. His books include Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited (1997); After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland (2000); Pariah: Misfortunes of the British Kingdom (2002); and Global Matrix: Nationalism, Globalization and State-Terrorism (2005 with Paul James).

Heikki Patomäki
Innovation Professor of Globalization and Global Institutions

Recent research: critical realism as a philosophy of social sciences; overcoming theories of International Relations; theories and issues of peace research and global political economy; and global democratization. His books include Democratizing Globalization: The Leverage of the Tobin Tax (2001); After International Relations: Critical Realism and the (Re) Construction of World Politics (2002); and A Possible World: Democratic Transformation of Global Institutions (2004 with T. Teivainen).
Peter Phipps

Research Project Manager (Globalization and Culture); Honours Program Co-ordinator and Lecturer (International Studies), School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning

Recent research: indigenous cultural festivals in Australia and the Asia-Pacific (2007-10); globalization and culture; the cultural politics of postcolonial theory; the history of theory in anthropology; tourism; transnational religious movements; Indigenous-settler relations in Australia

Helen Smith

Research Project Manager; and Senior Research Fellow

Recent research: the emergence of the Australian National Training Package as a new mode of governance (PhD, 2006); national longitudinal evaluation study of the Microsoft PiL initiative (2005–9); ARC-funded research project to develop a new meta-language that expresses the theory and practice of literacy teaching and learning in the context of digitization and convergence of technologies (2006–8)

Anna Trembath

Researcher

Recent research: the nexus between identity and forms of social conflict, with a particular focus on gender, nationalism and postcolonialism, as well as recognition and reconciliation; gender, identity and security in contemporary Timor-Leste
3.2 Other Researchers and Associates

**Peter Annear**  
*Research Project Manager and Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre*  
*Recent research:* health policy and planning; health economics and financing

**Eugenia Arvanitis**  
*Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre*

**Trevor Batrouney**  
*Adjunct Professor, Globalism Research Centre*

**Peter Burrows**  
*Senior Research Fellow, Globalism Research Centre*  
*Recent research:* two ARC-funded research projects exploring the relationships between information and communications technology (ICT), pedagogy, and teaching and learning environments, with a focus on Kalantzis and Cope’s theory of Learning-By-Design

**Desmond Cahill**  
*Collaborating Scholar, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University*

**John Callinan**  
*Collaborating Professional, Co-editor, Local–Global Journal, Hamilton Editions*

**Guosheng Chen**  
*Collaborating Scholar, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University*

**Bill Cope**  
*Adjunct Professor, Globalism Research Centre*

**Julie Foster-Smith**  
*Researcher, Globalism Research Centre*  
*Recent research:* Aboriginal education in Australian schools; community development strategies in Papua-New Guinea; indigenous epistemologies; ‘intercultural travel’

**Gus Gollings**  
*Researcher, Globalism Research Centre*  
*Recent research:* primary researcher for an Australian Research Council linkage grant between Fuji Xerox Australia and the Globalism Research Centre, entitled ‘Towards the 'Semantic Web’: Standards and Interoperability across Document Management and Publishing Supply Chains’

**Cate Gribble**  
*Researcher, Globalism Research Centre*  
*Recent research:* currently working on ARC Discovery Grant examining the growth of commercial cross-border education, its impact on Australia and other countries, and the means that governments are using to regulate educational trade.
John Handmer  
_Innovation Professor, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University_

_Recent research:_ public policy issues in risk and community safety; emergency planning and management; community resilience; the interface of spatial information science and risk and safety management; sustainable development

Kim Holthouse  
Research Assistant, Globalism Research Centre

_Recent research:_ nationalism and national identity; ethnicity and language; conflict and reconciliation, particularly in South East Asia; national integration and threats to human security in Timor-Leste since independence

Mary Kalantzis  
Adjunct Professor, Globalism Research Centre

_Recent research:_ education, productive diversity, pedagogy, e-learning and multiliteracies; multicultural Australia; refugee and indigenous issues. Her books include _Mistaken Identity_ (1988 with Stephen Castles, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey), _The Powers of Literacy_ (1993 with Bill Cope); _Productive Diversity_ (1997 with Bill Cope); _A Place in the Sun: Re-Creating the Australian Way of Life_ (2000 with Bill Cope); _Multiliteracies: Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures_ (2000 with Bill Cope).

Jeff Lewis  
Dean, Research and Innovation; and Senior Research Fellow, School of Applied Communication, RMIT University

_Recent research:_ media and cultural theory; transculturalism; new communications technology; textual studies; globalization studies; cultural democracy and the media; 9/11, terror and the mediation of war; community responses to the Bali bombings. His publications include _Cultural Studies_ (2002) and _Language Wars_ (2005)

Grant McBurnie  
Collaborating Scholar, Office of International Development, Monash University

Jock McCulloch  
Collaborating Scholar, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University

Anne McNevin  
Research Fellow, Globalism Research Centre

_Recent research:_ transformation of citizenship and belonging in the context of neoliberal globalization; irregular migrants (refugees, asylum seekers, illegal labour migrants and stateless persons); citizenship and belonging

Liam Magee  
APAI Research Scholar, Globalism Research Centre

Peter Marden  
Collaborating Scholar, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University
Dave Mercer  
Collaborating Scholar, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University

Les Morgan  
Researcher, Globalism Research Centre  
Recent research: relationships between information and communications technology (ICT), pedagogy, and teaching and learning environments; the contemporary social reality of imperfect intercultural connections; research as a visual artist

Carmenesa Moniz Noronha  
Researcher, Globalism Research Centre  
Recent research: community and security in Timor-Leste.

Leanne Reinke  
Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre

Christopher Scanlon  
Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre

Andy Scerri  
Researcher, Globalism Research Centre  
Recent research: cultural politics of globalization and national identity formation across Australia, Britain and the United States; the nature of contemporary subjectivity

Gyorgy Scrinis  
Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre

Chris Shepherd  
Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre
Joseph Siracusa  
*Programs Director, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning; and Professor in Global Studies, RMIT University*

*Recent research:* international diplomacy; ethical and humanitarian intervention; international security; Australia–United States security issues; United Nations reform; strategic responses to terrorism

Lisa Slater  
*Research Fellow, Globalism Research Centre*

*Recent research:* Indigenous festivals; Indigenous-settler relations in Australia; postcolonial cultural production; theories and senses of belonging and home in contemporary Australia

Pia Smith  
*Researcher, Globalism Research Centre*

*Recent research:* the Community Sustainability collaborative project, with a particular focus on the ‘Wellbeing of Communities’ project; the ‘Generations’ project for the Cultural Development Network

Ceridwen Spark  
*Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre*

Victoria Stead  
*Research Assistant, Globalism Research Centre*

*Recent research:* collaborative, community-engaged research methodology to identify alternate pathways to development contemporary; social movements and political mobilization

Mayra Walsh  
*Researcher, Globalism Research Centre*

*Recent research:* community and security in Timor-Leste

Erin Wilson  
*Researcher, Globalism Research Centre*

*Recent research:* globalization, ideology, religion and secularism; the relationship between religion and politics in the West and its impact on world politics through foreign policy

Tony Wilson  
*Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre*

Yael Zalchendler  
*Research Assistant, Globalism Research Centre*

*Recent research:* local communities and climate change adaptation, Local-Global project, Hamilton
Administrative Structure

4.1 Administration

Directors Group

Paul James, Director (to December 2007; Academic Director from January 2008)
Manfred Steger, Academic Director (to December 2007; Director from January 2008)
Martin Mulligan, Deputy Director

Program Managers

Damian Grenfell, Research Program Manager (Sources of Insecurity)
Yaso Nadarajah, Research Program Manager (Community Sustainability)
Christopher Ziguras, Research Program Manager (Border Knowledges)

with:

Todd Bennet, Research Co-ordinator

Dean Coldicott, Higher Degrees Administrator, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University

Rachael Dunstan, Research Administrator

Cicily Fenton, Community Project Facilitator

Vanessa Fernandes, Finance Manager, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University

Victoria Finch, Community Project Facilitator

Yuanhao Jia, Finance Officer, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University

Jessica Korteman, Community Project Facilitator

Terrie Nicholson, Community Project Facilitator

Erin Wilson, Researcher

4.2 Local Advisory Board

Dr Robyn Archer AO

Damein Bell, Winda Mara Co-operative

Tom Bentley, Department of Premier and Cabinet, State Government of Victoria

Dr Tim Costello, World Vision Australia

Stephen Duggan, Global Business Development, RMIT University

Mr Bruce Harvey, Rio Tinto

Ms Jackie Huggins, Reconciliation Australia

Professor Paul Komesaroff, Centre for Ethics in Medicine and Society, Monash University

David Lurie, B2B Lawyers

Peter Murdoch QC
Jane Sloane, *Sloane Consulting*
John Smithies, *Cultural Development Network*
Cam Walker, *Friends of the Earth*

### 4.3 Global Advisory Board

Professor Jon Altman, *Australian National University, Canberra*
Professor Dennis Altman, *La Trobe University, Melbourne*
Professor Perry Anderson, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Dr Alan Chun, *Academica Sinica, Taipei*
Professor Jonathan Friedman, *Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris*
Professor Barry Gills, *University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
Emeritus Professor Jack Goody, *Cambridge University*
Professor Bruce Kapferer, *University of Bergen*
Associate Professor Glen David Kuecker, *DePauw University, Greencastle IL*
Professor Krishan Kumar, *University of Virginia, Charlottesville*
Professor T. Vasantha Kumeran, *University of Madras*
Professor David Lyon, *Queens University, Ontario*
Professor Walter Mignolo, *Duke University, Durham NC*
Professor Juliet Mitchell, *Cambridge University*
Ashis Nandy, *Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi*
Professor Brendan O’Leary, *University of Pennsylvania*
Professor Jamal Nassar, *Cal State University, San Bernadino*
Professor Martha Nussbaum, *University of Chicago Law School*
Professor Chris Reus-Smit, *Australian National University, Canberra*
Professor Fazal Rizvi, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Professor Jan Aart Scholte, *University of Warwick, Coventry*
Professor Jukka Siikala, *University of Helsinki*
Professor Gayatri Spivak, *Columbia University, New York*
5.1 Institutional Links

The Globalism Research Centre aims to build ongoing research links with other centres of international excellence. It is involved in collaborative activities with institutes and groups concerned about understanding the implications of globalization. These collaborations have involved, amongst others, university institutes, public-political bodies and grassroots organizations.

Public-Political Bodies and Grassroots Organizations

Arena Publications (Melbourne)

www.arena.org.au

Established in 1963, Arena Publications publishes *Arena Journal*, an academic bi-annual, and *Arena Magazine*, Australia’s leading left magazine of cultural and political comment. Both publications frequently publish articles and commentary pieces on areas ranging across the work of the Globalism Research Centre, including Indigenous politics and culture, debates on bio-technology, nationalism and national identity—including the history wars—and the role of intellectuals and technology in the transformation of the current cultural and political landscape.

Arena has a thriving centre in Fitzroy, Melbourne, which combines publication, public discussion and a commercial printery. The Globalism Research Centre has a presence on the editorial board of Arena Publications through Paul James as one of the *Arena Journal* editors.

Common Ground (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois)

commongroundgroup.com

Common Ground, a humanities and social science publisher, has been collaborating extensively with RMIT for several years. The Globalism Research Centre’s involvement with Common Ground is considerable and close. It includes joint research projects, conferences and publications. Together, the Globalism Research Centre and Common Ground have organized several conferences beginning with the Indigenous Peoples and Racism Conference in 2001 and the Fourth National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Visual Arts Conference in 2002. Other co-organized conferences include the Diversity Conference series, the Humanities Conference series, the Book Conference series, and the Learning Conference series.

Cultural Development Network

www.culturaldevelopment.net.au

The Cultural Development Network (CDN) is an independent non-profit group that links communities, artists, local councils and organizations across Victoria, Australia. CDN advocates a stronger role for participatory arts and cultural expression, and a stronger role for local government in nurturing cultural vitality, with the arts (at the heart of culture) as central to this vision.

The Globalism Research Centre has undertaken research for CDN on its ‘Generations’ Project (see page 72), and the CDN Director, John Smithies, is a member of the Centre’s Local Advisory Board.
**Department for Community Development (Papua New Guinea)**

The Globalism Research Centre has been working with the Department now for four years and has contributed to policy developments that are rewriting the national approach to community sustainability. The Department is in the forefront of rethinking community development strategies and partnerships, particularly as embodied in their recent major document *Integrated Community Development Policy, 2007*.

**Friends of the Earth Australia**

www.foe.org.au

Friends of the Earth (FoE) is a federation of autonomous local groups who are working towards an environmentally sustainable and socially equitable future. Through a combination of research, community outreach, direct action, lobbying and offering positive business alternatives, FoE seeks to work in alliances with other like minded groups and individuals to achieve the necessary social change which will allow for environmental protection with full protection for the rights of all people.

The Globalism Research Centre and FoE have co-sponsored and co-organized a number of public events on environmental sustainability and socially equity.

**Globalization Studies Network (International)**

gstudynet.com

The Globalization Studies Network (GSN) is a worldwide association that links programs of research, education and public policy regarding globalization. The network is formed on an inclusive basis, encompassing diverse regions, disciplines, cultures, perspectives and substantive concerns. The GSN does not advocate any particular intellectual or political approach but rather fosters dialogue and debate —involving South, North, East and West—about the nature, direction and possible redirection of globalization. Two exploratory meetings concerning the formation of the GSN were held during 2003 and involved thirty-five institutes from Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia and Europe, including the Globalism Research Centre. Paul James and Christopher Scanlon were part of the GSN inaugural conference in August 2004, and since then Globalism Research Centre members have attended each annual conference. The GSN was a co-sponsor of the ‘Pathways to Reconciliation and Global Human Rights’ conference, Sarajevo, 2005, convened by the Globalism Research Centre.

**Global Reconciliation Network (International)**

www.globalreconciliationnetwork.org

The Global Reconciliation Network, in which the Globalism Research Centre is a key participant, seeks to facilitate the process of reconciliation at both local and global levels. It does so by providing a framework within which people can explore ways of developing and extending exchanges of a cultural, educational and intellectual nature. In accordance with its underlying objectives, it operates within a decentred, democratic framework that permits the development of autonomous cells or interest groups. Utilizing direct, face-to-face contact and contemporary means for communication across geographical boundaries it seeks to recreate globalization’s ‘human face’ and to formulate strategies, processes and proposals that bring the peoples of the world closer together. The Network, which in Melbourne draws together academics from LaTrobe, Monash and RMIT universities, has convened a series of conferences: Melbourne, 2002; London, 2003; India, 2004; and Sarajevo, 2005.
**International Women’s Development Agency**

www.iwda.org.au

The International Women’s Development Agency (IWDA) is an Australian non-profit organization that creates positive change for women and their communities. Its practical and rights-based projects directly address poverty and oppression in developing countries.

The Globalism Research Centre is a supporter and sponsor of IWDA events.

**Spire International**

www.spireint.org

Spire International is a not-for-profit organization that links donors to local initiatives in developing communities. Spire specializes in identifying smaller locally based initiatives where there is a need for external assistance so that goals can be achieved. Spire focuses on the areas of education, health, income generation and environment.

The Globalism Research Centre is a supporter and sponsor of Spire International events, including its series of International Development Forums.

**United Nations Global Compact Cities Programme**

citiesprogramme.org

The United Nations Global Compact Cities Programme seeks to translate the overarching ten principles of the UN Global Compact into innovative, concrete and sustainable solutions to intractable economic, social and environmental urban issues. The Programme achieves these outcomes by identifying, harnessing, focusing and applying existing local capacity within business, government and civil society.

RMIT University, led by Secretariat Director, Professor Paul James, has been named as the global centre for a United Nations program searching for local solutions to the social, economic and environmental problems faced by cities around the world.

**Academic Institutes and Centres**

**Asia-Pacific Research Unit, Universiti Sains Malaysia**

In 2006, the Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) and the Globalism Research Centre signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the objective of developing collaborative research projects, including the local–global project ‘Globalization and Community Sustainability: Negotiating the Local and the Global’, with a view to extending the project to sites in Penang and surrounds. The MoU also aims to promote joint seminars and workshops, and staff and student exchange.

**Ben-Gurion University of the Negev**

www.bgu.ac.il

Staff at Ben-Gurion and the Globalism Research Centre are developing a joint project on community sustainability. This has involved a series of reciprocal research trips and collaborations over research developments.
**Department of Demography, University of Colombo**

In 2006, the University of Colombo and the Globalism Research Centre signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the objective of developing collaborative research projects. This collaboration will include data-sharing via the Global–Local Database and the Community Sustainability website, joint symposiums and conferences, staff and student exchange, and an anthology of publications.

**Globalization Research Center and Department of Political Science, University of Hawai’i**

www.hawaii.edu.au/global

In April 2002, after a series of meetings in Honolulu, it was confirmed that the Globalization Research Center (GRC) and the Globalism Research Centre would develop a collaborative relationship including the ‘Cultural Diversity in a Globalizing World’ conference run in February 2003 in Honolulu. In September 2003, the Globalism Research Centre and the GRC collaborated with a number of other institutes in establishing the Globalization Studies Network. In 2004 we worked together to develop a conference on sustainability held in Hawai’i in 2005. Since then Manfred Steger has been working with Mike Douglass to develop an ongoing research collaboration around the theme of ‘Globalization and Culture’.

**Institute on Globalization and the Human Condition, McMaster University (Hamilton, Canada)**

globalization.mcmaster.ca

The Institute on Globalization and the Human Condition was established in 1998 as one of McMaster University’s strategic areas of research on globalization, social change and the human condition. Their major current project is on globalization and autonomy. Professors Imre Szeman and Robert O’Brien from the Institute worked with Paul James of the Globalism Research Centre on the ‘Central Currents in Globalization’ series published by Sage, London.

**Institute of Postcolonial Studies (Melbourne)**

www.icps.org.au

The Globalism Research Centre and the Institute of Postcolonial Studies (IPS) have been working closely together since 2002. The Globalism Research Centre is represented on the Postcolonial Institute’s Council, the Institute’s peak policy body. The IPS publishes *Postcolonial Studies*, an international journal, founded in 1997 by a group of scholars associated with the Institute of Postcolonial Studies, including Paul James. Phillip Darby, the director of IPS, was a Visiting Fellow at the Globalism Research Centre during 2004 and is also an editor on the ‘Central Currents in Globalization’ series.

**University of Madras**

In 2006, the University of Madras and the Globalism Research Centre signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the objective of developing collaborative research projects, including the local–global project ‘Globalization and Community Sustainability: Negotiating the Local and the Global’. The MoU also aims to promote joint symposiums and conferences, staff and student exchange, and an anthology of publications. The Vice Chancellor of Madras visited RMIT in early 2007 to confirm this partnership.
Universiti Malaya

The Globalism Research Centre and Universiti Malaya work collaboratively on research projects, including the local–global project ‘Community Resilience, Identity and Belonging in Modernizing Malaysia’, which focuses on a number of squatter settlements populated by families from Malay and Indian ethnic groups, as well as Indonesian and Bangladeshi migrant workers, almost all of whom could be classed as belonging to the lowest income groups of Malaysia.

5.2 Collaborating Scholars

As part of the process of forging international co-operative ties, the Centre regularly hosts international and Australian visiting scholars. Visiting Fellows are encouraged to be part of the research culture of the Centre. Past collaboration has involved jointly written and edited books, mutual participation in international conferences and discussion at local forums.

Visiting Senior Scholars, 2007

- Terrell Carver, Professor of Political Theory, University of Bristol, UK
- Helge Hveem, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, Norway
- John Hutnyk, Academic Director of the Centre for Cultural Studies, University of London, UK
- Glen David Kuecker, Associate Professor of History, DePauw University, USA
- Zhang Xinhua, Director, Center for Policy and Strategic Studies, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China

Prior Visiting Senior Scholars

- Michael Apple, Professor, University of Wisconsin, USA (2001)
- George Baca, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Goucher College, Baltimore, USA (2005)
• Rebecca Biron, Associate Professor of Spanish, Dartmouth College, Hanover, USA (2006)
• Zaki Chehab, political editor of the London-based Al Hayat newspaper and the Arabic TV channel LBC (2006)
• Warren Crichlow, Associate Professor, York University, Toronto, Canada (2001)
• Michael Christie, Co-ordinator Yolngu Languages and Culture, Charles Darwin University, Darwin, Australia (2003)
• Phillip Darby, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Melbourne, Australia (2004)
• James Donald, Professor of Media and founding Head of School of Media and Information, Curtin University, Perth, Australia (2002)
• Thomas Frank, journalist, author of One Market Under God and editor of The Baffler, USA (2002)
• Robert Fuller, author of Somebodies & Nobodies and All Rise, USA (2006)
• Michael Furmanovsky, Faculty of Intercultural Communication, Ryukoku University, Otsu, Japan (2005)
• James Goodman, editor of Protest and Globalisation, and Lecturer, University of Technology Sydney, Australia (2002)
• Nelson Graburn, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley and Curator of North American Ethnology at the Hearst Museum, Berkeley, USA (2002)
• Yehuda Gradus, Director, Negev Centre for Regional Development, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel (2006)
• Donald Hones, Associate Professor, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education and Human Services, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, USA (2003)
• Hong Fei, Associate Professor, Kunming University of Science and Technology, Kunming, Yunan, China (2004)
• Yun-Kie Hur, Professor, Dean of International Programs, Induk Institute of Technology, Seoul, South Korea (2002)
• Noga Kadman, Jerusalem, Israel (2002)
• Ken Ya Kadosawa, Assistant Professor, Office of International Affairs, Muroran Institute of Technology, Japan (2001, 2004)
• Mmhonlumo Kikon, Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights, India (2005)
• Thangavelu V. Kumaran, Department of Geography, University of Madras, Chennai, India (2004, 2005)
• Michael H. Lee, Comparative Education Policy Research Unit, Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong, China (2002)
• Weihua Luo, Associate Professor, Deputy Head of the Department of English Language at Dalian Maritime University, China (2002)
• Dr Becir Macic, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (2005)
• Norman Myers, Green College, Oxford University, UK (2006)
Farmers markets are making a return to cities around the world. Here a woman is buying vegetables in the Helsinki Market Square (2007).

- Martin Nakata, Director, Aboriginal Research Institute, University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia (2001)
- Jamal Nassar, Chair, Department of Political Science, Illinois State University, Normal, USA (2006)
- Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Professor of Sociology, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA (2006)
- Nie Shaomin and Chen Yiming, Professors at Yanshan University, Qinhuangdao, China (2002)
- Anoop Nyak, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK (2002)
- Ambigapathy Pandian, Associate Professor, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia (2001)
- Qi Feng, Professor, Deputy President, Shanxi Normal University and Deputy President of The Yuwen Chinese-language newspaper, China (2002)
- Fazal Rizvi, Professor, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA (2002, 2003)
- Shufan Liu, Associate Professor, Jilin University, Changchun, China (2001)
- Gary Smith, Associate Professor in International Relations, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia (2004)
- Julie Stephens, Senior Lecturer, Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia (2004)
- Mimis Sophocleous, Athens, Greece (2001)
- Richard Tanter, Professor of International Relations, Kyoto, Japan (2004)
- Dr Tran Thanh Be, MD, Development Research Institute, Can Tho University, Cantho City, Vietnam (2005)
- Gella Varnava-Skoura, Professor, University of Athens, Greece (2001)
- Yanqiu Wang, Associate Professor, Dalian Maritime University, China (2004)
Research

Sensitive to the competing demands of the processes that underpin contemporary globalization, the Globalism Research Centre specializes in engaged and principled research that contributes to cultural and social sustainability of communities from the local to the global.

The central research focus of the Centre is globalization, nationalism, transnationalism and the nature of community. Our research projects are gathered together around key themes, all related to this core purpose:

- Sources of Insecurity
- Community Sustainability
- Border Knowledges and Global Learning

6.1 Sources of Insecurity

*Research Program Manager:* Damian Grenfell

*Team:* Paul James, Tom Nairn, Anna Trembath, Carmenesa Moniz Noronha, Mayra Walsh, Heikki Patomäki, Kym Holthouse.

In Lolotoe, on the border between Indonesian West Timor and Timor-Leste, there is a house where staff from the Globalism Research Centre have often stayed. At the front of this house is the grave of a woman, Maria, who died during childbirth when pro-Indonesian groups attacked Lolotoe in 1999. Her husband, an East Timorese man serving in the Indonesian army, tried to flee Lolotoe with the retreating Indonesian forces. He was killed several days later, however, in an ambush by pro-East Timorese in revenge for his notoriously brutal violence. With both parents dead, the baby was carried for the first months of her life by extended family hiding in the hills around Lolotoe. Fed only water mixed with sugar, ‘Ikun’ (literally ‘tail’ in Tetun), now nine years old, suffers significant health problems due to the deprivation of crucial nutrition when she was baby. Daily she plays around the grave of her mother in a community that is still slowly re-building from the violence of that time.

A concern to understand this kind of violence has been at the centre of the Globalism Research Centre’s long-running Sources of Insecurity program. Through this program we have tried to carry an ‘on-the-ground’ sense of the complexity of violence into broader frameworks of understanding both the devastating immediacy of a woman dying during child-birth in the midst of a village being destroyed well as the longer-term societal effects (including those carried for a life-time by people like Ikun). It may appear that a figure such as Ikun stands at the very edges of the contemporary world, in a place unheard of to many and a victim of just another war. However, in many senses she is at the centre of the world, caught unknown in overlapping processes of colonialism, nation-formation, and globalization that wrench and disturb patterns of understanding and identity, and in turn give rise to the possibility for such forms of violence.

In Timor-Leste and around the world, we have seen over the past decade a number of destabilizing developments that have posed serious practical and conceptual challenges to conventional policy frameworks and responses. They are of a complex and unconventional nature involving non-state or multiple actors along with social, environmental and economic processes that do not accord with traditional models of state-based military threats. The use of militia forces in Timor-Leste, attacks by Islamic militants in New York and Washington, London, Kuta and
Jakarta, and regional conflicts such as those in the Balkans, have been met with military responses that have often enough either complicated the violence further or secured a very limited kind of peace. In places such as Iraq and Afghanistan, we have seen utter failure in the military attempts at securing victory in the so-called ‘War on Terror’; wars that typify the myriad difficulties encountered when orthodox military responses are used in an attempt to contain globalizing networks of people committed to violent political actions. While such spectacular violence tends to capture public attention, slower moving but no less deadly processes are also coming to challenge the conventional conceptions of security. The spread of disease, the threat to natural eco-systems, a global refugee crises, climate change, as well the impact of capital flows on local communities around the world, have all shown the increasing ways in which the sense of security people feel is intimately related to sets of complex flows and processes that cut across the formal categories of nation-states.

In terms of intellectual analysis, the common threads linking these developments together are, firstly, a concern for the nature of contemporary violence and, secondly, how an understanding of immediate violence can be drawn into more abstract patterns of social formation. The project begins from the critical position that the common attempt to read non-conventional security challenges through the lens of conventional state-based analysis has gravely distorted policy and imposed significant additional costs in human and financial terms. Overall, the project seeks to examine the deeper sources of insecurity: political, military, cultural, economic and health insecurity from local and regional arenas to the national and global. This, we argue, provides a stronger basis for understanding the grounds of conflict, violence and other forms of insecurity in the world today, and for orienting policy decisions in relation to national and regional security.

The Sources of Insecurity program intersects with various other teaching and research programs at RMIT University, including the Human Security program in the Global Cities Institute. The most obvious point of intersection between these two programs is in the way both ask how forms of violence can be negated at the policy level. However, Sources of Insecurity remains a distinct program on a number of fronts, not least its global scale. While Sources of Insecurity research has carried us from Argentina to Palestine, Bosnia to Northern Ireland, the Human Security program concentrates on the urban domain and is limited to the Asia-Pacific. Secondly, the emphasis in the Sources of Insecurity program has been on understanding violence rather than on different systems or approaches to understanding security. As the name suggests, the Human Security program takes a particular security doctrine and uses that as the central point for engagement and critique. For Sources of Insecurity, the questions have long been much more around identity and social integration more generally.

Across 2007, research under the Sources of Insecurity program occurred under various projects. Tom Nairn and Andy Scerri conducted extensive research for the Australian Research Council (ARC) grant ‘The Changing Nature of National Identity and its Relationship to Other Forms of Identity’. Nairn conducted a number of in-person interviews with high profile national and community leaders in Edinburgh, Melbourne and, via electronic interface, Honolulu. Scerri has visited Honolulu, Canberra and Sydney, as well as libraries in Melbourne, undertaking archival research. Indeed, Nairn’s work on the project was partly responsible for his invitation to lecture at the University of Burgundy and to deliver a prestigious Edinburgh Lecture on the issues surrounding what he calls ‘post-Empire nationalism’ and ‘identity formation on the edge-lands’.
Early material collected under the ARC project was used by Nairn as the basis for a refereed article in *Arena Journal* 28, ‘Nations versus Imperial Unions in a Time of Globalization’, and used in a range of public debates, notably on the international para-academic web forum *OpenDemocracy* and Australian Radio National’s *Perspectives* program. Nairn has presented preliminary findings in several issues of the *London Review of Books*, including his ‘Diary: Tom Nairn on the Australian Elections’ (13 December 2007) and ‘The Enabling Boundary’ (18 October 2007). Nairn’s forthcoming book *Global Nations* is a work produced in large part under the auspices of this ARC grant. The project has allowed for a deeper analysis of the current conjuncture of nationalism and identity politics in the era of globalization to be developed, especially around the themes of post-Empire nationhood in the Anglo-American West.

Sources of Insecurity has been the framing program for work undertaken in Timor-Leste since 2003, and 2007 saw a very strong development in the Globalism Research Centre’s research work in that country. The research was consolidated into four key research themes—gender, nation building, justice and security, and community—so as to focus expertise, as well as frame a bilingual website launched in mid-2007: www.timor-leste.org. Under the theme of ‘justice and security’ the ARC grant ‘After the Violence: Truth, Reconciliation and National Integration in Timor-Leste (with Damian Grenfell as Chief Investigator) commenced its research into the relationship between reconciliation and the process of nation-formation in Timor-Leste. However, the program has been expanded so as to include research on both the socio-political crises that began in Timor-Leste in 2006, as well as the Presidential and Parliamentary elections of 2007.

Joining Damian Grenfell in 2007 was Anna Trembath, Kym Holthouse, Mayra Walsh and Carmenesa Noronha, and with the assistance of local partners and a range of communities a series of other projects were entered into in each of the
four key themes. Most important amongst these was a joint project with the Office for the Promotion of Equality (now known as the Secretary of State for Gender Equality) situated in the Prime Minister's office in Timor-Leste, funded by the Globalism Research Centre and Irish Aid. The most important aspect to this project saw the release (with launches in both Dili and Melbourne) of the report *Mapping the Pursuit of Gender Equality: Non-Government and International Agency Activity in Timor-Leste* by Anna Trembath and Damian Grenfell. This report sought to sketch out the various programmatic and policy developments of different organizations in Timor-Leste working on gender since 2002, in part addressing the lack of such recorded information otherwise available.

*Vota Ba Futuru* (Voting for the Future) was undertaken by Mayra Walsh under the theme of ‘nation building’. This project sought to understand how people came to make political decisions with regard to voting. A second project under this theme was *Policy Options for Oecusse*, a report commissioned by Oxfam Australia. The project brief was to provide a scoping study of socio-economic issues related to economic and border policy options in the enclave of Oecusse, Timor-Leste and to develop a suitable Terms of Reference for a more in-depth future study. The report was re-edited and turned into a public document and translated into Indonesian for distribution in Timor-Leste.

Under the theme of ‘community’, the entire field research team, including Carmenesa Noronha and Anna Trembath, along with Kym Holthouse, Damian Grenfell and Mayra Walsh (as program leader), began a very exciting and innovative research program titled ‘Community Security and Sustainability’. This is a multi-site study being undertaken in three regional sites of Venilale in Baucau district, Fatumean in Covalima district, Barikafa in Lautem district, as well as the suburb of Kampun Baru in Dili. The study was originally to include Raimea in Lolotoe, Bobonaro district, however, following an initial visit in which permission was granted, a conflict between different communities and the church in the area led to a series of houses being badly damaged, so our research there has been indefinitely deferred. By working intensely at the community level, the aim of this project is to provide a sense of how local communities are able to sustain themselves in the face of extraordinary challenges to their ongoing sense of security.

The year also saw visits to Timor-Leste from RMIT University’s Paul James, Victoria Stead, Jessica Korteman and Melissa Crockoft, as well as a number of other academics and students visiting Timor-Leste from around the world. The Globalism Research Centre also formed a relationship with RMIT English Worldwide which provided three East Timorese women with English training at RMIT in 2007; a program that will continue in 2008 and 2009. In addition, 2007 saw the formation of a critical reference group made up of East Timorese to provide a critical oversight to the Globalism Research Centre’s research programs in Timor-Leste.

An important part of the Sources of Insecurity program is the development of honours and postgraduate students undertaking research on Timor-Leste. These research topics included:

- Gender and Nation-Formation (Anna Trembath, PhD candidate)
- Histories of the Resistance Movement (Zelda Grimshaw, PhD candidate)
- Gang Activity in Timor-Leste (James Scambary, Masters candidate)
- Traditional Governance Systems (Mayra Walsh, Honours candidate)
- The Construction of Masculinities and Violence (Ruth Streicher, Honours candidate, Free University of Berlin)
• Gender and Peacebuilding Following the 2006 Crisis (Melissa Cockcroft, Honours completed 2007)

• Electoral Decision-making in the 2007 Parliamentary Elections (Jessica Korteman, Honours completed 2007).

While 2007 was a year much focused on field research it also set the foundation for a number of important pieces of academic writing. Intellectual developments have been carried into various publications, including Grenfell’s chapter ‘Reconciliation: Violence and Nation-Formation in Timor-Leste’ in Rethinking Insecurity, War and Violence: Beyond Savage Globalization? (with Paul James, Routledge, London, forthcoming 2008). The program also informed the opening chapter of the same book, ‘Debating Insecurity in a Globalizing World’ (Grenfell and James), as well as two other chapters by Grenfell, including one on reconciliation (Ashgate 2008) emanating from the Sources of Insecurity conference, Pathways to Reconciliation, in Sarajevo in 2005.

These works are part of a broader intellectual development of the Sources of Insecurity program. In 2007, Heikki Patomäki joined the program and is already making a significant impact with books such as The Political Economy of Global Security: War, Future Crises and Changes in Global Governance (Routledge 2007), as an editor (with Paul James) on Globalization and Economy: Vol. 2, Globalizing Finance and the New Global Economy, as well as a wide range of chapters and articles in books and journals of note. When coupled with the work of Paul James and Tom Nairn, the emphasis within the Sources of Insecurity program of informing social theory with the reality of on-the-ground research continues to provide very high standard research outputs in an important and dynamic field.

Small graveyard featuring old and new graves, Aldeia Nanu, Fatumean, Covalima district, Timor-Leste (2007)
6.2 Community Sustainability

Research Program Manager: Yaso Nadarajah

Research Team: Cicely Fenton, Vicki Finch, Julie Foster-Smith, Kim Humphery, Paul James, Martin Mulligan, Terrie Nicholson, Peter Phipps, Andy Scerri, Supriha Singh, Lisa Slater, Pia Smith, Victoria Stead and Yael Zalchendler, plus Critical Reference Groups and co-researchers in all sites.

In the context of the local-global challenges of the contemporary period, the Community Sustainability program aims to explore the strengths and weaknesses of local communities, with a particular emphasis on the Asia-Pacific region. It involves a global network of researchers, scholars and engaged community activists, working together to better understand the nature of community from the local to the global, to collectively respond to key cultural political issues of the new century across all levels of community and polity, and to develop responses to deal with real-world problems. This project recognizes the vital importance of the local—the place in which we live—and then seeks to draw global lines of co-operation and reciprocal connections across our institutions and other relevant networks with communities and researchers at local, national and international levels.

As researchers and community members, we share a collective interest in understanding what is happening to communities in the context of globalization. How are we to understand the processes of change, both positive and negative, that affect sustainable and peaceful ways of living? What are the issues that require urgent attention, particularly as we face new, massive challenges to the environment, not to speak of widespread violence and global insecurity? How do communities in the Asia-Pacific region (including Australia) respond to challenges of globalization, and to what extent do they think and act independently in becoming more socially and environmentally sustainable? How does standpoint and context impact our research when, for example, we look at the region from the perspective of a squatter settlement community in Old Klang Road, Malaysia, responding to development agendas in a rapidly globalizing city of Kuala Lumpur? What happens when a natural disaster such as the Tsunami at the end of 2004 forces a community thriving on the fringes of the coast to rebuild itself from scratch?!

The Community Sustainability program comprises a matrix of community-situated activities which are being conducted using a common methodology, with an emphasis on the importance of comparative research. Our research stretches across the Asia-Pacific region, with projects in Australia, India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. The research program is engaged in multiple communities within each site, ranging from the urban to the rural, and from those embedded in face-to-face communities to those which are closely integrated into global flows of exchange and information.

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Local-Global Sites and Related Research

Rebuilding Sustainable Communities: Assessing Post-Tsunami Resettlement Projects in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and India

Martin Mulligan, Judith Shaw (Monash University), Matthew Clarke (Deakin University), Dave Mercer (School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT) and Yaso Nadarajah

Through a comparative study of five post-tsunami resettlement projects (RPs) in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and India, this practice-oriented research project will inform strategies for rebuilding of sustainable communities in regions affected by the 2004 tsunami. As an Australia Research Council Research Project, it will involve researchers from the RMIT Local-Global Program in partnership with AusAID, Australia’s official aid agency. The aim is to distil a set of ‘best practices’ for use by AusAID and policy-makers in the ongoing rehabilitation of tsunami-affected communities and in the design of future post-disaster interventions in developing countries. The outcome will be the development of strategies which strengthen responses to post-disaster resettlement needs.

In September and October, Yaso Nadarajah and Martin Mulligan traveled to Sri Lanka to begin the fieldwork for the study. A lot of groundwork has now been completed, with the team identifying the four Sri Lankan communities that will be included in the study and consolidating relationships with local partners and relevant university scholars. The groundwork that has now been completed in Sri Lanka means that there will be opportunity for other research projects in that country beyond the post-tsunami study. Yaso Nadarajah continued the project in Chennai, India, focusing on the redevelopment of post-tsunami work in three villages.

In March 2008, the project will extend into Aceh, Indonesia, beginning with an initial visit by Judith Shaw and Yaso Nadarajah.
Sustainable Communities, Sustainable Livelihoods: Alternative Pathways to Development in Papua New Guinea
Paul James, Yaso Nadarajah, Victoria Stead and Peter Phipps, with Karen Haive
(Department for Community Development, PNG) and Julie Foster-Smith

The Community Sustainability program has undertaken work in Papua New Guinea for several years now. This project has involved in-depth and sustained research in eleven communities across the country, ranging from remote villages in the Highlands through to settler communities in Port Moresby. In partnership with the Department for Community Development in the PNG National Government, this has been an ambitious research-based policy development project focusing on the relationship between livelihoods and learning. The first stage of the project involved using broad-ranging research techniques to elucidate issues underpinning skills-training possibilities, with the overall goal of setting up conditions for non-formal, short-term and demand-driven skills training to be delivered through training providers, in ways which are accessible and relevant for broad segments of the population. Doing so also required the project to undertake background research work to support the process of developing an ongoing policy framework and an implementation plan.

In early 2007, the PNG National Government formally adopted the policy document, the Integrated Community Development Policy. The policy is a direct outcome of the research project and paves the way for the creation of a network of locally-based Community Learning and Development Centers across the country. Too often in the past, policy has been based on taken-for-granted assumptions and top-down directives rather than a mutual process of dialogue and implementation between communities, practitioners and policy makers. In attempting to outline an alternative approach to policy formation and implementation, this policy creates a framework for community-controlled strategies for learning and development, which bring together both tribal and modern forms of knowledge and education.

Paul James, Yaso Nadarajah and Victoria Stead traveled to Papua New Guinea in October, conducting follow-up visits with the communities where the research for this project has been done. They took with them the policy document and held community meetings to discuss its contents and implications. They also took with them a draft version of the final research report, Sustainable Communities, Sustainable Livelihoods: Alternative Pathways to Development in Papua New Guinea, which they presented to the communities in order to discuss the findings of the research and invite feedback and dialogue. This report is now in the final stages of drafting and will be published as a research monograph in early 2008, with a longer-term plan of publishing a book based on its findings.

The report argues that Papua New Guinea is best understood not as a failed state but as a state in slow crisis. It argues for an alternate approach to development which builds upon the strength and resilience of local communities and works to recapture the principles originally articulated in the 1975 Constitution—self-determination, social equity, communality, ecological sustainability, grassroots economic viability and respect for customary ways of life. The report includes in-depth social mapping of the eleven communities, as well as the results of a Community Sustainability Questionnaire and chapters addressing some of the major development issues facing the country, including health and HIV/AIDS, international aid, customary land ownership, livelihoods and the informal sector, and non-formal learning. While the completion of the report will represent the conclusion of this particular project, the Community Sustainability program will continue to be involved in training personnel within the Department for Community Development and in
monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the policy. The researchers organized a two-day training workshop held in Papua New Guinea in March 2008, which brought together all the partners and stakeholders involved in the project and finalized strategies for the policy’s implementation.

Towards an Urban Social Charter for Port Moresby

There are exciting prospects for a new research project in Papua New Guinea examining the challenges and issues arising from urbanization. Papua New Guinea is facing the prospect of rapid urbanization in coming decades, which will have radical implications for the country’s communities and its social, cultural and economic fabric. The current proposal to develop an Urban Social Charter for its capital city, Port Moresby, will involve research into best-practice models of urban planning across the world, and will seek to generate strategies to ensure the strength and resilience of urban communities and address the challenges of settlement and resettlement, environmental sustainability, employment, health and identity.

Community Resilience, Identity and Belonging in Modernizing Malaysia

Yaso Nadarajah, Paul James and Kim Humphery with Datuk K. Govindan, (Head, National Economic Advisory Council Prime Minister’s Department, Malaysia), NGOs and Universiti Malaya, Universiti Sains Malaya and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaya

The project in Malaysia first emerged out of informal discussions between RMIT researchers and Dr K. Govindan, the head of the National Economic Action Council. Over the last two years, the research team—in partnership with researchers from the University of Malaya and several other NGOs located in the area—has been working in the town of Petaling Jaya, southwest of the capital Kuala Lumpur. The project focuses on a number of squatter settlements populated by families from Malay and Indian ethnic groups, as well as Indonesian and Bangladeshi migrant workers, almost all of whom could be classed as belonging to the lowest income groups of Malaysia. These settlements find themselves increasingly ensconced by a
growing middle-class suburb, affluent residential pockets, high-rise buildings and an entertainment complex.

Most of the families in these settlements have now been moved from their homes into new, low-cost flats or temporary transit centers designed to hold them while more low-cost housing is built. The implications of this resettlement are many and complex. While the settlements were undoubtedly plagued by many of the problems which are found in settlements of the modern urban underclass—alcoholism, crime, domestic violence and prostitution—many of the settlements were decades old, with established relationships, systems of support, and high levels of resilience co-existing with visible social disintegration. This project is particularly looking at the critical aspects of community daily life in response to modernity, with a focus on sense of place, identity and resilience.

**Sustainable Community Development—Chennai and Surrounds (South India)**

Yaso Nadarajah, Martin Mulligan and Paul James, with Thangavelu Vasantha Kumaran (University of Madras) and a team of researchers and NGOs

The focus of this project is on sustainable community development, with a particular emphasis on the implementation of participatory methodologies to enhance sustainability at the community level. The partnership of the Globalism Research Centre with the University of Madras has been in part a process of developing a comparative basis for developing changing indicators of social wellbeing and community sustainability. This includes a research focus on livelihood trajectories, communal conflict/politics, and traditional and local knowledge systems.

The sites for this comparative work include:

- Tsunami Village Phase 3—residents formerly from Pallava Nagar (village) and displaced by the 2004 tsunami and being relocated into inner city Chennai
- Medavakkam, twenty-five kilometres from Chennai city centre
• Theni District villages, with a particular focus on Bodinayackanur and Silamalai hamlets (rural community)

• Nariyankadu Village in Kollihills of Namakkal district in Tamil Nadu (a tribal indigenous community).

Health Equity Funding in Cambodia and Laos
Peter Annear and Paul James

Families and communities in developing countries around the world face increasingly difficult barriers to their ability to access health services. With the widespread application of user-pays principles in health care in these countries the cost of accessing health services has become prohibitive—especially for the poor, who generally live on less than two dollars a day. Now, new initiatives have emerged to tackle this problem.

Beginning in Cambodia in 2000, and now in Laos PDR, locally based Health Equity Funds (HEF) have been established to meet the costs of accessing health services for the poor, who can receive the services they need free of charge. With HEF, an independent fund is established at district level, generally through a non-government organization, with donor financing (though governments may also contribute). Within a community, the poor are pre-identified through a household survey. When they attend the local hospital or health centre with appropriate identification they are given the care they need free of charge. The fund then reimburses the facility for the cost of medical services and also pays the patient for their transport and food costs.

Dr Peter Annear has been researching the effectiveness of HEF, working as a Globalism Research Centre Research Associate with the Ministries of Health in Cambodia and Laos to assess the impact of HEF on the utilization of health services by the poor. Funding and technical support for the research project, ‘Study of Access to Health Services for the Poor’, has come from AusAID and the World Health Organization. The research shows that HEF is low-cost and is particularly effective in reducing financial barriers to access, increasing the utilization of health services for the poor and providing much-needed additional revenue to facilities. The findings of the first phase of this research in Cambodia are available at www.ausaid.gov.au/research/researchreport.cfm?Type=PubRB&FromSection=Research. The second phase of the work will begin in early 2008.

Sources of Insecurity, Timor-Leste
Damian Grenfell, Paul James, Anna Trembath, Carmenesa Moniz Noronha, Mayra Walsh and Kym Holthouse.

The Sources of Insecurity program within the Globalism Research Centre (see pages 60 to 64) has been running an extensive research project in Timor-Leste since 2003. The research team, based in Dili, has been exploring a number of key themes emerging within this newly-independent country, including gender, nation building, justice and security, and community. The team have recently begun using some of the research tools associated with the Community Sustainability social mapping methodology. In September, Victoria Stead travelled to Dili to spend a week with the team and provide training in the use of the Community Sustainability Questionnaire and the software used to analyse it. The trip was a great success for everyone involved and opens the way for further collaboration between the two research projects.
Indigenous Cultural Festivals: Evaluating Impact on Community Health and Wellbeing (Australia and the Asia-Pacific)

Peter Phipps, Lisa Slater, Paul James and Danielle Wyatt

This project examines the impacts of Indigenous festivals on selected Indigenous communities in Australia and the Asia-Pacific. Drawing on specific case studies, it also addresses broader issues impacting Indigenous communities in the context of globalization. It asks how Indigenous cultures intersect with different registers—the local, the national and the global—and what role cultural events play in these intersections.

The research is grounded in fieldwork-based case studies of each festival. It examines the role festivals play in strengthening and promoting Indigenous cultural identity and belonging and how this contributes to well-being. It details the initiatives that grow from festivals and analyzes the extent to which they enrich social connection and community capacity.

The 2007 pilot project, funded by the Telstra Foundation, is now an ARC linkage project (2008-10) funded by the Australia Research Council with the Telstra Foundation.

Hamilton Region (Australia): Negotiating the Local Global

Martin Mulligan, Paul James, Yaso Nadarajah, Yael Zalchendler, Jessica Korteman and Victoria Stead, with Community Facilitators Terrie Nicholson, Cicely Fenton and Vicki Finch

Community Critical Reference Group: John Callinan, Cicely Fenton, John Fenton, Terrie Nicholson, Sue Pizzey, Judy Warne, Heather Builth, Olive McVicker, Vicki Finch, Jenny Kane, Bill Gough and Peter Small, with Correspondence Members Suzy Clarke, Ted Leahy, Tony MacGillivray, Ken Saunders and Damein Bell

1. Climate Change Project

Through its long-running work in the Hamilton region community, the Local-Global Hamilton project identified the urgent need to understand climatic change in relation to local community, food production and livelihood sustainability, and begin work to think about both ideological and practical solutions to the challenges of climate change. In April 2007, a Climate Change Forum was held, which aimed to consider individual and community practices and attitudes in the Hamilton region in response to the broader global debate on climate change, and to create dialogue and research action potentials around a number of key questions. Over seventy people attended the forum, which included keynote addresses by Dr Bill Kininmonth, consultant to the World Meteorological Organization and former head of the National Climate Centre, and Professor Peter Hayes, Director of the Nautilus Institute in San Francisco and leader of climate change research in the Global Cities Institute, RMIT University. Other speakers included representatives of Southern Rural Waters, the Victorian Farmers Federation, the Environmental Farmers Networks, Landcare and Local Area Planning, the Department of Primary Industries and the Globalism Research Centre. Discussions are underway for a research program to emanate from this forum, to enable a region-wide focus and response.

A two-day Scenarios Mapping Workshop was held in February 2008. Scenarios Mapping is a method for constructing various possibilities and directions for adapting to a future increasingly defined by a changing climate. The Scenarios Mapping Workshop in Hamilton brought together a diverse cross-section of community members, researchers and scenarists to increase dialogue and exchange,
and begin developing some long-term plans and strategies for the Hamilton region. Members of the Local-Global team have experience in using this innovative method, with Paul James and Martin Mulligan recently participating in the Scenarios Planning for Climate Change workshop in Vietnam in early November, which was organized by the Climate Change Program of the Global Cities Institute and the Nautilus Institute. The Scenarios Mapping Workshop in Hamilton was facilitated by Sally Jones, an experienced scenarist, and Jodie-Anne Smith, a Senior Research Fellow with the Climate Change Adaptation program in the Global Cities Institute.

2. Second International Food and Thought Mela

The Second International Food and Thought Mela will be held on 20 and 21 June 2008. ‘Mela’ is a Sanskrit word for a festival, a fair or a large gathering. In this tradition, the first Food and Thought Mela in the Hamilton region in 2006 was an opportunity for people to come together at a shared table and celebrate the rich diversity of their food communities. Today’s global food supply is made up of complex and often invisible relationships between corporations, producers, governments, individual consumers and local communities that raise many questions about how food connects us—as individuals, as communities, as nations—to each other.

The second Mela will draw on local issues relating to climate change, water and local responses to water management, oil and productions costs, food production and access to fresh food, and cultural attitudes to local global processes in relation to food production. The success of the 2006 Mela and positive feedback from the local community, participants and speakers, including the potential for deeper research in the area of food politics and food production (with a focus on the region) has led to the planning of this second Mela. It will be held in much closer conjunction with the Local Council, Regional Arts Victoria, and regional agriculture and food production who were also principal sponsors and/or supporters of this event, and also in association with Learning Community Partnerships.
3. Handbury Community Fellowships

The Handbury Fellowship Program is a community-university-partnership scholarship fund that provides financial support to the Western Victoria community region, in partnership with RMIT University staff and students, to undertake projects that provide a direct and tangible benefit towards the sustainability of the region and surrounds. The program was established in 2003 and named after its original sponsors, Helen and Geoff Handbury. It supports projects in the areas of education, the environment, society and culture, economics, or research that enhances the community or the university on an international level.

Originally set up as a three-year pilot, the program has now been extended, thanks to the awarding of $250,000 in funding from the Federal Department of Education, Science and Training (CASR). The fourth round of calls for applications was announced in March, and the successful applicants were announced in October. Projects funded for this year included a school-based mentoring program, a feasibility study for the establishment of a biodiesel production facility in the western districts of Victoria, and a project working towards the development of the Southern Aurora solar car.

St Kilda and Broadmeadows (Australia)

St Kilda is an inner-urban, bayside Melbourne suburb which has a colourful history and remains a popular destination for tourists and cross-town visitors. St Kilda currently has a great deal of social diversity, but it is going through a process of gentrification. It is home to a thriving arts community.

Broadmeadows, located in Melbourne’s northwest, is a peri-urban Melbourne centre which has become a regional growth centre without being able to shake off the undeserved reputation for being an undesirable place to live.

As well as establishing Critical Reference Groups in each of these centres we have begun the longitudinal process of Social Mapping (for details visit www.communitysustainability.info) which will give us baseline quantitative and targeted qualitative data for integrated empirical and conjunctural analysis related to globalized social practices and themes.

Research for the ‘Generations’ Project: Building Civic Engagement through the Arts in Five Communities around Australia

Martin Mulligan and Pia Smith

Since 2006, researchers from the Globalism Research Centre have been working with the Australia Council for the Arts and Victoria’s Cultural Development Network to carry out research on the ‘Generations’ Project. The Generations Project is a three-year project developed by the Cultural Development Network and the Australia Council, taking place in five locations in eastern Australia—Latrobe Valley, Geelong, Wangaratta, Liverpool and Charters Towers. It aims to explore the links between engagement in community-based arts activities and active civic engagement. Researchers from the Globalism Research Centre completed a pilot phase of the research in early 2007 and have now commenced the major second phase of longitudinal, comparative research into the project as it unfolds in each location.

There is a growing literature around the correlation between involvement in creative or artistic activity and improved health and wellbeing; significant among that literature is the Globalism Research Centre’s 2006 report Creating Community: Celebrations, Arts and Wellbeing within and across Local Communities. The links between creative communities and civic engagement, however, are less well documented.
The Generations project will contribute to research data on this topic through the significant research component carried out by the Globalism Research Centre. Demonstration of this link could have significant effects on the development of public policy and the targeting of resources to community-based arts projects.

As one major outcome from this project, RMIT will host a major conference in September 2009: ‘Regenerating Community: A New Nexus between Art, Community and Governance’. The conference is an opportunity to present the research findings from the work on the Generations Project, but it will also provide a forum for related research and practice by bringing together academics, local government officers, policy writers, artists and creative practitioners.

**The Case for a Regional Arts Development Officer Network in Victoria: An Evaluation of the Regional Cultural Partnership Program of Regional Arts Victoria (Australia)**

*Martin Mulligan and Pia Smith*

In June and July 2007, researchers from the Globalism Research Centre worked with Regional Arts Victoria (RAV) to conduct an evaluation of their Regional Community Partnership Program. Since 2004, RAV has developed a particular model for using the national Regional Arts Fund to deploy Regional Arts Development Officers (RADOs) who are supported by ‘partner’ organizations in a Regional Cultural Partnership Program (RCPP). The evaluation focused on the work of RADOs based in diverse regions centred on Horsham, Ballarat and Sale.

The evaluation looked at the expectations of the RCPP that have been articulated by relevant federal and state departments, local partners within the RCPP and by RAV itself. While more can be done to collate ongoing evidence regarding the local and regional impacts of the RCPP, the RADOs have been able to demonstrate that arts development officers who have both local knowledge and a good understanding of art practices are essential for any strategy aimed at building more diverse and sustainable regional arts sectors. Their work has demonstrated that investments in regional arts should be seen as a long-term investment in the sustainability of local communities.

This major report based on the findings of this research, *A Strategy for Growing the Regional Arts Sector in Victoria*, will be launched in July 2008 by the Victorian Minister for the Arts, Lynne Kosky, in Portland, Victoria.
6.3 Border Knowledges and Global Learning

Research Project Manager: Christopher Ziguras

Research Team: Peter Burrows, Gus Gollings, Cate Gribble, Mary Kalantzis, Liam Magee, Les Morgan, Helen Smith and Keiju Suominen

Border Knowledges and Global Learning examines the impact of new technologies and internationalization on education, and the ways in which national and cultural borders effect the movements of people and knowledge. Our overarching concern is how increasingly globalized modern knowledge systems transform social, economic and cultural conditions of life around the globe. The title ‘Border Knowledges’ highlights how these transformations work across and beyond national borders, as well as the boundaries that exist between disciplines, institutions and ways of knowing.

The research projects currently undertaken within this theme are listed below.

Catalyst: Changing Practices

Sponsor: Department of Education and Early Childhood Development, Victoria

Chief Investigators: Helen Smith; Peter Burrows and Les Morgan

This project involves an evaluation of the first year of the Catalyst project which will inform the second year of implementation. Catalyst involves nine schools across Victoria in designing and implementing action research projects which will be the context for introducing information and communication technologies into the curriculum, and devising appropriate and innovative pedagogies. The methodology is based on the collection of reflective data from school teams, and the analysis of the processes followed by school teams in designing their action research project, and working with teachers across the school in the implementation phase.

Governing International Trade in Higher Education: A Comparative Study of International Education Policy Development

Sponsor: Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant)

Chief Investigators: Grant McBurnie and Christopher Ziguras

Australia is a major exporter of education, yet the cumulative social and economic impacts of large-scale commercial international education on our trading partners are not well researched. We seek to understand the similarities and differences between Australian and other governments’ objectives regarding the growing international market in education and their regulation of educational trade, with a view to informing relations between governments, educational institutions, educational peak bodies and other stakeholders.

Learning by Design: Creating Pedagogical Frameworks for Knowledge Building in the Twenty-First Century

Sponsors: Australian Research Council (Linkage Grant), ACT Department of Education and Training, Victorian Schools Innovation Commission, Education Queensland and Catholic Education Office, Diocese of Parramatta

Chief Investigators: Bill Cope, Mary Kalantzis and Nicola Yelland

This project examines how ‘middle-years’ teachers design, record and enact their curriculum, searching for evidence of a relationship between pedagogical choices and learner outcomes. The aim of the project is to prompt more mindful and context-appropriate pedagogical choices, while encouraging teachers to document
and share their practices. From these investigations, and drawing on the theory of Multiliteracies, we are developing a kit of resources for teacher teams to use in designing pedagogies to promote more effective learning.

**Literacy Teaching in the Changing Communications Environment: Reading and Writing Multimodal and Digital**

*Sponsor: Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant)*  
*Chief Investigators: Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis*

This project contributes to the updating of literacy pedagogy to meet the needs of learners in a communications environment where digital and multimodal texts are of growing significance. We are developing an educationally accessible way of talking about contemporary texts in the classroom, which supplements and extends traditional grammatical and literary understandings of the written word. Our aim is to move towards the creation of a model of literacy teaching which is more relevant to the contemporary communications environment and more engaging for students.

**Microsoft Partners in Learning: Australian Evaluation Project**

*Sponsor: Microsoft*

*Chief Investigators: Mary Kalantzis, Helen Smith and Nicola Yelland*

Microsoft Partners in Learning (PiL) is a global ICT initiative to which Microsoft has committed US$253 million internationally. By offering programs, software, training and professional development and recognition, Microsoft is offering incentives for state/territory departments of education to further invest in eLearning. In collaboration with Victoria University, we have been contracted to conduct an evaluation of the PiL projects being conducted by the Australian state/territory departments of education.

**Models and Guidelines for Good Practice in Transnational Education in New Zealand**

*Sponsor: Education New Zealand Trust*

*Chief Investigator: Christopher Ziguras*

The project was undertaken to provide advice, analysis and associated services to Education New Zealand Trust relating to the Export Education Innovation Programme Advisory Body. The outcome of the research was the report *Good Practice in Transnational Education: A Guide for New Zealand Providers*, which aims to provide a brief introduction to good practice in transnational (or ‘offshore’) education by drawing on the New Zealand and international literature on transnational education, international codes of practice, case studies of large-scale successful overseas programs, and reports of quality assurance bodies.

**Pedagogies for eLearning: A Critical Analysis of Strategies for Effective Use of Information and Communications Technologies for Teaching and Learning**

*Sponsor: Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant)*  
*Chief Investigators: Bill Cope, Mary Kalantzis and Nicola Yelland*

What are the benefits and weaknesses of ‘eLearning’ in different subject areas and across a range of social settings? In this assessment we trace the micro-dynamics of the traditional classroom as contrasted with eLearning and will develop models which make the most of the educational potentials of eLearning. No such direct
comparison of teaching and learning has been made before. The results will inform the development of learning environments that most effectively contribute to the formation of fully enabled members of the emerging ‘knowledge society’ through the appropriate application of eLearning strategies.

Towards the ‘Semantic Web’: Standards and Interoperability across Document Management and Publishing Supply Chains

Sponsors: Australian Research Council (Linkage Grant) and FujiXerox

Chief Investigators: Bill Cope, Margaret Jackson, Mary Kalantzis, and Bill Martin

At a critical point in the development of the information economy, this project addresses the fundamental challenges of electronic standards and interoperability in the text and graphic media industries. These industries are a source of enormous and growing employment in Australia; their products also touch every person’s life in profound ways. This project will develop an extensive industry-focused knowledge base and take this knowledge back to industry and the broader community through publications, conferences and workshops.

6.4 The Global–Local Database

Once fully developed, the Global–Local electronic database will include interpretative overviews, documents, photographs and audio files, available through the web for all the participants of all the projects conducted within and in collaboration with the Globalism Research Centre.

Each research theme has its own tailored entry to the database on its website, but as fieldwork at specific locations becomes more active, the research websites have the capacity to add separate entries for each of the locations at which research is being conducted.

For example, at www.communitysustainability.info/research/research_locations the Community Sustainability website has entries for Broadmeadows, Braidwood, Daylesford, Hamilton, St Kilda, Sarajevo, Havana, Dili, Rhodes, Petaling Jaya and Port Moresby.

On the Sources of Insecurity website, at www.sourcesofinsecurity.org/research/globallocal.html, we have begun to open up database entries for Aceh, Bali, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Timor-Leste, Israel-Palestine, and the Solomon Islands.

The public material generated by the thematic research that is entered into the database will remain accessible for all communities and researchers, apart from material that we are ethically prohibited from making public. Culturally or politically sensitive material will remain confidential between individual researchers and the people with whom they are working collaboratively. Otherwise, the Global–Local database is an open-source project.

All materials, including images and stories, are copyright for the purposes of commercial use. For other users we ask only that they formally register their interest and the context in which the material will be used by emailing us, and fully acknowledge the source of the material.

How the Global–Local Database Works

Each research location or collaborating group has its own homepage with a tailored entry to the Global–Local Database, and these are situated on each of our research websites. This contains information for community participants and through the database entry point allows on-site research collaborators and any member of that
community participating in the project to contribute material to the database. Each site’s page has an interface to the database that is tailored to that community, which brings up the material specific to that research site or collaborating group.

However, researchers and participants are not restricted to searching only their own material; it is also possible to search material contributed at other sites in any general research category. Registered users who submit material to the database are required to categorize (tag) the material submitted (an ‘asset’) according to a set range of options that are based on our life-world and social themes (see http://www.communitysustainability.info/research/research-approach-method.html for a full explanation). The database can accept a wide range of ‘assets’, including image files, text documents, PDF files, film clips, and so on.

To submit material to the database via a website people need to be associated with one of the projects under the umbrella of one of our research themes or collaborative groups, and to register through the database as a participant at their site.

Registration can be done by anyone from anywhere in the world, but material will not appear on the database until the registration and the content of the material has been approved by a Research Site Manager. This is simply a ‘safety mechanism’ to avoid materials in our database being corrupted by viruses or inappropriate material being loaded to the database.

On each of the websites we provide more information on how to use the database, but queries regarding the Global–Local database or any of our websites should be directed to our Web and Database Manager, Todd Bennet (todd.bennet@rmit.edu.au).

An elderly couple with their grandchild standing outside their sacred house, Nanu, Fatumean, Timor-Leste (2008)
6.5 Past Major Projects and Grants


- ‘Biotechnology across the Borders of Life’ (2003–06), Australian Research Council, Kate Cregan.

- ‘Australian Responses to Refugees’ (2003–06), Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant, Paul James and Mary Kalantzis.

- ‘Teachers Resource Kit: Multiculturalism Education Program to High School Students’ (2005), Office of Multicultural Interests, Department of Premier and Cabinet, Western Australia, Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis.

- ‘Pathways to Reconciliation and Global Human Rights’ (2005), UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina, Peter Phipps and Hariz Halilovich.

- ‘Violence at the Intersections of Globalism, Nationalism and Tribalism’ (2003–06), Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant), Paul James and Tom Nairn.

- ‘The Wellbeing of Communities: Cultural Activities, Social Health and Community Sustainability’ (2003–06), Australian Research Council (Linkage Grant), Kim Humphrey, Paul James and Christopher Scanlon, with VicHealth—Victorian Health Promotion Foundation as industry partners.


- ‘Community Celebrations’ (2003–04), VicHealth, Paul James, Douglas McQueen-Thomson and Christopher Ziguras.

- ‘Sustainable Community-Based Vocational Education’ (2003), National Council of Vocational Education and Research (NCVER), Leanne Reinke and Helen Smith in collaboration with Banduk Marika and Colin Lane from Gamarrwa Nuwul Land Care Yirrkala in North-East Arnhem.

- ‘Consuming the Globe’ (2003), RMIT Research Infrastructure Funding, Paul James and Kim Humphery.

- ‘Debating the Impact of International Trade Agreements on Transnational Higher Education’ (2003), Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant), Christopher Ziguras and Grant McBurnie.

- ‘English as a Global Language’ (2003), Australian Research Council Discovery Grant, Michael Singh, Peter Kell and Ambigapathy Pandian with Christopher Scanlon.

- ‘International Student Mobility and Educational Innovation’ (2003), Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant), Michael Singh and Fazal Rizvi.

- ‘Representing the Refugee’ (2003), British Academy, Paul James and Peter Phipps, with John Hutnyk, Goldsmith’s College, London.


• ‘C2C System: An Integrated Book Production Project’ (2001–02), Department of Industry, Science and Resources, Common Ground, Globalism Research Centre, RMIT Art, Design and Communication, RMIT Business and FELCS.


Publications

One of the aims of the Centre is to support research that leads to relevant and socially engaged publications. Listed below are the publications, conference papers and public addresses by our researchers.

7.1 Publications 2007 and Forthcoming

Books


Other Monographs and Reports

• Martin Mulligan, Paul James, Kim Humphery, Chris Scanlon, Pia Smith, and Nicky Welch, *Creating Community: Celebrations, Arts and Wellbeing within and across Local Communities*, VicHealth, Melbourne, 2007.


**Chapters**


A security guard in Alice Springs, Australia, turning away an Aboriginal man from entering a mall in Todd Street on the basis of new laws on alcohol consumption (2007)


The Khaleej Times, Dubai, United Arab Emirates, reports on the election of a Labour government in the 2007 Australian federal election


Christopher Ziguras, ‘Cultural and Contextual issues in the Evaluation of Transnational Distance Education’, in T. Evans, M. Haughey and D. Murphy, eds, International Handbook of Distance Education, Emerald, London, forthcoming.


**Refereed Articles**


- Paul James, ‘Reframing the Nation-State: Rethinking the Australian Dream from the Local to the Global’, Futures, vol. 39, no. 2/3, 2007.


Kara market, where a moneyless reciprocal exchange of goods continues as a regular event, Central Province near Yule Island, Papua New Guinea (2007)

A street mural in Chinatown, San Francisco, USA. Members of the Globalism Research Centre were in San Francisco as part of the International Studies Conference in 2008.

Other Articles and Political Commentaries


Keynote, Conference Papers and Other Public Addresses


- Paul James, ‘Globalization, Technological Extension and Power’, Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTEU), Trondheim, Norway, 18 September 2007.


The Fried Fish Processing Market, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. In 2007, the Globalism Research Centre was invited to act as an advisor to the Helsinki Process on Global Governance. The key forum was held in Dar es Salaam.


- Manfred Steger, keynote address, Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic, 3 May 2007.


• Manfred B. Steger, ‘Ideology and Technology’, Patel Center of Global Leadership, University of South Florida, Tampa, USA, 10 September 2007.

• Manfred B. Steger, keynote address, ‘Research in the Globalism Research Centre’, Asian Cities and Singapore Symposium, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia, 27 September 2007.

• Paul James, ‘Global Tensions: Learning to Fear the Savages and Barbarians’, Department of Anthropology, University of Helsinki, Finland, 12 September 2007.


• Lisa Slater, ‘Beds were Burning: the Inaugural Mapoon Festival’, invited presenter, ‘Festival Places: Revitalising Rural Australia’ symposium, University of Sydney, Australia, 10 December 2007.
7.2 Past Publications (Books)

The following is a list of books whose authors were employed by the Globalism Research Centre at the time of publication.

Conferences and Forums

The Globalism Research Centre organizes and sponsors national and international conferences and seminars that provide public spaces for debating and formulating policy and practice in all dimensions of global–local relations. Each of these forums is treated as the basis for furthering the research aims of the Centre and is linked to the publication of research monographs and anthologies. We intend the forums as a means of forging co-operative research relations with institutes and centres of excellence within Australia and across the world.

8.1 Current Conference Series

Diversity Conferences
diversity-conference.com
Sydney (Australia), 2000; Geelong (Australia), 2001; Honolulu (USA), 2003; Los Angeles (USA), 2004; Beijing (China), 2005; New Orleans (USA), 2006; Amsterdam (The Netherlands), 2007.

Humanities Conferences
humanitiesconference.com
Rhodes (Greece), 2003; Prato (Italy), 2004; Cambridge (UK); 2005, Tunis (Tunisia), 2006; Paris (France), 2007.

8.2 Other 2007 Conferences

Two Fires Festival of Arts and Activism
www.twofiresfestival.com
Braidwood (Australia), March 2007

The Two Fires Festival is a celebration of poet and activist Judith Wright’s impressive double legacy, and an opportunity to explore the ongoing relevance of that legacy in today’s world. The festival stokes the ‘two fires’ of arts and activism. The 2007 theme was ‘Identity and Environment: Taking up the Challenge’, with the academic forum ‘The Identity and Environment Dialogue’ convened by the Globalism Research Centre. The 2007 festival featured a number of prominent writers, activists, musicians and academics including Val Plumwood, Kate Rigby, Richard Steele and Roger McDonald.

8.3 Past Conferences

• Unity for Peace: National Peace Activists Conference, Melbourne (Australia), 2006

• Sources of Insecurity Conferences, Melbourne (Australia), 2004; Sarajevo (Bosnia-Herzegovina), 2005
  www.sourcesofinsecurity.org/events/PathwaysToReconciliation.html

• Garma, Gove (Australia), 2002–2005
  www.garma.telstra.com/index.htm

• Challenges and Possibilities: International Organisations and Women in East Timor, Melbourne (Australia), 2005
• Two Fires Festival of Arts and Activism, Braidwood (Australia), 2005
• Greek-Australians in the Twenty-First Century: A National Conference, RMIT Melbourne (Australia), 2004
• Fourth Pillar Conference: Councils, Communities, Cultures, Melbourne Town Hall (Australia), 2004
• Knowledge Management Conference, Penang (Malaysia), 2003; University of Greenwich, London (UK), 2004
• West Papuan Futures: History, Culture, Political Directions, Melbourne (Australia), 2003
• National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Visual Arts Conference, Adelaide (Australia), 2002
• After September 11: Religion, Diversity and Cohesion in the Global Neighbourhood, Melbourne (Australia), 2002
• Refugees and the Lucky Country Conference, Melbourne (Australia), November 2002
• Indigenous Peoples and Racism Conference, Sydney (Australia), 2001
• International Literacy Conferences, Penang (Malaysia), 1999, 2002, 2003
8.4 Forums 2007

Each year the Globalism Research Centre sponsors and convenes a range of public events, including lectures and seminars, providing a forum for discussion of current public issues and academic debates.

eLearning Symposium

Melbourne (Australia), December 2007.

Keynote speakers: Dr Peter Burrows, RMIT University; Dr Anne Cloonan, Deakin University; Professor Mary Kalantzis, University of Illinois; Professor Bill Cope, University of Illinois.

The eLearning Symposium provides a space for dialogue around the intersection of information and communications technologies (ICTs) and pedagogy, with a focus on the work of the Globalism Research Centre's Knowledge Design Forum.

The 2007 symposium had a special focus on the role of participatory research in promoting pedagogical change and will include a showcase of work undertaken by teams of teacher/co-researchers involved in a current ARC project.

The symposium is hosted by the Knowledge Design Forum (KDF), a framework for showcasing, connecting and managing the cluster of research and development projects, including four ARC (Australian Research Council) grants focused on education and digital technologies and the Microsoft Partners in Learning project—all housed in the Globalism Research Centre and based on the work of Professor Mary Kalantzis and Dr Bill Cope.

Pantomime Terror: UK Hip-Hop at War (or Paranoia in London: ‘Lookout He’s Behind You!’)

Melbourne (Australia), March 2007.

Speaker: John Hutnyk, Academic Director of the Centre for Cultural Studies at Goldsmiths College, University of London, UK

This discussion addressed new work by diasporic world music stalwarts Fun-da-mental and the drum and bass outfit Asian Dub Foundation, relating to insurgency struggles, anti-colonialism and political freedom in the UK. The presentation argued for an engaged critique of ‘culture’ and assessed a certain distance or gap between political expression and the tamed versions of multiculturalism accepted by/acceptable in the British marketplace. Examples from the music industry reception of ‘difficult’ music and creative engagement were evaluated in the context of the global terror wars and a new paranoia that appears endemic on the streets of London today.

Materializing the Metaphors of Global Cities: Singapore and Silicon Valley

Melbourne (Australia), April 2007.

Speaker: Terrell Carver, Professor of Political Theory, University of Bristol, UK

This paper examined two metaphors relating to global cities. The first is ‘cyber-sexy-city’, a metaphor constructed here to summarize a set of political initiatives and dilemmas current in Singapore, well known as a global city. The second is ‘Silicon Valley’, an already familiar metaphor summarizing aspects of globalization and globalism relating to cities but lacking the literal city referent—since it is not actually a city at all, nor does it particularly look like one city, or even several cities grown together.
The overall objective of the paper was to highlight not just the perlocutionary force of language (deployed through the tropological distinctions that establish a productive relationship between ‘the literal’ and ‘the metaphorical’) but to push this ‘constructionist’ understanding of the political process further towards an understanding of ‘the fantastic’ as that which precedes ‘the realized’. Or, in other words, literalizing the metaphors of global cities is a process best understood as a practical form of science fiction.

**Local-Global Forum on Climate Change**

Hamilton (Australia), April 2007.

*Speakers:* Dr Bill Kininmonth, consultant to the World Meteorological Organization and former Head, National Climate Centre; Professor Peter Hayes, Director of the Nautilus Institute in San Francisco; representatives of Southern Rural Waters, the Victorian Farmers Federation, the Environmental Farmers Networks, Landcare and Local Area Planning, the Department of Primary Industries, and the Globalism Research Centre.

The forum considered individual and community practices and attitudes in the Hamilton region in response to the broader global debate on climate change. Dr Yaso Nadarajah of the Globalism Research Centre said that the forum was designed to create dialogue and research action potentials around a number of key questions: Where do we go from here? How do we get involved in a common effort? How do we build local-global community capacity as a framework of research and application?

**Unpacking Solidarity: Pedagogy, Power and Praxis in Academic Activism**

Melbourne (Australia), May 2007.

*Speaker:* Glen David Kuecker, Associate Professor of History, DePauw University, Greenacres, USA

To unpack the meanings of solidarity within academic activism, this presentation shared critical self-reflections on solidarity experiences in working with the Zapatista communities of Chiapas, indigenous communities in La Montaña region of Guerrero, Mexico, serving as Resident Director of a praxis driven study-abroad program, and work with the community of Junín, Ecuador.

Exploring these experiences, the seminar discussed the process and method involved in this work, and offered reflection on the core issues of pedagogy, power and praxis that are embedded in solidarity work. This analysis considered the place of the academic activist within the Globalism Research Centre’s community sustainability project.

**The Social and Cultural Implications of Globalization on Shanghai’s Emergence as a Global City**

Melbourne (Australia), May 2007.

*Speaker:* Zhang Xinhua, Director, Center for Policy and Strategic Studies, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China

Professor Zhang Xinhua holds academic positions and professorship in several key institutions, and is dedicated to the research and teaching of social and economic development policy and strategy, organizational learning and knowledge management, international relations and global developments, and cross-cultural communication and strategy development.
Innovative Strategies for Health Funding in Cambodia and Laos

Melbourne (Australia), July 2007.

*Speaker:* Peter Annear, Research Associate, Globalism Research Centre.

In many poor countries today up to three-quarters of the national cost of providing health services are paid for out-of-pocket by patients themselves. The widespread introduction of user charges for public health services—a result of structural adjustment and declining government budgets—has caused the exclusion of many poor people from the health care they need, often including a third of the population. Now, innovative and locally based strategies are emerging in Cambodia and Laos (and other poor countries) to break down these financial barriers.

Dr Peter Annear has spent the last two years researching these issues and advising the Cambodian and Lao governments on procedures to meet the health needs of the poor. He discussed the conceptual, policy and pragmatic implications of these remarkable new initiatives that restore the health of communities.

A New Emissions Paradigm: Using Greenhouse Development Rights to Enable Equitable Distribution of Global Emissions

Melbourne (Australia), August 2007.

*Speakers:* Tom Athanasiou, Executive Director, EcoEquity; and Martin Mulligan, Deputy Director, Globalism Research Centre.

The world must rapidly reduce greenhouse gas emissions if we are to avoid dangerous climate change. But how can we do this while also facilitating a fair go for the developing world and bring a sense of international equity to the climate change debate? How can a rise in prosperity in the developing world be facilitated while reducing global emissions?

Tom Athanasiou argued the real climate change challenge is holding global warming below a catastrophic level while preserving the right of all people to more than merely bare-bones ‘human development’.

Bus on South Figueroa Street, outside of University of Southern California, Los Angeles, USA (2007)
Postgraduate Program

9.1 Postgraduate Program

The Centre has as one of its central activities the provision of a research culture supporting postgraduate supervision in the areas of globalism, transnationalism, nationalism and cultural diversity. It concentrates this supervision in the university’s research programs of Doctor of Philosophy and Masters Degree by research.

9.2 Postgraduate Students 2007

Doctor of Philosophy

Louise Byrne, West Papua: Tensions in the Transition to Independence

Olga Bursian, Uncovering the Well Springs of Migrant Women’s Agency: Connecting with Australian Public Infrastructure

Supaporn Chalapati, Program Quality and the Internationalization of Higher Education in Thailand: Case Studies of Two Thai Universities

Dean Coldicott, The Emergence of the World Trade Organisation: Multilateralism, Public Policy and Global Governance

N.A.T.B (Theja) Dias, Communicative Language Teaching and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages in the Sri Lankan University Context

Susan Ennis, Religion, Spirituality and the Refugee Experience

Gus Gollings, The Globalisation of the Semantic Web: A Future Aspect of Diversity and Knowledge

Pornpimon Hart-Rawung, Internationalizing Vocational English Language Education in Thailand: English Language Programs for Thai Engineers

Bradley Haylock, The Frontline is Everywhere: For a Critique of Radical Commodities

Lisa Jobson, Biosphere Approaches to Environmental Education in Australian Community Education

Maree Keating, The Impact of Australia’s Free Trade Agreements on Women Working in the Asian and Australian Manufacturing Sectors

Gareth Knapman, Inclusion and Exclusion: Western Discourse and the Framing of National Identities in Southeast-Asia

Ruttigone Loh, Private Higher Education in Malaysia

Weihua Luo, English Language Teaching in Chinese Universities in the Era of the World Trade Organisation: A Learner Perspective

Liam Magee, Commensurability of Semantic Web Ontologies

Monica Moore, Eduardo Galeano’s Social Political Thought: Latinamericanisms and Globalizations

Sasho Ripiloski, A Case Study of Survival: Macedonia 1991 to the Present

Shanthi Robertson, The Transition from International Student to Skilled Migrant in Victoria

Barbara Rogalla, Legal Rationalism, the Howard Government and Refugees
Nick Rose, How Effective Have Diverse Mainstream and Subordinate Human Rights Responses Been to the Challenges Posed by ‘Accumulation by Dispossession’ and ‘Security by Deprivation’?

Charlotte Scarf, Knowledge Networks for Development

Andrew Scerri, Subjectivity, Consumption and Affluence

Rachel Sharples, Communities, Cultural Resistance and Empowerment in Burma

Keiju Suominen, Students Learning by Design

Anna Trembath, Framing the Nation, Reconstituting Gender


Aiden Warren, An Examination of the Bush Doctrine

Danielle Wyatt, Experiences and Expressions of a Settlement Narrative in Local Geographies

Masters of Arts

Yu Cong, Attitude, Motivation and Second Language Learning Strategies

Andrea Garivaldis, The Transition from an English Language Centre to Suburban Secondary Colleges: A Comparative Study of Newly-Arrived Immigrant and International Students

Lidia Horvat, Is Cultural Competence An Emergent Paradigm? Towards a Defensible Theory and Framework?

Hsu Chun-Yen, Sino-American Relations and Détente

Zvjezdana Peuraca, Transnationalism and Faith Communities: Case Studies of the Serbian Orthodox Parishes in Australia and their Links across the World

Mohammad Rahimi, Investigating the Development of Regulatory Arrangements for the Australian Vocational Education and Training System in a Global Context

Nurgul Sawut, Central Asian Turkic Ethnic Groups Regional Economics Research
A mother with her children at their home in Kampung Baru, Dili, Timor-Leste (2008)