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Bunggul: ritual performance at Garma in Arnhem Land, Australia 2004
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Introduction

Manifesto

At a time of acute sensitivity to questions of social dislocation, economic inequity and political upheaval, the Globalism Institute is committed to rethinking the relationship between the global and the local. The Institute’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.

The work of the Globalism Institute 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 Institute aims to build long-term commitment to its research partners and to its research themes. In other words, the Globalism Institute 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 sum of the Institute is intended to be much more than just the sum of its projects.
- The Institute 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 public 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.
Background

The Globalism Institute 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.

Activities

The Globalism Institute 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 globalisation 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 analyse 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.

Highlights for the Year 2004

Collaborations and Conferences

It has been an extraordinary year for the Globalism Institute. The life of the Institute since its inception has been characterized by strong and exciting collaborations. Most institutes run conferences and forums, but we have been fortunate to do this through developing wonderful partnerships and linking these into research collaborations. This was highlighted in 2004 with a continuing emphasis on running major conferences and developing research collaborations across Australia and around the world. In 2004, together with our partner Common Ground, we took responsibility for five significant international conferences: in Beijing; in Havana with Centro de Convenciones Pedagógicas de Cojimar; in Los Angeles with UCLA; in Prato, Italy with the Monash Institute for the Study of Global Movements; and in London with Greenwich University. Together these conferences attracted over 2,000 scholars from dozens of countries.
Closer to home, we were central partners in a further four major conferences. In collaboration with the Yothu Yindi Foundation, we co-ordinated the Garma Forum at Gulkula in Arnhem Land (Peter Phipps) part of one of the most exciting festivals of its kind in Australia. We worked with the Cultural Sustainability Network (Judy Spokes and Chris Scanlon) to run a very successful conference in the Melbourne Town Hall on councils, communities and cultures. Perhaps the most audacious and difficult task of all, we worked with the Greek community to run a major conference on Greek Australia in the twenty-first century (Leanne Reinke and Chris Ziguras). One of the keynote speakers was Gough Whitlam, former Prime Minister of Australia. Finally, in an invitation-only three-day forum we drew together the best scholars in Australia around the theme of sources of insecurity to discuss future research directions and collaborations (Kathryn Hegarty and Damian Grenfell). This last event was part of a developing collaboration with Murdoch University, the University of Technology Sydney, and Queensland University. It also became part of an ATN collaboration on Globalization and Human Security that we hope to take further over the next few years as signalled in our website www.sourcesofinsecurity.org.

Other partnerships in Australia maintained or developed throughout the year included members of the communities of Hamilton, Broadmeadows, Daylesford, St Kilda and Braidwood in our Community Sustainability Project. We worked closely with VicHealth, the Futures Environment Fund (FEF), and the Catchment Management Authority, Glenelg Hopkins, Victoria. Internationally, partnerships were actively maintained with the Globalization Research Center and Risk Center in Hawai‘i; the ICMP, REZ, UNDP in Bosnia; the Ramakrishna Mission for Education and Social Transformation, Yayasan Strategik Social (YSS), Malaysian Indian Congress and the University Malaya in Kuala Lumpur; and the University of Madras, in Chennai, South India. We had visits to the Institute from colleagues in Bosnia-Herzegovina, China, Cyprus, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, and Mexico.

Research Trips and Invitations

Tom Nairn was a keynote speaker at the Oslo New Humanism Conference, presenting an essay on the ‘New Humanism’ of the late Georg Henrik Von Wright of Helsinki (Ludwig Wittgenstein’s main editor and ideological follower). The conference provided insight into debates occurring between Eastern and Western intellectuals, on the world likely to follow the Iraq War. He was also invited to the Department of International Relations, Aberystwyth, to give an address on ‘Globalization and Small Nations’, and to the University of Edinburgh. Peter Phipps was invited to give a guest lecture in anthropology at Goldsmiths College London. Christopher Scanlon was invited to speak at the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy and Research, Australian National University, and also at the Arts Industry Council. Yaso Nadarajah was invited to present a plenary address at the national Australian International Development Program Conference, Melbourne.

Yaso Nadarajah and Paul James undertook research trips to Malaysia to establish relationships with NEAC (National Economic Advisory Council, Prime Ministers Department), University of Malaya and Yayasan Strategik Social (Malaysian Indian Congress). In a follow-up visit Yaso and Chris Scanlon commenced Community Sustainability field research in Petalingjaya. Chris and Paul also represented the Globalism Institute at the Warwick meeting of Globalization Studies Network, a global consortium of research and education institutes of which Paul is a foundation member of the International Steering Committee. Paul was also part of the G20 Advisory Group to the Canadian Prime Minister, and with Martin Mulligan was a collaborating advisor to the Minister for Community Development of Papua New
A fruit-seller at the West Bank checkpoint between Ramullah and Jerusalem, Israel-Palestine (2005).
Guinea which included contributing to drafting the Minister’s *New Policy Document*, 2004 and the *Corporate Plan, 2004–07*. Paul and Karen Malone were invited to participate in a national forum on a new policy for community development in Papua New Guinea held in Port Moresby. The event was organized by the Department for Community Development and Paul was invited to give an opening speech that was broadcast on national radio. He also gave invited addresses to forums in Helsinki, Chicago, Warwick, Los Angeles, and Havana.

Damian Grenfell and Paul James worked in East Timor on the Sources of Insecurity project and collaborated with National Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR), contributing to writing their final report. Peter Phipps and Hariz Halilovich undertook a research trip to Bosnia-Herzegovina to conduct research on Community Sustainability and for preparation of the Pathways to Reconciliation and Global Human Rights conference to be held in August 2005. A partnership has been forged with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and a number of other organizations for running that conference.

**Publications and Grants**

Mary Kalantzis, Nicola Yelland and Bill Cope, all core researchers with the Globalism Institute, received $150,000 over three years from the ARC for their joint project ‘Pedagogies for eLearning: A Critical Analysis of Strategies for Effective Use of Information and Communications Technologies for Teaching and Learning’. Christopher Ziguras, Acting Head of the School of International and Community Studies—in partnership with Dr Grant McBurnie of Monash University—received $225,000 over three years from the ARC to conduct their project ‘Governing International Trade in Higher Education: A Comparative Study of International Education Policy Development’.

Two major books were published by Institute staff in 2004 with a number of others forthcoming. Sally Warhaft’s *Well May We Say: The Speeches that Made Australia* was published by Black Inc. Books, and Christopher Ziguras’s *Self-Care: Embodiment, Personal Autonomy and the Shaping of Health Consciousness* was published by Routledge. Tom Nairn and Paul James completed *Global Matrix: Nationalism, Globalism and State-Terrorism*, Pluto Press, London and New York, 2005; and Paul finished *Globalism, Nationalism Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In*, for Sage Publications, London, now in press. In addition, he signed a contract with Sage Publications to publish ‘Central Currents in Globalization’, an integrated collection of sixteen edited volumes. It is intended as a landmark collection that sets out the contours of a burgeoning field that now crosses the boundaries of all the older disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. Overall, the collection is intended to be the systematic mapping of the field of globalization studies as represented by English-language essays and translations, and will be published across 2006–7.
Research Themes

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

Sources of Insecurity

*Localism, Nationalism and Globalism*
- violence and social disintegration
- globalization and human insecurity
- nationalism, religion and identity
- the War on Terror

Community Sustainability

*From the Local to the Global*
- well-being 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

Border Knowledges

- 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

Global Media

- extended communications and community formation
- the culture wars and the War on Terror
- media culture

Discourses of Critical and Ethical Engagement

- ideologies of cosmopolitanism, post-nationalism and multiculturalism
- approaches to post-colonialism
- new agenda issues such as anti-corporate globalization

Peace poster on the wall of a street in Haifa, Israel-Palestine (2005).
Lead Essays

Ideologies of Globalization

Manfred Steger

When does a rising political belief-system warrant the designation ‘ideological family’? What criteria should be used to upgrade a conceptual segment to the status of ‘ideology’? Michael Freeden suggests that mature ideologies display unique features anchored in distinct conceptual morphologies. Resembling well-furnished rooms containing various pieces of furniture uniquely arranged in proximity to each other, conceptual units ‘pattern’ an ideology. Held together by conceptual cores sufficiently fertile to bear the weight of adjacent and peripheral concepts, mature thought-systems exhibit a full spectrum of responses to issues (as understood at the time and place). In addition, their morphologies must be broad enough to encompass the spread of conceptual decontestations characteristic of mature ideological families. Thus, Freeden provides researchers with three useful criteria for determining the status of a particular political belief system: first, its degree of uniqueness and morphological sophistication; second, its context-bound responsiveness to a broad range of political issues; and, third, its ability to produce effective conceptual decontestation chains. Scoring high on these criteria, a conceptual cluster might earn the designation ‘ideology’; ranking low on one or all of them, however, it would probably be classified as a mere ‘module’.

With regard to the third criterion, it is important to note that Freeden considers ‘decontestation’ a crucial process in the formation of thought systems because it specifies the meanings of the core concepts by arranging them in a ‘pattern’ or ‘configuration’ that links them with other concepts in a meaningful way. As he puts it:

This configuration teases out specific conceptions of each of the concepts involved. Its precision of meaning, while never conclusive, is gained by the specific and constricted interaction among the concepts it employs. 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 interdeterminacy of meaning. That is their semantic role. [But] [i]deologies also need to decontest the concepts they use because they are instruments for fashioning collective decisions. That is their political role.

Effective decontestation structures can thus be pictured as simple semantic chains whose conceptual links convey authoritative meanings that facilitate collective decision-making. Their interconnected semantic and political roles suggest that control over political language translates directly into political power, that is, the power of deciding ‘who gets what, when, and how’. Assembled and nurtured by

specific groups in society, these semantic chains—I refer to them as ‘ideological claims’—endow thought systems with specific meanings that benefit particular social groups. Successful conceptual clusters manage to thicken in their ideational density and sophistication by building effective decontestation chains. Enhancing their ability to respond to a wide array of political questions, they appeal to broader segments of the population. As a result, the political potency of a rising thought system—and that of various groups associated with its claims—is vastly enhanced.

Given the crucial importance of mass appeal for the ascendancy of an ideational cluster, it is not primarily in the academic arena, but in the public realm that its core claims acquire political gravity and vie for implementation as ‘public policy’. The greater the ability of a rising thought system to produce appealing decontestation chains, the more developed or ‘thicker’ it becomes. In fact, as the early history of socialist thought bears out, emerging clusters are perfectly capable of achieving ideational dominance or ‘hegemony’ in a relatively short period of time. Once ideologies reach maturity, they speak to their audiences in convincing stories and cajoling narratives. Their core claims confer meaning, persuade, praise, condemn, delegitimate, distinguish ‘truths’ from ‘falsehoods’ and separate the ‘good’ from the ‘bad’. They enable people to act politically, while at the same time constraining their actions by binding them to a circumscribed worldview.

Freeden briefly discusses ‘globalism’ as a possible contender for ideological status, but quickly retreats to the sceptical view that ‘it is far too early to pronounce on globalism’s status as an ideology’.6 While sharing Freeden’s interest in changing ideological systems as well as sympathizing with his two proposed methodological lines of inquiry, I nonetheless must resist his brief assessment of globalism. Contra Freeden, this article maintains that it is not too early to pronounce on globalism’s status as an ideology. In fact, it will seek to establish that globalism not only represents a set of political ideas and beliefs coherent enough to warrant the status of a new ideology, but also constitutes the dominant political belief system of our time against which all of its challengers must define themselves.

In what follows below, I identify six core claims of globalism, that is, six particular ways in which globalists decontest their master concept ‘globalization’. I will also offer a critical analysis of the political role of these authoritative semantic chains as they absorb, alter, and rearrange ideas imported from established ideologies. But such reconceptualization and absorption of conventional ideational elements should not be confused with ideological immaturity. Rather, as Freeden notes, holistic contenders commonly employ such methods in their attempt to escape existing logical and cultural constraints and thus transform the conventional ideological landscape.7 Ultimately, I hope to show that the morphological uniqueness and sophistication, political responsiveness, and strong decontestation capabilities of globalism’s core claims leave no doubt as to its mature ideological status.

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6. Freedon, *Ideology*, p. 5. He also identifies ‘welfarism’ as another possible ‘holistic contender’. For the purpose of this article, I will limit my discussion to globalism.

Claim One: Globalization is about the liberalization and global integration of markets

Examining the utterances, speeches, and writings of influential advocates of globalism, my previous work on globalism suggests that ‘globalization’ and ‘market’ constitute its twin core concepts. 'Market', of course, also plays an important role in two established ideologies: the libertarian variant of liberalism (often referred to as ‘neoliberalism’) inspired by the ideas of Herbert Spencer, Friedrich Hayek, and Milton Friedman, and the late-twentieth century brand of Anglo-American conservatism (‘neoconservatism’) associated with the views of Keith Joseph, Margaret Thatcher, and Ronald Reagan.

While globalism borrows heavily from both ideologies, it would be a mistake to reduce it to either. Moreover, neoliberalism and neoconservativism should not be seen as ideological opposites, for their similarities sometimes outweigh their differences. In general, neoconservatives agree with neoliberals on the importance of ‘free markets’ and ‘free trade’, but they are much more inclined than the latter to combine their hands-off attitude toward big business with intrusive government action for the regulation of the ordinary citizenry, in the name of public security and traditional values. In foreign affairs, neoconservatives advocate a more assertive and expansive use of both economic and military power, although they often embrace the liberal ideal of promoting ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’ around the world.

What gives globalism its uniqueness and morphological sophistication, then, is not merely its ability to absorb and rearrange ideas from conventional ideologies. Three additional factors must be taken into consideration: the centrality of the concept ‘globalization’ (no other ideology is centered on the notion of shrinking time and space); the conceptual shift of ‘market’ from its adjacent or peripheral location in liberalism and conservatism to globalism’s conceptual core; and the formation of six highly-original ideological claims (decontestation chains).

Embracing the classical liberal idea of the self-regulating market, Claim One seeks to establish beyond dispute ‘what globalization means’, that is, to offer an authoritative definition of globalization designed for broad public consumption. It does so by interlocking its two core concepts and then linking them to the adjacent ideas of ‘liberty’ and ‘integration’. The following two examples illustrate this process. The first is a passage taken from a leading Business Week article published in the late 1990s: ‘Globalization is about the triumph of markets over governments. Both proponents and opponents of globalization agree that the driving force today is markets, which are suborning the role of government’. The same claim is made over and over again in The Lexus and the Olive Tree, Thomas Friedman’s best-selling book on globalization. Indeed, a number of commentators have argued that Friedman’s writings provide the ‘official narrative of globalization’ in the United States today. At one point in his narrative, the award-winning New York Times columnist insists that everybody ought to accept the following ‘truth’ about globalization: ‘The driving idea behind globalization is free-market capitalism—the
more you let market forces rule and the more you open your economy to free trade and competition, the more efficient your economy will be’.

By forging a close semantic link between ‘globalization’ and ‘market’, globalists like Friedman seek to create the impression that globalization represents primarily an economic phenomenon. Thus unburdened from the complexity of its additional non-economic dimensions, ‘globalization’ acquires the necessary simplicity and focus to convey its central normative message contained in further semantic connections to the adjacent concepts ‘liberalization’ and ‘integration’: the ‘liberation’ of markets from state control is a good thing. As Joan Spiro, US Undersecretary of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs in the Clinton administration, put it, ‘One role [of government] is to get out of the way—to remove barriers to the free flow of goods, services, and capital’. In fact, globalists often condemn even moderate democratic control of markets as harmful ‘interference’—a nefarious ‘caging’ of markets, which deprives people of their salutary effects.

Conversely, the notion of ‘integrating markets’ is draped in the mantle of all-embracing liberty, hence the frequent formulation of Claim One as a global imperative anchored in universal reason. Thus decontested as an economic project advancing human freedom in general, globalization must be applied to all countries, regardless of the political and cultural preferences expressed by local citizens. As President George W. Bush notes in a key document of his administration, ‘Policies that further strengthen market incentives and market institutions are relevant for all economies—industrialized countries, emerging markets, and the developing world’. Upon deeper reflection, however, one might wonder how such ideological efforts insisting on a single economic strategy for all countries can be made compatible with a process alleged to contribute to the spread of freedom, choice, and openness in the world.

Finally, the semantic chain ‘globalization-market-liberty-integration’ serves to solidify as ‘fact’ what is actually a contingent political initiative. It persuades large segments of the public that its account of globalization represents an objective diagnosis of the ‘real world’, rather than a claim contributing to the emergence of the very conditions it purports to describe. To be sure, globalists offer plenty of ‘empirical evidence’ for the liberalization of markets. But does the spread of market principles happen because there exists a natural connection between globalization and the expansion of markets? Or does it occur because the globalists’ control of language has enhanced their political power to shape the world largely according to their ideological claim?

Claim Two: Globalization is inevitable and irreversible

The second mode of decontesting ‘globalization’ turns on the adjacent concept ‘historical inevitability’. In the last decade, the public discourse on globalization describing its projected path was saturated with adjectives like ‘irresistible’, ‘inevitable’, ‘inexorable’, and ‘irreversible’. For example, in a major speech on U.S. foreign policy, President Bill Clinton told his audience: ‘Today we must embrace the inexorable logic of globalization … Globalization is irreversible. Protectionism will

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only make things worse’.16 Social elites in the global South often faithfully echoed the determinist language of globalism. For example, Manuel Villar, the Philippines Speaker of the House of Representatives, insisted that, ‘We cannot simply wish away the process of globalization. It is a reality of a modern world. The process is irreversible’.17

At first glance, the attempt to decontest globalization in such determinist terms seems to be a poor strategy for a rising thought system that borrows heavily from neoliberalism and neoconservatism. After all, throughout the twentieth century, both liberals and conservatives criticized Marxist socialism for its devaluation of human agency and its contempt for individualism. In particular, leading neoliberals like Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman attacked the Marxist notion of history as a teleological process in accordance with ‘inexorable laws’.18 And yet, as sociologist Ulrich Beck points out, ‘In a way, neoliberal globalism thus resembles its archenemy: Marxism. It is the rebirth of Marxism as a management ideology’.19

How does one explain globalism’s import of an adjacent concept that causes serious ideological contradiction? Let me suggest three possible reasons. First, as Michael Freeden points out, philosophical inconsistencies and semantic tensions are the result of unavoidable logical and cultural constraints, and are therefore bound to creep into any political belief system.20 Unable to bypass these contradictions, all ideologies—especially fledgling ones—must develop effective mechanisms to cope with them.

Second, the tension between determinism and conservative ideology may be less severe than it appears at first sight. After all, the belief in extra-human, ‘natural’ origins of social order and the related idea of ‘organic change’ independent of humans will constitute two core concepts of conservatism.21 Theologian Harvey Cox argues lucidly that the globalist claim of inevitability in market terms bears a striking resemblance to conservative and religious narratives. Christian stories of human origins and the fall from grace, as well as doctrines of original sin and redemption often find their contemporary expression in globalist discourses about the creation of wealth, the seductive temptations of statism, captivity to economic cycles, and, ultimately, salvation through the advent of the global free market. According to Cox, both narratives are sustained by a belief in an inner meaning of human history determined by the unalterable will of a transcendental force. Endowing it with the divine attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, globalists assign to ‘The Market’ a ‘comprehensive wisdom that in the past only the gods have known’.22 At the same time, however, it must be conceded that Claim Two diverges from conservative ideology by asserting that the inexorable trajectory of ‘providence’ is, in principle, accessible to human reason.

Third, there is a political reason why globalism puts a fundamental illiberal idea in close proximity to its core concepts. Regardless of how the early-twentieth-century

leaders of German Social Democracy really felt about the alleged ‘inevitability’ of socialism, every single one of them acknowledged the tremendous political potency of this idea. August Bebel, the legendary leader of the party, believed that the belief in socialist inevitability was a key element in organizing the German proletariat.23 Likewise, presenting globalization as some sort of natural force, like the weather or gravity, makes it easier for globalists to convince people that they have to adapt to the discipline of the market if they are to survive and prosper. By suppressing alternative discourses about globalization in this way, Claim Two undermines the formation of political dissent. Public policy based on globalist ideas appears to be above politics; leaders simply carry out what is ordained by nature. Since the emergence of a world based on the primacy of market values reflects the dictates of history, resistance would be unnatural, irrational, and dangerous. No doubt, the dangerous gamble of globalists to align seemingly incompatible concepts drawn from conventional ideologies around their key concept, ‘globalization’, has the potential to produce an immense political payoff.

In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, however, Claim Two came under sustained criticism by commentators who read the al-Qa’ida attacks as exposing the ‘dark side of globalization’. Some proclaimed the imminent ‘collapse of globalism’, worrying that the terrorist attacks would usher in a new age of cultural particularism and economic protectionism.24 Noted neoliberal economists like Robert J. Samuelson argued that previous globalization processes had been stopped by similar cataclysmic events, like the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo.25 And yet, the unfolding War on Terror allowed for the semantic intermingling of military and economic inevitability. For example, Christopher

Shays, Republican Congressman from Connecticut and Chair of the House Subcommittee on National Security, argued that the ‘toxic zeal’ of the terrorists would eventually be defeated by the combination of military and market forces—'the relentless inevitability of free peoples pursuing their own enlightened self-interest in common cause'.\(^{26}\) Thus, globalism’s ability to adapt to the new realities of the post-9/11 world gives ample proof of its responsiveness to a broad range of political issues—Freeden’s second criterion for ideological maturity.

**Claim Three: Nobody is in charge of globalization**

The third mode of decontesting globalization hinges on the classical liberal concept of the ‘self-regulating market’. The semantic link between ‘globalization-market’ and the adjacent idea of ‘leaderlessness’ is simple: if the undisturbed workings of the market indeed pre-ordain a certain course of history, then globalization does not reflect the arbitrary agenda of a particular social class or group. In other words, globalists are not ‘in charge’ in the sense of imposing their own political agenda on people. Rather, they merely carry out the unalterable imperatives of a transcendent force much larger than narrow partisan interests.

For example, Robert Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International, emphasized that, ‘The great beauty of globalization is that no one is in control. The great beauty of globalization is that it is not controlled by any individual, any government, any institution’.\(^{27}\) Likewise, Thomas Friedman alleged that ‘the most basic truth about globalization is this: No one is in charge … We all want to believe that someone is in charge and responsible. But the global marketplace today is an Electronic Herd of often anonymous stock, bond and currency traders and multinational investors, connected by screens and networks’.\(^{28}\)

After 9/11, however, it became increasingly difficult for globalists to maintain this claim. While a number of corporate leaders still reflexively referred to the ‘self-regulating market’, it became obvious that the survival of globalization—conceived as the liberalization and global integration of markets—depended on the political leadership of the United States—‘that “indispensable nation”—wielding its power’.\(^{29}\) Having concealed their country’s imperial ambitions behind the soft language of market globalism during the 1990s, many American globalists took their gloves off after 9/11, exposing the iron fists of an irate giant. The attacks changed the terms of the dominant discourse in that it enabled certain groups within the globalist camp to put their geopolitical ambitions explicitly before a public shocked by ‘terrorism’. Indeed, their open advocacy of American global leadership spawned raging debates over whether or not the United States actually constituted an ‘empire’.\(^{30}\)


\(^{28}\) Friedman, Ideologies and Political Theory, pp. 112-3.


However, the replacement of Claim Three with a more aggressive pronouncement of global Anglo-American leadership should not be read as a sign of globalism’s ideological weakness. Rather, it reflected its ideational flexibility and growing ability to respond to a new set of political issues. Indeed, like all full-fledged political belief systems, globalism was increasingly bearing the marks of an ‘ideational family’ broad enough to contain the more economistic variant of the 1990s as well as its more militaristic post-9/11 manifestation.

**Claim Four: Globalization benefits everyone (… in the long run)**

This decontestation chain lies at the heart of globalism because it provides an affirmative answer to the crucial normative question of whether globalization represents a ‘good’ phenomenon. The adjacent idea of ‘benefits for everyone’ is usually unpacked in material terms such as ‘economic growth’ and ‘prosperity’. However, when linked to globalism’s peripheral concept, ‘progress’—the idea of ‘benefits for everyone’—taps not only into liberalism’s progressive worldview, but also draws on the powerful socialist vision of establishing an economic paradise on earth—albeit in the capitalist form of a worldwide consumerist utopia. Thus, Claim Four represents another bold example of combining elements from seemingly incompatible ideologies under the master concept ‘globalization’.

At the 1996 G-7 Summit, the heads of state and government of the world’s seven most powerful industrialized nations issued a joint communiqué that exemplifies the principal meanings of globalization conveyed in Charge Four:

> Economic growth and progress in today’s interdependent world is bound up with the process of globalization. Globalization provides great opportunities for the future, not only for our countries, but for all others too. Its many positive aspects include an unprecedented expansion of investment and trade; the opening up to international trade of the world’s most populous regions, as well as opportunities for more developing countries to improve their standards of living; the increasingly rapid dissemination of information, technological innovation, and the proliferation of skilled jobs. These characteristics of globalization have led to a considerable expansion of wealth and prosperity in the world. Hence we are convinced that the process of globalization is a source of hope for the future.31

In addition, globalists often seek to cement their decontestation of globalization as ‘benefits for everyone’, by co-opting the powerful language of ‘science,’ which claims to separate ‘fact’ from ‘fiction’ in a ‘neutral’ fashion, that is, solely on the basis of ‘hard evidence’. And yet, the two most comprehensive empirical assessments of changes in global income distributions in the last decade have arrived at sharply conflicting results.32 Even those globalists who consider the possibility of unequal global distribution patterns nonetheless insist that the market itself will eventually correct these ‘irregularities’. As John Meehan, chairman of the US Public Securities Association, puts it, ‘episodic dislocations’ such as mass

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32. Columbia University economist Xavier Sala i-Martin argues that his evidence shows that inequality of individuals across the world is declining; but according to World Bank economist Branko Milanovic, global inequality has risen. See L. Secor, ‘Mind the Gap’, *Boston Globe*, 5 January, 2003.
unemployment and reduced social services might be ‘necessary in the short run’, but, ‘in the long run’, they will give way to ‘quantum leaps in productivity’.

The al-Qa’ida attacks of September 11 only seem to have added to the fervor with which globalists speak of the supposed benefits accruing from the liberalization and global integration of markets. Defending his view that the benefits of globalization must be defended at all costs, President Bush asserted that, ‘Free trade and free markets have proven their ability to lift whole societies out of poverty—so the United States will work with individual nations, entire regions, and the entire global trading community to build a world that trades in freedom and therefore grows in prosperity’.

Claim Five: Globalization furthers the spread of democracy in the world

The fifth decontestation chain links ‘globalization’ and ‘market’ to the adjacent concept of ‘democracy’, which also plays a significant role in liberalism, conservatism, and socialism. Globalists typically decontest ‘democracy’ through its proximity to ‘market’ and the making of economic choices—a theme developed through the 1980s in the peculiar variant of conservatism Freeden calls ‘Thatcherism’. Indeed, a careful discourse analysis of relevant texts reveals that globalists tend to treat freedom, free markets, free trade and democracy as synonymous terms.

Francis Fukuyama, for example, asserts that there exists a ‘clear correlation’ between a country’s level of economic development and successful democracy. While globalization and capital development do not automatically produce democracies, ‘the level of economic development resulting from globalization is conducive to the creation of complex civil societies with a powerful middle class. It is this class and societal structure that facilitates democracy’. Praising Eastern Europe’s economic transition towards capitalism, then First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton told her Polish audience that the emergence of new businesses and shopping centers in former communist countries should be seen as the ‘backbone of democracy’.

Fukuyama and Clinton agree that the globalization process strengthens the existing affinity between democracy and the free market. However, their neoliberal argument hinges on a limited definition of democracy that emphasizes formal procedures such as voting at the expense of the direct participation of broad majorities in political and economic decision-making. This ‘thin’ definition of democracy is part of what William I. Robinson has identified as the Anglo-American ideological project of ‘promoting polyarchy’ in the developing world. For Robinson, the thin concept of polyarchy differs from the thicker concept of ‘popular democracy’, in that the latter posits democracy as both a process and a means to an end—a tool for devolving political and economic power from the hands of elite minorities to the masses. Polyarchy, on the other hand, represents an elitist and

36. See Steger, Globalism, Chapter 3.
regimented model of ‘low intensity’ or ‘formal’ market democracy. Polyarchies not only limit democratic participation to voting in elections, but also require that those elected be insulated from popular pressures, so that they may ‘govern effectively’.39 This semantic focus on the act of voting—in which equality prevails only in the formal sense—helps to obscure the conditions of inequality reflected in existing asymmetrical power relations in society. Formal elections provide the important function of legitimating the rule of dominant elites, thus making it more difficult for popular movements to challenge the rule of elites. The claim that globalization furthers the spread of democracy in the world is thus largely based on a narrow, formal-procedural understanding of ‘democracy’. The promotion of polyarchy allows globalists to advance their project of economic restructuring in a language that ostensibly supports the ‘democratization’ of the world.

After 9/11, Claim Five became firmly linked to the Bush administration’s neoconservative security agenda. The President did not mince words in ‘Securing Freedom’s Triumph’—his New York Times op-ed piece a year after the attacks: ‘As we preserve the peace, America also has an opportunity to extend the benefits of freedom and progress to nations that lack them. We seek a peace where repression, resentment and poverty are replaced with the hope of democracy, development, free markets and free trade’.40 Fourteen months later, he reaffirmed his unwavering ‘commitment to the global expansion of democracy’ as the ‘Third Pillar’ of the United States’ ‘peace and security vision for the world’.41

This idea of securing global economic integration through an American-led military drive for ‘democratization’ around the globe became especially prominent in the corporate scramble for Iraq following the official ‘end of major combat operations’ on 1 May 2003. Already, during the first days of the Iraq war in late March 2003, globalists had suggested that Iraq be subjected to a radical economic treatment. For example, Robert McFarlane, former National Security Adviser to President Reagan and current chairman of the Washington, D.C.-based corporation Energy & Communication Solutions, LLC, together with Michael Bleyzer, CEO and president of SigmaBleyzer, an international equity fund management company, co-authored a prominent op-ed piece in The Wall Street Journal bearing the suggestive title, ‘Taking Iraq Private’. Calling on ‘major U.S. corporations, jointly with other multinationals’, to ‘lead the effort to create capital-friendly environments in developing countries’, the globalist duo praised the military operations in Iraq as an indispensable tool in establishing the ‘political, economic and social stability’ necessary for ‘building the basic institutions that make democracy possible’. In their conclusion, the two men reminded their readers that ‘the US must demonstrate that it is not only the most powerful military power on the planet, but also the foremost market economy in the world, capable of leading a greater number of developing nations to a more prosperous and stable future’.42

In what amounted to another clear demonstration of their political resonance, these globalist ideas translated almost immediately into collective decisions. For example, Ambassador Paul Bremer, the US head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, pressured the Governing Council to let Order 39 take effect, permitting complete foreign ownership of Iraqi companies and assets (apart from natural resources) that had hitherto been publicly owned, total remittance of profits, and some of the lowest corporate tax rates in the world.43 Likewise, in his speeches at economic conferences on the Middle East attended by hundreds of American and Arab-American business executives, Secretary of State Colin Powell announced the development of an US-Middle East Free Trade Area (MEFTA) within a decade. Linked to the administration’s 2002 ‘US-Middle East Partnership Initiative’, the new project also included programs to send Arab college students to work as interns in American corporations.44

Claim Six: Globalization requires a global war on terror

Like the previous claims, this final decontestation chain attests to globalism’s political responsiveness and conceptual flexibility. It combines the idea of economic globalization with openly militaristic and nationalistic ideas associated with the American-led global War on Terror. At the same time, however, Claim Six possesses a somewhat paradoxical character. If global terror were no longer a major issue, it would disappear without causing globalism to collapse. In that case, it seems that Claim Six is a contingent one and thus less important than the previous five. On the other hand, if the global War on Terror turns out to be a lengthy and intense engagement—as suggested by the current American political leadership—then it would become actually more important over time. No wonder, then, that some

commentators who favor the second option have claimed to detect a dangerous turn of globalism toward fascism.45

To be sure, throughout the 1990s there had been sinister warnings on the part of some cultural theorists that globalization was actually ‘Americanization’ or ‘McDonaldization’ in universalist disguise.46 But the perceived US unilaterism and belligerence in the wake of 9/11 appeared to be a much more serious manifestation of the same phenomenon. In fact, the problem of globalism’s turn toward nationalism was as much conceptual as political. After all, deconstructing globalization through its proximity to the idea of a necessary ‘global War on Terror’ created serious logical contradictions. First, the globalists’ reliance on the coercive powers of the state to secure their project undermined both the idea of the ‘self-regulating market’ and the claim of historical ‘inevitability’. Second, the belligerent vision of enforcing ‘democracy’ and ‘freedom’ at gunpoint conflicted with the common understanding of liberty as absence of coercion. Third, the Anglo-American nationalist undertones emanating from the ‘War on Terror’ seemed to contradict the cosmopolitan, universal spirit associated with the concept ‘globalization’. In short, Claim Six was running a considerable risk of causing irreparable damage to the conceptual coherence of globalism.

Instructive examples of the logical inconsistencies inherent in Claim Six abound. Take Thomas Barnett’s article ‘The Pentagon’s New Map’, first published in the March 2003 issue of Esquire magazine, and subsequently expanded into a bestselling book bearing the same title.47 Barnett, a professor of military strategy at the US Naval War College, also serves as the assistant for strategic futures in the Pentagon’s Office of Force Transformations. In this capacity, he has been giving his briefings regularly to the US Secretary of Defense, the intelligence community, and to high-ranking officers from all branches of the US armed forces.

In his much debated article that later turned into a best-selling book, Barnett argues that the Iraq War marks ‘the moment when Washington takes real ownership of strategic security in the age of globalization’. He breaks the globe down into three distinct regions. The first is characterized by ‘globalization thick with network connectivity, financial transactions, liberal media flows, and collective security’, yielding nations featuring stable democratic governments, transparency, rising standards of living, and more deaths by suicide than by murder (North America, most of Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and a small part of Latin America). He calls these regions of the world the ‘Functioning Core’ or ‘Core’. Conversely, areas where ‘globalization is thinning or just plain absent’ constitute a region plagued by repressive political regimes, regulated markets, mass murder, and widespread poverty and disease (the Caribbean Rim, virtually all of Africa, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, China, the Middle East, and much of Southeast Asia). The breeding ground of ‘global terrorists’, Barnett refers to this region as the ‘Non-Integrating Gap’, or ‘Gap’. Between these two regions, one finds ‘seam states’ that ‘lie along the Gap’s bloody boundaries’ (Mexico, Brazil, South Africa, Morocco, Algeria, Greece, Turkey, Pakistan, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia).


For Barnett, the importance of 9/11 is that the attacks forced the United States and its allies to make a long-term military commitment to ‘deal with the entire Gap as a strategic threat environment’. In other words, the desired spread of globalization requires a War on Terror. Its three main objectives are: 1) Increase the Core’s immune system capabilities for responding to September 11-like system perturbations; 2) Work on the seam states to firewall the Core from the Gap’s worst exports, such as terror, drugs, and pandemics; and, most important, 3) Shrink the Gap … The Middle East is the perfect place to start’. The third point is particularly important, because ‘the real battlegrounds in the global war on terrorism are still over there’. As Barnett emphasizes, ‘We ignore the Gap’s existence at our own peril, because it will not go away until we as a nation respond to the challenge of making globalization truly global’.48

This celebration of globalization in American nationalist terminology invites the kind of conceptual contradiction that may eventually prove to be fatal to globalism. On the other hand, if the political issues of our time indeed call for an ideology that boldly arranges seemingly conflicting pieces of various conventional political belief systems around the novel concept ‘globalization’, then globalism might actually achieve a level of ideological dominance unprecedented in history. While Islamism, nationalist populism, new forms of global egalitarianism, and other competing thought systems appear to make the prospect of globalism’s undisputed hegemony highly unlikely, their unrelenting focus on countering the claims of their ideological nemesis highlights globalism’s semantic and political power.

Conclusion

If globalism indeed constitutes a new ideological configuration that dominates today’s ideational landscape, then what does this mean with regard to the crucial task of reclassifying political belief systems? Most importantly, I believe it would mean that students of ideology could no longer rely on the outdated categories of the last two centuries to make sense of current ideological dynamics. And yet, virtually all contemporary scholarly surveys of political ideologies remain wedded to conventional categories such as ‘socialism’, ‘conservatism’, ‘liberalism’, ‘anarchism’, and so on. The authors of these major texts address the widening gap between their antiquated typology and actual ideological phenomena merely by dedicating a few pages at the end of each chapter to a discussion of ‘current trends’ or ‘twenty-first century developments’.49 What would happen if we were to reclassify ideologies on the basis of contemporary relevance?

It seems to me that we would have to introduce a new classification scheme that divides the ideological landscape into three regions. At the center, we would find the ideological family of globalism with its two main variants, namely, pre-9/11 market globalism and post-9/11 imperial globalism. Oppositional ideological families on the political Right and Left would take up the remaining two conceptual areas.50 Challengers of globalism on the Right might include national-populism, new localisms, and various religious fundamentalisms with strong political inclinations. Oppositional ideologies on the Left might include global feminism, international-populism, and various ideational clusters associated with ‘global social justice’ movements. Whether these thought systems constitute full-blown ideologies or merely rising ‘modules’ would remain, of course, subject to further research. Such a novel classification system would be interested in the historical significance of conventional ideologies, but its primary focus would be on tracing their conceptual influence on current political belief systems rather than making them main players on the contemporary ideological stage.

The tumultuous opening years of the new century have been a powerful reminder of the ancient Greek adage—attributed to Heraclites—that ‘everything flows and nothing stays fixed’. For students of ideology, this means that the reality of change must find its way into their traditional analytic models and typologies. In our era of globalization, we must be prepared to step outside familiar conceptual terrain and re-evaluate the utility of conventional ideological boundaries and long-held categories. Our efforts may not always lead us to new insights, but our complacency would surely condemn us to political and theoretical irrelevance.


50 While conceding that the conceptual line dividing the political left and the right always has been shifting with changing historical circumstances, the Italian thinker Norberto Bobbio recently defended the significance of this distinction—anchored in two fundamentally different perspectives on equality—for our era of globalization. See N. Bobbio, Left & Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996.
Decapitated statue at the former TNI base in Dili, East Timor (2004).
Globalization and the End of Giantism?

Tom Nairn and Paul James

The year 2004 was marked by continuing violence in Iraq as part of the never-ending War on Terror, the re-election of George W. Bush and John Howard as part of steady-as-she-goes neo-liberalism, and climbing global inequalities, particularly in relation to Africa and the Pacific. The year ended with a tsunami that killed over 150,000 people across Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Thailand and the Indian Ocean. Global concern for the survivors took the form of an unprecedented global aid program in Asia that began as heart-felt response to an act of nature, but very quickly became consumed by politics and league-tables about who was the most generous national donor. Overall, the intersection of globalism, nationalism and empire continued to confront people with the immensity of social change.

In the context of this change, commentators, scholars and journalists continued to argue over whether or not the dominance of one age (or ‘epoch’, ‘time’, or whatever) had ended in the fifteen years between the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the present. Historian John Lukacs’ The End of an Age argues that a five hundred year ‘modern’ period is ending. After being originally voiced by the ‘confused excrescences’ of postmodernism, it will be replaced by what some readers must have found even more confusing: an odd mixture of theoretical physics and re-kindled Christianity.1 William H. McNeill and his son J.R. McNeill have followed with a general reinterpretation of history, with change proceeding from the impact of the communications revolution, the internet and a world in which ‘peasant patterns of life and labour are in full retreat’.2 In a metaphor that now seems strangely prescient, they perceive us as being on ‘the crest of a global breaking wave’ that will either make or demolish the human species. The McNeills replace Lukacs’ preoccupation with physics by an analogous focus upon biology and the biosphere, as if post-1989 globalization may be responding to the pressures of a deeper ‘symbiosis’. A third reinterpretation of the historical process is that of anthropologist Emmanuel Todd: his Après l’Empire is a fiery polemic, founded on a primarily anthropological retrospect.3 Todd denounces US leadership since 2001 as a futile, self-destructive attempt to recover the lost hegemony of pre-1989—to arrest the reality of globalization in its tracks, and avoid its spreading into the wider delta of an uncontrollable, multi-polar diversity where no single state or culture can hope to be in command. Here, physics and biology give way to a speculative anthropology, grounded on Todd’s previous demographic studies. The most important was La Diversité du Monde: Structures Familiales et Modernite: an argument that humankind’s socio-cultural variation is determined by an inherited diversity of familial types and (hence) of intimate relationships and emotive dispositions. These may be ‘memes’ rather than genes, but the point is that such diversity is of the human-social essence, not just a series of contingent accidents. The implication is that the truly ‘global’ must be the affirmation of such diversity, not its ‘overcoming’ or suppression.

Overstatement remains a condition of our time. Alternatively, moving from the ridiculous to the sublimely stupid, some of the ideologues of globalization have begun proclaiming its ‘true meaning’ as the natural condition of the planet, pushing globalization back to the beginning of time and naturalizing as if it has always been

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with us. Alan Shipman, the author of The Globalization Myth, begins his defence of globalization thus: ‘Life on planet earth was global from the outset, as one fragile lonely planet huddled for comfort against cold and empty space’. The parochializing move to set up local boundaries ‘came later’, says our neo-liberal author in his Tower-of-Babel story—‘after manners started to fragment over space, and memories over time. Many efforts have since been made to turn back the dispersing tide and restore our cross-border connections’ he says in right-wing cosmopolitan fashion.4

Like many other neo-liberal tracts, The Globalization Myth treats the role of the nation-state either as part of the problem, as it slides back to a parochializing past, or as part of the solution in which nations, like backward children, are called upon to work extra hard to transcend their own history—notably in the realm of the market. By contrast, we treat nationalism and globalism much more ambiguously and ambivalently. As social phenomena, globalism and nationalism, at least in their modern expressions, are bound up with each other. As Steger points out in Globalism, our era of globalization has resemblances to the period from 1870 through to the World War I, though as yet (fortunately) without a prevailing philosophical narrative like Social Darwinism. New narratives remain to be thought out, in terms of a new dialectic of discontinuity and continuity. In their ethical implications both nationalism and globalism are Janus-faced. Whether they are good or bad, we argue, will depend on how they come to be practiced in the emerging conditions.

The work that we have been doing in the Globalism Institute has a different emphasis again, perhaps closer to Todd than to Lukacs or the McNeills, but also unconvinced by the anthropological determinism of his underlying philosophy. It is true that the dominance of one ‘matrix’ of development is receding, and that the events of 2001 to 2004 have dealt it a shattering blow. It also seems apparent that another matrix is in formation, overlaying older developments in contradictory ways—the first comprehensive ‘global’ matrix. However, our own emphasis is upon a cultural-political theme, meanwhile embracing a variety of other factors—ecological, anthropological, and the condition of being human-and seeking to link them together. This is an ‘ecumenical’ approach: in other words, closer to the overview given by Manfred Steger in his Globalism: The New Market Ideology, and sharing his insistence that there is nothing inevitable or ‘irreversible’ about market ascendancy and de-regulation.5 This counter-view is forced upon us, rather than being just a bland choice. We have also been influenced by cautious distrust of all the single-issue or portmanteau explanations that have crowded the shop-front of theory since the 1990s. There is undoubtedly an emergent global matrix; but it calls for detective work and some house-to-house inquiries, rather than (as British tabloids love to say) a ‘swoop’ upon the presumed guilty party. A case has to be patiently built up, beyond premature rushes to judgement.

One feature of this deeper alteration in course is—and ought to be—a profound and long-running reaction against those shadows from which the globe began to free itself, when the Cold War finally ended. Masterful, yet phoney, monotheism dominated that shadow-world. We faced a supposed choice between command-economy socialism and liberal-capitalism. The choice of worlds had narrowed down, from the competitive spectrum of former would-be Empires to a basic ‘either-or’. Only two of Goya’s ‘Giants’ were left, as it were, capable of devouring (and

indeed destroying) everything and everyone else. These Giants, it went without saying, were capable of *explaining* everything, in one or other omnivorous, all-encompassing fashion. The ‘-isms’ of such a world were apologies for claimed omnipotence: fantasies extolling a brute authority which (fortunately) no actual modern empire has ever possessed.

Now, even that claim has foundered: this is part of what globalization is about. However, ideological authoritarianism did not vanish in 1989–90, alongside the ex-Communist imperium. The inherited memes of gigantism persist, and indeed still demand that humankind acknowledge the dominance of the one ‘-ism’ that remains—as if, deprived of Colossi, the species might indeed turn into the scared, fleeing rabble in Goya’s picture. In fact (as Todd shows), this is a Giant with no clothes, dependent upon a mixture of craven self-subjection by inherited satrapies, grossly exaggerated military threats, and an almost equally exaggerated economic credo—the secular religion of neo-liberalism. The truth, or rather our political hope, is that ‘globalization’ must lead *in the overall direction* of a Giant-less world. It will not lead (naturally) to a globe without large states or nations, or without uneven economic development or social conflicts, but at least it presumes a world where it becomes increasingly difficult to naturalize such inequities and sustain the constant deferral of legal/ideal senses of recognition and human status. Though foreshadowed in the formal structure of the United Nations Organization, whose General Assembly ranks Andorra alongside China, this equality stood little real chance in a world of Giant-contests. But in a post-Giant world, ought there not to be some possibility of reality-growth?

We have assumed that clearing the way towards such a big shift calls for clearing the way for a different theoretical approach. The work of the Globalism Institute does not offer yet another key to the universe. Our assumption is that while ‘keys’ are not helpful, new lines of understanding are crucial, and can only be composed collectively over the coming period by those who will be ‘natives’ of the globalized world—those who have been born into it and who will take its deeper undertow and instincts for granted, as the present authors are unable to. We have been formed by the world of nationalism, and our way of contesting that age was (primarily) via theorizing about these older structures. Of course, such theorizing bears its marks of origin: in this case, the distant edge-lands of Scotland and Australia. Critics will not be slow to point these out, usually ignoring (or simply not perceiving) their own marks of descent as they do so. However, we can take some comfort here from what is actually a minor formative principle of globalism: in human discourse (unlike that of the Gods) the stigmata of contingent origin are universal, and, at a certain level, ineffaceable. Every theorist bears an axe to grind—social theory would not be any use if this were not so.

6. The Spanish painter Goya produced a famous series of dark premonitory images, after experiencing the horrors of the French occupation of Spain—in many ways a forerunner of nineteenth and twentieth-century imperial and colonial conflicts. The best-known is ‘El Coloso’, The Colossus (1808-12) in the Prado Museum in Madrid, shows a gigantic figure turning his back upon a terrified, fleeing humanity the size of ants. It has always been noted as one of the greatest yet most enigmatic images of modern times. Robert Hughes’ recent biography of the artist describes the background of this and other dark masterpieces, as an illness that forced Goya to brood upon what he (and many others) had seen, during a foreign military invasion intended to impose ‘regime change’ upon a notoriously backward, superstition-ridden land bent on holding back progress. Interestingly, the idea may have been associated with the work of a Basque poet of the period, Juan Bautista Arriaza, whose *La profecía de los Pirineos* (1808) imagined a giant spirit of resistance, arising against the invaders. See Robert Hughes Goya, Harvill Press, London, 2003, pp. 286–7.
Two-and-a-half centuries ago, David Hume made the same point in a book that fell stillborn from the press: ‘we speak not strictly and philosophically when we talk of the combat of passion and of reason. Reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them’.7 As he goes on to explain, ‘passions’ are original existence, the drivers of society’s discourse and of the reason this requires. One crucial task for the latter is the recognition and delineation of its own limits. Rational-ism is a systematic evasion of this—the promotion of reason into a religion, or substitute religion, a secular magic capable of making humanity’s crooked timbers all straight—preferably by this time next week. Globalization, by contrast, should encourage greater diffidence and uncertainty. This is why the Globalism Institute is also a founding member of the ‘crooked timbers’ club. Giants are not admitted, naturally; all ‘-isms’ must be consigned to the cloakroom upon entry; and the only members’ oath commits them to an anti-crusade against ‘fundamentalist’ delusions—religious and secular alike.

As we write, identity politics is back on the international stage, if it ever went away. Suicide-bombers are making their way both into Iraq and Israel, the Israeli army is poised for further atrocities in the West Bank or Gaza; Pakistan and India are mobilizing over the broken nation of Kashmir in what may become the world’s first nuclear war; North Korea is attempting to join the club of war-machines with nuclear capability; China is rejoining the world economy on a tide of rejuvenated chauvinism; and the British Prime Minister has become a latter-day Lord Acton, ceaselessly air-freighting the spent fuel-rods of UK wisdom from one ‘trouble-spot’ to the next.

The work of the Globalism Institute is part of what Manfred Steger calls ‘the reformist project’ to revise the neo-liberal scenario of early globalization, and to engender ‘an ethical vision for a global society’. New meanings are needed to formulate such a vision, and give it institutional voice—that is, new constitutions for democracy, which in turn demand altered identities (including national identities) to make them live. Humanity can’t jump out of its old, accumulated skin overnight. Not by armed ‘shock and awe’ tactics, certainly; but neither by committee decisions, religious pontification, or a recycled rhetoric of internationalism. Few would contest the Dalai Lama’s urging of ‘a sense of universal responsibility’ upon twenty-first-century youth; but the universal is no longer a prerogative of faith (including his own), it depends upon particular transformations on earth (including Tibet’s independence), and the formation of a global climate unintimidated by the legacy of Giantism.
Community Sustainability Research: The Challenge of Reciprocity

Peter Phipps

In *The Age of Extremes* Eric Hobsbawm writes, ‘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’.¹ Perhaps Hobsbawm has in mind the stricter sociological *Gemeinschaft*, as a deep, almost natural communitarian mode of social being which has, in many places, been largely overwhelmed by the *Gesellschaft* of more abstract institutionally-mediated social relations, and further hollowed out by the deeper penetration of market relations into all areas of social life. In this context, which Bauman characterizes as the ‘insecure world’ of ‘liquid modernity’, politicians and other powerful social actors from advertisers to corporations and universities are quick to invoke ‘community’ as a catchcry to garner support or market share.² In the realm of government and politics this can be for both progressive and very often xenophobic and socially-conservative policy ends; in both cases ‘community’ is used to invoke something many people in highly-marketized and urbanized societies yearn for, feel they are missing, or have lost.

The *Local-Global Community Sustainability* project is an ambitious attempt to come to grips with the complexities of contemporary community life, in an attempt to produce broadly comparative data on very different social phenomena, under the fuzzy umbrella concept of ‘community’. The research is located at sites in Melbourne and regional Victoria, nationally around Australia, and globally, with particular emphasis on the Asia-Pacific. The aim is to conduct this research over a long time frame (a minimum of ten years) to enable temporal, as well as global, comparisons, but also as an expression of an underlying ethic of commitment to a long-term relationship with communities in each field site.

The sweeping scope and extended duration of the project pose considerable challenges to researchers. These challenges can be summarized by asking three interrelated questions: What is the object and who are the subjects of this thing called ‘community’? What is the inter-disciplinary and theoretical base from which this research is being undertaken, and what can be learnt from those disciplines? Also, what does a long-term committed and engaged research relationship mean in this context?

What is the object, and who are the subjects, of the research on that thing being described as ‘community’?

To a large extent research-object choice and definition is dealt with by alignment within a discipline and its sub-fields. For example, social and cultural anthropology have primarily focussed on social solidarity and social reproduction in relatively small, remote communities in the third and fourth worlds. For anthropology, ‘communities’ have characteristiclly been seen as complete social entities: tribes, clans, or small rural hamlets defined by kinship and relations of face-to-face social, economic and ritual exchange in an unchanging timelessness of ‘tradition’. Ethnographic anthropology has gradually taken on a wider range of field sites

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to include urban anthropology, with First World ethnographies in some cases following the injunction to ‘study up’ the social hierarchy.3

In contrast, sociology has tended to concentrate on the social structures of urban First World contexts, and to be more overtly concerned with relationships of social actors as opposed to the mode of production, expressed through a concern with class, employment and the state for example—hence the focus on social welfare, government policy, social movements, and social discipline as the locus of social power. ‘The family’ (First World kinship for anthropology) and other modes of social reproduction have been in some respects secondary concerns, brought more strongly to the fore in recent decades by waves of feminist scholarship.

For sociologists, the term ‘community’ has tended, as in anthropology, to refer to a stable social base that legitimates the existing social order. It can also refer to a community of interest or of practice, (closer to a class fraction, such as ‘professional communities’), communities of ethnic minorities, communities of dissent (social movements), or as a substitute for locality, such as an urban neighbourhood.

These disciplinary presumptions were disrupted, particularly in anthropology, by the powerful, militant national liberation struggles of colonized peoples in the post-World War II period. This was followed by the civil-rights movements of discriminated minorities, in particular the struggles by women and indigenous (Fourth World) for self-determination and cultural survival. Anthropology and sociology were at the forefront of the social sciences’ engagement in the social ferment of that period, and anthropology, in particular, was challenged for its association with the administrative apparatus of colonialism. The authority of the social sciences as objective truth-bearing practices was called into question, as were the power relations that had underwritten exchanges between researchers, the researched and the uses of that research. These social scientists were also presented, perhaps paradoxically—and with a further reinforcement of their authority—in roles as allies and sometime spokespersons for the socially dispossessed and marginalized.

The Local-Global Community Sustainability project could be characterized as an attempt at something similar to the ‘multi-site’ ethnography of George Marcus, or the ‘multi-local’ fieldwork anthropology of Ulf Hannerz, the ‘travelling theory’ of James Clifford, or the global cultural studies of Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge’s Public Culture journal project.4 For these cultural and social anthropologists, multi-site ethnographies reflect the mobility and transnational interdependence of a highly-globalized world. At times more akin to cultural studies than classic fieldwork anthropology, this global ethnography has the advantages of reflecting the mobility and interconnectedness of many of the


societies now being studied. With this in mind, we are not so much interested in strictly defining community, as having people in specific locales describing to us what they understand their communities to be, and their relationship to them.

**What is the inter-disciplinary and theoretical base from which this research is being undertaken, and what can be learnt from those disciplines?**

There is a certain presumptuousness to the aims of the project insofar as it leaps across the domains and methods of a range of disciplines. At its best, it might be able to offer insights that will shift discourses on the constitution of communities under conditions of intense globalization, through a combination of carefully considered theoretical analysis and broadly comparable case studies from around the globe. At the same time, this very eclecticism and its associated collaborative approach presents some serious challenges for the practical implementation of the project and its intellectual and ethical legitimacy.

The theoretical elaboration of the project is Paul James’ *Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism*, which deploys levels of analytical abstraction as a way of understanding the construction of radically different social formations, and the hugely variable human phenomena that occur within them. James’ work comes from a direct and long-term association with the publications associated with the Melbourne-based Arena Group: *Arena* and *Arena Journal*, particularly the theory of constitutive abstraction most fully articulated by one of Arena’s founding members, Geoff Sharp. James (2005) describes his framework as a series of four increasingly abstract levels of description and analysis of social life. They are: the broadly descriptive, quantitative and narratival empirical analysis; conjunctural analysis, which describes and analyses the dominant modes of social practice (production, exchange and so on) in different communities; integrational analysis, which is concerned with the dominant ways that different societies are held together and operate through institutions and abstract social forms; and finally the most abstract categorical analysis, which is concerned with the big ontological questions of social relationships with being, time and space, nature, and so on.

Researchers associated with the project—and the communities they work with—may choose to engage across all these levels of analysis, or focus more on one or a few specific fields. Some areas of community research will invite a focus on the particular level or levels of analysis that are most useful, while others will range broadly across them all. For example, the work being done on the cash-crop coffee production in communities in the hills outside Dili in East Timor, and the subsequent integration of such people into national and global exchanges, is broadly comparable with the work being done on the transition of the town of Daylesford in rural Australia to a leisure-based economy.

Such research might be empirical in nature, comparing life-stories of people from these places, how they perceive themselves and their communities, statistics on the life-chances of people from these places, and so on. At a higher level of methodological and theoretical abstraction—the conjunctural level—we could compare the modes of production, exchange, communication, organization and

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7. For a full account of the application of this work to the community sustainability project see Scanlon and James at http://www.communitysustainability.info/research/research-approach-method.html.
enquiry at these two places, and the effects on communities of these modes and the changes going on within them. The *integrational level* of analysis is more abstract again, looking at social formations based on the primacy of direct face-to-face relationships, land and kinship-based ritual and exchange (East Timor hills, for example), agency-extended integration of institutions of an emergent state (Dili), through to the forms based on increasingly abstract and technologically-mediated relationships associated more with societies under advanced conditions of market capitalism and the associated commodification of expanding areas of social life (the shift from an economy based on logging and agriculture to the relaxation spa and new age therapeutic healing-culture of Daylesford). At the *categorical level* of analysis, James loosely characterizes these ontological forms of society as tribal, traditional, modern and postmodern social formations, acknowledging that, under contemporary conditions of globalization (and previously), there is a high degree of overlap and co-existence of these different modes of social life. At the same time, one tends to be dominant, and to determine the framing of the other modes. So Dili, as the comparatively cosmopolitan capital of an emerging independent state hosting UN and other international agency staff might, for example, have one dominant mode of social integration, while its hinterland, with very little or no modern infrastructure and minimal penetration of capitalist modes of exchange, has another.

As with all analytical schemas, this one is to some extent arbitrary, culturally and historically specific, and reduces complex social phenomena to metaphors for comparative analysis. However, without some theoretical analytic method, the study of social worlds can easily stop at the level of empirical description, no matter how ‘thick’ such descriptions might be. Thick description might be fascinating in itself, particularly in the hands of a gifted ethnographic writer like Clifford Geertz,8

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but it does not necessarily tell us how social formations, such as a self-defined community, operate in relation to other structuring forces in the world, and how it is changing as a consequence.

Like the mainstream of contemporary social theory, the schema of *Local-Global Community Sustainability* recognizes, and is deeply concerned with, the violence, alienation, chronic insecurity and environmental destruction caused by the dominance of certain social forms. These are forms generated in the overdeveloped world, while their destructive effects are often unequally apparent in the developing world. It is also clear that attempts to invoke or return to the imagined communities of a mythic golden age are extremely unlikely to succeed and are probably a nostalgic object of political demagoguery rather than a coherent social policy. As such, this schema is devised to avoid some of the pitfalls of classical social theory, particularly the tendency to reproduce a linear historical narrative looking forward to a utopian (or in some cases dystopic) endpoint in history. While this tendency is most pronounced, and perhaps most elegant in the ideal classless society of dialectical materialism, it is also (though less explicitly) present in liberalism as liberal democracy (or for those in power in Washington the peculiar variant known as ‘America’). In structuralism and post-structuralism there is a tendency to foretell a descent, as in the otherwise very different Wallerstein, Friedman or Foucault.

Neither an inevitable historical narrative nor a utopian projection, there are however historical forces in effect that tend to undermine certain social forms, and to produce others. For instance, where nation-states break down under conditions of warfare or institutional failure, or are non-existent, more traditional (in the categorical sense) communities tend to emerge based around more immediate exchanges and locally-managed security (be it communally organized or imposed through forms of warlordism). Under some conditions, tribalism can be sustained over extremely long periods of time even where other modes have become dominant (as in the extremely extended history of tribal identity in India since the invasion of traditional pastoralists millennia ago). Tribalism can also significantly transform or in some cases re-emerge, such as resurgent Maori *Iwi* in New Zealand/ Aotearoa.

**What does a long-term committed and engaged research relationship mean in this context?**

Increasingly, twentieth-century anthropologists with a social/cultural orientation stepped into colonial and post-colonial contexts, as allies and defenders of indigenous and other marginalized peoples in their struggles for social and resource rights, recognition and survival. While it is relatively common (but by no means obligatory) in anthropology for individual researchers to maintain a relationship with a community (and especially individual informants) over the duration of a career, such an overt commitment to ‘be there’ for the long term is unusual in social science research. This is both because of the model of data extraction from the field as a short-term or once-off concentrated fieldwork exercise (often ignoring the long-term reciprocal relationships and commitments this entails), and because of the risks associated with such relationships. The risks include such factors as the short-term nature of research project funding and employment, shifts in individual or disciplinary funding and research priorities, loss of individual or disciplinary interest, interpersonal difficulties and so on. One of these risks is that living with *anybody* else can be really hard, tiring work. Add to this the burden of linguistic and cultural differences, and the physical and emotional challenges of living with marginal and under-resourced people for any length of time, and it is
understandable that ‘commitment’ can wear thin for those with the choice to leave. Solidarity across all manner of borders is a great aspiration, but can constitute an emotionally and physically-confronting practice.

Anthropologists have a tradition of both privately, and sometimes publicly, invoking their exotic (and no less awful) tropical illnesses as a talisman of the authenticity of the fieldwork experience. Serious illness is a very real risk of working in communities of impoverished and marginalized people with poor health profiles: dysentery, malaria, dengue fever, hepatitis, and various other infectious diseases are not uncommon among ethnographers. Clifford Geertz’s classic Balinese cockfight essay, for example, famously begins with the sentence, ‘my wife and I arrived, malarial and diffident, in a Balinese village’, with the malaria providing a marker of fieldwork experience and by implication of ethnographic authority.9 The body that has been committed and scarred by the experience of fieldwork implies the whole self must have been equally committed.

Gayatri Spivak perhaps unwittingly made a similar move in her keynote address at a recent conference in Melbourne (Dialogues Across Cultures, November 2004), when she apologized for her terrible cough, which, she explained, was brought about by a persistent form of TB acquired over years of working with tribal people in Bengal. Ironically in Spivak’s case, this statement reproduced a traditional authoritative gesture of anthropology, while concurrently refusing to bring her ‘fieldwork’ out of the realm of personal commitment (or professional supplement) to an ethnographic—and therefore also an overtly professional—realm. This unselfconsciously-authoritative gesture is surprising given Spivak’s thorough deconstructive work on the position of the ‘native informant’ in Western philosophy.10 The native informant is a subject that does not speak but is spoken of and for, a subaltern voice written out of Western philosophy and theory at the very moment it is invoked. Spivak’s writing consistently highlights the problem of representing others as a strategy for positioning the self. She articulates the double irony of declaring one’s institutional investments; colonizing a speaking position by disavowing one’s own.

Like, (and yet utterly unlike) Spivak’s ethical commitment to work for the ‘incitement of subaltern subjects of the vote’, the Local-Global Community Sustainability project also makes a claim to a form of ethical community engagement. This project demands long-term relationships and a serious attempt at forms of reciprocity in the exchange between researchers and communities. These relationships are highly complex, difficult to quantify and easily inclined to ‘end in tears’. It is generally considered the domain of community development studies or social work to engage with and transform communities through action. While the action research paradigm has brought those dynamics to the social sciences, anthropology and sociology have tended to have different understandings of the reciprocal relations they are engaged in as a kind of ‘reciprocity rite’, and with many good reasons. Reciprocity will always be caught in the inescapable logic of the gift: knowledge, information or participation exchanged by one-sided calls for an equivalent reciprocation, which can never be complete.

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This attempt to enter mutually fulfilling research relationships with communities can include the following (by no means exhaustive) examples:

- The ambivalent ‘gift’ of abstract Western social theoretical analysis of the social circumstances a community finds itself in. This might appeal to communities of Western, formally-educated people, who feel socially engaged and stimulated by participation in the academic processes of social analysis (for example, the Hamilton Community Reference Group have expressly stated such a desire). Social analysis can have profound effects on its audience, effects that can lead to quite the opposite experience of being confronted with destructive and constrictive structural formations beyond individual or group agency to effect. Where these layers of social analysis can bring new powers of comprehension to bear on social phenomena, it is essential to consider the social utility of the knowledge being generated: who is to use it and how is it to be used; from individuals and communities to state agencies and other researchers. If the purpose of ethically engaged research is to provide analytical tools for changing the social world, rather than merely describing it, there is an inevitable ambivalence about who will make use of these tools, and to what use they will be put. While many communities may deeply value building an archive of social history, life narratives and other descriptive material, the forms of abstraction through which they are being analysed may be alien, seem irrelevant, or even in some cases cause offence to them or their local or national institutions.

- The opportunity to participate in processes that may have state-managed social policy implications that directly affect the community/individuals in question. While communities may value local, regional, national and transnational government and NGO agencies accessing complex analysis of the communities affected by their social policy, there is no guarantee that freely accessible material of this nature will be used to the benefit, rather than detriment, of local communities. Also, it is relatively easy to alienate governments at all levels by presenting a version of reality that does not coincide with their official representations of the good society they may wish to be: happy, harmonious, widely prosperous or just. Less than flattering data and analysis can spur governments into positive action, but can also incite more authoritarian states to crack down on newly defined ‘community trouble makers’, deport researchers and discipline communities, their leaders and organizations. Engaging with governments, even producing materials they can access, must always take these risks into account. We may at times have to leave aside some of the richest material because it is too sensitive, provocative to those in power, or otherwise dangerous for the community concerned. Carefully constituted and active Community Reference Groups and local institutional partners are an essential guide in navigating this difficult terrain.

- Reciprocity is sometimes minted in a coin that is as prosaic as it is profound; it can mean providing or facilitating access to resources in our shared experiences as diverse as: money, employment, education pathways, cigarettes, food, alcohol, transport, CDs, cultural capital, sunglasses, buffalo, political influence, pigs, beads, mirrors, computers, axes, information, art buyers, blankets, networks, possum fur and so on. These exchanges are real wild cards, but have been the currency of fieldwork ethnography for generations. It is impossible to do fieldwork without providing some of these tangible and intangible things. Increasingly this can be done through the formal recognition of the role of informants as professional research collaborators, whose participation is renumerated, if only partially, through the project budget. More often than not...
these things are still provided by individual researchers on an *ad hoc* personal basis, rather than trying to explain to a research finance manager why fieldwork involved a carton of cigarettes and a bag of rice, taxi fares or a feast for a village that involved buying goats, chickens and buffalo. Some societies have carefully-measured notions of reciprocity and structures of exchange with outsiders established over years—or even generations—of contact with colonial and current government officials and institutions, missionaries, other NGOs, anthropologists, tourists, soldiers, pastoralists and so on. Others (particularly from the ‘home’ society) might find a more general ethos of reciprocity, such as the exchange of amity and occasional hospitality, quite sufficient.

The vicissitudes of funding agencies and reporting structures based on short-term key performance indicators, such as financial years and government electoral cycles, mean research projects are rarely of extended duration. Despite this, researchers involved in the project are being asked to make long-term commitments to its broad methodological and ethical frameworks, and to the communities they are working with, regardless of these cyclical vicissitudes of funding and institutional location. The repeated presence of researchers over time can be an effective form of accountability combined with meaningful oversight by Community Reference Groups, made up of individuals and existing organizations, that take an active role in the research process and broker broader community access to, and involvement with, project resources.

The *Local-Global Community Sustainability* project aspires to do much better than a bureaucratically-sanctioned ‘ethical clearance form’ in terms of its commitment to forms of reciprocity with communities. While some mutual disappointments and conflicts over the proper forms of that reciprocity are inevitable over the long haul, it is hoped the work bears fruit by making a contribution to positive forms of community sustainability, community-generated social action for change, and to the development of knowledge and methods in the social sciences, not least about forms of solidarity with the communities which so generously share their time, knowledge and unique sensibilities with us.

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Core Personnel

3.1 Core Research Staff
(In reverse alphabetical order)

Christopher Ziguras

Deputy Director of the Globalism Institute, Postgraduate Co-ordinator

Recent research: globalization and higher education; regulation of international education; teaching and learning in international education; World Trade Organization and services; the internationalization of publishing; sociology of health. His writings include *Self-Care: Embodiment, Personal Autonomy and the Shaping of Health Consciousness*, (2004).

Sallie Yea

School of Social Science and Planning

Recent research: During 2002–03 Sallie carried out a major research project involving ethnography and interviews with trafficked foreign women in South Korea. She explored human-rights, identity and migration issues for these women, as well as the transnational industry of sex and bride trafficking that facilitated their movement to Korea. The research is currently being published in various journals, including the *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, and *Development Bulletin* and will appear shortly as a monograph. She is currently in the early stages of research projects that examine trafficked women’s lives upon return to their homelands, with the Philippines, Cambodia and Russia as case studies and that examine transnational trafficking to Australia and internal trafficking in Bangladesh.

Sally Warhaft

Researcher, Globalism Institute

Recent research: sources of community strength in a Mumbai Indigenous fishing community; South Asian anthropology; urban anthropology; global Jewish diaspora. She has recently completed an edited collection on oratory in Australian political history due for publication in 2004.

Deb Verhoeven

School of Applied Communications

Julian Silverman

Co-ordinator of Diploma of Community Education

Recent research: student skill development during exposure to issues and activist practices of untouchable communities; caste, gender and strategies of social change; VET-based learning assessment programs in partnership with indigenous and other diverse communities.

Christopher Scanlon

Research Project Manager (Community Sustainability-National)

Recent research: links between cultural diversity and bio-diversity; micro-finance and micro-credit; bio-piracy and Indigenous knowledge; Third-Way politics; globalization and social policy; theories of information society; social capital approaches to governance.

Ceridwen Spark

Researcher, Globalism Institute

Recent research: issues of race, Indigeneity and colonialism; the ‘traditional-modern’ encounter between Western and traditional PNG cultures and medicines.

Leanne Reinke

Research Project Manager (Border Knowledges)

Recent research: changing communication technologies; Indigenous politics and reconciliation; traditional knowledge systems; theories of community formation and transformation under globalization; cultural dimensions of online education.

Peter Phipps

Deputy Director Globalism Institute, Honours Program Co-ordinator and Lecturer, International Studies, Research Project Manager (Community Sustainability International)

Recent research: currently completing a PhD on the cultural politics of postcolonial theory and engaged in research on questions of community sustainability. Other research interests include: the history of theory in anthropology; tourism; transnational religious movements; Indigenous-settler relations in Australia.

Tom Nairn

Associate Director (International) of the Globalism Institute, Professor of Nationalism and Cultural Diversity

Recent research: nationalism and internationalism; genocide and national violence; the break-up of Britain and the Scottish parliament; and 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).
Yaso Nadarajah  
Senior Research Fellow, Globalism Institute  
Recent research: practices that mediate between the two phenomena of ‘globalization’ and ‘localization’; community well-being; practices of engagement and differences, particularly as this relates to modes of knowledge and learning and identity formation; social justice and citizenship.

Martin Mulligan  
Senior Research Fellow, Globalism Institute  
Recent research: sense of place and community well-being in particular Victorian communities; community development strategies in Papua New Guinea; 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).

Karen Malone  
Senior Research Fellow and Associate Professor in the School of Education  
Recent research: new learning; science education; environmental education; popular culture; youth culture; children’s environments; sustainable development.

Douglas McQueen-Thomson  
Researcher, Globalism Institute  
Recent research: Australian refugee politics; globalization and culture; cosmopolitanism; community arts practice; contemporary Shakespeare criticism; cultural materialism.

Jeff Lewis  
School of Applied Communication  
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). His new book, Language Wars, will be published in 2005.

Paul James  
Director of the Globalism Institute, 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).
Mary Kalantzis
Chair of Education, Research Professor, Globalism Institute

Recent research: education, productive diversity, pedagogy, e-learning and multiliteracies; multicultural Australia; refugee and indigenous issues. Her books include Mistaken Identity (1988 with Castles, Cope and 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).

Kathryn Hegarty
Postdoctoral Fellow and Co-organizer of the ‘Sources of Insecurity’ Conference, Melbourne

Recent research: gender; Islam; representations of violence.

Kim Humphery
Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Constructed Environment, Social Science and Planning

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.

Kipps Horn
Lecturer, Arts-Music Programs, School of Education

Recent research: intergenerational and transnational factors concerning the evolution of rebetika song amongst the Greek-Australian community in Melbourne; the learning and transmission of rebetika in the Greek-Australian diaspora community in Melbourne; modes, melodies and improvization amongst Greek Australian Rebetika Musicians in Melbourne.

Hariz Halilovich
Researcher, Globalism Institute

Recent research: cultural hybridity; identity; displacement; refugees; the politics of violence in former Yugoslavia; nationalism; ethnocentrism; globalization.

John Handmer
Innovation Professor, School of Social Science and Planning

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.

Damian Grenfell
Research Project Manager (Sources of Insecurity)

Recent research: social conflict in East Timor, Aceh and Thailand; violence; nationalism; social movements; globalization; global protest movements.
Julie Foster-Smith

Researcher, Globalism Institute

Recent research: Aboriginal education in Australian schools; community development strategies in Papua-New Guinea; indigenous epistemologies; ‘intercultural travel’.

John Fien

Innovation Professor of Sustainability

Recent research: sustainable consumption; education for sustainability; sustainability in the workplace; the use of multimedia in teacher education for sustainability. Recent major publications include Young People and the Environment: An Asia-Pacific Perspective (2000 with Yencken and Sykes); Education and Sustainability: Reorienting Australian Schools for a Sustainable Future (2002); and Teaching and Learning for a Sustainable Future (CD-ROM 2002).

Kate Cregan

ARC Research Fellow, Research Grant Co-ordinator, Web Manager

Recent research: globalization of biotechnologies; social ethics; social history; sociology and anthropology of the body.

Desmond Cahill

Professor of Intercultural Studies, School of International and Community Studies

Recent research: immigrant, ethnic and intercultural education; religion, cultural diversity and globalization; ethnic communities in diasporic contexts; intercultural marriages; world, population movements and crime; the Polish and Vietnamese communities in Australia.
3.2 Associate Personnel

Nicola Yelland

Professor and Head of the Department of School and Early Childhood, FELCS

Recent research: learning technologies; mathematical literacies; learning in the information age; education.

Peter Williams

Researcher, School of Applied Communication

Recent research: history of communication technologies, especially radio; representations of Indigenous people and land; finance journalism and the neoliberal culture of finance capitalism.

Rob Watts

Professor, Social Science and Planning

Recent research: labour-market restructuring and social security policy in the twenty-first century; private investment in public infrastructure; the history of social theory in Australia; the history of eugenics in Australia; youth culture and bodgies and wedgies; youth policy.

Veronica Volkoff

Post-Compulsory Education and Training Research Centre

Recent research: international post-compulsory education and training policy and reform, including in Australia, China, Mozambique, India, South Africa, Germany, United Kingdom.

Helen Smith

Former Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Education, Languages and Community Services

Recent research: publishing needs within the VET system.

Chris Shepherd

Research Associate, Globalism Institute

Recent research: postcolonial science studies and anthropology; agricultural development at their sites of implementation in the Third World; NGOs and indigenous peoples in Latin America.

Judith Shaw

Lecturer, School of Social Science and Planning (International Development)

Recent research: microfinance, micro-enterprise development and the impact of globalization on labour markets in developing countries. Judith is currently engaged in a research project on garment workers in Sri Lanka’s Export Processing Zones.
Gyorgy Scrinis

*Research Associate, Globalism Institute*

*Recent research:* genetically modified foods; theories of technological and agricultural forms; globalization and corporatization of the food system; food security; nutritionism, functional foods and forms of food consumption.

Jacob Rumbiak

*Senior Research Associate, Globalism Institute*

*Australian West Papua Association*

*Recent research:* continuing to create awareness, conditions, and relations for nation-building, peace-seeking dialogue between West Papuans, West Papua and Indonesia, and between both nations and the international community.

Marjorie Quinn

*Senior Lecturer, School of Social Science and Planning (Social Work)*

*Recent research:* community work and international partnerships—particularly Zambia (following two and a half years working there) and Bangladesh (around the teaching of the course ‘International Perspectives on Community Development’ in Bangladesh).

Jane Perry

*Post-Compulsory Education and Training Research Centre*

*Recent research:* international post-compulsory education and training policy.

Dave Mercer

*School of Social Science and Planning*

*Recent research:* indigenous issues and citizenship; indigenous welfare and the potential of tourism; energy and society, with particular reference to climate change, technology choice and the ‘resource curse’ in relation to Timor L’Este; natural hazard discourse, with particular reference to climate change and the fire hazard in Australia; demographic and labour market change in regional Australia.

Grant McBurnie

*Office of International Development, Monash University*

*Recent research:* the globalization of higher education, including trade in education in the Asia-Pacific region; transnational education; quality assurance in international education; international education policy studies.

John Martin

*Associate Professor, Director of the Centre for Regional and Rural Development, RMIT Hamilton*

*Recent research:* local government and intergovernmental relations; learning communities and local government; sustainable farming families; sustainable small towns; international comparisons of local government in federal states (Canada and Australia).
Bill Martin  
Professor, School of Business IT  
Recent research: knowledge in enterprises (in particular the construction industry); knowledge cultures and strategies; knowledge in business models and metrics for knowledge.

Peter Marden  
Lecturer, School of Social Science and Planning (International Development)  
Recent research: political philosophy; social theory; democracy studies; international politics. His latest book is The Decline of Politics (2003).

Janet Hunt  
Senior Lecturer, School of Social Science and Planning  
Recent research: the role of local Timorese NGOs in the rehabilitation and development of East Timor.

Cathy Greenfield  
Associate Professor, School of Applied Communication  
Recent research: the relations between media, politics and the government of populations; current media rhetoric pertaining to Howardism and neo-liberalism more generally; media populism; the politics of finance journalism.

Becc Galdies  
Research Assistant, Globalism Institute  
Recent research: climate change and environmental refugees.

Hass Dellal  
Executive Director, Australian Multicultural Foundation  
Recent research: extensive experience in Australia and internationally in multicultural affairs; currently a special advisor to the National Police Ethnic Advisory Bureau; trustee of the European Multicultural Commission.

Esther Charlesworth  
Research Associate, Globalism Institute  
Recent research: post-war and post-disaster reconstruction; urban design, social issues and sustainability; social responsibility and architecture. Recent major publications include CityEdge—Case Studies in Contemporary Urbanism (2005) and No Man’s Land: A Spatial Anatomy of war Divided Cities (with John Calame, 2005 forthcoming).

Guosheng Chen  
Manager, Language and Global Culture Programs and Manager, Chinese-Australian Studies and Contemporary Culture Forum, Department of Language and International Studies  
Recent research: internationalization of higher education; East Asian studies, language teaching and research; the Chinese diaspora and its development in the contemporary global context.
Robert Brooks

Professor, Associate Dean of Research, Faculty of Business

Recent research: financial econometrics; modelling of risk in Australian financial markets; the impact of financial deregulation particularly in Asian financial markets.

Paul Battersby

Senior Lecturer/Program Co-ordinator—BA International Studies, Department of Language and International Studies

Recent research: global economic processes; global risks and governance; South East Asian political economy and society.

Eugenia Arvanitis

Researcher, Ionian island of Lefkada, Greece

Recent research: multicultural educational policy and practice; ethnic community development, sustainability and identity; community-building education; teachers’ training.

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Administrative Structure

4.1 Executive Team

Paul James, Director

Peter Phipps, Deputy Director and Research Project Manager
(Community Sustainability-International)

Tom Nairn, Associate Director (International)

Christopher Ziguras, Acting Head of School and Postgraduate Co-ordinator

Leanne Reinke, Research Project Manager (Border Knowledges)

Kate Cregan, ARC Research Fellow, Research Grants Co-ordinator, Web Manager

Damian Grenfell, Research Project Manager (Sources of Insecurity)

Christopher Scanlon, Researcher, Research Project Manager
(Community Sustainability- National)

Yaso Nadarajah, Senior Research Fellow

Martin Mulligan, Senior Research Fellow

With:

Dean Coldicott, Higher Degrees Administrator


Hariz Halilovich, Research Assistant and Co-organizer ‘Pathways to Reconciliation’, Sarajevo 2005

Kathryn Hegarty, Postdoctoral Fellow and Co-organizer of the ‘Sources of Insecurity’ Conference, Melbourne

Yuanhao Jia, Accounts Officer

Debbie Lozankoski, Financial Officer

Karen Malone, Senior Research Fellow

Manfred Steger, Academic Director of the Globalism Institute (designate) and incoming Head of the School of International and Community Studies

Stella Vella, Project Administrator, Hamilton Community Sustainability Project

4.2 National Advisory Committee

Professor Jon Altman, Director, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University

Dr Bill Cope, Director, Common Ground Publications

Mr Tim Costello, CEO, World Vision, Australia

Professor Neil Furlong, Pro Vice-Chancellor, RMIT University

Mr Bruce Harvey, Chief Advisor, Aboriginal and Community Relations, Rio Tinto
Ms Jackie Huggins, Co-Chair, Reconciliation Australia

Professor John Nieuwenhuyzen, Director, Monash University Institute for the Study of Global Movements and Deputy Chancellor, RMIT University

Professor Chris Reus-Smit, Head, Department of International Relations, Australian National University

Professor Geoff Stokes, Director, Institute of Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University

4.3 International Professorial Board

Professor Perry Anderson, University of California, Los Angeles
Dr Alan Chun, Academia Sinica, Taipei
Professor Jonathan Friedman, Directeur d’Etudes, Ecoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Social, Paris
Emeritus Professor, Jack Goody, Cambridge University
Professor Bruce Kapferer, Associate Director, Institute of Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Bergen
Professor Krishan Kumar, University of Virginia
Professor David Lyon, Queens University
Professor Walter Mignolo, Director, Center for Global Studies, Duke University
Professor Juliet Mitchell, Cambridge University
Ashis Nandy, Fellow, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi
Professor Brendan O’Leary, Director, Solomon Asch Centre for the Study of Ethno-Political Conflict, University of Pennsylvania
Professor Fazal Rizvi, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Professor Jan Aart Scholte, Deputy Director, Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick
Professor Peter Sellers, University of California, Berkeley
Professor Manfred Steger, Illinois State University and the Globalization Research Center, University of Hawai’i
Professor Jukka Siikala, University of Helsinki
Professor Gayatri Spivak, Avalon Foundation Professor in the Humanities, Columbia University
Global and Local Links

The Globalism Institute 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 grass roots organizations.

5.1 Institutional Links

**Arena Publications (Melbourne)**

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, which can be found at www.arena.org.au, frequently publish articles and commentary pieces on areas ranging across the work of the Globalism Institute, including Indigenous politics and culture, debates on biotechnology, 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 Institute has a presence on the editorial board of Arena Publications through Paul James as one of the Arena Journal editors and Christopher Scanlon as co-editor of *Arena Magazine*.

**BorderZone Arts (United States of America)**

A community-based international arts and cultural program organization, Borderzone Arts was founded in 2000 to address the needs of Indigenous and historically under-represented artists whose works deserve greater attention in contemporary art worlds. Projects explore cultural and artistic boundaries, and allow for new forms of artistic expression to emerge in the ‘borderzone’, through exhibitions, performances, publications, and public programs. Collaboration is central to Borderzone’s approach to strengthening and improving community development and sustainability through the arts. Borderzone and the Globalism Institute collaborated on an exhibition of indigenous artists that was shown in Los Angeles in 2004.

**Common Ground (Melbourne and Sydney)**

Common Ground, a humanities and social science publisher, has been collaborating extensively with RMIT for several years. The Globalism Institute’s involvement with Common Ground is considerable and close. It includes joint research projects, conferences and publications. Together, the Globalism Institute 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.
Globalization Research Center, University of Hawai‘i (United States of America)

In April 2002 after a series of meetings in Honolulu it was confirmed that the Globalization Research Center and the Globalism Institute would develop a collaborative relationship including a joint conference on diversity and globalization. The Globalization Research Centre through Professors Barry Gills and Manfred Steger invited Paul James to participate in their dialogical conference on ideologies of globalism in December 2002, and we became joint sponsors of the ‘Cultural Diversity in a Globalizing World’ conference run in February 2003 in Honolulu. In September 2003, Paul James met with Deane Neubauer and Professor Michael Douglass, the new director of the Center, at a forum in Ottawa where, they 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 Hawaii in 2005.

Globalization Studies Network (International)

The Globalization Studies Network (GSN) is a world-wide 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 35 institutes from Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia and Europe, including the Globalism Institute. Paul James and Chris Scanlon were part of the GSN inaugural conference at CSGR/Warwick in August 2004. The GSN is a co-sponsor of ‘Pathways to Reconciliation and Global Human Rights, Sarajevo 2005’, a conference convened by the Globalism Institute, to be held from 16–19 August 2005.

Global Reconciliation Network (International)

The Global Reconciliation Network, in which the Globalism Institute is 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 which 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, Sarajevo, 2005.

Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University (Melbourne)

The Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation (ICG) at Deakin University is dedicated to expanding knowledge of problems associated with citizenship and globalization. The ICG comprises the Centre for Citizenship and Human Rights, the Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and the Pacific and the Corporate Citizenship Unit. The ICG was a co-sponsor of the Fourth International Conference on Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations held at the University of California Los Angeles from 6–9 July 2004, and will co-sponsor the 2005 Diversity conference in Beijing.
Street poster protesting US intervention in Iraq, Los Angeles, United States (2004).
Institute of Postcolonial Studies (Melbourne)

The Globalism Institute and the Institute of Postcolonial Studies (IPS) have been working closely together since 2002. The Globalism Institute is represented on the Postcolonial Institute’s Council, the Institute’s peak policy body that oversees academic programs, events, publications, external linkages, and future directions for the Institute. 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, a past Associate Editor. Phillip Darby, the director of IPS was a Visiting Fellow at the Globalism Institute during 2004.

International Literacy Research Centre, Universiti Sains (Malaysia)

In 1999, the Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) and RMIT University signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the objective of developing collaborative research projects across the two universities. In the same year, in consortia with the Penang Department of Education, USM and RMIT conducted the Sixth International Conference in Literacy and Educational Research Network in Penang, Malaysia. USM and RMIT International Literacy Research Unit has also established a jointly funded and managed International Literacy Research Unit involving the Faculty of Education, Language and Community Services and the School of Humanities, USM. The research unit is involved in literacy and language research and associated areas of policy and practice of mutual interest. The unit operates from two virtual nodes located at USM in Penang and RMIT University in Melbourne.

Open Democracy

openDemocracy.net is an online global magazine of politics and culture. It publishes clarifying debates which help people make up their own minds, based upon seeking the finest political writing from contributors across the world. The magazine is written by and for people across the world, from South and North, from the powerless to the influential, seeking to bring together those who are not well-known with writers and thinkers of international repute. Their pages now include over 1,500 articles. Tom Nairn from the Globalism Institute is a regular contributor.

Sources of Insecurity Network (ATN)

The Globalism Institute is convenor of a global network of scholars working in the area of globalization and human security. A website has been set up to facilitate this relationship: www.sourcesofinsecurity.org. The first stage of the Network grew out of a seed grant from the ARC which brought together complementary and distinctive institutes from across Australia, working closely in association with more than a dozen international institutes—all engaging with the new areas of ‘human security’ and ‘globalization studies’. The Australian core of the first stage of the network comprised the Globalism Institute with an emphasis on globalization, the Asia Research Centre (Murdoch University) with an emphasis on political economy, the Centre for Communication and Culture (UTS) with an emphasis on regional cultural research, and the School of Political Science and International Relations (University of Queensland) with an emphasis on international politics. This was extended in the second stage to form a collaborative network between the ATN universities: RMIT, UTS, QUT, Curtin and the University of South Australia.

One of the strengths of the present project is to bring together and co-ordinate researchers across disciplinary divides, researchers usually working in quite separate fields within the social sciences, humanities and information sciences. This
will create a basic foundation and encouragement for further research into this subject that will feed back in innovative ways to those various disciplines. The chief investigators have been forging a deepening relationship over the last couple of years through their mutual work on new security issues, their co-ordination of the ARC ‘Sources of Insecurity’ Network, and their common involvement in conferences on new security questions in Melbourne (November 2004) and Sarajevo (August 2005).

**Sources of Insecurity Network (International)**

**Australia**

_**Academic Institutions**_

Academics from Australian universities, including:
- the Globalism Institute (RMIT)
- the Centre for Communication and Culture (UTS)

_**Non-Academic Institutions**+

- Amnesty Australia
- Australian Conservation Foundation
- Australian Council of Trade Unions
- Caritas
- Catholic Commission for Justice
- Oxfam Australia
- United Nations Association of Australia
- World Vision

**Asia-Pacific**

_**Academic Institutions**_

- Institute of Global Studies, Nankai University, China
- International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India
- Asian Network, University of the Philippines, Philippines
- Centre for International Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka
- Centre for Development Studies, University of the South Pacific

_**Non-Academic Institutions**+

- Network for Development Studies, India
- Focus on the Global South, Thailand
- CAVR, East Timor

**North America**

_**Academic Institutions**_

- Center for Global Studies, University of Victoria, Canada
- Globalization-Human Condition, McMaster, Canada
- Globalization and International Security Institute, Denver, USA
Ethno-Political Conflict Network, Pennsylvania, USA
Network for the Study of Public Security, Rutgers University, USA
Disaster Management, University of Hawai‘i, USA

Non Academic Institutions
International Development Research Network, Canada

Europe

Academic Institutions
Genèse et Transformation Des Mondes Sociaux, Paris, France
Department of Anthropology, Lund, Norway
Globalization Programme, University of Oslo, Norway
Globus Institute, University of Tilburg, Netherlands

Academic Institutions
Open Democracy, United Kingdom
Tropical Research Institute, Portugal

*NB. Even though these relationships are firmly established, they are by necessity informal due to the profound issues of independence in matters of political sensitivity.*

Transnational Institute (Holland)
The Transnational Institute (TNI) is a non-government, non-university research institute based in Amsterdam. The Institute is dedicated to engaging with issues of globalization and social justice. In May 2002, Tom Nairn and Paul James met with the Board of the TNI, agreeing to a memorandum of ongoing association and cooperation. As part of the agreement we invited the TNI to participate in our Humanities conference in Greece in July 2003. Tom also attended the TNI Fellows meetings in 2003 and 2004.

5.2 Collaborating Scholars

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

Previous Visiting Professorial and Senior Fellows

- Michael Apple, Professor, University of Wisconsin, USA (2001)
- Warren Crichlow, Associate Professor, York University, Canada (2001)
- Michael Christie, Co-ordinator Yolngu Languages and Culture, Charles Darwin University, Australia (2003)
- James Donald, Professor of Media and founding Head of School of Media and Information, Curtin University, Australia (2002)
- Thomas Frank, Journalist, Author of One Market Under God and Editor of The Baffler, USA (2002)
- James Goodman, Editor of Protest and Globalisation, and Lecturer, University of Technology Sydney, Australia (2002)
- Donald Hones, Associate Professor, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education and Human Services, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, USA (2003)
- Yun-Kie Hur, Professor, Dean of International Programs, Induk Institute of Technology, South Korea (2002)
- Ken-ya Kadosawa, Muroran Institute of Technology, Japan (2001)
- Noga Kadman, Jerusalem, Israel (2002)
- Michael H. Lee, Comparative Education Policy Research Unit, Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong, China (2002)
- Nie Shaomin and Chen Yiming, Professors at Yanshan University, China (2002)
- Martin Nakata, Director, Aboriginal Research Institute, University of South Australia, Australia (2001)
- Anoop Nyak, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK (2002)
- Ambigapathy Pandian, Associate Professor, Universiti Sains Malaysia, 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 at Urbana-Champaign (2002, 2003)
- Mimis Sophocleous, Athens, Greece (2001)
- Shufan Liu, Associate Professor, Jilin University, China (2001)
• Gella Varnava-Skoura, Professor, University of Athens, Greece (2001)
• Weihua Luo, Associate Professor, Deputy Head of the Department of English Language at Dalian Maritime University, China (2002)

Visiting Professorial Fellows and Visiting Fellows 2004
• Phillip Darby, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Melbourne, Australia
• Hong Fei, Associate Professor, Kunming University of Science and Technology, Kunming, Yunan, China
• Ken Ya Kadosawa, Assistant Professor, Office of International Affairs, Muroran Institute of Technology, Japan
• T. Vasantha Kumaran, Professor in Geography, University of Madras, Chennai, South India
• Gary Smith, Associate Professor in International Relations, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia
• Julie Stephens, Senior Lecturer, Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia
• Richard Tanter, Professor of International Relations, Kyoto, Japan
• Yanqiu Wang, Associate Professor, Dalian Maritime University, China

Visiting Fellows 2005
• George Baca, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Goucher College, Baltimore, USA
• Michael Furmanovsky, Faculty of Intercultural Communication, Ryukoku University, Otsu, Japan
• Yang Jie, Foreign Languages Department, Chongqing Normal University, Chongqing, China

Oren Yiftachel, Thabet Abu Ras, and Damian Grenfell (Globalism Institute) at the Palmach-Negev memorial, Be’ersheva, Israel-Palestine (2005).
Visitors 2004

Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia

- Professor Syed Ahmad Hussein, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic and International Affairs)
- Professor Muhammad Idiris Saleh, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research and Development)
- Associate Professor Ambigapathy Pandian, Deputy Dean, School of Humanities
- Mr Abdul Hamid Majid, Assistant Registrar, Academic Collaboration

PNG Department of Community Development

- PNG Minister of Community Development, Lady Carol Kidu
- Secretary, Department of Community Development, Joseph Klapat
- Senior adviser to the minister, John Maru
- Research Training Officer (Community Learning), Kenneth Caniceboagege

University of Baja, Mexico

- Guillermo Torres-Moye, Dean of the Graduate Studies and Applied Research Division
- Alfonso J Galindo, Advisor to the President of UABC

Cyprus High Commission

- Achilles Antoniadis, High Commissioner of Cyprus

Julie Foster-Smith (Globalsim Institute) and Dame Carol Kidu, Minister of Community Development at the first National Forum on Community Development, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea (2004).
Research

Sensitive to the competing demands of the processes that underpin contemporary globalization, the Globalism Institute 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 Institute is globalization, nationalism, transnationalism and the nature of community. Our research projects are gathered together around key themes, all related to this core purpose:

6.1. Sources of Insecurity
6.2. Community Sustainability
6.3. Border Knowledges
6.4. Global Media
6.5. Discourses of Critical and Ethical Engagement

6.1 Sources of Insecurity: Localism, Nationalism and Globalism

- violence and social disintegration
- globalization and human insecurity
- nationalism, religion and identity
- the War on Terror

Research Project Manager: Damian Grenfell
Research Team: Hariz Halliovich, John Handmer, Paul James, Jeff Lewis, Tom Nairn

Over the past decade a number of destabilizing developments have occurred which pose serious practical and conceptual challenges to conventional policy frameworks and responses. These security challenges have all been of a complex and unconventional nature—they do not accord with conventional models of state-based military threats from the deployment or use of conventional military force. They involve non-state or multiple actors, or complex processes such as social, environmental and economic feedbacks. They challenge the relevance and efficacy of conventional militarized, state-based security responses conducted as stand-alone actions.

In the recent past, developments that challenge social sustainability in our region include:

- the terrorist attacks in New York, Washington, Kuta and Riyadh, and international policy responses including wars in Afghanistan and Iraq;
- the erosion of civil liberties, democratic governance and international human-rights law in the course of coalition-building and counter-terrorist responses following the attacks of 11 September 2001;
- the global health crisis borne of diseases such as AIDS, SARS and tuberculosis and the medical consequences of regional zones of global conflict;
- the threats to natural eco-systems, human communities and economic patterns posed by environmental degradation;
- the Asian political and financial crisis of 1997–98 with its accompanying effect on local and regional communities;
The common thread linking all these developments is how, in various ways, they constitute serious threats to the human security and welfare of communities and individuals. These threats have arisen from complex interactions between economic turmoil, crises in governance, identity politics, human-rights abuses, ethnic tension, religious and political violence, state policy and individual beliefs. Threats to human security arising from such developments also often generate problems for national, regional and global security.

While the use of conventional policy responses (economic, diplomatic and military) has sometimes been appropriate, on other occasions it has worsened such crises. The common reflex to 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. In particular, there is a danger that an over-reliance on conventional military responses to unique new forms of terrorism—combining networked small-scale groups acting on the basis of controversial religious doctrines and perceptions of injustice, wounded dignity and cultural threat—runs the risk of prolonging rather than reducing such threats.

Within this framework, we have identified three substantive aims:

- **Sources of insecurity**

  We intend to go beyond the question of identifying the immediate threats—these are by now readily apparent, even if their interconnections need fundamental research—to examining 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, will provide 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.
• **Conditions of human security**
  We intend to develop the interpretative bases for more adequately debating how in practical terms the conditions of human security might best be sustained under different circumstances.

• **Practices of sustainable security**
  We intend to interrogate the framework of security, including the concept of ‘human security’ itself, to develop the principles upon which sustainable practices can be built.

Projects developed to meet these aims are listed as follows.

**Sources of Insecurity Network**

*Sponsor:* Australian Research Council (Network Seeding Grant) 2004  
*Key Organizers:* Kate Cregan and Paul James

*Project Description:*

The Sources of Insecurity Network aims to support innovative research and policy development based on a commitment to the promotion of human security in all its interconnections. It aims to foster debate from a diverse range of perspectives around conceptual understandings of the sources of insecurity and the conditions of human security and to examine their practical application to those working in the field. A particular focus of the Network will be to foster the development, publication and debate of analyses and proposals that can be used by policy-makers and others working directly on security issues, whether of a global, national regional or local community scope. The Network seeks to promote robust interactions between differing cultures and priorities (academic, political, policy, military, police, medical and NGO). The network currently has 150 academic members for twenty universities across Australia.

**Violence at the Intersections of Globalism, Nationalism and Tribalism**

*Sponsor:* Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant) 2003–5  
*Chief Investigators:* Paul James and Tom Nairn

*Project Description:*

This study investigates recent arenas of violence, from the genocide in Rwanda to ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, militia activities in East Timor and West Papua, and the ‘War on Terrorism’ in Afghanistan. First, it examines Western public representations of these arenas. Secondly, drawing upon comparative political and anthropological analyses, the study tests its hypothesis that neo-tribalism and neo-traditionalism are best understood in the globalizing context of insecure nation states. This study thus critically examines the commonplace claim that assertions of primordial tribalism and traditionalism are the well-spring of contemporary violence.

*Book Publications:*

Forming East Timor

Sponsor: Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant) 2002-5
Chief Investigators: Damian Grenfell and Paul James

Project Description:

Conducted within the larger ‘Violence at the Intersections’ project, this study focuses on East Timor in particular. We are primarily interested in questions of identity, meaning, interchange, and the foundations of violence in the transformations of an emerging nation-state. What did the Indonesians think they were doing in East Timor? What was the basis of the militia violence? How did the East Timorese think of themselves as a nation? In what ways did a history of guerrilla resistance inform East Timorese nation formation?

6.2 Community Sustainability: From the Local to the Global

- well-being 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

Research Project Manager (International): Peter Phipps
Research Project Manager (National): Christopher Scanlon
Research Team: Hariz Halilovich, Kim Humphrey, Paul James, Karen Malone, Martin Mulligan, Yaso Nadarajah, Julian Silverman

What is distinctive about the present era of globalization is how local-global relationships are structured and constituted. Specifically, they increasingly evolve around abstract flows of capital, goods and images. The effect of this appears to be a loss of the ‘fixity’ characteristic of social relations in the past. Identity and stability, the idea of life lived with a more or less stable narrative, through which one attains a stable personal identity, seem to have weakened.

Against this backdrop questions about the sustainability of community within the contemporary context of globalization come to the fore. Like other spheres of social life, the settings and the ways in which communities are constituted and enacted today are undergoing radical transformations.

We intend to gain an understanding of how communities confront the complex changes wrought by globalization. ‘Community sustainability’ provides the framing concept for the investigation. While it draws on the notion of ‘sustainability’, most extensively developed in relation to environmental concerns, community sustainability is both more specific and more expansive in its definition. It looks at the practices and actions needed at the micro-level to achieve sustainable development, and yet has the potential to move beyond the schematic, instrumental accounts of ‘sustainable development’ to encompass the social and cultural aspects of how communities cohere through time.
This project extends theoretical observations about a new qualitative conception of community sustainability, informed by substantial and innovative empirical research. In this context, ‘sustainability’ is broadly understood to encompass forms of well-being and social bonds, community-building, social support, and urban renewal, rather than just practices tied to development.

The aims of the project are:

• to determine rigorous models of what ‘sustainability’ means at a community level;
• to combine high theoretical analysis with community feedback and grassroots initiatives;
• to construct a new methodology for enhancing sustainable communities;
• to positively affect policy makers’ understanding of community needs; and
• to empower communities to define their own determinants of sustainability.

The researchers involved will develop long-term collaborative research relationships with communities across the local, the national and the global. In Victoria our research sites include Broadmeadows, Daylesford, Hamilton, and Port Phillip. At the global level they include Chenai, Dili, Havana, Honolulu, Petaling Jaya, Port Moresby, Rhodes and Sarajevo among others.

Sites have been selected for their differences—selected communities range from those in emerging states (East Timor) to those located in long-established cities (Rhodes)—and for the fact that researchers have established ongoing relationships with communities there. Furthermore, the communities are both those embedded within face-to-face community and those more closely integrated into global flows of exchange and information.

Select Site Reports—‘Community Sustainability: From the Local to the Global’:

Contemporary rural communities in all parts of the world are being affected by a range of changes and processes including major changes in demographic patterns, the organization and performance of primary industries, movements in social-cultural values, developments in technology and levels of government support for economic and social infrastructure. In contrast to the predictions of many commentators, globalization has not reduced the importance of localities and localism. As well as enabling new, more remote forms of social and cultural interaction, we have seen what Anthony Giddens has referred to as an ‘intensification of social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’. Each local community is unique and any effort to understand the experience of global changes at a local level must start with particular places.
Hamilton

**Project Team:** Paul James, Karen Malone, Martin Mulligan, Yaso Nadarajah, Christopher Scanlon, Stella Vella

**Critical Reference Group:** John Callinan, Suzy Clarke, Cicely Fenton, John Fenton, Helen Handbury, Ted Leahy, Tony McGillivray, Terri Nicholson, Sue Pizzey, Vera Risk, Ken Saunders, Judy Warne, Keith Warne.

**Research Description:**

‘Community Sustainability: From the Local to the Global’ is one of the many projects to grow out of the RMIT University and Southern Grampians Region International Community Exchange (RICE) Partnership. Formally established in 1996, this partnership is a unique between metropolitan RMIT and the communities of the Southern Grampians region and surrounds. It emerged from a common goal of building intercultural exchanges and international linkages at a time when both groups were beginning to understand the enormous implications of economic globalization.

A Critical Reference Group (CRG) consisting of the region’s community members and leaders provides a reflective base and reference for the project as it undertakes engaged research into community sustainability and well-being. The CRG is a representative group of individuals who have joined together as a social, emotional, purposeful, and analytic network. Their mutual purpose is to learn, to understand, to reflect, to act, to share a commitment to promoting well-being and to assist each other.

In the Hamilton Region the project has started by working for the first year (2004) with three places and their people: urban Hamilton; Dunkeld; and Lake Condah (spiritual home of the Gunditjmara people and part of the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape).

Given the diversity of the communities, we are working with a combination of qualitative research techniques, involving local people and established evaluation modes. The project team will develop a substantial profile of each community, which will be supplemented with more empirical assessments for comparative purposes.

India

**Project Team:** Paul James, Martin Mulligan, Yaso Nadarajah, Peter Phipps

**Research Description:**

In South India, Theni villages (Bodi, Ammapatti, Maniampatti, Pottipuram, Rasingapuram and Silamalai), the tribal Kolli Hills and Medavakkam (suburban Chennai) have been identified as the research project sites. Community research is already underway in these sites through the work of Professor T. Vasantha Kumaran and his team of researchers from Madras University, South India, with whom we are working. The research focus includes: water; health; sanitation; food security; indigenous livelihoods; livelihood trajectories; communal conflict/politics; traditional knowledge; cultural identities; place identities; landscape mapping; biophysical mapping.
Malaysia

*Project Team:* Paul James, Yaso Nadarajah, Christopher Scanlon

*Research Description:*

The site identified to begin the project in Malaysia is the Old Klang Road (Petaling Jaya) — and communities located on either side of it. The communities are centred particularly around Petaling Utama (Kampong Muniady, Kampong Gandhi (Sri Setia)), Kampong Medan, Kampong Datuk Harun, KTM Long House, Kampong Desa Hormat, Kampong Lindungan and Plantation House. Some of these communities are in the process of moving to new locations in stages to be completed by the end of 2005.

Initial discussions with some community members indicate that settlements like Kampong Gandhi have existed for more than four decades. There are estimated to be about 350 squatter houses in the sixteen-year-old longhouse settlement which include both Malay and Indian families.

The site presents an interesting mix of squatter settlements, high-rise buildings (including new housing-commission flats), an entertainment complex, a tertiary institution and a flyover. The focus for 2004/2005 includes three different urban settlements on one side of Old Klang Road, where field work has commenced and interviews are being conducted and a Critical Reference Group has been established.

Paul James and Yaso Nadarajah (Globalism Institute), Rohana Jani, Sulochana Nair and Jahara Yahaya (University of Malaya) and Dr K. Govindan, Head, National Economic Action Council (NLAC) Secretariat, Prime Minister’s Department, Malaysia (2004).
Sarajevo

Project Team: Hariz Halilovich, Paul James, Peter Phipps

See Appendix: 5

Specific Projects—Community Sustainability: From the Local to the Global: The Well-being of Communities: Cultural Activities, Social Health and Community Sustainability

Sponsor: Australian Research Council (Linkage Grant) 2003-6

Chief Investigators: Kim Humphrey, Paul James and Christopher Scanlon

Industry Partners: VicHealth-Victorian Health Promotion Foundation

Project Description:

This project examines the impact of cultural activities such as arts events, festivals and commemorations on the sustainability of communities. Most contemporary evaluation of community activities tends to assess single events out of context. By contrast, we comparatively examine specific communities in depth, and across multiple activities. The aim is to generate a broad empirical foundation for developing an analytical understanding of the relationship between community building and individual well-being. From this a model for understanding the real effects of cultural practices can be formulated, enabling governments and funding bodies to assess how best to support communities.

A Sense of Place: Responding to the Impacts of Globalization on Social Connectedness in Victorian Communities

Sponsor: VicHealth, 2003–4

Chief Investigators: Paul James, Martin Mulligan and Christopher Scanlon

Project Description:

Communities are caught between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, the intensification of abstract social processes (summarized in the term ‘globalization’) tends to undermine the importance of face-to-face interaction as the dominant level of integration into communities. On the other hand, restricted access to the technologies and resources of abstraction such as the Internet are causing new forms of social exclusion for sectors of the population. The current rhetorical gestures towards the need for a sense of place do not tend to recognize this dilemma. A more reflexively developed ‘sense of place’ is becoming an increasingly important method for helping people to retain a feeling of belonging to communities as they have been traditionally understood.

Increased mobility and participation in abstract social processes can militate against the sustaining of an immediate sense of place, but we would argue that more complex understandings of places can be consciously developed and applied to a range of places.

The project explores the ways in which various globalizing trends affect the major forms of social connectedness for the Victorian population and how these may vary between various socio-demographic groups and localities.
Community Celebrations

*Sponsor:* VicHealth 2003–4  
*Researchers:* Paul James, Douglas McQueen-Thomson and Christopher Ziguras

*Project Description:*

The VicHealth community celebrations project involves a literature review examining recent research into community-based arts festivals, celebrations and other large-scale events. The review aims to examine the current state of knowledge about the health impacts of these community events. This involves consideration of broad social indicators that are related to health, such as social inclusion, social capital, self-esteem, and strength of association. This review will help reveal what areas require further investigation and research to allow government bodies and health promotion agencies to identify funding programs with the greatest health benefits.

Religion, Cultural Diversity and Social Cohesion in Contemporary Australia

*Sponsor:* Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs  
*Chief Investigator:* Gary Bouma, Desmond Cahill and Hass Dellal

*Project Description:*

The project was established in the context of September 11, 2001. It involves consultations with the heads of faith in every Australian State and Territory, case studies of fourteen local faith-communities in urban and rural Australia, an electronic consultation held with the Australian people, the production of educational materials on Islam and the development of a kit for interfaith co-operation at grassroots level. It also examines the feasibility of an Australian inter-faith council to advise government.

Holy Cities, Holy Sites

*Sponsor:* Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs  
*Chief Investigator:* Desmond Cahill

*Project Description:*

This project will bring together three religious schools in an inter-faith initiative to encourage interaction and co-operation in Australia’s emerging multi-faith society.
6.3 Border Knowledges

- 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

Research Project Manager: Leanne Reinke
Research Team: Cathy Greenfield, Mary Kalantzis, Karen Malone, Bill Martin, Tom Nairn, Peter Williams, Christopher Ziguras

In the context of a world that is beset by cultural tension and the hardening of political boundaries, this research theme is concerned with transnational movement, communities and cultures. It practically engages in a dialogue across the borders of difference.

Culturally different ways of understanding have been shaped by global processes, and enforced by modern institutions—from the church and the university, to the IMF and the World Bank. Such cultural differences have historically been tolerated so long as they did not challenge the epistemic dominance of a certain kind of modernity. Our aim is to generate a body of scholarly work with the goal of learning to live across the boundaries of different knowledge formations. Projects researching global education and ‘border knowledges’ have been incorporated into the research theme.

‘Border knowledges’ concentrates on fundamental, cultural differences in knowledge—ways of understanding. The projects analyse and document the differences in knowledge systems operating in the global world, specifically within the fields of communication technologies, educational pedagogies, environmental practices and medicinal procedures.

Global education investigates the impact of globalization in the field of education and pedagogical practice.

Australian Responses to Refugees

Sponsor: Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant)
Chief Investigators: Paul James and Mary Kalantzis

Project Description:

Developing an appropriate response to refugees should be a definitive political concern in contemporary Australia. However, conceptual and broad historical analysis is lacking in this area, particularly when it comes to understanding the global context and genealogy of Australia’s current policy. This project analyses Australian reactions to refugees from Federation to the present. It is suggested that positions on refugees have been integral to the constitution of Australian national identity. We explore the complex interaction between government policy, humanitarian concerns, and the culture of security considerations in the formation of Australia.
Comparative Study of Policy Issues and Regulatory Measures

*Sponsor:* Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant)

*Chief Investigators:* Grant McBurnie and Christopher Ziguras

*Project Description:*

This project aims to deepen understanding of the ways in which governments are responding to the growth in commercial cross-border education. It will analyse the experiences of a range of importing and exporting countries in relation to the major impacts of internationalization and will develop a comprehensive comparative account of regulatory measures used to shape cross-border markets in higher education.

Border Knowledges: Learning Across the Boundaries of Difference

*Sponsor:* RMIT University (Research Infrastructure Funding)

*Chief Investigators:* Cathy Greenfield, Mary Kalantzis, Karen Malone, Bill Martin, Tom Nairn, Leanne Reinke, Peter Williams, Christopher Ziguras

*Project Description:*

In the context of a world beset by violence, cultural tension and the fragmentation of more traditional forms of community this project researches and engages practically in a dialogue across the borders of difference. We explore the traditional knowledge systems practiced by groups of Indigenous peoples, learners in cross-cultural or new knowledge settings and new media technology users. The project will generate a body of scholarly work with the goal of learning to live across the boundaries of traditional and modern knowledge formations, explore alternative layered forms of organization, governance and being in a globalizing world.

Maintaining Tradition in the Information Age

*Sponsor:* Canadian High Commission

*Chief Investigators:* Leanne Reinke

*Project Description:*

This project interrogates the impact of modern technologies upon traditional practices in Indigenous communities. The commonplace claim that technology undermines tradition will be contextualized and challenged. An examination of how modern communication technologies are being actively adopted by Aboriginal communities in Canada to facilitate traditional ways of Being in a globalizing world is being conducted. The research investigates the communication techniques used in negotiation processes in treaty-making, specifically addressing the Inuit treaty claim for the establishment of Nunavut. A profile of Canadian examples will provide invaluable comparative material for other Indigenous communities around the world.
Governning 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

Project Description:
This project addresses the fact that 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. Our research will assist in understanding the similarities and differences between Australian and other governments’ objectives in relation to the growing international market in education, and the means governments use to regulate educational trade. This can help inform bilateral and multilateral relations between governments, educational institutions, educational peak bodies and other stakeholders.

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

Project Description:
This project assesses the potential benefits and weaknesses of ‘eLearning’ in different subject areas and across a range of social settings (including socio-economic, gender and other critical aspects of learner diversity). It traces the micro-dynamics of the traditional classroom as contrasted with eLearning, and will develop models which most productively exploit 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 which most effectively contribute to the formation of fully enabled members of the emerging ‘knowledge society’.

The Consequences of Liberalizing International Trade in Higher Education: A Comparative Study of Policy Issues and Regulatory Measures

Sponsor: Australian Research Council (Discovery Grant)
Chief Investigators: Grant McBurnie and Christopher Ziguras

Project Description:
The project aims to deepen understanding of the ways in which governments are responding to the growth in commercial cross-border education. We analyse the experiences of a range of importing and exporting countries in relation to the major impacts of internationalization of education and will develop a comprehensive comparative account of the range of regulatory measures used to shape cross-border markets in higher education.
Mapping the Music of Migration

Chief Investigator: Kipps Horn

Project Description:

Mapping the Music of Migration involves the preservation, interpretation and celebration of music-making practices associated with diaspora communities in Melbourne. These communities include migrants and their extended families, some of which extend across a number of generations; others belong to more recent migrant communities.

6.4 Global Media

The AFI Research Collection
(www.afiresearch.rmit.edu.au)

The AFI Research Collection (incorporating the Henry Mayer Collection) has operated under the auspices of the School of Applied Communication at RMIT University since January 2003. The Collection has particular strengths in screen history, criticism, theory and in the Australian screen industries and provides resources and research services to academics, students, the general public, the media and members of the Australian film and television industries.

In 2003–4 the Collection undertook more than 550 jobs for research clients including: the Festival of Australian Short Film in Italy; Federation of Victorian Film Societies; Harper’s Bazaar; Andrew Urban; Yorkshire Television; IAIN Indonesia Social Equity Project (McGill University); Cambridge University Press; State Library of Tasmania; a student of the VLEKHO (Brussels, Belgium); Palace Films; the Future Media Research Programme (London Business School); Australian Captions Centre; National Gallery of Art (Canberra). 2004 saw the expansion of the Collection’s research activities to include standalone research on the Australian film and television industries. Principal amongst these is the project Critical Distance which tracks and evaluates the international media response to select Australian feature films. This research is available via the Collection’s website. The AFI Research Collection will also participate in research into the reception of recent Australian comedies, the results of which are to be delivered at the Melbourne International Comedy Festival.
6.5 Discourses of Critical and Ethical Engagement

Biotechnology Across the Borders of Life: Stem Cell Technology and Global Medical Exchange

Sponsor: Australian Research Council (Fellowship)
Chief Investigator: Kate Cregan

Project Description:

This project examines the debates and policies surrounding embryonic stem cell technology and two intimately connected medical technologies: reproductive technology, in which it is founded; and organ transplantation, which it seeks to overcome. Each of these technologies repeatedly confronts and tests social, cultural, ethical and legal precedents, fuelling worldwide political and media debate. The project addresses the social effects—locally and globally—of these technologies. Analyses of altruism, giving and commodification underpin the study, and are used to elucidate the social ramifications of the practices and expert discourses of these biotechnologies in four nation states: Australia, Singapore, UK and USA.
6.6 Past Major Projects and Grants

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


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

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


- ‘Community Health and the Arts’ (2002), VicHealth: Christopher Ziguras, Douglas McQueen-Thomson and Paul James.

- ‘C2C System: An Integrated Book Production Project’ (2001-2), sponsored by the Department of Industry, Science and Resources and organized through Common Ground. Collaborators included the Globalism Institute, RMIT Art, Design and Communication, RMIT Business, FELCS, and Common Ground. The project attracted approximately $1.7 million in research funding to RMIT.


Gawirrin Gumana and Peter Phipps, Garma Festival, Arnhem Land (2004) ©Yothu Yindi Foundation, used with permission.
Publications

One of the aims of the Institute is to support research that leads to relevant and socially engaged publications.

(NB. Rather than attempting to collate the publications of all the persons associated with the Globalization VRII research concentration at RMIT, the publications, conference papers and public addresses listed below are those produced by the core research staff only.)

7.1 Publications 2004 and Forthcoming

Books


Other Monographs and Reports

- Paul James and Martin Mulligan, Department of Community Development, Policy, Strategy and Implementation consultation to Lady Carol Kidu, Minister for Community Development, 2004.
• Martin Mulligan, Paul James, Christopher Scanlon and Christopher Ziguras, ‘Creating Resilient Communities: A Comparative Study of ‘Sense of Place’ and Community Well-being in Daylesford and Broadmeadows’, VicHealth, Melbourne, 2004.

Chapters


Refereed Articles


• Paul James, ‘Confronting Borderlands of Identity and the Abstraction of Social Relations’, Borderlands, (accepted for publication in 2005).


**Other Articles and Political Commentaries**


• Hariz Halilovich, ‘Environment and Politics Down Under (part 1)’, *Diaspora (Dijaspora bosnjacka)*, No 2, June 2004.


• Hariz Halilovich, Interview on Reconciliation and Human Rights Conference, FENA Sarajevo, September 2004 (also published in Avaz).

• Hariz Halilovich and Peter Phipps, Interview on Globalism Institute’s Activities in Bosnia, TV Hayat, September 2004.


• Paul James, Commentary ‘What is the Potential Fall Out of the Jakarta Bombing?’ for the Today Tonight program, Channel 7, Naomi Robson, 10 September 2004.

• Paul James, Commentary, on ‘Community Sustainability in the Region’ for Kirsty Bradmore, ABC Regional Radio Southwest Victoria, 4 October 2004.


• Mary Kalantzis, Interview on Schools and Values, Radio 5AAA Adelaide, 26 January 2004.

• Mary Kalantzis, Interview with Takis Manatis, Channel 31 TV, 28 February 2004.

• Mary Kalantzis, Interview on Athens Olympic Games, SBS Radio, 29 March 2004.

• Mary Kalantzis, Interview on Mark Latham’s statement on multiculturalism in the Age, SBS Radio, 21 April 2004.

• Mary Kalantzis, Interview on Mark Latham’s speech on multiculturalism SBS TV News Tonight, 21 April 2004.

• Mary Kalantzis, Interview with Jason Dirosso on cultural diversity and content in Australian public broadcasting, ABC Radio National, 28 April 2004.
• Mary Kalantzis, Interview for Monday Program Round Table on election results, 3CR, 10 October 2004.

• Mary Kalantzis, John Faine Conversation Hour, ABC Radio 774, Publicity for Overland Quarterly Lecture ‘Realities and Banalities of Nation in the Howard Era’, 1 December 2004.

• Mary Kalantzis, Interview with Steve Grimwade, 3RRR, Publicity for Overland Quarterly Lecture ‘Realities and Banalities of Nation in the Howard Era’, 1 December 2004.


• Yaso Nadarajah, ‘A Case Study of the Work of the Intercultural Projects and Resources Unit (Globalism Institute)’ given on ‘Smart Societies’, 13-part interview series on working with regional rural communities in Australia, Radio Australia, from July 2004.


• Leanne Reinke, ‘Native Title and the Clash of Cultures’, Arena Magazine, No. 75, February-March, 2005, pp. 50-1.

• Christopher Scanlon, ‘Easing Out and Squeezing In’, Arena Magazine, No. 73 October-November 2004.

• Christopher Scanlon, ‘Farewell to the Working Class’, Age (Review Section), 17 April 2004.


• Christopher Scanlon, ‘You Can’t立法 to Repair Society, Mr Latham’, Age, 2 February 2004.

**Keynote, Conference Papers and Other Public Addresses**


• Dean Coldicott, ‘Contending Theories of International Violence’, Session Speaker, ‘First International Conference on Sources of Insecurity’, RMIT University, Melbourne, 17–19 November 2004.


• Damian Grenfell, ‘Another World is Possible: Global Activism and the WSF’, Guest Speaker, Students for Change, Melbourne University, Melbourne, October 2004.


• Damian Grenfell, ‘Field Work in Post-Conflict Societies’, Invited Speaker, ‘Community and Regional Engagement’ forum, RMIT University, Melbourne, September 2004.


• Damian Grenfell, ‘East Timor as a Post-Colonial Outpost’, Invited Speaker, East Timor Network Inaugural Presentation, RMIT University, Melbourne, April 2004.


• Paul James, ‘Community Sustainability and Nation-Building’, Keynote Address, ‘National Government Forum on Community Development’, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, 23 June 2004 (broadcast nationally on Radio FM100).


• Paul James, ‘Community Sustainability and Hamilton’, Invited Address, RMIT Hamilton Community Advisory Network, Hamilton, 30 September 2004.


• Paul James, ‘Community Sustainability from the Local to the Global’, Invited Address, Australian Learning Communities Network, Melbourne, 12 May 2004.

• Paul James, ‘Postcolonial Patriotism’, Invited Address, Institute of Postcolonial Studies, 1 April 2004.

• Paul James, ‘Challenges to Civil Society and Community at the Turn of the Century’, Invited Address, ‘Key Global Challenges for the Century’ series, The Australian Institute of International Affairs, Melbourne, 18 February 2004.

• Paul James, ‘Sources of Discord in World Politics, I’, Invited Address, Attorney Generals Department, Canberra, 24 February 2004.

• Paul James, ‘Sources of Discord in World Politics, II’, Invited Address, Attorney Generals Department, Canberra, 26 May 2004.

• Paul James, ‘Globalisation, the Changing State and Strategic Uncertainty’, Invited Address, Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies, Australian Defence College, Canberra, 25 February 2004.


• Mary Kalantzis, Victoria University Graduation Occasional Address, Melbourne, 5 November 2004.


• Barbara Rogalla, ‘Legal Rationalism as a Tool to Politicize the Law, with Reference to Immigration Policy in Australia’, ‘The Fourth International Conference on Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations’, Session Speaker, University of California (UCLA), Los Angeles, 6–9 July 2004.

• Christopher Scanlon, ‘Critically Retrieving Social Capital’, Invited Speaker, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy and Research, Australian National University, Canberra, 7 October 2004.

• Christopher Scanlon, ‘What is Creativity?’, Invited Speaker, Arts Industry Council (Victoria) Arguing Art!! Creative Societies forum, North Melbourne Town Hall, Victoria, 17 September 2004.


 Forums and Conferences

The Globalism Institute 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 Institute 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. Highlights of the year were the major conferences that we organized or co-sponsored in Beijing, Honolulu, London, Penang, Rhodes, and Sarajevo.

8.1 Forums 2004

Victoria on the Brink: Genetically Engineered Food in Australia

10 February, Storey Hall, RMIT

Speakers: former UK Environment Minister Michael Meacher with a panel of expert commentators including Gyorgy Scrinis, Bill Hare, Paul James and Jeremy Tager.

Forum Overview:

In the context of debate about Australia moving toward an extension of legalized commercial crops of genetically engineered foods, Michael Meacher addressed an audience of more than a hundred people. He argued that while rigorous, independent scientific testing of genetically engineered food crops was paramount, it was systematically avoided in the United Kingdom.

Michael Meacher, a UK Labor Party MP and former Minister of State (Environment), facilitated the UK Farm Scale Evaluations. This has been the world’s largest-ever field study into the ecological impact of GE crops versus non-GE crops, which he suggested had a very limited and politically curtailed focus.

Globalization and the Arts

16 February, Research Lounge, RMIT

Speakers: Associate Professor Elizabeth Grierson, Auckland University, New Zealand.

Forum Overview:

The arts have arguably long represented a legitimate communicative space whereby individuals, groups and communities constitute, express, interrogate and define identities. The arts have a role to play in the way society defines itself and the way the notion of citizenship may play out in local and global spaces. The creative arts through mass reproduction and circulation have long departed from the entrenched academic canons of taste to become part of popular culture and a crucial and vital rallying point of the globalization process. Drawing from her current research in globalization and the politics of knowledge in the arts, Professor Grierson (FRSA) discussed the arts in a globalized context and argued that it brings attention to some of the paradoxes and tensions between local and global subjectivities and practices.
East Timor: Possible Futures in a Globalizing World
20 April, Storey Hall, RMIT

Speakers: Kevin Bain, Janet Hunt, Damian Grenfell and Dan Nicholson.

Forum Overview:
As East Timor enters its third year of independence, the new nation finds itself contemplating an uncertain future. East Timor continues to face the very significant legacies of its colonial past, high levels of poverty, unemployment and social trauma, and as a country it is yet to secure certainty over its territorial borders. As the international community winds down its presence in the formerly Indonesian occupied territory, it would appear that the need for building strong, meaningful relationships with the new republic is as important as ever. The event was co-ordinated by RMIT’s Community and Regional Partnerships and the Globalism Institute to inaugurate a University-based East Timor Network, giving a public face to the work that has been undertaken by university staff on East Timor in previous years.

• Kevin Breen from the City of Darebin and Yarra, representing Friends of Baucau, spoke of the development of the relationship with Baucau and the progress made around the building of a community centre.

• Janet Hunt from RMIT’s School of Social Science spoke about the development of NGOs in East Timor ‘from inclusion to exclusion’. She traced the ways in which groups that grew during the years of occupation have become an important part of the new nation’s political landscape.

• Damian Grenfell of the Globalism Institute discussed the coffee industry in East Timor and the longer-term concerns over food sovereignty and export-driven market policies.

• Dan Nicholson from the Timor Sea Justice Campaign updated the audience on the current state of negotiations between the Australian and East Timorese governments.

Globalization and Education
28 April, Research Lounge, RMIT

Speaker: Lesley Farrell, Monash University

With Eyes Wide Shut: Japan, Heisei Militarization and the Bush Doctrine
26 May, Research Lounge, RMIT

Speaker: Dr Richard Tanter, Visiting Research Fellow, Globalism Institute.

Forum Overview:
Japan has signed up for the Global War on Terror, with Japanese combat personnel in Iraq and a missile defence system under way. Certainly US pressure was considerable, but the GWOT offered Prime Minister Koizumi a chance to further his nationalist agenda. In fact, the swathe of post-9/11 security legislation in Japan is best seen as part of a series of changes in doctrine, force-structure, equipment and public rhetoric about security affairs that began more than a decade earlier, and which can be understood as the normalization of the Japanese state. The problem is that in the current state of the world, normal states are also highly militarized.
The address argued that there are four likely consequences of this ‘normalization’:

1. US ground forces will be withdrawn from Japan.
2. All restrictions on Japanese foreign military activities will be removed.
3. Japan will make an attempt to develop advanced thermonuclear weapons.
4. Japanese forces will be drawn into combat operations in Southeast Asia.

**Cyprus after the Failed Kofi Annan Plan**

*24 June, RMIT*

*Speakers:* Neshe Yashin and Maria Hadjipavlou

*Forum Overview:*

Cyprus has posed complex problems of reconciliation for the past half century. Recently, the Turkish Cypriot community surprisingly accepted the Kofi Annan’s plan on behalf of the United Nations, and the Greek Cypriot community, causing equal surprising, rejected it. Neshe Yashin, Turkish Studies, University of Cyprus and Maria Hadjipavlou, Department of Political Science, University of Cyprus debated this situation. Input on community repercussions here in Australia came from Tumer Mimi, a Turkish Cypriot and Dinos Toumazos, a Greek Cypriot. The event was jointly sponsored by the Globalism Institute and RMIT Greek Centre in association with the World Conference of Religions for Peace.

**Australia’s Aid Delivery: Focus on PNG**

*13 July, RMIT*

*Speaker:* Tim O’Connor

**Encounters with Free Trade**

*16 September, Storey Hall, RMIT*

*Speakers:* Jacques-Chai Chomthongdi from Focus on the Global South, Thailand.

*Forum Overview:*

Jacques-Chai Chomthongdi, of Focus on the Global South, spoke on the possible impacts of the US—Australia Free Trade Agreement (FTA). While FTA made the headlines across Australia, negotiations for others such as that between Australia and Thailand received little public scrutiny. This is despite the devastating impact the deal could have on Thai farmers and peasants and the further pressure it had the potential to place on the Australian textile and clothing industry. Jacques-Chai provided a Thai perspective on the impact of the trade deal. He also outlined the Thai civil-society responses to FTAs and the WTO. Given the rapid growth of bilateral free trade agreements across Asia and the globe, the evening provided an excellent opportunity for people to grapple with this latest trend of locking-in damaging free-market policies. The event was jointly sponsored by Friends of the Earth, the Justice and International Mission Unit of the Uniting Church Victoria and Tasmania and the Globalism Institute.
Revisiting September 1999: East Timor and Australian Foreign Policy

28 September, Globalism Institute, RMIT

Speaker: Clinton Fernandes

Forum Overview:

The INTERFET deployment in September 1999 marked a crucial moment in the long struggle for East Timorese self-determination. Given that successive Australian governments had supported the Indonesian occupation of East Timor for twenty-four years, the Australian-led intervention marked a significant shift in government policy. Commenting on the nature of this shift, Clinton Fernandes discussed the September intervention as part of an analysis that addressed the role of the ‘Jakarta Lobby’, the construction of Australian national interest, and Australian relations with the Indonesian government. He critically re-evaluated what has often been portrayed as a noble moment in Australia’s history of intervention in international sites of conflict. Mr Fernandes is the author of Reluctant Saviour, a study of the Australian-Indonesian relationship in the lead-up to the East Timor crisis.

Indigenous Health and Strategies for Change

13 October, Storey Hall, RMIT

Speaker: Ian Anderson

Forum Overview:

Professor Ian Anderson addressed a forum on strategies for change in the field of Aboriginal health. Professor Anderson has worked in the field for nearly two decades as an Aboriginal health worker, health educator, general practitioner and health administrator. He has also worked as an administrator for the Victorian Aboriginal Health Service and Medical Adviser to the Office for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health in the Commonwealth Department of Health. The forum was presented by the RMIT Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Unit.

Border Knowledges: Dialogues across the Borders of Difference

22 October, Melbourne Museum

Speakers: Leanne Reinke, Christopher Ziguras, Karen Malone, Cathy Greenfield, Ceridwen Spark, and Julie Foster-Smith.

Forum Overview:

A team of researchers from the Globalism Institute and across RMIT with an interest in cultural knowledge systems, met with postgraduate students and other academics from the University of Melbourne and Victoria University for a one-day forum held at the Melbourne Museum. The group spent the day engaged in discussion around the research theme of Border Knowledges, which examines different ways of understanding or knowing across cultural borders. The forum consisted of presentations and open discussions including papers from researchers on tribal medicinal practices in Papua New Guinea, traditional health practices and self-care, communication technology use in the Pacific Islands and Arctic Canada, Aboriginal
spiritual epistemology and the changing financial culture in Australia. In addition, scheduled sessions for open discussion stimulated a vigorous debate on the meaning of cultural sustainability.

**The Next WTO Ministerial: Reclaiming the ‘Victory of Cancun’**
29 November, Story Hall, RMIT

*Speaker:* Nicola Bullard, Thailand

*Forum Overview:* 
In 2003 at the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) fifth Ministerial Meeting in Cancun, developing countries stood up against the United States and the European Union and effectively stopped the Doha round negotiations. Eight months later, pro-liberalization forces have regrouped and the WTO negotiations have been relaunched. Once again, the pressure for liberalization of essential services like education, health and water (GATS) and industrial products is on the increase as rich country governments work hand in hand with corporate lobby groups to open up new markets. At the same time the United States, the European Union and Japan are maintaining high levels of agricultural support in their own countries but pushing to open the agricultural markets of the South.

Nicola Bullard from Focus on the Global South outlined the developments in the WTO and considered civil society responses between now and the next WTO ministerial meeting to be held in Hong Kong in December 2005. Nicola is the Deputy Director of Focus on the Global South, Bangkok. She joined Focus in February 1997. Before that, she worked in Cambodia, Thailand and Australia with human-rights, development, and women’s organizations and with trade unions. The forum was presented in conjunction with Friends of the Earth.

**Forgetting the Third World: Cultural Memory and the Production of the ‘Global South’**
30 November, Globalism Institute, RMIT

*Speaker:* Julie Stephens, Victoria University

*Forum Overview:* 
In the recent apocalyptic film about global climate change, ‘The Day After Tomorrow’, the US President thanks the countries that used to be called the ‘Third World’ for their kind hospitality during the crisis. This paper traced the transformation of the militant Third World of the 1960s into the benign and needy Global South of the 1990s to the present. In an effort to advance a different theoretical framework for memory studies it critically applied theories of cultural memory (usually based on ideas of the local) to global, transnational contexts. Dr Julie Stephens is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Social Sciences at Victoria University and was a Visiting Fellow at the Globalism Institute during 2004.
Reflections on Ten Years of Aid and Development Work in Zones of Conflict and their Aftermath

9 December, Globalism Institute, RMIT
Speaker: Vince Gamberale, Community, Habitat & Finance International (CHF)

8.2 Conference Series and Other Conferences, 2004

These are ongoing, usually annually-held, major conferences that the Globalism Institute organizes with collaborators in Australia and around the world.

Book Conferences

Cairns, 2003; Beijing (China) 2004

The Second International Conference on the ‘Future of the Book’, 29-31 August 2004, held at the Beijing Friendship Hotel, addressed a range of critically important themes relating to the future of the book as a social object, as well as its past and the state of the book industry, books and reading today. The main speakers included leading thinkers and innovators in the areas of publishing, editing, librarianship, printing, authoring and information technologies, as well as numerous workshops and colloquium presentations by teachers and researchers.

Diversity Conferences


‘Cultural Diversity’ is an international series of conferences on reconciliation, multiculturalism, immigration and questions of cultural sustainability in a globalising world. The series examines the concept of ‘diversity’ as a positive aspect of a global world and globalized society. Diversity is in many ways not only reflective of our present world order but normatively preferable to its alternatives: racism, discrimination and inequity. The series seeks to explore the full range of what diversity means and explore modes of diversity in real-life situations of living together in community.

Fourth Pillar Conference: Councils, Communities, Cultures

Melbourne Town Hall, 29–30 November 2004

Hosted by the Cultural Development Network, the Fourth Pillar Conference was an event for anyone concerned with cultural development at a local level. Responding to the growing recognition of culture as a necessary addition to the triple-bottom-line planning model, the conference gathered national and international perspectives on culture’s place in the sustainability of communities. The program included presentations from cultural commentator and author, Donald Horne, Jon Hawkes, author of The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture’s Essential Role in Public Planning, Jennifer Bott, CEO of the Australia Council and Yolngu elder (Joe) Neparrnga Gumbula discussing the Garma Festival, Yirrkala, Northern Territory.
Garma Conferences

Gove, 2002–04

Garma is an annual forum and festival held in Arnhem Land under the auspices of the Yothu Yindi Foundation. The series, with which the Globalism Institute began its association in 2002, is intended to facilitate discussions between indigenous peoples, particularly the Yolngu, and non-indigenous Australians about how to live in relationship with each other culturally and in place. Indigenous peoples internationally are rethinking their engagement with Western society as they reassert their rights to both manage their own lands and culture, and map their own futures. Garma is intended to serve as a model of how traditional cultures and intellectual practices can not only survive, but thrive in a contemporary global context.

In 2004 the Forum was organized around the theme of ‘Indigenous Livelihoods’ and involved traditional owners, Indigenous leaders, politicians, bureaucrats and academics. It brought the complexity and diversity of existing means of Indigenous livelihood into the public arena, comparing this with the richness of earlier forms of Indigenous-controlled economic activity, from local self-sufficiency and trade networks, to large-scale international trade with Macassans over a long historical duration. By examining the ‘real’ economy of Arnhem Land as one that includes this historical dimension, and the specificity of contemporary Indigenous economies (including kinship relations for example), the Forum was intended to make a significant contribution to national understandings of Indigenous livelihoods which can have a positive impact on both national policy development and local Yolngu initiatives.

The co-ordinator from the Globalism Institute, Peter Phipps, worked under direction from a Steering Committee based on the Garma Cultural Studies Institute and others with a role in the forum or associated festival activity.

The Steering Committee included the following people: Mandawuy Yunupingu, Alan James and Simon Balderstone (YYF), Djambawa Marawili and Stephanie Hawkins (ANKAAA), Raymattja Marika-Mungurritj (Yirrkala CEC), Kerri McIlvenny (Australia Council), Bilawara Lee (Arts NT), Michael Christie (Charles Darwin University), Marcia Langton (University of Melbourne), Allan Marett and Aaron Corn (University of Sydney), Jon Altman (CAEPR, Australian National University). Forum advisors included: Joe Neparrnga Gumbula (Galiwin’ku Indigenous Knowledge Centre), Will Stubbs (Buku-Larrnggay Mulka Art Centre), Leon White (Yirrkala Community Education centre), and Leon Morris (Arts NT).

The co-ordinator’s brief was to take on the daily tasks of coordinating the forum, mobilizing the Forum Steering Committee, developing long-term research relationships with GCSI, and to work in close collaboration with YYF staff. During the five days of Garma the co-ordinator was assisted by a very able group of volunteers who provided speaker support, recorded sessions with audio tape and photography and transcribed some of the material on site. Volunteers were co-ordinated by Rebecca Galdies from RMIT and included: Sarah Allardice, Bronwyn Meyrick, Stephanie Lusby, Rachel Murray, Libby Gott, Tanya Jordan, Tracey Um, Genevieve Bishop, Caroline Duyvestyn and Rene Sephton. Paul James and Damian Grenfell from the Globalism Institute also attended Garma and assisted with documentation and recording. (See the Report below)
Greek-Australians in the Twenty First Century: A National Conference

2–4 April 2004, RMIT, Melbourne

In conjunction with RMIT’s Australian-Greek Resource and Learning Centre the Globalism Institute co-ordinated this first national conference to focus on the future of the Greek-Australian community. ‘Greek-Australians in the Twenty First Century’ attracted over 300 participants from across the country to Storey Hall in April 2004. Keynote speakers included Gough Whitlam, Nicholas Pappas, Maria Vamvakinou, Sharan Burrow, Stella Axarlis, Andrew Demetriou, Constantine Koukias, Joseph Lo Bianco, Daniel Kyriacou, Stavroula Raptis and George Donikian. Conference themes included: the place of Greek Australians in contemporary Australia; the future of Australian diversity; youth and generational sustainability; community, language and cultural maintenance; the future of community organizations, networks and diasporas and; relations with country of origin. For more information see the conference website at www.agc.org.au

Humanities Conferences

Rhodes 2003; Prato 2004; Cambridge 2005

The Humanities conference series aims to develop an agenda for the humanities in an era otherwise dominated by scientific, technical and economic rationalisms. What is the role of the humanities in thinking the shape of the future and the human? The conference’s overriding concern is to redefine the human and mount a case for the humanities. At a time when the dominant rationalisms seem to be running a course towards often less than satisfactory ends, this forum reopens the question of the human—for highly pragmatic as well as redemptory reasons. Central considerations of the conference will include the dynamics of identity and belonging; governance and politics in a time of globalism and multiculturalism; and the purpose of the humanities in an era of contested social ends.

The second international conference on new directions in the Humanities on the theme of ‘Future, Human’ was held at the Monash University Centre in Prato, Italy, from 20-23 July 2004. The conference addressed a range of critically important themes in the various fields that make up the humanities. (See the Report below.) The third conference in this series will be held at Cambridge University, Cambridge from 2-5 August 2005 addressing the theme of ‘The Humanities in a “Knowledge Society”’ http://humanitiesconference.com/.

New Learning Conferences


‘International Literacy and Education Research Network Conferences on Learning’ is linked to the Globalism Institute through the New Learning concentration. The 2004 conference was held at the Cojimar Pedagogical Convention Centre, Havana, Cuba from 27-30 June. It addressed a range of themes relating to education today. (See the Report below)

Sources of Insecurity Conferences

RMIT, 17–19 November 2004, Melbourne

The inaugural Sources of Insecurity Conference was the flagship event of the RMIT University research investment funding scheme known as the Virtual Research Innovation Institutes (VRIIs). Held over three days at Storey Hall, the Conference comprised a public forum which constituted the keynote address, followed by two days of plenary and parallel sessions. A remarkable range and breadth of human
and national security themes were considered. Participants presented on issues such as postcolonial approaches to insecurity, environmental insecurity and visual representations of war and conflict, terrorism and the state, nationalism and global governance, and implications for public safety in the post 9/11 context. A diverse range of sites were discussed, from Aceh and Bali to Iraq, Melanesia, Bosnia and Kosovo. The Conference grew out of the Sources of Insecurity Network which submitted for a network grant in 2004. Members of the network were invited (and sponsored) to attend the Conference, enabling a powerful and energizing mix of scholars who are working at the cutting edge of issues relating to insecurity.

The opening keynote presentation was held as a public forum, entitled "The Empire of Violence". The presentations by Professor Hugh White, Head of Strategic and Defense Studies at ANU, was entitled ‘Primal Fears and Public Safety: national security after 9/11’. Associate Professor Ghassan Hage, School of Anthropology at University of Sydney, spoke on ‘The Globalisation of Paranoid Belonging from Conscription to Citizenship.’

8.3 Prior Conferences

- ‘Knowledge Management’, Penang (Malaysia) 2003; University of Greenwich (United Kingdom) 2004.
- ‘National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Visual Arts’, Adelaide (Australia), 2002.

8.4 Prospective Conferences

Two Fires Conference, 2005

To be held in March 2005 in Braidwood NSW, the inaugural Judith Wright Festival of Arts and Activism is being co-sponsored by the Globalism Institute, the Australian Conservation Foundation and Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (ANTaR). The Two Fires Conference will run within the Two Fires Festival, a four-day gathering that celebrates and nurtures the relationship between creativity and activism. It is a new kind of festival that aims to extend the legacy of the great Australian poet, conservationist and reconciliation activist Judith Wright. Judith Wright is probably best remembered as one of the finest poets Australia has produced. She was also a great pioneer and leader in the fields of nature conservation work and in seeking a meaningful ‘reconciliation’ between non-indigenous and indigenous Australians.
Keynote Speakers: Tim Bonyhady, Veronica Brady, Val Plumwood, Tom Griffiths, Deborah Bird Rose, Paul James, Anita Heiss, Rodney Hall, Stuart Rees, Julie Foster Smith, Margaret Somerville and Stuart Hill.

Pathways to Reconciliation and Global Human Rights, Sarajevo 2005

This extends the agenda of the three previous conferences to include questions about reconciliation in relation to a broader human-rights platform. The event will bring together thinkers and practitioners in the field from NGOs and activist organizations, jurists and bodies such as the United Nations, the International Criminal Court as well as academics, media and most importantly Bosnian and regional participants from former Yugoslavia and beyond to re-evaluate, critically refresh and restate the reconciliation and human-rights agenda.

The human-rights agenda is currently both institutionally stronger than ever—evidenced by various truth and reconciliation commissions, the International Criminal Court, World Court, the European Human Rights Commission—and apparently paradoxically under sustained attack. This attack is from both traditional supporters and opponents of reconciliation and human-rights including the USA, Australia and other supposedly liberal democratic states. In relation to war, terrorism, civil rights, environmental degradation and refugee movement these and other nations are increasingly ignoring their international humanitarian obligations. Is this a sign of the increasing depth of human rights discourses at the global institutional level, constraining the rights of states and enforcing their responsibilities to uphold human rights, or is it a sign of the rejection of human rights by those identified with unconstrained state power?

The conference will deal primarily with the cultural, socio-political aspects of reconciliation and human-rights, but also with the legal/institutional settings for managing them.

Keynote Speakers: Benjamin Barber, Howard Dean, Olara Otunnu and Micheline Ishay

Graffiti—‘Don’t forget Srebrenica’, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina (2004).
8.5 Major Conference Reports, 2004

Conference Report 1

The Learning Conference
27–30 June 2004, Havana, Cuba

Notes by Paul James

Hundreds of people packed into the main auditorium of the Centro de Convenciones Pedagógicas de Cojimar for the opening ceremony, with others directed to an overflow hall with translated communications. The setting was an education college along a seafront road, a short distance to the East of Old Havana. Olga Lidia Miranda, Committee President, warmly welcomed all the 600 delegates from across the globe, delegates from Cuba itself, from Latin America, Europe and Africa. Mary Kalantzis welcomed in particular the over 200 delegates from the United States whose government had originally told them that if they stayed beyond the conference dates they would be deemed to be here in Cuba illegally. She spoke of the shared commitment to learning about sustainable social relations. A children’s percussion band performed two hymns to an enthusiastic ovation.

The conference began with Cuban speakers contextualizing first the situation in Cuba and the question of quality education. Victoria Arencibia from the Cuban Ministry of Education began by outlining the background to their education system. In 1959 the situation was critical—as the revolution began a million children were illiterate, that is, nearly 50 per cent of children. With commitment from the whole society this was turned around. By the end of the first year, illiteracy was reduced to 3 per cent. Higher levels of learning now depend upon careful monitoring and new thinking about a diversity of sources including using communications equipment such as television. Hector Valdes, Director of the Central of Pedagogical Sciences, Cuba, defined ‘quality education’ as the historically culturally diverse outcomes of learning about human being. It starts from a series of principles including equality of opportunity, he said. This relates to such issues as the educational level and commitment of the parents and teachers, suggesting that the educational level across the whole of society has to be raised to achieve quality education. The aim of education should be the achievement of just societies. This entails affirmative action and intervention.

Understanding the global context: From despair to hope

Drawing out the broader context of global politics, Michael Apple, University of Wisconsin-Madison, talked of a new global phenomenon which is demobilizing and remobilizing identities. He reminded us that education is a political act—in most places around the world, education reproduces dominant class and race relations. It carries a hidden curriculum of norms and values, one that reproduces dominance and subordination. Recently a new conservative bloc has emerged that might be called ‘conservative modernization’. It has set out to change our fundamental ideas about what it means socially to be human. There are four such groups: neo-liberals (a group who believe that the private realm is necessarily good and the public realm, particularly state activity is necessarily bad); neo-conservatives (who believe in a restoration of a common culture that collapses difference, and in the return of a strong state); authoritarian populists (religious neo-fundamentalists who believe that capitalism is God’s economy); and the professional new middle class (a group
with cultural capital that are interested in credentialism and conversion strategies: if it moves in a classroom it needs to be measured). Neo-conservatives have been forced to compromise, but it is a limited compromise. They now also talk the language of diversity and choice but reorient those concepts in relation to an increasingly standardized and measured curriculum, a standardized homo academicus. Hope comes from ordinary people and organized movements such as the Citizen School in Porto Allegre.

Francisco Lacayon, UNESCO representative in Cuba, took up the positive side of the question of remobilization. If education were enough to guarantee peace and justice, then there would not have been the world wars of the twentieth century, nevertheless education is very important. We need to enhance solidarities between people in the context of a generalized ‘culture of peace’. In the challenges of war and poverty it is all too easy to ignore the contribution of positive educational policies. We need not just to work for sustainable development but also for sustainable society. The UNESCO Jacques Delors document thus proclaims four pillars of learning: to learn to know, to learn to do (techniques of practice, skills); to learn to understand the other (to understand different cultural traditions); to learn to be.

Francisco concluded by suggesting that the challenge to education was to teach people how to negotiate, talk and find agreement across deep difference and diversity. In her address, Consuelo Viciedo, President de EDUPAZ, Education for Peace, Cuba, similarly argued that the culture of peace is a crucial process. However, she was concerned to challenge the dominant version of freedom and justice associated with dominant notions of a ‘culture of peace’ and human-rights. In its dominant form ‘freedom’ is associated with the private rights of persons to pursue unfettered consumerism and individualized self-enhancement. In Cuba, while this ideology is constrained, the movement for education for peace, initiated in 1996, remains very necessary.

**Theory, technology and environmental understanding**

Fernando Guzmán, a physicist and Rector of the INSTEC, University of CITMA, spoke of the growth of science over the past four centuries and its characteristic of challenging existing knowledge. Science and learning are linked together. Science contributes to our ability to learn through its methodology of multi-disciplinary, universalizing and searching enquiry. Carlos Ruiz Gonzáles, Universidad Panamericano, Mexico, started with the proposition that there is nothing more practical than a good theory. How do we make an idea practical? We make the first move by a series of attempts at its implementation, each time getting objective feedback about its effects, and continually readjusting the plan accordingly—with focus and with a sense of realism. Luis Sales, Universidad de Cantabria, Spain, started by comparison with practical exigencies, from the world itself. He placed his talk in the context of the environmental degradation of the planet and the social deprivation of people around the world, suggesting that despite increase in certain kinds of practical understanding things have got worse. Environmental education is necessary to understand the complex social and environmental interdependence of practices in the modern world. We are talking of the survival of humankind through global solidarity.

Michelle Knobel, Montclair State University, New Jersey, and Colin Lankshear, University of Ballarat, explored the new possibilities for techno-solidarities though the world of web-logging (blogging). A blog is a regularly updated website, often personal, that features annotated hyperlinks with regular posts, some of which reach millions of readers/writers-posters. The process exploded after 1999. There are currently over 3 million accounts. However, the
readership is extremely skewed; in fact the larger the series of open choices the more extreme the skewing. Given the nature of the technology and the social context, being chosen once makes it more likely that a site will be chosen again. We have to be conscious of this as, in the name of relevance, Blogs are drawn into the school curriculum as a medium for the learning process.

Cultural and pedagogical understanding

Maria Gonzáles, President of the National Board of Education of Cuba, described the Cuban context in relation to popular education, including the economic blockage and economic privation. It initially created a passive population that waited for the state to make initiatives. In the period after the crisis, popular or adult education arose out of civil society, and out of a long-term characteristic of voluntary work in communities, and close-knit solidarity within local neighbourhoods. Angel Villarini, Puerto Rico University, talked from a critical humanist perspective influenced by Paulo Freire, suggesting the need to go beyond literacy to creating a reflexive subject. Rather than teaching for instrumental reasons the educational process should be oriented to human development: enhanced social communication, stronger cultural understanding, and a willingness to make reflexive use of knowledge. Operation models need to and can be developed for such processes as thinking critically, appreciating aesthetically, responding systematically. By contrast, pseudo-learning involves just transmitting information without an understanding of the cultural context. The best kind of reading, for example, involves interactivity and socially relevant reflection on the activity itself.

Also emphasizing the importance of understanding different subjectivities, Kris Gutiérrez, University of Los Angeles, set out to describe how we might theorize cultural practices and communities without conflating ‘culture’ with cultural categories such as race, ethnicity, national character, and linguistic origin. Groups have to be thought of both in their patterned whole and in their variance and diverse range of practices. ‘100 per cent of Mexicans do not hit piñatas 100 per cent of the time’. Too often the dominant notion of ‘community’ that prevails is to treat each category of identity as monolithic and unchanging. Also addressing the area of cultural difference, Daniel Madrid Fernandez, Granada University, described his studies into race and class in Spain, suggesting that students still perceive that discrimination does occur, that implicit cultural hierarchies still exist despite a surface rhetorical of equalitarianism.

For Romelia Pino Freire, Instituto de Filosofia, an epistemological break is occurring with the instrumental kinds of frameworks despite their continuing dominance. The dominant system of learning is still neo-liberal-constructed around notions of hierarchy, human capital and commodification of everything including human bio-parts—but there is an increasing recognition that the reason that we learn is to meet fundamental human needs, not just to take in techniques. This then is the way out of the present malaise: by linking intellectual and emotional capacities; by rejecting the culture of violence; and by recognizing the depth of what it means to be human. Maribel Gálves Parkes, Catholic University of Valparaiso, Chile, asked the question—‘How can human-rights networks flourish in a neo-liberal context?’ We have long and tiring journey in this new world: democracy co-exists with new forms of totalitarianism; individualism frames the aspirations for liberty; risk is understood as an individual responsibility. Education has to move beyond training citizens practically to supporting a critical subjectivity of social citizenship. This involves enhancing reciprocity, solidarity and building interpretive networks between people.
The conference closed with many speeches of thanks and appreciation, all expressing a general commitment to continue the process of dialogue. I delivered an address attempting to draw the themes of the conference together. Musicians from local schools played a number of pieces from classical and contemporary repertoires, again to enthusiastic reception.

Sam Aroni from the University of California (UCLA) opened the Diversity conference in Los Angeles with a welcome to the 350 international and local delegates. The setting was the glorious campus of UCLA wedged between the wealthy suburbs of Beverley Hills and Westwood, and, not far away, the neighbourhood that burned in the LA race riots of the 1990s. Sam reminded us about the long-term interchange across the Pacific between UCLA and RMIT in Melbourne. From the other side of the Pacific, Mary Kalantzis from the Globalism Institute (RMIT) talked about the difficulty in the world today of discussing issues of diversity. Unfortunately, under the rubric of ‘equality’, cultural practices taken on the assumption that recognizing diversity should mean flattening out the depth of difference. We are poised at an odd moment, she said, where we don’t seem to have the language to go further. What we hope to pursue in this conference is a language and a way of thinking that brings together both critique and aspiration.
The opening ceremony also included a traditional dance sequence performed by a dance group from Peru.

Setting the Scene for Diversity: Global and Local

The opening day included four plenary addresses that moved from contextualizing the global scene to locally grounded questions of pedagogy and city development, and then back to the global-cultural. Douglas Kellner’s address ranged across the themes of cultural diversity, globalization and empire. Globalization discourse in its beginnings was polarized, but more recently, while maintaining a critique of corporate globalization, sections of the anti-globalization movement came to recognize the contradictory and multifaceted nature of the phenomenon. Globalization does bring a layer of homogenization, but it also highlights processes of hybridization and cultural interchange. The most destructive effect on diversity is imperial extension in the context of war. Even such champions of empire such as Michael Ignatieff have come to suggest that the current dominant empire, the United States, has set off on a possibly destructive path. In Doug Kellner’s argument, empire brutalizes peoples and cultures. By contrast what we need is cosmopolitan multilateralism.

Like Doug Kellner, Kris Gutiérrez talked about the dialectic of homogenization and difference, but her talk began from the perspective of community and the language of diversity-from-below rather than from globalization-from-above. Reified categories of identity and membership tend to homogenize the diverse practices of actual people, but they also allow for a stabilization of communities-of-practice. This is two-sided and contradictory. It is exemplified in the way in which O.J. Simpson was pushed into the category of black criminal, even as that category became one of resistance. Critical pedagogies can allow us to rethink the dominant and reductive categorizations of our time: advocating English-only instruction in Californian schools; and using language differences as a proxy for differences among communities of colour. We need to acknowledge the realities of a neo-colonial present, and moving beyond reclamation of heritage.

Moving to an even more local frame to talk about the Los Angeles, the host city for the conference, Fernando Guerra described politics of diversity in the context of the changing city as it changed from a community of technocratic builders to one of confused non-builders. The budget for LA-Unified today at 6 billion is larger than the budgets of governments in Latin America and the Caribbean, but much of the system-building is instrumental and rationalizing of ethnic difference. From its early development, technicians were given culturally abstract briefs to build airports, roads, and water systems. In the nineteenth century, they built one of the largest ‘non-immigrant’ cities in the United States. This began to change in the 1940s and 1950s so that by the turn of the present century Los Angeles become one of the most demographically diverse cities in the world. However, city-building has not responded to this demographic shift, except in terms of the technical problem of economic development. For example, resolving the race riots of the 1990s in neighbourhoods close to the site of the conference was turned into a technical issue. Responses to diversity in this context became part of a negative legislative trend, or what Kris Gutiérrez had called ‘backlash politics’.

James Early spoke on the theme of confronting and engaging dominant powers in global cultural democracy. His address drew connections between the local and the global, comparing the positive possibilities of complex diversity and the current reassertions of a clash of civilizations, axes of evil, pre-emptive war, racist immigration policies, and ethnic profiling in the name of security. These dominant assumptions about the civilized and the uncivilized, impact upon all aspects of cultural diversity. Despite criticisms of the
United States, many people across the world look to it for moral guidance. Unfortunately, we carry the burden of, in Harry Belafonte’s phrase, ‘an uninstructed society’, a society in which many people still implicitly believe. For example, in a recent article, Samuel Huntington, writes of what he proposes is a relentless assault of the Hispanic peoples upon the integrity of the United States. To respond to such an assault, we need to be engaged in global debate and dialogue, reaching beyond the specificity of local cultures but carrying forward the strengths of that specificity. James concluded by working his way through the conference themes such as global mediation of diversity and governing diversity, suggesting ways beyond the current impasses and illustrating some of positive instances of how this is being done today or how this might be achieved across the levels of social life from the local to the global.

Representing indigenous cultures

Duane Champagne and Carol Goldberg argued that indigenous rights are very different from racial or civil rights. Civil rights are usually claimed as means to individual enhancement. The life-ways of indigenous people, by contrast, mean that rights only make sense as group rights for self-determination. They precede the formation of nation-states and therefore do not fit minority-status negotiations. In the United States, indigenous people were not included in the Constitution and not granted citizenship until 1924. Indian citizenship is effectively dual citizenship. In Canada an indigenous person can only become a full citizen by renouncing indigenous special rights. Complicating this distinction between indigenous and racial or civil rights, the strategy of indigenous people is not to be fully included with the state, but rather a claim to autonomy. This leads to much more contention and marginalization than other negotiations over social rights, forms of governance, and relations to place.

Following the discussion of indigenous rights, three curators and two artists associated with an international exhibition organized through the Diversity conference presented a roundtable discussion on indigenous art and culture. The background to the discussion was an exhibition called ‘Cultural Copy: Visual Conversations on Art and Cultural Appropriation’, opened at the Fowler Museum, UCLA, during the course of the Conference. One of the curators of the exhibition, Tressa Berman talked of the way in which indigenous art is inserted within modern frames of modern legal authorship, property and marketplace relations. Another of the curators, Marie Bouchard, naming herself as a French-Cree Canadian indigenous person, drew upon a quote from Eric Michaels suggesting that if we take ‘community’ rather than ‘aboriginality’ as the basis for discussion then we can avoid the problem of racism. Curatorial practices are outdated. Indigenous art is community-based and given identity by the land, but in the context of debates over land rights and the current operation of museums, this is often forgotten in top-down processes of presentation. Jennifer Herd, an Aboriginal artist-curator, expressed concern about the difficulty of stopping the cultural appropriation of indigenous art and protecting Aboriginal heritage. Our art is all too often being used and abused, and turned into meaningless rubbish, she said. Anthony White, born into the Ojibwe band in Minnesota talked of the land and the importance of retaining customary practices. Colleen Cutschall from Pine Ridge, South Dakota—the place of the Wounded Knee massacre—talked of her work as embedded in that process of retaining both customary culture and properly representing the events of colonial history.

Radicalizing mainstream cultures

Peter McLaren described his address as an attempt to stare back at the mannequins of power that have brought us the chaos of the present. Capitalism is
irreducibly contradictory, maintaining and unable to abandon a moral language that it cannot live. Re-situating the critical education tradition in this context is not easy and requires re-introducing notions of ‘class’. The progressive liberal project of increasing equality of opportunity is not so different from the emphases of the dominant right-wing notions of education. How does ‘class’ intersect with the concepts of difference including ‘race’ and ‘gender’? ‘Class’ is the primary category of analysis, even they are equally important in practice. In order to defeat racism or gender inequalities we have to defeat capitalism as a systemic producer of inequalities. Radicalizing pedagogy

Eve Hill took up one of the issues of difference—the area of disability. She asked why is disability always at the end of a long list of diversity issues. Disability has gone through many changes in its representation and public response. Over a long history we have built our prejudices into our buildings, work activities, facilities and social policies.

A graphic protesting torture in Abu Ghraib, posted on the streets of Los Angeles, United States, during the time of our UCLA conference (2004).
While the medical model continues, in the United States there are hints that we are now moving into a civil rights version of disability policy. A radicalizing of the built and social environment requires taking out its normalized systems with a jackhammer.

Peter Sellars’ version of radicalizing the mainstream involves the recognition that knowledge, or rather knowledges, are embodied in communities and persons in the process of social interchange and temporal change. Diversity is at the core of our being. Identities are always changing, and the most adequately forms of representation are in the arts—drums, dance, singing. Unfortunately, our dominant mainstream form of entertainment has become watching other people suffering. What does it mean when we enjoy the spectacle of suffering? Can we make a space outside the dominant consensus where choice is constructed as that being between Pepsi and Coke? Does the only alternative available involve becoming a changeling celebrity stand-up comedian like Michael Moore? We need to make new public communicative spaces where painful and difficult things can be said across boundaries of deep difference. In this, journalists, academics and artists can gather together. In this context, Peter described his current work with a Euripides’ play ‘The Children of Hercules’ from twenty-five centuries ago that speaks to the present period of displaced persons and upheaval. One of the most important things about social change is to imagine—give images to—what is not there yet. We need to explore what we don’t know.

The story of The Children of Hercules gives us some sense of Peter’s themes: after the death of Hercules—slave and strongest man in the world—the children of Hercules are exiled from Crete and leave with a few aging adults, including their grandmother. They are turned away from many places, but they are finally accepted in Athens. However, even in this place of sanctuary an official approaches them with the first proviso that they accept the Athenian way of life. Another says that reconciliation demands a young human sacrifice. War ensues between the Athenians and the Cretans. With the defeat of Crete the exiled grandmother comes to confront the dictator of Crete and says to the Athenians that he must die. The Athenians respond that capital punishment is not appropriate, but privately the King finally relents and says that it is possible as long as his assent is not made public. Thus the contradictions of cultural confrontation run deep.

The conference closed with speeches of thanks and addresses drawing together the themes of the conference.
The Second International Conference on New Directions in the Humanities was run in conjunction with Monash University’s Institute for Global Movements at Monash’s Centre in Prato, Italy. Over 700 people from around the world gathered for three balmy days in the height of a Tuscan summer in magnificent surroundings provided by Monash University’s historic building, which was formerly a private palazzo and subsequently a club for Prato’s textile mill owners. The conference was opened by Franca Bimbi, Member for Prato in the Italian Parliament and an academic at the University of Padua, who reminded participants that contemporary processes of globalization, offer new opportunities for dialogue and diversity as well as risks of cultural standardization, new forms of slavery and new forms of conflict. She called for the conference to develop a manifesto espousing globalization as a multifaceted process combining universalistic meanings and cultural diversity, pointing out that the humanities had long carried such a tradition. This is not the type of conference that develops manifestos, but the sentiment clearly echoed through the following days’ proceedings.

Kevin Murphy, a British art historian academic who works on Prato, provided some local context to conference participants. He pointed out that the most important Christian relic in Italy is held in a box in Prato. This is a small piece of cloth which is claimed to have been woven by the Virgin Mary, handed to Saint Thomas upon her assumption, and brought to Prato by a local merchant. This relic is especially significant because Prato is Italy’s textile manufacturing capital. It has been central to establishing Prato’s local identity and affirming its autonomy from rival cities. Huge numbers of people came to see the relic in the middle ages, so much so that the square outside the church which houses it was enlarged to accommodate huge crowds, and the church features an external pulpit for this purpose. Three keys are required to open the box that contains the relic, one of which is held by the church, and two of which is held by the local council. Prato’s identity has long centred around its relationship with neighbouring Florence, which has ruled Prato since the 13th century.

Jack Goody, Mary Kalantzis and David Christian all focused on the profound impact of changing modes of communication on social life and identity. Jack Goody has set out to rethink the humanities, and the world, in terms of modes of communication rather than modes of production, which questions the traditional distinction between technology and culture in the humanities. This distinction does not stand up anthropologically, primarily because language is the primary technology of the intellect—we think through the words/tools we have invented. The term ‘humanities’ is centrally concerned with language, as it is derived from the Latin humanistic studies in the middle ages, which referred to the study of rhetoric. During the Renaissance, ‘humanism’ became applied to the study of Latin and Greek. This purely Western phenomenon claimed universality. Jack went on to discuss the origins of spoken and written language. Early languages were logographic, pictographic, giving way to a syllabic script about 1500 BC with Greek. This was more abstract but also
more efficient, since it required less memory work. There are 3000 pictographic characters in a Chinese secondary school text; a syllabic system, by contrast, requires around 250 characters; there are only 25 characters needed in the Greek alphabet. Logographic scripts are considered less efficient by many Western humanists, but they make minimal literacy more easily attainable. Because the characters are not phonetic, people can communicate with icons even if they do not speak the same language. The Chinese empire has always been held together by the script, not by the spoken language. Jack ventured that the world could better communicate by all learning Chinese characters and continuing to use their own language, rather than all learning English.

The development of writing profoundly affected the way we think. Listing, categorization and classification became increasingly important with literacy. The advent of the printing press produced enormous changes. In China the printing press was introduced 1500 years before Gutenberg, as was used mainly for reproducing prayers, paper money. Printing reduced the cost of books, thus widening access to information. Paper was essential, and Chinese established water-powered paper mills at the birth of the Common Era. The libraries of the Arabic world were enormous up to the Renaissance, with 400,000 volumes held in some Islamic libraries as against 600 in the largest European libraries. This was partly due to the availability of paper in the East, and reliance on animal skins—in some cases requiring a dozen skins—to make parchment in Europe. In Europe, paper was first made in Italy in 1200s, until the advent of the printing press, at which time paper mills developed rapidly. Islam did not take up the printing press, instead continuing to rely on armies of scribes, which is considered to be one of the reasons why they fell behind in intellectual production. Europe leapfrogged the Islamic world, which had been ahead up until the development of the press. The first copy of the Koran to be printed was made in Venice in the 16th or 17th centuries, for use by travelling merchants. Daily newspapers had existed for centuries before they developed in the Islamic world.

Mary Kalantzis focused on historical changes in the means of production of meaning, and in particular on three modes of communication that characterize oral cultures, writing, and the newer electronic production of meaning. Mary discussed how writing had displaced oral cultures, steadily reducing the number of spoken languages for thousands of years. These ‘first languages’ began to be lost in the face of the earliest written languages, including Greek and Hebrew. First languages share four common features, she observed:

- Diversity. There may have been as many as 10,000 languages at 15,000 years BCE, assuming that the average size of an oral language group is around 1000 people.
- Divergence between and within first languages. There was extensive contact between first languages and multilateralism was common very specific to place and group identification.
- Synaesthetic overlay of word, image, gesture, sound and space.
- Dynamism. They are in a state of relatively rapid and constant change.

A series of technological transformations in the Twentieth Century in the production and reproduction of meaning have transformed language. Photography and cinema began to overlay image and written text, a new form of synaesthesia, image, text and sound are more easily overlaid. Small cultures are now more possible, Mary argued, allowing for new forms of multilingualism.
Mary was followed by Juliet Mitchell, who reflected on the relationship between trauma and politics. Juliet observed that trauma studies have proliferated in the USA, the powerhouse of the humanities, as the humanities and humanism have become increasingly vulnerable. Was the Holocaust so inhuman an event that the humanities became preoccupied with the failure of humanism? The importance of trauma struck Juliet from her work on siblings and in her paper she sought to draw on the relationship between the primary trauma caused by the experience of replacement by a younger sibling and subsequent traumas, which in many cases are a replaying of this experience. Hysteria can be seen as a response to trauma, she suggested, as it has been in the past. She noted the difference between identification with trauma and memorialization of trauma. The difference is that identification leads to repetition, whereas memorialization, which is the symbolic representation of trauma, allows one to overcome the initial trauma and move on.

In Israel, for example, the trauma of the Holocaust has not been overcome, but is still exercising its influence over contemporary political life. Sibling and kinship relationships are the primary models for interpersonal and social relations and we need to understand how these shape our subsequent social and political engagements. In poor countries children are often raising each other and siblings are increasingly important, in the rich countries there are few children and an absence of siblings.

Sergio Bologna took the conference in a different direction, focusing on the role of the humanities in knowledge societies, and in particular in Italian industry. He reminded the audience that management theorist Peter Drucker, who first used the term ‘knowledge worker’, was educated in the German liberal arts tradition. The new economy of the 1990s ‘information society’ gave rise to a greater emphasis on knowledge workers. Many knowledge workers have moved from being employees to self-employed, with different views of work, skills and professional relationships. The typical knowledge worker is a freelancer. The condition of knowledge as commodity is completely different from the understanding of knowledge dominant in the university. Because knowledge workers are not included in union or business groups, they have limited bargaining power. Consequently, Italian governments have not developed policies to adequately tap the potential contribution of knowledge workers, instead shoring up the rigidities of employment in government and medium and large firms. The market requires codified knowledge, leaving little room for creativity and innovation. Education, therefore, needs to provide resources for graduates to live, work in increasingly fluid environments and citizenship.

Mick Dodson turned the discussion back to the Indigenous and non-Indigenous politics in Australia, reflecting that Aboriginal people in Australia have an ambivalent relationship with the humanities. The political freedoms and rights that the humanities had helped to popularize were not granted to indigenous people. Scholars theorized the noble savage, which also did no great service to indigenous peoples. The current Australian government, he argued, has launched the most intense assault on Indigenous peoples since British colonization. The rights of Indigenous people in Australia have been disregarded. Quoting his brother Pat Dodson, Mick claimed that to Aboriginal people ‘the talk of extinguishing native title’ sounds very much like talk of ‘extinguishing natives’. Prime Minister John Howard has refused to engage in reconciliation, demonstrating a deep-seated disrespect for Indigenous people, he argued. The Howard Government’s decision to
abolish the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission reveals a profound disrespect towards indigenous peoples. Howard argues that recognizing indigenous rights is a challenge to mainstream Australian society. This is a return to classical assimilation policy, setting Indigenous people outside of the mainstream, suggesting that Australian society is under attack from its own fringes. Most Indigenous leaders reject both radical self-determination and assimilation policies, instead working towards a balance between autonomy and integration. One of the core issues in this debate is how we should look back on the history of Australia, with Howard caricaturing intellectual critique in the humanities that is sympathetic towards Aboriginal people as a ‘black armband view of history’.

David Christian kept the focus on history, specifically the teaching of ‘Big History’ which aims to help students cross divides between disciplines, particularly between History and the sciences. David argued that the sciences have given us an unprecedented grip on nature due to their protocols for testing information, and for weeding out unreliable information. Empirical historical research, he believes, has many of the same features. The second feature of a science, the development of grand unified theories, failed in History in the nineteenth century. Some argue that this is due to a difference between different types of reality, between social and natural life. David argued that there ought to be an epistemological continuum between the natural and social sciences. There have been many efforts to find the ‘bridge’ between the sciences and humanities, such as E.O. Wilson’s crude sociobiology. Christian argues that we shouldn’t try to expand Darwinian science into History, but to develop a new paradigm. Shared learning is a unique characteristic of humans, not shared by other species. Learning can be stored and communicated, so that we adapt collectively to our environments. The collective store is culture, and history is the study of collective learning. Collective learning is rapid, accelerating, autocatalytic, and improvements in mode of communication are of strategic significance to the species. His ‘Big History’ approach is an effort to develop unified accounts of this collective memory.

Krishnan Kumar also argued that the humanities and social sciences belong together, but that we need different tools to understand the social and natural world due to the role of meaning and subjective interpretation in the human world which is not an issue for the natural sciences. History has the capacity to be a unifying force in the humanities, but it has been too territorial in the past, and too dismissive of other disciplines. The idea of a unified canon, he suggested, is very difficult to sustain and we should not try to bring it back. However, he also suggested that individual disciplines have a canon which unites them. It is important to the community of scholars that there are shared rituals and a sense of founders. Krishnan argued that we should think of the humanities not as the moral sciences or the human sciences, but the historical sciences in that they all seek to understand changes in human behaviour in time. Marx provides a valuable model for the historical understanding of all things. Historical understanding, for example, is central to nationalism, however legitimate such histories may be considered by academics. It is too easy to dismiss the mainstream understandings of national history, but it is not enough to dismiss these as myth. Scholars should try to understand why such understandings are successful and what purposes they serve.

Tom Nairn asked whether humanism is a viable alternative to the dominance of neo-conservative culture in the 1990s. His paper sought to contribute to a humanistic revision of history by
drawing on the work of Georg Henry Von Reight, a Finn of Scottish background. From 1960s to 1990s Von Reight wrote on philosophy, his most important work being a lecture on the humanities he gave at the University of Kansas in 1977. What counts most about humanism according to Von Reight is its ‘fighting attitude to life’. It is not a collection of wimpish attitudes, but an upheaval against the key authorities of the times. At the time Von Reight used humanism to oppose the cold war orthodoxies of Right and Left. He opposed economic determinism, instead emphasizing human agency as fundamental to language and social action. In the beginning was not the word, according to Von Reight, it was the meaningful deed. Nairn reflected in closing that science was originally based in the humanities, but the conceptual poverty of contemporary technoscience has led it to dehumanize social life.

Throughout the conference there was considerable reflection on the perceived devaluing of the humanities in universities and other institutions. Lamenting the privileging of scientific and vocational knowledge over humanistic understanding, many speakers restated the familiar appeals that the humanities should be valued more than they currently appear to be. The humanities, many speakers asserted, are key contributors to the ‘cultural enrichment’ of the nation, and in the development of ‘critical reasoning’. Fifteen years ago, the Australian scholar Ian Hunter observed wryly that, ‘Academics who put the notions of culture and disinterestedness through the critical shredder in the 1960s have recently been rummaging through the scraps in an attempt to reassemble them’. By thrashing out these core issues—the relationship of the humanities to cultural globalization, to science and to the market—this conference is becoming a key forum in which humanities scholars explore ways to assert the social relevance of their disciplines in ways that avoid both technocratic instrumentalism and dreamy romanticism.
The Garma Indigenous Knowledge Forum

6–9 August 2004, Gulkula, North East Arnhem Land

Notes by Peter Phipps

The 2004 Garma Forum, Luku-nherran Romnha Da’lkuma: Indigenous Livelihoods and Leadership, was a key component of the 6th annual Garma Festival of Indigenous Culture, on Yolngu land at Gulkula, North East Arnhem Land. The Forum was organized by the Garma Cultural Studies Institute and Yothu Yindi Foundation, and co-ordinated by Peter Phipps from RMIT’s Globalism Institute.

The centrepiece of Garma is the daily bunggul (ritual performance of dance, music and song) on the ceremonial ground at Gulkula involving ritual specialists and artists from across the region. The bunggul is emphasized as a core expression of Yolngu intellectual and spiritual life, and an important part of the learning experience of participants in the Forum. This year there was a cash prize for the group with the ‘best’ bunggul as selected by a panel of Yolngu elders who diplomatically divided the prize into three shares. The prize was shared by Gupapuyngu clan dancers from Milingimbi, Elcho Island and elsewhere who had not performed at Garma before. The Gupapuyngu performed ceremonies related to the spirit-being Murayana whose stories intersect with those of the Gumatj clan (hosts of Garma) at the Garma site, Gulkula. This ceremonial meeting of clans and exchange of sacred objects in public gave the evening bunggul an especially warm feel which became particularly ‘hot’ on the last evening when the Murayana character appeared in his ‘trickster’ mode with a prominent colourful meter-long phallic attachment. The smaller contingent of the Madarrpa clan from Yilpara, Blue Mud Bay, also first-time participants at Garma performed powerful yam and rosella bird story bunggul led by ANKAAA chairman and Garma steering committee member, Djambawa Marawili. The other prize-winners were the old Garma favourites, the Numbulwar-based ‘Red Flag’ dancers who performed their impressive stories of Macassar (Indonesian fishermen from Sulawesi) contact with their characteristic flair, bright red cloth, prominent flags, very young solo dancer and plenty of comedy. The Gumatj hosts performed bunggul of Ganbulapula, their spirit-being significantly connected with Gulkula to affirm the link with the stories of the Gupapuyngu bunggul.

The three day Forum Luku-nherran Romnha Dälkuma: Indigenous Livelihoods and Leadership focussed on the ways Yolngu and other Indigenous communities sustain themselves, and how best to develop policy and practices that take this Indigenous cultural (and by implication economic) difference seriously. In the context of Australian public ‘debates’ about Indigenous welfare dependency and high levels of Indigenous unemployment the Forum was a refreshing intervention which cut through the clichés. The Forum illustrated both practically and in the Forum discussion, that Indigenous communities in northern Australia live through a complex intersection of economic and social life that generally escapes mainstream observation and understanding.

The Forum discussion emphasized that Indigenous communities living on and near their ‘country’ sustain themselves through a hybrid economic system which includes traditional resource management based on hunting, gathering and ritual exchange, private and government sector employment and businesses in visual arts, tourism and community roles (including Community Development Employment Programs), and finally, the much-discussed welfare sector. The consistent theme that emerged is that areas of
enormous potential for Indigenous business and employment exist in northern Australia but require a nuanced and committed policy framework which understands and supports existing Indigenous economies based on kinship, traditional land management practices, ritual and knowledge exchange, and that supports Indigenous systems of leadership rather than undermining them.

Intensive discussions on Indigenous employment opportunities focussed particularly on tourism, mining, pastoralism and the creative arts. In addition to the discussion tourism training and workshops with Charles Darwin University and industry leaders looking at Indigenous tourism models, best practice and Indigenous aspirations were held around Garma. In relation to the mining sector, Bruce Harvey (Rio Tinto) made the point that by 2020 it is estimated that over half the population of northern Australia will be of Indigenous-descent and in areas of mining operations this is likely to be more like 90 per cent. He argued that the self-interest of mining companies for resource security demands creative strategies for the employment of Indigenous people not just in the mining sector but in related services and industries that any communities require to enjoy a reasonable quality of life. Peter McEntee (Kimberley Aboriginal Pastoralists Association) presented new models for managing Indigenous pastoral holdings being applied from Cape York to the Kimberley. This model inserts entrepreneurial pastoral managers (mostly, but not necessarily from outside the community) into a franchise system which has as its goal maximizing Indigenous employment and maintaining Indigenous community control over land while keeping a viable pastoral operation running with the support of a head office covering the technical areas required of any medium scale enterprise.

As in previous years the Forum identified enormous capacity in Indigenous communities for land and natural resource management employment opportunities which continue to receive only marginal support from governments. The essential role of Indigenous land managers in ‘caring for country’ by controlling (dry vegetation) bushfire fuel load, invasive plant and animal species, maintaining wildlife and flora habitat and so on. The arrival of the introduced cane toad pest at Gulkula this year (after trekking for decades from Queensland) was a timely reminder of the importance of informed land management and of how destructive invasive species can be on the whole ecosystem and food base of Indigenous people.

Arts and culture were emphasized as a preferred area of meaningful employment for Yolngu people, which was actively and dramatically demonstrated by Yolngu participation in all the cultural and artistic aspects of Garma. The Arnhem and Northern Kimberley Aboriginal Artists Association executive and artists were involved in a program of seminars and workshops covering issues of the central role of art centres in employment and community income generation in remote Indigenous communities. Their roles are endless, often providing one of the only service bases for communities alongside their formal roles of protecting artists rights, art centre management and dealing with funding issues. The stunning Garma Print Panel was on display throughout Garma, a woodblock printing project and gallery exhibiting the 2003 collaborative panel and involving about 50 artists in producing a 2004 panel. The Gapan Gallery provided a spectacular open-air exhibition of Yolngu printworks among the stringybarks on site at Gulkula, curated by the print workshop at Buku-Larrngay Mulka Art Centre, Yirrkala. Art activity extended to an Indigenous film-makers workshop and masterclass with Rolf de Heer, director, writer and producer of many feature films including The Tracker.

Music and performance were also highlighted not just for their significance as a source of livelihood, but for their
role as integral to Yolngu governance and resource management. The Forum was the site for the launch of the National Recording Project for Indigenous Music in Australia, an initiative of the Yothu Yindi Foundation in collaboration with the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne which aims to record senior law holders and their musical and performance traditions across northern Australia, beginning with North East Arnhem Land. Allan Marett (University of Sydney) pointed out that these profound musical traditions are a crucial part of national and world heritage, and while many of them are currently endangered they remain massively undervalued by cultural policy makers, all levels of government and the population at large. While the Forum was going on, young bands from across the Top End were rehearsing contemporary music and learning about making a living in the commercial music world from acclaimed recording artist John Butler (John Butler Trio), while Djalu Gurruwiwi and his family members introduced international didgeridoo enthusiasts enrolled in the Yidaki Masterclass to the intricacies of traditional Yolngu yidaki (didgeridoo) technique and protocols.

Speakers made it clear that the development of appropriate Indigenous livelihoods goes hand in hand with Indigenous models of governance and leadership. Yolngu speakers emphasized that they have strong and effective models of governance and leadership grounded in Yolngu law and systems of kinship which continue to operate in Yolngu life. One illustration of this was a remarkable Forum session on Yolngu yidaki with four Yolngu leaders of different clans discussing their different yidaki röm (law). At this session Galarrwuy Yunupingu revealed the special ceremonial yidaki his family had prepared at Garma as a ritual gift exchange with their ‘grandmother clan’ the visiting Gupapuyngu, which acknowledged their rights to the material resources associated with such ritual exchange. Where the infamous Blackburn judgement of the groundbreaking 1971 Yolngu land rights case (Milirrpum and others vs. Nabalco) had failed to see the assertion of rights in land, at Garma it was enacted on a daily basis through ritual. The Yothu Yindi Chairman Galarrwuy Yunupingu said at the Forum,
Why do we have to have some huge bureaucracy that is designed for white man’s existence and not for blackfellas? Why do we have to pretend to be painted white when we are fully black in our thinking, in our hearts, and in our vision? You cannot do that. You cannot give me something I don’t like to carry in my leadership, because that is what has happened in the last 50-60 years since the Department of Aboriginal Affairs was established within government policy. I’d like to take a contemporary system and blend it in with a thousands-of-years old system that exists already, that gives me my pride. That is the system I’d love to live in, to be proud of, to raise my children and my grandchildren in. That is the system I want in my young men and women so that they are better leaders too.

Maningrida JET centre staff expressed this same desire. They are attempting to graft the widely understood and respected roles and responsibilities of participants in Yolngu rituals, from the realm of Yolngu law, onto the modes of governance required by government-recognized Indigenous organizations under Australian and Northern Territory law. Similarly in the economic realm innovative approaches to Indigenous livelihoods recognize these hybrid economies combining market, public sector and customary relations as the basis for establishing Indigenous community credit and finance schemes, community employment and enterprise, Indigenous entrepreneurship and partnerships and so on. As a very practical illustration of these innovations, George Rrurrambu (of Warumpi Band fame) sang his new song ‘Nhungu ID’ to launch the song at Garma (broadcast live on regional radio) for the Traditional Credit Union financial literacy education across Arnhem Land project. He sang in Yolngu (translated here by him): Hey blackfella and whitefella, Hear the story of the bank. Bank gives you card and pin number, for you, yourself … Cos card and pin number should be kept secret.

Henry Djerringgal Gaykamangu and Georgina Wilson explained the background to the Yolngu financial education campaign as an attempt to give Yolngu clear and culturally relevant information about money and finance in Yolngu language.

These approaches stand in contrast to the resurgent assimilationist strand of thought in the administration of Indigenous affairs in Australia. This neo-colonial model misuses the concept of mutual obligation to invent punitive schemes for compliance with assimilationist policy ‘for their own good’. One such example is linking the attendance of Aboriginal children at school or their ‘cleanliness’ with the provision of basic services taken for granted by other Australians as their right, such as the provision of a town swimming pool or small petrol station facility with its associated services. As Jon Altman (CAEPR, ANU) pointed out, this has set Indigenous affairs back about thirty years. He argued that:

Other countries … recognize the citizenship rights of Indigenous people and they have rights-based delivery of services, greater legal recognition of Indigenous rights and treaties. We are greatly diminished nationally and internationally when we don’t give value to Indigenous rights. Our status as a nation can only grow if we move towards reconciliation.

Garma is an inspiring example of the practical ‘both ways’ work such reconciliation involves; led by Yolngu it gives non-Indigenous Australians and other visitors an opportunity to learn to listen to Indigenous people, learn from them, and learn to work in partnership with them.
Postgraduate Program

The Institute 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. Students enrolled in the Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy programs in the School of International and Community Studies and some students enrolled in programs in other schools at RMIT are supervised by staff at the Globalism Institute.

In 2005 the Institute had a strong postgraduate program with a number of senior supervisors including: Paul Battersby; Desmond Cahill; Paul James; Mary Kalantzis and Christopher Ziguras.

9.1 Postgraduates and their Research Projects

Students and their thesis topics:

**Doctor of Philosophy**


Chrisanthi Baltatgis, ‘A Survey of Greek Orthodox Faith Education’

Kevin Brett, ‘Core Elements of an International Quality-Assurance System for Transitional Education’

Benjamin Burdon, ‘Beyond Modernity and Postmodernity: The Intersubjective Nation’

Lynton Brown, ‘Investigation of the Cultural Competencies Required to Deliver Vocational Education and Training across National Cultural Boundaries’

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

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

Dean Coldicott, ‘The Emergence of the World Trade Organization. Multilateralism, Public Policy and Global Governance’

Theja Dias, ‘Communicative Language Teaching and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages in the Sri Lankan University Context’

Susan Ennis, ‘The Impact of Spirituality and Religious Affiliations on the Settlement of Refugees in Australia’


Bradley Haylock, ‘Commodity Politics: The Activism of Politicized Commodities’

Maria Katsabanis, ‘Performative Affinities: Gender and Nation-Building’

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

Panagiotis Koukoulas, ‘The State of Modern-Greek Language Used by Newspapers and Magazines in Greece and Australia’

Siew Fang Law, ‘Guanxi: A Chinese Social Psychological Perspective on Intercultural Conflict Resolution’

Weihua Luo, ‘English-Language Teaching in Post-WTO Chinese Universities’

Brett Myers, ‘The Impact of Traditional Ideals (Confucian, Taoist, Buddhist, Animist) on Learning Styles in the ESL Classroom at Korean universities’

Widad Pitrus, ‘The Impact of Personal Networks and Social Support on Small Business Success Among Members of Middle-Eastern Communities in Victoria’

Heru Purnomo, ‘Australian-Indonesian Relations’

Barbara Rogalla, ‘Legal Rationalism, the Howard Government, and Refugees’

Andrew Scerri, ‘Subjectivity, Consumption and Affluence’

Polyxeni Tzimourtas, ‘From Landscape to Endotopia: Themes of Self, Body and Place in Contemporary Australian Women’s Fiction’

Navin Veerapa, ‘Harnessing Tacit Knowledge through Employee Participation in Corporate Citizenship Programs: Investing in Social Capital’

Master of Arts

Natalie Anderson, ‘The Identity Formation of Second-Generation Australians from Dislocated Immigrant Family Backgrounds’

Stephen Auburn, ‘Stakeholder Management: Using a Transparent, Evidence-based Policy Approach’

Panagiotis Baltatgis, ‘Reinventing Traditions and Internationalizing Culture: The Utilization of the Traditions of Greek Regional Associations in the Teaching of Greek Culture’

Janet Cardell, ‘The Settlement Experience of Skilled Migrants to Australia during the 1990s’

Christopher Christoforou, ‘Identity Politics in Australian Soccer: A Critical Review of the Concept of Ethnicity’

Teresa Chu Ng, ‘“Home” or “Boarding House”?: The Impact on Chinese Australian Families of Parents Working Offshore’

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

Eileen Hanrahan, ‘Media Literacy and Advocacy in Western Media’

Kiriaki Kousourakis, ‘Greek Ethnic After-Hours Schools and its Education as an Occupational Category’

Gary Lee, ‘RMIT Alumni in India: An Exploration of the Potential of their Role in Developing Regional Partnerships’

Konstantinos Nikolopoulos, ‘The Greek Press in Australia: An Insider’s Perspective’

Angeliki Rialas, ‘The Life and Times of Nikos Kavvaclias: A Multicultural and Global Perspective’

Anna Robbins, ‘Bonegilla: Its Significance as a Migrant Reception Centre in Australia’s Post WWII Immigration Program’
Marilyn Robert, ‘The Use of Popular Media Resources in the Teaching and Learning of English’

Janet Saba, ‘Continuing Education Needs of Arabic Interpreters/Translators in Australia’

Nurgul Sawut, ‘Central Asian Ethnicities: Nationalism and Economics’

Daniel Strack, ‘Illegal Immigration to Australia: An International Perspective’

Jianguo Wu, ‘“Wishing for Dragon Children”: A Documentary that Examines the Differences Between the Ways the East and West Educate its Children’

9.2 Postgraduate Programs

The Globalism Institute offers the following postgraduate research degrees:

- Master of Arts (Globalization and Cultural Diversity);
- Master of Education (Globalization and Cultural Diversity).

The Institute is also associated with the following postgraduate programs offered by other RMIT departments:

- Graduate Diploma of Social Science (International Development);
- Master of Social Science (International Development);
- Graduate Diploma of Social Science (International Urban and Environmental Management);
- Master of Social Science (International Urban and Environmental Management);
- Master of Business Administration International Management.

Gordon Bacon (former Director General of the Missing Persons Institute), Aldijana Buhic and Hariz Haliliovich (Globalism Institute), Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.
The Chinese-Australian Forum

The Chinese-Australian Forum is a key part of RMIT’s university-wide research concentration in Globalization and Cultural Diversity.

RMIT University recognized the need for the Forum in response to:

- the risky opportunities created by globalization and cultural diversity;
- anti-Asian racism in the Australian community;
- the desires of Chinese Australians to make productive contributions to Australia; and
- the imperative to build much better relations between Australia and Asia.

The Chinese-Australian Forum focuses on contemporary interests and issues facing Chinese Australians and seeks to give voice to these. It works to support Chinese Australians in speaking confidently to the wider community of their concerns in contemporary Australia, their past and present contributions to this country’s development and their leadership in developing a prosperous, cosmopolitan Australia.

There are different groupings of Chinese Australians and each contributes significantly to the development of Australian society, their relations with the Chinese diaspora and the nations peopled by the Chinese. In this respect the Forum is distinctive, being the first of its kind in Australia to address these interrelated issues from the multiple perspectives of Chinese Australians.

The RMIT Chinese-Australian Forum aims to:

- actively build educational and cultural relationships between Australia, the Chinese diaspora and China by means of conferences and scholarly exchanges;
- broker and co-ordinate the provision of business and community leadership skills development and senior management training for people from China and those intending to work there;
- contribute to the sustainability of linguistic diversity, the enhancement of the world’s multilingual knowledge economy, and the renewal of Australian multiculturalism while investigating the problematic legacy of White Australian politics; and
- undertake research that investigates the complex and contradictory processes of globalization and localization, particularly as these relate to managing the risks associated with the globalization of English, the uses of international education and training and Chinese Australian relations.

The Learning Conference

In July 2002 Beijing Normal University co-hosted with RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia, the Ninth International Literacy and Education Research Network (LERN) Conference in Beijing. The focus of the 2002 Learning Conference was ‘New Learning: Cultures, Technologies, Literacies, Persons’. Since the events of September 11, 2001 the Conference’s themes of cultural diversity, globalization, citizenship and new information and communications technologies, are now more important than ever.
Language and Culture Study Tour to China

Each year since 1997 the Chinese-Australian Forum has co-ordinated an exciting program of Language and Culture Study Tours to China. These study tours provide Australian students with the opportunity to gain knowledge about contemporary Chinese politics, economic development, social changes, and underlying cultural issues of significance in China today. Our Chinese partner, Nanjing Normal University, provides considerable assistance and input into this month-long language and cultural study tour. The University has been long established in Nanjing, a city that was China’s capital for six dynasties and has a rich cultural heritage.

University Mobility in Asia Pacific (UMAP) Program is an association of government and non-government representatives of the higher education sector throughout the Asia Pacific region. The Australian Federal Government sponsors tertiary students to study accredited courses in universities throughout the region. The Government assists Australian students to study overseas for several months, with the aims of increasing their international understanding and enhancing their positioning within the global labour market.

The Chinese-Australian Forum has obtained UMAP funding for the planning, management and joint delivery of a study program at Nanjing University, China. This involved the recruitment and selection of participating students, providing preparatory Chinese language and cultural training and field advice. During their study program the RMIT exchange students interacted with Chinese students, made group presentations on behalf of Australian youth, engaged in personal exchanges and participated in multimedia presentations.

The Forum:

• provides advice to various Australian State and Federal Government agencies on Chinese governmental visits;

• organizes industry consultation for Chinese Government Ministries, such as Treasury, Social Security and Welfare; and

• facilitates industry management education about Australian policies and administration.

Recent activities have included briefings for official delegations and conducting Training Programs such as:

• Officer Training—Civil Affairs Bureau of Beijing Municipal City Government

• Senior citizen development and services—Beijing Municipal City Government’s Senior Citizen Management Team

• Civil administration—Beijing Municipal City Government’s Civil Affairs Bureau and the Civil Affairs Bureau of Tianjin Municipal City Government

• Environment development—Beijing Chaoyang District Government.

• Tourism and hospitality—Beijing Tourism and Hospitality Senior Management

• Internal and external auditing—Beijing Municipal Audit Bureau

• University and vocational education articulation—Changzhou Local Government and Education Authority
The Greek Centre

The Australian Greek Resource and Learning Centre was established in 1997. It is associated with the School of International and Community Studies, and plays an important role in the Greek-language program delivered by the Department. The focus of the Centre is the promotion of Greek education, language, culture and history and, to contribute to learning programs by developing, collating and making available teaching and educational resources. The Centre serves as a reference service to the Greek community particularly and the wider Australian community generally, and supports the research of the Diasporic Hellenism in its global dimensions.

In August 2002, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between RMIT University and the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria to further develop the community and educational role of the Centre.

The Centre is involved in the following programs:

- Collecting and distributing teaching resources to support innovative pedagogy and methodology in teaching the Greek language and culture as well as the delivery of educational programs to school-age students. The focus is on programs of community social history, Greek migration and settlement, community theatre and community family profiles. More than 2,000 students have participated in activities of the Centre since 1997.

- Teaching-support and program co-ordination of students attending the undergraduate Greek-language program within the School of International and Community Studies. Part of the support takes the form of supervision of postgraduate students on Greek-related topics.

- Professional development seminars and workshops for teachers and students in schools where Modern Greek is taught.

- Development of community-history resource packages and educational programs.

- Co-ordination of school partnerships and innovative educational projects with schools of the Greek Diaspora.

- Maintenance of a Greek Library with more than 4,000 volumes and language-resources.

- Organization of student and community exhibitions, forums, seminars and conferences on Greek language and culture and cultural events in association with the Greek Community. As well as catering for its student base through cultural awareness seminars, the Centre aims to appeal to the wider Australian and international community. To this end, the Centre has organized and supported major cultural events, especially during the Antipodes Festival. These events were made possible with the support of community organizations (Greek Community of Melbourne) as well as academic agencies (e.g. Australian National University, National Europe Centre, Centre of European Studies, RMIT Globalism Institute, Alliance Française), thus enhancing community and corporate partnerships.

- Undertaking and co-ordinating research-based projects such as the International European project ‘Paideia Omogenon’, and Conferences such as the annual Oral History Symposium (running since the mid-1980s), the three national Greek-Australian Literature conferences, as well as the conference on Greek-Australians in the 21st Century held in 2004.
The Intercultural Projects and Resource Unit (IPRU) was established in 1997 by the Office of International Programs to develop projects and initiatives that had emerged from engagement with a diverse range of individuals and groups. These included: Indigenous communities and elders; students; academics; landowners; administrators; conservationists; businesses; families in rural and regional communities; and Australian and international researchers.

IPRU creates spaces in which people from a diversity of backgrounds are able to negotiate identity, develop a voice, and represent themselves within a labyrinth of impersonal spaces in an increasingly interdependent and culturally diverse global environment. From late October 2001, IPRU has been located in Community & Regional Partnerships to provide a focus for further development of its regional projects within the University’s community service and regional partnerships strategy. Functioning as a Unit comprising of a Co-ordinator and one or two staff (at its maximum), IPRU exists as a network of projects—informed and continuously challenged by the relevance of its philosophy.

Major ventures and programs developed from within IPRU include: the RMIT InternationalCommunity Exchange/Hamilton project; (RMIT University’s largest regional partnership program); the Melbourne-to-Mallee community links program; the RMIT Association of International Student Association (8,000 students); the annual RMIT World WEEK celebrations; the RMIT Cultural Diversity Policy; the Handbury Fellowship Program (a community-university research fellowship) and; the Victorian Building Global Networks projects (nine universities). These programs draw on the support of more than 500 individuals and a range of local, regional, national and international groups, networks and associations. In total over the past four years, IPRU programs have raised close to six million dollars in funds through Government and non-government grants, philanthropic organisations and trusts.

The driving philosophy behind IPRU is that the ‘global’ increasingly exists as a cultural horizon within which we (to a varying degree) frame our existence and work. Local connectivity compounds this already existing complex connectivity—yet offers different understandings and spaces within which new ways of thinking and doing emerge. Fruitful learning can take place when Indigenous, traditional, informal and formal knowledge systems meet in a space of mutual respect and values.

IPRU works from within the Globalism Institute and in ongoing partnerships with groups within and outside the University. This has extended the diverse network of practice as a repository for research to better understand and inform community sustainability practices as well as university, community and government policy and planning processes.
Cultural Dialogue Forums

**Tibet – Australia Dialogue Forum**

The Globalism Institute is supporting a proposal to hold The 5th International Congress of Traditional Tibetan Medicine, in Melbourne, in November 2007. The Conference is planned to coincide with an exhibition of rare Tibetan medical thankas (instructional paintings on cloth) and equipment. The Globalism Institute is an active supporter of the conference host, the Ngak-Mang Cultural Institute of Australia.

The Ngak Mang Institute is planning the conference to:

- to explore the connections between the cultural traditions of Tibet and the less-well-known Traditional Tibetan Medicine
- to cultivate both the serious study of Traditional Tibetan Medicine in Australia and general interest in its health benefits
- to bring Traditional Tibetan Medicine experts together as an opportunity to further develop Traditional Tibetan Medicine internationally
- to bring Tibetan herbal products to Australia
- to make the study of Traditional Tibetan Medicine available in Australian higher education institutions
- explore new research on Tibetan Herbs and medical practice and create opportunities for further research
Welcome to Sarajevo

Through the round windows of the plane we could see the first high-rise buildings of the only European capital ever to have been under siege for as long as three-and-a-half years. The heavy International Stabilization Force (SFOR) military equipment and vehicles—still there at the airport last year—had been removed. The only visible reminder that peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) was still supervised by outsiders was the presence of international police overseeing the processing of passengers—Bosnians returning home, Austrians on a business trip from Vienna, French pilgrims on their way to the Catholic centre of Medjugorje in Herzegovina, and us.

We were in Sarajevo for two reasons: to begin preparations for an international conference on Pathways to Reconciliation and Global Human Rights to be held in August 2005, and to begin preliminary research on the city for the Globalism Institute’s local-global community sustainability project. We were planning for this conference to be in Sarajevo only partly because it is the capital of a country where questions of reconciliation and justice are deeply and immediately pressing.

The airport, encircled by mountains on three sides, looked like any other civil airport in the region. What could not be seen, however, and what distinguishes this airport from all the others, is its recent past when the airport was the demarcation line between those attacking Sarajevo and its defenders, during the 1992-95 Bosnian war. The third party controlling the airport during that time were the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) soldiers. The airport was used only for UN ‘humanitarian’ purposes, delivering scarce aid to the suffering population of Sarajevo and bringing high-ranking international officials and journalists to see a live show of killing and shelling. Important international visitors, protected by their diplomatic immunity and the armour of UN transporters, could come and go as they pleased. Bosnians had no such freedom or protection from a war that continued for more than a thousand days, and occurred just thirty minutes by air from Vienna. They had no choice other than to endure it. Some 10,000 Sarajevans were killed in the siege. 40,000 people from all communities are still listed as missing.

We learned about the number of missing from the staff of the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP). Their job is to trace human remains and provide closure for the families of those not yet found. We gained a commitment from Asta Zinbo and Alma Mašić of the ICMP Civil Society Initiatives Program, and ICMP director Kathryne Bomberger to ensure the crucial inclusion of first-person, community-based accounts of peace and reconciliation building in the ‘Pathways’ conference. This aspect of the program will be based on their work with over 100 associations of families of missing persons from all ex-Yugoslav communities. They also have contact with ex-soldiers associations, survivors of torture and imprisonment and female victims of war groups (including survivors of sexual violence). They noted survivor groups are not well linked with each other as there are many obstacles to solidarity. Ironically, some of these groups are beginning to find they sometimes have more in common in their shared suffering and experiences across community lines than they have with the increasing numbers who would rather leave the past behind.
We also met with the Missing Persons Institute (MPI) founded under the BiH Government Law of Missing Persons to co-ordinate Bosnian responses to the ongoing tragedy of missing persons. Gordon Bacon, Director General and Aldijana Buhić explained the role of the newly established organization. They noted that initial attempts to initiate a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for BiH failed in part because it had no grassroots links with survivor associations who felt excluded and don’t necessarily support a reconciliation process. Belma Zulčić of the Sarajevo office of the German-based Society for Threatened Peoples made similar observations and was one of the people who made us aware of the problems of translating the English word ‘reconciliation’ into the Bosnian as ‘pomirenje’, which has connotations of ‘giving up’ or ‘surrender’. We stubbornly stuck with the use of the now-untranslatable English word to emphasize its much more positive but no less difficult usage in processes of peace-making between communities.

During the war the airport also separated part of the free territory under the control of the Bosnian government from the besieged city of Sarajevo. Crossing the air field to Hrasnica meant access to some of the basic necessities needed for the survival and defence of the city. Many desperate Sarajevans risked their lives trying to reach the other side by running over the airport runway under cover of night. Some 250 were killed by Serb snipers; thousands of others were stopped and returned to Sarajevo by UNPROFOR soldiers. As a connection with the rest of the country and the outside world it was essential for the defence, communication and supply of the Bosnian capital. The organized defenders of Sarajevo resorted to the last option available: digging a tunnel under the runway. The work on the tunnel started in January 1993 and was completed six months later. All the digging was done by volunteers, using picks and shovels. The tunnel was 800 meters long, 1.5 meters high and so narrow that people carrying heavy loads could only move in one direction. Later, the tunnel was also used to bring electricity and oil to Sarajevo and was fitted with oil pipes and wires, dangerously hanging from the upper part of the tunnel. Although it was meant to be a top-secret operation, it became a public secret known to most of the besieged Sarajevans. The tunnel became the life-artery of Sarajevo. Bosnian delegations used the route to attend important meetings and to co-ordinate the defence of the country. A few fortunate ones used it to either escape from Sarajevo or to return to the city and reunite with their families. Though most citizens never saw it, they knew of its existence and the knowledge that something had been done to relieve the city of siege and misery boosted their morale and gave them hope. They felt the siege had ended because the tunnel was there, so it became much more than a narrow underground corridor, inaccessible to the majority of ordinary Sarajevans. It became a metaphor for survival and hope that somewhere at the end of the dark tunnel called war there was a light and an end to the madness into which Sarajevo had been so unfairly pushed and left to suffer.

Nine years later, few people arriving in Sarajevo via its airport are aware of the days when there was no safe way in or out of the city. A check-in, check-out, a stamp in the passport and there are you. But for first-time visitors to this city the signs of the war are inescapable. From the airport to the city centre facades of many buildings show the pock-marked scars and occasionally larger punctures caused by incessant shelling and sniper fire. Some buildings, destroyed altogether, have now been re-built or demolished and removed as architectural casualties of war. The Oslobodjenje high-rise, once the pride of the New Sarajevo, was completely demolished after receiving hundreds of
direct hits from Serb artillery, there is a new building on its foundations now. The student village at Nedžarići next to it, until recently just a complex of wrecked buildings, has a fresh new look, but there are no young students to be seen as the village is now the military barracks for SFOR troops.

Evidence of the 1992–95 war remain everywhere: buildings, footpaths and streets throughout the city are covered with bullet and shell damage, and people readily recount the years they endured with great courage despite apparently hopeless circumstances. Somehow more shocking than the evidence of attacks on the city’s exterior, public spaces is the sight of bullet marks still scarring the internal walls, woodwork and piano in the living room of an apartment. This attack on the spaces of human intimacy and safety, where the small dramas of daily life take place, is a stark reminder that war is about the destruction not only of vulnerable human lives, but of the shared mundane joys for which they are lived.

After seeing countless thousands of the war’s pockmarks throughout the city they cease to be novel second-hand ‘evidence of war’, and the human tragedy of it becomes inescapable. Each of the missiles that produced them was fired by an individual trying to kill another person; just ordinary people trying to go about their lives. A Russian poet, Eduard Limonov, visited the Serb artillery in the hills during the siege on the city and had the dubious ‘honour’ of being invited by Karadžić to fire at Sarajevo while Karadžić recited his own poem about the city in flames.1

We were frequent visitors to the newly restored offices of BiH Government officials during our stay, to the point where the lightly-armed security guards would wave us through with a smile. Hariz showed Peter where he sheltered from snipers’ bullets outside the Parliament building while the first shots of Sarajevo’s war were fired at the peace rally he was attending twelve years ago, even then not imagining his country was about to be torn apart. The high-rise office building section of the Parliament remains a burnt out shell to this day. Beriz Belkić, a former President of BiH and widely respected politician, who along with Minister for Civil Affairs Safet Halilović offered strong support for the conference, joined the Advisory Board. Despite a long-standing political stalemate in Bosnian politics Mr Belkić has been valiantly attempting to get bipartisan support from Parliament for the event. We also met with Jakob Finci, Director of the BiH Government’s Agency for Public Service, President of the Association of Citizens for Truth and Reconciliation, BiH, a current member of our Advisory Board and the Global Reconciliation Network who attended the last Pathways Conference in London. Mr Finci is also a prominent member of Sarajevo’s Jewish community, significantly reduced in numbers by recent war-time migration but still an integral part of the city’s life and seen as a ‘neutral’ community in the rebuilding process.

While we were consistently surprised by government officials such as Mr Belkić, Mr Halilović and Amer Kapetanović (a Minister Counsellor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) who were immediately supportive of the conference proposal, some were more wary. Assistant Minister Slobodan Nagradić in the Ministry for Human

1. A video clip (two minutes) of this bizarre event can be seen at: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/karadzic/radovan/video.html ‘The footage is from the BBC documentary “Serbian Epics” and shows a boastful Dr. Karadzic standing with the Russian poet Liminov atop a hill overlooking Sarajevo. Karadzic recites to Liminov a poem he wrote 23 years earlier which envisioned the city of Sarajevo in flames. Then, Karadzic invites the Russian to fire into the city using a high-power sniper gun. The shells explode into the side of a large block of apartments.’
Rights and Refugees, whose office walls were conspicuously adorned with symbols of Serbian identity, immediately objected to aspects of the conference proposal he presumed to be partisan. However, it didn’t take long for him to acknowledge that the conference was not about blaming one community or another, or entering the realm of ‘victimology’, and would not be a bad thing. By the end of the meeting, to our surprise, he embraced ‘Bosniak’ Hariz and ‘interfering foreigner’ Peter for our official meeting photographs. While the hug was a small gesture, it gave a sense that even those officials who might feel defensive for their community or about the past are, for whatever reasons, ready to embrace opportunities for peace, reconciliation and change.

Outside Parliament the old Czech-built trams, most in very run-down condition, are still running between Ilidža and Bašćaršija, the two ends of Sarajevo. At the beginning of the war Sarajevo trams were popular targets for Serb snipers and artillery. A number of passengers were killed and wounded and many people refer to the beginning of the war as the point when trams stopped running in the city. As Miljenko Jergović wrote in his war journal Sarajevo Marlboro, most of the trams were hit by incendiary bombs and turned into burned-out wrecks. Today Sarajevo trams and buses are an eclectic mixture of vehicles donated from different corners of the globe. Trams and buses have the name of their donor country stencilled on the side in large script: Saudi Arabia, Japan, Malaysia, Germany, Italy, France, and the European Union; not always welcome reminders of Sarajevo’s recent past and the dependency on foreign aid which will continue for some years.

But each year Sarajevo looks closer to what it was not such a long time ago; a modern cosmopolitan city that hosted the 1984 Winter Olympics, the event by which many Sarajevans would prefer their city to be remembered. The Zetra Olympic Hall, which was completely burned down, has been rebuilt and thousands of graves of those killed during the siege of Sarajevo have been relocated from the Olympic Stadium and city parks to proper cemeteries. The parks that lost their trees for firewood in the cold winter months during the war have been re-planted with young replacements.

Even the heavily damaged main train station, once a vibrant place with local, regional and international travellers and shoppers mingling in the station’s shopping mall, has resumed its original function, with a couple of trains passing through daily. The main and the longest route Ploče-Sarajevo-Banja Luka-Zagreb has been reinstated, but most of the few carriages look half-empty. The train connects not only two neighbouring countries, Bosnia and Croatia, but the two entities of the Bosnian state, Federation and Republika Srpska. It seemed that many people still had reservations about travelling to the territories controlled by (former) enemies and preferred to stay in areas defined as theirs in the Dayton Accords. Regardless, restoring the railway traffic was an important step in restoring normality to Bosnians as the trains have reconnected Sarajevo with the rest of the world and given it back a place on the map of the European railway networks.

Walking on the streets of Sarajevo it is hard not to remember all the pictures of shells landing in the queues waiting for bread or water, killing and maiming innocent civilians. A few remaining ‘Sarajevo roses’, grenade holes filled with red plastic, on the streets of the city are the clearest reminder that people were killed in these same streets. For many, the sight of the ‘roses’ on a daily basis might have been too traumatic, bringing back all the memories of war. Many people avoid stepping on the red plastic at any cost as they feel that stepping on the spot where someone lost their life is disrespectful. It was not
hard to imagine the significance of the ‘roses’ as a city-wide people’s memorial for the thousands of civilians killed indiscriminately on the streets of this beautiful city.

Looking at the surrounding hills, it was easy to see how exposed and vulnerable the city was to anonymous snipers. They had long gone, but the traumas left behind in those who had to live constantly with that feeling for almost four years could still be read on many faces of ordinary city dwellers. Some have been able to transform their fears and troublesome memories into pieces of art and craft sold at the market at Bašćarsija. Shell cases of different sizes and calibres collected in the hills once the Serb artillery was withdrawn in late 1995 have been used by locals to design unique souvenirs with a range of motifs from Sarajevo. They seemed to be popular among tourists and expatriates working in the city. Each of the empty cases had once hosted a shell fired at Sarajevo. Thousands of projectiles had ended up in someone’s kitchen or bedroom, classroom or backyard. To tourists this fact seems to add value to the war souvenirs they were so keen to buy. Some even had their names engraved on the copper shell cases. Sarajevans seemed glad to get rid of the war memorabilia, and many would erase their own memories of the war if they could. How much easier to be in the shoes of curious visitors, able to go on with everyday life and only years later coming to see the aftermath of the conflict.

In front of the main post-office building, a number of former Sarajevo defenders, men in their thirties, forties and fifties, were selling their ‘certificates’, the saving books with up to 24,000 Bosnian Marks (KM) written in them, to anyone willing to pay a couple of hundred marks. This money was promised and ‘given’ to them by the Bosnian government in the first months after the war, but most of those with their names written next to the five figure amounts never saw a single cent of it. It could only be sold to speculators who knew how to use the certificates as real money in the process of the privatization of state-owned enterprises. They paid only ten per cent of the price in cash and the rest in certificates. Many of the speculators made a fortune overnight while the demobilized defenders, if lucky, would get up to 1,000 KM for amounts of more than 20,000 KM. This was the last injustice done to those who defended Bosnia and its sovereignty. Their money was used to transfer publicly owned companies into the hands of a small group of speculators and war profiteers who became the new business elite of Bosnia. This business culture is the ethos of many ‘new Sarajevans’: get on with life and ‘don’t mention the war’, while many others are finding it hard to move on from the pain that feels so immediate, the loss of loved ones and of their harmonious city as it was and might have been.

International businesses have also been quick to get their share of Bosnian privatizations. Austrians seemed to be especially active in buying viable companies and opening banks at each corner of Sarajevo. The Olympic pride and the safest bunker in Sarajevo during the war, the Holiday Inn hotel, is under new management after being purchased by Austrians in late 2003. With its 338 guest rooms and sixteen suites on ten floors, this must be the most profitable business in the country and one of the more expensive hotels in Europe. Just opposite, the burnt-out shell of the Parliament building is still there. Close to the Holiday Inn, the Sarajevo ‘twin towers’, popularly known before the war as Momo and Uzeir (the names of two comedy characters, Momo being a Serb and Uzeir a Bosniak name) were also badly damaged by constant bombardments. In a metaphor for the destruction of Bosnia, with characteristically incisive black humour, the Sarajevo joke goes that the Serb artillery holding Sarajevo to siege could
not tell which building was Serb and which Bosniak, so they decided to destroy them both. The buildings have been returned to their pre-war gloss, funded with foreign capital from places as diverse as Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and the prominent EU like many of the city’s reconstruction projects and investments. The restored ‘twins’ now house the headquarters of foreign companies and embassies.

The presence of dozens of Austrian banks in Sarajevo’s main street, Ferhadija, gives the impression, as some locals joked, that the Austrians have been restoring their lost empire (between 1878 and 1914, Sarajevo was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the terminal stage of which began in Sarajevo with the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the outbreak of World War I). The efficient and well-organized German-speakers with their profitable business investments are welcome ‘invaders’ this time. They have returned and rebuilt their completely destroyed Volkswagen factory in Sarajevo, only to be assembling Skodas, once the Czechs’ main trademark. Before the war, Sarajevo TAS-Volkswagen produced tens of thousands of popular VW Golfs that were sold across the globe. Coca-Cola is also back in town at the Hadžići plant bottling the same black liquid as faraway Atlanta. Regional companies, mainly from Croatia and Slovenia are enjoying unlimited access to the Bosnian market and providing much-needed capital and employment while further undermining local competitors still recovering from the damage caused by the war. From none before the war, Sarajevo today has a couple of hundred Chinese shops selling the cheap Chinese imports seen globally.

Although the devastation of war is still visible, Sarajevo is transforming into a centre of much-propagated free trade as war profiteers, many previously classified as organized crime syndicates, become the new law-abiding capitalists and entrepreneurs. This goes hand-in-hand with the emergence of gambling and the sex industry; both of which have now taken hold in Sarajevo. Poker machines are mushrooming across the town and there is a city casino with its Las Vegas culture. Sex shops, topless bars and sex advertisements in the printed media and on TV are as liberal as in any Western European country. There is also a gay subculture emerging, something that might only have existed underground during the old socialist times. Parallel to this trend, there is a religious revival visible in the capital and in the rest of the country. Missionaries of various faiths, from committed US evangelists to the Saudi Wahabis, Buddhists, Hare Krishna, Jehovah’s Witnesses, different Catholic orders actively seek out lost sheep. Bosnians, for hundreds of years attacked as heretics and followers of ‘wrong’ faiths, appear to be resisting this latest cultural invasion.

Sarajevo is the only capital city in the Former Yugoslavia that has not changed the name of its Marshal Tito Street; Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Podgorica and Skopje have all renamed theirs with more nationalistic names. The Eternal Fire (Vječna vatra) is still burning in Titova Street and an anti-fascist monument still stands, remembering those who liberated Sarajevo from fascist occupation in World War II, an indicator of a self-conscious city which does not deny its past. We visited the old Marshal Tito (former Yugoslav army) Barracks, part of which is now being converted into the new home for the University of Sarajevo Centre for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies. Director, Professor Zdravko Grebo, and staff members Ivan Barbić and Taida Begić from the Alumni Association explained their institution’s role in rebuilding the capacity for good governance in BiH as part of the long process towards EU integration. They run three postgraduate programs in association with the Universities of
Bologna, London School of Economics, Graz and Rome. Students from across the Balkans are attracted to these Sarajevo programs and attend some of their course at those other Universities while many of these foreign lecturers come to Sarajevo for periods of intensive teaching. Parallel with their training commitments the Centre’s three main areas of research are rights-based socio-economic policy, EU integration and governance and public administration. The ambitious goal is to train a new generation of Bosnian and regional leaders who can look beyond the division of the recent past to build a culture of government based on universal rights and administrative transparency and impartiality.

Sarajevo’s transitions from Ottoman rule, to Austro-Hungarian rule to Yugoslav socialism through war to internationally-supervised independence are all laid out on the main street Ferhadija. It is a great architectural pleasure to walk from the beautiful nineteenth century Austrian-designed strip into the dramatic change of Baščaršija, the old Ottoman part of the city. It is not just home to the tourist shops mentioned earlier, but also significant cultural institutions such as two beautiful old mosques. Opposite the main mosque (Begova džamija) the Sufi-influenced madrassa (Islamic religious studies school) was holding an exhibition of beautiful Koranic calligraphy while we were there. Not far from these is the Bosniak Institute founded by Adil-bey Zulfikarpašić, a former Zurich banker and Bosnian philanthropist. He has established a major cultural heritage and research institute with the greatest collection of books, other printed material and photographs on Bosnia in the world. Mr Zulfikarpašić and Amina Džuvić, the Director of the Institute, expressed support for both our research and our conference and offered their facilities as a base for further research. The Institute is housed in a substantial new building discreetly embedded in the beautifully restored old Ottoman hammam (bath house) whose star-embedded, domed ceilings are a feature of a new venue for recitals and public talks.

In the end, the most impressive experience (and one which each travellers’ guide repeats about Sarajevo) is meeting the people of the city whose name itself is redolent with hospitality; meaning travelers’ (or pilgrims’) resting place or inn. The openness and hospitality of Sarajevans were remarkable. We spent many hours talking with our hosts in their busy offices, were invited for dinner at their homes and treated like old friends. Expatriates working in Bosnia seem to have adopted this friendly cultural practice towards their guests. We truly enjoyed and were honoured by all this kindness and generosity of spirit. We were inspired by how Sarajevans had kept their humanity intact even though they may well have felt humanity had abandoned them during the years under siege. The fact that they are able to share so warmly with outsiders shows that the ordinary people of all the communities that make up Sarajevo are the true victors of the battles brought upon them. They are a reminder that the foundations of a new, peaceful era will be set in the hearts of these ordinary and exceptional people.
A Tribute to Helen Handbury:  
April 9th 1929 to November 22nd 2004  

By Yaso Nadarajah  

A splash of orange, moving ever so quickly, you turn around and there is Helen Handbury, with her bright orange jacket, a brilliant smile on her face and a quizzical look in her eyes; asking you how you are. How is everything going? And then she would be gone, just as quickly. But you knew that in a day or two, the phone would ring and Helen would be on the other end wanting more details, quizzing you in a manner that left no details unturned. This would be followed by an invitation for a meal or a drink with her, making time to catch up and talk and to discuss the next steps. And it wasn’t just about giving or finding money because conversations with Helen were more often about care and her curiosity; they were underpinned by her unfailing determination to help make a world where everyone would get a ‘fair go’.

Much of what we are doing now in the Hamilton region through the Globalisation and Community Sustainability project has been made possible by a generous grant from Helen and Geoff Handbury. This grant has put the work of the Globalism Institute into a broader context and opened the possibilities for direct local-to-local links between Hamilton and other communities all around the world. And, what has been even more important is that Helen and Geoff were so quick to see the potential in this ambitious project and enter into the spirit of it very deeply. It’s the nurturing of trust, care and love that builds empowerment; an embodiment of the ethics we at the Globalism Institute also proclaim.