

President's Report

There have been two main developments since my last report. One is a successful AGM and Symposium held in November 2005. The other is the outcome of the Review of the Learned Academies. I report on each in turn.

The Annual Meeting

The annual meetings took their usual form: a Colloquium held on Sunday evening; a Symposium held all day Monday, followed by the Cunningham Lecture and Annual Dinner; and the panel meetings and AGM held on Tuesday morning. In addition, the newly 'traditional' welcome breakfast for new Fellows was held prior to the Panel meetings. Each of these events went extremely well, and if you have not attended the annual meetings for a while, I encourage you to come to the meetings for 2006 (5-7 November) and appreciate for yourself the interesting and stimulating range of activities that occur. One of the great advantages is the opportunity to meet informally with the many highly talented and active social scientists who comprise our Fellowship, including those in disciplines with whom you do not normally mingle.

Our 21 newly elected Fellows were presented with their Testamurs at the Dinner and were welcomed again at the AGM. A considerable effort goes into making the new Fellows feel welcome and aware of how the Academy functions, and the feedback suggests that we are doing quite well in this.

Proceedings started with the Colloquium, an informal gathering of Fellows who assemble to discuss a topic of current interest. Given the quality of the people who attend, it is not surprising that it is always a lively and stimulating event. On this occasion, it was led by lawyers Hilary Charlesworth and Larissa Behrendt, who set out a strong case that Australia should adopt a bill of rights.

The Symposium - 'Ideas and Influence' - was extremely successful. Its theme was the contribution of the social sciences to public policy, and thus was of interest to a wide range of Fellows. It was based on a project that was jointly sponsored by the Academy and the Monash Institute for the Study of Global Movements. The book arising from the project was available at the Symposium, which gave people an opportunity to read further about those ideas from the Symposium that had whetted the appetite. All the project authors contributed to the Symposium, albeit with a strictly rationed allocation of time. The format of having many well-thought-out sets of ideas presented briefly, then a discussion panel, worked well. It was also pleasing to see a number of people at the Symposium who were not Fellows, especially those from the public sector. Indeed, we invited government departments that enrolled one or two of their senior people to also bring some junior staff, with our compliments. The organisers of the Symposium (and editors of the book on which it was based) were Peter Saunders and Jim Walters and they did a fine job indeed. I would like also to thank John Niewenhuisen and the Monash Institute for the ideas and resources that they contributed to the book on which the Symposium was based.

The Cunningham Lecture was given by Fellow Paul Kelly, Editor-at-Large of *The Australian* newspaper. In his discussion of 'Re-thinking Australian Governance', he treated his audience to an insightful account of how the Howard government governs. He combined the journalist's inside and detailed knowledge of what is actually going



on with the intellectual's ability to provide structure and interpretation. It was a wonderful treat, and you can read the lecture in the Academy's recent publication (*Occasional Paper 4/2005*; website www.assa.edu.au)

At the Dinner, 21 new Fellows were introduced, with a short account of their academic contribution. This important ceremony aside, the Dinner is a valued occasion for colleagues to meet and talk at leisure.

The AGM saw a modest turnover of the membership of committees and Panel Chairs. Peter Saunders retired from his role as Chair of the Workshop Committee (and thereby as a member of the Executive). Peter has done a wonderful job in both roles and under his leadership the Workshop Program has become one of our most important ways of supporting multi-disciplinary and often risk-taking work. It is a bottom up process where the initiative comes from individual Fellows. It is also one of our important forms of outreach, since many participants are not Fellows and increasingly they include policy makers and others outside of academic life.

The work of the Secretariat is indispensable to the success of the annual Meetings. Their high-level professionalism and skill was evident in the fact that no-one noticed the machinery of support that lay behind everything that happened. I thank the Secretariat, led most capably by our Executive Director, John Beaton, for the many hours and much care and thought that went into the efficient running of this complex event.

The Review

In my last report I described the process of the Review and invited Fellows to read our main submission. This documents an impressive record of increased activity in recent years, partly in response to the additional resources provided under the Higher Education Innovation Program (HEIP).

The report of the three reviewers (Bruce Alpert, previous president of the American Academy of Science), John Hay, Vice-Chancellor of Queensland University, and John Ralph, distinguished businessman, was made available to the Academies in January this year. It had many supportive things to say about the Academies and recommended to the Government that the Grant-in-aid (currently \$315,000 pa) be approximately doubled. In particular, it accepted the argument put by the Academies that each contains a wealth of ability among its Fellowship, willing to put in voluntary time to promote the public good. But the Academies can only marshal and focus this ability if they have adequately resourced secretariats.

The Review has made a number of recommendations, and the Minister for Education, Science and Training (then Dr Nelson) asked our Academy to respond to these by the end of January. The recommendations included:

- Each Academy review its disciplinary groupings at regular intervals to ensure that relevant new fields are included and are represented appropriately in the Fellowship.
- All of the Academies focus on addressing gender imbalances in the Fellowships.
- A special emphasis be placed by all Academies on developing, networking, and encouraging the next generation of leaders in their disciplines.
- The Academies raise the media profile of their work, policies, and outcomes.
- To address broad policy issues of national significance that require diverse expertise and/or multiple academies, the interactions within and among Academies be enhanced.

- Educational and outreach initiatives be developed further, with full exploitation of emerging advances in communications technologies.
- While broad international initiatives should be enhanced, a special emphasis might be placed on developing leadership roles for one or more of the Australian Academies in the convening of selected Asian neighbours.
- Each Academy be required, as a condition of grant-in-aid funding, to periodically review their corporate governance policies and practices, taking a hard look at the performance of its executive, committee and other structures.
- Each Academy ensure that appropriate strategic planning and policy processes are in place.

We have provided the Minister with a brief response to each of these recommendations. A more comprehensive set of responses, together with actions to implement them, will be developed by the Executive Committee at its meeting in early April. I would very much welcome any thoughts on how to respond to the recommendations that Fellows would like to offer. Your contributions will be taken most seriously in the discussions by the Executive.

The recommended increase in the Grant-in Aid of each of the Academies, and of the National Academies Forum, will be considered by DEST as part of the 2006-07 Commonwealth Budget process. Any increase will not be felt before 2007.

Other matters

Many readers will be aware that late last year the Minister of Education (Dr Nelson) was reported to have vetoed a number of Social Sciences and Humanities grant applications that had been recommended for funding by the ARC. This action understandably caused high levels of concern and dismay among many people, including our Fellows. After considerable thought and correspondence on the matter, I concluded that the best course of action for our Academy was to write privately to the Minister, expressing our concern and the reasons why we felt such action to be very ill-advised. I also felt it would be more compelling if such a letter came from the National Academies Forum, which represents all of the four Learned Academies, and not just from ASSA. I am pleased to say that the President of NAF, Dr John Zillman (President of the Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering) agreed and wrote a letter in these terms to Minister Nelson.

The Indigenous Summer School for post-graduate students and their supervisors was held at Ormond College, University of Melbourne, in February. The program and management of the Summer School was greatly assisted by the co-operation with Professor Ian Anderson and his Centre for Health and Society at the University of Melbourne. I was fortunate to be able to join the participants at dinner during the week of the Summer School and to hear first hand their very positive comments about the value of the program. Leon Mann, who with Marcia Langton initiated this important activity of the Academy, has stood down from his hands-on role. We are grateful to Ruth Fincher for stepping into his shoes.

Leon Mann and John Beaton represented the Academy at the conference of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC), held in New Delhi in November (see Report under Academy News). Regrettably, at the last minute I had to withdraw from our delegation and Leon most ably presented our Country

paper on my behalf. By all accounts it was a highly successful conference and provided an excellent opportunity for us to nourish our relationships with sister Academies in the region. It was also the occasion for us to take over formal responsibility for the Secretariat of AASSREC, which we have now done.

The Symposium topic for 2006 has now been settled. We were in the happy position of having three serious proposals. We invited the opinion of Fellows as to which of the three would most appeal to them. I am pleased to say that we had over 90 responses. The topic that has been selected is Internal Migration. Hundreds of thousands of Australians move location in any one year. This major migration is generating radical change in Australia's pattern of human settlement; understanding its dynamics and origins is crucial for sound social, economic and environmental planning. A multi-discipline examination of the many consequences of large scale internal migration is being conducted at present with funding from the ARC Learned Academies program. The project is led by Fellows Graeme Hugo and Peter McDonald together with Martin Bell. It will document contemporary trends, place them in historical and international context, apply and enhance cutting edge analytical methods, and explore implications for policy. It is sure to provide rich material for an excellent Symposium with broad appeal.

In future, the Symposium topic will be chosen about 18 months in advance, in order to provide proper time for the Symposium Committee, the organisers and the Secretariat to do the necessary work without undue pressure. We will therefore be seeking ideas for the 2007 Symposium soon.

Sue Richardson

The Nature of Community

Putting Community in Place

Jim Walmsley

Introduction

‘Community’ is a term which is used widely and loosely. People often speak of such things as a ‘rural community’, a ‘migrant community’, the ‘gay community’, ‘gated communities’ and even ‘the community of scholars’. Belonging to a community is seen as overwhelmingly positive. Threats to community are viewed as bad, often implying a loss of social capital. Erosion of community is interpreted by some as a cause of social problems as atomised individuals lose feelings of belonging, are set adrift from social pressure, and pursue self-absorbed goals. The title of Robert Putnam’s *Bowling Alone* vividly captured something of the fear which surrounds the breakdown of community.¹ Governments and citizens are frequently exhorted to create ‘stronger communities’ in order to counter the erosion of social capital. ‘Community development’ is thus a worthy field of study in academia and an important area of policy development. In short, communities seem to have ‘miraculous properties’, leading one media commentator to ask ‘who but some sort of sociopath could have anything bad to say about communities?’ before going on to observe that ‘Community has become a cult, an object of warm-and-fuzzy ritual worship for politicians of all stripes, academics and the rapidly expanding new class of social commentators’.²

Enthusiasm for the concept of ‘community’ has certainly resulted in a situation where the term has a high level of use but a low level of meaning.³ Indeed, over half a century ago, one sociologist noted that the term was already used in more than ninety different ways!⁴ At one end of the spectrum of definition, community can be thought of as ‘a relatively homogeneous human population, within a defined area, experiencing little mobility, interacting and participating in a wide range of local affairs, and sharing an awareness of common life and personal bonds’.⁵ At the other end of the spectrum, community is defined in an ideological sense to describe what *should be* rather than what *is*.⁶ From this perspective, notions of community are contrasted with individualism and with the atomisation and alienation that accompanies an emphasis on private property and profit.⁷ Obviously, many definitions of community lie between these two extremes. Perhaps the main value of the extremes is to bring into focus the critical issue of the extent to which community is place-based: geographical context is at the heart of the first definition and absent from the second. Very often the notion of community has been confounded with local ties with a result that the effort to identify communities ‘has often been transmuted into a search for local solidarity rather than a search for functioning primary ties, wherever located...’.⁸ This need not be the case. One challenge facing social scientists is, therefore, to tease out the salience of ‘place’ in the notion of ‘community’.

The changing nature of communities

The nature of communities has changed over time – and continues to change. In the harried contemporary world, it is tempting to look back to what are often thought of, almost certainly erroneously, as simpler times. Of particular interest is the notion of *gemeinschaft*.⁹ This term signifies a society bound together by mutual dependence and obligation. The term is often used to describe society before the Industrial Revolution, with people living in relatively small, homogeneous groups, often based

around tightly-knit primary relationships. In such a categorisation, people within a community are generally thought of as performing similar tasks, sharing similar interests, and perhaps thinking alike with a result that there emerges a more or less uniform way of life. The mediaeval village springs to mind as an example, with its emphasis on the yearly cycle of agricultural production. This brief description is of course a gross over-simplification. Reality was much more complex than the simple stereotype suggests. However, the stereotype highlights the fact that, in *gemeinschaft*, the people with whom individuals interacted most were the people among whom they lived, in other words, people to whom they were geographically close.

All that changed about the time of the Industrial Revolution with the emergence of what has been styled *gesellschaft*.¹⁰ Large scale industrialisation at this time prompted large scale urbanisation. This migration of people from rural areas to cities ruptured long-established bonds between people and place. It also forced people from different backgrounds to live close together. It is of course wrong to attribute the change entirely to the Industrial Revolution because a fundamental shift in society occurred as early as the Renaissance when an emphasis on group norms and the repression of individuality began to give way to a form of social organisation which fostered individuality at the expense of community allegiance.¹¹ Moreover, nuclear families began to supplant extended community links even in so-called 'pre-industrial society'.¹² Nevertheless, the Industrial Revolution brought major changes: great numbers of people congregated in large cities, living at much higher densities than had been the case previously; there was a massive increase in the number of people and the variety of situations with which individuals came into contact; the heterogeneity of the population in cities brought with it conflicting lifestyles; and a process of residential differentiation was set in train whereby people were sorted out into residential areas on the basis of income, occupation, wealth, life cycle, family type and other characteristics. Critically, the changes meant that there was no longer a simple and intense bond between people who lived close together. Formal contractual relationships tended to displace informal arrangements built up over time and based on trust and ties. So, there was a decrease in primary contacts with relatives and close friends, a change which is thought by some to have led to a decrease in social cohesion. Lives became compartmentalised and role-directed with a result that specialised institutions were set up to provide the sort of care which had hitherto been provided on a community basis.

This view, like that of *gemeinschaft*, is of course a gross simplification. Family breakdown, for instance, might have been much less than the simple stereotype suggests because families often migrated as a unit. Nevertheless, fundamental changes occurred and these had far reaching consequences.

The consequences of change

The shift from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft* meant that individuals became free to follow their own whims and fancies, free from the constraints which operate in closely knit communities. At the same time, they were deprived of the sense of identity and security that comes from being part of a larger group. This sort of situation provides the preconditions for the development of *anomie*, a term used to describe the way in which individuals can become disturbed by the lack of any feeling of belonging and by an inability to identify with the group among whom they live.¹³ Gone are the local links and peer pressure. Other factors might also contribute to the diminished role of place-based influences. For example, people's motivation for interaction might be limited by a desire to be private and to protect themselves from unwanted interference. In a

hurried world, they might also resent the intrusion that unplanned social interaction makes into how they budget their time. And they might seek to refrain from relationships which can become the subject of burdensome obligations.¹⁴

At the heart of this adaptation process is the way in which individuals cope with the buzzing confusion that is city life. The real world with which they are confronted is too big and too complex for them to cope with it in its entirety. They adjust to this situation of information overload by building up simplified images of reality in their minds and then behaving in relation to these simplified images rather than reality *per se*.¹⁵ They also cope with information overload by limiting the amount of time they devote to routine weekly activities. Shopping, for instance, can become an exercise in replenishing supplies rather than an opportunity for social interaction. At the same time, there is a temptation to limit the amount of incoming information, perhaps employing strategies like the use of unlisted telephone numbers. There is also a tendency for people in overloaded situations to have only weak and transitory involvement with those among whom they live. In this sort of situation, people know and are polite to their neighbours (greeting them when they meet) but in a superficial way (for instance, rarely entering their houses).¹⁶

This sort of coping behaviour can diminish a sense of community with a result that people take little responsibility for the well-being of individuals outside the circle of immediate family and friends, leaving it to institutionalised welfare agencies to cope. This pattern of behaviour possibly underpins the unreported deaths of several elderly – and lonely – Sydney residents in early 2006. Viewed from a slightly different perspective, it also suggests that a distinction emerges between the private and public worlds of city life.¹⁷ The private world can remain relatively unscathed even in times of turbulent change. The public world is less secure. In this world, the individual is brought into contact with the annoying and the threatening. Life can become compartmentalised into realms of work, home, play and others. In each of these realms, the individual takes on formal roles: for example, employee, home owner, club member.

Community change in perspective

The account of societal change presented above is an extremely simple one. Two points therefore need to be noted. First, the changes are by no means uniform. For instance, some urban neighbourhoods, parts of small towns and some villages have retained features of *gemeinschaft*.¹⁸ Secondly, the changes described above are only part of ongoing changes. In particular, it can be argued that society is not so much *breaking down* as *breaking up* in the sense that it is becoming increasingly pluralist and therefore increasingly varied so that it encompasses different ways of life. It is not surprising, then, that there have been attempts to develop typologies of communities. One approach is to distinguish between 'community lost', 'community saved' and 'community liberated'.¹⁹ If surveys of a local area find only weak local social interaction, the temptation is to describe the situation as 'community lost'. If there is a vibrant local social life, as in the case of so-called urban villages', it may be appropriate to talk in terms of 'community saved' (saved, presumably, from the ravages of contemporary city life which might otherwise erode it). Recognition that local ties are but one of several forms of involvement in which people can take part makes it meaningful to talk of 'community liberated', a community in which people are liberated from the need to bond with any one context. Some have even spoken of 'communities of limited liability' to describe the situation where individuals participate in community affairs to the extent that it suits them, that is to say the extent to which they derive benefit.²⁰ Once benefits cease or decrease, affiliation lapses. Others have differentiated integral, parochial,

diffuse, stepping-stone, transitory, and anomic communities based on the degree of local interaction between residents, the extent of identification with the locality in question, and the pattern of connections between the local neighbourhood and society at large.²¹ Mention of the term 'neighbourhood' again focuses attention on the critical issue of *place* and its role in the definition of community. In this regard, the views of the American planner Melvin Webber are significant.

Community without propinquity

Over forty years ago, Webber noted what he saw as a profound change in the nature of community in American cities. Instead of people's greatest involvement – and their greatest sense of community – being with those among whom they lived (a neighbourhood based on propinquity).²² Webber proposed that a situation was arising whereby, at least for professional and managerial groups, the communities that were important might be close-knit, intimate and held together by shared interests and values but *spatially far-flung*. In other words, he removed geographical location from a key role in the definition of community and spoke instead of communities *without* propinquity. Although Webber initially focused only on professional and managerial groups, the argument was that, as affluence increased and mobility improved throughout society generally, so the tendency for communities of concern to be spatially far-flung would become more widespread.

The community without propinquity hypothesis was roundly criticised. Among other things, critics stressed that, despite improvements in mobility, the local community was still critical in the lives of some city dwellers, especially women with young children and the elderly. Moreover, despite improvements in transport, the real costs of travel remain a major constraint on mobility patterns.²³ Critics also noted the feelings of grief that can flow from the loss of attachment to a local place-based community when a person leaves, no matter whether the migratory move is voluntary or involuntary.²⁴ On top of this, it can be argued that a sense of a feeling of attachment to a place and to the people in that place is a fundamental human need.²⁵ Finally, the notion of community without propinquity ignores the fact that place-based communities are often significant political units, especially in terms of local government and the provision of facilities that impact directly on human well-being (eg, parks, footpaths, lighting).

Despite this criticism, the notion of community without propinquity remained an intriguing one. This was particularly so as advances in telecommunications, and the emergence of the Internet, vastly improved people's ability to interact at a distance. By the late 1990s, the world's foremost geographer-planner was arguing that the time had come to look again at Webber's ideas, suggesting that he might simply have been ahead of his time.²⁶ In this context, Webber's argument that interaction, not place, was becoming the hallmark of urban life, and that a 'non-place urban realm' was emerging, called into question, once more, the relationship salience of place in contemporary life.²⁷ Basically, what Webber proposed was that, as a result of the decreasing importance of distance and place, society is passing through a revolution which is unhitching the social processes of urban life from the locationally fixed city and region.²⁸ In other words, in his view, the bonds which once held spatial settlements together are dissolving, thereby dispersing settlement over an ever wider area.

Neighbourhoods and communities

The link between community and neighbourhood has intrigued geographers for a long time. It has also been of concern in the field of applied social science best described as town planning. Since the 1920s, the neighbourhood has appealed to planners as a

meaningful unit for the provision of goods and services, notably primary schooling and convenience shopping. The notion of a neighbourhood is however much more than a normative ideal. It is very much an experiential entity. Studies have shown that three-quarters of people relate to their neighbourhood in the sense of being able to draw a sketch map of its extent and main features.²⁹ This is perhaps not surprising given that somewhere between two-thirds and three-quarters of an average person's time is spent in the home or the surrounding area. One of the things to emerge from sketch mapping exercises is subjectivity of definitions of neighbourhood and the resultant huge variety in the shapes and sizes of such areas. This has prompted some authorities to attempt to define typologies of neighbourhoods. For example, a widely cited fivefold classification has been devised, based on the additive presence of key characteristics: thus an area with little more than a clear territorial name can be thought of as an arbitrary neighbourhood; the presence of a distinctive physical environment suggests a *physical* neighbourhood; the existence of an identifiable social group is a distinguishing characteristic of a *homogeneous* neighbourhood; and the existence of shops and schools designates a *functional* neighbourhood. Only when all of these four dimensions are present, and there is local social interaction, can a neighbourhood be labelled a *community*.³⁰

This typology is of course somewhat ideal. In reality, not all of the definitive characteristics are present, nor can they be added together in a linear order. Despite this, research usually shows that, even where they are not labelled or planned explicitly, neighbourhoods can be a powerful source of social influence. This is because they fulfil certain roles in human life in addition to being units for the provision of goods and services. For one thing, they provide a way of translating social distance into geographical distance, thereby keeping like with like. They also give identity to what otherwise would be anonymous suburbia, especially in the sense of providing security and self-identity. On top of this, they are areas for personal development and socialisation, especially for children. This range of functions is, of course, very similar to that fulfilled by communities. This raises the possibility that the neighbourhood might be a means by which communities can be manifest in such a way as to answer human territorial urges. At the community level, territoriality can possibly encourage group identity and bonding when residents feel a sense of loyalty to their neighbourhood. This can be particularly pronounced in the case of middle class urban villages where physical distinctiveness can lend character to sought-after areas, in the case of low status terraces where social similarity can stimulate social interaction, and in the case of public housing estates.³¹

Community and cyberspace

The apparent significance of neighbourhoods might be about to change because of the emergence of a virtual world in which people can interact electronically and thereby escape from the here-and-now. This cyberspace is usually interpreted as 'a conceptual "spaceless place" where words, human relationships, data, wealth, status and power are made manifest by people using computer-mediated communications technology'.³² Interaction in cyberspace is cheap and it is easy but, despite its pervasive nature in today's world, the social impacts of cyberspace are poorly understood.³³ In the eyes of some, we might be on the brink of major social change, with cyberspace altering the so-called space-time continuum, in particular offering telecommunication as a substitute for travel. In some respects, then, cyberspace might represent the ultimate example to date of the non-place urban realm. Some authorities, for instance, have predicted 'the end of the city'. After all, cities function in such a way as to overcome time with space. In other words, they pack things close together in order to minimise

the time constraints experienced in interaction and communication. In contrast, telecommunications overcome space with time. That is to say, they place an emphasis on the speed of electronic networking so as to put people in contact with others very rapidly no matter where they are.³⁴

Part of the appeal of cyberspace is that it can be liberating in the sense that individuals can have a fluid identity: 'identity – once described as rational, stable, centred and autonomous – becomes unstable, multiple, diffuse, fluid, and manipulable because the disembodied nature of communication allows you to be accepted on the basis of your words, not your appearance or accent'.³⁵ This sort of fluidity might be especially important in the socialisation of youth. However, for a variety of reasons, cyberspace might not necessarily be the transformative force that is often assumed. For example, real world situations might still constrain behaviour. An often cited example is the freedom of gays on the internet and stark contrast between this and life in homophobic real world environments.³⁶ Furthermore, much of life still centres around locationally-fixed entities, like central business districts and shopping malls. It also needs to be noted that one of the main uses of telecommunications is, in any case, to arrange face-to-face meetings. And the range, open-endedness and uncertainty of the internet might create a reciprocal need for a firm link to locality.

There is a danger that communities based on interest could encourage dysfunctionality because like would only really communicate with like: such communities based upon interests and not localities might well reduce diversity and narrow spheres of influence so that, rather than providing a better alternative to real-world communities, cyberspace weakens communities in real space.³⁷ In this regard, it is important to note that cyberspace communities can be transitory. The term 'neo-tribes' has been coined to describe the way in which communities form and re-form on the basis of sometimes fleeting engagement and temporary modes of identification.³⁸ The transitory nature of cyberspace links also encourages superficiality in relationships.³⁹ In this way, they are perhaps the ultimate form of a 'community of limited liability'.

Conclusion

Much has been written about community and how it has changed over time and continues to change. There is an unresolved tension in much of this writing. This tension surrounds the role of place in community. Despite speculation about placeless community, there is overwhelming evidence that localism is still vitally important in life. One of the challenges facing social science is therefore to conceptualise community change in such a way as to accommodate the notion of place.



Jim Walmsley is Professor of Geography in the School of Human and Environmental Studies at the University of New England. Professor Walmsley has published widely in the field of people-environment interaction. He is currently working on the place of leisure in advanced western society and on the role of tourism in rural restructuring.

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Pondering By A Naturalist

Kristine Plowman

Imagine, if you will dear reader, this author's confusion with the contemporary notion of community. Trained as an ecologist, the word community conjures up a diverse assemblage of organisms, all living in the same place and time, their lives affected by an overarching set of environmental constraints, temperature, rainfall, soil and the very history of the place and the earth. An assemblage, with each individual going about the business of living and reproducing; and in doing so unwittingly interacting to a greater or lesser extent with every other organism, with the landscape itself. An assemblage which changes through time, the changes wrought by its members' very interactions; with each other (intraspecific) with the others (interspecific); with the climate. And yet most will pass their lives unaware of each other. The plants, apparently unaware of the tiny mites which fragment their fallen leaves, of the fungi which decompose these fragments and return nutrients such as nitrogen and carbon, back to the plants in a 'palatable' form. Individuals and species may compete with one another for food, for shelter, for mates; they may prey on and parasitise one another; they may even interact with others in ways that each benefits.

And as a child of the days of the Second Vatican Council I imagine communities of people as those who are members of religious orders, or people who live together and practice common ownership of the land and possessions - community, commune, collective. But that was when I was a child and saw through the glass darkly.

'Come to our community'

I study this advertisement carefully and consider my recent Web-gleaned definitions of community – in summary, groups of people living together with some shared interest, usually geographic, usually interacting or depending on each other. Or another, more personally satisfying: 'a specific population living within a specific geographic area, amongst whom there are present shared institutions and values and significant social interaction'.¹ 'Come to our community' - houses, brick set in green lawn and low shrubs; wide footpaths; water views and a shopping centre (perhaps?). The residents tell me what a great place it is; three women of indeterminate age with good skin on their way to coffee, two men fishing in a tinny and a party al fresco drinking champagne. But there are no churches, no children, no old people on walking frames, no halls, no libraries, no work places, no buses, no bowling greens, no art and actually there are no cars. Of course this is only a TV ad. And the billboard, on my way to and from work, tells me to come to Nirvana Lakes because I am discriminating – here it seems adults and children ride bikes through parkland and beside the lake and vigorous older people wave as they pass. But there are no churches, no old people on walking frames, no halls, no libraries, no work places, no buses, no bowling greens, no art and actually there are no cars. But this is only a billboard.

As I drive away from the billboard and head for home, I pass my local 'community centre'. There is no one in sight. So I stop and go to the door and look at the notices pasted there. Among these are 'Tenants Advocacy Group', 'Needle Exchange', 'Homeless Coffee Club', 'Youth Advocacy' and 'Come to Yoga Monday night 7-9.30 pm' and 'This Centre is Open on Tuesday and Wednesday mornings 9-11 am due to funding cuts, if sufficiently urgent please ring our staff on ... and if possible we will attend; otherwise this door is locked'. I have never been here before.

Not far away on the hill is the Senior Citizens Club. I go there to vote. There is a picture of the Queen in the hall with the polling booths lined up in front. This seems a busy place: a library, bus trips, dance evenings and morning teas are advertised in the hall. And at the local church near my house, the priest comes once a month; otherwise the laity preside regularly, in English and Vietnamese. I live in an inner city suburb. I often feel left out. I prefer cappuccinos and I don't like chardonnay.

What is a community today? Is it a group of people, set in a place, made up of interrelations and the artefacts of these relationships? Or is our contemporary idea of community predominantly that of a group, a set of particular people; is the landscape still important? Today there are communities of dentists (is the special place our teeth?), communities of computer programmers forever electronically held in cyber space. Do the members of a community need to be concerned with the livelihood, the material and creative needs of community members; the ongoing renewal of the community, that is, the care of young and the maintenance and renewal of the landscape and the social institutions?

How do other animal species 'do' community? We, *Homo sapiens*, often turn to other species for inspiration and to rationalise and explore new possibilities. What other animals live in social groups? Is this where we need to start? Which animals are the most social? The answer is probably the social insects, the bees and ants. So let me take an ant species whose habits are reasonable well studied. I choose a recent unwelcome visitor to Australia, the red fire ant, *Solenopsis invicta*. This small ant, which lives in colonies of up to 500,000 individuals, is indigenous to South America and has been transported in the last 70 or so years through people trading to the southern states of the United States of America, islands in the Caribbean, Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, New Zealand and Australia. Let us, for the sake of comparison, consider the fire ant colony as a community.

The place – The locality: fire ants prefer disturbed and open places like roadside verges, new urban developments, pastures and mown paddocks. A fire ant queen seeks out such a place for her new nest, after she has left her natal nest and flown up high in the air to mate. If she is successful, if she survives, the colony (the community) will grow.

The place - The residence: a fire ants nest is architecturally intricate. Part of the nest sits above the soil surface in the sunlight. This is sometimes manifest as a crust covered conical shaped dome, that may be 30–60 cm in diameter and thirty to 45 cm high or a less conspicuous mound of soil. The above ground part of the nest is a labyrinth of a dense, narrow, thin skinned vertical and horizontal tunnels and nodules which are constructed by the ants from soil particles which they fit and shape into place. The nest continues down into the soil and is connected by vertical shafts and nodules often running with grass roots. At about 20 cm from the surface (and down to about 80 cm) ants construct true chambers with varying floor space and intercepted by vertical shafts. These are amoeboid shaped and have floor areas ranging from 3 square cm to 10 square cm. This design allows workers to move up and down the nest, up to the warmth of the mound in winter and the early mornings and down to the safety of, and at times cooler, subterranean chambers.² In this way they regulate their temperature and humidity.³

The residents: The adults: the queen⁴, who can live for years and lay up to 70 million eggs, produces the next generations of carers within the colony and the new generations of colonies; adults – small, medium and large workers, these are infertile

females which live for months rather than years, the sexuals (or alates), that is unfertilised fertile females and males who leave the nest in nuptial flights. *The young* (or brood): eggs, larvae (in four growth stages), the pupae. The eggs and pupae sit about developing and require little care, the larvae require feeding, cleaning and general all round care as they cannot move by themselves.⁵

The place - the home range. Fire ants leave their nest via subterranean tunnels to search out food in their locality. They are omnivorous and eat just about anything.

The tasks: *The queen* has two major tasks: the first is to establish a nest in the first place; and the second is to continue to lay eggs, to produce workers to look after the brood, alates to reproduce the colony and continue the line. *The workers* care for the brood, stack and move the brood pile within the nest, clean, feed and assist the larvae (and pupae) to moult and care for the queen (nurses and reserves). They also distribute food - workers exchange food stored in their crop (part of the gut) using some for themselves and then donating the rest to larvae and other workers when solicited (nurses and reserves); and store food in their bodies for short times (reserves). Workers guard the nest (reserves), maintain and enlarge the nest (reserves); remove the dead (reserves); leave the nest and find sources of food, and then recruit workers from the nest to collect the food and bring it back to the nest (scouts and reserves). Nurses tend to be the youngest of the workers, reserves middle aged, while the oldest, the scouts and foragers, brave the inhospitable outside world in their quest for food.⁶

How do the colony members govern their activities? Is this done through communication? Does the queen direct activities? Ants have a number of ways of communicating and these include chemical, vibrations and touch. It is thought that most ant behaviour is by way of information passed on by chemicals.⁷ Ants produce chemicals which signal such things as whether another individual is a nest mate or not, a dangerous situation, when an individual has been injured, grooming, and the route to take to reach food. Information is passed between individuals when they groom one another, exchange food and stroke one another.⁸ Another important organiser is hunger. Workers attending the larvae regularly check each larva and assess its need for food. If it signals that it is hungry the worker feeds it a small amount and then moves on to feed another and then another. The larvae are continually checked and fed by a stream of workers. As workers care for the brood, other worker supply food, the needy worker solicits food, the other donates and once depleted it then solicits food. These interactions are local, they occur in the many brood chambers throughout the nest. There are workers who 'hang out' near the entrances of the nest. They may be guarding the nest, doing repairs or cleaning duties, or just resting. It is these ants who, once alerted by a foraging scout, go out and collect food and return it to the nest for distribution. Scouts leave the nest and search the colony's home range. When they find food they return to the nest and encourage other workers to come with them and collect the food. Scouts have to 'sell' their finds. They have a number of discrete behaviours to tout and 'talk up' their discoveries like walking fast, wagging the head, stroking other ants, offering a sample of the food for testing and leading the ants out towards the food. The response of the other ants depends on the quality of the food advertised, how hungry they are and whether they are involved in other work.⁹ So the regulation of food flow within a colony depends on discrete interactions between workers at the local level rather than a synchronous communication within the whole colony.¹⁰ The overall food flow is in the long run predicated by the nutritional needs of larvae. It requires one adult worker for each worker larvae to develop to a worker and

the attention of five workers to rear each sexual larvae (ie, a ratio of 1:1 and 5:1 respectively).¹¹ This is integrated with other activities in the nest for it seems as though the tasks that workers select depend on how full their crop is, individual flexibility in task switching (medium sized workers appear the most adaptable), worker size and to a lesser extent, the worker's age.¹²

The internal regulation within a fire ant nest is complex and in our attempts to understand we may be easily deceived by our own assumptions. There are chemical messages which prompt the rate at which the queen lays eggs; the queen produces chemicals that prevent the alates from maturing, that attract the attentions of workers such that if the nest is disturbed, workers cluster in large numbers around the queen and the brood.

Fire ant communities seem to be regulated through the synergy of many interactions rather than some overarching set of instructions. When we humans consider ants we often ask 'who is in control, the workers or the queen'.¹³ I suggest that this tells us something about ourselves. Fire ants live in a 'colony' in ecological terminology; but we could perhaps, call it a 'community'. There are analogous social institutions arising from interactions; the construction and maintenance of the nest, the care of the young, workers, queens and alates, a definition of a foraging area, an area where resources are gathered and defended against other organisms. If an individual does not pass the 'smell test' it is attacked. These can be subtle differences, as ants from one fire ant colony attack and kill those from another at the boundaries of their territories. The central organising principle appears to be the production and care of the young. One of the means of destroying fire ants is to add a synthetic chemical to their diet which mimics a naturally occurring hormone and in its presence the queen stops laying eggs. Scouts continue to leave treated nests, but they appear to wander about in a purposeless way. Workers who defend the nest respond, at least to my eye, in half hearted ways to disturbance. They do not rush rapidly towards the intruder, their numbers increasing by the second, their vicious stings at the ready. It is as though they have lost their way. And it is true to say they have lost their young.

If the mythical biologist visiting from some distant galaxy were to observe us in Australia, he/she/it could perhaps conclude that we humans were quite like fire ants: we both live in groups, often large groups, in specially constructed abodes; and our interactions are social and mediated by individual communications. However, unlike fire ants, human communications are mediated more by visual and auditory rather than chemical cues; and we are aggressive defending our community's territory and its resources, especially against members our own species. Members of our communities have different roles and tasks, but humans, unlike fire ants, may have a more definite hierarchy. Older people, irrespective of their previous roles, do not take on the most dangerous tasks in middle and later age as do fire ant foragers and scouts. Humans and fire ants are discerning consumers and both are attracted to novelty; however fire ants consume a little and the remainder they pass on to others, while in individual humans and certain human 'castes' there may be a tendency to consume and hold. Humans and fire ants devote considerable effort to reproducing themselves and their communities; fire ants have a large investment in making sure that there are enough workers to produce the next generation of workers in the community and to produce viable healthy sexual individuals to reproduce the community itself. In fact fire ants are '... not capital breeders, rearing offspring from finite nutritional reserves... they are income breeders, rearing offspring from continuous supplies of fresh nutrition'.¹⁴ So

fire ants invest any excess resources into workers rather than colony reproduction. These are expendable in cases of some environmental disaster or death in territorial disputes and so buffer the community from variations in nutritional income. Do we humans share this approach? What is our communal investment into ensuring that the members of the next generation are viable and healthy; and what investment do we put into the human equivalent of ant 'sexuals'. We could perhaps suggest that the human equivalent of ant 'sexuals' are individuals who show potential for innovation, creativity and leadership. These individuals, like the fire ant female alate, whose potential for founding a colony is often less than one per cent, may through genius and/or timing come up with conceptual breakthroughs that change the way future generations operate in the world.

Humans and fire ants: we are both living organisms, each bound by our evolutionary history to live in social relationships. For each species to be biologically successful we need to ensure that we replace each generation with another. This replacement, if successful through time, will include all the social 'capital' needed to produce healthy and viable new generations. Have we forgotten momentarily that we are living organic forms? Perhaps we imagine we are something else: a superhero... a god.... GOD? And as a result, have we changed our patterns of consumption; is today's different from that of the past? Is this affecting our sense of community, our ways of interacting, our social institutions, our community governance and our successes in replacing ourselves?

Perhaps there is something to be learnt from these ants.



Dr Kristine Plowman is an ecologist with an interest in fire ants.

¹ Warren, RL (1972). *The Community in America*, Rand McNally and Company, Chicago: 2, quoted in Pivo, G (1992). How do you define community character? *Small Town*, (November-December): 4-17.

- ² Cassill, D, Tschinkel, WR and Vinson, SB (2002). Nest complexity, group size and brood rearing in the fire ant, *Solenopsis invicta*. *Insectes Sociaux*, 49, 2: 158-163.
- ³ Vinson, SB and Sorensen, AA (1986). *Imported Fire Ants: Life History and Impact*. Texas Department of Agriculture, Texas: 28.
- ⁴ Fire ants have two social forms, one where there is only one queen (monogyne) the other with two or more queens (polygyne) – this paper discusses monogyne colonies.
- ⁵ Cassill, D (2002). Brood care strategies by newly mated monogyne *Solenopsis invicta* (Hymenoptera : Formicidae) queens during colony founding. *Annals of the Entomological Society of America*, 95, 2: 208-212.
- ⁶ Cassill, DL and Tschinkel, WR (1999a). Task selection by workers of the fire ant *Solenopsis invicta*. *Behavioural Ecology and Sociobiology*, 45: 301-310; Vinson and Sorensen, (1986) *op cit*: 1-28.
- ⁷ Holldobler, B and Wilson, E (1990). *The Ants*. Springer-Verlag, Berlin Heidelberg: 712.
- ⁸ Vinson and Sorensen (1986) *op cit*: 1- 28.
- ⁹ Cassill, D (2003). Rules of supply and demand regulate recruitment to food in an ant society. *Behavioural Ecology and Sociobiology*, 54: 441-450.
- ¹⁰ Cassill, DL and Tschinkel, W. R (1999b). Effects of colony-level attributes on larval feeding in the fire ant, *Solenopsis invicta*. *Insectes Sociaux*, 46: 261-266.
- ¹¹ *Ibid*; and Cassill, D (2002). Yoyo-bang: a risk-aversion investment strategy by a perennial insect society. *Oecologia*, 132, 1: 150-158.
- ¹² Cassill and Tschinkel (1999b) *ibid*.
- ¹³ Holldobler and Wilson (1990) *op cit*: 223-226.
- ¹⁴ Cassill (2002) *op cit*: 156.



Aboriginal Politics, Self-Determination and the Rhetoric of Community

George Morgan

Introduction

When Aboriginal people moved to urban areas in large numbers after World War II they experienced a double sense of alienation. Firstly their Aboriginality was officially denied because they lived amongst Europeans. This was the case both for those who lived in fringe settlements and those who came later to live in inner city ghettos or white suburban areas. Secondly, many felt out of place because they were not living on their own land but on the land of other indigenous people. They had lost their point of anchorage and had experienced a cultural dislocation far more profound than had those who had emigrated or been transported from Europe.

In this paper I will consider the form of indigenous governance that is ostensibly directed at the goal of decolonisation: Self-Determination and in particular, the way in which the term community is implicated in that project. There are three ways in which it is commonly used. Firstly, community refers to the symbolic work by which particular social groups differentiate themselves from the great mass of society. Secondly, it denotes the culture mortar that unifies social groups, the morals, values and practices that build solidarity. Thirdly, community is invoked in public political sense to refer to the way collective interests are represented *vis-a-vis* the state. The way Aboriginal people conceive of their community or communities is often incompatible with the way the state requires *community* interests to be represented in the sphere of constitutional politics. This means that Aboriginal community organisations often fail to live up to the state's requirements both in terms of the manner of their operation and their achievements in overcoming social disadvantage. The asymmetry between the local practice of community and the public expectation about the way Self-Determination should operate, renders the task of indigenous representation extremely problematic. Those who have the role of Aboriginal representatives are perched precariously between their people who have for so long been excluded from exercising political power, and the state requiring equity, efficiency and transparency in the deployment of public resources. At the base of many of the problems associated with Self-Determination is the tendency for both black and white Australia to idealise Aboriginal community, to conceive of it in traditional rather than as something that has been fractured and fragmented by the effects of colonialism.

Imagining community: semantics and symbolic boundaries

The meaning of words is not fixed. Language is a site of exchange, struggle, negotiation and play. New meanings emerge from the flux of social interaction and are shaped by public representations. Community is one of the most ambiguous and fickle words in the English language. It is central to the political vocabulary and its use is generally symptomatic of yearnings of various sorts: for power, for solidarity, for tradition, for social anchorage. It is hard word to disparage. Most of us would agree that the pursuit of community is a good thing.

In liberal democratic societies those who seek to influence public debate obtain political strength if they can demonstrate that there are significant numbers of citizens who support their views. They may seek to harness demonstrations of popular discontent or draw on research data, such as opinion polls, in advocating their positions. However, aspiring representatives also use rhetorical means to

communicate a sense of their political strength. The term community is central to the vocabulary of representation. It is conscripted to serve various political causes, conservative or radical. Those who wish to resist proposed change often refer to community. ('the community will not stand for this' 'such a move would go against community standards'). Those seeking change often claim to be part of a community movement, their political programs as emanating from the 'grass roots'. In this latter use the term community comes to define something that has its genesis outside the sphere of formal party politics. Whereas politicians engage in the dirty business of horse trading those who claim to have emerged from a social or community movement see themselves as located outside the formal sphere of politics – with its chicanery, its pragmatism and horse trading. The hue of community elevates your purpose to the sacred and lofty, more noble than the workaday field of politics.

Community is a word with close affinity to the word 'tradition'. Social scientists from a range of disciplines have argued that capitalism, modernity and mass communications have undermined traditional bonds and community. Some lament the passing of these ties: the golden age, nostalgically evoked, that is now lost. Others are more sanguine about the prospects for new solidarities to emerge. The classic nineteenth century work of German sociologist Tönnies drew the distinction between *gemeinschaft* social relations, those based on long standing traditional links and *gesellschaft* relations, characteristic of modern societies where people are drawn into larger networks of impersonal and instrumental relations.¹ Innis² in his studies of Native American people described the replacement of what he called *cultures of time* - based on enduring bonds and local, orally transmitted narrative knowledge - by *cultures of space*. He believed modern communications and market relations weakened local culture and made people subservient to metropolitan centres. Traditional communities lose their cultural distinctiveness and economic autonomy. By contrast Cohen, writing from an anthropological perspective, believed that traditional bonds can survive the onslaughts of modernity.³ He saw community as a process of defining symbolic cultural boundaries.

Community is a word that is central to contemporary Aboriginal vocabulary. It is used to refer both to something that existed before the Europeans arrived and something that is being reconstructed in the era of self-determination. But like many English words (land and ownership for example) it does not quite do justice to traditional experience. Community represents the particular form of traditional indigenous solidarity only roughly. Aboriginal clan groups had very different social bonds to those prevailing in what we might think of as classic communities, English villages in pre-industrial times for example. However, to indigenous people forced to draw upon the language of the invader to advance their causes, community has enormous rhetorical appeal. Pre-invasion Aboriginal 'community' was localised, based on ties to traditional lands and clan groups.⁴ But colonialism has undermined local populations and dispersed indigenous Australians from their traditional lands, especially in the last fifty years as more came to live in cities. Smith argues that indigenous community is no longer based on propinquity.⁵

To Aboriginal people community does not just imply a social arrangement it is also a state of being, something which is sacrosanct and unassailable. Indigenous political discourse frequently suggests that community transcends contemporary society, privileging inherited obligations to kin, country and culture and deference to the authority and wisdom of the elders over Enlightenment rationality and citizenship

obligations. In the more radical and separatist expressions of anti-colonialism, as in many contemporary ethnic fundamentalisms, Aboriginal community appears as idealised and pristine; something that modernity has corrupted absolutely. Hobsbawm argues that contemporary communal politics rests on the invention of tradition, that what is interesting is not so much the traditions/histories themselves but the contemporary forces that shape their construction.⁶

Sequestered politics – community organisations and the Aboriginal public

The years after World War II saw the establishment of Social Democratic settlement but the agencies of the state developed in conjunction with the expansion of social welfare were not designed to encourage popular participation. In general they operated along modernist lines based on bureaucratic direction. From the sixties, however, there was popular reaction to this with the emergence of grass roots action in urban areas. In Australia, as elsewhere in the Western world, popular movements made demands on the state around what Castells called collective consumption.⁷ These ranged from residents groups seeking improvements to local services, to clients of the state in, for example, health and education, to environmentalist, student/youth, ethnic, women's and various special interest groups. Many of those who became active in these groups formed the Whitlam generation in Australia – middle class, white collar and university educated who resisted the moral conservatism and political quietism of the Menzies years. They questioned the dominance of 'the expert' – bureaucratic, professional, political – and their campaigns were more often than not fought out around the term community

In many cases the state responded to popular action by formally constituting relationships with so-called community groups. Governments recognised organisations they deemed to be representative of particular constituencies, funded and brought into a consultative relationship with public officials working in the relevant area. This process comprises the growth what Habermas calls welfare capitalism.⁸ He sees recent history as witnessing the decline of the individual critical citizen of liberal democracy, and the emergence of a public constituted by the client organisations of the welfare state. In order to exert power over the policy and state processes you are required to work through these bodies. This process was exemplified in the *modus operandi* of the Hawke and Keating Labor governments of the 80s and 90s (and of various State governments) where 'key stakeholders', usually large powerful peak body organisations were locked into a politics of corporatist consensus-building.

In the decades after WWII many Aboriginal people had moved from their home country to live in urban areas. The labour shortage that prevailed in this period meant that jobs were plentiful and wages were much higher in the cities. The city provided Aboriginal people, particularly young people, with the opportunity to escape the stifling racism of small towns and move to places where they were not watched so intensively by police and welfare authorities. The metropolitan population grew through a process of chain migration. Once families were established in housing they would host relatives, some temporarily, some permanently. In Sydney, many settled in the older inner suburbs, areas like Redfern, Waterloo, Surry Hills, Erskineville and Newtown, places with much decaying pre-Federation housing, large terraces which had been neglected by their slum landlords. The inner city Aboriginal population came to be made up of people from a number of regions, with varying homeland affiliations.

Many of those who moved to the cities in 50s, 60s and 70s became the campaigning activists of the Aboriginal rights movement. They challenged the predominant

paternalism and liberalism of the postwar era and argued for self-determination. The structures of contemporary Aboriginal politics were shaped by mainstream community action. The young Aboriginal leaders gathered strength from the broader groundswell of urban radicalism. This led to the creation of many self-managing organisations to service the particular local needs of Aboriginal people – Lands Councils, medical and legal services, housing organisations, incorporated cultural groups etc – particularly in urban areas but later in regional and remote settings as well. For example in 1973 Aboriginal activists and supportive local Catholic priests conducted a campaign to counteract the problem of homelessness in Redfern. This led in 1973 to the Federal Labor government purchasing a section of terraced housing around Everleigh Street, that later became known as The Block, and allocating it to the Aboriginal Housing Company.⁹ This area became the heart of the indigenous community in Sydney. The original designs for The Block embodied utopian aspirations – fences between gardens were to be demolished to produce shared space and communal living. The affairs of The Block would be directed through participatory democracy. The vision for the development embodied counter-cultural ideas that were popular amongst young people in this era. Aboriginal activists made links between the alternative lifestyle aspiration for communal living and the social arrangements that prevailed in a traditional Aboriginal setting.

As with other powerless groups in society, Aboriginal organisations represented the institutionalisation of identity politics around the ostensible ambition of encouraging Self-Determination. Aboriginal people quickly became adept at establishing legally incorporated institutions to represent their interests. In addition since the early 70s Federal Governments have sought to embody a Pan Aboriginal voice in the state through representative and administrative structures. These have ranged from the National Aboriginal Council in the seventies to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC). In his study of Commonwealth government files Smith found that between 1973-5 the term community came to replace 'settlement' and 'mission' in official discourse.¹⁰

Aboriginal organisations have an ambiguous status. On the one hand they are symbolic spaces in which something called self-determination can be practiced and community cultivated – ideologically a milieu separate, and apparently protected, from the everyday regulation by the state. On the other they have a formal legal relationship to the state. Those who are active in indigenous organisations are apt to conceive of them as a form of indigenous governance: bodies, separate from the mainstream welfare state, through which special resources can be administered in culturally appropriate ways to overcome social disadvantage. This has obvious appeal to those who have experienced routine and demoralising bureaucratic racism and who prefer to deal with the state through Aboriginal intermediaries. Indigenous leaders often construct their organisations as sequestered spaces, reclamations of pre-colonial decision-making processes. In doing this, the formal legal relationship of organisations to the state is buried amidst the cut and thrust of Aboriginal politics. The traditional social and political life of clan groups is reinvented as community politics in the era of self-determination.

Like all incorporated organisations Aboriginal bodies have to meet the requirements of accountability and equity in the administration of their affairs. However, recent history has shown that many have failed in this responsibility.¹¹ Key Aboriginal figures, including members of the board of ATSIC, have faced allegations that they misused public funds. In

many areas of Australia there is widespread dissatisfaction amongst Aboriginal people with the operation of ATSIC-funded local Aboriginal organisations. Many indigenous people accused ATSIC of being remote, in the control of white bureaucrats and out of touch with the local needs. Yet many too are marginalised in the politics of their own local organisations which, against a background of longstanding clan divisions, degenerate into maladministration and nepotism. Smith argued that public funding for local Aboriginal services often takes place before the development of sufficiently mature 'communities of social structure' to ensure the equitable allocation of that funding.

These dominant or prominent families or clans can, out of family interest, deprive other families of equal access to goods, services, jobs, training, transport and so on. If service providers and policy makers do not have evidence that communities of social structure exist then the imposition of community programmes and administrative mechanisms can seriously inhibit the self determination and development processes of particular geographical communities.¹²

While, as many Aboriginal people argue, corruption is also a feature of mainstream political life, the failure of many indigenous organisations to effectively tackle indigenous disadvantage and improve welfare, is lamentable, and is the pretext under which ATSIC was disbanded during 2004.

Rowse suggests that self-determination confers not just powers but responsibilities. Under such a regime for managing indigenous affairs, he argues, 'indigenous people are responsible (though not exclusively) for the reproduction of the indigenous social order'.¹³ While 'the liberalism of assimilation gave pride of place to the right of the individual without asking which community and tradition that individual belonged to' (p97) under self-determination the state recognises collective citizenship rights. The exercise of those rights is conditional upon both upward and downward accountability. But as Rowse observes '[i]ndigenous collectivity is a political scene with its own internal dynamics and tensions, its own philosophical issues of liberty and obligation'. The process of decolonisation is complex. There is no reason for believing that self-determination of Aboriginal people within a settler colony can proceed any more smoothly. The problem faced by indigenous leaders is how to deal with the sudden acquisition of power when their people are riven with social problems and have been marginal and powerless for so long. Even if the utopian cooperative Aboriginal community existed in pre-colonial times it cannot simply be unproblematically reconstituted in the socially variegated 'communities' of contemporary times. The norms of accountability, equity and social justice are lofty indeed but their observance and implementation requires that there be prior experience of active citizenship, which most Aboriginal people simply did not have.

The state has been reluctant to intervene in the affairs of self-determining organisations where things go awry, whether as a result of political cowardice or a misplaced cultural relativism. Both black and white Australia have been guilty of papering over the cracks, covering up the significant cleavages that make Aboriginal self-determination such a difficult task. The term community has been implicated in that process.

The crisis in representation

Since colonial times governments in Australia have been preoccupied with calling forth forms of indigenous involvement in decision making in order better to manage indigenous affairs. They often established processes of consultation and forms of representation that were alien to Aboriginal people. The painstaking processes of

collective consultation and discussion characteristic of Aboriginal society exasperated them. As Rowley wrote

For those accustomed to think in terms of class structure and officialdom of European society, the apparent anarchy and absence of social order among the Aborigines was both a permissive and a puzzling situation, not made any easier for the governors by directions from home, which tended to assume at least tribal chiefdoms among the Aborigines. The lack of easily recognised institutions with which the invaders could come to term, or which they could use for control and the lack of formal offices borne by persons who exercise official power which could be manipulated, prevented the governments from establishing effective dialogues with Aborigines.¹⁴

Experiments in Aboriginal governance in more recent times have also foundered because the state has created forms of representation that are alien to Aboriginal people. In 1967 the Commonwealth acquired the power to legislate in the area of Aboriginal affairs and could thus develop new forms of indigenous governance. This power was not exercised effectively until the election of Whitlam in 1972 after which the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA) was formed. In 1973 Labor set up the National Aboriginal Consultative Council (NACC) which was composed of elected Aboriginal delegates from forty one districts and had a role of advising government in Aboriginal affairs. It has been argued that this failed because the culture of Pan Aboriginal consciousness was underdeveloped: 'the notion of an ethnic group implies that at least a social category, if not a social entity, exists that already shares a set of values and aspirations. Clearly this was not the case with the Aborigines.'¹⁵ A report of DAA pointed to the failures of the NACC electoral system through which 'many people are expected to confer authority on an individual who comes from outside their own community and with whom at best their kinship and even cultural bonds maybe tenuous or ... non-existent' (p229). Around this time too divisions began to emerge between the radical young urban Aboriginal activists and their more cautious comrades in the Bush, tensions played out in the politics of the NACC. Rowse points out that HC Coombs, who had been a spirited advocate of Aboriginal rights, had long been suspicious of national forms of representation, seeing instead the need to for indigenous organic intellectuals to emerge from communities.¹⁶ However the tendency for many of the best and the brightest to leave their country to move to the city, has diminished this possibility.

The Federal Labor administrations of the eighties and early nineties governed along corporatist lines, identifying and consulting with national representatives of key pressure groups. This encouraged the emergence of a number of key Aboriginal leaders, like Noel Pearson, who dealt with the state on indigenous issues, particularly matters of native title. These people are publicly perceived as representatives of all indigenous people yet are often diffident about accepting the role of national Aboriginal representative as comments of Aboriginal Social Justice Commissioner Mick Dodson indicate. In his first report in that role Dodson wrote:

I am acutely conscious that to be identified as an "Aboriginal leader" and appointed by the Commonwealth to a position of influence may be viewed by some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as being co-opted by government...it is not appropriate that my views should be substituted for their own direct voices or that I can presume to speak for another person's traditional country.¹⁷

The problem for Aboriginal leaders is that they are forced to juggle the demands imposed on them by the liberal democratic state, and those generated by their involvement in something called Aboriginal community. The latter is conceived of in traditional terms, and made up of people who have never felt part of the imagined community, and operates in ways that often conflict with the requirements and expectations of the state.

Noblesse oblige and the new paternalism

The decade after the 1988 Bicentennial was one in which the Aboriginal movement gained considerable strength. This was firstly as a result of the acquisition of formal legal rights over land through relatively enlightened judicial decisions such as those in the Mabo and Wik cases. Secondly, the political moves undertaken by Labor governments such as the establishment of the Reconciliation process, of ATSIC and the passage of the Native Title legislation, appeared set to extend Aboriginal social and political power. In addition debates concerning the frontier and the process of settlement, the indigenous relationship to land, the past treatment of Aboriginal children and their families and the nature and causes of contemporary disadvantage generated considerable sympathy for the Aboriginal cause, notably among middle-class, tertiary-educated city dwellers. At the Reconciliation Conference in 1996 Aboriginal delegates jeered recently elected Prime Minister John Howard during a speech in which he refused to make a public apology to members of the Stolen Generation. It appeared that the celebratory and progressivist account of nation and national history was wearing thin. But opinion polls showed consistent majority support for Howard's implacable position in spite of mass public demonstrations of support for Reconciliation and Land Rights, from the march across Sydney Harbour Bridge in May 2000 to the signing of Sorry Books by tens of thousands of Australians. In September 2003, John Howard claimed victory in the Culture Wars citing as evidence the fact that Aboriginal activists no longer asked him to apologise for the barbarities of the past.¹⁸ Regardless of this claim, it is clear that many Aboriginal representatives have recently adopted a more conciliatory, less hostile mode of dealing with the state.

It would be a mistake, however, to see this defensive politics only as a product of the Right's continued electoral success. It is generated by the tensions and contradictions that have emerged within what are called communities. Besides those played out through allegations of mismanagement, nepotism and corruption directed at some of those associated with Aboriginal organisations, there have also been other public manifestations of internal divisions. Most notable of these were the conflicts that took place in Tasmania following the 1999 ATSIC elections, in which the indigenous credentials of ninety percent of those on the Tasmanian ATSIC electoral roll were challenged.¹⁹ Such challenges have been happening sporadically on a smaller scale in different parts of Australia particularly in places where members of established kinship groups feel besieged by recent arrivals. The fractures around class, kinship affiliation, rural/ urban divisions and so on have served to undermine Pan Aboriginal unity. These fractures, the widespread perception, within both black and white Australia, that public resources have been squandered and the crisis in Aboriginal representation discussed above, have undermined the project of self-determination and highlighted the complexities of Aboriginal community politics.

This has led politicians increasingly to resort to different consultative strategies involving bypassing the established bureaucratic and political structures, such as prime ministerial visits to remote communities, or the convening of summits on particular problems (such as domestic violence) to which selected 'Aboriginal leaders'

are invited.. Such actions represent Howard's attempt to reinvent himself: from the hard-headed truculent conservative to the benevolent practitioner of noblesse oblige - with power comes responsibility – listening sympathetically to stories of suffering and promising to address the problems. Where consultation takes place outside the formal institutional processes it almost has the symbolic status of Campfire Gatherings, the frontier détente that took place all too rarely in history. It allows the Prime Minister to position himself above the political fray, much like a figurehead monarch in a constitutional system, and to pose as the concerned and benevolent patriarch. It is to be expected that those Aboriginal people involved in the consultation express confidence in and satisfaction with the process because they have access to the whitefella's leader without the interference of advisers and public servants. The parties jettison the cumbersome machinery of the state, including the bureaucratic processes of self-determination.

This appears to be the revival of an older mode of power - that of paternalism. However, it is a different paternalism from that which operated in assimilation era. The idea that colonial leaders can deal directly with 'communities', usually understood as remote communities, perpetuates an essentialist reification of Aboriginality, the dichotomy between the traditional and the modern. To be authentically indigenous you have to be a member of such a community. While not wishing to deride the ambition to alleviate the problems of those living in remote areas it is important to recognise that the ideological effect of politicians trekking out to these places is to marginalise the urban Aboriginal population. It is a strategy likely to feed the antipathy between those who leave and those who stay, the uptown blacks and the homelander, the Aboriginal bureaucrats and the community people. It may further destabilise the structures of indigenous representation and undermine the claims of the more than half of the indigenous people who live as members of minorities in cities and country towns. The indications are that while more public resources will be directed towards the diminishing numbers living in remote areas less will go to those in cities and towns.

Indigenous communitarianism

For most Aboriginal people Pan Aboriginality has a symbolic rather than a political appeal. In particular it gives a broader purpose and collective strength to minority indigenous groups, particularly in towns and cities, but it does not mean they accept that political power in Aboriginal affairs should be vested in central authorities. For all of the problems and conflicts that have afflicted Aboriginal organisations in recent times most indigenous people still want the primary operation of self-determination to be local rather than through remote national bodies. The history of the NACC and ATSIC indicates that there is deep suspicion of the idea of an institutionalised national Aboriginality. In cultural terms the Pan Aboriginal public should be understood as a loose confederation rather than a broad, inclusive imagined community. There is also a deeper ambivalence towards what we might call the moral economy of citizenship. Liberal democratic ideology permits minority groups to express their dissent towards governments, but where there is conflict between the laws and values shaped in the centre and particular communal standards and practices, the obligations of citizenship require that the former are paramount.

In recent times Communitarian thinkers have challenged the notion that the general will, as embodied in the state, should dictate our primary obligations. The idea of empowering communities has been central to Communitarian philosophy.²⁰ This philosophy rejects the liberal quest to define universal rights and values around a

notion of abstract individual citizenship and argue that such things should only be locally and collectively determined. Ethical standards and notions of justice can only be formed with reference to the traditions and lived culture of particular communities. Communitarians argue that in detaching citizens from their lived cultural situations, and emphasising rights at the expense of obligations, liberal political practice has actually discouraged active critical citizenship. Communitarians advocate a program of radical devolution that allows for values and practices to be shaped by people *in situ* and not imposed by external and impersonal political authority.

This approach has been taken up in the writings of Noel Pearson who argues that it has been the extension of formal rights, primarily welfare rights, to Aboriginal people in the last third of the twentieth century that contributed to their demoralisation. He claims that the reason why so many of his people in the Cape York region experience severe social problems is that they have become supplicants of the welfare state and have lost the sense of mutual obligation that operated in traditional times. When the state gave indigenous people the ability to claim social security, to receive equal wages and to buy alcohol like other citizens, it was rightly pursuing the cause of equality but has had invidious consequences. When, for example, Aboriginal people won the right to equal wages, the jobs in pastoral employment that had long been available to them dried up. Aboriginal men became unemployed, dependent on the dole and turned to alcohol. For Pearson the recovery of the indigenous social fabric can only happen when Aboriginal people are removed from what he calls the gammon economy and brought into the orbit of the 'real' (ie, market) economy. When the influence of the state, both cossetting and disempowering, is removed, so moral sovereignty will be devolved to Aboriginal communities once again.

This implies a form of separatism and ethical relativism where the traditional standards are reinstated and obligations associated with kinship bonds displace standardised social welfare strategies. The community closes in on itself. This raises the question of how much obligations based on face-to-face ties should supersede the abstract bonds of a broader imagined community. Iris Marion Young criticises the idea of community as a Rousseauist dream of harmony that fails to acknowledge the existence of lines of power that fracture what we call communities. While accepting that communal ties have social benefits, she claims that

[A] model of a good society as composed of decentralised economically self-sufficient, face-to-face communities, functioning as autonomous political entities does not purify politics, as its proponents think, but rather avoids politics.²¹

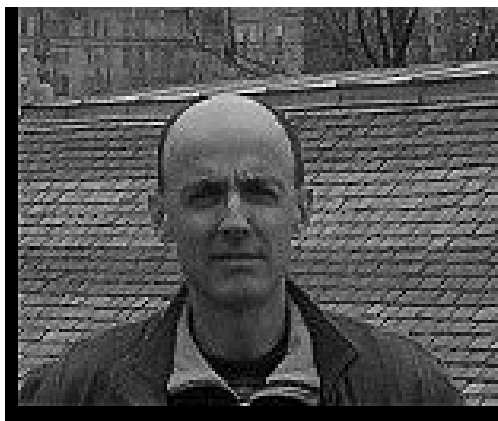
In spite of our tendency to romanticise communities of origin, in complex modern societies people have 'multiple belongingness'. Young argues that where the price of membership of a 'community' is a singular and absolute adherence to its moral economy, this both suffocates and represses. It prevents the expression and acknowledgment of internal social diversity.

Aboriginal people resist being treated as simply another cultural minority in a multicultural society. As the original owners of the land in which an alien law now operates many claim the right to exercise their communal practices free from colonial surveillance and regulation. There are many instances where authorities have allowed the application of tribal law rather than Australian law in some remote areas. However, in general, there are transcendental values that should prevail regardless of the special circumstances of Aboriginal people. The state should not hesitate to intervene in cases where violence and abuse is taking place. Very few Aboriginal people now

live in circumstances where they are completely immersed in indigenous kinship ties to the exclusion of all others. Most have other webs of social connection. We should therefore be suspicious of forms of fundamentalist closure through which members of 'communities' seek exemption from general ethical and legal standards.

Conclusion

In recent times there has been a tendency for Aboriginal people, particularly those living in cities, to embrace an essentialist identity. This reflects a desire for communal anchorage and to evade the stigma of the fringe dweller. I have argued that the dominant narrative of Self-Determination is one that depicts Aboriginal people as reclaiming the traditional communal solidarity and moral economy. But the construction of community in closed and reified terms has hampered contemporary indigenous politics. Community is a powerful means of interpellation. It summons people towards potent affiliations and rallies them around collective symbols. Community is also a central to the lexicon of representation. It is a key weapon in the struggle for resources and power but in staking their claims indigenous activists have too often used the rhetoric of community in a way that disguises the variegated and fragmented post-colonial situations of indigenous people. It is rhetoric that all too often romanticises origins and conceals difference. In Australia colonial power has dispersed and divided Aboriginal people and even set them against each other. The experience of this power has varied across time and space and so have the strategies adopted by those who have been subject to it. By making these observations I am not seeking to abandon the project of self-determination or to dismantle the Aboriginal public and push people towards fragmented individual citizenship. All modern forms of solidarity involve unity in diversity. I am simply arguing that cultural and political spaces within which something we might recognise as community can operate, are not ready made but have to be created.



Dr George Morgan is in the Centre for Cultural Research, Humanities, at the University of Western Sydney. His book *Unsettled Places: Aboriginal People and Urbanisation in NSW* will be published by Wakefield Press in 2006.

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Between March 1989 and the end of June 1997, the ICAC received more than 200 complaints about the ALC system in NSW. It is significant that the vast majority of these complaints came from Aboriginal people. In the year from 1 July 1996 to 30 June 1997, complaints received from members of the public about ALCs were fourth highest of those received by the ICAC in relation to all organisations that fell within its jurisdiction.
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The Community Project: An Exploration of Walgett

Frances Peters-Little

Introduction

In 1998, I undertook a one-year research fellowship at Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) to work on 'the community project.' The focus of study was originally to be the township of Walgett which is geographically situated in the far northwest of NSW.¹ The aim was to investigate the question: what is an Aboriginal community; how is it represented and conceptualised both from within and from the perspective of 'outsiders'? My initial intent for the research was to produce a CD Rom that would include essays, photographs and sound bytes to be circulated amongst scholars and Aboriginal groups with the hope of generating discussion and debate on the topic of Aboriginal community and identity, and to encourage further discussion about how one defines a community. At the end of my fellowship I produced a discussion paper which was entitled 'The Community Game: Aboriginal Self-Definition at the Local Level',² which incidentally received much response and citation from other scholars,³ but was then left with more than 200 photographs and sound bytes collected during the fieldwork.

By 2005 I would get an opportunity, after much petitioning and a great deal of support from Margo Neale and Barbara Paulson from the First Australian Gallery, to produce and co-curate a major photographic exhibition at the National Museum of Australia. The exhibition, entitled 'Our Community: A Great Place To Be'⁴ became more than just a photographic exhibition; it included a unifying series of events that would showcase and launch a 25-minute documentary film called 'Our Community', a voice-over/slide-show and interactive display entitled 'Claire's Tobacco Tin', and a one-day symposium called 'History Through the Lens.'

Initially the discussion paper took an internal view of an Aboriginal 'community'. However, after having worked on such an extensive project that included a photographic exhibition and a documentary film I decided that the project should aim to be more than just an historical account written for historians and other scholars. In fact my experiences on this project taught me that it was essential that the outcome of this project would be available and accessible to scholars, artists and indigenous people and non-indigenous people from the Walgett community. Throughout the project, I found that there were many tiers of communities that existed within this one locality and that one's concept depended very much of where one was positioned and what purpose they had in seeking to define a community. In reality, it was a bit like trying to pinpoint precisely where a primary nucleus should lie amidst an undefined number of overlapping cells. However, from my position as a traditional Uralarai/Kamilaroi descendant of the area and an oral/visual historian I resolved to focus on the historical and political influences upon the community, and how Aboriginal elements continue to exist within multicultural rural Australia, and what this community might 'look and sound' like in the twenty-first century.

The discussion paper

I began the work on the discussion paper with all intent and purpose to focus specifically on the surrounding Aboriginal missions, reserves and pastoral stations from which a lot of Aboriginal people who lived in the Walgett came. I was initially interested in the historical and political development of Walgett and the attitudes that Aborigines in this area had towards their changing community, culture and identities. The discussion paper addressed, among other things, topics such as eldership and leadership. It also critiqued what I believe

has become in recent years an overflow of romantic notions about Aboriginal communities and challenged various concepts and slogans such as 'community as unity'⁵ while investigating how recent historical events impacted upon the way we perceived our communities. I also wanted to find out to what extent current and contemporary notions about 'Aboriginal community' had been shaped by governmental policy and investigate how such policies, originally designed to restrain and inhibit Aboriginal people from seeking cultural and economic independence from the coloniser, influenced the way we thought of ourselves as Aboriginal people.

I argued that the term 'community' only became popular by the mid 1970s after the Whitlam Government established the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and finally abandoned assimilation as a governmental policy. The term was used to enable governments to begin distributing funds for welfare programs and the delivery of services to Aboriginal people in remote areas, and these new and introduced frameworks for 'defining' an Aboriginal community 'soon became the medium by which all government department and services could automatically might appear to be culturally appropriate, democratic and at the same time politically and socially acceptable to the majority of Australians'.⁶ I had supported the argument by scholar Barry Smith, that since the early 1970s, 'Aboriginal people across Australia have become so good at playing the 'community game' that many have begun to believe it',⁷ often ignoring traditional boundaries, family relationships and kinship structures that have been replaced by Aboriginal community organisations, land councils and ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) electorates.

I wanted to emphasise that since the advent of the Aboriginal services that were initially set up to benefit Aborigines, many have since become the 'gate-keepers' of the communities they service. This role is problematic for several reasons, including the capacity to be dominated by a select few who belong to some of the more prominent and dominant families who work within the organisations. I was particularly drawn to, and elaborated on, the definition used by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in their report to the Australian Research Council:

Definitions of community are as diverse as communities themselves and there is no one definition of community that applies in all cases. Communities cannot be assumed to be homogeneous. To make this assumption is to ignore the diversity of groupings within communities. On the other hand, community can be used as a shorthand way to describe groups of people who indeed share a culture, including common linguistic characteristics, common geography, common culture and a common history.⁸

Interestingly, among those interviewed in the Walgett region for the discussion paper in 1998, many described 'Aboriginal communities' as caring, sharing and generous in all things; that poverty and hardship was something to expected or accepted in the community; that outside help or control should automatically be rejected, and solutions can only be found within the confines of that community; and that individual needs must always succumb to community wishes. But I also met those who thought that 'the only people who can afford to have [romantic views about community are those that] don't have to stay in the community'⁹ while others were even more critical and referred to Aboriginal communities during the 1980s, using the term 'mission mentality' to describe the 'dependency' upon the government 'handout' system to which Aboriginal people have become conditioned. This term was also used to describe a type of 'culture' which emerged from the lifestyles and values arising from out of the Aboriginal Protection Board and Aboriginal Welfare Board era on missions, reserves and pastoral

stations. It usually meant that people were fearful and/or powerless to challenge white authorities, or act independently of their Aboriginal neighbours for fear of retribution from those neighbours and/or the authorities.

During the research I began examining the relationships between community workers and those who use the services. What I found was that Aboriginal people (who incidentally were unequal to the economic status of whites) in recent years had become even further divided among themselves, since the introduction of 'community' services. Although this was not a concern that was specific to this particular area, it nevertheless appeared that the provision of government funding to community services under the label of 'self-determination' in some form or another, had created further welfare dependency¹⁰ in Aboriginal communities nationally, and was widening the socio-economic gap between the people who fund the services, those who work for them, and those who depend upon the services.

I also met those who shared their experiences of feeling torn about their positions as community workers. Servicing their own community (and sometimes even family members), while holding a position of authority over their own families and friends, while at the same time relying upon the 'enemy'¹¹ (government) to fund local self-determination programs was an invidious position to occupy. The discussion paper suggested it was rather reckless for policy-makers and governments to disregard the fact that Aboriginal people have historically survived over two centuries of oppression and division, and assume that Aboriginal people might have forgotten all links to their traditional obligations, and would therefore fall automatically in line with government policy. It was also foolish to imagine that such long existing inequities and cultural and political divisions that have occurred amongst Aboriginal people since the coming of the white man should disappear simply because governments have been contributing funding and implementing self-determination policies in the community. I also argued it was unrealistic to expect that because Aboriginal people were now working in government departments that loyalties to kin and tribe might disappear simply because Aboriginal people now occupied decision making positions within the government and on the 'community' boards and organisation. These positions were still based on western notions of representativeness.¹² In reality, internal divisions and the long history of colonial rupture has played upon the way Aboriginal people interact with each other, and strongly influenced the effects that missions, reserves and pastoral stations had upon our contemporary constructs and views about 'community'.

Missions, reserves and pastoral stations

Historically in the Walgett region, massacres and land grabs took place as early as 1826 when Governor Darling told white settlers to take vigorous measures for their own defence against the natives in the northwest.¹³ Consequently, Aborigines had put up a kind of guerrilla warfare resulting in casualties on both sides.¹⁴ By 1836, the new squatters were granted the right to graze livestock on the northwest plains, but again Aborigines disputed the invaders' 'rights, occupation, and hegemony, though not in a manner that the invaders would call war'.¹⁵ British control gave way to colonial control in the 1850s. Within all the Australian colonies the conventional view of Aboriginal culture was that it was in irreversible decline and by the 1880s, especially in the southern parts of the continent, the whites were endeavouring to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race'.¹⁶

In New South Wales, the Aboriginal Protection Board (APB) was formed in 1883 to look after this 'dying race' and help the remnants assimilate into white society. Yet if

the task for the APB was to assimilate Aborigines, then it is ironic that they should expect the Aboriginal people on the northwest plains of New South Wales to assimilate into white society while enforcing segregation laws which kept them isolated on reserves and missions. It is arguable that being restricted to missions and reserves actually assisted those families in keeping their links to their history and each other. Notwithstanding some of the bloodiest massacres on the northwest plains, such as the notorious Hospital Creek and Myall Creek massacres in 1838, descendants from the Weilwan, Uralarai, Kamilaroi and Ngemba have continued to survive. Aboriginal people retained their Aboriginality and their own concepts of social and geographical boundaries despite invasion. While it was thought that Aboriginal culture was dying and the people had lost their connection to land, Aboriginal descendants living on the northwest plains argue that they have maintained ongoing relationships to their sacred sites and traditional lands, having never left it.

Some white historians have argued that the APB set up missions and reserves intending to control rather than protect Aborigines,¹⁷ and that reserves were white initiatives aimed to 'cure' Aborigines of their 'nomadism' and be useful to white employers.¹⁸ While the pastoral industry is blamed for being the single most important agent in the destruction of Aboriginal society,¹⁹ however, the ways in which my Aboriginal elders reminisce about their lives on reserves, missions and stations are far more complex than some white historians have argued. A possible explanation for this could be that their memories of their ability to resist are more significant than the oppression they endured. For example, my grandmother Doreen Peters told me her story of when she was a nine year old, about the sixpence a week she never received after five years of domestic service on a pastoral station. Yet, her memories of mission life were always fond and her stories of the cruelty of whites on pastoralist stations always concluded with several accounts of how she overcame it.²⁰ While recent memories of assimilation policies and segregation practices have perhaps caused Aboriginal people internally to reject 'white society', memories of 'survival' and 'resistance' to whiteness, are an essential component of Aboriginality. In this way Aboriginal people actively participate in the construction of their own Aboriginality.

Elders and leaders

In recent times however, perhaps the most unsettled question regarding their identity as a surviving people and culture is the question of 'who now are their elders and leaders?' I was curious to understand what impact had been made when an invading culture, whose leadership stemmed primarily from a predominantly patriarchal framework of power relationships, came into contact with a matrilineal and gerontocratic society? I was not surprised to hear many Aboriginal locals say they were disturbed by the fact that so many Aboriginal men claiming to be elders in their 30s and 40s had taken total control of the decision making in our Aboriginal communities today. However, the question of how old does one have to be to become an elder was answered by Roy and June Barker from Lightning Ridge who told me that:

Age alone was insufficient: they had to be people who were perceived to be intelligent by the group also. In order of priority, I was obliged to the elders in my own family first and foremost then anyone else who was significantly older than I were called 'Auntie' or 'Uncle'. Those 'recognised' elders who came from another 'country' would have to be treated with respect, but they did not speak on behalf of your 'countrymen'.²¹

In terms of my own elders and many of the Aboriginal families who live in Walgett today, Angledool mission, situated within the Walgett Shire, is perhaps the main mission with which many families who live in Walgett identify. Claire Simpson, my great-grandmother (1887-1958), raised a young family on Angledool mission. Her mother, known as Emily, a 'full-blooded' Aboriginal woman spoke Uralarai and Kamilaroi, lived in the Angledool region except when she was apprenticed out to work on the pastoral stations. Though restricted by government policy to live on missions, reserves and pastoralist stations, her daughter Doreen Peters' generation played a large role in the re-construction of what we identify as contemporary culture, identity and Aboriginality. Studies with Angledool elders (in 1996 by Marisa Menin) suggest that Uralarai and Kamilaroi people in the northwest hold strong historical connections to missions and reserves and have retained enough community spirit to reconstruct themselves as a people of their own land despite years of colonial oppression, institutionalisation and displacement.²² Proclaiming Angledool as their site of Aboriginal heritage and culture, their links to Angledool were perhaps strengthened by the terrifying events surrounding the night it was abandoned at midnight during winter in 1936 when families were ruthlessly split apart and forced onto the back of cattle trucks and transported to unknown destinations.²³



*Five Generations of the Simpson/Peters family. (Photograph: Juno Gemes, 1998).
L-R Frances Claire Peters-Little, Doreen Claire Peters, Marjorie Little (nee Peters) James
Henry Little and Claire Simpson (pictured).*

Their identities were rooted in their ability to survive mission and station life, as opposed to identifying with a traditional life, history, site and experience denied to them. The hardship they endured has since become an almost accepted part of Aboriginality, as though an aspect of being Aboriginal is the expectation of communal burden and suffering. People of my grandmother's generation had little education, worked for rations of poor quality foods and goods; were removed from their parents

during childhood and subjected to restrictions, segregation and a limited mobility permitted only by exemption papers or 'dog-tags'; and were told where to live and work whenever the local authorities felt it necessary. So it is little wonder if this generation had put their cultural and traditional values aside to focus on more immediate affairs such as protecting and keeping their families together.

Doreen Peters, my grandmother, always insisted that the families who lived on Angledool up until the 1930s were closely related to the bloodlines of traditional clans who existed in the area before white settlers arrived.²⁴ She asserted that Aboriginal people didn't just die off and disappear, that in fact those who survived or went away almost always returned back home to their traditional lands, to marry locally or to work on the pastoral stations. It was her generation who still spoke their native mother's tongue as children, or could still hunt and gather if 'allowed' and passed that knowledge down to my mother's generation. They maintained knowledge of their parents' dreaming stories, songs and dances, while they remained on traditional land, regardless of the new white boundaries and fences. My grandmother was expected to know which clans and relationships had been important under our law, albeit shattered and unrecognised by Christian values, the police or governments. Even in the case of bloodlines, my mother had brought to my attention that the one time 'traditional' clan names, such as Kamilaroi clan groups called Murri, Ippai, Cubby and Cumbo, still existed, pointing out that there were families whose surnames were spelt Murray, Hippitts, Cubby and Cumbo, which most assumed had been common European names. Also for my grandmother, the importance of names and languages was that they could identify people to a place and time in the absence of written documentation and other government records. Though my grandmother would be the first to challenge contemporary notions about Aborigines as a 'sharing' and 'caring' people, she still insisted that the notion of 'sharing and caring' arose from those times when they faced severe hardship and sorrow. But among the 'caring and sharing' there had been sorrow in her voice about the days of extreme poverty and cruelty of their time, and a haunting reminder that she, like so many others, was expected to be the bearer of cultural and genetic continuity, while witnessing the complete denial of her cultural rights as elder and leader.

Even in more contemporary times, Aboriginal men as elders and leaders like traditional patriarch Harry Hall have been denied their traditional rights, while they have to watch 'imposed' leaders take control of Aboriginal affairs in the community. Hall states:

'Our so-called leaders in our communities are just there to answer the questions that the government doesn't want to answer. And those leaders can't win, they can't please blackfellas, they can't please the government. You're enemies with everyone, glory without power. If you had any brains you wouldn't get into the jobs, as window dressers. All the money is taken up by just running the organisations like cars, photocopiers etc. it's just about running the organisations, so they look like their doing a lot of work but they are spending most of the money on just running the organisation and not the services. So it looks like we are busy doing things, but all we are busy doing is running the organisation. Like I say; the glory without the power'.



*Harry Hall, activist during the 1967 Freedom Rides, Gingie Mission Road, 2003.
(Photo: Sharon Aldrick.)*

Aboriginal elder Harry Hall is not alone in his criticism of leadership. In their 1999 research for a leadership development program in indigenous communities, Margaret Cranney and Dale Edwards (AIATSIS) found Aboriginal people on a national basis were frustrated with the ways in which Aboriginal people voluntarily /involuntarily emerged as leaders. Their studies found that in several cases, some Aboriginal leaders emerged because they were either someone who might have already been groomed or nominated by that community to be their cultural leader or they were thrust into the role by peer pressure and expectations. In other cases they found

that people had referred to various individuals as the expert of a subject or issue while others had been elected to positions within community organisations or as representatives in their local governments. Some thought that an Aboriginal leader was a person who was able to be perceived as a 'role model' in the community, because he or she has gained the respect and qualities of honesty and integrity in accordance to community wishes. But perhaps the most undesirable leaders are those who have been publicly pushed (by themselves or others) to the forefront by media promotion, or those appointed by the government, formally or informally as an adviser, or individuals who had asserted themselves and their own opinions in the interest of self-expression and self-promotion. So the continuing question of who can become an Aboriginal leader remains a highly vexing one, as we were able to see from the recent abolition of ATSIC and appointment of the Select Committee on the Administration of Indigenous Affairs in 2004.²⁵

Today the Walgett Shire includes over 8000 people, about twenty per cent of whom are Aboriginal.²⁶ The township of Walgett has a population of 3000 people and is surrounded by a 9-kilometre levee bank. In the town there are several Aboriginal community services, some dating back to the mid 1970s when the Foundation for Aboriginal Affairs and the Aboriginal pre-school were set up. Subsequently, the Barwon Aboriginal Community Centre (1980s), the Walgett Aboriginal Medical Service and the Aboriginal Lands Council were added, along with a range of Aboriginal employment and education services. Walgett also has an Aboriginal Legal Service, several Aboriginal Health Workers and an Aboriginal Nurse at the Walgett District Hospital, along with 'Euragai Goondi', which is a home for the elderly, including a conference centre and accommodation service. Aboriginal Police Liaison Officers, Aboriginal Meals on Wheels workers, an Aboriginal community worker for the Department Of Community Services, three Aboriginal football teams, an Aboriginal Lawn Bowl team, and Aboriginal Cricket, Golf and Darts teams also operate and several Aboriginal people work in government and private sector organisations and businesses.

The documentary film

Perhaps there has been no greater demand for Aboriginal leadership in Walgett than there is at present, according to non-Aboriginal local resident and Chairman of the

Crime Prevention Plan of Walgett, Don Lillyman. Lillyman, who comes from a farming family who have lived in the Walgett shire for more than a century, became one of 30 interviewees for the documentary film 'Our Community' which was made as a part of the overall community project. Lillyman's view is that the white population of Walgett is on the decrease, while the Aboriginal population is on the rise. This view is also shared by several white locals, including Beauty Salon proprietor, Melanie Bradley who is also in the film. Both Lillyman and Bradley, whose families settled in the area as early as the 1860s, share a long farming history in the Walgett shire. Lillyman deems that the potential for reconciliation in the area is great, but thinks that the only time he sees the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the community coming together is in time of severe hardship and misfortune.

Less pessimistic about the community of Walgett are local general practitioner Dr Vlad Matic, and the town's one and only taxi driver Vince Turner. Turner, on the one hand, believes the divisions between blacks and whites are getting better year by year. Matic, on the other, believes communities like Walgett have been out of fashion for several years, but expects that urbanites may realise that there's much to gain by moving to inland rural communities like Walgett, because of their tranquil and healthier lifestyles, as long as governments are prepared to spend the money to upgrade their technological and medical services. Traditional elder and language teacher Ted Fields says that he would not want to live in a utopian society, but believes in his community, while Aboriginal singer/songwriter Victor Beale is optimistic about the future of Walgett, so long as steady employment comes to the area.

Despite such examples of optimism and devotion to their community, the film reveals images of a town marred by a highly visible presence of bars and barriers over shop windows and hotels. All residents both black and white express uneasiness and dislike for the bars, and are highly embarrassed by what outsiders think of their community and confess that the bars and barriers give their town a 'bad reputation', as does the outside media and residents of other surrounding towns. Although they admit that the bars and barriers may have once served a purpose in protecting property from theft and vandalism from the town's youth, many in the film agree that the level of crime in the area is on the decline. Statements are made in the film by the town's indigenous youth program officer Leslie Tighe who tearfully discloses that 'her town isn't as bad as others might think.' Pool Manager Ricki Small, who runs a youth activities group in the local pool, is very hopeful that his program will assist in keeping youths from indulging in more criminal activity.

Everyone who was interviewed for the documentary film was asked what they thought was a 'community'. Their answers varied, making bold statements like 'homelessness was all but absent in Walgett' or that 'Walgett is a friendly town, and that anyone who has the courage to venture there would quickly find themselves engulfed by the town's openness and charity'. The people in the film, in other words, were very keen to emphasise what the advantages of belonging to a community was all about.

The photographs

Another component of the 'community' project was the photography exhibition entitled 'Our Community: A Great Place To Be'. The exhibition consisted of 55 black and white photographs by three distinguished photographers, Juno Gemes, Sharon Aldrick and Ron Blake. Also included in the exhibition was a map and wall text panels consisting of an introduction to the exhibition, artists' statements, a song in Uralarai language and a bush poem about the district. Highly attended and successful, the photography

exhibition hung for five months in the Gallery of First Australians at the National Museum of Australia, receiving much acclaim and media attention. The primary aim of the photographic exhibition was to visually explore the distinctive cultural and social diversities of those communities existing within the Walgett Shire, and to reflect and reinforce some of the more inclusive aspects of what it is like to live in an 'Aboriginal community'. The exhibition revealed that living in an Aboriginal community in rural Australia in the 21st century often means that one lives and breathes in a society of many cultures, livelihoods, religions, family values and routines. Having far-reaching cultural significance for rural Australians everywhere, I had wanted the exhibition to reflect an enduring documentation of individual and communal lives in the 21st century and to represent how those lives, in this small part of this world, were fundamentally linked with each other through geographical, historical and socio/economic position.

At no time did I have any qualms about working with white photographers who had never been to the area before, and was curious about their perceptions and how they imagined presenting the images to audiences like themselves, who came from relatively privileged white middle class urban societies. Sharon Aldrick, who worked with the community, said that, 'we all sleep, eat and breathe the same way therefore we are all equal. Oneness in diversity; it is this diversity of living that fascinates me most. Why do we choose to live a certain way? Or is it mapped out from birth? For a large number of people life doesn't present infinite choice or possibility. This is the version of Australia I sought to capture. The people that have spent their life in one community, one isolated outback community called Walgett. This is the real Australia to me'. Ron Blake, an amateur photographer made the comment that he 'was conscious of Walgett people who inhabited two worlds. The so called ordinary world of work/no-work, town life, houses, kids, footy, darts, and another world of location, landscape, signs, history, hidden meaning and special significance. The rivers, wetlands, trees and wildlife are all richly connected with the people who have their own rich and complex web of relationships with each other. They share an inner landscape, an intimacy and love of the country that I can only envy. I was drawn to take images of this landscape, attempting to capture context, congruity and incongruity. There are signs of history everywhere. Overall I try to establish a sense of place in which the story of the people has been played out and continues to be told'. Juno Gemes, a well-established documentary photographer gave her overview of the project stating that 'her purpose in the "community" project was to create photographs of what had been found and experienced in this spirit of inquiry in the outback communities of Walgett, Angledool and Lightning Ridge'. She further went on to say that 'it had been a journey on many levels, exploring and retracing family histories and the notion of culture and belonging to the land, both past and present'.

The symposium

The final stage of the 'community' project was the symposium which included photographers and filmmakers, scholars who presented papers like Catherine De Lorenzo, Ann McGrath, Nicolas Peterson, Jane Lydon, Catherine Summerhayes, Heather Goodall and Sylvia Kleinert, Museum professionals and more than 22 community representatives from the Walgett shire. The range of academic papers presented at the 'History through A Lens' forum covered topics from De Lorenzo's paper entitled 'Community photography and Activism: Engaging with Redfern' to Peterson's 'The Yolgnu Community as Photographed by Donald Thomson, 1935-1942'. However the highlight of the event was to share the activity and engagement

that took place between artists, scholars and community members, discussing the notion of 'community'.

Conclusion

After a long - 1998 and 2005 – period of working intermittently, it seems that my 'community' project has temporarily come to a close. The experience has been a rewarding one. As an indigenous historian I was able to use both the textual and visual forms to present a variety of views about the Aboriginal community of Walgett through a discussion paper, a photography exhibition and documentary film and an academic symposium. The journey has been at times both an enlightening and an unsettling one. It was enlightening simply because I was able to reach people in the community, talk to them on a personal level, and bring my theoretical knowledge to some understanding through applied and 'visual' research. It was also an unsettling journey, because I feared the possibility of disappointing many scholars who would like to think that history becomes corrupted whenever it is transformed from the written word on the page to the visual. Despite this, my intention is to continue to work in this manner, knowing as a historian that we live in world that continues to be inundated with images, and that people seem to be increasingly receiving their ideas about the past through images. More importantly, I wanted the 'community' project to include the 'community'; to be read, seen, heard and spoken about, by that community. I could not imagine doing it any other way, least of all, sitting in the lonely depths of an archive, away from the Walgett 'community'.



Frances Peters-Little is currently a Research Fellow in the Australian Centre for Indigenous History at the Australian National University. Her book, *The Return of the Noble Savage* will be published in 2006 (Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra). She is currently working on a biography of Aboriginal singer /entertainer Jimmy Little. Previously, she spent many years as a documentary filmmaker for ABC TV.

¹ The Shire of Walgett covers an area of some 22007 square kilometres. The northern boundary of the Shire is the border of Queensland. To the west is the Shire of Brewarrina, to the south are the Shires of Warren and Coonamble and to the east the Shire of Moree Plains and the Shire of Narrabri. Walgett is situated 770 kms from Sydney with the two nearest major population and regional centres the City of Dubbo approximately 276 kms to the south and the City of Tamworth approximately 359 kms to the southeast. The majority of the Shire consists of rural properties engaged in the production of sheep and wool, cattle, grains and cotton, with recent expansion of pulses and opal mining. The estimated Walgett Shire population is 8310 persons based on 2001 Census, which is a decrease of 2.8% in the period from 1996-2002, but only 0.06% decrease over the period from 1986-2001.

- ² First published in 2000 by the Native Title Research Unit, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. This article draws heavily on that paper, with permission from AIATSIS, gratefully acknowledged.
- ³ Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Neil Pollock, Jane Anderson, Michael Brogan, Gillian Cowlshaw, Gaynor MacDonald, Robert Manne, and others.
- ⁴ The title of the exhibition was chosen by Aboriginal elder Harry Hall from Walgett, 2003.
- ⁵ D. Eastwood poster for NAIDOC Week 1993 – 4 July to 11 July reproduced from NAIDOC News, July 1993: 16. The theme for NAIDOC 1993 was 'Aboriginal Nations - Owners of the Land Since Time Began - Community is Unity'.
- ⁶ Smith, B (1989). *The Concept Community in Aboriginal Policy and Service Delivery*, Darwin, NADU: 9.
- ⁷ *Ibid*: 3.
- ⁸ AIATSIS (1998). *Research of Interest to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples*, Australian Research Council Commissioned Report No 59, Canberra, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies: 41.
- ⁹ Peters-Little, Frances (1998). Interview with Don Jenner, an Uralarai/Kamilaroi descendant from Lightning Ridge and Law student at the University of New South Wales, in *A Collection of Oral History Interviews*, Sydney, F. Peters-Little.
- ¹⁰ Noel Pearson emphasises that Welfare is killing Aboriginal people in north Queensland, in an interview he conducted with Paul Barclay on ABC Radio National, on the *Background Briefing* program on Sunday, 29 October 2000.
- ¹¹ Peters-Little (1998) *op cit* 'With Michael Mansell, James Cook University', np.
- ¹² Tatz, C (1977). 'Aborigines: Political Options and Strategies', in RM Berndt, *Aborigines and Change; Australia in the 70s*, Canberra; [Atlantic Highlands], New Jersey; Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies; Humanities Press.
- ¹³ Ferry, John (1987). *Walgett Before The Motor Car*, Walgett, J Ferry: 40.
- ¹⁴ Reynolds, Henry (1987). *Frontier*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin: 6-11.
- ¹⁵ Cowlshaw, Gillian (1988). *Black White or Brindle, Race In Rural Australia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 5.
- ¹⁶ Bates, Daisy (1938). *The Passing of the Aborigines*, London, Murray.
- ¹⁷ Cowlshaw *op cit*: 76.
- ¹⁸ Goodall, H (1988). 'Crying Out For Land Rights', in Verity Burgmann and Jenny Lee (eds) *Staining the Wattle*, Fitzroy, Vic., McPhee Gribble/Penguin: 182.
- ¹⁹ Reynolds *op cit*: 85 and 106.
- ²⁰ Peters-Little (1998) *op cit* 'With Doreen Peters', np.
- ²¹ Peters-Little (1998) *op cit*, Interview with Roy and June Barker, Lightning Ridge, np.
- ²² Menin, M (1996). *Memory and History At Angledool*, MA Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra: 4.
- ²³ Peters-Little (1998) *op cit*, Interview with Florence Kennedy, np..
- ²⁴ Peters-Little (1998) *op cit* 'With Doreen Peters', np.
- ²⁵ Pratt, A and Bennett, S (2004-2005). The end of ATSIC and the future administration of Indigenous affairs, *Current Issues Brief 4*, as cited online at <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/CIB/2004-05/05cib04.htm> on 14 March 2006.
- ²⁶ Walgett Shire Council statistics, March 1998.

Community as Palimpsest: The Example of Perth

Daniela Stehlik

All architecture proposes an effect on the human mind, not merely a service to the human frame.¹

... symbolic environments [are] created by human acts of conferring meaning to nature and the environment, of giving the environment definition and form from a particular angle of vision and through a special filter of values and beliefs. Every landscape is a symbolic environment.²

The city can be understood only in the context of its landscape ...³

Every generation appears to 'discover' community. In this way 'community' becomes a palimpsest – similar to a parchment scraped off, and written over - as we re-inscribe it over and over again. As this paper will show, such re-inscribing occurs not only in the symbolic, but also in the physical environment. Just as we appear to have to 'rediscover' community, so we also need to re-learn the power of the relationship between our built and our symbolic environments and for those of us living in today's cities, this is becoming increasingly important to our well-being and quality of life.

Since the late 1990s, the 'return to' community has picked up momentum, after a decline in favour of individualism during the previous 'greed is good' decade. This can be linked to the increasing focus and interest in civil society and social capital. Much policy and decision making is now based on 'community consultation' and in whatever context, as diverse as human services; crime prevention; multiculturalism; corporate social responsibility or master-planned housing estates 'community' becomes offered as a solution. It has increasingly become commodified and marketed and provides the basis of much media content and comment. The common link is that it is increasingly being presented as a consistent ideal to which we should be aspiring. The question is whether there can be shared understanding, or whether this ideal remains essentially rhetoric or an artificial construct.

This paper draws on reflections over the past two years since I returned to Western Australia to establish the Alcoa Research Centre for Stronger Communities at Curtin University of Technology. A Centre for 'Stronger Communities' is itself an example of the recognition of the increasing focus on community issues (with its connection to the Federal Government's Stronger Families/Stronger Communities Initiative), as well as to the potential of industry-sponsored social science research.⁴ My new role has naturally meant that I have had 'community on my mind', but it has also meant that I have been thinking about the broader environment – the landscape around me - differently from when I lived in WA a decade ago.

The meanings of such environments shift and change depending on who is viewing them, from what perspective, and each of us experiences this symbolic landscape differently according to our own values and beliefs. While I found that Perth had changed and grown, it was also evident that this change was deeper than simply in the visible built form; it was also in the symbolic landscape, thus impacting on the way in which society and communities were being re-created and re-inscribed. This re-inscription in turn, shapes the nature of 'community consultation' process; on social policy planning and program delivery and on decision making and long term strategic

planning. In such a complex environment, the Centre for Stronger Communities has become involved in R & D projects that contribute to a deeper understanding of, and inherent potential in, 'the community'.

During my preparing for and writing this article, I had an opportunity to re-visit Europe and spend more time in European cities. At the time, I was also reading Tristram Hunt's challenging new book on the city: *Building Jerusalem*. Thinking about Perth while reading about the cities of the United Kingdom in the 19th century, particularly considering my idea of 're-layering' has raised many interesting reflections. Specifically, whether we are in fact, as the post-industrial Victorians did, attempting to 'manufacture' a new cultural history and identity as we re-inscribe Perth and disappear its previous forms. Hunt challenges the received historical view that this was undertaken in the 19th century as an 'act of reactive, class genuflection' instead he suggests that it was a desire to 'craft [a] proudly urban ... necessarily bourgeois culture' as a response to the powerful critique that such cities were led by philistines and lacked the sophistication of previous urban civilisations. Hunt also reminds us that there are some present-day links to the 19th century desire to re-interpret the urban space through the urban planning of, for example, Paris in the latter part of the century, when over 27,000 houses were destroyed to build the new boulevards and public spaces.⁵ As a city that plays on its 'isolation' and distance from the Eastern seaboard (read perceived power) Perth has always responded by action to the argument that it is 'just a big country town'. Could it be that this re-inscribing of suburban Perth, the disappearing of previous landscapes, real and symbolic, is an unconscious response to this critique?

The re-inscribed city

Perth offers a unique challenge to urban planning and sustainable development as the city experiences a rapid and dynamic growth spurt along a much in-demand coastline. This has resulted in both social and environmental challenges in planning for a quality of life for all residents, in not only the infrastructure, but also in human services. The city is currently undergoing a building boom, as it builds a new southern railway corridor, redevelops the inner city links between the CBD and Northbridge and plans the in-fill of previously industrial land. Such dynamics have also resulted in shifts in socio-economic demographics, as those who cannot afford to participate in this 21st century urban development, are moving (or being moved) into the fringes of the conurbation while others, more wealthy, (as I discuss further below) choose to leave the city and its suburbs and move out in search of alternative 'community' forms. In the increasing sprawling metropolis of Perth, this raises questions such as:

What does community mean in these new landscapes?

Whose community is it? Who decides? Is there a sense of 'ownership'?

Can we actually 'build' a sustainable and welcoming community? How do we do this?

Whose aspirations are being defined? Whose are being met?

A very brief history of this urban growth establishes its demographic and geographic multi-layers. Perth's first 'growth spurt' occurred after the gold rush of the late 19th century and at this time planning was under the influence of the City Beautiful Movement.⁶ This in turn was linked to a British phenomenon – the Garden City movement of Ebenezer Howard – and its concern that human well-being was being eroded through the industrial and polluted environments of cities; the 'beauties of

nature' could be re-created within a suburban environment.⁷ Fifty years ago, just before it became known as the City of Light, Perth stretched in relatively equal quadrants around the two rivers, the Canning and the Swan, and stretched from North Beach to South Beach. It grew in the post war decade by 57,000 houses, nearly half of which were Housing Commission⁸ and the population was then just under 800,000, over 62 per cent of the that of the state.⁹ In creating this new suburbia, we were therefore planning and building for the long term, with the dream of a quarter acre block (the 'Garden') as the agreed ideal.¹⁰ The growth of suburbia at that time was linked closely to a reaction against the Depression years, and a faith in the future of the so-called 'long boom' resulting in Perth '... being gradually moulded into the pattern of an Australian way of life' and closely linked to shaping a sense of place. This process was manifested both physically - as gardens were established, trees planted, paths laid – and emotionally, as memories were laid down. Slowly, the landscape changed. Lives were led within an environment that for many epitomised the suburban dream of an apparently accessible utopia to which everyone could aspire. Families lived near each other and the inter-connectedness that came with residential neighbourhoods which were familiar, was of an organic, rather than artificial, nature.

Today, Perth is referred to as the '200 km' city. Depending on how it is defined, it stretches far to the north and south and west into the Darling escarpment with a population of just under 2 million. The city has become a place reliant on private transport. Among the many challenges being faced is the outstanding one associated with future provision of a sustainable water supply.¹¹ The projected growth of population in the next three decades is some 65 per cent.¹² As the borders of the 'city' are stretched, its sub-urban environment is also changing rapidly. As I describe in more detail below, familiar suburbs such as those that were erected after World War II to house returned servicemen and their families, are vanishing. In their place comes 'gentrification', a term which used to mean renovation, but now increasingly means destruction and rebuilding. More recent suburbs, those built in the 70s and 80s, are also being re-layered. In these, houses are being torn down, and in their place two or three others arise, often two-storied, with little or no garden, surrounded by high fences and locked gates.¹³ Many such houses are being developed as estates, and while beyond the scope of this article, such 'gated' communities are rightly increasingly becoming the subject of analysis.¹⁴

Searching for place

Joseph Rykwert argues that 'constant community participation and involvement are needed to shape our cities'¹⁵ and nowhere is this more important than in the rapid development being experienced in Perth. Much discussion about 'what is community' becomes focused when community consultation is being developed and undertaken. However 'place' should not be equated with 'community'. Doreen Massey suggests that this is a 'misidentification' as 'community can exist without being in the same place'¹⁶ a point which the developers and policy makers appear to have misunderstood. Creating a built aesthetic does not automatically create a 'community'. As John Ruskin pointed out over 150 years ago, while there can be a link between architecture and the human mind, the simple creation of a village built aesthetic does not result in 'community'. In fact, the complexities of community remain founded in organic interactions between human beings, rather than in artificial constructs and as such cannot be 'solved' by simply 'building it in'.

My reflections have identified a number of themes that I will explore now in more detail. First, that our sense of place appears under challenge. This becomes evident when we talk about 'place' to people who have lived for a long time in a community – as compared with those who perhaps have just arrived. There is much movement around Australia at present – we are a highly mobile community at the best of times – but now we have what is commonly being called a sea/tree change movement¹⁷ and people are seeking place as part of a life cycle experience. Peace, quiet and a 'sense of community' or a quality of life are often cited as reasons for moving and smaller rural communities on the fringes of Perth are at the high impact end of this search for 'place'.¹⁸ Not only are many of these existing settlements not ready for such change, they are also now drawn into a peri-urban fringe and as a result incorporated into 'city' thinking and planning. It is in these environments that new 'immigrants' also include those who can no longer afford the city lifestyle. This is another example of the re-layering of community that is evident. In this case, the symbolic and real community is being challenged by the newcomers who often place unrealistic demands on the 'old-timers' and on the local governments responsible for infrastructure development, to provide them with familiar city services.

Recent experience from Centre research shows that people are seeking 'place', yet by arriving and demanding the services they once enjoyed in the city, they are in danger of changing the very thing that they sought. Smaller rural environments with stable populations are perhaps not equipped to deal with rapid increases in new residents. A tension between the 'old timers' and the 'newcomers' is often one result. 'Why do they come here?' is asked, 'why don't they go back where they came from?' As a result, place quickly become a site of struggle for power. A number of examples from the new peri-urban settlements around Perth can be drawn on here. The most obvious is that of Mandurah, previously a small, much-loved fishing and seaside resort, now a dormitory suburb of Perth and soon to be connected by fast rail to the city centre. The growth of Mandurah over the past decade is among the highest in Australia in comparison with other regional centres. It is facing challenges associated with demand for high priced coastal land while maintaining its unique waterways and bushland environment. As land prices soar, it also faces two important challenges. First, to maintain a quality of life for all residents and ensure that the city's advantages do not become accessible only to those who can afford it and second, that the previously organic community is not completely overlain by an artificial one.

Re-layering the suburb

While not a romantic yearning on my part, it does concern me that 21st century development appears not to take into account the historical, cultural and symbolic values that are being destroyed along with the actual infrastructure of our environments. While we are familiar with talk about cultural heritage and the need to preserve our buildings from the past, these are usually public buildings of one kind or another. We rarely discuss the need to conserve our 'ordinary' heritage, the daily life represented in homes, residential gardens, parks and pathways. My second reflection therefore suggests that vanishing before our eyes are some of the previous incarnations of suburbia. In other words, the symbolic environment around us is changing. The ideals of the suburban that were once cherished and valued are now disappearing not least of which is the high point of the Garden City movement – the quarter acre block.

Perth is going through a major redevelopment and regeneration. In landscapes that were once familiar, houses now appear that are strangely 'out of place' – they do not reach back to the collective memory or the built aesthetic of that suburb. Instead, those redeveloping and regenerating appear to want to deliberately erase it.¹⁹ Peter Read suggests that 'lost neighbourhoods are lost people, lost suburbs and lost artefacts'.²⁰ He successfully challenges the received wisdom that somehow our suburbs were 'boring, anonymous or mindless' and as such their destruction is of little consequence. Such a received 'wisdom' comes from the conventional view that the exciting things only happen in a city and the suburbs are for 'ordinary folk'. We therefore have an apparently endless capacity to 're-layer' a suburb, scraping away its past (with bulldozers) and replacing it with an alternative, history-free, future.

One example is very much close to home. The negative impact of universities on their local neighbourhoods is neither a new nor local phenomenon. A recent study completed by the Centre for Stronger Communities found clear evidence that the impact of the growth of Curtin University of Technology at its Bentley campus in the southern suburbs of Perth has not been totally positive for the local residential community. Our report to the Vice Chancellor (2005) pointed out:

The combined effects of a decline in traditional household and housing mix (shift from family to group household; single detached to medium-high density dwelling); profound changes in demographics, particularly in age and ethnicity; and decline in levels of amenity associated with the increase in seasonal/temporary residents and absentee landlords has reinforced this negative perception.²¹

Probably the major visual impact, and relevant to the discussion here, has been the gentrification of the neighbourhood in response to market-driven demands for student housing. Such 'gentrification' has completely reshaped the visual impact of the local suburbs that border onto Curtin, such as Bentley and Karawara. Once suburbs which were part of the post-War expansion described earlier, and which included a variety of dwellings, including a high proportion of social housing, are now expensive locations; with large homes on smaller blocks as well as very large buildings that contain 'student-friendly' environments – 5 or 6 bedrooms and bathrooms sub-let to international students studying at Curtin. The exodus of previous residents is in direct correlation to this increase in land prices. In addition, the overall population density is increasing and block sizes reduced, but paradoxically, the population then diminishes over Christmas/New Year when the University closes down and students return to their countries of origin. This fluctuation in population is a new phenomenon for Perth and has consequences in terms of safety, security and the negative perceptions of those residents who remain throughout the year. What is clear is that such a fluctuating population tends not to 'build' community in the sense of maintaining interactions over time, such as offering volunteer activities or supporting local businesses.

The re-layering of Curtin's neighbourhoods is as a direct result of the growth of the University, but the University itself has made little active contribution towards reflecting on or discussing such a dynamic transition. There is recognition that the 'neighbourhood' has changed, but, until the research was conducted and the report written and accepted, the active contribution of Curtin was not well appreciated or understood. As a recognised leader in community opinion and as a site for dialogue and discussion, as well as the teaching home for the next generation of historians, artists, planners, architects and community developers, the University needs to be at the forefront in providing opportunities to pause and reflect on this re-layering process.

Towards an artificial neo-*Gemeinschaft*?

My final reflection is about the suburb itself, its changing history and its place in the city, particularly in relation to the dynamic between the growth of the suburb and the decline of the city. Historically, Hunt links this growth of the suburb with the growth of individualism and a rejection of the polity of civic engagement (which links to current debates about social capital and civil society and the pressure to rebuild the civic culture).²² By the late 19th century, suburbs were being developed and built on demand and in less than 50 years became the predominant form of the city's built environment with 'the most satisfactory suburb [being one] which gave the maximum of privacy and the minimum of outside distraction'.²³

Ironically, the 'master planned' developments mushrooming around Perth are commonly designed to market some ideal historical village form in the misunderstanding that 'place' equals 'community'. In these developments the created 'village green' or a created lake become central to this, and the houses are built around these artefacts. Such sites are then 'sold' to prospective purchasers as 'having community'. They are also often sold with a 'community development plan', with an established residents' committee and an events program that attempts to re-capture some of the spontaneous activities of so-called 'ideal' village life – not harvest festivals exactly, but similar.

Such large-scale place-based developments are very much framed and sold on notions of 'community'. I suggest that reflecting on this re-inscribing of artificial community in a post-industrial environment can be usefully linked to the work of Ferdinand Tonnies.²⁴ The marketing of these suburbs, their design and layout and the services being created can be seen as reaching back to what Tonnies termed '*Gemeinschaftlich*' communities – that is spatial, horizontal connections, once through blood and kin, but now through a common desire for interconnectedness. Or so we are led to believe. Can such places in fact be created by planners and developers? To what extent are people 'buying a dream' of a utopian community when they purchase into these developments? And how much of the constructed *neo-Gemeinschaftlich* environment contributes to their sense of connectedness?

Contemplating his own environment and the rapid growth of a newly unified Germany in rapid transition from an agrarian to an industrial state, Tonnies observed the way in which traditional social structures were broken down and social problems emerged as a consequence. As people moved from the country to the city, as they left their kin relationships and families and moved to live with strangers; they no longer married within a small social circle and generally became much more disconnected from those they knew; as a result, they became much more individualistic in their approach to life. Tonnies suggested that *Gemeinschaftlich* relationships were 'affective', repeated or long enduring (as in relationships with kin) and occurred in a context involving cultural homogeneity and tied to place.²⁵ These relationships were direct, profound, organic and all embracing. What Tonnies observed occurring to replace these were *Gesellschaftlich* relationships; those of 'association', largely indirect, superficial and relating only to parts of our lives, for example, work relationships which tend toward the impersonal, competitive and contractual. For Tonnies, such *Gesellschaftlich* relationships were much more likely to be observed in post-agrarian society than the *Gemeinschaftlich* ones.

My point here is that through our 'regeneration' and 'redevelopment' activities in suburban Perth, attempts are being made to create a built environment that strives for

a *Gemeinschaftlich*-like utopian dream and in doing so we neglect the power of association and networks that are part of *Gesellschaftlich* environments. In the way in which text was once scraped off the vellum in order to rewrite on it, we are destroying the layers of existing community and the previous dreams of our predecessors. At the same time, through the re-inscription on the previous symbolic landscape of memory, we are trying to 'invent' community through the built form. This is a real paradox. The destruction of the symbolic and real landscape in our suburban areas is occurring just as, simultaneously, we are seeing an increasing demand for 'community'. Just as we are 'developing' our real and symbolic landscapes - to erase the memories of what they previously were - we call stridently for 'community', for 'belonging' and for 'place'. There seems to be a collective 'amnesia' or perhaps a 'collective unconsciousness' about this paradox, a paradox greatly in need of thoughtful research and critique to understand its dynamics. Indeed, as Tonnies presciently pointed out - there is no ideal form of either *Gemeinschaft* or *Gesellschaft*. In reality, some of the pre industrial 'village' (place) communities were dark and violent. They were environments where there was limited personal freedom and the moral custodians of the time were limited to the family and the church. They were places where privacy was also limited and where one's status was determined by the family into which one was born. By attempting to recapture this utopian dream, we may be in fact inadvertently bringing to the fore some of the 'dark side' of *Gemeinschaft*.

In conclusion, I shall leave the aesthetics of such development for others to describe and question. My point here is that in our rush to re-inscribe and expand our suburbs by building an artificial 'place' which represents 'community' we are in fact ignoring the vibrancy and potency of reality and replacing it with the fantasy. There is no doubt that Australians are keen to live in such built environments²⁶ but how much we believe the potency of marketing of community as compared with our capacity to achieve a sustainable, and communal quality of life, is yet to be tested. In the meantime, some reflection and consultation with those of us already experiencing such environments, listening to all our lived experiences (including ones that challenge received wisdom), would enable policy makers and developers to more successfully achieve a balance.²⁷ As we contemplate the landscape - both real and symbolic - around us, let us reflect on the kind of future we are creating. Will our future communities be artificial environments where we continually struggle to re-create a lost utopia, or can we work together to better grapple with and understand the realities and complexities associated with building networks, partnerships and alliances while at the same time respecting the symbolic landscape that we inhabit?



Professor Daniela Stehlik is Director of the ALCOA Centre for Stronger Communities at Curtin University a unique social science research centre sponsored by the mining and banking industry. Her latest publication

is: 'Partnering industry to build stronger communities'. In T Stehlik and P Carden (eds) *Beyond communities of practice: theory as experience. Post Pressed: Flaxsted, Qld.* 229-244.

1. John Ruskin quoted in Hunt, T (2004). *Building Jerusalem. The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City*. Phoenix, London: 117.
2. Greider, T and Garkovich, L (1994). Landscapes: The Social Construction of Nature and the Environment. *Rural Society*. 59, 1: 1-24.
3. Rykwert, J (2000). *The Seduction of Place. The History and Future of the City*. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 244.
4. The Centre is sponsored by Alcoa World Alumina Australia and Bankwest and has FaCs and well as other Government and NGO representation on its Advisory Board (see www.strongercommunities.com.au).
5. Hunt, *op cit*: 310.
6. McManus, P (2005). *Vortex Cities to Sustainable Cities. Australia's Urban Challenge*. UNSW Press, Sydney: 33.
7. Hunt, *op cit*: 429.
8. Crowley, FK (1960). *Australia's Western Third. A History of Western Australia from the first settlements to modern times*. Macmillan & Co, London: 361.
9. *Ibid*: 360.
10. 'Very few [houses] were prefabricated or imported. Most were of brick or asbestos with tile or asbestos roofing [with] Galvanised iron roofing and timber walls ... single-unit, single-storey homes on quarter acre blocks were usually preferred with garden space back and front. Three sides were usually enclosed by a timber paling fence to preserve privacy and independence, a low front fence and a short cemented driveway on one side' *Ibid*: 362.
11. McManus (2005) *op cit*: 59.
12. From a population of 1.5 m to 2.22 m. Government of Western Australia (2004) *Making Perth the city we want. Acting on the dialogue with the Perth and Peel communities*. April.
13. The so-called 'McMansions'.
14. For example, in discussion at the recent State of the City Conference, Brisbane, December 2005. See also Kenna, T. *Exclusive suburban 'villages': Master planned estate development and socio-spatial polarisation in Western Sydney*. Paper presented at 2nd State of the Australian cities National Conference. Griffith University. 30 November – 2nd December. Brisbane.
15. Rykwert (2000) *op cit*: 246.
16. Massey, D (1994). *Space, Place, and Gender*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis: 153.
17. This movement is not just between States and from overseas, but also within this State, where 'one in four Western Australians moved house at some time in the 12 months prior to Census night 2001'. *Australian Bureau of Statistics*. 1367.5 6 October 2004: 1.

- ¹⁸ One example is the community of Dalyellup near Bunbury which has grown at 6.4 per cent over the past 5 years, a pace 'unmatched in regional Australia'. *The West Australian*. 29 December 2005: 13.
- ¹⁹ As well as, of course, destroying the natural environment, as developers prefer a flat surface, and in sandy Perth this means everything can be obliterated before building commences.
- ²⁰ Read, P (1996). *Returning to Nothing: The Meaning of the Lost Places*. Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press: 172.
- ²¹ Alcoa Research Centre for Stronger Communities (2005). *A social impact assessment of Curtin University of Technology within its three local government areas – a scoping study*. Report presented to the Vice Chancellor. March 2005. (copy available from the Centre): 13.
- ²² A useful introduction here would be Szreter, S (2001). A New Political Economy: The Importance of Social Capital. In A Giddens (ed) *The Global Third Way Debate*. Polity Press & Blackwell, Cambridge: 290-299.
- ²³ Hunt *op cit*: 413.
- ²⁴ (1855–1936) Sociologist and founder of the German Sociological Association.
- ²⁵ Martinez-Brawley, EE (1990). *Perspectives on the Small Community. Humanistic Views for Practitioners*. NASW Press, Washington DC: 7.
- ²⁶ See for example: *The Weekend Australian* 19-20 February 2006. Editorial: 16.
- ²⁷ As Rykwert (2000) *op cit* suggests: 'All of us - public authorities, investors, and professionals such as architects - have connived to produce the cities in which we now live': 244.



Academy News

International Program

16th AASSREC Conference

The 16th Biennial conference of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils was held at the headquarters of the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) in New Delhi, 30 November – 2 December 2005.

A delegation of four Academy (ASSA) Fellows planned to attend the Conference, reflecting the increased importance of ASSA's international program and in particular the enlarged focus on Asia, as well as to mark the transfer of responsibility for the secretariat of AASSREC to ASSA with effect from the November meeting.



Leon Mann and John Beaton in earnest discussion with Andre Betteille, President of the Indian Council of Social Science Research and host of the 17th Biennial Conference of AASSREC, New Delhi, November 2005.

At the last minute two members of the delegation – Fay Gale (Immediate past President of AASSREC) and Sue Richardson (President of ASSA) were unable to attend the Conference, leaving Leon Mann (Chair of the International Program Committee) and John Beaton (Executive Director, ASSA and incoming Secretary General of AASSREC) to represent Australia.

The Indian Council of Social Science Research headed by Professor Andre Betteille (President of AASSREC) hosted a very successful meeting of delegates from more than 12 countries including Japan, Korea, Vietnam, China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, The Philippines, Malaysia, Iran, Thailand, Indonesia and of course Australia. India, as the host country, was very generous in its hospitality and in making the delegates feel welcome.

The conference delegates presented papers which examined the causes and characteristics of unemployment and underemployment in their respective countries. Leon Mann presented the Australian country paper on behalf of Sue Richardson, its author.

At the business meeting which ended the Conference it was resolved to raise the activity level and profile of AASSREC by planning for sub-regional activities between Biennial conferences and joint research projects involving groups of member countries. At the end of the meeting the AASSREC Presidency was taken up by Michiatsu Kaino, President and Chair of the Japanese National Committee, and responsibility for the 17th AASSREC Conference was handed to Japan. This conference will be held in Nagoya, Japan in November 2007. The theme for the conference will be determined soon. Responsibility for the AASSREC secretariat was handed to John Beaton on behalf of ASSA.

During the course of the meetings John Beaton and Leon Mann met with ICSSR President Andre Betteille, Director of International Relations, Dr Vinod Mehta, and Dr Arun Bali, Director, Research Institute and Regional Centre, to discuss the next steps in implementation of the newly signed bilateral exchange agreement between the ICSSR and ASSA.

In taking on the AASSREC Secretariat, our academy has a significant opportunity and duty to substantially increase the contribution, activity, and influence of the social sciences in the Asian region.

Leon Mann, Chair, International Program Committee

Australia-India Exchange Program

For the 2005-06 visit period the Academy nominated *Professor Marcia Langton*, FASSA, Foundation Chair of Australian Indigenous Studies, University of Melbourne and her colleague *Associate Professor Phillip Darby*, Director, Institute of Postcolonial Studies, University of Melbourne for a two week visit to India to attend a plenary panel at a conference on 'Globalisation and Postcolonial Writing'.

This was the first visit for this exchange program with India and we are very grateful to the support provided by our sister Academy the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR). The report of that visit follows:

In the first two weeks of February, Marcia Langton and Phillip Darby visited India under the newly established Australia-India Exchange of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and the Indian Council of Social Sciences Research. The primary purpose of the visit was to give a plenary panel on 'Re-imagining Security from the Everyday' at a conference on *Globalisation and Postcolonial Writing*, jointly convened by Calcutta and Monash Universities in Kolkata on 7, 8 and 9 February 2006.

The project, which is at an early stage, goes forward under the aegis of the Institute of Postcolonial Studies in Melbourne. Paul Carter, who is a principal participant, was unable to attend the conference. Rather at the eleventh hour, *Brook Andrew*, the Wiradjuri conceptual artist, managed to rearrange his itinerary to visit India and to be present at the panel.

Phillip spoke to the need to loosen the links between security and the state and to recognise that insecurity can be enabling as well as disabling. Marcia outlined the centuries old relationship between the Aboriginal clans in northeast Arnhem Land and the Macassan seafarers, and went on to indicate some of the ways in which threads of

contemporary reference could be drawn from this narrative of the relationship between different peoples. Brook showed images of some of his work and reflected on how they related to his thinking about security and insecurity and to the rejection of binaries of all kinds. Ashis Nandy, as participating chair, was characteristically provocative. Observing that the formation of the state was invariably a criminal experience, he argued that the state has given a particular slant to our understanding of security and that it has not been one that held out much to citizens.

A period on each side of the conference was set aside for research and for consolidating collaborative arrangements with Indian scholars interested in being involved in the project. In Delhi the India International Centre became the hub of our activities, rather than as expected the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies. A surprisingly diverse group of people contributed to shaping up the project. We are especially grateful to Aswini Ray, Lord Bhikhu Parekh and of course Ashis Nandy for being so generous with their time and ideas.

In Calcutta we had several fascinating sessions with the independent theatre director and intellectual, Rustom Bharucha. Otherwise, our discussions were mainly with people at Jadavpur University and the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences – plus old friends like Nabaneeta Dev Sen and Dipesh Chakrabarty. The Department of International Relations at Jadavpur became like a second home during the latter part of our visit. Papers we delivered to faculty and students provoked lively exchanges and it was agreed to bring the security project within the terms of our existing Agreement of Association.

Phillip Darby

Australia-China Exchange Program

The International Program Committee nominated *Professor Wing On Lee*, Faculty of Education and Social Work and Director of International Development, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Sydney to visit China in 2006 under the Australia-China Exchange program. His main research is focused on 'exploring features of Asian citizenship'. The Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) has coordinated a program for March/April for the visit.

Australia-Netherlands Exchange Program

Two Australian applications have been nominated for support under the exchange program in 2006:

- *Dr Kumi Kato*, Lecturer, School of Language and Comparative Cultural Studies, University of Queensland will visit the Netherlands in November-December 2006. Her visit will be coordinated by Professor Bernard Arps, Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, the University of Leiden. During her visit she will conduct a case study on innovative approaches to community initiatives in environmental landscape conservation.
- *Dr Julie Hatfield*, Senior Research Fellow, NSW Injury Risk Management Research Centre, University of NSW will visit the Netherlands in April 2006 to undertake research involved with the multi-centre laboratory study to compare the psychometric properties of several measures of noise sensitivity and will also undertake discussions on a research project in the area of safety and housing.

British Special Joint Project Funding

For the 2006 round for this research program, funded in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the British Academy, six applications were received. It was agreed to provide funding support for two projects:

'Postmodern aesthetics and postcolonial music: a Deleuzian case study of Australian and Scottish musical cultures'; and

'The development of test procedures to assess components of attention and situation awareness in pilots on long-haul commercial flights.'

UNESCO Social Science Network

Representatives of the social science network, chaired by Professor Margot Prior, met in Canberra on Thursday 16 March, prior to a meeting of the Australian National Commission for UNESCO held at the National Museum of Australia on Friday 17 March. Michael Kirby provided a most enjoyable and stimulating after dinner speech at a formal dinner on the Thursday evening which also included presentations to the outgoing longtime Chair of the National Commission, Professor Ken Wiltshire.

The Australian National Commission for UNESCO provides annual funding assistance on a range of projects <http://www.dfat.gov.au/intorgs/unesco/>.

Australia-France Exchange Program

Applications for the 2005-06 French Exchange program closed on 30 June 2005. The 17 applications received were from a wide cross section of disciplines and topics, including education, demography, geography, anthropology, sociology/statistics, history, economics and business, social medicine, indigenous studies, rural development, urban design, immigration and a study for the mobile phone.

Following short listing by the Academy's International Program committee and discussions with the French Embassy, the following research projects were supported:

'Twentieth century rural development, labour and agrarian change on Grande Terre, New Caledonia.'

'Who were the first farmers on the Dead Sea Plain?'

'Population ageing and social policy: modelling our future.'

'The application of classification techniques to time use data to identify lifestyle differences across societies.'

'The impact of the mobile phone on work/life balance.'

Applications for support

Readers who wish to make applications for support under any of the Academy's Exchange Programs should visit the website www.assa.edu.au or contact the Secretariat through john.robertson@anu.edu.au.

Research Program

As part of additional DEST funding under the Higher Education Innovation Program, ASSA committed funds in 2004-05 towards commissioned research, with a preference for policy related research. An Academy Policy Paper entitled *Wages Policy in an Era of Deepening Wage Inequality* prepared by Chris Briggs, John Buchanan and Ian Watson of the Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training (acirrt), University of Sydney was published in February 2006 (*Occasional Paper* 1/2006, available at www.assa.edu.au).

A research team led by Professor Peter McDonald (ANU) is preparing a policy paper on 'Population Policy for Australia' which is scheduled to be published in July 2006.

Professors Max Coltheart (Macquarie University) and Margot Prior (University of Melbourne) have undertaken to prepare a position paper on 'The Teaching of Reading'. This theme is particularly emphasised in the recent report of the National Inquiry into Literacy set up by the former Minister for Education. Issues to be addressed will include: What is currently known about how children learn to read and write? Some children experience great difficulties in learning to read and write: why? It is anticipated that this will be published as an Academy policy paper in September 2006.

Learned Academies Special Projects

Notification of successful projects for Special Projects in 2006 are expected as this issue of *Dialogue* goes to press. The Research Committee will be seeking nominations from Fellows for research topics which will be considered as possible projects for funding under the Learned Academies scheme in 2007.

Annual Symposium

The Academy's Symposium Committee has agreed that the ASSA Symposium topic for 2006 will be *Australians on the Move: Internal Migration in Australia*. Convenor for the event will be Peter McDonald with speakers from a research team led by Professor Martin Bell (University of Queensland).

Owing to the availability of speakers, this year's Symposium dates have been changed. The Symposium and Cunningham Lecture, followed by the Annual General Meeting will be held at the Shine Dome on Tuesday 21 November and Wednesday 22 November. This year's Fellows Dinner will be held in the Great Hall (ANU).

The Symposium Committee would like to receive expressions of interest (maximum three pages) for the 2007 Symposium with a closing date of 31 May 2006.

Policy and Advocacy Program

As outlined in the last edition of *Dialogue*, the Academy has initiated Research-Policy Roundtables to provide a forum where Academy Fellows, other social scientists and senior public servants can discuss policy development by Government and the use of scholarly research findings in that process.

A roundtable devoted to the issues of 'Work and Family' and chaired by Sue Richardson will be held on 12 May at the University of Melbourne. The roundtable is designed to examine, in an informed and open way, the challenges and supports offered to working parents and how they can best be supported through both family

policy and workplace policy. Sue Richardson and Margot Prior who edited the book *No Time to Lose: The Wellbeing of Australia's Children* (MUP 2005) have invited a multidisciplinary team of researchers and government policy makers to the roundtable on this important area of policy research. Some key issues to be discussed will include: changes and challenges for parents in managing work and family responsibilities, child care issues, and the impact of the recent IR legislation on working parents, single parents and other disadvantaged groups.

Workshop Program

Forthcoming Workshops

Ensuring accountability – terrorist challenges and state responses in a free society. Andrew Byrnes, Gabriele Porretto (Law, Australian National University) April 2006.

Paid care: now and in the future. Bill Martin, Debra King and Sue Richardson (Flinders Social Monitoring and Policy Futures Network, Flinders University) April 2006.

Risking birth: culture, technology and politics in 21st Century maternity care. Kerreen Reiger (La Trobe), Alpha Possamai-Inesedy (University of Western Sydney) and Karen Lane (Deakin) June 2006.

Social capital and social justice: critical Australian perspectives. Geoff Woolcock (University of Queensland) July 2006.

In demand: childcare and working families. A policy framework for Australia. Barbara Pocock (University of Adelaide) and Elizabeth Hill (USydney) July 2006

Australian Indigenous studies: present and future. Mick Dodson, Peter Schnierer and Peter Read (National Centre for Indigenous Studies, ANU) July 2006.

Hate speech, free speech and human rights in Australia. Katharine Gelber (School of Politics and International Relations, University of New South Wales) and Adrienne Stone (Law, Research School of Social Sciences, ANU) July 2006.

Reports from workshops conducted under the Workshop Program, including policy recommendations, are published in *Dialogue*, usually in the first issue following the workshop.



Reports from Workshops

Globalising the Antipodes: Policy and Politics in Australia and New Zealand

Jennifer Curtin, Jack Vowles and Francis Castles

Despite the geographical closeness and similarities of historical development of New Zealand and Australia, politics and policies in these countries have only rarely been compared. In this project a group of scholars have come together from both countries to compare and contrast political and policy development across a number of domains in Australia and New Zealand since the mid 1980s. More specifically, contributors examined the way in which global forces, in their various guises, have been harnessed by Australian and NZ governments, bureaucracies and non-government organisations and/or have provoked these same actors to develop particular policy and political strategies, initiatives and responses. Experts from a range of disciplines including Political Science, International Relations, Economics, Social Policy, Geography, Political Theory and Indigenous Studies came together with two senior policy analysts (Dr Grant Scobie from NZ Treasury and Rosemary Calder, ex-Head, Office of Status of Women) to share their ideas and evidence in a workshop sponsored by the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia (along with the Institute for the Study of Global Movements and the Faculty of Arts, Monash University). The workshop was held at Monash University in Melbourne on 8-9 April 2005.

Each contribution was co-authored by a New Zealand and Australian scholar, and while different and contested understandings of globalisation were presented, there were some common themes addressed in all papers. These included the economic dimensions, including the significant increase in the flows of trade and capital investment, the liberalisation of the movement of such resources, and the rise and impact of the ubiquitous transnational corporation in its various forms and its capacity to influence all of the above. Economic globalisation has implications not only for national macro and micro-economic settings within Australia and New Zealand, but for policies dealing with employment and welfare, gender and Indigenous peoples and their cultures, amongst others. Political implications were also canvassed: whether there was a sense amongst government, parliament and the citizenry that national integrity was being undermined by the emergence of globalisation, or whether global forces were selectively invoked to open and/or close borders depending on the issue at hand.

In their paper, Tim Hazledine and John Quiggin argued that while there are no controlled experiments in macroeconomic policy, nor in systematic programs of microeconomic reform, a comparison between New Zealand and Australia over the period since 1984 provides as close an approach to such an experiment as is ever likely to be possible. From quite similar starting points, the two countries pursued liberal reform programs that differed sharply, mainly as a result of exogenous differences in constitutional structures and the personal styles of the central actors. Australia followed a more cautious, piecemeal, consensus-based approach, whereas New Zealand, in contrast, adopted a radical, rapid, 'purist' platform. The NZ reform package was generally seen by contemporary commentators as representing a 'textbook' model for best practice reform. However, Australia since 1984 has performed much better than New Zealand, whose per capita GDP growth indeed

ranked at or near the bottom of the OECD. In assessing a variety of explanations for the divergences in policies and outcomes, Hazledine and Quiggin note it is often argued that, like it or not, liberalisation is an irresistible force in any single country because it is happening in all others, and we are now all so interconnected that no significant deviation from the policy norm is possible. But their paper demonstrates New Zealand did deviate from the global policy norm: it went much further in the direction of radical reform, before its gradual return to the mainstream since 1999. Recent evidence on the 'border effect' reveals just how persistent is the nation state as an economic force, even in a 'world without walls'. Examination of economic policy and policy differences between Australia and New Zealand supports the proposition that nation states are still free to make choices, including bad choices.

Richard Devetak and Jacqui True asked: how do foreign policymakers in Australia and New Zealand view globalisation? Do they view it as a threat to national identity or an opportunity for its reconstitution? To what extent have Australian and New Zealand foreign policymakers reacted differently to the novel processes of globalisation? In their paper, Devetak and True sought to address these questions through a comparison of the two countries' foreign policy, including their perspectives on international order, their involvement in global trade, global governance and human rights, and their approach to international security and people movement. They explored the differences and the similarities in contemporary New Zealand and Australian foreign policy and asked how much could be attributed to globalisation. New Zealand and Australia share a common past as dominions of the former British Empire, a similar, far-flung geography, and constant cultural interchange and trans-Tasman people movement, yet their foreign policies have diverged in recent years. Devetak and True argued that this divergence could not be explained by material and geopolitical factors alone such as Australia's larger territory, economy, population and armed forces, and closer proximity to the Indonesian archipelago and Asian subcontinent. Rather, they contend that Australian and New Zealand foreign policies are products of the historical, globally-contingent agency of each state and the respective governments' divergent worldviews and constructions of national identity.

In regard to environment policy, Ton Buhrs and Peter Christoff noted that Australia and New Zealand are vastly different in size and environmental features. For this reason, there are important differences between the countries in the nature and distribution of environmental problems. However, they argued that despite these differences, the two countries also face some common or similar environmental issues such as the extinction or endangerment of many native plant and animal species, land degradation, pressures associated with the exploitation of natural resources, and truly global environmental challenges like climate change. But how governments deal with environmental issues, whether different or common, depends foremost on non-environmental factors, including social, political-institutional and economic structures and processes. In some respects, the patterns of engagement of Australia and New Zealand with global environmentalism, and the stance on environmental issues taken by their governments, is quite different. Their environmental performance varies accordingly. In their paper Buhrs and Christoff described how Australia and New Zealand have been participants in the phenomenon of environmental globalisation and identify commonalities and differences in their patterns of engagement with the driving forces of environmental globalisation. They then compared the environmental performance of both countries, on three dimensions: environmental capacity, environmental policy, and environmental outcomes. In order to explain differences

between Australia and New Zealand they focused on a range of factors: socio-environmental conditions; the structure and state of their economies; political systems, and political culture and policy style.

Paul Muldoon and Lindsey MacDonald highlighted how, over the last fifteen years, Indigenous activists have been remarkably successful at using national and international fora to press their claims for a distinct form of citizenship. The period since the beginning of the 1990s has been marked by a codification and strengthening of the rights of Indigenous peoples in international instruments and these have created new benchmarks for former colonial states. At the same time, processes of economic globalisation (which states participate in as active agents) have impacted upon the Keynesian-Fordist framework in New Zealand and Australia in ways that have heightened the vulnerability of Indigenous people and undermined their citizenship entitlements. The leftist tendency to caricature this shift to neoliberalism in terms of the ascendancy of the market has, however, tended to obscure the complex and sometimes deeply ambiguous nature of this new rationality of government. In their paper, Muldoon and MacDonald drew on the governmentality literature in order to examine the ways in which neoliberal ideas and practices have simultaneously enabled and disabled attempts by Indigenous people to gain greater control over their conditions of existence. They argued that the recent phase of economic globalisation did not always work against attempts by Indigenous people to obtain greater control over their lives. Provided there was an effective Treaty or underlying commitment to self-determination in place, the introduction of neoliberal systems of governance in New Zealand and Australia *could* create opportunities for Indigenous people to extend the scope of self-determination. At the same time, certain presuppositions about the subject of rule made these liberal and neoliberal systems of governance an uncertain ally in the struggle for Indigenous citizenship. This has become particularly pronounced in Australia where Indigenous people do not have a treaty framework to fall back upon when their collective rights are threatened. It is by no means self-evident, however, that legal rights will be sufficient to safeguard Maori from the darker side of liberal governance.

Heather Devere and Jennifer Curtin's paper highlighted the various feminist critiques of the topic of globalisation. In particular, feminists have challenged the more 'traditional' takes on globalisation which focus on the role of corporations and international financial institutions such as the World Trade Organisation, and by association, a neoliberal agenda which includes pushing for free trade, the elimination of state barriers and a lack of interference in the market by governments of nation states. Curtin and Devere also highlighted how globalisation also presents a number of contradictions for feminism, in that it can be seen as having both positive and negative impacts on women's wellbeing. It has enhanced the international connections which have made feminism a global phenomenon. The positive aspects of globalisation include the facilitation of communication and networking proffered by the improvements in technology, as well as continuing the opportunities to engage with women from all nations and cultures in such events as the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, and to work with other women on initiatives such as the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). On the other hand, feminists have been very active in the anti-globalisation movement, and have highlighted how it is often women of poorer nations rather than Western feminists who have organised against the devastation of globalised capital, just as they have always historically organised anti-colonial and anti-racist movements. Curtin

and Devere also canvassed the wealth of feminist research on the gendered impacts of the economic dimensions associated with global restructuring which exposes the disadvantages and inequalities that accompany globalisation and offers a counter viewpoint to the mainstream neoliberalism perspectives. In their paper, the authors examined both the political and economic dimensions associated with globalisation and the impacts (positive and negative) of various policies and practices on women's wellbeing in Australia and New Zealand.

In their paper, Susan St John and Alison McClelland examined the changing nature of social policy and social inequality in both countries from the 1980s to the early 2000s. Both countries pursued neoliberal economic policies as they opened up their markets and both had conservative and labour Governments over the period. However poverty and inequality increased more in New Zealand than in Australia. The paper identified the factors that may have contributed to this difference. Their findings show differences in economic, social and political starting points, in the structure of the economy, and in political organisations. Over and above these differences, however, was the extent to which market-oriented policies were adopted, the pace of their introduction, and the way in which social policy was used to either ameliorate or reinforce increased inequality and poverty.

In their contribution on elections, Jack Vowles and Clive Bean noted that, as elsewhere, the major parties associated with the class cleavage in Australia and New Zealand survive, but class voting is now very weak. However, these declines in class voting began before the effects of the contemporary wave of globalisation became apparent. In broad comparative terms, both countries are, at most, moderately globalised, if measured in terms of trade. Meanwhile in terms of openness to capital flows, and foreign direct investment, New Zealand has a relatively high level of globalisation, with Australia, again, at a more moderate level. A key hypothesis therefore emerges: if globalisation has effects on electoral politics, they should be felt more in New Zealand. Vowles and Bean then asked, what effects should globalisation have? They identify two sets of propositions, one set based on the assumption that globalisation will reduce the reality and/or the perceptions of electoral choice, and the other based on the assumption that it may change but not necessarily reduce the effects of those parameters. Both sets can, of course, be compared against a common null hypothesis of no change at all. This framework can also contain the possibility of a further potential conclusion: globalisation may have no or minor effects on the 'reality' of choice – insofar as that can be measured – but may still have effects on perceptions. However, the authors concluded that while the results are mixed, for the most part the evidence provides relatively little support for an argument of profound effects on domestic electoral politics in the antipodes resulting from globalisation.

Notwithstanding the evidence of the weakened impact of social structure in shaping voter choice, in terms of the relationship between the electorate and the political parties, electoral politics has maintained much the same shape in the two countries in the era of globalisation that it has had for many years. The weakening of structural alignments has been occurring for a long time and cannot in any way be attributed to the recent impact of globalisation. Indeed, developments such as the introduction of MMP in New Zealand, have certainly had a much more significant impact than external influences resulting from global forces. Further, there appears to be little support for the argument that New Zealand electoral politics should reflect globalisation influences more strongly than Australian electoral politics.

Michael Mintrom and John Wanna, in their examination of the impact of globalisation on structures of government did not detect much radical transformation in the main structures, but significantly more transformation in the ways government structures now operate. There is evidence of transformative administrative cultures, new solutions in policy domains, and changing activities in the practice of governance. The question the authors thought important was how much did these changes relate to responses to globalisation or to other perhaps internal causes. In their analysis they addressed a number of themes: the trend from government to governance; the adaptive capacity of governmental actors or institutions; patterns of Australian/New Zealand integration of institutions/policy settings; evidence of resistance or accommodation to global challenges; and the anticipatory capacities of governance structures.

Elizabeth McLeay and John Uhr's paper on parliament argued that in recent years, the parliaments of Australia and New Zealand have reasserted their influence on issues that concern their nations' places in the international arena. In order to do this, Parliaments need the formal capacity to be able to oppose and respond to globalisation, a capacity that has developed in both legislatures. The Australian Parliament called on its constitutionally proscribed powers to put forward alternative or critical views to those of the government. The New Zealand Parliament, through the select committee system, acquired new influence within the treaty process; and the committee system, given formidable powers in 1982, was made more effective by a succession of minority governments who had to negotiate rather than assert their policies. Moreover, McLeay and Uhr anticipated that the issues surrounding globalisation would elicit ideological differences from among the political parties: the end of policy consensus on international issues would invigorate some groups and parties to use their parliament to voice their different views. In both legislatures this has occurred. They also demonstrated that mismanagement by the political executives in both countries stimulated opposition to their policies and, even more interestingly, legitimated that opposition. And finally there is evidence that the new players - minor parties and independents - within the environs of the two parliaments have made it more difficult for governments to unilaterally implement all sorts of policies, especially contestable ones such as foreign policy, trade relations and immigration. The Australian Senate, at least until July 2005 when the Howard government began its Senate majority, showed how small parties can exert moral and political pressure, as did the post-MMP small parties within the New Zealand House. These examples show how institutional design interacts with voter behaviour to enhance or reduce the powers of parliaments against those of the executive.

Overall, the workshop proved both challenging and insightful to those who attended. All contributors received valuable feedback from Dr Grant Scobie and Rosemary Calder who were present as critical policy experts. For their input we are most appreciative. Finally, the organisers are pleased to note that the papers are to be published in a special issue of the *Australian Journal of Political Science* in 2006, and we are in negotiations with Routledge for an expanded volume to be published in 2007. Many thanks to the Academy for their support of this project.

HIV/AIDS, Fragile States and Human Security

Dennis Altman and Michael O'Keefe

When we conceived this workshop it was with the aim of bringing together practitioners in the field of international relations with experts in HIV/AIDS in Australia's region, as we felt there were a number of key research questions that should be addressed by such a combination. We were fortunate that the workshop coincided with a major review by AusAID of their strategic programs for HIV, and a review within UNAIDS, by the former Dutch Ambassador for HIV/AIDS, of the links between the epidemic and security. To host a workshop with the participation of Ambassador van den Assum and Minister Downer's Special Representative for HIV/AIDS, Annmaree O'Keefe, was a privilege.

Our invitation to participants outlined possible topics as follows:

The problem of how to effectively respond to failing and fragile states is becoming a central security concern on the international agenda, and this workshop will contribute to an understanding of this problem. Examples of topics of interest include HIV/AIDS as a Security Issue, HIV/AIDS and International Relations, the Relationship between HIV and Development, Failing and Fragile States and HIV/AIDS, HIV in the South Pacific and its Relationship to State Stability, Australia's Policy on HIV/AIDS in the South Pacific, appropriate governmental, intergovernmental and NGO responses to state failure and HIV/AIDS, national and global constraints on the development of appropriate responses, comparisons between the epidemic in Africa and the Asia Pacific region.

Appropriate responses to this human security threat require an interdisciplinary approach. For instance, epidemiology, international relations and economics all have something to contribute to understanding this problem. The proposed workshop will bring together academics, specialists and policy makers with a shared interest in the HIV/AIDS epidemic, security and the Asia/Pacific who would otherwise not be likely to meet to discuss these issues

In practice it was easier to attract people from the world of AIDS than that of international relations, and for no lack of effort on our part the dialogue across disciplines did not cover as many topics as we would have wished. We provided several background papers which were designed to provide an introduction to several of the approaches being currently taken within political science and international relations to conceptualising the epidemic. A very positive development was that some of those whose background is in epidemiology, public health and the delivery of HIV services relished the opportunity to theorise their work and to think about the broader political ramifications of the epidemic, and the discussion did in fact touch on many of the key issues in contemporary international relations.

We were also fortunate in our choice of a keynote speaker, Dr Pieter Fourie of the University of Johannesburg, who came from South Africa with a wealth of first hand experience of the epidemic and policy responses. In inviting Dr Fourie we were conscious of the need to promote exploration of possible comparisons between the epidemic in southern Africa and its potential trajectory in our proximate region and to support research links with people not based in northern Universities. His visit has strengthened relations with South Africa and several Australian researchers, and we are hoping to find ways to bring Dr Fourie back to Australia for a longer period.

The workshop was held at the John Scott Meeting House at La Trobe University in Bundoora. Each session involved one or more presenters who produced background papers for distribution prior to the workshop. Presenters briefly discussed their papers at the beginning of the relevant session. Discussants reflected on the papers and encouraged debate amongst the workshop participants, a process that was very successful at prompting in-depth discussion.

Program

The workshop was held over two days. This allowed participants ample time to present and discuss their topics in a meaningful way. It also facilitated plenty of social interaction and networking, which has provided a very productive base for further collaboration and contact. For instance, there was plenty of time for discussion during breaks between the sessions and a workshop dinner was held in Carlton.

The first session looked at the topic of *AIDS as a Security Threat* from a broad perspective. This session, chaired by Dennis Altman, included a panel consisting of Alan Dupont and Pieter Fourie. The discussants were Marian Pitts and Daniel Tarantola.

Alan Dupont discussed 'HIV and security', providing a broad overview of the slow transformation of HIV from a public health issue to a broader security issue. An important link was made between a rising awareness of avian flu and AIDS.

Pieter Fourie spoke on 'HIV and human security in Africa', considering the broader relevance of the epidemic in Africa. This discussion was timely, due to the differences between the stages in the epidemic in Africa and the Asia-Pacific. He concentrated on the concept of multiple epidemics, AIDS as an industry and the dangers associated with the rhetoric of AIDS. The discussants were Marian Pitts and Daniel Tarantola.

The second session focused more closely on a particular aspect of HIV and insecurity, namely 'HIV, Security and Fragile States'. This Panel was chaired by Michael O'Keeffe and involved presentations by Annmaree O'Keeffe and Anthony Zwi. The discussant was Vicki Luker.

Annmaree O'Keeffe spoke on 'Australia's perception of state failure and HIV in the proximate region'. Annmaree provided an insightful examination of many of the problems associated with 'state failure' as a description of state health and a prescription for how to repair 'fragile states'. The 'fragile states' nomenclature was developed in depth to focus on constructive attempts to strengthen governance and ameliorate the suffering caused by AIDS.

Anthony Zwi spoke on 'The problem of fragile states' and provided an overview of the nature of the situation on the ground in fragile states. The human-centric nature of insecurity was highlighted. The nature of human insecurity was then linked to external attempts to decrease insecurity, with a focus on controlling AIDS. The discussant was Vicki Luker.

The first session of the second day focused on *HIV and Human Rights*. Heather Worth chaired this session. Daniel Tarantola spoke and the discussants were Sandy Gifford and John Godwin.

Daniel Tarantola's presentation on 'HIV and human rights in the international order' discussed the need to re-orient analysis of the epidemic to focus on human rights. He argued that states are implicated in the spread of the epidemic because their inaction or ineffectiveness allows their citizens' rights to be undermined.

The second session sought to *Focus on the Proximate Region*. This session was chaired by Marian Pitts.

John Kaldor's presentation was on 'Using epidemiological and behavioural data to estimate and project HIV epidemics in the Asia-Pacific Region'. John discussed the uncertainty associated with drawing conclusions from the epidemiological data available in the region, relating to both prevalence and incidence and to any form of forecasting. Furthermore, his paper pointed to the difficulty of linking epidemiological information to fragile states in the region.

Clement Malau spoke on 'Societal Security and HIV in PNG and East Timor'. Clement highlighted many of the serious problems raised by research into AIDS and governance in the proximate region, such as how we reconcile communal and individual rights and how we view the role of the individual in society. He focused on the need for effective leadership and early intervention to counter the epidemic.

Michael Toole discussed 'HIV in the South Pacific and its Relationship to State Stability' and sought to broaden the discussion to include the behaviour of the state itself in fostering an environment conducive to high AIDS prevalence. A range of factors were discussed that could lead to risky behaviour with the conclusion that state structures, political culture and sexual culture could not be disaggregated.

The final session, *Summary/Future Directions*, sought to provide an overview of the themes discussed during the workshop, and the potential for future cooperation was explored.

It was co-chaired by Dennis Altman and Michael O'Keefe. The panel consisted of Pieter Fourie and Laetitia Van Den Assum and led to a detailed discussion of possibilities for future collaboration, both within Australia and between Australian researchers and those overseas. While ranging through experiences elsewhere, the workshop focused on Australia's proximate region; Indonesia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific. A network has been built and/or strengthened and the future collaboration discussed at the 'HIV/AIDS, fragile states and human security workshop' will ensure that it achieved its aims.

Participants: Dennis Altman, Politics Program, La Trobe University; Alan Dupont, Lowy Institute, Sydney; Pieter Fourie, Department of Politics & Governance, University of Johannesburg; Sandy Gifford, Refugee Health Research Centre, La Trobe University; John Godwin, HIV/AIDS Taskforce, Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID); Genevieve Howse, School of Public Health, La Trobe, John Kaldor, Deputy Director and Professor of Epidemiology, National Centre in HIV Epidemiology and Clinical Research, University of New South Wales; Susan Kippax, Director, National Centre in HIV Social Research, the University of New South Wales; Vivian Lin, Professor of Public Health, School of Public Health, La Trobe University; Maxine Loynd, Project Officer, hivpolicy.org; Vicki Luker, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, ANU; Clement Malau, Centre for International Health, Burnet Institute; Marian Pitts, Director, Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, La Trobe University; Michael O'Keefe, Politics Program, La Trobe University; Annmaree O'Keefe, Special Representative for HIV/AIDS and concurrently Deputy Director General, AusAID; Bill O'Loughlin, private consultant; Claire Ryan, AIDS Pathogenesis and Clinical Research, Burnet Institute; Daniel Tarantola, Professor of Health and Human Rights, School of Public Health and Community Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, the University of New South Wales; Mike Toole, Centre

for International Health, Burnet Institute; Laetitia Van Den Assum, Ambassador of the Netherlands, currently seconded to UNAIDS; Heather Worth, La Trobe University; Anthony Zwi, Head, School of Public Health and Community Medicine, the University of New South Wales.

The following people were not able to come to the workshop but have indicated that they would like to participate in future collaboration: Wing-Sie Cheng, Regional Adviser, HIV/AIDS UNICEF East Asia and the Pacific Regional Office, Bangkok; John Fitzgerald, Centre for Asia/Pacific Studies, Australian National University; Margaret Jolly, Head, Gender Relations Centre, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU; Jennifer Klot, Senior Adviser, HIV/AIDS and Gender and Security, Social Science Research Council, NY; Nii-k Plange, UNAIDS, Papua New Guinea; Elizabeth Reid, Visiting Fellow, Gender Relations Centre; Edward Reis, International Division Manager, Australasian Society of HIV Medicine; Jane Wilson, Country Coordinator, UNAIDS Secretariat, Jakarta.

We have detailed notes of the discussion which will be the basis for future publications. In summary, the workshop, which was jointly sponsored by the Academy and UNESCO, allowed for a rich discussion of the larger socio-economic impact of the epidemic, and created some new research partnerships, both within academia and with AusAID. The inclusion of two overseas participants at a time when these issues are increasingly central to the international agenda was important for linking Australian researchers to an ongoing global debate.



Taking Care of Work of Work and Family: Policy Agendas for Australia

Marian Baird and Gillian Whitehouse

In a period of profound social, economic and demographic shifts, the work-family balance is increasingly significant for Australian men and women as well as the organisations for which they work. Both the Commonwealth and the State governments play an important role, as do organisations and the trade union movement, in developing and setting work and family policy agendas. A range of work and family issues, especially maternity and parental leave, have gained academic and political prominence in recent years and have generated a stream of academic research and some policy response. These issues have risen to prominence alongside other significant social changes that are also occurring, such as the increase in female labour force and higher education participation rates, the increase in working time pressures, a declining birth-rate and an ageing population. In turn, these changes have been associated with the ongoing erosion of the previously predominant 'male full-time breadwinner / female full-time housewife' family model in Australia and have given rise

to considerable debate about the implications for industrial relations, gender equity and social cohesion. By 2000 only 27 per cent of couple families with dependents fitted such a traditional 'breadwinner' model and dual earner families are now the norm. As a result of these shifts, the notion of the 'ideal worker' as a fulltime male is being challenged, as is the notion that 'ideal work' is characterised by standard hours of 'face-time' at the workplace. The 'downstream' implications for children, the child care industry and child care workers of all these changes are now also surfacing as major policy concerns.

The aim of the workshop was to provide a forum in which researchers and relevant policy makers could enter a dialogue about the effectiveness of policies and the implications of current research, both domestic and international. The workshop was organised by Marian Baird (University of Sydney) and Gillian Whitehouse (University of Queensland) and was held at The University of Sydney, 17-18 November, 2005. The funds provided by ASSA were matched by the School of Business, University of Sydney and enabled the organisers to invite Sue Himmelweit from The Open University, UK. Professor Himmelweit's participation and expertise in work and care regimes gave the workshop an international dimension that would otherwise have not been possible.

Over the two days, eight research papers were presented covering four themes:

- Maternity, paternity and parental leave in Australia;
- Work-family policies at the workplace;
- Work-family policy, gender equity and worker's wellbeing; and
- Child care policy and children's wellbeing.

Commentary and review of these papers was provided by policy experts from state and federal governments, unions and community organisations.* Our intention is to seek publication of the papers as an edited collection.

Maternity, paternity and parental leave in Australia

The opening session considered the current macro state of parental leave in Australia. Gillian Whitehouse presented preliminary results of the parental leave survey conducted in 2005 (nested in the Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC) wave 1.5). This is the first large scale national survey of parental leave in Australia and constitutes one part of a multi-layered study funded by an ARC Linkage grant: *Parental Leave in Australia: Access, Utilisation and Efficacy* (LP0453613). Responses were obtained from over 3,500 families with an infant born between March 2003 and February 2004. Although the dataset was not finalised at the time of the workshop, preliminary indications were that around three-quarters of working mothers and two-thirds of working fathers in the sample would have met eligibility criteria for unpaid parental leave under the federal provisions, and it was apparent that working parents were accessing a variety of types of leave around the birth of a child. Analysis of the final dataset will take place in 2006.

Data on formal provisions for maternity and paternity leave in industrial awards and enterprise agreements were presented by Marian Baird. This showed that just 114 federal awards provide for paid maternity leave with the most common periods being 12, 8 and 6 weeks respectively. Forty-nine federal awards provide paid paternity leave with 5 days/1 week being the norm. In terms of enterprise agreements, just 10 per cent made reference to paid maternity leave and 6 per cent refer to paid paternity leave. Discussion of the new industrial relations legislation (WorkChoices) raised concerns

about the prospects for delivering the Parental Leave Test Case (2005) outcomes through public policy and also the possible negative implications of having parental leave entitlements exposed to bargaining and trade-off at the enterprise level.

Work-family policies at the workplace

With the locus for parental leave policy shifting almost exclusively to the workplace, the necessity for understanding what occurs in relation to parental leave within organisations will become even more important. The relevance of the second session examining work-family policies at the workplace, therefore, did not go unheeded.

The paper by Chris Diamond, Marian Baird and Gillian Whitehouse presented findings from an organisational case study of parental leave and gender equity in Australia. The case study demonstrated that even with relatively progressive formal policies, use of parental leave and associated conditions is influenced by other factors such as sexism, ideal worker norms, information gaps, managerial discretion, potential for career penalties and organisational culture. This mix of formal policy and informal influences results in a highly feminised use of the organisation's parental leave policy, thereby reinforcing gender inequity at work.

Sara Charlesworth's study of nine 'best practice' organisations then demonstrated that while there are 'islands' of good policy and practice in Australia, these are no substitute for a national paid maternity leave scheme. Additionally, her study showed that although paid maternity leave is an essential element of work-family policy, associated policies enabling flexible return to work for women after maternity leave are also required.

Work-family policy, gender equity and workers' wellbeing

Case study analyses such as those reported above consistently stress the need for good post-maternity leave provisions as well as policies that enable employees to combine family care and work responsibilities. The third session moved to consideration of public policy, both nationally and internationally. Sue Himmelweit's paper demonstrated both the grandness of British work and family policy compared with that in Australia and also the limits to such policy from an equity standpoint. The UK now provides 26 weeks paid maternity leave (to be extended to 12 months by 2010), 2 weeks paid paternity leave, and the right for parents of pre-school age children to request flexible working arrangements (to be extended to other carers in 2007). Despite the tentative nature of the 'right to request' legislation, Himmelweit argued that evidence that 81 per cent of requests are either fully or partly accepted, suggests that 'the right may be changing employers' willingness to accept changed working conditions'. Despite these policy initiatives, the concern remains amongst those interested in gender equity in the UK that unless women and men have the opportunity to participate equally in work *and* care, such policies can continue to reinforce gendered care stereotypes, disadvantaging women over men, especially where there is a lack of universal child care. It was argued that while a universal care-giver/worker model is the most likely to achieve true gender equity, the right to request flexible hours may be a necessary step in achieving that goal.

Part-time work is the working time option that is undertaken disproportionately by women. In Australia in 2004, 46 per cent of all working women were in part-time work (the comparable figure for men was 15 per cent), making up 71 per cent of the total part-time work force. Jenny Chalmers' detailed analysis of the effect of part-time work on women's incomes provided further insight into this growing work-family

combination. The findings corroborate recent British research that part-time work experience detracts from career advancement as measured by earnings. Based on an analysis of the first wave of The Negotiating the Lifecourse (NLC) data, the authors estimate a six per cent earnings growth for each year of full-time work rather than part-time work and a 49 per cent earnings advantage for a women who had worked full-time rather than part-time for the past 10 years.

For some time overseas research has suggested that role conflict and job quality impacts in various ways on workers. Three papers presented data examining the link between job characteristics and worker/work-family well being in Australia. Using data from the first wave of the LSAC, the paper by Jenny Baxter and Michael Alexander analysed the experience of Australian working parents with pre-school age children and the differential impact of work-family spillover on parents. The results 'clearly demonstrate the importance of different work arrangements for how parents experience both positive and negative spillover from their work to their family environment.' Control over work, flexibility in start and finishing times and capacity to change the number of hours worked have positive work-family associations; whereas non-standard hours and long working hours have negative associations.

The research presented in the paper by Lyndall Strazdins, Dorothy Broom and Megan Shipley stressed the importance of job quality on worker wellbeing. Employing data from two studies, Strazdins *et al* developed an index of optimal jobs for parents, including job security, control, flexible work hours, sociable work schedules, feasible workloads and supportive social relationships at work, along with access to parental leave and benefits. They found that better job quality was associated with both mothers' and fathers' energy, health and wellbeing, whether parents worked part or full time. Jobs that combined family friendly benefits with security, control, flexibility and support may therefore further benefit families. On the other hand, jobs which combine insecurity, poor control, poor social support and heavy workloads may erode parent wellbeing with possible consequences for children's outcomes.

Michael Bittman's presentation canvassed the meaning of 'worker wellbeing' and investigated the links between the qualities of parent's jobs, time pressure and parent's health. Making use of various Australian data-sets, his findings have important policy implications. In summary, Bittman's analysis shows that time and money are not perfect substitutes, that the demand for each peak at different stages in parent's lives and therefore assistance with time and money costs may be required at different periods. Furthermore, Bittman concludes that limiting both husbands' and wives' hours of market work is the only policy measure shown to increase men's participation in non-market work.

Child care and children's wellbeing

The fourth and final session examined child care, which to date has been the missing link in the work-family debate. Beginning by proposing a spectrum of child care regimes, from familial care to commodified care, Barbara Pocock noted that Australian child care policy has a residual character, with few signs of clear national goals, systematic collection of evidence to guide action, planning to realise objectives, or evaluation of progress towards them. It is also increasingly commodified with the marketised care of children one of the fastest growing areas of business in Australia, yet it is one of the most under developed policy areas. Pocok asks a fundamental question, one that immediately exposes the problems, inequities and gaps in current work and family, economic and social policies: 'If our economy and our larger

community is to increasingly rely on the paid work of mothers and women, how should we care for children?' Pocock's analysis provided a powerful case for making both the regulation of childcare and a national system of early childhood education and care national priorities.

Assessment and policy recommendations

The academic research and discussion by policy makers arising from the Workshop point to a number of pertinent policy work and family issues. If Australia is to take care of work and family in a more comprehensive way and to equitably address the mounting work-family pressures so that social and family cohesion are enhanced, then the intricacies of working parents' lives, of women's career-care cycles and the precision with which parents combine work and family, need to be better understood. Furthermore, if gender equity and opportunities for improved fathering are really to be fostered, careful consideration of how policies integrate with each other is essential. For instance, as Liz Hill warned in her commentary, we need to be wary of advocating working time policies that further entrench gender inequality and a pernicious, destructive cycle of self-reinforcing patterns of gender inequality.

The discussion and debate from the policy experts attending the Workshop highlighted the need to identify pressure points for change, for instance political parties' policy platforms in the lead up to elections, and also the attraction of the 'killer statistic' that good research can provide. More attention to recognising the productivity benefits of organisation level policies was also called for as was the need to promote a whole of life-cycle approach to public policy development.

In terms of the specific policy areas, reflecting on the British experience of extending and expanding parental leave and flexible hours policies made it clear that there is much scope for Australian public policy to be more ambitious and mature. The evidence from case studies shows that organisational policies too can be improved, both in their implementation and their application. At the public policy level, specific policy areas requiring further attention in Australia include paid maternity leave and paid paternity leave, transitions from family care to market work, and the right to request reduced working hours.

To address the issues effectively, however, the research presented at the Workshop also indicated that policy consideration needs to move beyond a focus on leave and hours of work to job content, job size and autonomy. Quite clearly, good quality jobs, both full-time and part-time, have significance for easing work-family pressures. Poor jobs, whether full-time or part-time, have negative consequences for work and family, and for parent and child wellbeing. Finally, the whole gamut of child care, from provision of quality care through to the employment conditions of child care workers urgently calls for more research and policy attention if Australia is to genuinely take care of work and family.

*In addition to the authors who presented papers, the following people attended the Workshop to offer commentary and participate in policy discussion: Marjolein Broers (DIR, Qld), Bettina Cass (USyd), Jenny Earle (ACT Govt), Chris Game (NTEU), Pru Goward (HREOC), Penny Holt (Seed Recruitment), Sandy Killick (Premiers, NSW), Sally Moyle (HREOC), Tanya Plibersek (ALP), Cath Queally (OIR, NSW) and Karen Wilson (FACS, C'wealth Govt). Other academic researchers who attended the Workshop included Sheree Cartwright (RMIT) and Dominique Beck, Rae Cooper, Liz Hill, John Murray, Alison Page and Jenni Whelan (all from the USyd).

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Issues in the Research and Application of Chemo-prophylactic Drugs for the treatment of Traumatic Stress

Jessica Wolfendale

Research is currently going ahead into chemo-prophylactic drugs that would minimise individuals' affective response to traumatic events, and thereby inhibit the strength and intensity of traumatic memories. Research into the beta-blocker propranolol, for example, has shown promising results in the reduction of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder symptoms in car-crash victims. The rationale behind this research is that such drugs would be useful for individuals who must face traumatic events as part of their work, such as military personnel, police and fire-fighters, as well as providing a possible way of preventing and treating Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

more generally. Given that the immense financial, physical and psychological cost of PTSD to individuals and communities, it is essential to examine the effectiveness of these drugs and the ethical implications of their use before they are utilised.

The research and development of these drugs raises issues for philosophy and for psychologists and psychiatrists working in the area of traumatic stress. To explore these issues, this workshop brought together academics from philosophy, psychology and psychiatry with researchers working directly with PTSD patients in the context of the military, the police and in criminology. This broad range of perspectives encouraged fascinating and productive discussion of the workshop topic. Issues discussed included the possible impact of these drugs on the perception of victims of trauma, duty of care obligations in high-stress occupations, potential uses of these drugs in crime prevention and victim recovery, how military personnel should be prepared for combat, and how these drugs might impact on relationships between mental health practitioners and their patients. Other issues discussed included the relationship between trauma, memory and emotions such as regret and guilt and the impact of these drugs on moral agency and decision-making.

Adam Guastella and Richard Bryant presented new research into the impact of the drugs D-Cycloserine and glutamate on fear extinction. Dr Guastella discussed his experiments on the effect of D-Cycloserine and indicated directions for future research to clarify the impact of this drug on human fear conditioning and extinction. Dr Bryant discussed the nature of PTSD, fear conditioning models and the effectiveness of treatments such as cognitive behaviour therapy. He outlined the findings of a trial using glutamate that showed promise in enhancing fear reduction. He argued that once questions of timing, dosage and adverse learning were addressed, the potential benefits included reduced therapy time and costs, and an increase in compliance.

Keith Horsley of the Department of Veterans' Affairs described the historical uses of alcohol in the military. He argued that alcohol has long been used as a way of preparing military personnel for combat and as a method of managing the stress of combat. He pointed out that the term chemo-prophylactic refers not only to the new drugs currently being researched but to prophylactic methods that have been used for hundreds of years, indicating that the military has long recognised a duty of care to prepare military personnel for combat stress and to help them recover from combat.

Tony Cotton, representing the Australian Defence Force, gave an overview of some of the ethical questions that need to be answered when considering the use of these drugs in workplaces. For example, he argued that given the potential safety gains from the use of chemo-prophylactic drugs, it needs to be established if there is any morally significant difference between using these drugs to prevent traumatic stress in the workplace, and other commonly accepted safety measures, eg, safety vests. He argued that in order to gain a clear understanding of the ethical framework that should guide discussion of these issues, there should be consultation and collaboration between ethicists, workplace professionals, and psychiatrists and psychologists.

Mark Creamer from the Centre for Post-traumatic Health at the University of Melbourne explored some of the duty of care issues surrounding the prevention of mental health problems in the aftermath of traumatic exposure, with particular reference to the use of pharmacological interventions (often referred to as chemoprophylaxis). He clarified the different issues that arise from considering the use of pharmacological interventions as a prophylactic compared to their use after a traumatic event. He pointed out, for example, that since PTSD afflicts only about 5 per

cent of individuals, it is hard to justify an invasive intervention that would either be irrelevant or possibly harmful for the majority of the population. He argued that appropriateness of chemoprophylaxis should only be considered in the context of the availability and efficacy of other preventive options, and should never be considered a replacement for alternative treatments.

Doris McIlwain discussed the relationship between our emotional responses to trauma and the moral self. She raised concerns that tampering with individual's affective responses to traumatic events (particularly when they may have caused such events) would alter the development of backward-looking moral emotions such as regret, shame and guilt. This concern was developed further by Jeanette Kennett, who argued that many of our moral concepts rely on emotional memory – memory that often has a specific emotional 'sting'. Attempting to modify painful emotions may also modify our backward-looking moral judgements and thereby affect our forward-looking resolutions to pursue moral change. Furthermore, emotional responsiveness is a central part of moral development and moral judgement. Tampering with such responsiveness could therefore affect individual's ability to comprehend the impact of their actions on others, their ability to assess the morally relevant aspects of situations and could alter their responsiveness to other's needs.

Jessica Wolfendale discussed the differences between PTSD caused by witnessing traumatic events and PTSD resulting from being causally involved in traumatic events. She argued that this distinction is of particular concern in the military, since military personnel must be prepared to kill if necessary and that this killing takes place in a context that requires a substantial moral justification. She argued that killing is a source of PTSD for some military personnel, and the use of drugs to dampen emotional responses to trauma would mask the moral implications of such trauma and larger moral issues about how military personnel are prepared for killing.

Jillian Craigie gave an overview on research into the impact of drugs such as propranolol that block certain forms of emotional arousal on moral reasoning, emotional memory and decision-making. She discussed several studies that have shown that propranolol can have an impact on decision-making in ways that could also affect individuals' moral judgements. She argued that these findings raise concerns that the use of anti-trauma drugs, particularly prophylactically, could alter moral judgement in ways that could have serious and unforeseen repercussions on behaviour and judgement in ethically sensitive contexts such as in the military.

Leonard Lambeth from the Australian Defence Force explored ethical perspectives on the use of different drug treatments for PTSD. He argued that psychotropic medications for traumatic stress are only a part of a wide variety of available treatments, all of which should be considered when discussing the appropriateness and ethical implications of drug treatments. He discussed the importance of the doctor-patient relationship in deciding how to treat PTSD, and argued that while using psychotropic medications might seem like an easy solution to the problem of PTSD, they must not undermine doctors' views of their patients as whole individuals.

John Sutton examined arguments against tampering with memory and emotional affect. He argued that many such arguments are based on a false belief in the unified nature of memory (particularly autobiographical memory) and the self. He argued that before we can assess the ethical implications of drugs that tamper with memory and emotional responses, we must have a clearer picture of how memory functions, and how the different forms of memory might be affected.

Alexander McFarlane discussed the nature and progress of PTSD. He noted that treatment and prevention for PTSD could take place during pre-exposure, prolonged exposure and post-trauma phases. He argued that considering the use of chemo-prophylactics must take into account issues of the optimal timing of interventions, and the biological complexity of PTSD and the different physical and psychological effects of different pharmacological treatments. He pointed out that the general reluctance of people to take medications is likely to count against the wide scale usage of a chemo-prophylaxis unless it had some beneficial impact on performance. This indicates a need for a more general understanding of the nature of fear and an understanding of the nature of the injuries that trauma can cause.

Toni Makkai and Damon Muller from the Australian Institute of Criminology raised issues about the treatment and prevention of crime. It has long been known, for example, that many of those who commit violence have themselves been victims of violence at some point in the past, and that trauma likely contributes to the intergenerational transmission of violence. The use of anti-trauma drugs therefore has implications for the prevention of crime as well as for the treatment of victims of crime.

Over the two days the workshop provided an intellectually stimulating venue for exploring the issues raised by research into these drugs. The participants' different backgrounds and perspectives enhanced our understanding of the different areas of concern, such as ethical constraints on research, appropriate doctor-patient relationships and the potential impact of these drugs in different contexts. The workshop sessions were structured to provide time for vigorous and informed discussion of the papers, and this was very successful. The papers are currently being prepared for publication.

Convenors: Jeanette Kennett, Neil Levy and Jessica Wolfendale, Centre for Applied Philosophy and Public Ethics. University of Melbourne.

Policy Advice Summary

Jessica Wolfendale

Because of the large financial and personal cost of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder on communities and individuals, research in chemo-prophylactic treatments that could minimise or prevent the formation of PTSD is likely to continue. However, the consensus at the workshop was that such research should proceed extremely cautiously. The framework in which future research proceeds should be established through interaction between researchers, ethicists and potential end-users such as the Australian Defence Force, Federal Police, Emergency Services, criminologists and individual psychiatrists and psychologists.

At the conclusion of the workshop, participants discussed the policy implications that arose from the workshop presentations and discussion. The following policy issues were identified as requiring particular consideration.

What is the scope and direction of future research?

Before any further research is conducted, it is important to establish the questions that the research will attempt to answer. This requires informed public debate involving ethicists, psychologists, psychiatrists and end-users in order to clarify the aim and scope of these drugs. First, it is necessary to clarify the nature of memory and the interaction between memory and the development of post-traumatic stress disorder. For example,

in order to understand the aim and potential scope of these drugs, it is necessary to clarify whether PTSD results from an inadequate laying down of traumatic memories or whether the reverse is true. Second, it is important to clarify the ethical issues that need to be addressed, such as the effect of these drugs on moral judgement and emotional memory. Third, it is important to clarify the ethical differences between preventative and treatment uses of these drugs. Once these questions are answered, this will provide a framework that can guide future empirical research in ways that provide a broad picture of the full psychological, physical and ethical impact of these drugs.

Where and by whom will the drugs be used?

Consulting individual sufferers of PTSD and end-users such as the military and emergency services, and professional psychiatrists and psychologists would clarify possible contexts in which these drugs might be used. This consultation is desirable in order to address the following concerns. How would use of these drugs affect the provision, funding and types of current treatments for PTSD such as cognitive behaviour therapy? What guidelines should govern their use in high-stress contexts such as the military? How would they compare in effectiveness to other treatment strategies? Are there ethical differences between different treatment methods for PTSD? Is it possible or desirable to consider use of these drugs in a performance-enhancing capacity? We recommended that future research with trauma survivors and other clinical populations does not proceed without consultation of end-users to address these concerns.

Informed consent

The potential impact of these drugs on individuals' emotional memory and moral capacities is unclear. This means that guidelines governing informed consent should be in place before such testing proceeds. In order to create such guidelines, researchers, ethicists and end-users must collaborate to establish both the framework that would govern such experiments and the kinds of questions that need to be addressed through the experiments.

Compensation for sufferers of PTSD

The use of these drugs has potential implications for compensation of sufferers of PTSD, particularly in a military, police or criminal context. If these drugs minimised the severity and occurrence of PTSD symptoms, this would alter if and how much compensation survivors of trauma would be entitled to receive. This financial impact could function as an incentive for governments to encourage research into these drugs. However, in light of the concerns raised above, it is essential not to allow the potential financial savings of chemo-prophylactic treatments to override ethical considerations and the concerns of end-users and researchers. We recommend that thorough research into the ethical and physiological implications of these drugs be conducted prior to the development and use of these drugs, and prior to the development of guidelines governing the assessment, distribution and structure of compensation claims for PTSD sufferers.

Implications for crime prevention and for victims of crime

These drugs have potential uses for both victims and perpetrators of crime. In crime prevention, these drugs could play a role in preventing the development of criminal behaviour by addressing the relationship between trauma and crime. For victims, these drugs could be used to mitigate the traumatic effects of serious crime. However,

there are several issues that need to be addressed before these uses should be considered. First, the possible impact of these drugs on emotional memory and moral judgement could affect victims' recall of traumatic events as well as their desire to seek justice. This concern needs to be addressed by empirical research, in consultation with criminologists. Second, the connection between trauma and crime is complex and drug treatments must not be considered as a replacement for a more holistic approach that incorporates education, social support services and psychiatric and psychological support. These concerns would set limits on appropriate uses of these drugs in the criminal justice system.



Second-Generation Migrants: Contesting Definitions and Realities

Zlatko Skrbis and Loretta Baldassar

In the post-9/11 environment, the question of second-generation migrants has clearly come to prominence, both in Australia and internationally, with important theoretical and political implications. Politically, second-generation migrants form part of a much broader concern about the longterm, trans-generational impact of the migration experience and the adaptability of migrants. This question became particularly sensitive in the wake of the London bombings, raising the prospect and reality of 'home-grown terrorism', as well as problematising the unpredictable loyalties of second-generation citizens. In Australia, young Muslims have been called to 'get out of their ghettos and interact with the society we live in', but the recent Cronulla riots demonstrate the obstacles they face in trying to do so. Theoretically, the question of generation has preoccupied generations of scholars and it continues to form an important part of migration studies, focusing on issues of economic success and upward mobility, assimilation and ethnic identity, and nationalism. The goal of the workshop was to provide an opportunity for a cross-disciplinary engagement with the multi-faceted phenomenon of the second-generation, particularly with regard to two main themes: the question of the politics of identity of the second generation, and the politics of inclusion and productive accommodation of diversity.

The workshop, organised by Zlatko Skrbis (School of Social Science, University of Queensland) and Loretta Baldassar (Anthropology and Sociology, University of Western Australia) took place at the University of Queensland, 1-2 November 2005.

In eight sessions over two days, scholars from almost every state in Australia, including early career as well as senior academics and Academy Fellows, presented their research, united by a common theme of the politics of identity in the context of policy relevance. The concluding comments of Baldassar and Skrbis drew out the definitional, conceptual, and thematic issues that dominate the field of second-generation research.

Mapping the field

Warren McMillan, Manager of Community Relations, Multicultural Affairs Queensland, introduced the participants to issues of policy relevance around the ideology of nation building and strategies for managing cultural change.

'Second-Generation Immigrant Australians: The Socio-Economic Context, 1986 and 2001', Frank Jones.

When asked their reasons for migration, many new settlers mention a desire for a better future for their children. Accordingly, they are prepared to accept the privations of starting their lives over again, sometimes with inferior social and economic outcomes compared with native-born persons with equivalent human capital. It is, therefore, a matter of signal importance to establish whether or not the second-generation members of immigrant groups do in fact achieve (at least) as well as other native-born Australians. Australian evidence from the 1980s and 1990s has generally supported optimistic conclusions, but that evidence is heavily skewed towards experiences moulded during more egalitarian economic times, including full employment and, for a time, free tertiary education. The results of the 2001 Census provided an opportunity to reassess earlier conclusions, particularly for those who entered schooling and work in the more difficult decade of the 1990s. Because the 2001 Census is only the second census to obtain data on ancestry, where possible outcomes for specific ancestry groups in both 1986 and 2001 were compared.

Trends and settlement: identity and place

'International research on the second-generation', Christine Inglis.

The research focus on the second-generation migrants which began in Australia three decades ago has now been joined by research in North America and Europe which have more recently become aware of the presence of the second-generation. This paper considered some of these recent international studies, particularly those which have a comparative dimension, and addressed the issue, 'What can we learn from them'? It discussed whether they have provided new insights into the experiences of the second-generation, the impact of policy and the social context on those experiences, and whether they bring to the study of the experiences of the second-generation new theoretical and conceptual approaches which may be usefully explored in the Australian context.

'Locating second-generation migrants: space, place and belonging', Hurriyet Babacan.

This paper explored location and identity of second-generation migrants within the context of settlement. Based on extensive research across Australia with a cross-section of second-generation migrants, the boundaries of identity formation within the context of place, space and belonging were examined. The paper excavated the way in which personal rootedness is determined and how this in turn provides local knowledge and gives permission for social interaction, arguing that the articulation of 'identity' and 'place-space' highlights the role of second-generation individuals as both products and producers, as constructs and constructors of identity. The linkages between second-generation identity formation and other factors such as parental settlement and migration experiences (lived experience, memory, nostalgia), transnationalism and connections with the homeland, issues of cultural continuity (language, values, traditions), issues of power and societal hierarchy, racism and social exclusion, ethnic community structures, and the processes of formation of cultural and social capital were explored. Furthermore, consideration was given to the processes of transmission of legacies and how these lead to cultural continuity in

groups of second-generation migrants, arguing that these are selective processes and depend upon favourable conditions.

'Longitudinal lessons: second-generation Greeks in Australia', Reg Appleyard.

Longitudinal-type research, though generally acknowledged as a superior technique for the study of migrant adaptation, is rarely undertaken for the long periods necessary to cover second and third generations. The Greek single female project, begun in 1964 with 80 respondents prior to their departure from Greece, and followed up with interviews in Australia (and Greece with those who returned) in 1965, 1976, 1990 and 2005, has yielded unique and important data on second-generation issues. The paper addressed the relationships between education, employment, social networks, marriage and identity. Data related mainly to the 1976 and 1990 interviews as the 2005 interviews are presently being conducted in Australia and Greece.

'Mixity' and hybridity: questions of definition

'Ambivalence as genealogy – mothers and daughters imagining diasporic subjectivities', Georgina Tsolidis.

This paper explored women's critical role in how identity is imagined and remembered within the diaspora. Particular attention was given to Bauman's metaphor of the eddy and its role of transferring cultural matter towards the creation of fluid identities. On this basis, it was argued that women are responsible for selecting, recycling and rearranging cultural matter within the family. The experiences of Greek women were used to exemplify such processes and how they contribute towards shaping a sense of self across and within generations, nations and cultures. It was argued that a genealogy of women within the family, albeit underlined by ambivalence, contributes to the creation of fluid identities which best prepare individuals for globalised times.

'Tracing generations: diaspora, homelands and 'third space / hyphen' identities', Farida Tilbury.

Beginning with a thought experiment, Tilbury asked what social relations in the world 200 years from now would look like. What will globalisation produce? Will there be nations and nation-states? What will we be like 'racially'? Who will our kin be? How will we communicate - in English; in some new hybrid language; in hundreds of different languages? What will be the place of 'identity'? Reflecting on a case-study of intercontinental movement over four generations, the paper discussed ambivalent yet ongoing relationships to 'home', in terms of connections, place, 'race' and religion. It concluded with a brief discussion of rival approaches to second-generation 'ways of being in the world' – those which celebrate peripheral wisdom and those which assume conflicted personalities.

'Children's experiences, understandings and responses to migration', Teresa Hutchins.

This paper examined the way in which the emerging field of childhood studies within the disciplines of sociology and anthropology may be able to make an important contribution to the field of second-generation studies. Understanding the concepts of age and generation as a structural space enables an analysis of the differential power relations that exist between adults and children, revealing childhood as a space occupied by a minority group. Even though much attention has been given to processes of adaptation for the children of migrants with regard to the long-term impact of migration for host countries, little attention has been placed upon children's own experiences, understandings and responses to migration. The paper argued that

without research that explores migration from the child's point of view it is difficult to evaluate the experience of transnational mobility in terms of children's 'best interests', wellbeing, or life chances.

Switching and crossing

'Speaking of the second-generation: discursive alignments, language policies and multilingual Australia', Anne Pauwels and Jo Winter.

The concept of 'second-generation' is well established in sociolinguistic research in Australia. Sociolinguistic examinations of the 'second-generation' to date have operationalised the concept as '*Australian-born children of parents who were born overseas in non-English language countries*'. Main foci of research have been the pivotal role that this generation plays in the maintenance of parental language(s) and thus in linguistic diversity in Australia as well as its linguistic integration into and impact on the Australian English speech community. This discussion focused on both the reframing and reconsideration of the second-generation in linguistic research as well as language and social policy practices – realised and imagined – that impact on the politicisation of the second-generation.

'Transnational affect and the rebellious second-generation: managing shame and pride in a moment of cultural rupture', Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham.

The paper was based on an auto-ethnographic approach looking at trans-nationalised Tamils living in Singapore who retain strong links to their village in India. The challenges posed by the increasingly hybrid cultural practices and cross-cultural connections among the second-generation members of a translocal village which spans India, Singapore and Australia were explored. Through a case study of a cross-cultural 'out-marriage' which took place in the village in India, how those charged with maintaining and reproducing cultural boundaries of the village in transnational circumstances responded to this cultural 'rupture' through various forms of improvisation and filling in ritual gaps was examined. The central conceptual apparatus, 'transnational affect', was deployed to explore the important role key family and village members had in the management of 'affects' such as shame and pride in this case.

Politics of identity

'The "lost boys"', Scott Poynting.

There is widespread popular belief, both among Sydney's Lebanese-Australian communities and Anglo-Australians, that second-generation immigrant youth of Lebanese background are 'caught between two cultures'. This is often held to cause a range of social pathologies, and a range of redemptive measures are prescribed by well-meaning and right-thinking experts, from reactionary to progressive. These comprise contradictory and complexly interrelating strategies of assimilation, conservative cultural maintenance, and liberal cultural pluralism. Yet the premise of two neatly bounded cultures with second-generation immigrant youth trapped in between does not accurately represent the lived reality of the young people, so these prescriptions are futile. Recognition and provision of social space to practice and develop cultural hybridities could be part of a realistic response. It is also necessary to deal with the realities of class inequality, including unequal means and power in the production and valorisation of hybridity.

'Misinterpellations: "It kind of dawned on me that I was not who I thought I was . . ." ', Ghassan Hage.

A series of comparative ethnographic reflections on the many ways second-generation Lebanese background youth in US, Venezuela, France and Australia negotiate their Lebaneseness. Althusser's Marxist-Lacanian notion of 'interpellation' has been further developed in recent times (particularly by Judith Butler) and specifically in relation to diasporic identification (in Avtar Brah's work, for example). Hage further developed this notion with a particular emphasis on the way the moment of becoming conscious of one's difference is internalised and remembered. He argued that this moment has enduring effects on the structuring of the second-generation's subjectivity and belonging, and looked at the many variables that come into play to make this a very different experience in different national or sub-national settings.

Generations and culture

'Respect and respectability: young Arabic-speaking men and the politics of recognition', Greg Noble.

This paper explored the logics of inclusion and exclusion for second-generation immigrants by tracing the shift from adolescence to adulthood experienced by a group of young men of Arabic-speaking background. These young men were first interviewed in the 1990s when, as teenagers, they belonged to a group of friends that called themselves Shi B'Fazi – or 'something to fear'. Their gang-like formation had more to do with negotiating the complex dynamics of friendship, ethnicity and masculinity, and the desire for a sense of social power and respect through a clearly defined identity, than with any real connection to the world of gangs, despite the attempts by populist politicians and media commentators to draw links between men of Middle Eastern appearance and crime and violence. These men were re-interviewed some years on, revisiting questions of identity and ethnicity, and a different set of concerns and experiences were found. They had become 'respectable' young adults - educated and employed. These two moments in their life histories represent something of the contrasting logics of social inclusion/exclusion around the central themes of respect and respectability; the kinds of social recognition their embodied and cultural capital can confer.

'Transnational and transgenerational identification processes in the Hmong diaspora', Roberta Julian.

This paper examined the nexus between discourses and practices of Hmong identification in the context of transnational and transgenerational relationships. It examined discourses and practices at the local and global levels and explored the intersecting dimensions of ethnicity, race, gender, age/generation, class, religion and place. In particular, the paper examined representations of Hmong femininity in both Hmong and mainstream western media, and then explored resistant readings and performances by second-generation Hmong women in sites as geographically and culturally diverse as the United States, Australia, France and Thailand.

""Macho men and slave-drivers": second-generation migrant women discuss Latin and Turkish masculinities in Australia', Zuleyka Zevallos.

This paper explored the social construction of Latin American and Turkish masculinities as described by 50 second-generation migrant Australian women. Drawing on data from qualitative interviews, the paper outlined how both groups of women described Latin and Turkish masculinities using similar imagery, that of 'macho men' and 'slave-drivers'. The paper then discussed how both groups of women drew on notions of Australian masculinity when describing their marriage partners. The

paper argued that the women's rejection of 'traditional' notions of masculinity in their migrant communities signalled their reconstruction of Latin and Turkish femininities in the Australian context.

Generations and transnationalism

'Shifting ties? second-generation Tongan transnationalism', Helen Lee.

This paper explored the ways in which the children of migrants maintain ties with the 'homelands' of their parents. Although the literature on the second-generation is vast, it tends to focus on experiences within the host country and relationships within migrant families. On the other hand, the rapidly increasing literature on transnationalism focuses primarily on first-generation migrants. This paper examined the existing work on second-generation transnationalism and Lee's preliminary work on Tongan transnationalism. She argued that for remittance-dependent nations such as Tonga, if transnational ties decline with the second-generation there could be profound economic, social and political implications for the 'homelands'.

'Transnationalism and gendered identity: the case of one-and-a-half generation Taiwanese migrants', David Ip.

Based on original empirical research and data derived from the 2001 Australian Census, this paper explored whether transnationalism has a significant role in determining the identities among the one-and-a-half generation of Taiwanese migrants in Brisbane that are embedded in the ways they engaged with education, occupation, friendship and marriage. The findings indicated that they not only asserted their identities as Taiwanese, they also subscribed to values that are characteristically traditional and frequently following well-accepted Chinese gender lines.

Generations, social capital

'Identity, integration and social capital among second-generation: empirical realities and contested myths', Dimitria Giorgas.

The politics of identity and belonging for the second-generation can be considered as indicators of both broader social acceptance and accommodation of ethnic and cultural identity. Ethnicity itself can be considered a distinct and powerful form of social capital developed through cultural endowments (obligations and expectations), information channels and social norms. Collective identity in this context can therefore be considered a significant resource in the process of integration. This contrasts traditional assimilationist perspectives which postulate that cultural maintenance and identity hinders successful integration. Although the integration of second-generation members into their ethnic community is necessary for the effective facilitation of social capital, the importance of community involvement and ties to parental homeland in the maintenance of ethno-cultural identity is not fully understood. This paper evaluated these factors with specific reference to a second-generation of Greek origin.

'Locating the second-generation in the 'Iranian diaspora': intersections of nation and religion', Cameron McAuliffe.

The second-generation is a construct made coherent through the dominance of national modernities in contemporary thought. Their position between nations subordinates them within hegemonic public discourses of national belonging and academic discourses dominated by methodological nationalism. As an inherent challenge to dominant discourses of national belonging they are 'a problem' waiting to be solved. In this paper, a discussion of the religious identities of the children of Iranian migrants in the 'Iranian diaspora' served to unsettle the dominance of national

belonging and the national scale of reference. For 'Baha'i' and 'Muslims', Iran means different things, building alternative modernities mediated through the lens of religion. Bringing national identities into dynamic contact with their non-national others produces the possibility to move beyond the tacit problematisation of the second-generation. Rather than limiting them to interstitiality, the second-generation are thus accorded a more legitimate and productive place in social relations.

Policy implications

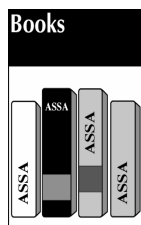
Second-generation, as a population and political category, is now assuming a new strategic role in debates concerning citizenship, loyalty to the nation state, and terrorism. Second-generation experiences (both between and within) states differ widely: some achieve considerable socio-economic mobility and integrate quickly; some form closed communities; still others form successful niche economies and retain and nurture their ethno-cultural distinctiveness. Because of this variability of experience, the second generation is crucial for understanding the migration experience and the success of migration programs. Reliable social research analysis that bridges disciplinary barriers is essential to this project. All presenters were encouraged to make suggestions relating to policy arising out of their research.

Publication

Three sets of publication options are currently being explored although it is likely that two will eventuate, ideally accommodating most of the papers presented at the workshop. Firstly, we are currently negotiating a thematic issue on 'Second generation, nation and belonging' with the *Journal of Intercultural Studies* (JIS) to be co-edited by Zlatko Skrbis, Loretta Baldassar and Scott Poynting. On request of the editors of the JIS, in addition to some papers presented at the workshop, the volume will include some international contributors. Second, we are currently exploring publication options with *Global Networks* and the *International Migration Review*.



Books



Pat Jalland, ***Changing Ways of Death in Twentieth Century Australia: War, Medicine and the Funeral Business***. UNSW Press, Sydney, 2006.

Does death have a history, or is it like breathing, not much subject to historical change? Pat Jalland's several books on British and Australian death over the past two centuries demonstrate not only the diverse faces of death and dying, but also delineate a series of longer transitions in the evolution of death and its rituals. In her new book she has periodised the subject and brought her account into the present day.

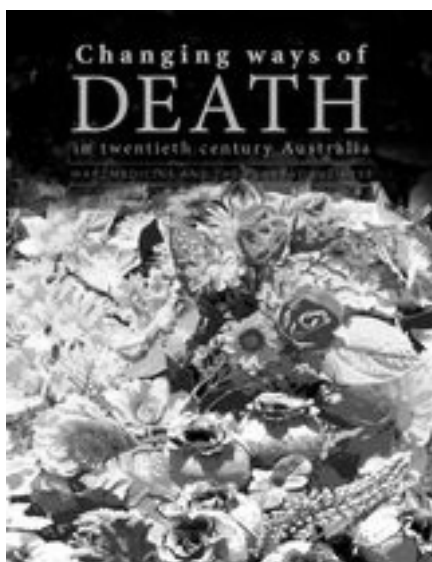
We are now intensely aware that even the definition of death is a serious variable with powerful political, medical and legal implications. We know also that the grim reaper has different moods and is subject to longterm changes which affect his (or her?) harvests as well as the return on investment in human capital, medical or otherwise. Death, and our responses to it, evidently mirror the way society shifts and changes. Having chronicled the Victorian mode of death (in *Australian Ways of Death*, 2002), Jalland now considers death in Australia during the past century. She comes alarmingly close to our own times, into contemporary history, and she is tracking us all into the grave – which, as she explains, is rapidly becoming a less appropriate metaphor for our ultimate fate.

The bright colours of the cover of Pat Jalland's new book announce modern Australia's changed attitude to death in very recent times. Previously the two World Wars, by their 'massive overload of death and sorrow' (p 171), had induced many decades of what Freud called 'death denial'. Death and dying were cloaked in silence, the emotional response suppressed, all expressive private ritual diminished, and the subject kept out of sight. There was a collective psychology of avoidance, 'a conspiracy of silence' which made dying even more difficult despite advances in medicine and living standards. Moreover death, previously dominated by its high incidence among children, moved proportionately into elderly age groups. Grief was made private and inward, all ritual and consolation minimised.

Since about 1980, says Jalland, there has been a 'profound cultural transformation': Australians have become remarkably more expressive and open in the ways in which death and dying are confronted, consoled and accommodated. There is now significantly more public contemplation of death; the subject is exposed in all its dimensions to public debate, to emotional and intellectual expression. Over the past two decades there has been a return to a climate of 'expressive grieving' (p 89), with far less repression of all aspects of the subject, not least its aesthetics, the role of the churches, even matters of public hygiene. In part it seems to have been a general revolt against the so-called 'medicalisation of death', but it relates to broad currents of longterm change in social mentalities to which social scientists should be more fully attuned.

None of this is especially novel and Jalland's account is essentially a reprise of the evolving consensus about the treatment of death over the past century. But this is its greatest gift to cultural historians, medicos, philosophers and lawyers – she sets the vital context of the longterm changes and provides a sane and balanced perspective on a subject which, politically and ethically, is often highly-charged. In essence, Jalland provides an admirably lucid synthesis of a series of social debates about death, war, the treatment of the dying, palliative care and the funeral business, as well as the

arguments regarding the appropriate disposal of the dead (though there is surprisingly little reference to the current debate about the posthumous use of body parts). Inevitably these discussions touch upon some of the most painful and exposed nerves in our society, many of them hotly debated. *Changing Ways of Death* provides an indispensable introduction which should become the first port-of-call for doctors, grief counsellors, novelists, theologians, journalists and ethicists, not to mention the large and expensive industry that ministers to the dead and dying in modern Australia. Death, in an obvious sense, is the ultimate problem for the social sciences, for theology and for philosophy, entailing its management, its psychological consequences, its shadow over all life, its economic consequences, not to mention the efficacy of its rituals. The Australian version of modern death, roundly captured in this splendidly readable account, reaches into all these sectors and exposes its role in the evolution of the national psyche itself.



The history of 'silence', of course, presents problems which are here solved mainly by close content analysis of the 'In Memoriam' columns of newspapers and the use of the well-documented lives of several literary figures of the past century. She uses the life stories of Ruth Park, Katharine Susannah Prichard, Tom Inglis Moore and Kylie Tennant: some of these lives were tormented by wartime deaths, followed by runs of suicide within families and the descent of the Great Depression. They produce intricate stories of grief and desperate searches for consolation and peace of mind in a general *milieu* which discouraged expressive emotion. Much of the responsibility is attached to the two World Wars and their devastating effects on families across Australia. This concentration on war partly reflects the strength of

received Australian scholarship in this area. But death in war, in reality, was a small proportion of all death in the twentieth century; moreover the consideration of the grim wartime record of distress and inconsolability tends to be cordoned-off from troop behaviour in general, and equally from the quantum of death inflicted on the enemy. But here the argument is that the sheer awfulness of the Great War caused 'silent grief and stoicism' to be written into the nation's social psychology.

'Death denial' was abetted by doctors and modern medicine which, in this indictment, conspired to prolong life and relocate an increasing proportion of all dying to the bleak atmosphere of aseptic hospitals. This severe contention implies that 'medicalisation' made dying not only longer but even less bearable: the medical system failed to deal with the social consequences of its own success. A gap widened between the technical excellence of the doctors and the actual needs of the dying. Jalland provides a fine narrative of the changing causes of death, especially the career of cancer which, in 1925, was already termed 'this gaunt enemy of mankind' (p 212). She also reports

the baleful effects of sensationalist journalism which failed to comprehend and publicise the deepening knowledge of epidemiology in Australia.

The great transformation of attitudes to death from the 1980s is partly attributed to the 'death awareness' movement, mainly imported from the United States together with new psychological theories of grieving. But there were other currents at work, including the effects of more differentiated immigration and the more liberal climate in general. There seems to have been a change in the national psyche which remains somewhat mysterious. For this most recent period Jalland offers clear-minded summaries of the problematic relationship between the claims of palliative care over euthanasia; she explains the slow rise of the hospice movement in Australia, and she argues persuasively that the new openness to debate around such issues has been therapeutic to all concerned.

The economic history of death is another important undertaking: the funeral business harbours many interesting pricing and oligopolistic practices while its advertising and promotional methods reflect varying cultural influences, including those associated with the allegedly 'American' way of death. Jalland retails some entertaining accounts of the feuds between various funeral companies as well as the way in which the 'grief-counselling' profession was in danger of co-option into the funeral trade in the 1990s. This important sector of the economy appropriates substantial resources from the community; it governs its own ethics and protocols, and Jalland helpfully registers changes in its composition in recent times, including the takeover of Australian enterprises by American conglomerates. In addition, she provides fine summaries of the debates over the rival merits of burial and cremation, notably the problem of large areas of urban space occupied by decayed cemeteries. These subjects always seem to lend themselves to excessive zeal and satire, and Jalland tells of the modern enlightened funeral executive forever wrestling with the pervasive 'tendency to gloom and despondency' (p 338). Meanwhile Australia has achieved internationally very high rates of cremation and has pioneered some of its technology too.

To all these debates Jalland brings exquisite sensitivity, good sense and humanity. Compared to her previous volume, she devotes less attention to the different experience of social classes in the way in which they experience death, and there is no reference to indigenous death in this volume. It is not clear whether Australia is devoting more or less resources *per capita* to death than previously, and there is surprisingly little space devoted to suicide and violent death in modern Australia. Nor is it entirely clear how 'Australian ways of death' have been significantly different from elsewhere – indeed many of the shifts chronicled here seem to be reflections of overseas experience. Rituals of death occupy centre stage in this account but the broad impact of secularisation in Australia is muted: in many contemporary funeral ceremonies the clergy appear to be displaced by loquacious family and friends, but this passes unremarked. There is also surprisingly little commentary on the intellectual and theological consideration of the 'idea of death' in modern Australia – the way in which, for instance, death is explained to children, or how secular Australians accommodate themselves to death without the directives of religion.

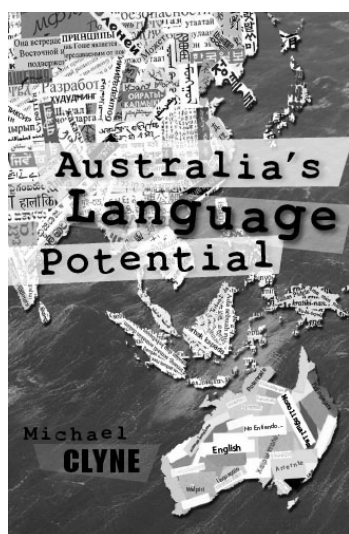
Pat Jalland's new book is an ideal entrée to all the issues that radiate from the inescapable facts of death in modern Australia. It is a model of the historian's capacity to invest even the most demanding subject with balance, span and perspective.

Eric Richards

Michael Clyne, ***Australia's Language Potential***. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. 2005.

Professor Michael Clyne, longstanding member of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, has dedicated his professional and personal life to the study and practice of bi- and multilingualism with specific attention to Australia. He has been a tireless advocate and supporter of promoting bilingualism in the Australian community. His promotion of the benefits and value of bilingualism to individuals and the community at large has always been based on rigorous scholarship in the fields of bilingualism, second language acquisition and language contact. Although many of his books on the subject are accessible to non-experts in the fields of language and linguistics, his latest book *Australia's Language Potential* is clearly written for an audience reaching far beyond the language 'profession'. Of course this does not mean that it is written in a populist, sensational style characteristic of so many 'accessible' books on language (especially by those lamenting the decline in language standards). On the contrary this book is high on well-researched facts and low on unsubstantiated rhetoric re bi- and multilingualism. Clyne is motivated though to address the issue of what he calls the 'monolingual mindset'. This refers to the prevailing belief among many of our leaders and co-citizens that whilst we live in a multilingual and multicultural society (and this fact is not denied) 'our thinking and planning often ignores it' (p 21).

This leads to a continuing undervaluing of the bi- and multilingual resources available in Australia. In other words Australia's tremendous language potential is ignored rather



than fostered and strengthened. Clyne's aim with this book is to tackle the monolingual mindset. He does this through presenting the extent of multilingualism in Australia, drawing upon his extensive research on the language-related questions in Australian Censuses between 1986 and 2001. He mentions that Australia records the use of around 200 languages other than English – LOTE - (including indigenous languages) and that in 2001 16 per cent of Australians used a LOTE at home (in Sydney it is 29 per cent and in Melbourne 27 per cent). In terms of the most widely spoken LOTEs Italian and Greek continue to occupy the top places after almost twenty years. However the other languages in the top five, that is Cantonese, Arabic and Vietnamese are relative newcomers to Australia. Other aspects of this language demographic picture include the distribution of these LOTEs across Australia, the level of concentration of a language in a particular

area (LGA) and the age profile of LOTE users.

Following this language demographic perspective Clyne presents evidence of the benefits and values of being bilingual including the ability to transfer the skills learned for one language to the learning of another language. In the process he points out to readers that the lay view of bilingualism as the perfect and equal knowledge of two languages is rather exceptional and almost 'unnatural' as most bi- or multilinguals use their languages in a complementary way. In a third chapter Clyne describes and explains the dynamics of bilingualism: most LOTEs in Australia are subject to

language shift [LS], that is the failure of subsequent generations to learn and/or maintain that LOTE. The degree of LS varies significantly among the various ethnolinguistic communities with Australian-born offspring of the Dutch recording almost a 90 per cent shift whereas almost 85 per cent of the offspring of Turkish immigrants continue to use Turkish. Clyne discusses personal and community factors which could account for these differentials. He also provides detailed advice to interested individuals and families who wish to introduce, maintain or strengthen their bi-or multilingualism. This advice is well-tested: Clyne and his colleagues have run many workshops with parents on raising children bilingually and they have tested their advice on numerous case studies.

Chapter 4 moves multilingualism into the realm of the wider Australian community and focuses on the presence and provision of community languages or LOTE in schools. The historical overview shows that Australia has certainly progressed in the past 50 years in terms of the number and type of languages offered in schools (including through after-school programs). For example in Victoria and New South Wales students can undertake Year 12 exams in 45 LOTE. Other progress in the area of languages in Australian schools includes a substantial increase in LOTE study in primary schools, the introduction of different mode of LOTE learning (eg, partial immersion programs) and in some states an increased time allocation for LOTE study. However, Clyne points out that the monolingual mindset still operates strongly in relation to students who study a LOTE at school and who have some background in the LOTE. This monolingual mindset leads to such children being treated as having 'an unfair advantage'. Clyne shows that the current methods employed by some States to 'rectify' this unfair advantage is no different from the more blatant discriminatory practices used more than 30 years ago against children with a background in the LOTE undertaking study in that LOTE. Furthermore he remarks that this argument of unfair advantage is not used in relation to other subject areas such as Music or other performing arts in which children's home environment may positively influence the skills and knowledge they bring to the school.

In Chapter 5 Clyne not only provides an overview of language policy in Australia but also stresses the importance of robust and relevant language policies (at Federal and State level) social, cultural and economic benefits can be gained through these. As can be expected from Michael Clyne, his book concludes on a very optimistic and positive note: he provides advice on how different agencies (schools, universities, governments, families and communities) can work together to realise and strengthen Australia's vast language potential. In summary, this is another gem from the pen of Michael Clyne.

Anne Pauwels



Opinion

The Ethics-Review Process

Maureen H Fitzgerald

The ethics-review process continues to produce shifts in what counts as anthropological knowledge, a process that is a part of the cultural context in which contemporary research occurs. In fact, the ethics-review process is already shaping, and will continue to shape, not only the nature of anthropological knowledge, but the very nature of ethnographic methods. It is influencing what kinds of information can be collected, how it can be collected and from whom.

Attending to research ethics

In my research on the ethics-review process, participants, some of them anthropologists, emphasise in interviews and in their writings that attention to research ethics is important. On this point there is little argument. Although this concern for ethics is always there, calls for increased attention to research ethics occur at fairly predictable times. They are most likely to occur in situations of ambiguity and uncertainty triggered by 'crisis cases' that fire up a 'controversy machine' fueled, in part, by the media and moral panics that result from changing social values and expectations.

In the aftermath of these trigger events, there is a period of intense personal and disciplinary introspection that results in a moral discourse about what constitutes good and ethically responsible research. Following this period, professional codes of conduct often are developed or refined. This can be seen in the recent reviews of the history of anthropology where there has been a particular emphasis on re-examining the ethics of our predecessors, and the recent revision of the American Anthropological Association's code of ethics in 1998 to serve as an educational tool rather than a tool for adjudication.

This classic scenario does not stop there. The next step in the process is that independent authorities, such as institutions and governments, step in and try to stall the controversy machine by taking steps to formally and informally control or regulate research, and do so using a rhetoric of ethics. One of the results in the past was the institutionalisation of the infamous research ethics-review process (conducted in the US through Institutional Review Boards). The 'crisis' cases that resulted in the development and formal institution of the ethics-review process were primarily related to medical research, with a few commonly cited iconic cases from the behavioural sciences (for example, Milgram's experiment, Humphreys' 'Tearoom Trade' and the Stanford prison study), cases that occurred in another historical and morally constituted era, one that occurred before many of today's researchers were born.

Ethics-review

In contrast to the trajectory that led to the requirement for the review of medical and experimental research, the ethics-review of anthropological and related research did not come from an attempt to control the controversy machine or research-related moral panics. Although anthropology's crises may influence the development of

anthropologists' ethical consciousness and professional ethics codes, the review of anthropological research was not a focus of concern. Rather, the ethical review of anthropological research resulted from funding policies requiring that all research involving humans conducted in institutions that receive federal research funding must undergo research-ethics review.

For many anthropologists, however, the current ethics-review process does not address their ethical research concerns and may even create ethical dilemmas. For one thing, it falls at the wrong place in the research process and assumes that anthropological research and the development of anthropological knowledge always, rather than sometimes, follows the same course as that of the research paradigms common to medical research. It does not deal with the often emergent, life-long, experiential nature of anthropological research and the dynamic nature of its significant ethical moments. This creates a mismatch in ideas about the construction of anthropological knowledge between anthropologists and ethics committee members that has the potential to change the very nature of that knowledge.

Resulting shifts in knowledge

The ethics-review process is based on particular ideas about research and its nature, particular ideas about the production of knowledge. For example, research, including ethnography, is treated as a 'bounded' entity, rather than a way of life. Research, as understood under the various guidelines for ethics-review, is understood as having a clear beginning and end. Ethnography, on the other hand, may be boundless in time and space, where everything is potential data.

The concept of data is also treated by ethics-review committees as something discrete, bounded and material. Increasingly, emerging analyses that use data collected in one instance cannot be used in other ways without first gaining ethics approval. Most alarming is when ethics committees tell researchers they must destroy data after a particular period of time. The idea that anthropologists might believe it can be unethical to destroy data was a real revelation to members of one committee that reviewed research for which I was the supervisor. After I presented my case, they changed their rule to state that data must be stored for 'at least' a certain number of years. Not only do 'blanket' rules like this one developed for other kinds of research raise ethical dilemmas, including in this case issues related to the repatriation and ownership of data and the importance of being able to apply new forms of analysis at a later date, but what will those who have decided to do research without direct contact with humans have to work with in the future?

Gone are the days of using our own interactions in everyday life as the substance of anthropological knowledge production. Under the current review process, our experiences as citizens of the world, to use John Barnes' term, are being delegitimised as forms of data and knowledge. If anthropologists have not obtained informed consent and ethics approval, and done so before the event, if they cannot be prescient and predict the pivotal ethnographic moment, the day may come when we cannot use such knowledge and information in our work. In order to do ethnography in its broadest sense, we may come to the day when anthropologists and other ethnographers must walk around wearing a sign around their necks that says: 'I'm an ethnographer. Anything you say or do may one day become data.'

There are, of course, other ways in which the ethics-review process is influencing the production of anthropological knowledge. Bright new researchers, particularly those who have been involved in a less than helpful ethics-review process, talk about

abandoning their previously desired research careers, or at the very least changing their research area. Mature researchers well established in their careers talk about not engaging in new research as a way to avoid encounters with ethics committees. There is much talk about staying with 'safe' research: research that does not involve direct interaction with living humans. Some people are choosing to do library-based or archival research rather than work with one of the most important sources of new understandings of humans and the human condition: humans themselves. This raises concerns about who will be left to influence not only what counts as anthropological knowledge, but how it will be shaped.

The anthropology of ethics

The potential impact of the ethics-review process to change anthropological research makes it necessary to focus on the review process itself. Among other things, we need to understand better this process as part of a specialised area of study that we might call the 'anthropology of ethics.'

Anthropologists are well placed to study and guide ethical debates about research and they can help shape the local and global research ethics of the future. We need to view the ethics-review process as a complex cultural artifact worthy of study and then apply our knowledge and methods towards gaining a better understanding of this phenomenon and its potential impact on society and the production of all kinds of knowledge. We need to do this if we are to have some control over how it will influence what counts as anthropological knowledge and how this knowledge can be used or applied.

We need to not only issue position statements on the ethics review of human research, like those recently produced by AAA, but as practicing anthropologists we need to use our anthropological knowledge and skills to influence the development of policies related to the ethics-review process and educate members of committees so that we promote ethically and culturally sound research. Given that anthropological research has long crossed national and cultural borders, it is well placed to be a guiding influence in shaping the national and international ethics-review processes of the future so that, at the very least, it does not unduly constrain the production of knowledge.

Maureen H Fitzgerald has recently retired from the School of Occupation and Leisure Sciences, Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Sydney. Her international research on the ethics-review process (www.ethicsproject.com/) is funded by an Australia Research Council grant.

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