President's Report

This is my first report since assuming the presidency of the Academy and the first months have increased my appreciation both of the quality of the work done by the Secretariat and the contribution of my predecessor, Sue Richardson.

Most of us are familiar with a range of activities undertaken by the Academy: the annual Symposium and Colloquium, the Cunningham Lecture, the research projects made possible by the funding for the Learned Academies Special Projects, the workshops, the Indigenous Summer School, the International Programs, the policy briefings and the publication of Policy Papers, commissioned Occasional Papers and the journal *Dialogue*. All of these activities draw on the expertise of the fellowship but they also require considerable organisation.

Less obvious but no less important are the calls on the Academy to provide advice to government and public agencies across the range of the social sciences, and also to represent them to those responsible for higher education and research. The imminent Research Quality Framework gives these activities particular importance. Again, John Beaton and his colleagues provide invaluable service in ensuring that our disciplines are understood and appreciated.

My appreciation of Sue Richardson's leadership was augmented when she took several months of well-deserved long service leave from her duties at Flinders, and I was no longer able to call on her for advice! She was assiduous in her attention to Academy business, sure in her judgement, generous in support of colleagues and remarkably effective in her advocacy. I am lucky that I will be able to draw on her intimate knowledge and understanding of the Academy, and grateful that she will assist when I am in Harvard later in the year and for the first part of next year.

National Academies Forum (NAF)

At the beginning of the year the Academy of Social Sciences assumed responsibility from the Academy of the Technological Sciences and Engineering for the National Academies Forum. This is an important mechanism for linking the four learned academies, and both its presidency and the secretariat rotates among the academies, so for the next two years we are providing both. I am pleased to announce that Irina Kotycheva has joined the ASSA Secretariat in the role of Program Officer for the National Academies Forum for which ASSA has Secretariat responsibilities during my tenure as the NAF President. Irina was originally trained as a civil engineer at Astrakhan University and we all look forward to this new addition to our multicultural Secretariat.

With Sue Richardson and John Beaton, I travelled to Tasmania in late February for a Symposium on Recherche Bay. The French naval expedition of D'Entrecasteaux was present at Recherche Bay for several weeks in both 1792 and 1793, and conducted an extensive range of research activities, including a harmonious and productive

interaction with the Indigenous peoples of the area. A crucial area of the Bay was recently secured from the threat of logging, and is to be developed as a cultural site. After a trip down to Recherche Bay, the two-day symposium discussed a wide range of papers on its history, culture, science and technology. As the NAF secretariat, this Academy assumes the responsibility for steering the papers toward publication.

While all four academies contributed to this Symposium, it was organised by the Australian Academy of Science, and that Academy deserves credit for its success. We took advantage of the attendance of the four presidents and executive directors to hold an executive meeting of the National Academies Forum, and that suggested the Academy of the Social Sciences might organise another colloquium for 2008 under the NAF banner and on similar lines at a place that marks an important moment in the building of the nation. John Beaton and I would be very happy to receive suggestions.

Funding

Sue Richardson reported in the last *Dialogue* of 2006 that we were still awaiting implementation of the funding recommendations of the Review of the Learned Academies that was undertaken in 2005. The Review had suggested that the academies were making an important contribution, and that there was a potential for a greater one if a modest increase in their annual grants-in-aid was provided. This has particular force for the Academy of the Social Sciences because supplementary funding under the Higher Education Innovation Program had come to an end, so that we were faced with cuts to valuable activities unless Government acts swiftly to implement the recommendations of its 2005 Review of the Learned Academies.

Over the past few months the four Academies have continued to press the case for implementing the funding recommendations. Peter Shergold (FASSA) has provided helpful advice, and a letter from the Prime Minister indicated that the Commonwealth government has not lost sight of the matter.

Panels

At the 2006 General Meeting Marian Sawer, the chair of Panel C, reported a discussion at that panel meeting on the restrictions created by our present panel arrangements. She noted that the panels combine Fellows in groupings that are designed to bring cognate disciplines together, but might no longer take account of newer disciplinary relationships and make it difficult for Fellows to pursue intellectual interests across panels.

The panels were established in 1970 and have remained very much as they were originally constituted. Panel A began with Anthropology, Demography, Geography and Sociology; and has added Linguistics. Panel B began with Economics, Business Administration and Economic History; it no longer lists Business Administration but has added Accountancy and Statistics. Panel C was and remains a combination of History, Law, Philosophy and Political Science. Panel D comprised Education and Psychology; it now includes Social Medicine.

A glance at any faculty handbook or research report will reveal other fields of study in the social sciences. Some of these have arisen within disciplines, and others are cross-disciplinary fields of study. How well, I wonder, do our present arrangements represent these fields? And disciplinary practitioners vary in their interests: some political scientists, for example, work close to history while others have closer

connections to sociology or economics. How well does the Academy panel structure recognise such interests and support their pursuit?

The Academy of Humanities deals with this multiplicity by allowing its Fellows to belong to two Electoral Sections (which are roughly the functional equivalent of our Panels). But it has many more Electoral Sections, and its annual meetings have to allow more time for meetings so that Fellows can attend two meetings if they so desire. The Electoral Sections of course have voting authority: some in the Academy of Humanities worry about the voting equality of dual membership. Our Secretariat had offered to set up a web-based forum on the structure of ASSA Panels so that Fellows could debate the issues of disciplinary groupings, but that project has been reconsidered due to the unacceptable costs of IT set up and management. The Secretariat will instead continue to receive the thoughts on Panels from Fellows via email or other normal forms of communication. These will be assembled and provided to Panel Chairs.

I asked Marian Sawer to consult with her panel executive and lead a discussion of this subject at the Academy Executive, so that we can consider the issues and put them before the fellowship. I shall report further in the next *Dialogue*, but again would welcome any preliminary suggestions.

Honours

Finally, we were delighted to see three Fellows of the Academy recognised in the 2007 Australia Day Honours.

Peter Shergold AM became a Companion in the Order of Australia. Hilary Charlesworth became a Member of the Order of Australia and Christopher Findlay also became a Member of the Order of Australia. On your behalf, I wrote to them expressing our congratulations.

Stuart Macintyre
President

The Arts in Society

Arts Policy and Social Science:
Contradictions in Terms?
Glenn Withers

The arts provide a worthy challenge to the mettle of the public policy adviser or bureaucrat. For the arts do mostly love public money, but they loathe politicians (Paul Keating excepted) and civil servants. So when government becomes involved in the arts, as it inevitably does, what can the professional public administrator contribute to better serve their masters and the arts? Can they above all call upon the training in relevant social science that the modern university offers to assist them in their unrelenting pursuit of the public interest?

One way to judge this perhaps is to look at the disciplines that excellent training by the nation's finest universities bring to the well-trained official and see how well they are prepared for their tasks in arts administration, including as seen through the lens of the arts themselves. Can the social sciences serve thereby as handmaidens for the arts?

Take, for instance, training in research methods and statistics, since the ability to gather systematic evidence is a very essential skill for the bureaucrat. Is there any insight to be gained here? Statistical training would imply there is wondrous knowledge to be gleaned from surveys, focus groups and official data - perhaps run through a model, or at least subjected to some multivariate regression analysis or perhaps some interesting multi-criteria analysis or a decision tree or two.

But consider a different view from the arts themselves. Certainly the poet WH Auden's view is less enthusiastic:

> Thou shalt not answer questionnaires
> Or quizzes upon world affairs
> Nor with compliance
> Take any test. Thou shalt not sit
> With statisticians nor commit a social science.

Well, what about a good course in economics, a central discipline of the budding policy adviser? Surely there is much that the study of resource allocation and efficiency has to teach the art administrator and arts policy? Let us ask one who is both economist and writer for a more balanced view: JK Galbraith. Galbraith's answer is clear and direct:

> Art has nothing to do with the sterner preoccupations of the economist. The artist's values - his splendid and often splenetic insistence on the supremacy of aesthetic goals - are subversive of the straightforward materialist concerns of the economist. He makes the economist feel dull, routine, philistine and also sadly unappreciated for his earthly concern… Not only do the two worlds never meet, but the regret in each is evidently negligible.

Not much support there for convergence (or the end of art history, as it were). So let us not dwell on that but turn instead to political science in its enthusiasm for good public administration. At the very least we might expect a contribution from well-trained public managers to, say, clarity of program objectives by which achievement can then be judged.

To do so, public administration tells us it would be wise to start at the beginning and ask indeed what objectives should be pursued? Well here is AA Milne's characterisation of the futility of that quest:

> 'Hallo!' said Piglet, 'What are you doing?'
> 'Hunting' said Pooh.
> 'Hunting what?'
> 'Tracking something' said Winnie the Pooh very mysteriously
> 'Tracking what?' said Piglet coming closer.
> 'That's just what I ask myself. I ask myself, what?'
> 'What do you think you will answer?'
> 'I shall have to wait until I catch up with it', said Winnie the Pooh.

Oh dear. What of more modest ambitions? Keynes once said he looked forward to the day when economists were less like priests and more like dentists: humble but useful. Can administrators likewise be merely useful and not so grandly ambitious? Perhaps they might be trained, for instance, in the simple insights and ambitions of delivering well in the pursuit of public value once some guidance on that is given by the political rulers of the day. The mandarin might wish to ponder perhaps which arts should be assisted and how, given the grand objectives set by others.

Well, here Alexis De Tocqueville was pessimistic as to the prospects for neutral, balanced, unbiased outcomes based on intrinsic merits, such as might be the administrator's ideal. Instead he said:

> Democratic Societies will cultivate the arts which make life easy, in preference to the arts whose object is to adorn it.

And this pressure of the democratic temperament was one weighing heavily upon Alan Bennett's character Duff:

> The art form hardest to justify on cost-benefit terms is of course opera. On the board of the Royal Opera we are very much aware of this. I never go into Covent Garden, which of course I do constantly, without feeling if not actual guilt at any rate certainly of it not being entirely fair.

Not much joy there either it seems. Still the field is rich and complex, as in any public policy problem. Mere private sector managers have the easy task of simply maximising profits based on clear accounts. But the public manager, ever willing to take a lesser salary for the intrinsic rewards of a more demanding job, may relish grappling with ambiguity, and guiding government on, say, the budget funding which is one feature of this more challenging arena. Perhaps indeed the disciplines of finance and accountancy in our universities may be brought to book and assist. Perchance they can even tell us 'how much is enough'? And here there is some enthusiasm from the arts for that task, as when Wordsworth opined that:

> Give all thou canst: High Heaven rejects the lore

Of nicely calculated less or more

But, almost like economists who can never agree, artists too do seem to contend. Take Updike's succinct view of cosseting the arts:

Art is like baby shoes. When you coat them in gold, they can no longer be worn.

Samuel Johnson also was less than optimistic that government support would achieve much, no doubt even if guided by administrators well trained by the universities' leading social scientists. Said Johnson:

Is not a patron, my Lord, one who looks without concern on a man struggling for life in the water and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help…

What answers overall then do we have from applying the social science lens to the arts? Where does this leave us, once we have applied highly trained minds to the task and even consulted with the key stakeholders, the artists? What do we conclude?

For that we can turn to Lewis Carroll, and find some relief from the burden of immediate final decision based on our social science training:

'Consider your verdict' the King said to the jury. 'Not yet, not yet!' the Rabbit hastily interrupted. 'There's a great deal to come before that!'

More to come? So, perhaps formal professional management learning is not the only source of an answer to how to support the arts. Could it be we need to turn to the Greats? After all, we have hardly made the case for history or even, shudder, the humanities as well as the practical social sciences. Surely they offer more congenial insight? But one hesitates. The record is not good. Were we to send forth the philosophers to assist they could end up like Diderot, before the Court of Catherine the Great, when challenged by the mathematician Euler with the declaration: 'A+b(n)/n=x, donc Dieux existe - respondez!' Innocent of the language of mathematicians, Diderot lost his nerve and fled the Court in mortification. No, the philosophers are perhaps best served by leaving them twittering in their nests.

But could our more worldly sociologists instead remain steadfast as contributors and mentors for the lively arts when even a retired major, writing to *The Times*, could harrumph: 'Why are we spending perfectly good money developing a neutron bomb capable of killing millions and leaving buildings standing when our universities are already full of sociologists capable of boring people to death while leaving buildings standing?'

It could at least be said of history, like Latin and as opposed to, say, economics or sociology, that it does at least have the distinct advantage of improving style without impairing policy.

What of experience, post the dreaming spires and ivy-covered walls? Surely all knowledge does not reside in the classroom. Some further learning on the job may be much to be desired. The modern social science university is all in favour of part-time studies, internships, work experience and much more. So perhaps assiduous attendance at opening nights on behalf of the Ministry, no doubt combined with prolonged overseas trips flying business class and enjoying travel allowances in five star hotels in the great centres of culture to learn from comparative benchmarking, combined with control of the art collection budget for the Ministry buildings and the associated need to visit many galleries, will ensure that training combines with experience and produces that maturity of judgement so well suited to advice to Government. As it was with Sir Humphrey Appleby when he said:

Humphrey: 'Bernard, subsidy is for art...for culture. It is not to be given to what the people want, it is for what the people don't want but ought to have. Now you will have to excuse me. I have a prior engagement…..and I must not be late for the First Act.'

Bernard: 'Aah. The Works' Picnic. I will advise the Minister that planning regulations will not permit the sale of that art gallery so as to fund a football club for unemployed youth after all'.

Bernard clearly was the wiser for experience, but I detect some serious learning also from the study of law. So let us applaud this quest for holistic knowledge by raising a glass to the real world but also to the social sciences themselves, if not the custodians of civilisation at least of the possibility of civilisation: In Vino Veritas.

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All references in this article can be found in Throsby, David and Glenn Withers (1979). *Economics of the Performing Arts,* New York: Edward Arnold.

What's New in the Economics of Arts and Culture?
Jason Potts

The branch of economics known by the *Journal of Economic Literature* (JEL) classification Z1 'Cultural Economics', and more generally as 'the economics of arts and culture', is currently in a state of rude health. It has furnished a substantial body of economic theory and empiricism on the efficiency of arts markets and the welfare of cultural industries. It has edited its findings, offered courses, produced textbooks and conferences, and has high quality journals (no Nobel Prize yet, but perhaps William Baumol in the next few years). It has been central to the development and analysis of arts and cultural policy. It is riding high.

Yet amidst its maturity and success, the economics of the arts is experiencing the soft grip of a mid-life crisis brought on not just by change in itself, but more importantly by change in the world around it. The deep and rapid evolution of information and communications technology (ICT), and the structural changes this has created in individuals, society and the economy, now agitate at its neoclassical identity and welfare efficiency values. The 'new' economy is once again young and brimming with exciting technologies, business models and entrepreneurial vim that more than just extend the current order; they radically transform it.

The textbook certainties of the 20th century welfare model of the neoclassical economics of the arts – as based, for example, on the works of Arthur Pigou, John Maynard Keynes or William Baumol – are currently shifting to a 21st century evolutionary innovation model that is based instead on the work of Joseph Schumpeter, the father of 'creative-destruction', and Friedrich Hayek, the godfather of libertarianism.[1] This signals a radical change in the research program of the economics of the arts towards open system dynamic rather than closed system static concerns. Thus a new program of the creative industries and the creative economy is emerging, predicated on dismantling the old certainties of arts economics, such as productivity deficit and market failure, which are now, in significant part, no longer true in an open economy,[2] and rebuilding in its place an open-system innovation-centred focus.

To fully appreciate what's new in the economics of the arts, it is expedient to begin in the *ancien regime*, when those skilled in the practical arts of useful knowledge (*ie,* artisans) worked as freemen or in guilds. In those days, you did not choose to become an artisan, you were born one. Artisanship described a generic way of working with expertise and careful craft towards practical ends, encompassing the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker, and the prototypical engineer besides. 'Artist' did not then exist as a distinct occupation because specialisation in the production of artistic or cultural output had not yet occurred. It was not until the renaissance, when independent artisan-contractors sought and were awarded commissions from wealthy patrons, that the economic specialisation and social category of 'artist' emerged. Many, such as Leonardo da Vinci, were hugely successful as highly skilled and entrepreneurial 'service providers' who made their own contracts, organised commissions, and maintained their own reputations, outside of the highly regulated guild system of the past. The modern artist, as independent specialist, evolved from multi-tasking, free-contracting artisans who identified and exploited new opportunities and niches in the market. They were the first-movers in

the nascent 'open society' of the renaissance.[3] The old notion of artisanship, as an archetypal approach to productive activity, is these days manifest in what we call 'knowledge work'. Now, as then, this form of work constitutes a significant proportion of the ordinary business of life.[4] The role of the artist as the generative basis of the creative economy, however, is only beginning to be understood, and the creative industries paradigm is central to this enquiry.

When the renaissance innovation of the specialised artist occurred, the classical economists of the 18th and 19th centuries naturally saw nothing exceptional. They afforded little attention to the production and consumption of cultural artifacts, nor to the career specialisations and institutions that this implied. Their analytic comments were entirely *en passant*; they acknowledged the inherent value of arts, particularly in relation to the maintenance of culture and civility, but saw no pressing economic concerns in its provision and, therefore, further analysis; for them, greater concern lay among more 'serious' topics such as wealth, poverty and trade. The classical economists had no more use for an economics of the arts than, say, for an economics of dentistry, in that they acknowledged deep human value, yet saw nothing economically special in it. Although Karl Marx and Thorstein Veblen, for example, encouraged skepticism about the elitist tendencies inherent in the outcome of non-productive labour, the classical economists generally saw fit to acknowledge the practical significance of the arts and then to ignore any latent theoretical perspective.

Yet this *laissez faire* analytic perception was to change substantially during the 20th century with the rise of neoclassical economics and once then caught in the undertow of the vast expansion of the meaning of a *public good* as an object of market failure and policy prescription. And as art markets grew and arts advisors prospered, 'the arts' professionalised and organised. By mid-century, the arts had come to occupy, with ever hardening legitimacy, the otherwise sensitive but vast socio-political interface between society and economy. By the second half of the 20th century, the arts were widely understood to produce both private and public goods, and further that although these markets were subject to endemic failure, they yet had a cultural imperative to succeed. Thus the arts moved toward centre stage of modern reality.

The science of modern reality – *ie,* economics – was thus required to say something about this, and the 'economics of the arts' that emerged in the 20th century furnished analysis that squarely reflected the prevailing cultural consensus. Classical indifference was no longer tenable, nor was a *laissez faire* attitude. A special industry required special consideration, with special new taxes, regulation and bureaucracy. Economists did, of course, offer to help, yet they misjudged the significance and only offered occasional help that was somewhat sly.

To wit, the economics of the arts has always been on the periphery of modern economic analysis. It entered the main stage of economic analysis only through the sideline work of such luminary economists as Lionel Robbins and John Maynard Keynes in the 1930s, and John Kenneth Galbraith and William Baumol in the 1960s, who in different ways sought, from the leverage of their own powers in other domains of economics, to speculate an economic justification for arts welfare. And they succeeded.

In consequence, the mainstream line of economic analysis of the arts is now defined so as to extend beyond private goods and services to the eminent domain of local and global *public goods* that are 'constitutionally' defined as subject to endemic *market failure*. This is opposed to the radical view – as in Adorno and Horkheimer's critical

conception of 'cultural industries', in which the subversion of art is viewed as an irremediable failure of the capitalist system – but rather as a special-case market that can be accommodated through redistributive actions and regulation. The economists had agreed that the arts were special in a cultural-value-otherness kind of way, and had focused their energies on explaining why they would never survive on their own – too elite (?), too unproductive (!), and too valuable (?!). Arts policy was thus born as a vital and legitimate component of economic governance. And by incentive alignment, this naturally gave rise to the cultural welfare industry which is nowadays a firmament of the socio-political landscape.

By the 1960s, micro analysis of particular failures in arts markets and macro analysis of the value of public goods expenditure had both acquired a secure foundation in both theory and policy. And as economists started to specialise in the sub-field of the economics of arts and culture, this frontier became embedded and civilised. By the 1970s, it had attained analytic respectability with a JEL code (Z1) and a dedicated journal – *Journal of Cultural Economics*. Maturity was finally pronounced in 1994 with David Throsby's *Journal of Economic Literature* survey of the analytic domain.

In the past ten years or so, there has been steady progress in the refinement and development of the economics of the arts, particularly in the empirical direction. This has been well captured in recent surveys of the economics of the arts and culture – especially Victor Ginsburgh and David Throsby's (2006) magisterial *Handbook on the Economics of Art and Culture* (vol 1), and Ruth Towse's (2003) *Handbook of Cultural Economics*[5] – and in the proliferation of 'mapping documents' that are now the new signal of seriousness among policy makers. These recent years have been good times for the market value of artistic production. For example, the profile of the young rich in Australia is now, as never before, heavily skewed towards successful Australian artists, musicians, actors, designers who help us live well in the modern world.[6] The largest export of the US, for example, is now the 'art' of both cultural stories (Hollywood, music, etc) and intellectual property. The arts are economically significant and increasingly so. Indeed, they have recently been recognised in the context of the 'creative industries' movement (see Stuart Cunningham, this issue) as drivers of economic growth. I will elaborate this point further below.

The economics of the arts is now well-established as a mainstream branch of neoclassical economics that is centered about two fundamental hypotheses: (1) that arts markets are widely subject to failure for multiple reasons; and (2) that artistic production and consumption has public good aspects. These theoretical insights imply that market production is inefficient, and therefore rationalise a welfare approach to arts and cultural policy in which public money is allocated to artists and organisations (*ie,* clients) usually via expert bodies. Public broadcasting is one such instance of this, as are public orchestras or galleries. Nations differ in the extent, form and method to which this bureaucratisation extends, but all follow it to some degree. However the pertinent fiscal fact of the matter is that these public expenditures never dominate any nation's public expenditure, and are broadly on the order of a few per cent of the public purse. They range from mainstream popularity in some electorates, as with the culture industry in France, to a kind of least-worst status as with National Endowment for the Arts funding in the 'red states' in the US. The upshot is that economic arguments from welfare efficiency have broadly accorded with popular political sentiment and have thereby resulted in the normalisation of the arts as a public industry/ministry. Curiously, and especially so in the post-Thatcher world, the arts

industries have never been viewed as akin to the coal industries, airlines or telecoms (*ie,* as valuable assets best operated in the market), but have instead been broadly accommodated as more closely related to the stewardship of the environment, the public funding of education and science, or provision of social insurance. They have in this sense been regarded as civilising *ex post*, as the classical economists agreed, but not the cause of civilisation as an ongoing process.

For what is most analytically striking about this consensus is that it is completely static. It is squarely based on an economic logic in which the value of the arts is emphasised as a *cultural public good* that contributes to the *maintenance* of cultural values, but entirely ignores its role in the evolution of new economic and cultural orders, and so in the creation of new wealth in the form of new economic possibilities. In turn, the central premise of the *new evolutionary theory of the arts and culture* is that economic value is to be analysed from an open-system dynamic perspective, rather than from a closed system static perspective.

The economic value of the arts, in the new evolutionary view, lies in its contribution to change and its services in accommodating change. It has purely (or essentially) dynamic value, and would be hardly necessary in a completely static economy or culture in which artists would revert to artisans or, as we would now call them, technicians. Such a world would be a purely maintenance operation. In such a static world, the mainstream of arts economics is activist and interventionist in its drive to achieve improved efficiencies in the production of art and culture, and would remain completely wedded to the analytic notion that only static considerations matter.

Yet the arts, I argue, have their greatest value in the process of economic and cultural change. Similarly, the role of the arts in economic dynamics is therefore where the greatest potential public good benefits are most likely to be found. The critical value of the arts is not their reproduction of past technologies and cultural states, but their role in the creation of the new. The Adorno and Horkheimer critique, for example, was half-right in recognising that there is a difference between commercial art and the sublime. But, as for example Andy Warhol plainly demonstrated,[7] that is not a fixed domain but is continually shifting in a changing economic system.

The arts industries are critically connected to the evolution of economic systems by way of the market for new ideas and the process of change. In this view, the arts are still an industry that produces cultural and public goods, but they are also, and more significantly, a *social technology* for the origination, adoption and retention of new ideas. The arts, therefore, have dynamic as well as static value. The central policy implication of the evolutionary view of arts economics is that arguments based about the economics of innovation and the emergence of new markets, and not static welfare or market failure arguments, should be central to all arts and culture policy. Art, in this new evolutionary view, is not just a cultural retainer, but an economic driver.

What's new in the economics of the arts, then, is not just another wrinkle, but an entire new framework that can be based on the modern sciences of evolutionary and complexity theory.[8] The new economics of the arts is an inquiry into the complex structure of the arts in the market order and on the function of these structures in the process of economic evolution (including, of course, how arts industries and markets themselves evolve). The new economics of the arts seeks to develop the open system analytic principles that underpin the concepts of 'creative industries' and 'creative economy'.[9] The framework's objective is to begin from a proper understanding of the

structure of the arts industries and institutions (especially markets and organisations) and, from there, to model the many sorts of dynamics involved. From this analytic basis, we may then turn to new arts policy based about innovation and development, rather than inefficiency and welfare.

This means we need to reconceptualise the arts economy or the creative industries from an open-system evolutionary perspective (*ie*, in the manner of Schumpeter and Hayek). And analytically considered, there are three broad components of any open-system evolutionary process: (1) origination; (2) adoption; and (3) retention. Processes of variation and selection occur across all three phases, and the actual path of an evolutionary process will be significantly conditioned by the complex connective structure of the elements that compose the evolving system.[10] In the past few decades, there has been enormous progress in our scientific knowledge of the structure and evolutionary dynamics of complex adaptive systems and the central pragmatic point is that economic and cultural systems are complex adaptive systems *par excellence*.

The new economics of the arts, then, is a hybrid of modern evolutionary and complexity theory that renders an open systems view of both the economic and cultural order. The value of the arts accrues, in part, to value of creating, diffusing and embedding a novel idea. An original (and non-rival) idea is something experimental that punches through the escape velocity of indivisibility to create new variety as a new building block of the economic and cultural order. This *avant-garde* aspect is sometimes confused with elite culture, yet such culture is inseparable from the origination of new ideas.

The value of the arts in the phase of adoption (or diffusion, as this second phase is also known) is also vast, and indeed constitutes most of the arts industries, including advertising, fashion, design and media. The arts industries do not just introduce novelty; they also facilitate the process by which it is adopted into people's lifestyles, a process that is the core of economic growth. Economic growth, in other words, is impossible without the arts.

The third evolutionary phase of the arts is the retention and embedding the new idea (or technology) such that it is normalised into the new economic and cultural order. Again, the arts industries play a vital role in this process, from the cultural normalisation through film, TV, video games and publishing, to the new spaces of architecture and the new technologies of software.[11]

There are of course many analytic extensions we might make of this, but let us now use this new space to consider new dimensions, such as, for example, the role of *failure* in the arts industries. Both Ormerod and De Vany[12] have recently argued that the economy in general and the film industry in particular is characterised by what complexity science calls a 'power law' distribution, which means that due to interaction and feedback effects, there is no such thing as an average outcome: most things fail, yet some succeed wildly, and this predominance of failure is entirely normal in an open system. This is also reflected in concern with superstar effects and the 'long tail'.[13] The reason that this complex dynamic is normal in the arts is that *social interaction* is central to arts production and consumption, and so complex dynamics are an expected outcome. This creates huge risks and uncertainties, but also huge profits and further opportunities when successful. The upshot is that the basic economics of the creative industries highlights the logic of an experimental portfolio in

production, and signals the value to structures of coordination that can accommodate failure and maintain adaptive properties. The creative industries have a much greater need to innovate than other industries, and have, where not artificially constricted, broadly evolved complex organisational and institutional structures adapted to such a complex environment.

New approaches to arts policy follow from this insight. In prime instance, the arts have more in common with the way in which innovation is publicly funded, rather than with the way welfare is publicly funded. Diversity and competition are the watchwords of this process, as is a robust attitude to experimentation and diversity of funding sources. Arts policy, in this view, is best conceived as an experimental endeavour subject to the same sorts of experimental protocols applied in the sciences, namely the importance of small scale trials, control groups and rigorous empirical analysis of consequences (also known as evidence-based policy).[14]

This connects the arts industries to the evolutionary economic concept of an *innovation system*, which is the complement of economic institutions that power the growth of knowledge process. This is typically defined to include education systems, public R&D, intellectual property rights and complementary macroeconomic policies. It is the system of knowledge that serves to originate, adopt and retain new knowledge, and is thus the engine of economic growth. This is often represented as being entirely about science and technology. Yet a moment's reflection reveals the arts as co-determinants of the growth of knowledge process for the simple reason that it is human minds that generate and experience the new ideas that drive wealth creation. The policy needs of the arts and cultural industries, in the new view, therefore revolve about the public infrastructure required for entrepreneurship and innovation.

A further line of theory development signals the way in which free markets and trade are good for arts and culture. As Cowan[15] explains: 'Just as trade typically makes countries richer in material terms, it also makes them culturally richer as well.' Open economies promote the growth of artistic and cultural wealth and result in the extension of cultural diversity. Cowan's central point, which he elaborately illustrates, is that globalisation of culture does not result in cultural homogenisation, but rather in a more complex outcome in which some good ideas spread everywhere and a panoply of new niches is created. Moreover, this process has a very fast rate of turnover and regeneration.

The implication is that cross-cultural exchange, while altering and disrupting each society it touches, supports innovation and creative human energies. It creates new human opportunities. This has specific implications for arts funding in relation to the importance of decentralisation and diversity. Cowan[16] further argues that 'the production of new and diverse ideas – cultural and otherwise – will contribute to economic growth'. To realise this, we should 'encourage decentralised financial support for all creative activities, the arts included' and that 'the economist's perspective implies that we should invest more in creative discovery, relative to what a pure market would bring'.[17] Trade, and global trade at that, is not just good for economies, it is good for cultures as well.

Must the arts be useful? The economic answer is no, statically; but yes, dynamically. The cultural welfare of the arts is a second order concern – a positive externality in the language of microeconomics. But their real power in the economy is as generators, motivators and retainers of change. They have dynamic, not static, economic value.

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17. *ibid*: 24.

The Creative Economy: Patterning the Future
Stuart Cunningham

What is this thing called a creative economy?

Of course, it's the brilliant movies for which our directors, set and fashion designers, cinematographers and actors have received such high international acclaim, marking out Australia as a talent pool of the highest order. But it's also the interface designers who have worked in the finance industry to make huge changes in how we do our banking and make investments. This has been one of the most dramatic and rapid changes in mainstream business models seen in a major service sector.

Naturally, it includes our great writers, novelists, playwrights, poets and lyricists, who continue to find ways to reflect back to us our life and times through their exacting and engaging prisms. It's also the 'technical' writer, whose job it is to produce online education and training materials that contribute to Australia's education export successes - Australia's fourth biggest export earner, set to overtake tourism as the biggest services-based export sector, and trending toward the $11 billion mark.

It obviously includes our artists who have made it to the top of tremendously demanding professions and who represent the top echelon of creative talent winnowed through innumerable filters. As Harvard economist Richard E Caves has written, many hear the call but few survive the round-up.[1] The creative economy is also about the growing legions of amateur and 'pro-am' creatives - bloggers, flash animation mavens, webmeisters - creative and technologically literate wunderkinder, who are not minded to wait till the gatekeepers tell them how they can reach an audience.

The creative economy is a hard fish to catch, a difficult category to nail down. But it is bigger and broader than we think, and is much more than culture and the arts. The usual arguments in favour of support for the arts have served us well for a long time. For fifty years or more, cultural economists have given governments good reason to subsidise the arts, with usually bipartisan goodwill. The idea of the cultural industries - the large, mostly commercial, businesses in broadcasting, music and film which deliver popular culture - has given governments reasons to regulate and develop modern cultural policies to support them, and they have done so since the 1960s with a similar commitment. However, the arts are now essentially in steady-state mode with respect to state support, while the business models of the cultural industries are facing confronting challenges. The three Ts - technology (the Internet, games and mobile devices), taste (Generations X and Y and the 'millenials' are not into the mass media in the same way as their elders were), and talent (creatively and technologically literate young people are finding other creative channels) - are presenting a formidable challenge to the traditional arguments.

What is urgently needed is a forward-looking view of what a 'creative economy' might look like, and what it might take to strengthen it. We propose a shift from a sector-specific attention to the creative industries as one part of the economy, to the creative economy where creative occupations and intermediate outputs provide a significant input to wider innovation and growth.

However, before we move 'beyond' them, we should back up a little, and explore the idea of the creative industries *per se.*

Creative industries

The idea of creative industries is quite recent.[2] It was developed in the United Kingdom in 1998 by a Creative Industries Taskforce of inter-departmental and industry representatives set up by the incoming Blair Government.[3] The British definition - 'activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' - has remained broadly acceptable world-wide.[4]

It is a definition that encompasses no fewer than thirteen industry sectors: advertising, architecture, arts and antique markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, television and radio, performing arts, publishing and software. Its scope is impressive in its ambition. Indeed, it may be thought too broad to be coherent. At the same time, however, it insists that there is a connection between all thirteen sectors: each has its origin in individual skill, creativity and talent, and each has the potential for wealth and job creation through the exploitation of intellectual property.

The creative industries idea has gained wide purchase in contemporary policy and industry debate, its proponents seeking to reshape relations between old and new media and the cultural sector; and to reposition media, communications and culture as a driver, rather than a passenger, in the knowledge economy. Their further aim is to connect the sector to national innovation agendas and thereby move it into the sphere of research-based, knowledge-intensive industry policy. What defines creative industries in the economy is the proposition that 'creativity' is their primary source of value, something that is becoming increasingly important for growth in post-industrial, knowledge-based societies. In other words, the aim is to foreground the sector's economic potential and make the creative industries the 'sparkplugs' of next generation, post-industrial growth.[5]

A creative industries approach brings together a range of sectors which have not hitherto been linked and thus it has expanded greatly the domain of what is typically counted, throwing settled categories like arts, media, culture, and cultural industries into a more dynamic process. To give one, admittedly extreme, example, John Howkins defines the creative economy as simply 'financial transactions in creative products', whose economic value is secured through copyright, design, trademark and patents, and therefore includes the sciences, engineering and technology (SET) sectors along with the arts, media, new media, design and architecture.[6] On this basis, the creative economy in 1999 accounted for $US2.2 trillion, or about 7.3 per cent of the global economy. The contribution of the creative and performing arts, however, a mere 1.7 per cent of this total, has shrunk to virtual insignificance. Apart from science R&D, which massively - and, in my view, undeservedly - expands the economic quantum of the sector, the real powerhouses are publishing, software and broadcasting.

Furthermore, the sectors within creative industries - the established arts (theatre, dance, music, visual arts), the established media (radio, film, TV), the large design and architecture sectors, and new media (software, games, e-commerce and mobile content) - range from the resolutely non-commercial to the high-tech and commercial. It is also a spectrum that encompasses not only the culturally- and often location-specific, but also the globalised and generically creative, inviting such questions as

how creative inputs drive wider industry sectors, and how sectors with very different business models, revenue sources, demand drivers and scale and purpose, can co-exist in more than a policy-maker's dream.

This continuum is less coherent than our traditional, neat definitions of the arts, media and cultural industries, but more dynamic and relevant to contemporary policy-making. One reason why the idea of creative industries has been taken up widely is that it connects two key contemporary policy clusters: on the one hand, elements of the high-growth Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and R&D-based production in the new economy and, on the other, those types of consumption in the new economy redolent of cultural identity and social empowerment. Critics of the creative industries idea are fearful that, by prioritising – or even advancing - an economic rationale for supporting culture, it might marginalise the traditional arts sectors. However, over the longer term, and considering the trends with which I started this article, the benefits of mainstreaming culture and media into policy powerhouses of industry development and innovation might arguably outweigh the drawbacks.

The full dimensions of the creative industries

We need to understand better the full dimensions of the creative industries as there is a tendency to systematically underestimate their size and economic impact in official counts. But we also need to move from an emphasis on understanding creative outputs (culture) to creative inputs into the wider economy. Much of the real growth dynamics will be found in this move. The creative industries constitute one sector of the economy; the creative economy is formed when we move from sector-specific arguments to creative occupations as inputs into the whole economy, and creative outputs as intermediate inputs into other sectors. Indeed, the central aim of the present article is to urge that, mindful of the example of ICTs in recent decades, we acknowledge that creative inputs too have the potential to be a powerful enabler of economic growth.

This takes us, briefly, into territory recently investigated by Richard Florida, who, instead of analysing industry sectors, concentrates on occupational statistics in order to measure a city's or a region's potential for, or success as, a creative 'hotspot'.[7] Florida's work on the 'creative class' has highlighted the wider economic significance of creative human capital, especially in underpinning high technology industry development. While Florida's work is open to criticism, it is undeniable that his 'creative' use of occupation data counterbalances the usual dependence simply on industry statistics in industry development debates. To stress occupation statistics and the place of the creative industries in the wider economy is tantamount to saying that creative skills have become economically significant, and are growing in value to the broader economy.

Recent work, conducted by the ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation (CCI), with new field research and substantial data gathering and data mining tries to take this analysis forward.[8] Evidence from our research projects, Mapping Queensland's Creative Industries and Creative Digital Industries in Australia, demonstrate that these sectors are significantly underestimated in official statistics whose categories lag badly behind the growth of, particularly, the digital end of this industry sector. We have refined official categories into which the data fits in a way that reflects the changing realities of these industry sectors. We have also counted

much more comprehensively the economic contributions of creative people and organisations by correlating industry sector with occupation.

Most mapping studies have naturally been focused on industries and therefore gathered data about the specialist firms operating within each specific segment. But measuring the creative 'impact' on the economy needs to encompass both specialist creative industries activity and the breadth of specialist creative occupations. There is frequent movement between these types of activity. For example, an individual might operate solo as an independent film producer, and then move to work for a government film agency; or else an independent designer might sign a three-year contract to work for a bank or advertising agency.

Measuring the size and impact of the creative economy should encompass both core creative industries activity and the impact of specialist creative activities in other industries. CCI developed the 'creative trident' approach to measure this broader creative economy. The trident comprises: creative occupations within the core creative industries (specialist activities), plus the creative occupations employed in other industries (embedded activities), plus the non-creative occupations employed in creative industries (support activities).

Applying the creative trident approach to Australian data shows that the creative economy is approximately 48 per cent larger in employment terms than the creative industries themselves, once specialist, embedded and support activities are taken into account. The trident-based measure of the Australian creative economy is between 25 per cent and 100 per cent larger than previous cluster-based studies of the size and impact of Australia's creative industries, even where employment in related industries such as distribution have been taken into account.[9] On a sector-specific basis, CCI analysis has also shown that the Australian design sector is under-counted by around 36 per cent when embedded occupations are ignored. Overall, accounting for trident employment shows that embedded creative activities generated an additional $6.5 billion in wages and salaries (an additional 46 per cent) on top of wages and salaries earned in the creative industries themselves in 2001.

Apart from this revaluation of the quantum of creative people and activity in our economy, there are other important pointers to a different profile for the sector that have been produced from this research. The Creative Trident represents approximately 5.5 per cent of Australian employment, 5 per cent of GST-paying enterprises and 8 per cent of non-GST-paying enterprises. These percentages are all markedly higher than those given in standard statistical analyses. Our detailed work on The Ecology of Queensland Design is one of many international studies which focus on the input value of the design occupation. Design is one of the leading examples of creative inputs into the broader economy, including, and especially, manufacturing. We found that the 'Creative Trident' for design activity in Queensland resulted in a count of twice that of standard statistical analyses.

The whole sector has a mean income 34 per cent higher than that for the economy as a whole, which suggests a different profile for creatives than the more widespread understanding of a low-wage, high-volunteer sector. In the Queensland study, we found that exports and gross value added are higher than average sectorally, and that creative industries tend to be more knowledge-intensive in that they spend more on knowledge-based workers as a percentage of their total wages outlay than other sectors.

These findings are suggestive rather than definitive, but they do provide pointers in the direction of the movement from a sector-specific to an economy-wide focus. Just as the ICT sector benefited from the input-value it was shown to afford the economy as a whole, so the data suggests that a similar value can begin to be seen with creative inputs. There are of course many questions that this approach opens up – some of which are taken up elsewhere in this issue by Jason Potts. Here, I would like to return to the 'culture' question with which I started – the creative economy is growing in the context of a culture which is changing.

Emergent cultural practices

What are some of the key emergent cultural practices in the twenty-first century? What is likely to gain ground and drive innovation? Consumption drives post-industrial economies more and more, and its nature is changing. More and more consumer activity around media and culture is do-it-yourself, user-generated content. There is huge growth in peer-to-peer activity and a more 'participatory' culture. Some of the neologisms that capture this phenomenon blur the lines between production and consumption: there is now 'prosumption', engaged in by 'produsers'.

There is more user-generated content on the Internet than professionally-produced and corporate content. User-led innovations, such as SMS, have changed the business model for mobile devices, one of the most dynamic growth-sectors of the economy, leading to successful MMS (picture cameras) uptake and heavy R&D and investment in mobile content, which in turn has led to expanding opportunities for creatives.

There is the Wikipedia for knowledge production, Meetup and MyPlace for civic formation, OhMyNews for citizen journalism, Orion's Arm - an online science-fiction, world-building project for identity formation - and Amazon and eBay Web Services for independent market advice. Twenty-five per cent of all Internet users in the US are also blog readers. There is Digital Storytelling, where all those with life stories, but no prior access to media technologies, can engage in a process of releasing those stories - in the case of the world-leading practice in the Capture Wales program, onto BBC TV and websites, a form of vernacular literacy in which virtually anyone can participate.

There's Flash, the animation software which is virtually ubiquitous on networked computers as an enabling platform for global vernacular creativity. And there's Current TV (www.current.tv). This is not much like in mainstream TV - at least, not yet! Launched in the US in mid-2005, already about a quarter of its airtime is user-generated and it publishes some of the best DIY production guides for viewers to become 'produsers'.

Of course, we might get carried away with user-led innovation. Might it not go the way of the dotcom bubble? Is it not just another of those new media 'moments' which always seem to promise revolution - the Internet as the end of social dislocation and hierarchical media relations, TV as the world's demotic educator, and so on? But when, in his 2005 address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Rupert Murdoch starts talking about digital 'natives' and 'immigrants' and acknowledges that News Corp has underestimated the impact of Internet-based news sourcing and the social logic or 'collective intelligence' - not to mention the impact on the bottom line - of peer-to-peer communication, then, as Eric Beecher surmised recently, 'Something seismic is going on. Seismic, but unpredictable'.[10] Reputedly, Murdoch was scared

into this position by data such as those presented by the Carnegie Foundation, demonstrating that 'new forms of newsgathering and distribution, grassroots or citizen journalism and blogging sites are changing the very nature of who produces news' and that the 18–34 demographic is creating this inexorable momentum.[11]

What are the deep implications of this new take on culture? First, it disrupts the linear value chain of professional modes of production. Secondly, the innovations are as much about distribution as production.

The paradigm shift - and how to deal with it

One way to understand this emergent paradigm shift is to consider Richard Caves' brilliant summary of the 'Basic Economic Properties of Creative Activities' that constitute the mainstream arts and media today - and then consider how they need to change in order to deal with 'future culture':

- 'Nobody knows'/demand is uncertain. (There is radical uncertainty about the likely demand for creative product, due to the fact that such products are 'experience goods', about which buyers lack information prior to consumption, and the satisfaction derived is largely subjective and intangible.)

- 'Art for arts sake'/creative workers care about their product. (Creative producers derive substantial non-economic forms of satisfaction from their work. This makes them vulnerable to exploitation and to supply almost always outstripping demand, thus fundamentally distorting market equilibrium.)

- 'Motley crew'/some products require diverse skills. (Creative production is mostly collective in nature. Hence the need to develop and maintain creative teams that have diverse skills, and often also diverse interests and expectations about the final product.)

- 'Infinite variety'/differentiated products. (There is a huge variety of creative products available, both within particular formats (rental-store videos, for example) and between formats. Each creative output is to a greater or lesser extent a prototype of itself, and thus as much or more effort has to go into marketing as production, if it is to stand a chance for success.)

- 'A-list/B-list'/vertically-differentiated skills. (All creative sectors display great difference between the bright stars and the 'long tail' and this plays out in both remuneration and recognition, and also in the ways in which producers or other content aggregators rank and assess creative personnel.)

- 'Time flies'/time is of the essence. (Most industrial forms of creative production need to co-ordinate diverse creative activities within short time-frames.)

- 'Ars longa'/durable products and durable rents. (Many cultural products have great durability, their producers having the capacity to continue extracting economic rents (for example, copyright payments) long after the period of production.)[12]

Of these principles, at least four must be rethought in the light of 'produsers', 'prosumption' and user-generated content. The vast gap between the famous few and the long tail ('A-list/B-list/vertically-differentiated skills') is radically challenged. There is competition for recognition, and often a desire for commercial success, but participatory culture is a much more level playing field. 'Nobody knows/demand is uncertain' is turned on its head as supply is starting to come from the demand side.

'Art for arts sake/creative workers care about their product' will continue, but with a possible vengeance, as their care about their product may be translated into a lesser willingness to accept the asymmetrical contracts which place most risk and most profit in the hands of the mainstream aggregator. 'Infinite variety/differentiated products' becomes less a major obstacle to effective and cost-efficient marketing and to risk management than a challenge to find enough 'market' bits to make low cost, low entry production and distribution viable. The growing confidence of models for independent distribution of creative content see the Internet as having unique potential for constituting newly viable markets.

ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation (CCI)

Finally, the agenda briefly outlined in this article – what a 'creative economy' might look like, and what it might take to strengthen it – is the rationale underpinning the ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation.

CCI is the first and - until the recent announcement of the success of the ARC Centre of Excellence for Policing and Security - only Centre of Excellence whose lead disciplines are based outside the science, engineering and technology sectors. We have built an unusual degree of cross-disciplinary collaboration into the program, enlisting input from a range of compelling research perspectives in media, cultural and communication studies, multimedia and design, education, law, business management, and information technology.

The central research conundrum we are trying to address is: how does Australia build a 'creative' economy and society suited to the conditions for content creation, business sustainability, employment, vocation, identity and social structure and communication emerging across the globe in the 21st century? The basic value proposition of the Centre is our belief that Australia needs to build a more inclusive and dynamic innovation system customised to support a creative economy and society.

The structure of the Centre's research can be conceptualised along a 'value chain' addressing weaknesses in the national innovation system. It looks to identify the dynamics of change in the sector and economy-wide; seeks to promote education and training for a creative workforce; creates ways of addressing bottlenecks in content generation and dissemination; assists in improving the business structures and practices of creative enterprises; examines policy settings and regulatory regimes for better outcomes for creators and consumers; and engages at depth with Australia's place in the region and with crucial export markets and cultural partners.

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A Role for the Arts in Creating Community
Martin Mulligan

Since the early 1990s there has been a rising international trend – especially in the UK, US and Australia – to use the arts as a social policy tool.[1] Much has been made of the ways in which the 'creative industries' can revive flagging economies[2] and people concerned with social development have been turning to the arts to find new ways to address some intractable social problems. Hence we have seen a proliferation of funded arts projects aimed at addressing things like: overcoming chronic social isolation, improving school retention rates and reducing anti-social behaviour by the 'lost generation' of the young, reinventing places that have previously been demonised, reducing inter-ethnic tensions, and re-engaging people in democratic processes and institutions. This creates some high expectations about what the arts can achieve in terms of social benefits, and the outcomes measured against such expectations are predictably mixed. Yet, the trend continues because people sense – with limited 'evidence' – that arts participation can have some impacts that cannot be achieved through other forms of social 'intervention'.

Although the growing realisation that the arts can have social benefits has increased the overall pot of funding for participatory or community arts projects it has also led to an instrumental narrowing of what many people expect of the outcomes. There is plenty of evidence to suggest, for example, that participation in challenging artistic projects can increase participants' self esteem and their skills in areas such as communication, teamwork, networking and project managemen.t[3] However, the beauty of the arts is that they can have novel, unforeseen outcomes. Participation in the arts can have very different impacts on different people and even if it is unrealistic to think that such participation can help individuals to redress deep, structural social problems it might generate some fresh perspectives and possibilities for dialogue. A sustained increase in the self-esteem of participants may play out in unforeseen ways over a substantial period of time. Such social benefits are very hard to 'measure'.

How do we know when arts participation works? The evidence will come in many forms and it may reflect outcomes that had not been anticipated. It needs to speak to a breadth of impact – as measured by surveys and statistics – and a depth of impact – as deciphered through reflective interviews, the recounting of individual experiences, or the analysis of stories. A recent report compiled by a team of researchers at the Globalism Institute at RMIT University[4] includes such a range of evidence gleaned from a study of the experiences of the four Victorian communities - centred on inner-city St Kilda, outer-urban Broadmeadows, rural Daylesford, and the regional western district centre of Hamilton. The study made a special effort to understand projects and activities that clearly captured the imagination of the communities concerned and the report was able to conclude that there is plenty of evidence to support the use of the authentic art practices to achieve social benefits within local communities.

Some of the most compelling evidence is, in itself, quite limited. For example, one man who had become a regular participant in Daylesford's Men's Shed – where socially isolated men can gather to make things with their hands – told the researchers at interview that 'without it [the shed] I don't think I would be here. It gives me a reason to get up in the mornings'. However, if you put that together with an analysis of what a skilled community arts practitioner has learnt over 10 years or more

of intense practice, then you can develop a better understanding of what some of the more enduring and subtle outcomes can be.

Broadening evaluations

A broadening of understanding as to what constitutes acceptable 'evidence' of success will lead to better evaluations of community arts projects, as will a broader appreciation of the diverse outcomes of projects that rarely respect imposed boundaries. For example, the Globalism Institute study looked at a highly innovative Multicultural Planting Festival that operates annually in the Broadmeadows area. This activity was initiated more than 10 years ago by the environment department of the local municipal council in order to increase the appreciation of indigenous flora, fauna and landscapes among the many migrant communities in the area. The festival combines a morning planting activity in an area that Council staff are trying to revegetate, followed by a multicultural feast and a celebration featuring dance performances by a range of ethnic community performers. It appeals to many people in the migrant communities because it reminds them of traditional harvest festivals in their countries of origin and it gives them a chance to show off their own cultural practices (eg, food preparation and dancing) to others sectors of this multicultural community. From humble beginnings the festival now attracts over 1,000 participants, including many children. However, in 2005 some staff in the Council's environment department questioned the endurance of the planting outcomes from the mass planting at the festival and suggested that the money used on the festival could be better spent. Fortunately, the community development worker who had been mainly responsible for pulling the event together managed to convince senior Council staff that wider outcomes - such as inter-ethnic understanding and respect, the nurturing of a collective sense of identity related to place, and environmental education outcomes – should counter concerns about the planting outcomes and the festival has continued, strengthened.

It can be important to support projects in the hope that they might succeed and sometimes they will succeed beyond such hope. For example, also in the Broadmeadows area, the Victorian Arabic Social Services organisation decided to set up a performance troupe for young people dealing with an increase in anti-Muslim, anti-Arabic sentiment. It was hoped that the young people involved might be able to support each other in dealing with racist abuse but the well-named Anti-Racism Action Band (A.R.A.B.) succeeded beyond all expectations and within 18 months of operation the troupe – involving up to 100 young performers using artforms ranging from Arabic drumming to beatbox and stand-up comedy – had given more than 80 performances to over 20,000 people. This was a case of being the right idea at the right time, but A.R.A.B.'s success clearly owes more to its ability to follow artistic impulses than to any careful planning related to aims and objectives. The collective story of A.R.A.B. involves the compelling individual stories of many of the young performers who have been amazed by their success and it also touches on the way they have been able to energise audiences at this particular time in Australian political history. There is no satisfactory way of reducing such a compelling story to more abstracted indicators of success.

The Globalism Institute undertook its study of community arts in partnership with the innovative health promotion agency VicHealth because earlier research on the social

benefits of this sector of arts practice in Australia had struggled to come to terms with the complexity of the topic.[5] Most such studies had focused only on projects funded by arts funding agencies – thus leaving out a host of more organically conceived or emergent activities and projects – and they commonly foundered on a search for 'indicators' of success (or key performance indicators). Reviews of the literature[6] also suggested that earlier studies used a narrow range of research methods. The Globalism Institute study was conducted over nearly four years and involved up to nine different researchers. It looked at the experiences of four very different local communities – from inner-city to rural and regional – and it employed a wide range of complementary research methods – including questionnaires, in-depth interviews, a collation of relevant stories, and use of a photo-narrative technique to explore some of the less conscious experiences of community life.

The report on the study – titled *Creating Community: Celebrations, Arts and Wellbeing Within and Across Local Communities* – was launched publicly at the Global Learning Centre in Broadmeadows in March 2007. As already indicated, it was able to conclude that the evidence to support an investment in the arts for building more resilient communities is compelling. However, it stresses that there is a big difference between good, or 'authentic', community arts practices and 'inauthentic' practices and hence it urges practitioners and funding agencies alike to develop a stronger understanding of what constitutes good practice. The report suggests a need for a more active partnership between practitioners and funding agencies in conducting evaluations of effective community arts projects and activities so that the lessons can be widely disseminated.

In conducting the research in the four communities, the Globalism Institute researchers encountered an impressive array of skilled and committed practitioners working across the intersection of community arts and community development – some working professionally and some working out of a commitment to their communities. However, it is a tough field of practice to break into and even harder to stay in for the long haul. This pool of practitioners is a greatly undervalued 'resource' and the report suggests some ways of strengthening career paths for those who want to make it their profession. In particular, it recommends the establishment of more fellowships for emerging practitioners so that they might hone their skills beyond the constraints of a specific funded project. It is clear that good practice in community arts requires a commitment to good quality artistic outcomes as well as a commitment to good quality processes for participation.

For too long, community arts have been regarded as a poor cousin of 'elite' arts practice in Australia. The Globalism Institute researchers encountered a number of accomplished artists who found that periodic engagements with community art practices helps to sharpen their own, individual, practice. Some even suggested that an artistic engagement with people living on the edges of society can create cutting edge art in Australia, as might be seen, for example, in the community theatre work of Scott Rankin. The internationally-acclaimed performer and festival director Robyn Archer has frequently worked between Australia and the UK and, in launching the *Creating Community* report, she suggested that the community arts sector in Australia is probably leading the world in terms of the quality of its overall output. She had been dismayed when the Australia Council for the Arts abolished its Community Cultural Development Board in 2005 and expressed the hope that the newly formed

Community Partnerships department would ensure that the sector would continue to get the support it needs.

Social inclusion and exclusion

In both Australia and the UK advocates for the use of community arts to increase the 'wellbeing' of local communities have often focused on a perceived need to increase 'social inclusion' to overcome various forms of social isolation. VicHealth, for example, has funded community arts projects since its inception in 1987 but in more recent times it has used the language of 'social inclusion' and 'social connectedness' to validate this strategy; listing improvements to 'social connectedness' as one of three key 'determinants' for improving mental health and wellbeing.[7] The notion of social inclusion was popularised by the Blair government in the UK, which established a Cabinet-level Social Inclusion Unit, and a range of sociologists[8] suggested that in replacing broad and abstract terms such as 'poverty' and 'disadvantage' the focus on 'social inclusion' opened the way for a more precise exploration of the many causes of exclusion and marginalisation.

The problem with the notion of social inclusion is that it assumes that an inclusion into existing social structures is invariably desirable, even when it can be argued that some of these social structures have been largely responsible for creating social divisions.[9] In conducting the research for *Creating Community*, the Globalism Institute researchers interviewed a number of people who have participated in arts-based activities aimed at reaching socially isolated people and their views on inclusion were sometimes counter-intuitive. For example, a man living in a rooming house in St Kilda was inspired to begin writing stories of his life by the organisers of a Council-funded *Roomers Magazine* that circulates in libraries and newsagents in the St Kilda district. At interview, he explained that he enjoyed going for a run every day and that he had now developed a practice of thinking up a story during each run and then writing it down when he returned home. While several of his stories had been published in the magazine, others were simply filed away in his room. His walls were adorned with two heart-shaped sculptures made out of objects he had found during his daily runs.

When asked if his story-telling practice had enabled him to feel more included in his local community he explained that it had actually enabled him to keep more distance from people who relied on drugs and alcohol to create community. He said he often gave a copy of one of his stories to someone else but he preferred to simply walk away after handing it over. He was happy to know that his stories were of interest to some people but, more importantly, they enabled him to feel more independent. In this sense, his creative writing practice enabled him to better negotiate the terms of his inclusion in his local community.

The Globalism Institute study also found that a need for active inclusion is likely to vary according to specific personal circumstances and changing needs at different times of life. Community choirs and community theatre projects in the Daylesford area, for example, attracted significant numbers of single mothers and women with young children because they felt a need for some kind of creative engagement outside the home. On the other hand, our survey of people attending a range of community events suggested that many people are happy with periodic experiences of local community life. The *Creating Community* report suggests that an 'avowal' of the mere existence of community can be a useful antidote to the prevailing ill-feeling

of being cast adrift in stormy seas. The report suggests that it is more important to nurture a diversity of community arts initiatives – from classes to the carnival – rather than support just one or two high profile and expensive events that may not have very much local content anyway.

Whether people are engaged in individual practices of story-telling – using different artforms – or in more collective story-telling activities – such as community theatre – it seems that the creation of the stories helps them to make sense of their separate lived experiences. Richard Sennett[10] has suggested that in the fast-moving contemporary world people are expected to manage a large number of short-term relationships and constantly let go of the past. This can create a fragmented sense of one's life narrative and Sennett detects a growing desire by people to 'make their experiences cohere' by creating a sense of 'narrative movement' in their lives.[11] Clearly there is an important role for art practices in helping people to develop richer narratives. However, the stories will be of little use unless they increase a sense of agency by enabling people to re-author their life narratives. It is this sense of authorship that enabled the St Kilda rooming house resident to better mediate his forms of social inclusion.

The *Creating Community* report does not conclude that the notion of 'social inclusion' is without value. However, it does suggest that those who use the term to explore the causes of social isolation need a more sophisticated understanding of the complex relationship between inclusion and exclusion. The aim should be to increase individual and group agency rather than try to impose forms of inclusion on those deemed to be isolated. Furthermore, it is critical to avoid blaming individuals for feeling isolated. Arts participation may often be inappropriate as a strategy for helping people increase a sense of agency – for example, in developing particular skills that might maximize their chances of getting meaningful paid employment. However, *Creating Community* lists a wide range of ways in which community arts projects have helped address some causes of social isolation. These include:

- helping people to process their emotional responses to difficult experiences;
- providing cathartic experiences for people by sharing difficulties or painful experiences that might otherwise make people feel more isolated;
- addressing some unresolved social tensions in relatively non-threatening ways, eg, by using humour or by fostering dialogue;
- lifting the mood of a group of people or a whole community to create some new optimism about the future;
- helping people and groups – especially in ethnically diverse local communities – to make contact with other people and groups on the basis of shared interests and a broad sense of community identity.

Creative community building

In an earlier edition of *Dialogue*[12] Jim Walmsley suggested that the word 'community' is being used so widely and loosely that it has attained a 'high level of use but a low level of meaning'. Walmsley does not join with scholars - like, for example, Iris Marion Young - who suggest that we stop using the term because it can be used very selectively. Instead he argues that the very popularity of the term suggests that it touches some contemporary aspirations that need to be better understood. Of course,

in a world in which communication technologies enable us to communicate much more frequently with people who are far removed from us spatially, we all belong simultaneously to a range of sometimes overlapping communities. As well as communities related to neighbourhood we can detect communities related to work or profession, ethnic identities or religious affiliations, sexual orientation, sporting or other interests, and more. Some commentators have suggested that the growth of communities based on spatially extended relationships means that the largely accidental communities of place will give way to communities of common interest. However, a survey conducted as part of the Globalism Institute research on community arts suggested that neighbourhood communities appear to be valued much more highly than, for example, workplace communities.

It is clear that in the contemporary world a sense of community is no longer a 'given'; ie, a kind of externality that people might be born or incorporated into. However, a preoccupation among sociologists with the distinction made more than a century ago by Ferdinand Tonnies between relatively stable and 'traditional' *gemeinschaft* communities and more fluid and displaced *gesellschaft* communities is no longer helpful and it is now more important to look at the ways in which forms of community identity are constantly created and recreated with changing circumstances. Based on the research outcomes and a review of the literature, the *Creating Community* report suggests a different way of thinking about how and why communities form. From this perspective it suggests that communities can be characterised as either:

Grounded communities, in which the key characteristic is the coming together of people in tangible settings based on face-to-face or embodied relationships;

Way-of-life communities, in which the key characteristic relate to the sharing of attitudes or particular practices; or

Projected communities, based on the establishment of a 'creative space' in which individuals engage in open-ended processes of constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing identities and ethics for living.

Of course, 'local communities' include all three of these community formations and community art projects often enable an exploration of 'way-of-life communities' and 'projected communities' that also relate to shared location. At their best, community art projects and activities can foster a dialogue about an ethics for living locally. However, it would be a mistake to neglect the importance of 'grounded communities' and a chapter in *Creating Community* explores some ways in which geography and place can influence the character of a local community. A greater appreciation of the inherent beauty of local landscapes, for example, can enhance a collective sense of belonging to place and, potentially at least, encourage people to treat those landscapes and their natural systems with more respect.

Broadmeadows

In the Broadmeadows area, the Hume City Council has put an emphasis on arts-based projects that might help to nurture a greater appreciation of the natural local environment. This relates to the fact that the prevailing perception is that the community was formed in the 1950s and 60s when people were dumped into Housing Commission houses that were plonked into 'empty' paddocks, with only rough roads and very few facilities provided. In this sense the space that became a new home for many people was viewed as a *tabula rasa* on which a whole new story could be inscribed and this created a discontinuity with the area's fascinating earlier history.

The sense of being dumped into empty paddocks made it hard for the new residents to develop and appreciate a sense of place. Furthermore, population growth in the area since the late 1970s has largely resulted from further waves of settlement by immigrants from many parts of the world who must take time to build a secure sense of home in the new environment. As already mentioned, a popular Multicultural Planting Festival has given many settlers a chance to participate in efforts to regenerate the area's native grasslands and participants in that festival told the Globalism Institute researchers that the act of getting their hands in the soil to help reintroduce excluded plants helps them feel more connected to their 'new' land.

Another project initiated by Hume City Council staff involved bringing weavers from various backgrounds together to create a woven sculpture to mark the opening of the Global Learning Centre in Broadmeadows. Weavers from New Zealand, Samoa, Vietnam, Iraq and Italy worked with local basket-makers and an Indigenous Australian weaver to create a two-metre high *Galgi-ngarrak Yirranboi* tree that was given its name by the local Indigenous elder Norm Hunter. The project initiator Anne Kershaw said that few people in Australia – new settlers or otherwise – are aware of the intricate beauty of the open grasslands that once prevailed in the Broadmeadows area and so the project was – in part - aimed at changing that perception and the weavers were encouraged to use local grasses as much as possible. At the same time, the project acknowledged diverse cultural traditions represented in the area and showed how those traditions could be brought together in an artistic synergy.

Of course, a sense of place can reflect a narrow view of history and of the complex, multicultural nature of contemporary Australian communities. Clearly negative perceptions of how the Broadmeadows community was formed need to be replaced by more positive portrayals of the interactions between people and places. Stories of landscape formation and of the long history of indigenous habitation underpin more recent stories of settlement to create a multi-storied sense of place. Yet even that can be interpreted differently by different people. Anne Kershaw also initiated a project to integrate public art works into the refurbishment of a 1950s shopping centre in the Broadmeadows area and she recruited artists from various cultural backgrounds to work together. Kershaw was a little disappointed when the artists decided to work with themes from the classic Arabian Nights stories rather than something more 'local'. However, the artists convinced her that the ancient stories carried important 'universal truths' that could also create a sense of belonging in a local community made up of people from many places on the globe. Human geographer Doreen Massey[13] has argued that 'coexisting multiplicity' is what makes the negotiation of local place identities most interesting because the outcomes can be genuinely novel and can open up unforeseen possibilities for future exploration. This seems an apt characterisation of the dynamics at play in several important community art projects in the Broadmeadows area.

Daylesford

Local projects that delve into the history of a 'grounded' community will soon find that there is no single 'true history' of that community but rather a complex collection of cross-cutting stories. Of course, local communities sometimes decide to promote a particular story from their past, often to attract visitors, but the locals know that they have a bigger collection to choose from. Oft times, a prevailing story can come to overshadow all others and in many parts of Australia settlement stories have all but obliterated the stories of the Indigenous people. Stories of heroic pioneers can block a

more nuanced understanding of the processes of identity formation and reformation in local settings.

Over the last 10 years people living in the Daylesford area in Victoria have chosen to highlight the story of a collection of immigrants from a mountainous region overlapping Switzerland and Italy who came to the Victorian goldfields in the 1850s and 60s and then settled in the area where 'liquid gold' flowed from mineral springs. Many buildings in the area, especially at Hepburn Springs, betray this Italian heritage as do many surnames listed in the local phone book. However, an Italian heritage was not valued in Australia when Italy was on the other side in World War II and it continued to be seen as something of a liability for a long time after the war. People from Italian backgrounds have managed to turn around prevailing Australian views about most things Italian and this has enabled the descendents of the Hepburn Springs pioneers to reclaim their unusual heritage. An annual Swiss-Italian Festa is now a highlight of the region's rich cultural calendar, to the extent that this particular settlement story has come to overshadow others. Effective local promotion of this story has led to an invitation to create a special exhibition around it at Melbourne's Immigration Museum during 2007.

The Daylesford/Hepburn Springs Swiss Italian Festa shows how a story from the past can be brought into an artistic celebration of community. It has energised other projects in the area and a group of students at the Daylesford Secondary College picked up second prize in a national competition for producing local food by making 'bullboar' sausages from traditional recipes handed down through the families of some early Swiss-Italian settlers. However, the challenge now is not only to find ways to celebrate some other stories of settlement but also to find ways to come to terms with the settlement processes that ruthlessly pushed aside the Indigenous Dja Dja Wurrung people. Some people interviewed for the Globalism Institute study suggested that interest in the Swiss-Italian story had awakened a more general interest in the history of the area and it is certainly true that Daylesford's annual Words in Winter Festival often features research and writing based on stories from the region's past. However, it is one thing for people to research the stories and another thing for them to be brought into some form of public projection. Once again, art can play a vital role in the way that stories from the past are shared.

In her 1999 Boyer Lectures historian Inga Clendinnen argued that the 'history wars' that were initiated by Prime Minister Howard's 1996 attack on 'black armband' interpretations of Australian history had created an unhelpful polarisation around how to interpret the national story. Rather than trying to win this war of interpretation over the 'one true story', she suggested, we need to collate 'many true stories' of diverse local experiences that help us to understand some of the contradictory experiences of settlement and of identity formation. Such a shift in emphasis would not only broaden the scope of historical writing it would provide new opportunities for artistic interpretations of local stories. At their best, community arts are about the creation of multi-storied celebrations of local community identity.

Conclusion

In a world of constant change a sense of community is difficult to attain and sustain. The desire to belong has not diminished but we can belong to a range of communities that are constantly in processes of formation and reformation and our need for a

sense of community might change at different times of our lives. Research conducted by the Globalism Institute suggests that the search for 'grounded communities' has not diminished in importance but such communities must be constantly created and recreated to meet needs ranging from overcoming social isolation to a simple 'avowal' of the existence of local communities in the contemporary world. There is a critical role for participatory arts practices in creating and recreating a sense of local, grounded community. In particular, arts practices help people to create and share different narratives of lived experience and this, in turn, enables individuals to negotiate the terms of their inclusion into the local. It also enables the emergence of local communities in which identity is the product of coexisting multiplicity, reflected in the celebration of 'many true stories'.

However, a growing trend to use the arts as a social policy tool creates the danger of shallow or inauthentic art practices that have predetermined aims and outcomes. Those who see the benefits of using the arts to build more interesting and inclusive local communities must develop a strong understanding of what good practice community arts looks like. Indeed it is time to learn the lessons of a practice that has now evolved over the last 30-35 years and which has given Australia one of the most innovative community arts sectors in the world. Experienced and skilled community arts practitioners need to be more highly valued than they are and career paths need to be better defined for those who want to make this their chosen profession. It is critical to understand that the evidence to support good practice comes in many forms and touches on the depth and endurance of the impacts as much as the breadth of impact.

In launching the *Creating Community* report, Robyn Archer said that it provides a very solid framework for better understanding of when and how community arts can work. It puts the emphasis on *creativity in our understanding* of community building.

[Copies of the report can be downloaded from http://globalism.rmit.edu.au/news/announcements.html.]

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1   This trend has been noted by a wide range of authors. See, for example, McCarthy, K, Ondaatje, E, Zakaras, L and Brooks, A (2004). *Gifts of the Muse: Reframing the Debate about the Benefits of the Arts.* Santa Monica: The RAND Corporation; Matarasso, F (1997). *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts,* London: Comedia; Throsby, D (2001). *Economics and Culture,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2   For discussion of this see, for example, Throsby *ibid.*

3   See Mulligan, M, Humphery, K, James, P, Smith, P, and Welch, N (2007). *Creating Community: Celebrations, Arts and Wellbeing Within and Across Local Communities,* Melbourne: VicHealth.

4   *Ibid.*

5   This is noted in several reviews of the literature. See, for example, McQueen-Thomson, D and Ziguras, C (2002). *Promoting Mental Health and Well-being through Community and Cultural Development: A Review of Literature Focussing on Community Arts Practice.* Melbourne: VicHealth; and Globalism Institute, RMIT University and Cultural Ministers Council (2004) *Social Impacts of Participation in the Arts.* Canberra: Department of Communications, Technology and the Arts.

6   *Ibid.*

7   See VicHealth (2005). *Creative Connections: Promoting Mental Health and Well-being through Community.* Melbourne: VicHealth.

8   See, for example, Lister, R (2000). 'Strategies for Social Inclusion: Promoting Social Cohesion or Social Justice?' In P Askonas and A Steward (eds) *Social Inclusion, Possibilities and Tensions.* London: Macmillan.

9   See, for example, Hinkson, J (1999). 'Third Way Politics and Social Theory: Anthony Giddens' Critique of Globalisation', *Arena Journal,* 13: 109-110.

10 Sennett, R (2006). *The Culture of New Capitalism.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

11 *Ibid*: 183-188.

12 See *Dialogue* 25, 1(2006): 5-12.

13 Massey, D (1999). 'Spaces of Politics' in Massey, D, Allen, J and Sarre, P (eds) *Human Geography Today.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

The Necessity of Art
Deborah Mills

Since the late 1980s governments of all persuasions in Australia have been rationalising their support for the arts on the basis of the role of the arts in government. What this means is that government expenditure on art has, and continues to be, justified on the grounds of its economic and social return.

The arts have been lauded as tools in preventing crime and anti social behaviour, as a means of healing social and cultural rifts in society, as a means of generating new kinds of industry and employment, as a form of civic enhancement and as a means of attracting thirty-something professionals to live and work in run down neighbourhoods.

What began as an argument by arts bureaucrats for justifying government expenditure on the arts to politicians, who if not actively hostile were at least indifferent to government expenditure in this area, has become the (sometimes exclusive) rationale for the role of the arts in government. As a result, those in public life - politicians, public intellectuals, commentators and arts bureaucrats - appear to have lost the language necessary to express the intrinsic importance of art in our lives.

Art as the magic tool

Art arose out of a need to have power over nature and was 'a magic tool in the struggle for survival'. It was a way of understanding reality and imagining a changed reality.[1] As society evolved, changing social conditions affected the way we understood art, the role we assigned to it and to artists and how we saw ourselves in relation to art. Art has been seen as a means of overcoming the individual's isolation by providing a way back to the collective, as a means for enlightenment, as a tool for propaganda and as a commodity divorced from social ideas.

Artists have been variously understood as the sorcerer or 'progressive technologist'[2] opposing nature, as the Renaissance artist-hero inventing original forms of expression in opposition to the rigid constraints of craft production and, with the industrial revolution, as someone engaged in an exceptional kind of play rather than an exceptional kind of work. The artists' 'play' is to 'sustain an old fashioned but human mode of production in an increasingly inhuman, increasingly inorganic situation'.[3]

This latest version of the artist-hero is now undergoing transformation. For example, consider the lifelike yet anatomically impossible creatures of Patricia Piccinini: *The young family* depicts a combination sow/woman suckling her young; her feet a combination of human feet and hands. Piccinini does not make these things herself – she designs them and employs a team of technicians and fabricators to bring them into being.[4] Perhaps the new manifestation of the artist-hero is the artist-designer. Rather than art works which are based on an organic process of discovery, trial and error, a dialogue between ideas and form through the application of hard-won technique, we see products which are designed for a market. In this circumstance, the finished result is all that matters, not the process of bringing it into being.

Art as commodity

The instrumentalism which informs so much government arts policy is a direct reflection of the commodification of art – a circle of cause-effect difficult to break. Art is

used as a tool for government policy. The Queensland government,[5] for instance, cites case studies which demonstrate the 'role of the arts' in government. These include the use of murals by the Department of Main Roads on road infrastructure to prevent graffiti, the use of diversionary arts activities for young offenders by the Department of Families and the use of art by the Department of Housing to improve the image of areas targeted for renewal.[6] This instrumental approach to art has become so entrenched in the thinking of many planners and policy makers that they fail to see the possibilities of alternative approaches.

It is interesting to note the eagerness with which many local government planners and elected representatives in Australia have taken up Richard Florida's suggestions for breathing new life into struggling urban areas.[7] Florida argues that the creative classes are needed to work in the new creative industries. His definition of what constitutes the creative classes is very broad and I take it to mean anyone whose labour adds value through intellectual effort. He suggests that these creative classes are necessary to attract investors in the new creative industries and that this class of people and these industries will come to our cities if we provide diverse, bohemian and unconventional environments. Unfortunately this message has been misinterpreted by some as meaning that if local governments encourage coffee shops, some chic little galleries and a bit of public art they will attract thirty-something, upwardly mobile professionals from the so called 'creative classes' to live and work in their area, thereby solving unemployment and repairing urban blight.

But Florida is not talking about a purely commodity driven approach to civic enhancement. He is talking about the fact that the creative classes enjoy living in diverse, bohemian and unconventional environments. He is talking about communities with run down urban areas in which artists can afford to live and work, communities that accept people from other cultures, gay individuals and same sex couples. The failure of the commodity driven approach to urban renewal can be seen in the gentrification of St Kilda in Melbourne, the West End of Brisbane, Kings Cross, Chippendale and Redfern in Sydney and Fremantle in Western Australia. These are the areas that were renowned for their diverse, bohemian and unconventional environments. What has happened is that gentrification has/is displacing those generations who helped create those qualities which the incomers find attractive, such as vibrant streets, access to public transport and mixed development. The poor, including artists, are being displaced – priced out of the area they helped create.

Both in Australia and overseas there have been two main approaches to the use of art in community development and regeneration. The first of these is arts-led regeneration where the arts and/or the development of a major cultural facility are the catalyst. This is the 'build it and they will come' approach. The second approach can be characterised as 'art and regeneration', where the arts are seen as an add-on to urban development and/or regeneration. Once all the decisions about land use and infrastructure have been made art is plonked down in a civic plaza or a festival is developed to add life to a failing night time economy.

There is a third approach which can be described as cultural regeneration. In this approach cultural development is integrated into all aspects of planning and development for a community. This is a multi-disciplinary and multi-agency response to urban renewal which ensures that the benefits available to newly arriving people on higher incomes are redistributed to poorer, excluded residents. This integrated

methodology ensures that the cultural component of development and regeneration is continuous, adaptable and less likely to fail than the arts-led or art and regeneration approaches.[8] Such a holistic and interdisciplinary approach is being advocated by some Australian cultural planners and independent advisors on cultural issues. In Australia for the most part, however, rather than challenge current approaches to urban renewal, arts policy makers and commentators have been only too keen to embrace arts-led or 'art and regeneration' strategies for civic enhancement and urban renewal.[9]

Since the 1980s economic rationalism has influenced all spheres of government and led to an insistence that funding for the arts be justified in terms of its economic impact. It was during the 80s that the 'concept of an arts industry was given credibility (bigger than beer and footwear) allowing promotion of the arts as a significant contributor to output, employment and incomes across the nation'.[10] The Australian Government's *Creative Nation* cultural policy in 1994[11] linked cultural and economic policy and had a strong emphasis on encouraging the development of creative industries.[12]

The creative industries platform promoted by *Creative Nation* was never significantly taken up by the Australia Council or the Australian Government. However the commissioning of research by the Council into Australians' support for the arts marked that organisation's entry as a serious player in the 'arts as industry' stakes.[13] The selection of the international advertising firm of Saatchi and Saatchi to conduct this research foreshadowed its findings, which framed Australian citizens as consumers. The Council's response to the research findings has been to fuel a range of arts marketing strategies aimed at increasing audiences for subsidised arts activities. The Community Cultural Development Board was the only policy voice within the Council advocating the rights of citizens to find their own forms of intellectual and artistic expression and that voice was lost when the Council recommended that the Minister abolish the Board in 2005.

Culture and cultural policy: a new site for public discourse on the necessity of art?

Donald Horne described culture as: 'the collective habits of thinking and acting that give particular meanings to the existence of individuals, or groups, or the public culture of whole societies'.[14] Peter Timms echoes this when, citing JR Saul, he writes about art as: 'a way of articulating cultural memories, "not to imprison us in the past, but to free us from the traps of habit." Art is…transformative – or at least it has the capacity to be'.[15]

It was this idea of the transformative nature of art that informed the writing of *Art and Wellbeing: a Guide*.[16] Commissioned by the Australia Council to identify where and how community arts processes enhance the efforts of government agencies concerned with community and individual wellbeing, we adopted a concept of wellbeing which builds on a social and environmental view of health and which recognises the inter-relatedness of social, cultural, economic and environmental factors.

Our research found that the understanding and application of the arts by government agencies in their work has focused, for the most part, on applying the arts in an instrumental way. But there are transformational possibilities arising from engagement with the world of the intellect and the arts, which move beyond these instrumental

applications; possibilities that 'allow creative activity to help determine policy by developing and negotiating shared understandings of various policy challenges and mapping out solutions'.[17] Creative processes and our critical engagement with the material culture these processes create, that is, art, can free us from the traps of habit, help us to see things from a different perspective, suggest connections between varied subjects and transform communities and the way in which government agencies operate.

These transformational approaches can unlock new solutions to the challenges faced by all governments in achieving the wellbeing of communities. However, this will only happen if governments stop thinking about art as a tool for dealing with the problems of the day, or as something to be attended to after the 'serious matters' of economic viability and social equity. Governments and all who work in and with them need to understand how every government policy and plan is a cultural policy or plan. Governments need to develop their cultural sensibilities; learn how to recognise the cultural dimensions of what they do, become more self conscious about them, if you like, and recognise how our habits of thinking, seeing and behaving can be transformed through our active participation in creative processes.

Jon Hawkes[18] has argued for cultural vitality to be seen as of equal importance to economic viability, social equity and environmental sustainability. He argues for a re-conceptualisation of the policy task and objective so that cultural development can function *simultaneously* as a means of ensuring sustainable economic, environmental and social development through cultural development. For this reason he argues for a cultural framework which can be applied to all aspects of government's planning processes, rather than a distinct cultural policy. He sees the arts as a way of making visible what has until now remained invisible; the cultural concepts which underpin, implicitly, many public planning policies. He argues that if we can acknowledge these concepts and recognise them as living, breathing parts of individual and community life, then we can give new meaning and force to efforts to achieve sustainable economic, social and environmental development.

Unfortunately these arguments do not appear to have been well understood; policy makers often use the terms art and culture synonymously. Perhaps they think that the term culture might have the broader appeal and help bring the arts in from the margins of government concern. At other times they appear to be using the term culture as a means of insisting on an opposition between prestige art and community culture.[19] In practice, whatever the policy conception of culture, the actual application of cultural policy by governments is too often reduced to heritage and the subsidised arts. Perhaps this is because culture and its role in everyday life are not widely understood in government.

Hawkes' monograph has been widely read among local, State and Federal government officers; some have increased appreciation for the cultural implications of planning decisions in the economic, social and environmental spheres.[20] At the same time, some policy and planning officers are beginning to appreciate that it is how residents *experience* their city or town – their sense of place, identity and personal safety, opportunities to interpret its history, relate to and experience its natural and built environment – which is the vital ingredient in successful urban life. These planners are beginning to recognise that our values and attitudes are expressed through the way in which our public environments are structured, that they symbolise

the culture of our city or suburb. This recognition is helping planners begin to try to connect the life-world of everyday experience with the systems-world of policy making. They are questioning whether a municipality has places which 'engage those who inhabit them, places through which people do not merely pass – but have reason to stop and become involved, places which offer rich experience and a sense of belonging and places which have meaning, which evoke pleasure or contemplation or reflection'.[21] These planners are asking whether a municipality has a built or landscaped environment which is something more than a focus for economic activity or a background against which real life takes place. In some instances this realisation is transformed into a commitment to changing people from spectators into participants who can actively shape those public spaces into places which have meaning to them – or which reveal the meaning they already have.

One of the reasons why utilitarianism has such a strong hold is that 'the arts' are viewed as elitist. The necessity of art to our being as humans, however, is recognised when it touches people in ways that make sense to us, for instance through place, memory and identity.

How does the current Federal Government value the arts?

In March 2005, conservative politicians were arguing passionately in defence of the arts. The context was the Federal Government's inquiry into the six State orchestras and the proposal by the Chair, James Strong, that the Queensland, South Australian and Tasmanian Orchestras be cut dramatically in size.[22]

The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported:

> In Tuesday's weekly meeting of the Coalition parties, where the arts are very seldom raised, a dozen speakers rose to protest at Strong's plan. 'James Strong brought in a report like the good management consultant he is,' said one backbencher. 'They *are* totally uneconomic. They are also what Australians think of as part of a civilised society…...'

The high-profile Queensland Liberal senator George Brandis said:

> 'To ask whether an orchestra is sustainable and then to conclude that, if it is not, it should be cut back is to ask the wrong question.
>
> Since no Australian orchestra is sustainable in the sense of being commercially self-sufficient or even close to being so, the real issue, given that reality, is whether the Government nevertheless accepts that orchestras are a sufficiently important part of the infrastructure of our community and of the social capital of our nation that they should be supported. It is my very firm belief that the answer to that question is yes'.[23]

As writer and journalist David Marr wrote:

> The debate that began that morning in the party room rolled on all week in the Senate. It was the rarest of events: a passionate debate about the arts among the nation's conservative parliamentarians. Debate is perhaps not the right word because no one rose to support the trimming of the orchestras. One after the other, Queenslanders, South Australians and Tasmanians struggled to their feet to plead for the right of their constituents to hear Mahler and Beethoven as Sydney and Melbourne hear Mahler and Beethoven: at full strength.[24]

The politicians' arguments were not instrumental in their approach, but rather, as David Marr put it, a simple matter of civic pride. He qualifies any enthusiasm we may feel for this apparent renaissance of valuing the arts as an essential part of a civil society by asserting that the Howard Government's support for the arts is limited to support for arts institutions: 'Big, traditional institutions'.[25] This slant bears out David Throsby's comment that the Howard government's arts policy is a reactive and problem orientated 'policy by review'.[26] In addition to the orchestras' review carried out under Strong's leadership there have also been major inquiries into the performing arts and visual arts and crafts during the term of the current Federal Government.

It is disturbing that, according to Marr, the Howard Government has intervened on a number of occasions to prevent funding of theatre performances which might be interpreted as critical of their policies or their politicians. *Through the Wire* written by Ros Horin, then artistic director of Sydney's Griffin Theatre, was denied funding to tour from the Arts Minister's Playing Australia Fund. As Marr says:

> What appears to have happened at the meeting of Playing Australia last year was this: despite the show having a very high score on application, the Minister's representative persuaded the committee not to recommend it for funding - on the basis that it was not yet a fully fledged production. Other shows were rejected at the same meeting on the same - unexpected - grounds… In the industry there's little doubt that Canberra was simply not going to back a politically unpalatable show.[27]

He also describes the rejection of funding to tour a new work about the Iraq War, *The Wages of Spin,* which had received Theatre Board support; with the reason given that it was 'too capital city focused'.[28] Marr relates another incident where Federal Arts Minister, Rod Kemp, was sufficiently moved by the Melbourne Theatre Company's production of Hannie Rayson's play on the subject of boatpeople, *Two Brothers*, to ask the theatre company's Chair, 'Why do you persist in biting the hand that feeds?'[29]

Nor does such intervention appear confined to the performing arts. The Howard Government's attempts to control the exhibitions and programming of the National Museum are described by David Throsby as 'more interventionist than any Labor government has been'.[30] When the now defunct New Media Board of the Australia Council funded five video artists to make a video game called *Escape from Woomera* in 2003 this drew strident criticism from Ministers Ruddock and Kemp. When the New Media Board was abolished by Kemp in 2005 on advice from the Australia Council, speculation was rife that the recommendation had been made with prompting from the Minister's office. Similar speculation surrounded the simultaneous abolition of the Community Cultural Development Board.

In the Howard government's view the arts appear to only have value as long as they emanate from large arts institutions and do not challenge government policy or embarrass their politicians.

A new language in defence of government support for art?

The writer and former chairman of the Australia Council, the late Donald Horne, has written and spoken at length against justifying government support for the arts on instrumental grounds, most particularly against the economisation of culture which he describes as a 'socio economic change…in the conceptions of the economic and what matters in life…[I]t…turns our society into "the economy."'[31] In his notion of

cultural rights may lie the seeds for the regeneration of a public conversation about the intrinsic value of the arts.[32] His concept of cultural rights does two things. Firstly it marks out the arts and cultural activities as part of the realm of the imagination and therefore as different from the instrumental. Secondly it challenges any elitist connotations ascribed to arts activities by insisting on the right of all citizens to critically engage with their cultural heritage, their right to critically engage with new intellectual and artistic production and their right to find their own forms of intellectual and artistic expression.

John Holden, a member of the Demos Group, an influential think tank of researchers, thinkers and practitioners working with governments (in particular the Blair Government in the UK), has questioned the degree to which cultural organisations should be obliged to use instrumental arguments to justify public funding, while documenting the difficulty of measuring instrumental value due to 'complicated and contested assessments of causation'.[33] His proposition is that cultural value should be redefined to recognise art and culture's intrinsic value, recognising the subjective nature of cultural experience, practice and identity. Asserting people's right to art, he proposes that a new language, a language of public good and public value which recognises the 'moral, creative and collective values expressed by the right to art be developed and applied'.[34]

What implications does this new language have for governments?

Holden's argument that 'public value connects with lived experience and provides a means of escape from the reductive approach of audit and quantification'[35] is familiar to those of us in Australia who have worked in the area of cultural planning and cultural development. However the implications for governments in Australia of what Horne and Holden are arguing go beyond this. If active and critical engagement with art is acknowledged as a right – rather than a privilege - then do Australian citizens have the opportunity to critically engage with their cultural heritage, with new intellectual and artistic production and to find their own forms of intellectual and artistic expression?

In making the argument that art should be viewed as a public good rather than an economic necessity or a social virtue, Holden suggests that public good should be judged by public preference; that is, public agreement that taxes be used to sustain the arts and culture and provide educational resources and the public's willingness to give their time to the enjoyment of culture.[36]

Australians spend an average of an hour to more than two hours a day doing handiwork and crafts, attending the theatre, concerts, museums and art galleries, performing or making music, listening to CDs, records or tapes or reading books.[37] Almost two million Australians participate in art making activities outside of their normal jobs, but not as hobby activities.[38] The National Review of School Music Education undertaken by the Federal Minister for Education during 2005 received the largest number of submissions, 5990, ever received by any Parliamentary Inquiry, indicating the depth of feeling and commitment by many Australian citizens to their children's right to a musical education.[39]

This high level of engagement in a range of popular, 'sub-cultural' and 'high' arts activity is not reflected in a widespread engagement with the output of subsidised arts and cultural institutions. Here we see a marked distinction between those who attend,

who have attained tertiary levels of education and those who do not attend, who have not.[40]

This distinction is also reflected in significant differences in support for public funding for the arts; once again this divide is along the lines of educational attainment. Research sponsored by the Australia Council and the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1997 demonstrates a link between educational attainment and attitudes to government funding.[41] People with a bachelor degree or higher were more likely to respond positively to governments providing funding for the arts. While there was relatively little difference across qualification levels for public support for libraries (between 87 per cent and 96 per cent) support for live theatre, art galleries and orchestras varied by up to 25 per cent across qualification levels. The message for governments, arts policy makers and arts administrators is clear. Government policies must translate into removing the educational, financial, social and cultural barriers to citizens' active and critical engagement with art and cultural heritage.[42]

Governments' support for the arts is often compared, unfavourably, with their support for sport. My fervent hope is that governments will apply the same democratic principles to funding for the arts as they do for sport. That they do not is due in my opinion to their sometimes unconscious belief in creative elites. The Australia Council's premise is to support excellence, which they define in association with an elite of institutionally recognised artists rather than embracing many and varied definitions of virtuosity. As Bernard Smith so eloquently puts it:

> Australia did not gain its achievements in cricket, tennis and swimming by the cultivation of sporting elites. True, the best were encouraged and carefully trained. But it was the ubiquity of these sports throughout the community that has told. We began with a broad democratic base, not a few score chosen ones, chosen by wealth or by their personal friends, but culled from the populace at large. If your object is excellence, you begin with a broad base: elitism fails because it insists upon a narrow base; its apex fails to reach the limits of the possible.[43]

Deborah Mills *has a diverse background in community and cultural development. She is a former Director of the Community Cultural Development Board of the Australia Council and has a strong record in public sector social and cultural policy.*

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8 Evans, Graeme and Phyllida Shaw (January 2004). *The Contribution of Culture to Regeneration in the UK: A Review of the Evidence:* A Report to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport.

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15 Timms (2004) *op cit*: 163.

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25 *Ibid*: 2.

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41 Australian Bureau of Statistics (1997). *Public Attitudes to the Arts,* Canberra, Australian Government.
42 Hewison and Holden (2004) *op cit* refer to Article 27 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 and quote the following from that Article: 'the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts': 1.
43 Smith (1988) *op cit*: 7.

Bouncing in the Bozarts
Jackie French

It was a town that shall remain nameless, just in case I'm sued for defamation. It had less couth and more friendliness than just about any place I've ever been. Dust from the mines filtered into every crevice and the horizon went on forever.

That sort of place.

I'd flown ten hours, on and off, to get there, skirting what had been a cyclone and was now 'just' a tropical low. A bad flyer to start with, and having been in a plane that had suddenly lost pressure the month before, I'd asked the doctor for some tranquillisers to stop me screaming every time the plane dropped 1,000 metres.

Half an hour after we landed, I was supposed to talk. So I did.

The audience was … different. Not just the colours of the faces, or the fact that three quarters were men - southern audiences for a talk about books are mostly women, with a sprinkling of husbands, librarians or academics. (Sometimes the lone man in the audience is all three). There were more moustaches than I was used to, as well - the long drooping sort you see on cricketers but not in a university, though one is probably lurking somewhere. Baseball caps too.

I started to speak. It was Speech No 56, given many times, a few funny wombat impressions to get them laughing, some anecdotes …

But somehow the tiredness (and the tranquilliser) cut in. I veered accidentally onto Speech No 23 - the one I'd give to the cognoscenti, shall we say, people who are really interested in how books are created, and why.

And suddenly I saw the faces before me change.

They'd enjoyed the funny bits. But now they were truly engaged.

I forgot about speech No 56, and 23. I talked as I don't think I ever have before, about the craft of writing, the discipline of creation, translating passions into themes, and themes into words. It was supposed to be a half hour talk but an hour and a half later we were all creating another story, this one about a camel called Crusty who had once found half a can of beer in a waterhole and been inspired to find - or create - a perfect world, a place where a camel could get a cold beer. A Don Quixote camel, chasing his own holy grail …

I had underestimated my audience. And for the umpteenth time (I'm a slow learner sometimes), realised that it is simply condescension to assume that they ... what do we call them? uneducated? Westies? hoi polloi? onion skins? … will prefer crap to quality.

After the talk one of the men came up to thank me. 'You know,' he said 'The ballet came through here last year. I'd never have gone to stuff like that myself, but the missus made me go. You know, I really enjoyed it. Last time we went south we went to theatres and stuff too. You never know what you'll like till you see it, do you?'

Another man approached me just as we were flying out 'Got enough ideas to keep me going for a couple o' weeks, last night,' he said.

It is so easy to underestimate. How many adults, faced with a reluctant child reader, give them a short funny book about bums, or farting? It's the sort of book a kid will skim through to find the rude bits; the kind they'll pick up if their teacher says they MUST read a book. But the book that will get them reading voraciously, passionately, will be one like *Lord of the Rings*, with long words kids are supposed to avoid, complex themes, paragraphs and characters.

Which is not to say that more people won't always enjoy laughing – comedy rather than tragedy, or pondering the mysteries of life - especially after a day at a demanding or boring workplace. Or that sex and sentiment don't press more buttons than *King Lear*. But 'simple', 'sex' and 'laughter' can still be great.

Ours is possibly the most 'culture rich' society in history. We go to work with music on the car radio, we shop to muzak in malls with murals or fountains or sculptures; even our recipes come from cultural heroes, chefs and cooks turned into celebrities. Art by the bucket load. But mostly art that is colour-coordinated, cute or sentimentalised, not art that challenges, excites or disturbs. Bad art, subsidised by advertisers who assume bland or pretty will sell.

What is 'art'?

If we create something that is useful - a pair of shoes, a sponge cake, a gardening book, - it's craft. If we create something which has no use at all except to make another human cry 'wow!', it's art…the 'beaux artes', the finest of them all.

Except it's not that simple. A pot may be useful. If it transcends its purpose it can be art. But all art springs from the everyday activities of humans. The first sponge cake - transcending all other cakes before it, a now anonymous work of genius - was art; subsequent sponge cakes, not. Most Aboriginal art is as informative as a gardening book, if you know the reality it describes.

Humans create. It has been held up as one of the great triumphs of humanity, separating us from animals, the other animals, that is. Though only by those who've never lived closely with wild animals - I have seen many examples of animal and bird creativity that go far beyond instinct.

To put it quite simply, art is the best of us. It makes us happy. Curiously enough, happiness is profoundly useful. Seriously: just think of all those lovely endorphins lowering our blood pressure, strengthening our immune system…. Art gives us a glimpse of what life beyond the mundane can be. If the watcher of *La Boheme* goes home feeling dissatisfied by the drabness of everything from the number 26 bus to her block of flats or her Friday night relationship… perhaps Opera can be seen as a revolutionary force. Why not?

Norman Douglas once said: 'The longer one lives, the more one realises that nothing is a dish for every day.' Perhaps not. But life is bloody short. Far too short to waste on anything that doesn't give you the most joy, love, art, transcendence that you can jam into every last minute of it. And if you give humans a taste of the good stuff, they'll come back for more.

PS I've had three emails about Crusty the Camel since I got home. Apparently the blokes at the mine have been discussing him at lunch time. Seems like Crusty is galloping across the desert, still following his holy grail.

I'm not sure where he's headed. It's going to be fun to see.

Jackie French's writing career spans 17 years, 48 wombats, 132 books, 23 languages, 3,721 bush rats, over 50 awards in Australia and overseas, 6 possibly insane lyrebirds, assorted 'Burke's Backyard' segments, radio shows, newspaper and magazine columns, theories of pest and weed ecology and 27 shredded back doormats…. She is also a marvellous cook. http://www.jackiefrench.com.

Improving Treatment and Access to Services
for Children with Anxiety Disorders
Jennifer Hudson

Anxiety disorders are the most prevalent mental health problems in school aged children and adolescents. Despite this, much more attention is focused on other mental health problems and, as a result, children with anxiety disorders are frequently overlooked. For many children anxiety does not simply remit with the passage of time and has a significant impact on academic, social and family functioning, often predating other mental health problems such as depression and substance abuse. In an analysis of the burden of disease in Australia, anxiety disorders accounted for greater burden than the majority of physical and mental disorders.[1] This means that anxiety disorders provide one of the largest sources of disability affecting Australian society. Given the interference associated with anxiety disorders and the long term health implications for the child, there is a significant need for effective intervention. After providing a brief overview of the nature of anxiety disorders in children, this paper will discuss the need for future research that aims to improve outcomes for anxious children and improve access to evidence-based services.

Nature of anxiety disorders in children

Anxiety is part of the normal human experience and is best conceptualised as a continuum. Clinically significant anxiety in children differs from normal fear and anxiety only in severity and level of associated distress and life interference. An anxious child may be extremely fearful and avoidant in a specific situation or may be constantly anxious about numerous events and situations. For example, some children may worry excessively about separation from major attachment figures and have extreme fear surrounding the potential loss of, or harm to, parents. While some separation anxiety is a normal part of development, there are children who experience this anxiety more severely and more persistently, to the extent that it interferes with their ability to attend school, visit friends and play. The separation anxious child may become tearful, throw tantrums or complain of stomach aches or headaches in anticipation of, or in the event of separation. In contrast, a child with generalised anxiety may worry excessively and uncontrollably about many areas of life such as novel situations, academic performance, illness, being on time, friendships, getting into trouble, and correctly completing a task. Children with generalised anxiety will report somatic complaints related to the worry and often require excessive or even constant reassurance to approach uncertain situations. There are also a number of other anxiety disorders with a different focus of fear such as social phobia, obsessive compulsive disorder, specific phobias, or panic disorder.[2]

Treatment of anxiety disorders in children

In recent years there has been a strong push in psychology and medicine for evidence-based treatment. In the field of anxiety disorders, the type of psychological treatment that has received almost exclusive attention and evidence based support is cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT). In CBT, children and parents are taught a range of practical strategies to understand and manage the child's anxiety. The key features

include developing more realistic cognitions regarding the feared situation/event, developing the child's repertoire of coping skills and, importantly, gradually facing the situation of which the child is fearful. The purpose of the gradual exposure is to teach the child that he/she can cope in the situation and the feared event is less likely to occur than predicted.

Reviewing the evidence so far, there is a good case for the efficacy of CBT for anxious children. In randomised clinical trials, children receiving CBT demonstrate significant reductions in symptoms of anxiety compared to children who do not receive treatment. Although this sounds promising, a recent review of clinical trials of CBT for childhood anxiety disorders has provided mixed news for clinicians and researchers. Combining the results from ten studies of CBT for anxious children, the overall remission rate was 56.5 per cent immediately following treatment and 63.75 per cent at follow-up (usually between 6 to 12 months following treatment) compared to 34.8 per cent remission for the children who receive no treatment.[3] These results suggest that while we have developed good psychological treatments that produce a significant effect compared to providing no treatment at all, there is room for improvement.[4]

What adjustments do we need to make to the therapy to produce better outcomes for these children? In trying to improve the efficacy of treatment for child anxiety, it would prove valuable to consider theories of the development and maintenance of anxiety in children. A number of theories advocate the importance of family factors in the development of childhood anxiety disorders.[5] My PhD and postdoctoral research has focused on this topic. I have been particularly interested in the construct of over-involvement as one feature of parenting that may potentially exacerbate a child's anxiety in the long term. Parents of children with an anxious temperament may be more likely to become over-involved with their child in an effort to reduce and prevent the child's distress. This pattern of parental over-involvement in turn may reinforce the child's vulnerability to anxiety by promoting the belief that that the world is a scary place from which the child needs protection, and undermining the child's ability to cope with stressful situations on his/her own. By reinforcing these beliefs, the child may continue to avoid anxiety provoking situations, thus never learning that the situations may in fact be manageable. On the other hand, a parent who encourages the child's autonomy may reduce the likelihood of the child developing an anxiety disorder.

Previous research investigating the relationship between parenting styles and anxiety disorders comes primarily from questionnaire research. In support of the theory this research has shown that parents of anxious individuals are more overprotective and controlling compared to parents of individuals without anxiety. Part of the problem with using questionnaire measures of parenting is the potential influence of social desirability. Given the stigma associated with being a 'bad parent', parents and children may be reluctant to endorse items that indicate higher levels of control and negativity. My research has employed observational designs examining parent-child interactions in samples of clinically anxious children and their families. In one study, parents were observed while the child completed a difficult cognitive task.[6] Parents were informed that the child's cognitive abilities were of interest as opposed to their parenting. The task was specifically designed to elicit overinvolved parenting: parents were given the answers to difficult puzzles but told "only help if the child really needs it." In this study, parents of children with anxiety disorders were more involved and

more intrusive in the task than parents of non-clinical children. In another study, children with anxiety disorders and children without any mental health concerns were observed interacting in a similar task with a parent who was not their own. In this task, parents gave more help to anxious children than non-anxious children indicating that the anxious children may, in fact as the theory suggests, elicit more help from their environment.

In treatment then, it would seem important to target the parent's response to the child's anxiety by reducing parental overinvolvement and increasing the parent's encouragement of the child's autonomy. Some studies have shown that including parents and addressing these issues in the treatment enhances the child's outcome. There have also been a number of other studies that have failed to show enhanced benefits when parents are included in treatment and thus the issue is still under debate.[7] There have been some suggestions that individual rather than family therapy may be preferred particularly for adolescent clients as this may help to increase the adolescent's autonomy from parents.

Another aspect of the family that is worthy of consideration in attempting to enhance treatment outcome for anxious children is parental anxiety. Parents of children with anxiety disorders are themselves likely to have elevated levels of anxiety and this elevated anxiety may increase the child's risk as anxious parents may be more likely to demonstrate potentially important behaviours such as modelling of anxiety, reinforcement of anxiety or overprotection of the anxious child. One of the potential improvements to the treatment of anxious children is a concurrent anxiety treatment for parents. This is currently being evaluated as part of a large randomised clinical trial funded by the National Health and Medical Research Council at the Centre for Emotional Health, Macquarie University. Families are randomised to a standard CBT or a standard CBT plus a parental anxiety management program. Preliminary evidence from smaller studies indicates that such adjustments to the therapy show enhanced benefits for children with anxious parents.[8] That is, children with anxious parents who do not receive parental treatment demonstrate significantly poorer outcome immediately following treatment.

At the Centre for Emotional Health (CEH), Macquarie University, we continue to investigate predictors of treatment response and evaluate modifications of the treatment that may enhance outcomes for children. One of the avenues we are currently investigating is the role of genetic factors in the heterogeneity of treatment response. Families seeking treatment are invited to provide genetic material via cheek swabs to examine whether the presence of specific genes is associated with whether or not a family responds to treatment. We hope that in the future we can more clearly identify those children and families who are likely to benefit from treatment.

Improving access to evidence-based services

Another major issue facing the field is the lack of widespread availability of evidence-based treatments. Less than fifty percent of children in Australia who are identified as having a mental health problem access mental health services and children with anxiety problems are even less likely to seek help than children with behavioural difficulties such as aggression or hyperactive behaviour.[9] As a result, increasing access to evidenced based services has become a priority among researchers and policy makers.

One method of increasing access to evidenced based treatments is through bibliotherapy. That is, rather than delivering treatment information by a therapist in face-to-face therapy it is delivered in the form of a book or manual. This has the advantage of being less expensive and also reduces the perceived stigma that some families may feel is associated with seeking treatment. In a study conducted at the Centre for Emotional Health, a standard CBT was compared to bibliotherapy and a waitlist. Findings indicated that bibliotherapy led to clinically significant gains in approximately 20 per cent of children diagnosed with anxiety disorders but this was significantly less efficacious than treating children with therapist-led CBT. More promising results were shown when the bibliotherapy was supplemented with five therapist led sessions (approximately half of the number of sessions in a traditional treatment) showing results superior to waitlist and equivalent to results achieved with the therapist led CBT.[10] The CEH is currently seeking funding to investigate methods to further improve the delivery of bibliotherapy methods as this approach shows promise in being able to treat a larger number of children in a perhaps less threatening format. We are also currently evaluating a CDrom for adolescents with anxiety difficulties to increase access for families to evidence-based therapy.

Conclusion

Evidence has accumulated in support of CBT for anxious children. However, the average success rate of CBT programs for anxious children could still be improved. Treatments need to be further refined and evaluated through large clinical trials. Further research will provide more information about which treatments work for particular children and will allow treatments to be tailored to the needs of the family, hence increasing the overall efficacy of CBT. Importantly, the field also needs to focus on improving access to evidence-based services by designing and evaluating treatment approaches that draw on easily accessible formats such as books and CDroms. By providing less threatening and less expensive options, the large number of children with anxiety disorders who are currently not receiving treatment will be more likely to benefit from available treatments by reducing symptom severity and associated interference, and ultimately, preventing future mental health problems.

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She received the Early Career Award 2006 from the Academy (jointly with Andrew Leigh).

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Important dates:
19 November 2007 – Fellows' Colloquium
20 November 2007 - ASSA Annual Symposium
People, Power, Water: Urban Water Services
and Human Behaviour in Australia
followed by the Cunningham Lecture.
21 November – ASSA Annual General Meeting
For more information visit: http://www.assa.edu.au.

Academy News

ARC Learned Academies Special Projects 2007

An ARC grant of $60,000 has been received for the Janet Chan/Leon Mann 2007 research proposal 'Creativity and Innovation: Social Science Perspectives and Policy Implications'.

The aim of the project is to provide a multidisciplinary social science understanding of creativity and innovation and the research team will examine how nine different social science disciplines - sociology, psychology, law, management, economics, history, policy studies, education and political science - conceptualise and explain creativity and innovation and the relationship between the two processes. The project is significant in that it addresses critical drivers of national progress and productivity-creativity and innovation.

A workshop with the Project Leaders and contributors will be held in Melbourne 21-22 May.

ARC Learned Academies Special Projects: Expressions of Interest for 2008

Following a call to Fellows for submission of Expressions of Interest for Learned Academies Special Projects the Research Committee met on 22 March to consider three applications.

The research proposal entitled 'Integration and Multiculturalism – a harmonious combination', which was submitted by James Jupp (Project Leader) and Michael Clyne was selected to go forward as a full ARC application for funding in 2008. The research team will review and analyse the role of multicultural policy in Australia, the integration of immigrants and their families and the adaptation of the existing population in the building of a cohesive, harmonious, culturally diverse society.

International Program

Australia-France Social Sciences Collaborative Research Projects (SSP)

A report has been received from *Ann Harding*, Director NATSEM (National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling, University of Canberra) and *Sophie Pennec*, researcher at INED (Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques, Paris, France) on the progress of their joint project: 'Population Ageing and Social Policy: Modelling our Future', and the visit of Dr Pennec to NATSEM.

Aim of the project As in most developed countries, Australia is facing an ageing of its population. This ageing is placing pressures on the economy, particularly with imminent retirement of the baby boom cohort. This pressure will come from the change in the structure of the population, with more people of retirement age, relative to people of active age. This will result in greater demand for health services and social care support as these people reach the high disability age range requiring more care support. The effects of these demographic changes have been studied in the

Intergenerational Report issued by the Treasury in 2002, but the Government has recognised that it only has limited capability to model the future distributional impacts of proposed policy change.

The aim of the APPSIM microsimulation model is to provide a national dynamic microsimulation model able to project 50 years into the future and assess the future distributional and revenue consequences of changes in tax and outlay programs of Commonwealth Government Policy.

Simulating the future in the next 50 years requires complex and comprehensive modelling of numerous events and processes, as the population evolves not only in age but also in their family structure, their education, their labour force participation, their income, their health, their wealth and in how they are affected by all the different tax and transfer programs (income support, family payments, income tax etc).

Scientific progression of the project. This is a 5 year project; it began in mid 2005 and should be achieved in 2010. Year 2006 was devoted to the design of the structure of the model, the choice of the software to be used for implementing the model, the choice of the data for the base population and the estimation of the demographics and the household formation.

A steering committee that comprises representatives of the 13 government agencies involved in the funding of the project meets twice a year (spring and autumn).

During her stay at NATSEM, Sophie Pennec has been mainly involved in the design and building of the demographic and household modules of APPSIM. She participated also in the design workshop for the model in August 2006. She presented her work to the project Steering Committee in November 2006 and to an internal NATSEM seminar in December 2006. She also made a presentation on ageing, dynamic microsimulation modelling and the APPSIM model to a visiting Chinese delegation (the Budget Affairs Commission Working Visit to Australia on 'The Longer Term Fiscal Impact of Social Security'). She also attended the Dynamic Microsimulation Modelling and Public Policy International Conference in London in September 2006 and thus established contact with NATSEM's two international partners on the APPSIM grant (Professors Jane Falkingham and Maria Evandrou, both from the University of Southampton). She is working on different papers to be issued in 2007 regarding the design and implementation of the demographics in the APPSIM model, and the design and modelling of the household formation module. She is also involved in designing the macro data database that will be used for population longterm trends analyses and micro-macro linkage in the APPSIM model.

Dr Pennec also took the opportunity while in Australia to attend the Australian Population Association Biennial Conference in Adelaide on 5-9 December 2006 and a panel data statistics course in July 2006. Through these forums, she has established useful links with other demographers in Australia (including those at the Australian National University) and expects ongoing collaboration both with NATSEM staff and other Australian academics in the future.

Australia-China Exchange Program

Ingrid Nielsen, Department of Management, Monash University, has reported on her visit to China in December 2006-January 2007:

I would firstly like to express my appreciation to ASSA for the opportunity to travel to China to undertake this research as part of their Australia-China Exchange agreement

with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. The commitment to provide support for Early Career Researchers demonstrated through this collaboration between ASSA and CASS is an important initiative that provides participating ECRs with a most valuable research experience.

My research focuses on 'The effects of English language self-efficacy on bargaining ability and sales performance amongst Chinese market vendors', which is being conducted with the collaboration of Professor Xu Jin and Professor Zhang Yi in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS).

Chinese market reform has seen huge increases in tourism to China. Concurrently, China's entrepreneurial class is increasingly reaching out to the outside world, with Chinese street markets becoming new foci of international business. The main custom at street markets is from overseas tourists or 'international customers' - significant proportions of whom are English speakers. This study involves administering a survey to market vendors at the Beijing Silk Street (Xiu Shui) Market and the Hong Qiao Market to model how Chinese market vendors perceive their own English language ability ('English language self-efficacy') and how this is related to a) their approach to bargaining with English speakers, and b) bargaining and sales performance. The study is significant as to date no studies have appeared in the literature that model the strategies that Chinese market vendors use when doing business with 'international customers', where language can be a significant barrier. The results of the study will have broader implications in terms of understanding the effects of language self-efficacy in cross-cultural business dialogue.

The survey instrument has been completed and was piloted at Xiu Shui Market during my visit to Beijing. This pilot phase of the study resulted in several changes to the survey design and administration procedures, which will strengthen the study considerably. Permission to conduct the study has now been granted by the local Government authorities. Survey administration will be undertaken by CASS doctoral students following Chinese New Year festivities. Four hundred and fifty surveys will be collected at Xiu Shui and Hong Qiao markets. Data will be entered into a spreadsheet in Beijing and will then be forwarded to me electronically for analysis. Professor Zhang Yi and I will then co-author a paper arising from the project to be submitted to the *Journal of International Business Studies.*

Australia-British Joint Projects 2007

Fourteen applications were received for the 2007 round of the Australia-British joint research program, funded as a three-way partnership between ASSA, the Australian Academy of the Humanities (AAH) and the British Academy (BA). Michael Clyne and Leon Mann in consultation with program partners agreed to support the following Australian applicants and their British partners:

'Whose Urban Renaissance? An international comparison of policy drivers and responses to urban regeneration strategies'. Kate Shaw, Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning, University of Melbourne.

'Child Care, Welfare Reform and Women's Labour Force Participation: a scoping exercise for a comparative research project'. Deborah Brennan, Government and International Relations, University of Sydney.

Policy and Advocacy Program

As a follow-up to the Policy Roundtable on Wellbeing in August 2006, Lenore Manderson gave a presentation entitled 'Wellbeing and its use in policy formation' to senior public servants at the Australian Public Service Commission SES Breakfast Series on 20 March.

A Policy Roundtable on 'Community', chaired by Michael Keating, was held on 24 November in Canberra. The Roundtable was held in conjunction with the Department of Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs and brought together social scientists from a range of disciplines with senior policy makers to explore aspects of community in contemporary Australian society, with a specific focus on identification of more vulnerable communities, assessment of the needs of these communities and the role of government in engaging with communities to address these needs.

A report on that Roundtable will be published in the next issue of *Dialogue*.

The next Policy Roundtable, on 'Federalism,' will be convened in conjunction with the Institute of Public Administration Australia and held on 17-18 May at the University of Canberra. This roundtable will provide for discussions between politicians, policy makers, academics, media representatives and business and community representatives on the underlying forces and political attitudes that are driving centralisation, and what is sustaining current federal arrangements. Some key questions to be discussed at the Roundtable are:

- What level of community (Australia-wide, State, region, locality) do Australians identify with today?
- How homogeneous or diverse is Australian society?
- What demands are there for greater community engagement and devolution?
- Can States better meet these demands?
- What level of government do Australians trust, and for what?

Workshop Program

Forthcoming Workshops

'Seen and Heard: Children as active agents in families, policy and research'. Ilan Katz (University of New South Wales) April 2007.

'Cosmopolitanism', Glenda Sluga, Julia Horne, Barbara Caine (University of Sydney) 2-3 August 2007.

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

Internet Mediated Sociality
Kathryn Robinson

Forms of sociality mediated by digital information and communications technologies (in particular the internet and mobile phones) pose novel settings and associated methodological and ethical challenges for social science and humanities research. New areas of concern include web-brokered intimacy (dating, cybersex, marriage); gaming and role play; innovative use of language; new kinds of economic transactions; political organising and questions of information flow, power and hierarchy.

This workshop brought together researchers from a range of disciplines, including new IT-based fields. Is our research practice adequate for the challenges of understanding such contemporary forms of social relations? How have the research strategies been deployed in 'on-line' settings by disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and political science? What new ethical challenges have been identified in this research environment? How have researchers addressed these challenges? What can researchers contribute to public debate, especially the commonly expressed concern that these new communication technologies erode social relations?

The workshop was funded by the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, the Academy of the Humanities and the ARC Asia Pacific Futures Network. Responding to the varied requirements of these funding sources, the workshop included established scholars and early career researchers, post-graduate students and significant representation of researchers working on the Asia Pacific. ARC-AFPRN funding enabled participation by international speakers. The workshop was held at the Australian National University on 3-5 November 2006.

Ethnographic analysis of on-line communities, and bridging off-line and on-line social relationships were dominant themes. Helen Lee (La Trobe University) and Nicole Constable (University of Pittsburgh and author of *Romance on a Global Stage*) have pioneered ethnographic research in on-line communities. Lee has extended her research on the Tongan diaspora through utilising the internet as both a tool and site of research through engagement with global on-line Tongan sites since 1996. She made a distinction between 'distanced' *vs* 'involved' research: the former involving content analysis, comparison of sites etc, while the latter involves using chat rooms and/or instant messaging to conduct interviews online, establishing research relationships via email, participation in discussion groups and blogs etc. Constable has published a path-breaking study on internet-mediated marriages contacted between American men and women from the Philippines and China. She addressed the relation between on-line and off-line lives, describing what she called 'a pull of bodies away from the computer'. In the intimate relations that she is describing, while the on-line communities provide a critical support for men and women engaged in the adventure in identity of marrying a spouse from another culture - the internet providing the initial bridge across the global divide - participation in the on-line communities

disappeared as 'real life' took over. The on-line group continues, however, with new recruits and old participants return for advice at particular moments in their relationships. Her current work explores the significance of 'bodies' in the transitions between on-line and off line relations and challenges the position of Miller and Slater's *The Internet: An Ethnographic Approach*, that minimises the significance of movement across the divide.

Jonathan Marshall (University of Technology Sydney) and Cleonicki Saroca (ANU) also reported on ethnography 'on-line '. Marshall proposed that on-line ethnography poses the same challenges that people face in 'everyday on-line lives': making sense of others and resolving issues of truth, interpretation and predictability. Lying happens in all social life, and it is about managing social interactions. Incompleteness and partial tellings characterise both off-line and on-line interactions. These issues need to be resolved in that specific 'semantic and activity context'. Internet sites involve social actors constructing culture, in particular out of the conflicts that Barth argued make and drive culture.

Saroca reported on research on Kathryn Robinson's ARC-funded project on internet mediated transcultural marriage. She echoed Constable's concern for research strategies that enable us to address movements across on-line and off-line spaces. Some people in her study chose to conduct relationships in the 'public space' of an internet forum for Fil-West couples. She described processes of 'building culture' as discussed by Marshall, through the telling of stories. Interactions on the site are in the shadow of negative stereotypes of these relationships and the men and women who contract them. While stereotypes build on the older discourse of 'Mail order bride', the questioning of legitimacy and authenticity is also coloured by suspicion of the internet as a communication medium.

Cultural competency, building trust and respect in relationships and confidentiality and privacy are issues that came up in many of the papers and in discussion, and Saroca linked these to the ethical practice of research. Lee contended that institutional ethics processes have not kept up with the challenges on research on-line - innovations in this area are driven by researchers themselves. 'Authenticity' and lying were contentious issues: does the on-line environment offer greater opportunities for deceit and concealment, than off-line interactions (both in everyday relationships, and research relationships). Contradictory evidence was adduced - lying is multiplying on-line; in developing intimate relationships people are more honest on-line. As in life off-line, people behave differently in the range of settings offered for on-line social relations. John Irving, who had been a moderator of a site for 'Fil-West ' couples discussed the way in which the site regulated behaviour through establishing rules of conduct, and limiting access. He gave an account of a breach of rules (racist comments) by a small group who were expelled, but who were able to destabilise the 'on-line community' resulting in the closure of the site. Another example offered was a case of researchers adopting a persona and deliberately inflaming participants on a particular site, a clear breach of ethical research practice.

Workshop participants met up with Tom Boellstorff (University of California Irvine) or rather, with his avatar Tom Bukowski, in his anthropologists 'hut' in the on-line society, Second Life. He brought along one of his 'informants', a long time Second Life resident. His ethnographic study explores this world and its social relationships taking the 'activities and words' of informants 'legitimate data about culture in a virtual world'. He is not concerned with their lives in 'real life'. The virtual world of Second Life

throws us off balance and causes us to reconfigure our humanity through 'transformed possibilities of place-making, subjectivity, and community'. In his view, there is a special role for ethnography in studying virtual worlds because 'ethnography has always produced a kind of virtual knowledge'.

Recalling Lee's distinction of 'distanced' and 'involved' research, another theme that recurred was the question of what constitutes public space on the internet. If a researcher has access to a site negotiated with particular individuals (moderators for example) what happens if the personnel changes? John Irving, speaking as a site moderator, saw the problem in clear terms - if information is posted on an open-access site, then it can be regarded as public information. The borders of public and private seem blurred in many internet sites, however, and the medium offers the inherent possibility of researchers 'lurking' on sites without announcing their presence or their purpose. John Marshall argued that you cannot be unobserved and conduct ethnographic research on-line. This points to disciplinary differences in research engagement with on-line social worlds, with anthropologists wanting to replicate the social engagement of participant observation used in 'off-line' worlds, where issues of personal identity and biography as well as personal interaction, are critical. Heeding Boellstorff's argument, there are different challenges for research conducted exclusively in virtual societies, to those posed by movement between online and off-line relationships. The anthropologists seemed to be especially concerned with developing web-appropriate research ethics. Other disciplines rely on less personalised sets of information, or on unequivocally public sites (eg, for textual or content analysis) raising different questions of responsible research practice.

Sophie Williams' (University of Wollongong) study of Singaporean male sex tourists has raised critical ethical challenges. This is a group that does not have a collective presence other than on the internet where they swap information and advice about their quasi-licit pleasures. Because of the potential link to child sex abuse, the institutional ethical review of her research raised legal issues arising from legislation concerning sexual exploitation of children. Hence she needs to obtain agreements with the Australian Federal Police and the Attorney-General's Department, so that she can stop 'lurking' and post a web-based survey. If she inadvertently crosses information on child sex exploitation, via the university computer, she and the university might be legally liable. Whereas research ethics procedures require the possibility for respondents to remain anonymous, the AFP have the opposite concern, and legislation aimed to prosecute child sex offenders has no clause allowing license for researchers.

Internet forums potentially allow the researcher access to archives, but this also raises some problems for researchers. Lee reported on a 1990s Tongan site she had used which had been closed down when the moderator left his US university. The archives went with him. Marshall and Constable raised the common problem of archives being 'sanitised' or censored, and Marshall also suggested the problems for social analysis: that the archives do not capture the timing, the flow of communication, eg, concerning an issue that gripped a group, leading to lots of postings in a short time.

Issues of power and hierarchy in 'on-line' social relations was a theme that the group returned to several times. Is the internet leading to new forms of hierarchy? Mark Finn (Swinburne) whose academic field is computer gaming, was interested in observing

the rankings in social prestige amongst his group of students, where gaming proficiency (rather than more conventional class and status attributes) holds the key. Mathieu O'Neil (ANU) asked what kinds of social theory approaches are adequate to understand internet mediated sociality? While early analyses have focused on network analysis, he has turned to French social theory, in particular Boltanski's argument about the manner in which capitalism (post -1968) uses the critiques against it to justify itself, through appeals to moral equality and artistic freedom. He has been researching groups that form on the internet, which have elements of artistic freedom, anti-authoritarianism. These groups define themselves against authority (hackers, bloggers) but (echoing the research of Finn) new forms of authority develop in their interactions, for example the hierarchy of early entrants versus newcomers, or of skill and elegance among 'hacktivists. He also sees gender differences emerging in these new ways of accepting and challenging authority.

New information and communication technologies (ICTs), offer new possibilities for political mobilising and engagement, and Heike Hermanns (ANU) explored these issues in the context of South Korea. Mobile phones in particular are providing new ways of sharing information and network building, hence creating democratic spaces. These kinds of activities are not yet systematically captured in current research frameworks which tend to focus on political participation in the context of elections, and hence restrict the scope of analysis of expanded forms of political activity. Hermanns provided some first steps towards modes of analysis that can include these new technologically mediated forms of political behaviour.

Warren Mayes (ANU) also explored the possibilities of the internet for creating democratic space in his study of the internet links between young elite Lao studying overseas. In contrast to the tight control of information by the government in Laos, the internet offered a space that was free of some of the political controls on communication. As a researcher, this group is accessible in the virtual space of the WWW, and his ongoing research links to them are not limited by time and place.

Rob Ackland (ANU) also addressed new kinds of social possibilities on the internet, investigating the Department of Communications Information Technology and the Arts' (DCITA) assumption of the internet as a place for building social capital. He is utilising hyperlink analysis of web crawling, and text-context frame analysis to study the emergence of on-line networks. How do we study the emergence of trust, which some use as a measure of social capital, in relation to information channels? Does the internet build trust because of its value in gathering and distributing information, or does it erode social capital, through capital-time displacement and Putnam's 'mean world' effect? Hyperlink analysis has the potential to enhance understandings of social connectedness on the net in diverse settings, for example the gaming students in Finn's study, or the young Lao elite studied by Mayes.

Magne Knudsen (ANU) was also interested in utilising the capabilities of new ICTs as both research object and strategy. He utilised the stored phone numbers of young Filipinos to explore the formation of networks.

Many of the papers addressed the way in which the internet provides people from impoverished countries of the Asia Pacific access to a wider world of possibilities for personal life, political organising and so forth. The 'digital divide' emerged, however, in John Bowden's (ANU) discussion of a language survival project in East Timor where complex internet-based technology is enabling linguists to capture and archive endangered languages. The research is conducted in villages which often have no

electricity and limited access even to telephony (including mobile phones). While the technology enables new strategies to conserve threatened languages, it raises new ethical issues for researchers whose agendas diverge so far from those of the village residents, who desire accessible printed documents.

The complex question of the emplacement of social relations was a recurring theme: in what sense is the internet a site for social generation of place? Emplacement relates also to the question of the digital divide. Lenarcic's (RMIT) paper was also concerned with language - in this case, new forms of language that are developing in the context of internet and mobile phone communication. He identified a research agenda to link these new developments back to classic social science questions of language and cognition.

Even a workshop focused on the latest communication technologies can have vexing hiccups. Gill Valentine (Leeds University - co-author of *CyberKids: Children and the Information Age*) was unable to attend at the last minute and we had less success in organising for her to deliver her paper by video-conference than we had in co-ordinating across the globe to meet Tom Boellstorff in Second Life. Other apologies were from Senator Kate Lundy and Tony Hill of the Internet Association. A scheduled participant from Telstra's research lab was 'lost to contact' and all efforts to communicate with that unit failed.

The workshop provided a space for a conversation across disciplines concerning new social forms arising in the context of ICTs and the theoretical, methodological and ethical challenges posed for the social sciences. A selection of the papers will be published as a special issue of *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* and an edited book is in preparation.

Migration Challenges in the Asia-Pacific in the 21st Century
Amarjit Kaur

The Workshop 'Migration Challenges in the Asia-Pacific in the 21st century' was convened by Amarjit Kaur (University of New England), Tessa Morris-Suzuki (Australian National University) and Ian Metcalfe (UNE), and held at the University of New England, Armidale, on 28-29 November 2006.

Background to the Workshop

One of the biggest challenges facing our region in the 21st century is the large-scale cross-border movement of people, consistent with expanding migration processes and the development of new security risks. These migration processes involve independent networks whose activities disregard sovereign national boundaries and

invoke both fear and the targeting of migrants for political and community scapegoating. Central to the analysis are international labour migration flows; migration flows provoked by political instability and natural disasters, other refugee flows, human trafficking and people smuggling. The Workshop examined these, focusing on governance and border-management strategies of major states in the region in the face of intensified transnational economic and social processes and the expanding global governance regime.

The Workshop correlated with the research interests of Kaur and Morris-Suzuki who have established the Asia Pacific Regional Migration Network (APRMN) in collaboration with the UNE Asia Centre (Metcalfe). This interdisciplinary network among scholars, policymakers, non-governmental organisations and human rights advocates supports other research projects in the field. The Workshop also forms part of the work being carried out by Kaur and Morris-Suzuki under joint and individual ARC-funded Discovery Projects.

Apart from ASSA/UNESCO sponsorship, the Workshop received support from APMRN, the South Asia node of the Asia-Pacific Research Futures Network, UNE Asia Centre, the Faculty of Economics, Business and Law, UNE, and the Malaysia and Singapore Society of Australia.

The Workshop was opened by Alan Atkinson (FAHA), and participants were also welcomed by Peter Flood (PVC Academic), on behalf of Alan Pettigrew, Vice-Chancellor. Three attendees, Ian Metcalfe, Howard Brasted and Kiranjit Kaur participated in discussion but did not present papers. Peter McColl, A/g Assistant Secretary, International Cooperation Branch, and Director, SEA and Specialist Programmes Section, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, and Aegile Fernandez (Tenaganita – Malaya) were unable to attend due to pressing work commitments and illness respectively but very kindly sent their papers for discussion. Two NGO participants from Indonesia, who had expressed a strong interest in the Workshop and had sought private funding, were unable to make the trip due to problems with travel arrangements.

Overall Workshop summary

Alan Atkinson, a renowned scholar on Australian Migration History, opened the meeting by taking the participants to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when nation-states as we now know them began to take shape in Europe and also when (as a result of demographic change and technological innovation) the Atlantic Ocean was thrown open to the mass movement of human beings. The carriage of many thousands of black slaves across the Atlantic is the best-known case, but there was an enormous variety of other types of people – Europeans, Africans and Americans, who, as it were, washed around that great expanse of water in various conditions of liberty and bondage – transported convicts, indentured servants, captives on pirate vessels and seamen of many different backgrounds. It was well understood at the time that profound issues were involved in this traffic. The slave trade, of course, was seen as an important moral issue. But embedded within such movements there were also extremely complex intellectual questions. Human traffic on this scale, and across such spaces, was a challenge to the very idea of the state, to current definitions of humanity and to notions of human rights as distinct from the rights of citizenship. He concluded by drawing attention to the fact that the workshop was part of a very long conversation, and was central to some of the basic processes of civilisation.

Panel One explored a number of thematic issues through the regional and Southeast Asian lens, including comparative immigration policies and international labour migration, legal and social frameworks for migrants, and their labour rights.

The first paper by Amarjit Kaur (UNE) provided a background to the growth of international labour migration in the Asia–Pacific region in recent decades and the connection between residency and labour requirements. These stringent enforcement strategies were in response to new and evolving forms of movement, issues of border control and the presence of undocumented migrants. The paper also raised some important emerging issues including new regional migration patterns; the fast growth in the demand for professional, skilled and less-skilled migrants in particular occupational categories and the creation of sub-regional labour markets.

The second paper was presented by Binod Khadria (JNU India and ARI, Singapore) and outlined how the migration of 'knowledge workers', who are in effect far more mobile globally than either finance or physical capital, has been kept clubbed with labour and hence isolated from the process of embodiment of skills, through investment in education and training as human capital. The paper explored two contrasting pictures: a telescopic view where Indian immigration of skilled workers fits closely to the western model of global geo-economic conflict of interests over different time horizons – when applied to the first two groups of countries, and possibly some in the third group too; and a microscopic view where Indian immigration of skilled workers to the poor island economies of the Pacific could be seen in a completely different and challenging new light of regional cooperation for mutual development. Both pictures highlighted issues arising from the challenges of transnationalisation of skills subsumed in the migration of people across man-made boundaries.

The third paper by Aswatini Raharto (LIPI, Indonesia) outlined the phenomenal growth of international labour migration from Indonesia, including the trends, the importance of the movement and the issues of illegal migrants and protection for labour migrants. The paper also provided case studies of Indonesian labour migration to countries such as Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Darussalam, to highlight some of the issues discussed.

The fourth paper in the session was by Peter McColl (DIMA). His paper (distributed) focused on how Australia has always needed the cooperation of countries in the region for the management of its borders. But in an increasingly globalised and interconnected world, and in a region where both legitimate and irregular temporary movement will continue to rise, such cooperation has become even more important. He argued that the patterns of cooperation developing between DIMA and counterpart agencies in the region are yielding results. These include strong contributions by ASEAN and Pacific Island immigration and other law enforcement agencies; a growing regional commitment to effective immigration intelligence cooperation; joint partnerships in detecting and deterring fraudulent movement by air; progress in developing and implementing legislation to criminalise people smuggling and trafficking; and continued efforts to find effective ways of managing humanitarian flows while preserving the fundamental principle of protection for those in need.

In their paper Michele Ford (Sydney) and Lenore Lyons (CAPSTRANS – in absentia) argued that the border studies literature makes a strong case against claims for unfettered transnationalism and 'borderlessness' in our 'globalising world'. However, this literature's focus on movement across borders means that it fails to address

bordering practices that occur within the nation-state as a result of transnational activity. They extended Cunningham and Heyman's concepts of 'enclosure' and 'mobility' in their paper to confront the different layers of bordering (both physical and non-physical) that have occurred in Indonesia's Riau Islands since they became part of the Indonesia–Malaysia–Singapore Growth Triangle.

The last paper in this session by Aegile Fernandez (Malaysia), Program Coordinator of the Malaysian NGO, Tenaganita (Women's Force) was also distributed. Briefly, her paper outlined Tenaganita's major programs to empower and organise migrant workers in Malaysia and the region. These programs included Migrant Rights and Health Desk; Community-based Interventions to promote health care and reduce HIV/AIDS vulnerability; Domestic Workers Program; Arrest, Detention and Deportation Desk; Women, Chemicals and Cancer Desk; and, Trafficking in Women and Children Desk. Tenaganita has gained international recognition for its work and is in fact seen as a key organisation for information and interventions on migration in Asia.

Panel Two was devoted to a discussion of globalisation, a review of governance of migration, border control regimes and transnationalism and migrant communities.

Michael Leigh (Melbourne) argued that while many of the broader discussions of globalisation and rationalisation convey an air of inevitability, most neither advocate nor address the vexed issues raised by the free flow of people. There are various interrelated elements that help explain the unwillingness to even broach this issue, the key one being the very basis of nationhood, governance and how representative institutions have been structured within the geographic boundaries of the nation state. The paper also explored the relationships between globalisation/regional integration, nationhood and the different sources of sovereignty and legitimacy, focusing on the role of labour flows, and how these constrain the process of regional integration.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki (ANU) suggested that there are two fundamental contradictions at the heart of the contemporary global system. Over the next few decades, national governments and international institutions may find ways to address these contradictions. But to do so will in itself require fundamental changes in the way the global order works. Alternatively, governments and international bodies may *fail* to find ways of addressing these contradictions, in which case the global order will be transformed in the sense of becoming increasingly fractured and chaotic. The two fundamental contradictions centred on our use of natural resources and migration. With regard to the second, she argued that the problem is not the movement of people itself, but the increasingly evident incapacity of nation states to respond with vision and imagination to the challenges posed by the growing human mobility, which is an escapable part of the global order.

The third paper by Christine Inglis (Sydney), reviewed how quantitative and qualitative changes in the nature of international migration and population movements over the last two decades had brought discussions of these movements and their longer term implications to the forefront in national and international policy discussions. She specifically dealt with the relevance of the theoretical paradigm of transnationalism to identify and address key issues concerning contemporary trends involving migration and policy, especially in the current environment of uncertainty and insecurity.

Panel Three focused on refugee movements, forced migration and trafficking in people and the efforts of the international community to deal with these issues.

David Holdcroft (Jesuit Refugee Service, Australia) reported that refugees have demonstrated considerable agency and planning in considering their flight and, in doing so, have revealed multiple motives for their journey. The revelation of these motives leads to questions concerning their status as refugees. These questions also pertain to the operation of western countries' offshore humanitarian programs, including Australia's. These programs rightly seek to target, and respond to, greatest need amongst the refugee populations. In the past year, however, evidence has emerged that candidates have already been through a rigorous process of selection by their own peers. The Jesuit Refugee Service in its work in the Asia Pacific encourages this agency, since it has judged it to be the first sign of people seeking to regain some control over their lives after a time of radical powerlessness. But how this notion of agency sits with both the 1951 Convention definition of refugee and the common notion of refugee in the public imagination, and whether these notions, as far as they are used as a basis for government policy and project response of groups like JRS, need recasting.

In his paper, Denis Wright (UNE) dealt with recently published evidence and opinion on forced labour and migration in South Asia in the light of changing circumstances and perceptions of the nexus between the two. He then focused on the relationship between trafficking and migration and forced labour in South Asia and outlined how the subcontinent has contributed enormously to this illegal trade, as globalisation has created dramatic shifts in the labour market.

Panel Four was dedicated to a review of political developments in relation to terrorism in Southeast Asia.

John Funston (ANU) focused on issues of external intervention and mediation in Southern Thailand. He first discussed the revival of a separatist movement, mishandling by security forces, economic and social problems, and manipulation by criminal elements as key internal factors. He then explored how southern Thailand has been part of the worldwide revival of Islam, influenced by contacts with neighbours and the Middle East and international events such as the war on terror and US-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. This has made southern Muslims more conscious of their separate identity, and may have also shaped the distinctive cell-based organisation of resistance, but did not otherwise directly impact on southern insurrection.

Muhamad Nadratuzzaman Hosen (CCES, Indonesia) addressed the issues of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. The United States and other Western governments have accused various militant movements in South East Asia, including those in Indonesia, of being involved in the Al Qaeda terrorist network. Some analysts view Indonesia as an important operational base of Al Qaeda. The main reason for Indonesia being seen as an operational base is the high level of social unrest, a weak legal system and fledgling democracy and an unstable political situation, all of which represent fertile ground for terrorism. Nevertheless, he stated that the main Muslim organisations in Indonesia were firmly convinced that terrorism is not related to religion but rather is related to the attitude and behaviour of the United States as the 'World's Policeman', its pursuit of a new imperialist agenda and its role in perpetuating wars in Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq.

The final paper in this session was presented by Nadirsyah Hosen (Queensland) who queried whether there is in fact an Islamic Terrorism. In providing a Muslim

perspective, he focused on the important differences between *fundamentalism* and *jihadism*. He concluded that the efforts of moderate Muslim scholars to reform Islam from within has been harmed by the manner and scale of the military retaliation by the United States, and its foreign policy, and also the failure of the international community to check that unilateral use of force.

Panel Five was a wrap up session where participants discussed the key outcomes of the Workshop and the options for publication.

Assessment

In line with the purposes of the Academy's Workshop program and UNESCO's objectives, our workshop aimed first, to 'contribute to issues of human security, as a global concept, that are attentive to the definition that peoples themselves give to partial insecurities of which they suffer within the context of their emergence'. Our second aim was to examine international migration and multicultural policies, and to elaborate a framework for policy development on international migration on the basis of scientific research. Participants reviewed immigration policies and governance of migration and security issues, and discussed a framework for policy development on international migration on the basis of scientific research.

The major issues identified may be summarised as follows:

- Governments in destination countries now 'control' and impact on international labour mobility through immigration and other policies.

- 'Knowledge workers' (the skilled professionals) enjoy greater mobility compared to 'service workers' (the unskilled and semi-skilled labour), across sovereign borders and are privileged in many countries. This has resulted in great variation in the treatment of migrant workers.

- The distortions in the labour market have also led to contrasting consular practices in both source and destination countries. In particular some practices impinge on the human rights of 'service workers'.

- Mixed migration flows are now a key feature of international migration, reflecting an increasing complexity of need in the region.

- While humanitarian programs, including Australia's, seek to target, and respond to, greatest need amongst the refugee populations, it is imperative that there always be facility for a humanitarian response based upon wider interpretations of 'refugee' in keeping with contemporary developments in forced migration. People in need have a right to be helped. This in turn must form a discrete area within a comprehensive immigration policy, which recognises people movements as a structural element of the global economy.

- Approaches to mobility and migration that are informed by human rights and governance and security dimensions will provide more security for the migrants, and for the region.

- Finally, humanitarian programs must sit within a policy response that aims to decrease the current huge disparity between rich and poor, thus removing many of the causal factors for irregular people movements.

Publication

The outcome of this workshop is likely to be of great interest to academics, policy makers and human rights activists. We are currently working towards the publication

of the papers presented, together with a select few from the Malaysia and Singapore Society 14th Colloquium (see below). Refereed and revised versions of selected papers will be published in special edited issues of the *Asian Studies Review* (Journal of the Asian Studies Association of Australia), *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* (UNESCO) and *UNEAC Asia Papers*.

The Malaysia and Singapore Society (MASSA) 14th Colloquium was held on 30 November–1 December, following the ASSA/UNESCO Workshop. Workshop participants stayed on for the MASSA colloquium (altogether about 50 participants, including representatives from Amnesty International and postgraduate students). This enabled MASSA members and doctoral students to interact with senior academics to enlarge the conceptual boundaries of discussion through comparative and interdisciplinary perspectives and disseminate best practices concerning the situation of migrants in society (Website: http://www.une.edu.au/malaysiasoc/14thColl.html).

Developing a Multi-disciplinary and Contemporary Understanding of Anzac Day in the New Millennium
Anne-Marie Hede

There is no doubt that Anzac Day has played a significant role in developing Australia's national identity. Australia however, like other countries around the globe, is experiencing great change resulting from a number of social, political, economic and environmental trends. Anzac Day is situated within this broader context. As such, in the New Millennium the ways in which Anzac Day is being constructed, perceived and interpreted, is moving into a new era. The workshop, held at Deakin University's Management Centre on the 22-23 November 2006, provided an opportunity for participants to critically examine Anzac Day and the way in which it has evolved, and to discuss the possible future of the Day and its associated commemorations.

The workshop brought together experts from a range of disciplines, including history, anthropology, political science, museology, theology, management, tourism and marketing. Representatives from the Australian War Memorial, The Shrine in Melbourne, the Department of Veterans' Affairs and the Returned Services League and the New Zealand Retired Services Association also participated in the workshop. Their contribution to the workshop was invaluable, as it grounded much of the theory of Anzac Day in the real world. Synopses were provided to participants prior to the workshop and presentations and discussions were focused within themes. Both the

presentations and their synopses were referred to when preparing this workshop report.

Participants were welcomed to the workshop by John Smart from the Bowater Trust, Deakin University. In his opening address, ASSA Fellow, Bruce Kapferer, from the University of Bergen, drew upon a range of theories and literatures in the social sciences, history, literature, art, and music to explore the notion of Anzac in Australia. He argued that the notion of Anzac, while initially and most explicitly communicated in 1915 as a result of the military campaign in Gallipoli, had already manifested itself in Australian society prior to this. In his presentation he referred to the work of Bentham, Hobson and Foucault, James Curran and Anton Smith. He drew upon his own work to highlight the place of ritual in the Anzac Day commemorations, and elucidated the power of ritual in constructing, communicating and interpreting identity. Professor Kapferer's opening address was compelling, and exemplified the value of a multi-disciplinary approach to the analysis of Anzac Day in the New Millennium.

In the first session, the Anzac Day March was examined from both the historical and contemporary perspectives. The role of this session was to set today's Anzac Day within its historical context. Bart Ziino noted that although the shape and emphases of the Anzac tradition were already well formed in 1915, only awaiting an event, a time and a place to emerge, Anzac Day, as it is known today, with its March, symbolic focus in memorials and service, has taken some time to emerge. Yet, in 1915, the struggle between solemnity and celebration were apparent on Anzac Day; similar to those that are emerging with regard to Anzac Day at Gallipoli today. In his presentation, Dr Ziino emphasised that Anzac Day has a basis in individual and communal experiences, and continues to find strength in the fusion of the personal and national memory.

Richard Reid, from the Department of Veterans' Affairs, Canberra, discussed the March, which he stated 'defines what the day is about, has always been about, for the veteran community'. He focused on the 1936 March in Adelaide to demonstrate the role of the March for the veteran community, and the role of the veteran community in its staging. Anzac Day in 1936 also commemorated the centenary of the signing of the colony; it harked back, through the medium of the March, to the European pioneer origins of the State. Dr Reid highlighted, however, that the 1936 March provided opportunities for local and visiting veterans to display their solidarity and identification with people who have had similar experiences, in a very public way. Veteran-readiness to march was explained by the fact that veterans wanted to march with their old units, thus explaining the popularity of the city-based services, where critical masses of veterans could be found. He then proceeded to describe the March and concluded his presentation by saying that this March was watched by large numbers of spectators, in absolute silence.

Garth Pratten from the Australian War Memorial focused on Anzac Day at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra, which is the site for the national observance of the day as well as the focus for local commemoration. His presentation explored the interaction between national and local commemoration. By surveying the nature of Anzac Day observance across the past 60 years he was able to gain some insights as to how the past may inform the future of Anzac Day commemorations in Canberra. While pageantry, spectacle, including re-enactment, and commentary are now included in the commemorations, his findings highlighted that the introduction of most changes has only occurred in the last five or six year. He concluded that Anzac Day at the Australian War Memorial will continue to evolve in the National Capital. However, change is often met with public opposition. So it is

likely that future changes will be slow, but have an incremental impact on the nature of the services.

From the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, Jean MacAuslan noted that it was in the early 1990s that the Trustees recognised the changing composition of the community, and the challenges this posed with regard to honouring the origins of the Anzac tradition. In the 21st century, the Shrine now seeks to position itself as a centre for education, without undermining the role of the Shrine as the pre-eminent site for the March in Melbourne. The newly-opened Visitor and Education Centres provide facilities for temporary exhibitions, school education and public programs that interpret stories of Victorians at war and in peacekeeping. Annual visitor evaluation reveals high community interest in the interpretive approach taken by the Shrine.

The second session examined some of the issues associated with Anzac Day commemorations both in Australia and overseas. Justine Digance discussed the dynamics of secular pilgrimage on Anzac Day, both at home and abroad. She suggested that the attendees at Anzac Day observances can be segmented into three groups: participants (servicemen and women – both active and returned), organisers and officials, and spectators. Members of these three groups clearly visit Anzac sites for varying motivations, including the search for national and personal identity; and for the spectacle of the event. Dr Digance posed a number of questions regarding the organisation of Anzac Day observances, including for whom are the events organised, and whether the interests of some groups ranked higher than others. She noted that recent changes in event organisation suggest that Anzac Day has been appropriated for political ends and nation building.

Jane Lydon discussed how globalisation has impacted heritage issues in relation to Gallipoli, and elaborated on some of the contestations surrounding the Gallipoli Peninsula, in particular. She noted the reaction of the Turkish Government when Prime Minister John Howard pledged that 'the Anzac site at Gallipoli should represent the first nomination for inclusion on the [new] National Heritage List'. The Turkish Government viewed this as compromising the sovereignty of the site. Eventually, the governments agreed to seek symbolic significance for the site. She further noted that the satisfying journeys into the past experienced by global travellers to the Gallipoli Peninsula can be viewed as the impetus for the tremendous controversy surrounding the road works carried out in 2005 on the Peninsula. Dr Lydon also noted the Anzac narrative exemplifies the process of selection and valorisation involved in the national deployment of the international heritage system, and can be contrasted with what cartoonist Cathy Wilcox depicted as the Australian government's concurrent refusal to acknowledge more unpalatable aspects of our past.

Anne-Marie Hede and John Hall turned to tourism to assist in explaining the increasing popularity of attendances at Anzac Day events overseas and at home. Dr Hede suggested that the synergies resulting from battlefield tourism, pilgrimage tourism and special event tourism give rise to an interesting future for Anzac Day commemorative events. The commemorative events held in Turkey on Anzac Day have become iconic, attracting large numbers of tourists, which in turn has had a ripple effect on attendances at home, as people seek to engage in the event in ways that are possible for them. She reported on primary research exploring the motives for attendance for events at home, which included those that can be described as obligatory, altruistic, and egoistic. Dr Hede concluded that the experience of

attendance at home is not to be underestimated in comparison to participation in those commemorative events held in Turkey. Thus, there are opportunities to address what is emerging as an imbalance in the value of attendance at Anzac Day events at home as compared to those events overseas, to assist in the alleviation of issues related to staging events of this type in often fragile, and contested, locations.

In the next session, the presentations focused on secular and sacred aspects of Anzac Day. How has Anzac Day become a sacred experience for Australians? Why might this have occurred? Bruce Scates and Father Andy Hamilton discussed these issues from very different frames of reference. Professor Scates explored the popular memory of the Great War through the historical experience of pilgrimage. He drew on interviews, surveys and archival testimony to explore the complex intersection between the personal and collective memory of the Great War and explained why Gallipoli has assumed an iconic place in Australian history. While conceding that the distinction between travel, tourism and pilgrimage is 'slippery', he argued that Anzac travellers, who may be on a more extensive journey than just to Turkey, demarcate the time spent in 'pilgrimage' from other aspects of their travel. Participants in Anzac Dawn Services in Turkey relate a sense of shared experience, with many describing it as an encounter with the metaphysical, which they appear to crave in a secular world, while enthusiastically embracing the ritual that mediates commemoration.

Andy Hamilton indicated that the connections between Anzac Day and theology have always been close. He demonstrated how the stories of Christian faith, and of the ancient people of Israel, provided resources that could readily be drawn upon to make this connection. The Anzacs, he said, died in some one else's war, far from home, in a battle that was unwisely entered and definitively lost on a few bare yards of seashore. The stories of the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt and their formation as a nation involved the deaths of martyrs, who were seen as the building blocks of a purified community. Thus, the central themes of these scriptures helped some people find reassurance and public meaning in the slaughter at Gallipoli. Father Hamilton reflected on Anzac Day today and suggested that people will continue to pursue larger meanings in the events of Gallipoli. Many groups will be eager to propose such meanings, which give defined shape to the story of Australia; these groups may co-opt religious themes to support them. For that reason, the meanings given to Anzac Day will continue to beg scrutiny.

On the second day of the workshop, the first session explored how the 'story' of Anzac Day is currently being told in museums, in schools and on the battlefields. Ross Bastiaan discussed his motivations and the challenges he has faced in designing and positioning 180 bronze memorials in battlefields around the world during the last two decades. His work has been voluntary, with private funding of over $650,000, which has assisted him to remain independent of all government and other organisations. The success of his plaques is obvious: thousands of visitors use those at Gallipoli, for example, as part of a walking tour of the battlefield. He concluded by suggesting that while a person's experience of a visit to an old battlefield varies, the emotion remains embedded as a 'touchstone' to the past and forever altering the perception and appreciation of Anzac Day.

Following Dr Bastiaan, Veccihi Basarin and Kevin Fewster told the story of the involvement of the Turks in Anzac Day commemorations. They noted that in 1972, less than four years after arriving in Australia, a small band of Turks marched in Sydney's Anzac Day parade behind a banner declaring '*Turkish Australian Friendship*

Will Never Die'. At the level of official diplomatic relations, first steps to build closer diplomatic ties through Gallipoli remembrance were taken in 1985 when a small group of Australian veterans returned to Gallipoli to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the campaign. Virtually every year since 1990, the Australian Government has been represented at the Anzac Cove service. Turks now march every year in Melbourne, Adelaide, Hobart, Canberra and Sydney in the Anzac Day parade. In less than a decade from now, Australia and Turkey will mark the centenary of the Gallipoli campaign. Each country has indicated a hope that they will come together to acknowledge their shared Gallipoli inheritance, in addition to the individual events each nation organises to honour their fallen. They have also suggested some joint projects to commemorate the centenary, including the raising of the Australian submarine *AE*2 for conservation and eventual display at Canakkale, and the planting of a one million tree forest on the Peninsula, away from the battlefields, to remember and honour the million men who fought there.

Ruth Rentschler then examined the way in which museums are telling the Anzac story in the era of online communications. Online technologies complement the telling of Anzac Day stories within the museum context. Indeed, telling Anzac Day stories online has moved beyond the museum website to those of individuals, as military historians. Twenty-seven web sites were analysed in Australia and New Zealand and four in-depth interviews were conducted. Professor Rentschler concluded that while some stories are told by embracing new technologies to encourage new audiences, the majority of web sites are yet to take up the opportunities offered by these technological advances, although this was more the case with the museum websites surveyed than the government departments and individual websites telling Anzac stories. The onus, she affirmed, is on museums to remain relevant by ensuring that they stay abreast of innovation and public interest in the online world of Anzac Day stories. Other government institutions, such as the Department of Veterans' Affairs as well as individuals interested in military history, are taking up the challenge and embracing the technologies.

The purpose of the final session was to explore how Anzac Day has been represented, and who has been represented in Anzac Day, in the social and political arenas. Cameron Forbes discussed how Australian prisoners of war fit into the Anzac tradition, and argued that the contribution of these Australians deserves to be part of the Anzac myth. He noted that while all suffered during war; many died. Indeed the death rate of prisoners of war was greater proportionately than the death rate of soldiers in action. His presentation focused on the prisoners of war at Hell Fire Pass. He highlighted the emotionality of the site and the way in which is it regarded now as a place of pilgrimage, similar to Gallipoli. His presentation showed that Australian prisoners of war are often a forgotten set of participants in our military history, yet among those that Mr Forbes has interviewed, along with their families, self-perception is as soldiers of war. This requires consideration in the memory and mythologising of Anzac Day.

Catherine Speck noted that Anzac Day is popularly thought of as a day for returned soldiers, despite the fact that many women's services groups participate in the March, as they have done for many years. While for many women, Anzac Day has become a symbolic day of protest for those wanting to publicly demonstrate their protest for the violence done to women during war-time, Dr Speck reported on the emergence of Anzac Day memorials and ceremonies shortly after 1915, which were commissioned

and organised by patriotic women's groups. Her presentation examined these groups, and the symbolism these women sought in the memorials they commissioned, and then assembled at in services at Woolloomooloo, Melbourne, Brisbane, and Adelaide. She concluded that in the New Millennium, the language used in Anzac Day ceremonies is still very male oriented and does not adequately reflect the differing but important contributions of men and women to the notion of Anzac. She suggested that women's memorials should become an increasing focus in Anzac Day ceremonies.

Mark McKenna provided a critical reading of Anzac Day as practised in recent times, providing the first detailed analysis of its politics by examining a range of sources – Prime Ministerial speeches, parliamentary debates, media coverage, Labor and minor party statements on Anzac Day. He argued that since the early 1990s, Australians appear to have lost the ability (or inclination) to debate Anzac Day, and while military history is booming in Australia, he found that there has been little attempt to analyse the politics of Anzac Day over the last decade. He suggested that while Australians were once extremely uncomfortable with public displays of nationalism, they now appear to be ready to embrace a more earnest, if not pious, nationalism. He suggested that the resurgence of Anzac Day raises several urgent questions, including those associated with whether Anzac has become the core narrative in which Australian 'values' are to be expressed most powerfully, and whether the contemporary rituals of Anzac Day encourage the remembering of the loss of thousands of Turkish, British, French, New Zealand and Australian lives in 1915. He concluded by suggesting that much work needs to be done before the resurgence of Anzac Day can be fully explained.

The New Zealand perspective

The workshop convenors felt that it was important to include a New Zealand perspective into the workshop proceedings. Stephen Clarke, who is the Historian for the New Zealand Returned Services Association participated in the workshop. In the closing sessions, Dr Clarke's presentation provided a synopsis of how Anzac Day is emerging in the New Millennium in New Zealand. He provided excerpts from the coverage of Anzac Day in 2006 which was televised by Maori Television. This highlighted the differences in the way in which Anzac Day is being embraced by Australians and New Zealanders particularly with regard to the contribution of Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Dr Clarke provided insights into the traditions and rituals of Anzac Day in New Zealand demonstrating that while the day may have relevance to Australia and New Zealand, cultural differences have contributed to the development of unique rituals and traditions.

Summary and key issues emerging from the workshop

While all participants were already cognisant of the increasing participation of younger generations at Anzac Day events, it became clear through the workshop that very little is known about this group's motivations, their experiences and the outcomes of their participation in Anzac Day commemorations. Further inquiry is required. It was further acknowledged that members of younger generations will increasingly play the role of custodian of Anzac Day events. Thus information is needed about this group of attendees and their perceptions of their future custodian role.

An underlying theme emerged at the workshop that there is a constant tension between 'authentic remembrance of those who served and died for their nation' and the mythologising of Anzac for nationalistic or political purposes. There is a need, therefore, to understand better the contemporary cultural, social, political and

economic forces that are contributing to the emphasis that is being placed on the notion of Anzac and Anzac Day. It was agreed that policy makers and researchers should actively situate the notion of Anzac more broadly within the context of Australia's past and present and explore the origins, meanings and interpretations of Anzac in a critical, non-subjective, manner, that is, less myth and sentimentality, and more fact. Overall, policies that discourage the political misappropriation of Anzac (linking mythical Anzac values to Australian national identity) were thought to be the way of the future.

It was noted that the rituals of Anzac Day, namely the Dawn Service, The March, and the socialising on the day, including Two-up, have remained reasonably consistent over time. Furthermore, it was also noted that when changes have been made to Anzac Day rituals, they have very often met with little success. Hence, it was agreed that the consistency of Anzac Day rituals has afforded Anzac Day events their power. While there is perhaps the temptation to change the rituals of Anzac Day in response to 'new audiences' for Anzac Day events, it was noted that this approach would likely undermine the value of Anzac Day for contemporary and future Australians.

Globalisation, mass tourism, battlefield tourism, pilgrimage tourism and special event tourism, and the involvement of the media, were noted to have contributed to an unbalanced emphasis on Anzac Day events which are held in Turkey, and in other major destinations. In light of the often fragile, and contested, landscapes where many Anzac Day events are held, and the intensity of the emotional experiences at other, less sensitive sites, it was agreed that it would be useful to begin to address this imbalance. Regional locations for commemorations provide a powerful vehicle with which to address this imbalance.

The workshop discussions highlighted that, in the New Millennium, Anzac Day and its commemorations are continually being constructed, perceived and interpreted. New tools of communication, including the Internet, are being used to assist in these processes. They also pose challenges to authenticity and accuracy with regard to Anzac Day, and other military campaigns. Anzac Day and its narratives are complex, and not unproblematic. While Anzac Day has generally been seen to be emblematic of Australian culture, in the New Millennium its role is fluid and open to individual construction and interpretation.

Workshop participants agreed that there is a need to provide opportunities for community groups and their members (particularly those that are very often marginalised, such as women, Indigenous people, multicultural communities, prisoners of war, conscientious objectors) to tell their *own* narratives in relation to Anzac, and to participate more fully in Anzac Day commemorations. These narratives contribute to our understanding of how the notion of Anzac impacts contemporary Australians as they draw on collective and personal memories. The role of museums, and their curators, in this process was viewed as being highly important, as these entities very often initiate and manage the process of dissemination of personal narratives through exhibitions and websites, for example.

Acknowledgements

Waddell and John Hall gratefully thank those organisations that provided financial support towards the workshop. Other participants at the workshop were Margaret Deery, Hadyn Shell from the Geelong Returned Services League and Kate-Darian Smith. Rob Pascoe was unable to attend the workshop, but provided a paper he had prepared on the relationship between Anzac Day and sport which was available for workshop participants. Preparations are now being made to publishing material from the workshop in an edited book of proceedings.

Communicating the Gendered Impact of Economic Policies
Siobhan Austen, Therese Jefferson and Rhonda Sharp

The workshop 'Communicating the Gendered Impacts of Economic Policies' was held at the University of New South Wales in December 2006. It was the culmination of more than a year's planning and discussion that was inspired originally by a reading of Ingrid Palmer's analysis of reproductive taxes.[1] These taxes take into account the way in which specific public policies allocate the burden of social reproduction to certain social or demographic groups, creating long and short term inefficiencies and inequities. We were also influenced by important epistemological discussions within feminist economics on how and why significant issues affecting women are often omitted from public debate.[2]

The workshop brought together academics, policy makers and post graduate students in a discussion of a specific set of public policies affecting women - namely those relating to retirement incomes. The choice of this focus was motivated, in large part, by our research in the field, which has highlighted how the shift in emphasis towards occupational superannuation has increased the costs and risks for women who invest in social reproduction. We saw a need to take stock of current research on women's retirement income security in Australia and to identify future research and policy priorities. We also perceived a need for discussion of the politics of retirement incomes policy including the current barriers to the effective communication of research on the inequities faced by older women.

The first day of the workshop ran as a special session of the 5th Annual Conference of the Society of Heterodox Economists (SHE). This conference hosts panels of the International Association of Feminist Economics (IAFE) papers each year and, thus, has priorities and a membership that overlap those of the workshop. The initial workshop session comprised a set of papers that established the gendered nature of retirement incomes and retirement incomes policy. Rhonda Sharp (University of South Australia) and Siobhan Austen (Curtin) began the discussion with 'The female-friendliest treasurer of them all', a paper that explored the most recent set of budgetary changes in relation to superannuation and argued the centrality of the need

for a gender analysis of the budget for equitable and efficient economic policy. The changes proposed in the 11th budget of the Howard/Costello government contained a range of concessional tax measures designed to 'simplify and streamline' private savings for retirement, including the removal of income taxation from superannuation pensions and lump sums for people 60 years and over. These tax concessions involve significant revenue losses to the budget. They are estimated by federal Treasury to add over $2 billion each year to the existing $15.5 billion (2005-06) of superannuation taxation expenditures.[3] The paper identified the groups most able to take advantage of the new tax concessions to superannuation as being income and flexible-asset rich Australians. Potential gender impacts were identified via the link between tax expenditures applied to a progressive marginal rate structure and the allocation of the greatest gains to those on the highest marginal rates of tax, who are disproportionately men. Similarly, the incentives for small business and property owners to transfer assets to superannuation were identified as favouring men over women because of the unequal gender distribution of transferable wealth. The use of superannuation tax concessions to promote women's retirement income security was also identified as problematic as they are likely to exacerbate existing gender, as well as class-based inequalities in retirement incomes. The paper also raised the spectre of real expenditures on the age pension being jeopardised by the initiatives, with important consequences for the majority of women who depend on this source of retirement income. Concerns were expressed that despite the significant potential gender impacts of the 2006-07 budgetary changes in relation to superannuation, the website of the Federal Office of the Status of Women lacks any analysis of the budget's impact on women.

'Will you still need me, will you still feed me, when I'm 64: women's prospects for retirement' by Diana Olsberg (UNSW) added detail on the poor prospects for retirement income confronting many Australian women. After introducing her work with a song, Diana used the results of her extensive research projects to demonstrate that the prospects for retirement lifestyles for the majority of older women continue to be dismal. She related this to women's continuing marginal attachment to the labour force and their attendant low levels of lifetime income in the paid workforce. Diana observed that most women *knew* that they didn't earn a 'savings wage' and that many women's strong desire for independence in retirement would be frustrated by a lack of financial security.

Simon Kelly's (University of Canberra) paper 'Will compulsory superannuation make a significant difference to women's financial well being in retirement?' provided a set of complementary findings. His paper reported individual data collected by the ABS on the financial situation of various baby boomer groups as they enter retirement. It showed that a large gap exists between the average superannuation balances of Australian women and the estimated financial requirements of a comfortable lifestyle. A similar disparity was shown to exist for those Australians relying on the age pension for their retirement income. Kelly pointed to the gender disparities in superannuation accumulations among baby boomers, with male baby boomers having median accumulations of $30,000, compared with women's $8,000. Also of concern were some indications that baby boomers have unrealistic expectations of the likely income streams that might be generated by their superannuation accumulations. The paper contributed insights into not only the long term financial implications of women's

patterns of unpaid work but also the need for more effective communication of the long term implications of life-time savings patterns.

In sum, the first set of papers emphasised the presence of large and continuing gender-based inequalities in the outcomes of current retirement income policy. They highlighted the importance of women's roles in social reproduction – and their consequent inability to accumulate large superannuation balances – in determining the gender bias of the current system. However, a number of additional themes were also apparent in this part of the discussions (all of which re-emerged later in the workshop): a) Women's limited ability access to/willingness to trust the financial planning industry; b) Diversity and change in women's expectations and aspirations for retirement; and c) Barriers to women's ability to have their needs and interests represented in the use of their partner's superannuation savings.

A wide range of other research papers were presented on Day 1 of the workshop. Issues relating to financial literacy were a focus of papers by Therese Jefferson (Curtin), ' Discussing retirement: Interviews with thirty Western Australian women'; Marilyn Clark-Murphy (Edith Cowan) 'Decision making clusters and gender issues in retirement savings'; and Susan Wagland (Western Sydney) 'Financial literacy in the context of literacy in general'. A common theme of these papers was the relatively poor engagement of women with the products and terminology associated with a privatised retirement income system. Therese Jefferson identified how some of the most fundamental financial and economic concepts, such as savings and retirement, do not have equivalent meanings when applied to men's and women's lives. These papers emphasised the long term nature of effective retirement savings and the need for women's continued engagement in saving strategies during life cycle stages closely associated with social reproductive roles. It appears that many women undertaking caring roles do not perceive that they are not 'working', nor do they necessarily identify a time in their lives when they will cease 'working'. At the same time however, many are not significantly engaged with the resources and processes associated with paid work that allow access to long term savings plans such as occupational superannuation and the institutional supports that improve literacy and understanding of such plans.

Therese made a strong argument for research and policy to take care to appreciate the links between women's decision-making contexts, processes and outcomes and the ways these affect future access to economic resources.

Marilyn Clark-Murphy presented challenging data on the superannuation choices being made by young Australian women, showing that many are opting for low-risk, low-return strategies that are likely to limit their chances of securing an adequate retirement income. Susan Wagland's findings were complementary, indicating that many Australian women (and men) lack the necessary skills to respond to the large and complex flows of information about superannuation and other retirement income products.

The links between women's role in social reproduction and poor retirement incomes were central to papers contributed by Sarah Squire (Sex Discrimination Unit, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission), Christine Everingham (Newcastle), Penny Warner Smith (Newcastle), Julie Smith (ANU) and Patricia Apps and Margi Wood (Sydney and ANU). Sarah highlighted HREOC's recent 'Striking the Balance: Women, men, work and family' project, which examines paid work and family responsibilities across the life course. She presented data on women's low rates of

labour force participation, especially in their 40s, 50s and 60s, and identified the relevance of a broad range of policies – such as those on maternity leave and child care – to women's retirement income prospects.

Penny Warner Smith drew on the findings of the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health to focus attention on the retirement choices of Australian women. Confirming Therese Jefferson's observations on the uncertain meaning of retirement for many women, Penny identified that many women do not know when they will retire. She also noted that, for many women, the ability to remain engaged in paid work is heavily dependent both on their health and their care roles. She asserted that the availability of child care was important to the ability of grandmothers to remain in paid work – and, thus, build their retirement incomes. Reduced working hours were also important to the relationship between health, employment and wellbeing.

Christine Everingham also reported on research undertaken through the Australian Longitudinal Survey of Women's Health. Her qualitative research produced results which challenge the notion of *a* model of retirement. Rather, diversity characterises the retirement planning and experiences of Australian women. Christine emphasised that whilst 'flexibility' in hours and working conditions offered some women the opportunity to successfully extend their working lives and build retirement savings, for other women 'flexibility' summarised their lack of control of their working time. Single mothers appeared in Christine's research as a particularly vulnerable group in the labour market, and she made a strong assertion that care must be taken *not* to assume that extending years at work would be positive for. or welcomed by, all women.

The efficiency aspects of this debate were brought to the fore in Julie Smith's and Patricia Apps' presentations. Julie utilised unique time use data on the activities of new mothers to demonstrate the large resource costs associated with the care of infants. She noted the economic imperative to have these costs reflected in health, labour market and family policies, arguing that large costs would be involved in the replacing of maternal care of infants with comparable quality market-based childcare services. Supporting Sarah Squire's observations, Julie argued for maternity leave as a way of providing cost-effective quality infant care, as well as improving gender equity in the short and long term.

Patricia Apps and Margi Wood's paper 'Superannuation, labour supply and gender equity' critiqued the efficiency of government mandated systems of superannuation. They argued that retirement incomes policy has been mistakenly represented in Australia as a 'savings problem'. If policymakers were to recognise retirement income as an insurance (against the risk of longevity) problem, then the need to increase output of the working population to pay for the total dependency ratio (comprising the retired and the children) becomes clearer. This requires policies to support women's participation in the paid workforce. In their analysis, low rates of labour force participation and hours of work are the product of high marginal effective tax rates on secondary income earners in Australian households, as well as inadequate childcare provision. Addressing these distortions in Australia's taxation and benefit systems are prerequisites for ensuring gender equity in retirement incomes.

The proceedings on the second day of the workshop were structured in a less formal fashion. Our aim was to achieve an open and frank discussion of current approaches to policy, research and strategies to communicate research findings. The policy

session featured the contributions of Susan Ryan AO (Australian Institute of Superannuation Trustees) who was able to draw on her long involvement in policy development and in the superannuation industry to identify some of the gains that have been made in improving women's retirement incomes, as well as the major obstacles to change. She argued that Australia was the envy of other countries with its high level of occupational superannuation membership. Diana Olsberg was able to recount her experiences in the administration of university-based superannuation schemes. She highlighted the gains achieved by women in the sector in recent years but cautioned on the need for continued efforts to ensure more women were represented in the management of superannuation funds. Rhonda Sharp contributed a critical view of occupational superannuation, sparking an extensive debate on the efficiency of current policy settings and the potentials for change.

The discussion of communication strategies was also lively. Adele Horin (*Sydney Morning Herald*) challenged researchers to identify *new* messages on women's retirement incomes that would capture the imaginations of readers (and editors!). She described the increased competition for space in Australian newspapers but emphasised the continued interest in well-researched and written analyses. Other participants in this discussion identified additional constraints on the ability to translate research on women's economic insecurity into policy change. These ranged from the reduced role of trade unions in the setting of retirement incomes policy to the diminished influence of dedicated women's policy offices at, especially, the federal level. However, a positive perspective emerged with a call to use the results of the workshop to initiate the development of a research-based policy strategy on women's retirement incomes.

In summary, the emphasis on retirement incomes provided a specific focus that addressed the two key concepts underlying the broad goals of this workshop. Firstly, addressing the issue of retirement incomes gave researchers an opportunity to consider the life-time income effects of women's patterns of paid work. This in turn, brought the costs, or 'reproduction taxes' of women's social reproduction and caring roles into sharp relief. Secondly, the relevance of retirement incomes and patterns of workforce participation are key policy issues to be considered in the context of Australia's ageing demographic profile. Discussion about the need for effectively improving the communication of the gendered effects of social and economic policy was particularly successful and generated keen input from all participants.

The research papers from the workshop will be assembled and published in coming months.

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[1]   Palmer, Ingrid (1995). 'Public finance from a gendered perspective', *World Development* 23, 11:1981-1986.

[2]   Bakker, Issabella (1994). *The strategic silence: Gender and economic policy*, London: Zed Books in association with the North-South Institute.

[3]   One of the issues is that detailed costings have not been undertaken so the opportunity cost of the loss of future revenues remains unclear. One participant argued that the behavioural effects of the tax concessions can have a positive impact on future revenues and expenditures.

Books

Trustees on Trial: Recovering the stolen wages. By Rosalind Kidd. Aboriginal Studies Press, 2007. ISBN: 0-85575-546-6. $34.95.

It is arguable that without the research work done by Rosalind Kidd, the stolen wages issues would not have the legal and political traction it now has. Her commitment to scouring the archives and her ability to locate and access documents from a bureaucracy that was keen to cover its tracks is a gripping story in and of itself.

Kidd has now published a book on this subject and is well placed to provide an expert historian's analysis of how the Queensland government controlled the wages and pensions of Aboriginal people and effectively stole them. *Trustees on Trial: Recovering the Stolen Wages* is a perfect balance of fact and passion that makes a measured but substantiated argument that the Queensland government should be held to account for its behaviour.

Kidd compares the actions of the Queensland government against international human rights standards to show how systematic and unconscionable the abuse of power was. Using the government's own records, she shows the lack of accountability and the flagrant disregard of the rights of Indigenous people who were left to live in abject poverty while their labour was exploited. Kidd details the complicity of the legal system in allowing this exploitation to occur in such an entrenched way, but also pursues the arguments that can be used from precedents within Australia and overseas to hold the state responsible for its actions.

While Kidd's research focuses mostly on the actions of the Queensland government, there are parallels between what happened in that state and what happened in other jurisdictions. This means the narrative and arguments in Kidd's book will have relevance around the country.

Already her work has been instrumental in bringing legal action and political pressure to bear in both Queensland and New South Wales, proof of the strength of her research and a testament to her tenacity. The Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee relied heavily on Kidd's work. She has also been able to use her understanding of the stolen wages issue to campaign about how minimal and insulting the proposed reparations packages being offered to those affected are.

Trustees on Trial is a book of careful research and solid argument. That the work which informed it has had such impact in getting some form of justice for those whose lives Kidd has chronicled shows how powerful careful research can be in assisting Aboriginal people achieve social justice.

Larissa Behrendt