

Chapter 3

Beyond State Containerism

Implications for Containing Capitalism and Protecting the Environment

3.1 Emotions, Rationality and Ethical Policy Responses to Diversity

The chapter explores the options for social democracy and ways to enhance an ethical approach to post-national governance. It argues for enfranchising the voiceless and acting as stewards for future generations. The chapter attempts to develop a coherent argument for participatory democracy and governance to respond to diversity within and across national boundaries. Cosmopolitan praxis on democratic rights and responsibilities is discussed. We need to understand evolution and consciousness and design. Evolution includes both competition and collaboration as survival options that enable adaptation to the environment.

It responds to the issue highlighted by Bostrom (2011, p. 11), namely that humanity needs to avoid irreversible levels of risk, despite not being able to calculate the *exact risk* and that it is wise not to court disaster, if it is possible to avoid it by living more sustainably. He stresses that ironically despite the high levels of risk, little academic research has been undertaken as recorded in Scopus and that exact calculations are a misguided basis for governance interventions. Governments have moved to implement economic austerity measures to rescue an economic system that is part of the problem, not part of the solution. Mainstream media outlets that have supported these systems are no longer able to silence the protests. The protests are either against (a) business as usual or (b) exclusion from access to a share of the resources, based on criteria such as citizenship, class or race. It is hardly surprising that voters do not wish to swallow the bitter pill of austerity measures (Wilson 2012) that will only erode wellbeing even further. Thus, the rationale for the chapter and the programme of research (on which it is based) is that food and energy are the bases for human wellbeing and security, but current approaches are unsustainable and do not foster global stewardship. In order to address convergent challenges we need to redesign the future. This requires the will to do things differently. Social, economic and environmental factors affect wellbeing, according to Stiglitz et al. (2010).

According to Bostrom (2011, p. 29), technological change is necessary but a number of barriers exist, such as:

Multidisciplinary and epistemological challenges, academic distractions and diversions, cognitive biases, freeidisci problems, moral lethargy and scopelems, moral let institutional incompetence, and the political exploitation of unquantifiable threats are thus some of the barriers to effective mitigation. To these we can add the difficulty of achieving required levels of global cooperation. While some existential risks can be tackled unilaterally—any state with a space industry could build a global defense against asteroid impacts—other risks require a joint venture between many states. Management of the global climate may require buye barr an overwhelming majority of industrialized and industrializing nations. Avoidance of arms races and relinquishment of dangerous directions of technological research may require that all states join the effort, since a single defector could annul any benefits of collaboration. Some future dangers might even require that each state monitor and regulate every significant group or individual within its territory.

The chapter does not intend to rehearse definitions of convergent social, economic and environmental risk, instead it poses (following Bostrom 2011) that humanity faces existential risk that needs to be addressed through a rapid enhancement of our ability to think critically and systemically, in order to adapt to and mitigate the effects of climate change wherever possible. The ‘U turn’ from a carbon-based economy may be the result of a rapid economic market failure which has unfolded since the 2008 economic crisis. The market failure is expressed as climate change and extremes of poverty and increasing unrest and increased numbers of climate change asylum seekers (Stern 2006). A future will require reframing a failed economics not merely through measuring indicators of wellbeing (as suggested by Stiglitz et al.) but also through engaging people in the process of reframing their futures, in order that the indicators are local and culturally meaningful. Since the commission on wellbeing that was requested by Sarkoszy and the book that resulted from it, called *Mismeasuring Our Lives* (Stiglitz et al. 2010), the global financial crisis (GFC) has escalated to a social and environmental crisis that continues to unfold. Leading economists and development theorists, such as Stiglitz et al. (2011, p. 5) stress,

We are also facing a looming social and environmental crisis especially associated with global warming. Market processes are distorted by the fact that there is no charge imposed on carbon emissions; and no account is made of the cost of these emissions in standard national income accounts. Clearly, measures of economic performance that reflected these environmental costs might look markedly different from standard measures.

The challenge is to understand that we are the land—and that measuring a carbon footprint is merely a response to the problems we have created through extraction of surplus from the land and labour. Our understanding of who we are and how we relate to one another is a starting point for exploring the points made by an Australian academic Rose Bird (1996, 2004) who writes about identity, research and alienation. I am trying to develop a response to this alienation by applying an approach to research that decentres the researcher and empowers participants to address wellbeing and the implications it has for our identity and ‘being in the world’ and the way we are consuming resources.

By drawing a line or ‘mastering’ disciplines, we are fragmenting ourselves and denying that ‘we are the land’ and that we return to the elements of life when we die. In turn, we become the ancestors and nurture the land from which new life grows. Bird argues that building capacity to understand our role as caretakers

requires recognizing the colonial mindset as a first step. This is vital without adopting a naïve approach that indigeneity has all the answers. The chapter begins by critically reviewing the viewpoints of Stiglitz et al. (2010) who in response to the crisis in Europe were asked (ironically) by Sarkozy to address the challenges facing the eroding quality of life. The austerity measures of Merkel and Sarkozy in response to the financial crisis have led to plummeting quality of life. They stress that economic models simplify complexity and that models need to factor in the costs to wellbeing by valuing the fabric of life and the quality of life through developing indicators.¹

But in valuing the fabric of life, if water, air and earth are given a price—who will pay for protecting the common good? Surely not the very poor? This falls into the trap once again of commodification. Transboundary democracy and governance for accounting and accountability may be considered problematic by many for diverse reasons, such as: Why should people save resources, so that others can squander them? How can we ensure that everyone has a fair share? The global commons needs to provide the basis of life for all which means that commodification of the planet—through giving it a price—could be a dangerous way forward. Another dangerous approach is leaning too far towards humanism and anthropocentrism. Rights without responsibilities cannot sustain the fabric of life for the next generation. Sen stresses the need to build capabilities to develop education and quality of life for the development not only amongst the illiterate and innumerate but also amongst the profligate bankers who awarded themselves profits and parcelled up the debt for others to bear the burden. The will to do things differently is lacking, not the means to make a difference. Held (2005) cites data cited from the World Bank² that 3 billion people live on <US\$ 2.50 per day. The will to make a difference is the challenge.³

¹ The past president of the World Bank, Professor Joseph Stiglitz links wellbeing with economics in a recent address to the Australian Productivity Commission. He has published a book together with Professor Amartya Sen, entitled *Mismeasuring Our Lives*. Sen discusses the role of social inclusion in discussions on climate change and building capacity. They link quality of life, perceived wellbeing about what we value and our attitudes towards the environment and living in ways that develop and protect stocks for the future. They stress the need to transform our attitudes towards productivity and consumption. Tim Flannery, winner of the Australia Award for his thinking on climate change, has also stressed that we need to think about intergenerational wellbeing and what kind of future we wish to bequeath to our grandchildren. Emeritus Professor Alexander Christakis of Global Agoras, together with Flanagan, Bausch and his team have stressed the importance of democratic engagement to enhance an understanding of climate change. Recently, Professor Wilkinson, together with Pickett linked social inclusion in more equal societies with better quality of life in their book entitled *The Spirit Level*. Sen and Flannery stress that a better quality of life is linked with a demographic transition to smaller population growth rates. Furthermore, the current winner of the Sydney Peace Prize, Dr. Vandana Shiva, a physicist, links wellbeing with the protection of our food supplies; whilst Murray a senior academic physicist at the University of Sydney links the size of our carbon footprint with the wellbeing of our whole region. Olive Veverbrants, an Arrerrente Australian, stressed ‘the earth is our mother’ and we depend on it for our survival.

² <http://www.globalissues.org/article/26/poverty-facts-and-stats#fact2>.

³ According to Held (2005, pp. 33–34):

We may lack the will but it cannot be said that we lack the means. A few telling examples make the point. The UN budget is \$ 1.25 billion plus the necessary finance for peace keeping

In Greece, the right to speak out against the draconian measures to stem the debt crisis raises the question to what extent the EU is an exercise in democracy or an exercise in despotism. Only Ireland has given its citizens the right to a referendum. The centralist approaches in Europe are driven by technocrats and supported by Merkel and Sarkozy.⁴ But the election of more socialist leaders could play a role in re-shaping the future. In what direction will transformation move? This chapter explores the policy and political implications for each option with reference to case studies and some of my own research challenges. The options are:

1. Peaceful prefiguring of change at a local level, supported by participatory democracy and governance
2. Wide protests through Occupy Wall Street movements and boycotts
3. Lawless regions

The implications of option 1 could result in an escalation of protests and anarchy that leads to change. Small adjustments are only useful if they are used to test out practical ways to redress the looming crisis. Doing nothing is not a viable option.⁵ The theme of global stewardship will be addressed by the following questions:

- Could participation enhance awareness of environmental concerns by enabling people to join up the dots by means of narratives and discussing scenarios about the implications of consumption?
- In what ways can we extend our capability to think about multiple variables and thus enable compassion for those beyond the smaller communities in which we evolved?

Resilience will be determined by the ability of local communities to respond to convergent disasters by being aware of their local resources and being able to mobilize them. This requires not only reliable digital communication networks (powered by a range of means—radio, Internet and traditional alarm systems such as bells or sirens) but also a dense community network based on a sense of neighbourhood. This has been jeopardised or lost as people have led increasingly isolated and mobile

per annum. Against this, US citizens spend over \$ 8 billion per annum on cosmetics, 27 billion per annum on confectionery, 70 billion per annum on alcohol and over 560 billion per annum on cars.... Or take the European Union: its citizens spend 11 billion per annum on ice cream 150 billion on cigarettes and alcohol; while the EU and the US together spend over 17 billion per annum on pet food.... What do we require to make a substantial difference to the basic wellbeing of the world's poorest? Again the statistics are available. Required would be 6 billion per annum on basic education, 9 billion per annum for water and sanitation, 12 billion per annum for the reproductive health of women, 13 billion per annum for basic health nutrition.... These figures are substantial, but when judged against the major consumption expenditure in the US and EU they are not beyond our reach. Moreover if all the OECD agricultural subsidies were removed and spent on the world's poorest peoples this would release some 300 billion per annum.... In addition a small shift between military and aid budgets—900 and 50 billion a year globally would make a marked difference to the human security agenda....

⁴ Drummond, M. 2012 'Technocrats face voter backlash' Financial Review March 17–18, p. 54.

⁵ The long view on climate change, Editorial Comment, Sydney Morning Herald Friday 16th March p. 10.

lives. Neighbours need to be encouraged to develop networks of community support such as meeting around locally grown food. A digital scorecard approach based on enabling members of the community to think through all their social, economic and environmental assets and risks along with participation in ways to address them. The digital scorecard is tested to ascertain the extent to which it encourages participation in thinking about the implications of our consumption choices. The research has been funded by the Australian Local Government Association and is currently in progress (McIntyre-Mills and de Vries 2011).

Why is democracy good, desirable or attractive to others? Why should democracy and associated forms of representative and accountable governance help to address climate change adaptation or mitigation? How does the research contribute to achieving transformation? The participatory action research with the most marginalized Australians and the residents of Middleville has explored ways to implement service delivery and engagement that balance individual and collective needs. It is likely that a digital future is inevitable, unless the convergent changes are so rapid that it leads to the disruption or collapse of current infrastructures. In this context, the engagement of local people in isolated communities that are self-reliant will become increasingly important. The ‘small is beautiful’ philosophy of Schumacher (1973) is perhaps the most appealing future. But with the rapid rate of population growth, the upward thrust of cities that are digitally controlled seems inevitable. Perhaps Dubai will be writ large across a landscape? Perhaps the greening of cities in the sky could be combined with low-density living? The danger exists that without controls from below, elites living in an Orwellian future will create gilded, gated zones for themselves and that the proletariat will live in underserved ghettos or regions.

So why has our research focused on the most marginalized and the middle classes? We want to establish what people perceive as quality of life and wellbeing and what they are prepared to do to adapt to risks and to mitigate risks. To date, we have found that wellbeing is associated with a sense of place and being connected to others. More controls ‘from below’ through face-to-face and online engagement is needed to support social and environmental justice. This goal could be fostered by mainstreaming new forms of surveillance ‘from below’ to monitor the use and distribution of social, economic and environmental resources and to match services and responses to address their needs.

The chapter begins by sketching out scenarios for the future. Why is the research on pathways to wellbeing undertaken? Existential risk cannot be measured, nor can a single pathway provide a way out of the social, economic and environmental challenges that will affect wellbeing. Webs support wellbeing, not single pathways. But by reconceptualising our relationships to others and the environment, we may be able to make a difference in multiple ways. Conceptual and spatial boundaries are constructed, but boundary questions and decisions are part of the democracy and governance context that are addressed in this chapter. In order to address convergent challenges we need to redesign the future. This requires the will to do things differently. Social, economic and environmental factors affect wellbeing, according to Stiglitz et al. (2010). According to Stiglitz, the essence of the commission’s findings

is that wealth needs to include stocks for the future. These are social, economic and environmental. Leisure should also be given a price. If all measures consider wellbeing in terms of median households, then consumption, wealth and income could be compared with rich and poor households.⁶ Together with vulnerability to job loss, many urban residents also face risks associated with fires, flood and drought.⁷ Despite the increased risks faced by many in Australia, climate change deniers, such as Christopher Pearson (2012),⁸ are able to claim: ‘Eco-zealots presume to endanger our economy: a declaration of war on coal disrespects 40,000 workers and their families.’ If Ray Finkelstein’s media inquiry report was applied, then comments such as ‘...there’ll be a lot more of this malarkey before global warming anxieties eventually die down...’ would be regarded as inappropriate at best and would need to be accompanied by the facts of global warming. It is questionable as to whether freedom of speech that undermines the rights of others and the environment should be allowed. In this respect, media controls could support democracy so that enlightened debate, rather than ignorance, could be fostered. But the problem with media control in any country is that they could lead to an erosion of democracy per se. It is better to be able to develop critical systemic thinking skills so that the general public develop the capability to read through newspapers and to identify the arguments that are pro the zero-sum approach (that is containerist and denies the impact on wellbeing).⁹ The zero-sum approach is based on the idea that the nation states are ‘like lifeboats’ which are safer if they limit the numbers on board, rather than seeing the nation states as part of one spaceship which is in danger if everyone does not support the common good, to paraphrase Buckminster Fuller’s apt explanation of our shared fate on this planet.

It is also hardly surprising in a society that still has very different life chances, despite some recent improvements¹⁰ that some Australian Aboriginal leaders are

⁶ It is possible for measures of average to disguise the fact that a high-income does not enable exhausted workers to enjoy the same kind of leisure that a lower-income family enjoys who has access to the safety net of capital, a home (rather than a mortgage) and the security that loss of income will not lead to a loss of their home or their social networks.

⁷ Conservative economists argue that consumption can be modified by those with an income to build-up wealth. The difference in this report is that consumption refers to stocks that are usually not included in economic measures. The most important point made is that by contributing to the public good, individual households could enhance their wellbeing. In Australia, households that were protected by levee banks weathered the recent floods in New South Wales. State governments that levy taxes to build resilient communities are providing for the common good. Reducing consumption in order to pay taxes to protect our homes and families makes sense as New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland continue to count the costs of flooding in Australia.

⁸ Pearson, C. 2012 Eco-zealots presume to endanger our economy: a declaration of war on coal disrespects 40,000 workers and their families.’ Weekend Australian March 11–12, 22.

⁹ *The Mail and Guardian Newspaper* editor stressed that self-regulation is vital for democracy. McDermott, S.K. 2012 ‘Clash of paradigms’ as editors defend self-regulation, Feb 01 2012.

¹⁰ Karvelas, ‘NT Indigenous topping the class’ and ‘Aboriginal boom a “reconnection”’. Weekend Australian p. 2 June 23–24: According to Karevelas 2012: ‘The greatest advance in education in the past 5 years has been among Aborigines in the Northern Territory, with a 69.4% increase in the number of indigenous students completing year 12... [This improvement] is since 2006 in the NT-

opposed to being excluded from economic opportunity, in order to protect an environment that they have not spoiled. Just as the Wild River's legislation was contested in the Northern Territory by Noel Pearson, in NSW the Coal Seam Gas (CSG) legislation is supported by Land Council Chief Executive Geoff Scott who says,

'There is nothing noble about living on the dole all your life.' He was annoyed by the arguments made by the Armidale anti-CSG action group that CSG would damage the environment and that it would be more noble to grow veggies.... 'Mr. Scott described as "patronizing and paternalistic in the extreme" criticisms by environmentalists of his organizations' plan to seek economic independence for Aborigines by developing coal seam gas reserves.'¹¹

It is an argument of the same order that is writ large between the carbon emitters in developed nations who refuse to make cuts and suggest that China, India and other developing nations should make necessary cuts at the same time. According to Lloyd (2012, p. 5), Australian negotiators at the Durban COP, 2011 conference on climate change made it clear that it would not continue to support Kyoto unless China, the USA and India also obeyed the Kyoto legislation: 'Chinese chief negotiator Su Wei said developed nations were trying to wriggle out of legal targets to curb global warming.' 'They try to evade the legally binding commitments', he said. Mr. Su named the USA, Europe, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand as among those abusing the Durban platform 'to jump from the legally binding system' and to impose carbon emission cuts on developing nations.¹²

It is not that voters are inherently resistant to post-materialism as political commentators suggest (Van Onselen 2012); it is perhaps that they can see that the political options are far too limited. I would argue that a new paradigm is needed and leadership is required to reframe the future as more sustainable, less Orwellian and less likely to lapse into widespread un-governability. This requires a post-disciplinary, critical and systemic approach to social and environmental justice to help people move from business as usual to a sustainable future. Perceptions are a matter of perspective and are filtered by assumptions and values. Nye's speech delivered at the inauguration of the Soft Power Advocacy Research Centre (SPARC) at Macquarie University illustrates some misconceptions about the way Western democracy is seen. First of all, he would do well to understand that democracy is not Western—it began in the Middle East. It had its beginnings in 'Syria-Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and the cities of Mycenae and the Greek world' (Keane 2009, p. xxv). Evidence-based archaeology and the detailed historical research undertaken by Keane (2009) in *The Life and Death of Democracy* makes this case very convincingly.

outstripping the national rise of 48%—cannot solely be explained by the surge of people identifying as Aboriginal for the first time following Kevin Rudd's 2008 apology.' According to Karvellas 2012: 'The number of Aborigines in the NT rose by 5.81%, from 53,662 in 2006 to 56,779 last year. There has also been an increase in home ownership in NT.'

¹¹ Aikman, A., and Salusinsky, I. 2012. Aborigines lash out at advice to grow veggies, *The Weekend Australian*, pp. 1–2. The publication of this quote is in line with a newspaper that is pro the market and anti-green voters, when the interests of the coal and uranium lobby are threatened.

¹² Lloyd, G. 2012. Beijing lashes Canberra as carbon talks stall. *The Weekend Australian*. May 26–27, 5.

Social democratic forms of governance need to find ways to balance individual and collective needs in increasingly diverse nation states. So if social democracy is flawed and current forms of post-national governance are failing in Europe,¹³ what is the way forward?

The research strives to contribute to addressing this challenge of reframing governance and economics. This is more than mere technological transformation; it is about transforming our identity as human beings through engaging in exploration about how to bring about change. Climate change and wellbeing are linked. The research is based on the philosophy that ‘we are the land’. It is informed by three decades of research in South Africa and Australia on social justice and public health. The ‘light-bulb moment’ occurred when reading Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) on social epidemiology of health across a number of developed nations. Those with the lowest gaps between rich and poor have better health outcomes than those with wider gaps. At the local level in Australia, people ask: ‘What has that got to do with climate change?’ The answer is ‘quite a lot’. It made me think about the phrase used by Aboriginal Australians who participated in the research entitled ‘User centric design to address complex needs’ (McIntyre-Mills 2010) in which the stakeholders said that they ‘felt shamed when using mainstream services, because they felt poor and dis-respected’. Similarly, Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) stressed that even the poorest in capitalist societies respond to the lure of advertising, because consuming is a way to be respected. Consumption appears to be a way of life; thus, Urry (2010) argues we are ‘consuming the planet to excess’.

Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) have demonstrated in their research that the poorest people in very divided societies are prone to spending their limited disposable income on making themselves look better—by buying ‘designer goods’ and conspicuous consumption is designed to ‘fit in’ or not ‘feel shamed’ by those who can afford to wear fashion. The London riots in 2010 were labelled as being caused by the so-called anarchists, before the royal wedding. But there was more widespread rioting after the GFC started to erode the quality of life not only of the unemployed and underemployed, but of the so-called middle classes who continue to compare their life chances with the elites.

Statistics show that the gap between rich and poor in the UK is wider than in other OECD countries (Bauman 2011, p. 8).

It illustrates the point that when people cannot acquire the unattainable that is presented to them in advertising and the media—they wish to destroy it. Globally, the idea that the rich can protect and insulate themselves from the poor is unravelling.¹⁴ At the same time, the urban and rural poor have learned to feel excluded or

¹³ Currently, only Europe has developed a post-national regional approach which is at risk of disintegrating.

¹⁴ ‘In France the shootings in Toulouse were caused in part by the fact that in France residents of the ghettos fringing Paris and other cities are indicative of an underclass who is alienated by their lack of representation. The violence of the crimes in Toulouse were said to be in response to the violence against children elsewhere who are victims of the war on the identity of Islamic followers. Violence ratchets up violence. The violence of capital backed by the law and the military can be matched with violent anarchy against the system or instead another option could be followed.

shamed by the powerful at the centre of materialist development. The lack of status and cultural shaming by those who flaunt the right labels has led to the desire to emulate the rich, in order to feel accepted, included and respected.

The approach of Hurricane Irene led to a drawing together of the New York citizens using Facebook and Twitter to comfort one another and to alert one another to problems. The extent to which the community prepared and co-operated is indicative of the ability of people to co-operate not only to compete but also in order to survive. The use of the Internet as a means to extend a sense of community will be vital in the future—but unfortunately many of the most marginalized people cannot afford access to the Internet or to mobile phones. Digital technology was targeted in the recent London riots along with other symbols of status. Wenger et al. (2009) in their book *Digital Habitats* stress the potential for communities of practice. But the downsides are as follows: Distraction and a lack of deep concentration on any one task or any one person with whom one is communicating. Another is a sense of being in multiple places and time zones, which can also lead to making people feel less connected to the people with whom they are in physical contact. The downside of feeling that one is communicating with people who are not fully present when talking with one person (because they are texting or answering their mobile or treating people as one of many faces on Facebook) is a sense of alienation. The other downside is the ability for people to hide their identity. This could also lead to a break down in trust and an increase in cybercrime or cyber warfare.

3.2 Hospitality Amongst Regional Neighbours

The category of hospitality has featured centrally in normative cosmopolitanism since Immanuel Kant. The meaning of the ethics principle of hospitality is the duty to welcome strangers. Hospitality not only includes the freedom of speech but also includes the duty to listen and to understand. Kant was thinking of the right to visit to which all human beings have a claim, based on their share in the common possession of the surface of the earth. Because the earth is a sphere, human beings cannot spread out indefinitely.... (Beck 2009, p. 190)

So where does this leave people within society? They compete for resources within and across nation states which no longer ought to provide the only basis for identity and morality. State-based or containerist morality is no longer adequate—we need to think in terms of planetary rights beyond the nation state. This requires balancing

Aarhus (Denmark) has become a site for right wing groups to organize in the wake of the Toulouse shootings by Mohamed Merah (ABC news 1 April, 7 pm news on TV) in France. It illustrates the point that social justice needs to be made by Held that social movements from below are not always good. More or less at the same time a Brazilian was taysored in Australia which resulted in his death and a young black man was shot in America by a white neighbourhood watch patrolter. Zimmerman was white, the boy was black. Obama spoke out about this saying his own child would look like this child. Republicans say this is not the point.' Malley, N. 2012 'One fatal shot echoes across a divided US' The Saturday Age March 31.

individual needs and the common good—without resorting to closed systems which deny the right to question.¹⁵

An engagement approach (that can be assisted by means of access to a digital version) is based on enabling members of the community to think through all their social, economic and environmental assets and risks along with participation in ways to address them. The process described in detail in Chap. 7 was tested to ascertain the extent to which it encourages participation in thinking about the implications of our consumption choices. The research has been funded by the Australian Local Government Association and is currently in progress (McIntyre-Mills and de Vries 2011).

We need to think in terms of planetary rights beyond the nation state and the need to reconceptualise representation, accountability and democracy. The Nagoya Biodiversity Summit on biological diversity has recognized that the containerist argument is inadequate (2010, Nagoya, Japan, 29 Oct). But little has resulted as a result of this summit. Individuals continue to think that they profit at the expense of others and the global commons. This is true in the short and medium term. In the long term, everyone suffers which is why co-operation is imperative for survival at this stage of our evolutionary history. It is vital to find ways to bridge monist and pluralistic ideas through developing a greater ability to harmonise ideas. This requires compassion, irony and patience. It also requires laws to provide the structures to protect not merely citizens within nation states, but instead structures to enable post-national regional co-operation. As Elliot stresses, (2002, p. 308):

The resurgence and persistence of ethnicity and nationality⁷ is problematic for a thesis of progress based on increased social reflexivity. The critique of reflexivity is that as resources become scarce competition and bigotry could pose more of a threat to universal human rights.

Thus, this research strives to address the challenge by turning technology on its head—in other words—to use it as a means to enhance reflexivity. The research strives to test the extent to which reflexivity is enhanced by using the software.

Elliot (2010) poses four scenarios drawn loosely from the foresight program in which Urry (his co-author) was involved. These are (a) the magic bullet, based on maximum mobility through technological innovation that enables elevated living inspired by the architecture of Le Corbusier and could lead to extending the livability of cities by building upwards. Skyscrapers are likely to be monitored by digital systems to control temperature and socially this could lead to Orwellian control.

¹⁵ ‘In the realm of totalitarian kitsch, all answers are given in advance and preclude any questions. It follows, then, that the true opponent of totalitarian kitsch is the person who asks questions. A question is like a knife that slices through the stage backdrop and gives us a look at what lies hidden behind it....’ (Kundera 1984, p. 254). In a post-consumerist world, wealth needs to be re-evaluated, because, to draw on, adapt and apply Einstein’s well-known aphorism: We cannot solve the economic and environmental problems of today with the same ideas of *property and consumption* that created the problem of an *unsustainable* way of life. But to enable freedom of thought science and democratic testing out ideas requires a democratic state—but the problem is that the nation state has not acted in the interests of freedom and democracy as John Keane points out. Emotions run high as resources run out.

If on the other hand, the collapse of the global economy leads to less mobility—it could support more localized living in small communities (Schumacher 1974). Alternatively, the convergent social, economic and environmental challenges could lead to a collapse in services that lead to regional ‘warlordism’, based on competing for scarce resources. This could lead to a Hobbesian future. The challenge for societies facing climate change can be summed up as follows:

1. In a world where disasters become commonplace, people become increasingly mobile (Elliot and Urry 2010)¹⁶ elites move to find the best deals or to escape from untenable living conditions. They are able to move as migrants with resources. Those without resources move as asylum seekers or are trafficked as slaves. The extreme versions of mobility as a way of life could be coming to an end as affordable travel becomes the preserve of the elite few who control the media and the resources. Asylum seekers continue to be framed as subject to the laws of nation states. Hospitality to strangers remains in question, whilst citizens ‘at home’ have struggled to achieve respect in a society where the gap between rich and poor is widening. People who have been displaced or traumatised will need to engage in therapeutic conversations at the local level in order to rebuild and also remember their lives. Many forms of discursive dialogue and democratic interaction are needed to complement voting in liberal democracies to respond to increasingly diverse residents (with complex needs) within the nation state and the region. The democratic and governance process will need to be able to match services to specific needs of residents, rather than providing so-called mainstream services along the ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach—we need to be able to respond to diversity. It is this responsiveness that needs to be mainstreamed. It is the core point made in all my research projects. I listened to a keynote lecture last night by Prager (2012)¹⁷ as a precursor to a workshop, entitled ‘The paradox of melancholia: paralysis and melancholia’. The discussion after the presentation focused on agency, melancholic nostalgia and living with a sense of woundedness based on remembering. Mourning loss presumes that after a period of time—one can ‘get over’ grief. The issue is that in a context of increasing risk the number of people who will be living with a sense of woundedness will increase. Democracy within (increasingly) diverse nation states needs to represent the diverse needs of diverse people living within their regions. This has implications for representation, accountability and ethics.
2. A Hobbesian future in which regional conflicts for water and energy lead to so-called wild zones that are without the governance of nation states or post-national

¹⁶ ‘As a new politics emerges around issues of movement and mobilities, many people seek to break from the orthodoxies of the present and consider new mobile paths of living.’ Elliot and Urry stress that their book ‘has been a contribution to further opening up the politics and practices of people’s lives and their intermittent and deeply problematic mobilities’ (Elliot and Urry 2010, p. 159).

¹⁷ Keynote public lecture as precursor to the workshop entitled: ‘The paradox of melancholia: paralysis and melancholia: a workshop organised by Professor Anthony Elliot, Professor Brian Castro and Associate Professor Jennifer Rutherford. 21–23 June 2012, Adelaide, South Australia’.

regional confederations. This seems to be a likely scenario, unless the lifeboat scenario of risk management is abandoned. This is based on patrolling boundaries in order to ensure that resources are maintained for citizens—who also become increasingly distrustful. The great transformation could lead to more xenophobia and warlordism or it could be governed by post-national constitutions in overlapping regional areas. The danger signs are already evident by the increasingly xenophobic political parties in Europe and the tendency for people to distrust others when resources are scarce. The austerity measures in Europe that are imposed from above need to be balanced by increased engagement from below by watchful citizens within post-national regional federations—so that the resources of the regional biosphere are used fairly and equitably for all. The means to achieve these changes already exist. The key elements of the Aarhus convention (1998) insist on freedom of information, engagement and the rights of all those who are citizens of the EU to have a say. The convention thus provides an example of liberative potential that could become part of the legal fabric that could be applied more widely. Legal supports are needed to underpin local engagement and scale it up to support regional engagement at a sub- and post-national level. Instead of a watchful distrust of one another at the local level, we need to develop greater links within the communities in which we live. The building of the well-worn notion of social capital needs to be achieved through respecting our own social, economic and environmental rights and our responsibilities to others (including sentient beings).

Our relationships with one another need to place quality of life, wellbeing and kindness at the core of our decisions. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize (won in 1992) by Aung San Suu Kyi¹⁸ in June 2012 in Oslo underlined that kindness is perhaps one of the most important factors that we need to bear in mind, if we are able to support peace internationally. It echoes the theme of ‘hospitality to strangers’. It is an attempt to extend a hand of friendship and a precursor to building trust that goes beyond tolerance (Borradori 2003). The mobile carbon-based future based on continuous modernisation is unsustainable as stressed by the IPCC. Cities that rely on goods and services that are transported by petrol-based infrastructure could become urban slums as suggested by Urry (2010). Stern (2006) emphasizes that the transformation from a carbon-based economy could be rapid, if the lessons of prehistory are taken into account. If populations fall dramatically as a result of disaster, then the local community could rapidly be controlled by warlords in the guise of local gangs or large corporations controlling digital safe-gated communities that keep out the majority—who could become part of the great unwashed (quite literally) in under- or non-serviced communities. The neighbourhood watch mentality could become a reality that leads to local powerbrokers taking the law into their own hands.

3. A sustainable local community (in the sense described by Schumacher, 1973) is determined by a sustainable region in which food, energy and water supplies are

¹⁸ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-06-16/aung-san-suu-kyi-receives-her-nobel-peace-prize/4074992>.

considered as major determinants for wellbeing. No community can be expected to transform from a high-carbon lifestyle (or aspiring to this lifestyle) without feeling part of the design process and owning the decisions as to how resources should be used, as discussed in ‘Paper 2: Risk, resilience: towards a post carbon economy?’¹⁹ The monitoring of resources ‘from below’ could be supported by the *principle of subsidiarity* that ensures that decisions are taken locally—but within the context of an overarching constitution. The role of the state remains crucial if justice is to be upheld locally. But the state needs to be reinvented to extend the social contract beyond the borders of the nation—to include regional neighbours. The rule of law needs to uphold justice in post-national federations that are held to account by citizens who have federal rights and responsibilities.

This chapter makes a case for recognizing that the containerist vision of the world is over. Our so-called containment anxiety cannot be addressed by living a schizophrenic existence where we see ourselves as benefitting at the expense of other nation states. There is no reason why Elliot’s four scenarios need to be considered as mutually exclusive. We already have regional conflicts fuelled by energy shortages and competition for the last of the non-renewables. Satellite monitoring from above seems to be more of a priority at the moment by the USA than space travel. Digital communications are already widely used, but their potential is under tapped as stressed in this chapter and other research on wellbeing, representation, accountability and sustainability (McIntyre-Mills and de Vries 2011).

- How can engagement be enhanced so that the Orwellian future is avoided?
- How can designs reframe technology in ways that (a) reclaim designs from below and (b) drive policy so that they inform the final decisions?
- How can elected leaders be held to account on the basis of the lived experiences of the electorate as well as by those who are so-called discipline experts?
- How can the decision (or cut) be made by the elected representatives in ways that balance individual and collective interests—rather than the interests of elites. The challenge is that individualism has been taken too far as a result of the power associated with capital. It is possible that the low-carbon footprint could be decreed from above as necessary for human survival, but that the elites will exempt themselves from the low-carbon lifestyle. This could become increasingly likely if the media (print and digital) are owned by elites. This is why it is vital that the local people hold elites to account. It is also vital that what were once considered desirable status symbols are seen as toxic for the planet. It seems appropriate to learn from the poor, in order to enhance our survival skills.

The reason for extending our research is that we wish to shift the gaze from below to include not only the most marginalized but also the middle classes and thereby

¹⁹ This research emphasizes the creation of multiple paths to form webs to wellbeing through critical, systemic engagement to ensure that local people get to know about local resources (that are listed in directories created by both service users and providers) and that their identity is protected. They are able to see the typical scenarios of what people have, need, are prepared to add or discard from their lives and what they think are turning points for the better and worse.

we hope to find out the attitudes and perceptions of Australians who are high emitters and to:

- Establish whether engagement processes enhance consciousness through developing an alternative way of engaging in governance through monitory democracy (McIntyre-Mills and de Vries 2010, 2011). We hope to enable middle classes in developed nations to understand that ‘less is more when living elegantly and ethically’.
- Explore ways to enable people to think differently about the choices they make by considering the consequences of their choices. Individuals make a contract to set particular targets for themselves. The local government could monitor what people have chosen to do to adapt to climate change. This may include finding out in what ways they reduce energy and water use and to what extent they reuse and recycle, grow social capital or engage in community gardening, for example.

3.3 Tilting at Windmills: Climate Science, Climate Change and the Politics of Fear and Loathing

Political correctness is being challenged by those who argue that climate sceptics are not the same as racists and should not be told to keep their views to themselves, according to a journalist who writes for the Australian newspaper.²⁰ In a bid to meet the critics, the social democratic policies in Australia shifted to the Right. But the role of the law in supporting human rights is evident from recent events in Australia, where the High Court of Australia defended the rights of asylum seekers and thus ended the so-called Malaysian solution²¹:

The Judicial Council of Australia said ... Ms. Gillard’s statement that the High Court had missed an ‘opportunity’ to smash the people smugglers’ business model fundamentally misconstrued the role of the court and was misguided....

²⁰ The carbon tax passed by the Julia Gillard government led to the so-called fear and loathing debate—between those who support the tax, for idealistic reasons (save the planet) or pragmatic reasons (the opportunity costs of doing something sooner, rather than later) and those who deny that human beings can do anything to make a difference to climate change. The only hope is for human beings to be both more creative and more caring about future generations and that democracy will not be destroyed. The right to speak out is vital for science, democracy and ethics, but the right to use the resources greedily and without thought of others in this generation or the next is problematic. Is democracy the right way to manage resources beyond the nation state? Perhaps it is fair to say that within limits set post-national federations, nation states should have a say. But that the Tuvalu test should be taken by all national governments to ensure that they do not use more resources than it is their right to use. The market and the state will need to play a role—but under the auspices of law. Also see O’Neill, 2011. ‘Climate skeptics called every name in the book’. *Weekend Australian*, 3–4, p. 14. The tone of the criticism of those who suggested the carbon tax, has increased (see the article by Tom Switzer <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/game-finally-up-for-carboncrats-20140113-30qqo.html>. Accessed 20 Jan 2014).

²¹ Judiciary hits back at PM’s ‘unfair’ criticism. *Weekend Australian*, 3–4, 5.

The rights of non-citizens are thus addressed by the High Court when the politicians lose sight of human rights concerns. The value of democracy is that it sustains the separation of powers to provide a balance. What would happen in a world without democracies? In moving towards transnational governance—the space for balancing of interests will remain critical.

The French and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) backed the Arab Spring—let us be honest—because Libya is oil-rich and on the borders of Europe. But as Libya falls, the stories have emerged on ABC News on 3rd of September—that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) rendered prisoners on special flights to Libya and provided the list of questions for the Libya. To talk of the USA as a democracy in the full sense of the word becomes problematic. Keane (2009, p. 91) cautions that democracies are fragile as history and archaeological records show. Ironically, the evidence shows that Cyrene on the Libyan coast was one of the earliest Greek democratic citizen states in the sixth century.²²

But the notion that democracies have the right to legislate against racism—because it affects human rights is now acceptable. In a similar way, democracies should have a responsibility to protect the nation and the post-national regions of which they are a part. I see every reason to legislate in order to change behaviour. For this to occur, the courts need to be able to make decisions that set precedents. Educational systems need to provide more scope for professionals—future lawyers, policy makers, administrators and scientists to work with confidence across wider areas of concern.

This book explores why the containerist or compartmentalist argument is unacceptable for human survival. If democracy is to survive into the next century, we need to emphasize both rights and responsibilities.

As I wrote this chapter, Cyclone Irene was bearing down on the US East Coast and New York braced for its impact. In Northeast Africa, the ‘liberation’ of Libya showed that both sides have possibly committed human rights atrocities. Suffering is evident from the corpses of abandoned people in hospitals to the abandoned animals in the private zoo of Gaddafi. The notion of suffering and compassion are the themes which I try to explore in this book. The notion of caring for others beyond the nation state and beyond the human species is a preoccupation. In Australia, the worst of the convergent social, economic and environmental challenges has not been avoided by those affected by the so-called inland tsunami in Grafton, or the terrible bush fires that swept through the suburbs of Canberra, Sydney or Victoria. Nevertheless, the tendency to think only in terms of the economic bottom line appears to have led Australia to concentrate on mining commodities for sale to China and India—with little emphasis on manufacturing.

²² ‘The details of these early demokratiai, as contemporaries called them’ provide a cautionary tale of ‘painful detail of the destruction of democratic institutions, either by military conquest, or by conspiracies of the rich, or by single minded tyrants, or by all the5ree, in some combination or sequence. Each case provides yet another reminder of the utter contingency of democracy—of the ease with which it can be blown away....’ (Keane 2009, p. 91).

The so-called Arab Spring—in response to increased pressures on food security in arid zones and the fact that Palestine will need to be treated as a member of the United Nations in the future along with other new states—such as Turkey²³—if and when it is ever allowed to join the EU. This raises questions about how to extend our sense of community. According to Patrick Le Gales, in his presidential address at the ‘States in Crisis Conference’ (27th–29th June), entitled ‘Reconfiguring the State in Europe’, stressed that the contradictions between the state and the market provide possibilities for transformation. Le Galès highlighted the optimism of Hirschman, rather than what he called the pessimism of Arendt, without grasping the nettle, namely power dynamics and the extent to which states try to hold onto power. Even Hirschman’s ‘optimism’ of learning by doing and finding the possibilities through action research without being bound by the constraints of any framework need to be tempered by the ‘exit, voice and loyalty’ themes. Clearly, Greg Snowden chose to abandon loyalty and to exit from the USA when he voiced his concerns about the way in which the USA was engaging in widespread surveillance of its allies and enemies. The WikiLeaks scandals were not the focus of attention within the conference program, but they grabbed headlines across Europe at that time—as did the attempts ‘from below’ to redress the imbalances that exist. Taksim Square in Turkey and Tahirer Square in Egypt focus attention on the so-called Arab Spring and the relationship between the state, market and civil society. Whilst the pollution in Beijing, the ‘unwinding’²⁴ of the economy in America and the poverty on the streets of European capitals highlights that the old centre is no longer as powerful as it would like to be. Swedish riots focus attention on immigration concerns on which fascist election platforms are increasingly based across Europe. Of the trilogy, exit, voice or loyalty, the middle ground of voice remains the most powerful. We cannot all abandon an organisation or a state. Loyalty can lead to stagnation or oppression. Voicing disagreement requires courage. It also requires extending our networks of solidarity as widely as possible.

On any one day, I connected to people living very different lives with very different life chances. Students tell me of their concerns for their family in Palestine, Aceh or the Congo. My mother tells me on Skype about her friend, an elderly white woman who has left her home in Johannesburg, because she has survived three attacks and believes they are related to her promising to support a currently employed person in her will.

²³ The redevelopment of the park for a shopping mall is yet another example of capitalist development, but arguably not even neo-liberal in its approach, but water cannon and tear gas as opposed to bullets is possibly a step away from naked authoritarianism. The discussion by Habermas (2008) about the importance of public dialogue and a public space in some respects is at the heart of this protest. Taksim Square is a site for protest, a marker for change. This is threatened and the public is trying to take a stand against reassertions of authoritarianism. The scaling up of participation is the challenge. This is where the EU has fallen short.

²⁴ *The Unwinding: An Inner History of the New America* by George Packer—review A profile of ordinary lives provides a powerful portrait of the USA <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2013/jun/21/unwinding-history-america-packer-review>.

Being part of a wider world is partly as a result of being an immigrant with dual citizenship, being able to travel and feeling a connection through friends, family and students with a wider world. Not having my own children enabled me to spend time lobbying for homeless children in South Africa with whom I identified strongly and also with the creatures with whom I have shared my home and garden. But this sense of connection was taught in spiritual lessons by my mother—all creatures great and small—remains a favourite hymn.

But keeping in touch with nature and with others requires time and attention. Too many contacts lead to a very thin, sporadic form of communication. Those who feel closest to one are affronted when emails are neglected. The notion that technology will enable the limited capacity of human beings to engage with complexity is misplaced. In some ways, it can lead to overload and fatigue.

I feel the need to tune off and tune out of digital links. Being in the garden, walking through the hills and being in touch with close family requires not being wired in to a mobile.

Achieving a balance between public and private lives is always an art and needs to be undertaken with a sense of spirituality and aesthetics.

Compulsive networking leads to exhaustion and a sense of excluding those with whom one is in physical contact. Drawing boundaries remains important and can only be informed through ethical moral codes.

Space, time and identity are changing as our awareness of interconnectivity is rediscovered. Being at one with others—will require learning the ability to multitask and to be inclusive—in the same way that those who are socially skilled in public contexts enable everyone to feel that they are respected and being listened to. It requires giving time, circulating and an aesthetic sense of good manners across cultural contexts.

The notion of austerity and elegance are key themes—not in order to live a life that is not worth living—but instead to live a life that is meaningful and that is guided by a sense of *arête* that spans generations.

Competing for resources through exclusive decisions is not sustainable.

As Whitehead once remarked,

‘there is no holding nature still and looking at it (cited in Ho 1989, pp. 19–20). What appear to us as the fixed forms of the landscape, passive and unchanging unless acted upon from outside, are themselves in motion, albeit on a scale immeasurably slower and more majestic than that on which our own activities are conducted. Imagine a film of landscape shot over years, centuries, even millennia. Slightly speeded up., plants appear to engage in very animal like movements, trees flex their limbs without any prompting from the winds. Speeded up rather more, glaciers flow like rivers and even the earth begins to move. At yet greater speeds solid rock bends, buckles and flows like molten metal. The world itself begins to breathe. Thus the rhythmic pattern of human activities nests within the wider pattern of activity for all animal life, which in turn nests within the pattern of activity for all living things, which nests within the life- processes of the world. At each of these levels, coherence is founded upon resonance (Ho 1989, p. 18) ultimately, then by replacing the tasks of human dwelling in their proper context within the processes of becoming of the world as a whole, we can do away with the dichotomy between task scape and landscape—only however, by recognizing the fundamental temporality of the landscape itself. (Ingold 1993, p. 164)

David Attenborough's life of mammals demonstrates how grass-grazing primates needed to develop verbal communication skills because they used their hands for grazing and not grooming. This is an excellent example of co-determination. Another is the predictor is the group size of mammals which will determine brain size. Now that human beings have the need to think about the sustainability of the planet, they will need to develop ways to enhance the processing capacity of their brains.²⁵

So speeded up over time we could see the evolution of life forms across the organic and inorganic. The evolution of primates to human beings and then from human beings returning to the earth and nurturing plants and other living creatures.

The convergence of social, economic and environmental issues is clearly evident. The gap between rich and poor today is the widest it has ever been in human history. The argument used for apologists of extreme capitalism—a decade ago was to say that the overall standard of living was better than in the past. Today, that argument no longer holds. The majority of capital in the form of wealth and ownership of the means of production is concentrated amongst the elites. But the extent of concentration leads to the inability of the masses to consume—in order to maintain the economy—unless they borrowed. Their ability to borrow has now reached its limit, because they are unemployed and because the surplus value extracted by capital has not taken into account the so-called social, spiritual, cultural and environmental externalities on which it depends. Stiglitz, a World Bank economist and now whistle-blower on extreme capitalism argues that we need to factor wellbeing into all sustainable living calculations. We need to think of the implications of economic choices for others and for the environment in this generation and the next. This is a form of expanded pragmatism. An approach to ethical living which needs to become widespread, in order to ensure human survival. The argument developed in this book is that social democracy has failed, because it has veered too far in the direction of rights and has paid insufficient attention to responsibilities. I do not argue that social democracy needs to be abandoned—only that it needs to be reformed through participatory governance within overarching biospheres that are subject to global laws to protect the environment and the fabric of life.

The most powerful and the most desperate who face loss of livelihood associated with obsolete means of production attempt to protect their interests. But the potential for small businesses to identify with social change is evident as illustrated by more than a 1000 small business that have joined together to speak against the USA senate through 350.org.²⁶

²⁵ AFP, 2011. IBM chips to mimic human brain Weekend Australian 20–21 August, “IBM says that it has developed prototypes of computer chips that mimic the way the human brain works. The experimental ‘cognitive computing chips’ could eventually lead to machines that ‘emulate the brain’s abilities for perception, action and cognition,’ the company said yesterday. ‘These chips are another significant step in the evolution of computers from calculators to learning systems, signalling the beginning of a new generation of computers....’”

²⁶ <http://chamber.350.org/2011/08/u-s-chamber-asks-obama-to-delay-new-smog-standards>. Accessed 22 Aug 2011. ‘The US Chamber does not speak for me: “Nearly 1000 small business owners this week from across the political spectrum have joined forces to denounce the US Chamber [of Commerce] for claiming smog regulations will crush small business....” The US Chamber claimed to represent small business last week when it pushed Obama to let smog pollution slide.

But the monitory democracy movement (Keane 2009) is a double-edged sword, because just as members of the public will rally to support the cause of climate change to protect their children, they will also rally against changes if non-renewable energy sources create discomfort and are perceived to undermine the liveability of farms and homes.

Those who are able to locate wind farms in areas where they do not live are more supportive than those who have to live with the noise which reduces their ability to sleep and thus produce anxiety or depression. But clearly wind farms do not provide a base load of energy requirements. Solar panels and solar farming seem like a better option. In the meantime, gas is Australia's energy option along with selling coal and uranium to our neighbours.

Cosmopolitan praxis needs to protect agricultural land and to place less reliance on untried sources of non renewable energy. Non renewables that are likely to cause health problems in the long term—such as nuclear contamination or the degradation of water supplies through fracking—which future generations will bear—need to be controlled through international law. The weighing up of risks such as ill health associated with wind turbines needs to be balanced against these other concerns. To achieve an energy future, a combination of renewable and non-renewable methods need to provide a pathway to reliance on renewable methods. Questioning not taking the ideal for granted is vital: Companies are promoting the benefits of alternative energy supplies.²⁷

More importantly, questioning is vital for creativity and for monitoring rights and responsibilities—on which our future depends. The anti-windmill lobby spans NIMBYs, climate sceptics and those concerned about the wellbeing of local residents. The need for alternative energy requires testing by those who are affected and their voices need to be considered in addressing the distance between residences and wind turbines.²⁸

The neoliberal economy can turn sustainable energy opportunities into positive or negatives depending on the extent to which both people and the environment are considered (Australian Government Department 2011a, b). The balancing of individual and collective interests remains the challenge. For example, the windmills in the Goyder Region were not given planning approval because of the noise levels.²⁹

Small business owners don't like smog, our families don't like breathing smog, and the climate can't handle any more....'

²⁷ See <http://www.agl.com.au/about/EnergySources/Pages/energy-assets.aspx>. Accessed 15 Aug 2012.

²⁸ <http://www.wind-watch.org/news/2011/08/09/living-with-wind-farms/>.

²⁹ According to the ABC on 2/08/2012, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-05-11/council-conducts-own-wind-farm-noise-report/4005440>. Accessed 2 Aug 2012. 'The Goyder council has requested an acoustics report into a proposed wind farm in the area, before its development assessment panel considers the company's application. TRU energy wants to install 41 turbines at Stony Gap, about seven kilometres from its already operating wind farm at Waterloo, near Clare. Council CEO John Brak says it wanted an independent review of noise reports provided by TRUenergy.' 'The issue around noise with wind farms has been the main issue generally in the Goyder community and in the broader community about wind farms, so it's the most topical issue and certainly the largest issue other than ... environment and visual amenity and flicker and bird strike and things like that,' he said. He says pending the report being received; a decision on the application is expected to be made by the panel next month. 'To seek an independent peer review of the noise reports that were provided

A range of options for renewable energy is relevant to reducing our carbon footprint. Wind energy has a role to play, but the location of wind farms needs to take into account the siting of farms and the need for people to be housed at a safe distance, in order to reduce the real or imagined noise pollution.

Fundamentally, this is a siting and planning issue. These are industrial developments, and should be zoned as such with appropriate buffer distances—this simple change would make a significant difference, and I believe would reduce a lot of the mounting rural opposition to wind developments. I think the cumulative impact of lots of turbines and multiple developments within a certain area is also a big issue which has to be taken into account.

.... Patients present with a complex array of symptoms. You hear it once, then a second person comes along with something similar. By the third or fourth person, you're starting to think there's something here. "Bad sleep is bad for you, regardless of whether it's caused by noise or anxiety about a situation."³⁰



by the applicant... is part of the development assessment process, so that that peer review can inform our consultant planner on the report that she provides to the development assessment panel,' he said. Panel to review wind farm extension bid, Posted July 13, 2011 14:27:19 'A plan to extend a wind farm development in South Australia's mid-north will go before the assessment panel of the Regional Council of Goyder today. International Power wants to boost the number of turbines planned for Willogoleche Hill near Hallett from 26 to 37. A planning assessor for the council has recommended the development be approved, subject to a number of conditions. However, Yacka resident Dennis Dale says the region will soon be surrounded by turbines. 'I'm just concerned that this [is] one of many wind farms in that area of Hallett, there are 800 turbines just planned, being built or operating already just in this area of the mid-north,' she said. 'I just think there's too many of them.' <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-07-13/panel-to-review-wind-farm-extension-bid/2793478> Accessed 2 Aug 2012.

³⁰ [http://www.wind-watch.org/news/2011/08/19/wind-farm-sickness-ballarat-doctor-calls-for-study/Wind farm sickness: Ballarat doctor calls for study](http://www.wind-watch.org/news/2011/08/19/wind-farm-sickness-ballarat-doctor-calls-for-study/Wind%20farm%20sickness%3A%20Ballarat%20doctor%20calls%20for%20study) *Credit:* BY BRENDAN GULLIFER, The Courier, www.thecourier.com.au. Accessed 19 Aug 2011.

The way in which we perceive space, time and our relationships to one another, the land and future generations is in need of reconceptualisation. It does not require learning new lessons—merely remembering the lessons from people who live more closely with the land. Current constructions of organisations are unsustainable, but voicing concerns and doing something practical are better options—not only exit from an organization or a state—as suggested by Hirschman (1970). Current concerns are planetary, not at the organizational or state level.

I am not engaged in Quixotic tilting at windmills. Critics argue that they are simply unable to carry the base load of a burgeoning population that demands a certain standard of living. But windmills are part of the solution for renewable energy supplies.

In some contexts, the message is already accepted. But it does seem sensible to locate them in ways that ensure that the negative effects to human and animal life is minimised.

I do not make a plea for a return to preindustrialism or the Dark Ages, but for a different approach to relationships and design that is respectful of current and future generations of life.

The GFC and the environmental melt down seem to be seen as two problems—not one. Human beings cannot achieve new growth through increased extraction of profit. Instead living elegantly and well through re-distribution and simpler lifestyles supported by green economies, green communities and transport systems are vital.

Political correctness is being challenged by those who argue that climate sceptics are not the same as racists and should not be told to keep their views to themselves, according to a journalist who writes for the Australian newspaper. The carbon tax proposed by the Gillard government has led to the so-called fear and loathing debate—between those who support the tax, for idealistic reasons (save the planet) or pragmatic reasons (the opportunity costs of doing something sooner, rather than later) and those who deny that human beings can do anything to make a difference to climate change. The only hope is for human beings to be both more creative and more caring about future generations and that democracy will not be destroyed.

The right to speak out is vital for science, democracy and ethics, but the right to use the resources greedily and without thought of others in this generation or the next is problematic. Is democracy the right way to manage resources beyond the nation state? Perhaps it is fair to say that within limits set post-national federations, nation states should have a say. But that the Tuvalu test should be taken by all national governments to ensure that they do not use more resources that it is their right to use. The market and the state will need to play a role—but under the auspices of law.

The role of the law in supporting human rights is evident from recent events in Australia, where the High Court of Australia defended the rights of asylum seekers and thus ended the so-called Malaysian solution.

The rights of non-citizens are thus addressed by the High Court when the politicians lose sight of human rights concerns. The value of democracy is that it sustains the separation of powers to provide a balance. What would happen in a world without democracies? In moving towards transnational governance—the space for balancing of interests will remain critical.

The French and NATO backed the Arab Spring—let us be honest—because Libya is oil-rich and on the borders of Europe. But as Libya falls the stories have

emerged on ABC News on 3rd of September—that the CIA rendered prisoners on special flights to Libya and provided the list of questions for the Libya. To talk of the USA as a democracy in the full sense of the word becomes problematic. Keane (2009, p. 91) cautions that democracies are fragile as history and archaeological records show. Ironically, the evidence shows that Cyrene on the Libyan coast was one of the earliest Greek democratic citizen states in the sixth century.³¹ The point that Keane (2009) is making in the ‘rise and fall of democracies’ is that democracies need to heed history and to realise the fragility of democracy which requires constant vigilance to ensure that justice is maintained through dialogue and considering the consequences of injustice.

The notion that democracies have the right to legislate against racism—because it affects human rights is now acceptable. In a similar way, democracies should have a responsibility to protect the nation and the post-national regions of which they are a part. I see every reason to legislate in order to change behaviour. For this to occur, the courts need to be able to make decisions that set precedents. Educational systems need to provide more scope for professionals—future lawyers, policy makers, administrators and scientists to work with confidence across wider areas of concern and an ability to address the contextual concerns that ought not to be set aside when framing a policy response.

3.3.1 Addressing the Environment of Policy Problems

On Friday, a visiting lecturer gave a short address to my students as a precursor to a discussion on complex challenges. Joining up the policy dots and understanding the consequences of a design problem were lost in the presentation which focused on the problem of ‘inadequate training’. Capabilities to improve accountability cannot occur when the system is designed to fail.

If I was in any doubt about this—it was highlighted in the conversation afterwards about the world expressed through military and policing lenses. Landmines were raised as problematic in the same breath as saying:

We had to do something about landmines in the UK—in response to the outcry raised....

I stressed that ‘the environment of the problem was the need to address social and environmental justice and to think systemically about what this means in social, cultural, political, economic and environmental terms’.

This was dismissed as beyond the area of concern and capped with a dismissive comment about the political intentions and policy stance taken by protesters. Clearly, our values shape the diverse ways in which we see the world and the way we communicate with one another.

³¹ ‘The details of these early demokratiai, as contemporaries called them’ provides a cautionary tale of ‘painful detail of the destruction of democratic institutions, either by military conquest, or by conspiracies of the rich, or by single minded tyrants, or by all three in some combination or sequence. Each case provides yet another reminder of the utter contingency of democracy—of the ease with which it can be blown away....’ (Keane 2009, p. 91).