

2010 International Public Lecture and Workshop Series

Sponsored by  
The School of International and Political Studies in association with  
The Centre for Citizenship and Human Rights  
Deakin University



# 'The World In Crisis - business as usual?'

## Abstracts

11 - 13 November 2010  
Deakin University, Melbourne Australia



# FOREWORD

We live in a world that appears crisis-prone. But what does crisis mean in today's world?

Some of the risks we face are natural, about which we can do very little. They come from geophysical phenomena such as earthquakes, floods and tsunamis, or astrophysical events such as comets and asteroids.

Many more are human-made crises, including economic disasters (eg global financial crisis), systems failures (eg IT collapse), environmental challenges (eg climate change), pandemics (eg swine flu), the perpetual problem of war, or chemical, biological and nuclear threats.

For some analysts, the crises our species produce persist because we lack the ideas and institutions to avert them, and sometimes the knowledge and skills to attenuate their consequences. We “manage” the risks they impose on us without any expectation that we can permanently liberate ourselves from their grip.

Others argue we must learn to live in a “risk society” where “established risk definitions are ... a magic wand with which a stagnant society can terrify itself” (Ulrich Beck).

Should we accept that these human-made crises are normal? Have we successfully managed crises like them before? Are attempts to rid our world of its propensity for human-made crises futile? Or have we grossly exaggerated – even mythologised – the extent to which we are living in a world of endemic crises for political or other motives?

This series of lectures and workshops invites participants from a range of disciplines to consider if the world is in a crisis unique in character and scale, or whether ‘crisis’ is simply the term we used to describe the normal patterns and fluctuations of human society.

DR

# SCOTT BURCHILL

Senior Lecturer, School of International and Political Studies, Deakin University

## Convenor

Scott Burchill is Senior Lecturer in International Relations in the School of International and Political Studies at Deakin University. Before joining Deakin University in 1990 he was a political officer in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Indo-china & Europe desks) in Canberra. He has also taught at the University of Melbourne, Monash University and the University of Tasmania. Since 1995 he has been a visiting lecturer at the the Peacekeeping Centre at the Australian Defence Force Warfare Centre in Newcastle and the Army Command and Staff College in Queenscliff. In 1999 and 2000 he lectured at the Australian Defence College in Canberra.



His research interests include the theory of International Relations, International Political Economy and Australian foreign policy. He is a frequent contributor to The Age, and a regular commentator on international affairs for ABC Radio & Television, and SBS TV. Most recently he is the author of The National Interest in Theories of International Relations (Palgrave, London 2005) and co-author of Theories of International Relations (3rd ed Palgrave, London 2005).

# PROFESSOR SUE KENNY

Personal Chair, School of International and Political Studies, Deakin University

## Convenor

Professor Sue Kenny is Director of Centre for Citizenship, Development and Human Rights. Her research interests include studies of civil society, philanthropy and the third sector; community development and citizenship; the sociology of human rights ( focussing on refugee research; cross-cultural issues and racism); the welfare state; new managerialism and contractualism; risk society; post-Marxism and post-communism. Professor Kenny is the recipient of twenty-six competitive tenders, consultancies and research grants in these areas, including nine Australian Research Council grants.



Professor Kenny is established as one of the leading Australian and international scholars of community development issues and trends. Evidence of this recognition is demonstrated in the number of invitations to speak at conferences, including conferences in Australia, Russia, Vietnam, Sweden, New York, New Zealand, Switzerland and Indonesia. Professor Kenny has been involved in numerous development consultancies, working with local and regional governments and non-government organisations (NGOs) in Australia, Indonesia, Kyrgyzstan and Russia. These consultancies have included the development of strategies for community capacity building, social capital, local democracy, community needs assessment; strategic planning and program evaluation.

Her current research is concerned with human rights and disability issues, the experiences of humanitarian entrants in Australia, international comparative studies of the roles of (NGOs) in strengthening civil society, developing social capital, and facilitating active citizenship, and policies to combat racism.

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# PROGRAM

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 11 2010	
	<b>Ideas of Regionalism in Asia</b>
2:00pm-2:30pm	<b>Professor Baogang He, Deakin University</b> <i>Conference Opening and Introduction</i>
2:30pm-3:30pm	<b>Dr Ken Boutin, Deakin University</b> <i>American Ideas of Regionalism</i> Discussants: Associate Professor Derek McDougall and Professor John Ravenhill
3:30pm-3:50pm	<b>AFTERNOON TEA</b>
3:50pm-5:50pm	<b>Associate Professor Wang Yuzhu, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China</b> <i>China, Economic Regionalism and the Future of East Asian Integration</i> Discussants: Dr Chengxin Pan & Dr Ken Boutin  <b>Professor Takashi Inoguchi, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan</b> <i>Japanese Ideas of Asian Regionalism</i> Discussants: Jaechun Kim & Dr David Hundt
	<b>OFFICIAL OPENING</b> Lecture Theatre 12 (Building X)
6:00pm-6:25pm	<b>Welcome</b> Dr Scott Burchill and Professor Sue Kenny, Deakin University
	<b>KEYNOTE PUBLIC LECTURE</b>
6:30pm-7:15pm	<b>Professor Bob Jessop, University of Lancaster, UK</b> <i>Crisis, What Crisis? Reflections on Crisis, Crisis-Management and Crises of Crisis-Management</i>
7:15pm-7:30pm	<b>Discussion</b>
7:30pm-	<b>Dinner</b>

## PARALLEL SESSIONS: FRIDAY NOVEMBER 12 2010

THE IDEAS OF REGIONALISM IN ASIA	TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY, CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL INCLUSION	SECULARISATION AND DISCONTENTS	POLITICS OF ECONOMIC CRISIS	CULTURE LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY
<b>MORNING SESSIONS</b>				
<p><b>9:00-10:00am</b>  <b>Professor Rajendra K. Jain,</b>  <b>Jawaharlal Nehru University,</b>  <b>India</b>  <i>Indian Ideas of Regionalism</i>                      Discussants: Professor Baogang He and Dr Hans Lofgren</p>	<p><b>9:00-9:50am</b>  <b>Professor Fethi Mansouri,</b>  <b>Deakin University</b>  <i>Transnationalism, National Belonging and Migrant Integration in the West.</i></p> <p><b>9:50-10:40am</b>  <b>Dr Vince Marotta, Deakin University,</b>  <i>Virtual Ethnicities, Transnational Mobilities and Social Inclusion in Cyberspace</i></p>	<p><b>9:00-9:20am</b>  <b>Welcome and Opening Address</b></p> <p><b>9:20-10:00am</b>  <b>Dr Geoffrey Boucher, Deakin University</b>  <i>That Light in which a Free Humanity is Capable of Interpreting its Emancipated Life as Something Good? Habermas and Religion</i></p>	<p><b>10:00-10:40am</b>  <b>Dr Andrew Vandenberg, Deakin University</b>  <i>Corporatism, Crisis, and Contention in Sweden and Korea During the 1990s</i></p>	<p><b>9:00-9:15am</b>  <b>Welcome</b>                      Associate Professor Guo-Qiang Liu and Mr Hakeem Kasem</p>
<p><b>10:00-10:20 MORNING TEA</b></p>	<p><b>10:40-11:00 MORNING TEA</b></p>	<p><b>10:00-10:50am</b>  <b>Professor Nikolas Kompridis, University of Western Sydney</b>  <i>Secularism and the Limits of Cosmopolitanism</i></p>	<p><b>10:40-11:00 MORNING TEA</b></p>	<p><b>9:15-10:00am</b>  <b>Dr Lin Zheng, Deakin University</b>  <i>The Chicken Talks to the Duck: Miscommunication in International Business Relations</i></p>
<p><b>10:20-12:30pm</b>  <b>Professors Baogang He and Gary Smith, Deakin University</b>  <i>Australian Idea of Asia-Pacific Community</i>                      Discussants: Professor John Ravenhill &amp; Associate Professor Philomena B Murray</p>	<p><b>11:00-11:45am</b>  <b>Dr Michele Lobo and Professor Fethi Mansouri, Deakin University</b>  <i>Faith, Spirituality and Citizenship in St Denis, Paris</i></p>	<p><b>10:50-11:00 MORNING TEA</b></p>	<p><b>11:00-11:40am</b>  <b>Dr Andrew Scott, RMIT University</b>  <i>Complexities, Fragmentation and Political Possibilities for Emerging from Recent Financial Crisis</i></p>	<p><b>10:00-10:45am</b>  <b>Dr Birut Zemits, Charles Darwin University</b>  <i>Responding to Environmental Crises: the Trans-cultural Role of Film</i></p>
<p><b>Dr Marshall Clark, Deakin University &amp; Assistant Professor Dafri Agussalim, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia</b>  <i>Indonesia's Regional Imaginary: from 'Greater Indonesia' to ASEAN and the G20</i>                      Discussants: Dr Craig Snyder &amp; Professor Kanishka Jayasuriya</p>	<p><b>11:45-12:30pm</b>  <b>Dr Masa Mikola, Deakin University</b>  <i>Community of Citizens: Intimacy of Belonging and Public Space in Melbourne</i></p>	<p><b>11:00-11:40am</b>  <b>Mr Johann Rossouw, Monash University</b>  <i>Spirit Matters: Life After secularism and Religion?</i></p>	<p><b>11:40-12:30pm</b>  <b>Associate Professor Geoff Dow, University of Queensland</b>  <i>Crisis, Politics and Method: Reflections on the Politics of Political Economy</i></p>	<p><b>10:45-11:00 MORNING TEA</b></p>
		<p><b>11:40-12:30pm</b>  <b>Professor Tracey Rowland, University of Notre Dame</b>  <i>The Invalidation of the Secular in Radical Orthodoxy Scholarship</i></p>		<p><b>11:00-11:45am</b>  <b>Mr Alistair Welsh, Deakin University</b>  <i>An Identity Crisis? Language Students in the 'Third Space'</i></p>
				<p><b>11:45-12:30pm</b>  <b>Dr Rosemary Suliman, University of Western Sydney</b>  <i>Living Between Two Worlds: Children from Migrant Families in Australia</i></p>
<b>12:30-1:30pm LUNCH BREAK</b>				



**FRIDAY NOVEMBER 12 2010: AFTERNOON SESSIONS**

<p><b>1:30-3:30pm</b>  <b>Associate Professor Philomena B Murray, University of Melbourne</b>  <i>Ideas of Regionalism: The European Case</i>          Discussants: Professors Rajendra Jain &amp; Kanishka Jayasuriya</p> <p><b>Dr Craig Snyder, Deakin University</b>  <i>Comparative Approaches to Regional Security in Europe and the Asia-Pacific</i>          Discussants: Professor Gary Smith &amp; Assistant Professor Dafri Agussalim</p>	<p><b>No PM Sessions</b></p>	<p><b>1:30-2:20pm</b>  <b>Professor Wayne Hudson, University of Tasmania</b>  <i>Postsecular Enlightenment</i></p>	<p><b>No PM Sessions</b></p>	<p><b>1:30-2:15pm</b>  <b>Dr Xiangshu Fang, Deakin University</b>  <i>The New Images of the Mother, the Father and the Child in Contemporary Chinese Juvenile Stories</i></p> <p><b>2:15-2:45pm</b>  <b>Ms Genevieve Campbell, Sydney University Ngarrivanajirri.</b>  <i>The Strong Girls' Song: Tiwi Elders Preserving Language and Culture While Empowering Youth Through Song.</i></p> <p><b>2:45-3:30pm</b>  <b>Associate Professor Guo-Qiang Liu, Deakin University</b>  <i>Social Identity and Sound Change</i></p>
<p><b>3:30-3:50 AFTERNOON TEA</b></p>		<p><b>2:20-2:30 BREAK</b></p>		<p><b>3:30-3:50 AFTERNOON TEA</b></p>
<p><b>3:50-4:50pm</b>  <b>Dr David Hundt, Deakin University &amp; Professor Jaechun Kim: Sogang University, South Korea</b>  <i>South Korean Ideas of Regionalism</i>          Discussants: Professor Rajendra Jain &amp; Associate Professor Wang Yuzhu</p>		<p><b>2:30-3:10pm</b>  <b>Dr Phillip Quadrio, University of New South Wales</b>  <i>Habermas and the Self-Reflective Transcending of Secular Self-Understanding</i></p> <p><b>3:10-3:50pm</b>  <b>Mr Dylan Nickelson, Deakin University</b>  <i>Counter-Secularisation: Testing The Theological Cure for Our Modern Malady</i></p>		<p><b>3:50-4:00 BREAK</b></p>
		<p><b>4:00-4:50pm</b>  <b>Associate Professor John Rundell, University of Melbourne</b>  <i>Multiple Modernities, Sacredness, and the Democratic Imaginary: Religion as a Stand-in Category</i></p>		<p><b>4:50-5:30pm</b>  <b>Dr Matthew Sharpe, Deakin University</b>  <i>"In the Beginning, was ... the Story": Thoughts on Milbank, Narrativity, and Nominalisms</i></p>
<p><b>KEYNOTE PUBLIC LECTURE</b></p>				
<p><b>6:00-7:15pm</b></p>	<p><b>Professor John Mueller, Woodrow Hayes Chair of National Security Studies, Mershon Center and Professor of Political Science at Ohio State University.</b>  <i>Maintaining the Catastrophe Quota</i>          Lecture Theatre 12 (Building X)</p>			
<p><b>7:15-7:30pm</b></p>	<p><b>Discussion</b></p>			



## SATURDAY 13 NOVEMBER 2010

KEYNOTE PUBLIC LECTURE

9.30am-10.00am

Coffee and Tea on arrival

10.00am-11.00am

**Malalai Joya**

*Afghanistan 2010: Winners or losers?*

Lecture Theatre 12 (Building X)

11.00am-

Media and Lunch to follow

# PROFESSOR BOB JESSOP

## Keynote Speaker

Professor Bob Jessop is Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Founding Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies at the University of Lancaster, UK. He is presently researching the 'cultural political economy of crisis'. Bob Jessop is recognised as a leading 'regulation' theorist and for his strategic-relational theory of the state. 'More convincingly than any other Marxist theorist past or present, he succeeds in transcending the artificial dualism of structure and agency by moving towards a truly dialectical understanding of the relationship' (Colin Hay). Books include *Political Economy and Global Capitalism: The 21st Century, Present and Future*, Anthem Press, 2010 (ed with R Albritton and R. Westra); *State Power: A Strategic-Relational Approach*, Polity 2007; *Beyond the Regulation Approach: Putting Capitalist Economies in Their Place*, Edward Elgar, 2006 (with Ngai-Ling Sum); *The Future of the Capitalist State*, Polity 2002; and *State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in Its Place*, Polity 1990.



## Keynote Public Lecture

### **Crisis, What Crisis? Reflections on Crisis, Crisis-Management and Crises of Crisis-Management**

My lecture approaches crisis and crisis-management from three interrelated perspectives: critical discourse analysis, critical political economy, and critical governance studies. The starting point for this analysis is a two-dimensional crisis matrix that distinguishes (a) sociologically amorphous crises (e.g., natural disasters) from form-determined crises; and (b) crises in a crisis-prone system from crises of that system.

Crises are sufficiently routine in social life that social agents develop routines of crisis-management to deal with normal "crises"; problems arise when there extraordinary crises emerge and/or there is a crisis of crisis-management. It is in this context that I combine the three perspectives. Critical discourse analysis is used to analyse struggles over the interpretation of crises and to explain why some crisis interpretations prevail over others as the basis for crisis-management responses, policy shifts, and structural change. Critical political economy is used to explain the form of major economic, political, and socio-cultural crises and to highlight the limits of "arbitrary, rationalistic and willed" readings of a crisis, including denial on the one hand and permanent catastrophism on the other. And critical governance studies are developed to explore the inherent, but variable, limits of any and all attempts to govern (the risks of) crisis. I illustrate these diverse arguments from an ongoing research project on the cultural political economy of crises of crisis-management that takes the "global financial crisis" as its reference point.

And I conclude with a plea for "romantic public irony" rather than fatalism, cynicism, or opportunism in the face of the ever-renewed challenge of governance failure.

PROFESSOR

# JOHN MUELLER

## Keynote Speaker

John Mueller is Woodrow Hayes Chair of National Security Studies, Mershon Center and Professor of Political Science at Ohio State University.

Professor Mueller is one of the world's leading authorities on global risks and threats. He is the author of *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* (2006) and *Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism From Hiroshima To Al-Qaeda* (2010).



## Keynote Public Lecture

### Maintaining the Catastrophe Quota

In an important sense the world is, has always been, and always will be in crisis. This is because there is, or seems to be, gain in exaggerating the importance of contemporary problems.

Routinely, when one problem is resolved or goes away, another can always be elevated to fill the gap and, in the case of national and international security concerns, there has been a persistent tendency to inflate threat. In the meantime, economic development continues, life expectancies increase, and the amount of war and armed conflict declines. There are problems along the way, and there can be setbacks. But few, if any, of these deserve to be labeled "crises."

# MALALAI JOYA

## Keynote Speaker

Malalai Joya, the extraordinary and youngest member elected to the Afghan parliament in 2004, has been likened to Aung San Suu Kyi for her forthright and courageous pursuit of justice and unfailing dedication to her people. She was just four days old when her family fled the Soviet Union invasion and spent her childhood in refugee camps in Iran and Pakistan. In the late 1990s, she returned to Taliban-ruled Afghanistan to work for underground organisations promoting the cause of women. She has received numerous, coveted awards for her unceasing pursuit of human rights including the International Human Rights in Film Award at Berlin in 2007 and the Anna Politkovskaya Award in 2008. In 2009, she published her exceptional story in her book 'Raising My Voice'.

## Keynote Public Lecture

### **Afghanistan 2010: Winners or Losers?**

When the United States invaded Afghanistan in October 2001, the country was suffering the consequences of over 20 years of war. The promise of the US and NATO forces was to find terrorist Osama Bin Laden and liberate women from the horror of the Taliban regime.

Nine years on, life in occupied Afghanistan has changed little as poverty, insecurity and social instability remain. But the explanation for continued occupation has shifted: to establish a stable, western style, democratic country. But since 2001, each year has seen an escalation in Afghan civilian deaths, the strengthening of Afghan resistance and little social change across the country, particularly for women. In their control pursuits, the western forces have neglected to seek out and support the true democratic elements in the country. Here lies the opportunity for true, positive change.

# IDEAS OF REGIONALISM IN ASIA

**Professor Baogang He, Chair in International Studies, Deakin University**

Professor Baogang He is the author of *The Democratization of China* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), *The Democratic Implication of Civil Society in China* (London: Macmillan, New York: St. Martin, 1997), *Nationalism, National Identity and Democratization in China* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, with Yingjie Guo), *Balancing Democracy and Authority: An Empirical Study of Village Election in Zhejiang*, (Wuhan: Central China Normal University Press, September 2002, with Lang Youxing), *Multiculturalism in Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, co-editors with Will Kymlicka) and *The Search for Deliberative Democracy* (NY: Palgrave, 2006, co-editors with Ethan Leib), *Federalism in Asia* (co-editors with Brian Galigan, Takashi Inoguchi, Edwards Elgar, August 2007). He has co-authored and co-translated several books in Chinese (including John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice*), and has published 29 book chapters and more than 34 international refereed journal articles in English. He has established an international reputation as an authority on Chinese democratization, NGOs and local governance, and has gained international recognition in the fields of international relations and Asian Studies. Much of his empirical research has been linked to broader theoretical concepts such as civil society and democracy, and has attempted to test, modify and develop theoretical hypotheses.



Professor He is a member of editorial board of *New Political Science*, *China: An International Journal*, *Political Science Forum*, *Intellectual Series* and *Rural Studies*. He holds several large research grants studying on village elections, and democratization and deliberative democracy; and Harry Mayer prize-winner awarded by the Australian Political Science Association in 1994.

Professor He is also adjunct professor in the Institute of Rural Studies, Huazhong Normal University, and in the Department of Political Science, Suzhou University; Honorary fellow of the Centre for Research on Provincial China at the University of NSW; senior research fellow at the national University of Singapore (March 2001-March 2004), Regan-Fascell Fellow in the National Endowment for Democracy, Washington (May-August 2003), visiting scholar in the Faculties of Social Science and Politics at the University of Cambridge, UK (Oct - Dec 1996); visiting fellow in the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, Netherlands (July-Oct 1996); and a visiting fellow at the Sejong Institute, South Korea, December 1995.

Reaching beyond the academic world, Professor He has also sought to be of service to public and governmental organizations. He was invited by the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) and the Ministry of Civic Affairs (MCA) in the PRC as an international expert to review the UN funded program 'China Rural Official Training' in August 2001 (two weeks); invited by the UNDP and the MCA to investigate an urban community construction project (December 2002, nine days), and invited by the Danish International Development Agency as an official delegation member to examine a political reform project in China in November 2003 and to examine the procedures for direct township elections in August 2004. He has served as an advisor to local governments for village elections, to the Wenling government for deliberative institutions, and to the Dejiang community for deliberative discussion forum.

## Session Overview

The ideas of regionalism have constructive roles in guiding directions, providing visions, and setting up the principle in organizing and creating a regional community. They touch upon the fundamental question of what kind of regional organizations should be formed, and how they should be formed and operated.

There are many competing ideas of, and proposals for, regional development. In 1984, Japanese scholars proposed an Asian economic circle, which was later supported by the Japanese government. In 1987 Japanese economists even suggested the establishment of an economic circle centered around the Japan Sea. The South Korean government in 1987 put forward an idea of a Yellow Sea economic circle. Koo Jong-suh, a Korean scholar also talked of a Northeast Asian community of cooperation. In 1987 Chen Kuiyao, a Hong Kong scholar, suggested that Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong should establish a Great China circle. In 1987, Indonesia suggested triangular economic cooperation among the ASEAN, Japan and South Pacific countries. In 1990 the Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad proposed an East Asian Economic Caucus that invited praise and criticism. Singapore has strongly advocated the free trade zone of ASEAN. Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong called on building an ASEAN Economic Community: a single production base and a single market, with free movement of goods, services and capital at the ASEAN business and investment summit in Bali, Indonesia on 6 October 2003. In 2008 the Rudd government proposed an 'Asia Pacific Community' by the year 2020. In 2009, Yukio Hatoyama, Japanese former prime minister, projected an East Asian Community based on the European Union model to rival the APC. This rivalry between Australia and Japan reminds us of an old rivalry between Malaysia and Australia in the 1990s when both nations put forward different proposals for Asian regionalism.

The various proposals raise a number of important questions. Should Asia follow the EU model to transfer national sovereignty to a regional organization so as to develop a great unity of East Asia? Or should East Asia develop its own model of regionalism that defends national sovereignty, and adopt the more informal, weakly organized dialogue forum, incrementalism, consensus-building, and ASEANization approaches? Who should be the leader in building East Asian regionalism? Should Western countries such as US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand be included or excluded?

There has never been a single vision of what the region is or should be. Different ideas about the region have gained ascendancy at different times and in different places. Rather than following a linear deterministic path, these ideas have been the focus of power struggles, with competing actors promoting their own particular idea of regionalism while attempting to undermine rival claims. The outcome of this competition is that some visions of the region materialise in the form of institutions, while other grand ideas rise briefly, only to sink again without a trace. In this contest to define the region, why do some ideas fail to win support and others succeed? How do ideas of regionalism gain historical resonance and how are they transmitted from one nation-state to another? What current ideas are in conflict with one another, what ideas are complementary, and how will this contest over ideas shape the future of the Asian region?

## Session Overview *continued*

This proposed special issue investigates these questions about ideas of regionalism in Asia with a particular focus on the relationship between ideas and power politics. It assesses the ideas of regionalism that have been promoted by great power actors, as well as those that have been promoted by middle powers, looking at how different actors sell their vision of the region to others, build support for their ideas and manoeuvre against competing proposals. Although ideas about regionalism often appear to be thinly disguised expressions of national interests, an important question for Asia is whether or not ideas about the region can move beyond the limits of narrow national interests into a shared sense of community. A strength of this special issue will be its mapping of the historical evolution of ideas about the region, allowing not only a comparison between the ideas about Asian regionalism that have emerged in different countries, but also an investigation of how these ideas interact with one another and how they are revised over time. It covers not only the “big ideas” about regionalism that focus on questions such as defining who is included as part of the Asian community, but also the “small ideas” that focus on solving practical problems such as instituting mechanisms for regional finance or establishing a regional currency.

Although the special issue focuses on the Asian region, the issues it investigates are of global significance. The role played by factors such as the institutional arena, trade conditions, security relations, and health and environmental challenges in shaping ideas about regionalism in Asia will have implications for regionalism in other parts of the world.

In summary, each chapter will examine the ideas on regionalism in terms of governing norms, material interests and regional security, and investigate how power relations to materialize ideas and how key actors interact each other.



DR

# KEN BOUTIN

## **American Ideas of Regionalism** *Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

The United States is an important participant in Asian regionalism. It has been a dominant power in the region since the Second World War and can be expected to continue to exercise a key role in defining regional political structures. American support similarly is crucial to the success of visions of regionalism advanced by other states. There is considerable friction, however, between American ideas of regionalism and the competing views of other actors, which is exacerbated by the tension between bilateralism and regionalism within American policy circles. The American government tends to promote its vision of politically-based 'Asia-Pacific' regionalism rather than a culturally-based regionalism. This reflects the particular circumstances of the United States, which while having significant economic and strategic interests in the region, is geographically distant from the Asian mainland. The American approach is designed to ensure the participation of the United States in key processes of regionalism. This chapter will investigate the evolution of American ideas of regionalism in Asia, examining initiatives that have helped to shape the region, the prospects for the institutionalization of the American vision of regionalism, American reactions to competing ideas of regionalism, and the overall influence of the United States on ideas of regionalism in Asia.





ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

# WANG YUZHU

**China, Economic Regionalism and the Future of East Asian Integration**  
*Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

Compared to the defensive attitude to regional cooperation during the cold war, China involved into regional bilateral/multilateral arrangements actively in the post-cold war, especially post-crisis (1997-98crisis) era, and this has attracted much attention from within and outside East Asia. As a rapid rising power, China was considered to be in pursuit of regional domination when it became a regular player of ASEAN plus China, Japan and South Korea since 1997, especially when it signed the Free Trade Agreement with ASEAN countries. Differed from most observers, this paper argues that China's perspective on regionalism is mainly economic-oriented, because economic growth is vital both to its long term strategic target and to its internal social stability. And that's why the security cooperation SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) soon expanded to cover economic arrangements. This economic regionalism will last for some period as China will be a developing country at least in the mid-term, which means China have to focus more on its economic performance. Therefore, although China seems keen on promoting China-Japan-Korea cooperation recently, it cannot rely on this process seriously as we all know a CJK FTA that China need is still afar. Instead, while keeping on the economic regionalism in East Asia, China will engage bilaterally or multilaterally with others through its FTA strategy. Thus, China will not be a main contributor to East Asian integration as expected. And the institutional integration for already-industrial-division-integrated East Asia need the effort from all the major players of the region.





**PROFESSOR**

# TAKASHI INOGUCHI

**Japanese Ideas of Asian Regionalism**  
*Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

From the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere and a Japanese colonial empire in Asia to a vital US ally promoting a “flying geese” vision of economic development for the region, Japan’s ideas about regionalism have perhaps gone through greater transformation than those of any other Asian state. More recently, the former Japanese Prime Minister’s idea of an East Asian Community provides a contrasting vision to the Asia-Pacific Community concept articulated by Kevin Rudd. This chapter will examine Japan’s role in promoting ideas about Asian regionalism, looking at the evolution of Japanese ideas over time and how they have interacted with the views of Japan’s regional neighbours as well as with those of the US.

**PROFESSOR**

# RAJENDRA K. JAIN

**Indian Ideas of Regionalism**  
*Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

India’s rising power and its geographic position at the intersection of East, South and Southeast Asia have ensured its inclusion in the regional architecture of Asia. The strategic importance of its relationships with China and Burma, as well as its historical connection to mainland Southeast Asia, lend weight to its vision of the region, but the impact of Indian ideas about Asia is not yet clear.





PROFESSOR

**BAOGANG HE** AND

PROFESSOR

**GARY SMITH**

**Australian Idea of Asia-Pacific Community**  
*Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

Australia's geography, sitting at the edge of the region, and European-based culture have long contributed to an ambiguous relationship with Asia. Australia's early regional focus was in relation to Pacific Island states, but now, with the country's economic prosperity becoming more tied to Asia, Australia's focus has shifted north. In this context, Australia has a greater interest than ever in making sure it is included in Asian regional institutions. Former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's idea of an Asia-Pacific Community (APC) is the latest manifestation of Australian efforts to shape visions of the region in ways that support Australian participation. Like the US, Australia has promoted an "open regionalism" that does not exclude states either on cultural grounds or on the basis of geographical distance from the Asian mainland. This chapter will investigate Australian ideas about regionalism and will examine why some ideas, such as Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), have been successful, while others, such as Rudd's APC, have not.



DR

**MARSHALL CLARK** AND

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

**DAFRI AGUSSALIM**

**Indonesia's Regional Imaginary: from 'Greater Indonesia' to ASEAN and the G20**  
*Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

The first half of this paper discusses the history of Indonesia's involvement in regional organisations, with a particular focus on the perceived strengths and weaknesses of ASEAN. The latter half of this paper discusses Indonesian attitudes towards alternative models for regional integration, such as the 'Asia-Pacific Community', the 'East Asia Community' and the European Union, "an organisation long thought to represent the gold standard of successful regionalism" (Emmerson 2008, p. 34). Recent non-ASEAN initiatives to strengthen regional integration have been politely — but not enthusiastically — received in Indonesia, particularly in the post-Suharto/post-Bush era. Despite the attraction of a new regional gathering in the Asia-Pacific region, the EU is seen as the best model for the enhancement of East Asian regional integration. The primary aim of this paper is to ask the following question: why is there a perception within Indonesia that the EU is a much more superior model than the present framework of Southeast Asian regionalism? In answering this question, factors to be considered include the historical tensions and differences between Indonesia and other members of ASEAN; the fact that numerous Indonesian analysts and media commentators have become increasingly frustrated with ASEAN's shortcomings; the 'strong institutionalism' of the EU; and an ambivalent attitude towards the normative idea of Southeast Asia as a distinct region with a distinct point of view.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

**PHILOMENA B. MURRAY**

**Ideas of Regionalism: The European Case**  
*Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

Europe provides a contrasting case with which to assess ideas about regionalism. How do ideas about the region emerge, spread, and compete with one another in Europe? This chapter will examine how the historical development of and competition between ideas about the Europe Union in the European experience.

DR

# CRAIG SNYDER

## **Comparative Approaches to Regional Security in Europe and the Asia-Pacific** *Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

This chapter seeks to compare the direction and scope of regionalism in the Asia Pacific with that of Europe. While these two regions have developed the furthest degrees of regionalisation, there are significant differences in the nature of regionalism that has developed and also the extent that regionalisation has developed within each region. This chapter will examine the reasons for these differences. This chapter seeks to compare the explanatory power of the three dominant conceptual approaches on levels of regionalism: realism, neo-liberal institutionalism and constructivism. It will seek to explain variation in regional security between Europe and the Asia Pacific but also within each of these regions. It will generate major insights into the factors that influence state security perceptions and behaviours and how these affect regionalisation. By opening up the 'black box' of states' strategic calculations, it will illuminate those influences that affect regionalisation, and the political dynamics through which these influences interact to shape regionalism.

DR

# DAVID HUNDT AND

PROFESSOR

# JAECHUN KIM

## **South Korean Ideas of Regionalism** *Ideas of Regionalism in Asia*

In the past decade South Korea has been particularly active in attempting to promote its preferred vision of the region. Although ASEAN has been the primary driver of Asian regionalism, South Korea has been sceptical of ASEAN's power to shape the region. Korea has been an active supporter of the ASEAN+3 mechanism, which allows the ROK to have a voice in one of the most effective mechanisms of regional cooperation, but it has also devoted resources to the idea of an East Asian Community. Compared to other East Asian states, Korea has also been proven to be relatively open to notions of Asia-Pacific regionalism. In short, the ROK has a comparatively activist and yet seemingly unfocused attitude to regionalism. In this article, we examine South Korea's efforts to promote regional order, and place special emphasis on the competing conceptions of 'region' within the Korean policy community. To which region (or regions) do Koreans feel they belong? To what extent has this influenced efforts by Korean governments to pursue certain regional initiatives? Which type of governing norms and material interests are implicit in Korean proposals for both 'big' ideas about regional community and 'small' ideas about specific mechanisms? By revisiting historical understandings of Korea's regional identity, we seek to shed light on the motivations for Korean regional initiatives in the past ten years.

# CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

## Associate Professor Guo-Qiang Chinese Language and Cultural Studies, Deakin University

Guo-Qiang Liu has teaching and research interests in Chinese language and cultural studies, linguistics and applied linguistics, second language acquisition and cross cultural communication, with consulting experience in intercultural communication and intercultural business management.



## Mr Hakeem Kasem, Arabic Studies, Deakin University

Abdel-Hakeem Kasem lectures in Arabic language and culture studies and coordinates Deakin's Arabic In-country program. His research interests involve Arabic language and culture studies, language acquisition and cross-cultural communication. He has contributed to national and international conferences on issues related to second language acquisition, language and culture studies, and cross-cultural communication. Mr. Kasem has also been appointed as a research associate with Monash University and supervises MA students in translation studies.



## Session Overview

In the Culture, Language and Identity stream, we will explore the theme of identity relating to culture and language. In this ever changing world at increasingly faster pace, we are frequently confronted with crises, changes which we are not comfortable with and beyond our control. Such changes or crises inevitably impact on our sense of cultural and linguistic self, leading us to question who and what we are, who and what we are becoming, and who and what we want to become. This stream will consider various issues broadly related, but not exclusive to, culture, language, and identity in areas of cultural studies, linguistics, social linguistics, language acquisition, language policy, language education etc.



DR

# LIN ZHENG

**The Chicken talks to the Duck: Miscommunication in International Business Relations . The case of Stern Hu in Australian and Chinese Media**  
*Cultural and Language Identity*

This paper explores communication and miscommunication in international business relations by studying the case of former RIO Tinto executive Stern Hu. From the initial arrest of Stern Hu to his eventual conviction in the Shanghai No. 1 Intermediate People's Court of stealing trade secrets and taking bribes in kickbacks from Chinese steel firms, which the court said they had helped ruin. Using newspaper articles about the case that were published in Australia, China and other countries via Internet in either Chinese and English from July 2009 to April 2010, a series of differences in the way the Chinese and Australian protagonists were framed both in terms of relevant facts and value judgements. Apart from various obvious nationalistic stereotypes, more subtle differences emerge regarding the nature of trust, the role of corporations, government and how morality and business intermesh in two culturally distinct systems.

DR

# BIRUT ZEMITS

**Responding to Environmental Crises: The Trans-Cultural Role of Film**  
*Cultural and Language Identity*

It would be difficult to ignore the ways audio-visual media is used to communicate across cultures and languages about environmental issues in the twenty-first century. The capacity of films to help extend understanding and suggest responses to global crises such as climate change is clearly shown in the highly acclaimed *An Inconvenient Truth* (Guggenheim 2006). Alongside high profile films such as this, there are many groups and individuals who use filmmaking to question and expand on perceived environmental problems in a way that can be shared across cultural, social and linguistic groups.

While the perception of 'impending doom' is a driving force that mimics the nightly news format in many environmental films, other filmmaking approaches are dealing with the ensuing crisis in a more positive way. By reframing perceptions of crisis, groups aim to change behaviour and provide incentives to act for a more sustainable future. This paper will explore how ethnographic and activist filmmaking styles have moved beyond the 'other' and 'agitprop' designations to become part of the broader discourse of cultural change. It will present the view that filmmaking has become a highly interactive process that can engage a broad range of people with various backgrounds to negotiate responses to global events. The idea that audio-visual forms of communication have the capacity to be highly interactive, moving people beyond fear and denial of environmental crises will be supported.



MR

# ALISTAIR WELSH

## **An Identity Crisis? : Language Students in the 'Third Space'** *Cultural and Language Identity*

The 'third space' is a concept of intercultural space where people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds come together and meet somewhere in between. This means that the cultural norms of either or both parties may be renegotiated as participants in interaction position themselves in relation to the other. The third space may convey an image of harmony, yet it is a dynamic space where identities and positions may continually be debated, contested and reshaped.

This paper explores the intercultural understanding of Australian university students who learn Indonesian language and their experience in a third space. It seeks to explore how these students view Indonesian culture and society and to identify key factors that have influenced that understanding. It also examines how participants' identities have changed as a result of their language learning experience and subsequent intercultural engagement.

Research findings are drawn from in-depth interviews with students from several Australian universities, including those who have undertaken long and short term study programs in Indonesia.



DR

# ROSEMARY SULIMAN

## **Living Between Two Worlds: Children From Migrant Families in Australia** *Cultural and Language Identity*

A significant number of children growing up in Australia come from migrant families where a home language exists alongside English and where the culture of the home is different from that of the world beyond the home.

The use of the two languages for many of these children is unavoidable; one language being the mother language of the migrant family and the other being English. It is also important for these children to belong to the culture of the family as much as to belong to the culture of the school and the wider community. This coexistence of two languages and two cultures in the home and community creates the possibility of a conflict for young children, who have to either choose between the two or combine both. For these children, both languages and cultures are important. Given this potential conflict, four questions arise:

1. How proficient are the children of migrant families in their home language and in English?
2. Which language is used more often by children and their parents?
3. Which culture do they feel they belong to?
4. Can the two worlds co-exist?

These questions will be addressed in this paper by examining the results of a study conducted to examine language use and language proficiency of a group of students from migrant families in South-Western Sydney. This is done in the context of their parents' cultural background and their own experience of growing up in Australia.



DR

# XIANGSHU FANG

**The New Images of the Mother, the Father and the Child in Contemporary Chinese Juvenile Stories (1987 – 2007)**

***Cultural and Language Identity***

Appropriate relationships among family members and between the family and the state were a major concern in the Confucian ethical teachings. Only after one's obligation to the family was fulfilled was one capable of serving the larger entity beyond the family – the state. A change in values came with the advent of revolutionary ideology, which influenced modern Chinese children's literature for the first half of the twentieth century. In Mao's China, the interests of the individual, as well as of the family unit, were subsumed by the interests of society as a whole. The literary expression of communist ideology and socialist realism allowed for no negative or wavering characters in children's literature – only positive, resolute and exemplary ones who would carry the proletarian revolution to its inevitable victory. The rhetoric of revolution became a dominant trait of this literature, while collective consciousness rather than personal subjectivity turned out to be its central concern. Stories written in those years are often readily seen, in their political context, as propaganda. From the mid-1980s, however, some authors of juvenile stories took a quite radical turn, which is best manifested in its antiestablishment stance. In literary practice, they resort to a kind of primitivism, the view of rural innocence and virtue as the essence of the Chinese culture, challenging the contemporary trend toward urbanization and foreign influence. This paper investigates the change of the family relations in these stories by concentrating on the new emerging images of the mother, the father and the child in contemporary juvenile stories, as a preliminary study to an overall understanding of what present-day Chinese children/juveniles read.



MS

# GENEVIEVE CAMPBELL

## **Ngariwanajirri – The Strong Girls’ Song: Tiwi Elders Preserving Language and Culture While Empowering Youth Through Song** *Cultural and Language Identity*

The Tiwi Strong Women’s group from Nguiu, Bathurst Island, NT have been singing all their lives. The collective sense of wellbeing and identity they share through singing together keeps them strong. As senior women in the community they have become increasingly concerned that young people need strong role models and a reconnection with their culture and language to give them an alternative to the negative influences in their contemporary situation. Living in two languages and straddling two cultures, young Tiwi people have found it difficult to engage with western literature-based methods of education and conflict resolution. The Strong Women saw that song could be the way to draw together messages of empowerment, a connection with culture and a renewal of language.

In November 2009 eleven elders travelled to Canberra in order to secure the release of ethnographic Tiwi song recordings (taken in 1912, 1928 and 1954), housed at the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. The return of these old songs was a catalyst for a renewed determination to preserve the knowledge and stories of the ancestors and connect the younger generation with their elders and their culture.

Out of this came a plan for the Strong Women to join with their daughters and grand-daughters to write an original song. With help from the old women, the girls have composed lyrics, in Tiwi and English, about the importance of self-esteem, responsibility and solving problems as well as concepts of ancestry and connection to country. Old Tiwi melodies have been incorporated into contemporary music styles to create a song that speaks across generations.

Through dance and music the Strong Women will share their stories -connecting Tiwi women across three generations in the Strong Girls’ Song.



# ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR GUO-QIANG LIU

**Social Identity and Sound Change**  
*Cultural and Language Identity*

Research has shown that, on one hand, that language change is driven by forces internal to language itself, such as grammar-internal systematic pressure; and on the other hand, social motives, such as social identity, have much impact on language change. Language change begins as language variation. But, why is it that some features of language variation evolve into language change, while others stabilise into long-term variation? This paper, through examining a case study on language change, argues that social identity plays a pivotal role in driving language variation into language change.



# SECULARISATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS

**Dr Matthew Sharpe, Lecturer, Deakin University**

Doctor Matthew Sharpe is the author of *Slavoj Zizek: A Little Piece of the Real*, and co-editor of *Slavoj Zizek: Critical Responses*. He completed his PhD on Zizek at the University of Melbourne in 2002, after completing his honours thesis on the political philosophy of Albert Camus in 1998. He has since published extensively in psychoanalysis: on Slavoj Zizek in particular, and the interface between Lacanian psychoanalysis and political theory more generally. Doctor Sharpe is also the author of articles on Kant, Foucault, Levinas, Castoriadis, Marcuse, and contemporary events such as the Abu Ghraib scandal and the September 11 attacks.



His ongoing research interests include political philosophy, psychoanalysis and critical theory, and the philosophy of law. He is also interested in the intersection between aesthetics and politics, the theory of comedy and tragedy, and the political philosophy work of Leo Strauss. Dr Sharpe has recently commenced research into new forms of political conservatism, and the changed use of political rhetoric in contemporary politics.

Dr Sharpe is a founding member of the Melbourne School of Continental Philosophy where he teaches annual summer school courses, and periodically gives lectures.

## Session Overview

The recent “GFC” called the wider public’s attention in the developed nations to the possibility that the world may be in crisis. Yet for decades different voices in the intellectual and religious community have been arguing that the modern West faces crises of various fundamental kinds: crises of values (nihilism or relativism), crises of social disintegration, crises of a science gone mad, crises of political legitimation. With the fall of the Berlin wall and the seemingly terminal failure of Communism as a secular alternative to liberal-capitalism, criticisms of capitalist modernity motivated by religious perspectives of various kinds have become increasingly vocal. The most tangible, violent forms of such criticisms are the religious fundamentalisms, whose vehement criticisms and sometimes violent acts of terrorism respond to a powerful sense of the moral vacuity of the liberal West. Yet the ‘return to religion’ is a much wider, and more complex, phenomenon than this. Within the academic world, many figures of the post-Marxian Left have turned to figures like Saint Paul to try to motivate resistance to the perceived injustices of global capitalism. Differently, a variety of thinkers, often from avowed religious perspectives, have begun to call into question, theoretically and politically, the very idea of secularisation and the separation of churches and the state.

## Session Overview *continued*

If we are to be serious about the once-fashionable language of post-modernity, some argue, we must consider the type of religious forms of thought and practice which the modern enlightenment thought that it had refuted, or consigned to the private sphere. The liberal state and public sphere, they suggest, is not a 'natural' outcome of the enlightening course of human progress, but a by-product of a particular, Christian religious heritage. On the other hand, the odd, but perhaps non-coincidental, couple to these re-emergent religious voices are the vocal 'new atheists': thinkers like Dawkins, Hitchens, or Grayling. Far from representing a neutral reason, their critics assert, they represent their own, new kind of fundamentalism, so we are left with a 'clash of faiths', if not a clash of civilisations.

This stream of "World in Crisis" will address questions raised by the recent, much-touted return to religion. Why is this turn occurring now? What are its practical, political, and intellectual prospects? Are the forms of religion that the new atheists declaim, or the new post-secular thinkers propose returning to, really points of external resistance to liberal modernity, or its by-products? Is religion only ever a force of political reaction in modernity, or are there resources in it which progressive, even secular social movements, could engage with or adopt? Are the new atheisms, or on the opposite side, the new fundamentalisms, really novel phenomena, or has religion only ever been artificially sidelined in the modern Western states? Has modern liberalism only really been kidding itself about its non-doctrinal neutrality between different faiths, and if so, what should follow?



DR

# GEOFFREY BOUCHER

## **That Light in which a Free Humanity is Capable of Interpreting its Emancipated Life as Something Good? Habermas and Religion** *Secularisation and Its Discontents*

How much is at stake when Habermas debates the Pope? Jürgen Habermas is a declared “methodological atheist” and probably the most important living philosopher today, while the then Cardinal Ratzinger and now Pope Benedict XVI is a significant conservative theologian and the head of a congregation of millions. The fact is, this one is most likely the contemporary debate on the limits of modern secularism, the religious origins of modernity and the role of religious belief in public reason. In this paper I summarise the principal matters of concern in the debate – the difference between philosophy and religion, the coexistence of modernity and religious traditions, the role of religion in political life and the claims of religious experience in dialogue on values – before noticing something interesting about Habermas’s position. Habermas’s nuanced and often conciliatory position on religion must not be mistaken for a softening of the main claim in his defence of the legitimacy of modernity, that secular societies are in principle capable of generating their own norms through rational debate rather than through deference to the authority of tradition. Nonetheless, Habermas states that indispensable semantic potentials for a meaningful existence and for human freedom are preserved in religious traditions, potentials that have not yet been exhausted by philosophy. This alerts us to the link that Habermas sees between the discourse of faith and the historical sedimentation of utopian aspirations and imagined possibilities in religious traditions. It also positions his reflections on the complicated terrain of the relationship between the largely formal democratic community anticipated in Habermasian communicative reason and substantive conceptions of the good life. In closing, I explore the implications of this: is Habermas admitting that religion supplies the meaningful and good life without which social justice is empty? Are there secular analogues to the utopian anticipation of the good life that religion provides? And would believers recognise this description of their contribution to society?

MR

# JOHANN ROSSOUW

**Spirit Matters: Life After Secularism and Religion?**  
*Secularisation and Its Discontents*

In this paper I shall focus only on secularism in a Western context. First, a brief genealogy of secularism and religion as two rival twins born with the modern territorial state (William Cavanaugh) will be offered. Second, it will be argued that secularism had its heyday in these countries with the rise of the nation-state, but that it entered a crisis as nationalism gave way to liberalism. That is, when secularism was tied to the national elevation of the nation's members it flourished, but after that project had run its course a more liberal variant of secularism took over in these countries, eventually ending in a bleak, apolitical consumerist individualism. Third, based on the observation that the restoration of the spirit and community as political goals are now on the agenda again, the question whether secular and religious citizens can find common ground around these ideals will be considered, especially with reference to Western Zen-Buddhism and Stiegler.

PROFESSOR

# TRACEY ROWLAND

**The Invalidation of the Secular in Radical Orthodoxy Scholarship**  
*Secularisation and Its Discontents*

This paper will offer a synthesis of the various accounts of the rise of the concept of the secular order, as presented by scholars associated with the Radical Orthodoxy circle, including John Milbank, Catherine Pickstock, Michael Hanby and Conor Cunningham.

PROFESSOR

# WAYNE HUDSON

**Postsecular Enlightenment**  
*Secularisation and Its Discontents*

In this paper I argue that contemporary enlightenment needs to apply reason to the reform of human affairs, deploying not only mundane but also nonmundane frameworks. Reason is needed to eliminate superstition and the tendency to confuse spiritual realities with facts, but nonmundane perspectives are needed to do justice to the beings we are. In doing so I defend the contemporary relevance of Enlightenment in historical sociological terms against both reactionary religionists and those who turn Enlightenment into an ideological programme. My claim is that contemporary Enlightenment needs to include a dialectical engagement with religions world-wide and cannot be based on the mistaken conceptions of religion which prevailed during the Enlightenment.



DR

# PHILLIP QUADRIO

## **Habermas and the Self-Reflective Transcending of Secular Self-Understanding** *Secularisation and Its Discontents*

This paper focuses on Habermas' 2006 paper 'Religion in the Public Sphere'. In that text Habermas offers a post-secularist position that moves beyond the limits of a Rawlsian approach whilst seeking to maintain fidelity with a liberal democratic outlook. Part of Habermas' project is to offer a response to religious critics of Rawls such as P.J. Weithman and N. Wolterstorff, without either completely rejecting the substance of their complaints or embracing the kind of extreme secularism of R. Audi. The paper will pay particular attention to the idea that we ought to "expect" secular citizens to achieve a "self-reflective transcending of a secularist self-understanding of Modernity" in Habermas' response. From here the paper will both affirm and to some degree criticise Habermas' position. Affirmatively it will seek to contribute to that transcending of a secularist self-understanding of modernity by turning to a consideration of the history of secular thought, negatively it will consider something unthought in Habermas' discussion of it, and that is the rather deep connection between secular thinking and the Christian tradition. This historical understanding of secularity provides an interesting critical insight into the limitations of secularity in a pluralistic context and offers resources for a sharper criticism of: the religious critics of Rawls and his hyper-secularist supporters (such as Audi).

MR

# DYLAN NICKELSON

## **Counter-Secularisation: Testing The Theological Cure for Our Modern Malady** *Secularisation and Its Discontents*

Our secular society is suffering a modern malady. Symptoms include a fickle consumer culture and permissive ethic of preference. The cause: prolonged exposure to nihilism. This is the diagnosis coming from counter-secularisation advocates such as John Milbank and Michael Allen Gillespie. Their proposed treatment: a return to theology. But is the diagnosis correct? Is secular society suffering a modern malady? If so, is nihilism the cause? And if so, is the proposed treatment sound? I'll ask and attempt to answer these questions by drawing on recent work by John Gray and AC Grayling, arguing: (1) that Gillespie and Milbank claim that the theological origins of modernity are significant, but that in so doing they risk committing (1a) the genetic fallacy and (1b) the fallacy of equivocation; (2) that even if Gillespie and Milbank avoid these fallacies it is incumbent upon them if they wish to advocate a return to theology to also establish by argument (and not simply by loose reasoning attributing the political atrocities of the twentieth century to 'groundless reason') the inferiority of modernity; and, (3) that even if Gillespie and Milbank establish the inferiority of modernity they have also to establish (3a) that nihilism is the cause of that inferiority and (3b) that renewing belief is the cure.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

# JOHN RUNDELL

**Multiple Modernities, Sacredness, and the Democratic Imaginary: Religion as a Stand-in Category**

***Secularisation and Its Discontents***

Often when religion is discussed the topic is not about religion, as such. Religion becomes a catch-all category for other issues, topics and concerns. This paper aims to tease out what some of these concerns may be if religion is viewed as a stand-in category. From the vantage point of modern multi-faith and multicultural societies religion becomes a topic that concerns the recognition of religious pluralism and of cultural differences, and hence cultural encounters between groups, especially in the context of the complexity of the modern world. When one speaks of "the modern world" it is also less than a straightforward concept. In the history of concept formation it has often been referred to as secularization, modernization, and historical progress. In more recent social theory the concept of 'multiple modernities' has emerged as a way of capturing both the regional diversity of modernizing impulses, and the modern reality of living with its multiple dimensions, often in long term historical contexts.

DR

# MATTHEW SHARPE

## **“In the Beginning, was ... the Story”: Thoughts on Milbank, Narrativity, and Nominalisms**

### ***Secularisation and Its Discontents***

Uniting the work on secularisation of Charles Taylor, the radical orthodoxy theologians, and Michael Gillespie, is the form of a large-scale renarration of Western modernity. Secularisation was not inevitable, these narratives purport to show. It need not have happened, and has left an ambivalent heritage in its wake. It might be rolled back or transformed if only a different narrative can take a central cultural place. Focussing on John Milbank’s work, but using contrasts in particular with Taylor, this paper examines the epistemological importance narrative takes on, in fact and in principle, in these works. Drawing on earlier theological and philosophical critics (Richardson, Insole, and Cheetham) of Milbank’s work, we will assess the limitations that attend this turn to narrative as a means of defending any--theological or secular--understanding of where we find ourselves today. These limitations include a, much-remarked, tendency to reductively misread figures and moments in the history of cultures and ideas; they embrace a tendency to systematically, retrospectively cover over alternative possibilities in “slippery slope” arguments leading often to baleful ends; they tend to produce a disempowering sense that the present cannot be changed, since it lies under the weight of centuries-old cultural trajectories; they can produce-- although Taylor is an exception here-- a highly ambivalent tendency to dismiss the lives and experiences of contemporary men and women as “mass men,” “last men”, or “nihilistic”, paradoxically beyond the reach of the very type of redemption the theorist would hope to promote. The largest question is whether we can promote the laudable aim of a unity-in-difference elevated by Milbank in the contemporary West with a narratological view, deeply influenced by post-Heideggerian philosophy, which presents cultures, including scientific cultures, as so many competing narratives without any higher court of appeal to adjudicate their truth or legitimacy. If radical orthodoxy cautions against theologians adopting their discourse to frameworks taken from secular social science, we will rejoin that theologians, philosophers and citizens alike should take as great a care to attend to our debt to the postmodern genealogical, historicising turn in the history of ideas.

# TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY, CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

**Professor Fethi Mansouri, Chair Migration & Intercultural  
Research, Deakin University**

Professor Fethi Mansouri is the Director of the Research Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation (ICG). He is a leading researcher in the Faculty as well the University and is the principal supervisor of a number of PhD and MA candidates in Middle Eastern studies, migration research and inter-cultural studies.

Professor Mansouri has published twelve books (including six edited books), nine major research monographs, more than fifty refereed research articles and book chapters, and many book reviews and media pieces. He has presented more than 100 invited conferences and seminar papers and many other invited presentations at national and international symposia.



Over the last five years, Professor Mansouri has been awarded more than 30 research grants from a number of funding bodies including the Australian Research Council in 2009-12 on 'Social Networks, Belonging and Active Citizenship among Migrant Youth in Australia'; 2007-10 on 'Local governance and multicultural policies'; 2004-07 on 'Cultural diversity in education'; and in 2002-04 for a project on 'Australia's Asylum Policies'. He has also received research funding from the State Government's Community Support Fund for a project on 'building the capacity of community organisations serving the Arabic communities in Victoria'. Professor Mansouri received funding from a number of philanthropic foundations to conduct research into cultural diversity in education and within local governance. His 2004c book 'Lives in limbo' was short listed for the 2004 Human Rights Medal Awards.

## Session Overview

Public debates about the rise of human mobility in many European and North American countries, as well as in Australia and New Zealand, reflect a number of new phenomena associated with globalisation and resultant perception of increasingly porous national borders, a heightened sense of socio-economic insecurity, and socially constructed notions of risk and rising political instability. Many émigré-societies have traditionally relied on multiculturalism as a social policy response to deal with migrant settlement and matters of cultural diversity. However, recent comparative research is showing that there are significant challenges facing the nation state as it comes to grips with transnational activities and contested notions of citizenship and belonging. This panel will report on current research into local approaches to diversity from a variety of theoretical perspectives most notably active citizenship, social inclusion, cultural identity and intersectionality. The extent to which theories of citizenship and social inclusion can remain heuristic frameworks for engendering individual emancipation, social harmony and overall intercultural understanding is increasingly a matter of intense debate both theoretically and empirically. The symposium will engage with these and other contested concepts such as ethnicity, religiosity, affect and intimacy and their potential for sharing public spaces as well as negotiating rights and recognition in multicultural societies.

PROFESSOR

# FETHI MANSOURI

**Transnationalism, National Belonging and Migrant Integration in the West.**  
*Transnational Mobility, Citizenship and Social Inclusion*

Transnational ties and their consequent configurations for citizenship and intercultural relations are shaping the way new social and political relationships are being constructed within the nation state. This paper aims to examine our understanding of the interrelationship between transnational practices and local integration among migrants in the west. Transnationalism in general would appear to play a heuristic role in engendering integration into the host society, particularly in relation to the fluid negotiation of cultural and religious identity that transcends the boundaries of the nation state. Yet, a transnational approach to local integration can also be compromised by a heightened sense of social exclusion, perceived ethnic segregation and societal anxieties toward religious activism and religiosity (in particular in the case of Islam). Therefore this chapter will explore whether an upholding of transnational ties can in some cases work against developing a sense of connection to one's local milieu. It will also examine the complex relationship between transnational practices and related cultural identities on the one hand and issues of national belonging and active citizenship outcomes on the other. In doing so, the chapter will reflect on whether transnationalism in general can be posited as a potential conduit toward local integration, despite the obvious tensions relating to social inequality among migrant communities in western émigré societies.

DR

# VINCE MAROTTA

**Virtual Ethnicities, Transnational Mobilities and Social Inclusion in Cyberspace**  
*Transnational Mobility, Citizenship and Social Inclusion*

In 1989 Stuart Hall contemplated the emergence of a new conception of ethnicity which engages rather than suppresses difference. This new category entails a notion of difference which is positional, conditional & contested. It is an ethnicity of the margins & of the periphery & it entails the realisation that "we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular experience, a particular culture, without being contained by that position". This new ethnicity, according to Hall, means the end of the essential ethnic subject. The paper ponders several questions: Does a new ethnic subject exist in the contemporary world of cyber space & virtual communities? Are these emerging new ethnicities in cyberspace less coercive and more inclusionary? Do they empower or do they reinforce existing class & gender inequalities? Are these new virtual ethnic selves the subjects rather than the objects of the practices of representation?

DR

**MICHELE LOBO** AND

PROFESSOR

**FETHI MANSOURI**

**Faith, Spirituality and Citizenship in St Denis, Paris**  
*Transnational Mobility, Citizenship and Social Inclusion*

Globally organised acts of terrorism in western cities by radical Islamist groups since September 11 stimulates suspicion of Islamic religiosity and regulates our understanding of who counts as a valued citizen. The outcome is a visible Muslim presence elicits feelings of anxiety and insecurity, underpinned by understandings of faith that centre the negative aspect of spirituality. This paper argues, however, that affective engagements inspired by broader and more positive understandings of faith, are moments of everyday spirituality that blur the boundaries between the secular and the sacred and provide insights into the embodied experience of citizenship in local places. In this paper we draw on in-depth interviews with members from community organisations, (both secular and religious), in St Denis, Paris, an ethnically diverse area to demonstrate that collective action that values social connection and emotional engagement are acts of faith and moments of spirituality that welcome different ways of being and living.

DR

**MAŠA MIKOLA**

**Community of Citizens: Intimacy of Belonging and Public Space in Melbourne**  
*Transnational Mobility, Citizenship and Social Inclusion*

'We are many, but we are one,' reads the popular slogan that has been continuously in place since the beginning of the intense neoliberal wish to place diversity under its one-dimensional umbrella. Different, but the same rhetoric has been prominent not only in political speech, but also in social practices, design and usage of public space in Melbourne. This slogan is a reproduction of the desire for national unity national built via the multicultural diversity, and presents us with contradictions of inclusion/exclusion. The city of Melbourne, with Federation Square as its landmark, reflects the paradox of the desire for construction of a myth of communion and community based on its own myth. The paper argues that to think about citizenship as belonging and/or citizenship as a shared identity, we need to first problematise the multifaceted concept of 'community' and how the community is constructed through sentimentality and (public) intimacy. We will think about the 'community of citizens', the production of borders of citizenship and belonging and consequently materialization of symbolic borders in the city space. Following readings of works by Jean Luc Nancy and Étienne Balibar, the paper will argue that it is not exclusion that forms the deepest level of social alienation but inclusion itself, especially when it goes hand in hand with an intimate and normative fetishization of 'being-in-common'.

# POLITICS OF ECONOMIC CRISIS

**Dr Andrew Vandenberg, Senior Lecturer, Deakin University**

Dr Andrew Vandenberg teaches units on democratisation, ideologies, and democracy and citizenship. He has published on economic rationalism, social democracy, online learning, and social movement unionism, and edited a book, *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era*, Macmillan UK, 2000. In 2002, he won an Australian Research Council Linkage Grant in partnership with the Australian Council of Trade Unions, to research problems of declining unionisation and the prospects of computer-mediated communication among unionists and diverse protestors.



## Session Overview

The supposed verities of neo-liberalism have come under renewed question in recent times. The "global financial crisis" and an escalating sense of urgency about pollution and global warming have prompted renewed argument about the roles and responsibilities of states, large corporations, unions, protest groups, and the relations between these actors and polities, societies, markets, and the environment. How significant is the global financial crisis compared to previous financial and economic crises? How are nation states coping with the combination of economic crisis and pressing environmental concerns?



DR

# ANDREW VANDENBERG

## **Corporatism, Crisis, and contention in Sweden and Korea during the 1990s** *Politics of Economic Crisis*

Over the past thirty five years, debate has evolved about how corporatism differs from pluralism and about corporatism's inadequate notions of power and the state. The rise of neo-liberalism has promoted an even more fatal disdain for the concept both as an analytical construct and as a descriptor of institutions. Faltering growth and surges in unemployment after financial crises in Sweden in 1990-93 and in Korea in 1996-98 seemed to confirm neo-liberal expectations that all varieties of corporatism (state/authoritarian and societal/democratic) are doomed to decline, and that corporatism in all its guises will converge upon a liberal middle ground. A closer examination of the financial crises during the 1990s does not entirely dispel the convergence thesis but it is more accurate to conclude that Swedish and Korean institutions of economic policy formation have changed form rather than collapse. Corporatist institutions in these states have been transformed by ideas about networks and governance, interaction between national and international institutions, and shifting alliances among export-oriented and competition-shielded employers, private and public sector unions, and citizens' protest networks. We argue that the dynamics of contentious politics can explain how these new ideas and alliances transformed regimes in Sweden and Korea and as such constitute an alternative to corporatism as an analytical construct.





DR

# ANDREW SCOTT

## **Complexities, Fragmentation and Political Possibilities for Emerging from Recent Financial Crisis**

### *Politics of Economic Crisis*

Neo-liberal economics may have been under attack since the 'Global Financial Crisis' yet there has been a rapid return to neo-liberal fiscal prescriptions in various nations e.g. Britain. This return has occurred partly because of political fragmentation, inadequate democratic outlets, and lack of philosophical clarity about what crucial and long-standing political parties now stand for. National elections in 2010 following the 'Global Financial Crisis' have produced hung parliaments and unlikely coalitions in Britain, Australia, and Sweden. In each case the labour or social democratic parties have suffered setbacks yet the policy message of the polls is far from clear or consistent. Environmental issues especially climate change have figured in the elections yet the progress of Greens parties appears not to have been solely due to this. The notion that there has even been a 'Global Financial Crisis' is open to question given there have been neither bank collapses nor a technical economic recession in some countries including Australia; and there are also lower unemployment rates than Australia in several other, different OECD countries in northern Europe. This paper will consider the complexities of various national economic trends, electoral results, broader political formations and policy approaches in this designated period of crisis and globalisation. It will, further, bring a political historian's perspective: to relate the recent developments to longer-standing debates about varieties of – or 'variegated' – capitalism and to consider what current and future progressive policy options may now be feasible and appropriate for nation states.



ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

# GEOFF DOW

## **Crisis, Politics and Method: Reflections on the Politics of Political Economy** *Politics of Economic Crisis*

Since a flurry of interest in the 1960s and 1970s, discussion of the differences between Marx's and Keynes's analyses of capitalist economies and their respective implications for politics and policy-making has stalled. (For both intellectual and policy-related reasons, this omission has had debilitating consequences.)

The main lines of discrepancy concern not so much the 'opposing' conceptions of crisis (which seem to be less dissimilar than popularly imagined) as a conflict over method. This contribution argues that the terms of the original Methodenstreit affecting all economic analysis need to be reconsidered in the twenty-first century – particularly in view of the rediscovery in contemporary social science and comparative political economy of the 'possibilities of politics.'

Conventionally, marxism's conception of the possibilities of politics has been pessimistic, perhaps defeatist. However, this view is driven as much by methodological abstractionism as by reasonable extrapolation from the mature political economy (in *Capital*). Keynesian (more particularly post-keynesian) enquiry has been more open to policy and institutional possibilities, largely by dint of Keynes's own intuitive and experimental inclinations.

Recent revisions to marxism (from Bob Jessop) have acknowledged many problems with what has come down to us as marxism; but some emendations seem to shunt marxism in the direction of weberianism whereas 'post-keynesian' marxism seems equally fruitful. A concordant conception of societal evolution and 'new political institutions' can be drawn from re-examination of marxian and keynesian political economies.