

e-Future Times



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Index

Page 1	Vo1 11 Dec 2003
Page 5	Vol 12 Jun 2004
Page 22	Vol 13 Sep 2004
Page 23	Vol 14 Dec 2004
Page 31	Vol 15 Sep 2005

Volume 11 December 2003

Contents

Page 1	Getting the Words Right by Roger Peren (NZFT Board member)
Page 2	The Community Care Revolution - An Australian Perspective by Keith Suter
Page 4	National Radio Te Papa Debates

Getting the Words Right

Roger Peren (NZFT Board member)

Looking to the future, the sooner people get out of the habit of using the word "race", and expressions such as "race relations" or "race-based", the better. They are not at all helpful.

In the first place scientists tell us that there are no separate races: the human race is all one, and a few minor differences such as skin colour or shape of head are readily accounted for.

In the second, the concept of race, beginning with a lot of nonsense talked in the 19th century which encouraged some very unattractive snobberies, has caused and is still causing trouble. "Race" is a convenient, short, sharp word, but in everyday use it is often just misleading. It puts people into compartments regardless of science, modern communications, widespread population movement and the realities of intermarriage.

We are still all tribals, of course. We form family groups (which may feud with others). We shout for our local football clubs. We desperately want NZ to win the America's Cup - or our

party to win the next election. That's all understandable. Racism is perhaps tribalism carried to excess.

150 years ago the distinction between Maori and Pakeha was plain to see, and The Treaty a commendable practical solution - indeed a notable first in the history of such relationships. As more and more people arrived from distant countries, however, with a wider range of backgrounds, and intermarriage became commonplace, both terms lost much of their meaning. Today we must ask: how should we define Pakeha? Is every new arrival immediately recognised as a Pakeha?

Moving to another country, migrants naturally enough link up with others who will understand their background and share their language. Greeks or Irish or Fijians will freely refer to their ethnicity - or to their previous nationality - but before too long will probably acquire NZ citizenship and a new passport. (A few Sundays ago the Greek community in Wellington held a rousing festival.)

As a country of immigration, NZ has many such groups or communities, some more organised than others, each with some distinctive values, priorities, practices or interests - their culture.

And though the first generation may tend to stick together, their children are likely to move more freely, and many will marry outside the community. Some may bring their spouses home; others will slip into another community. Either way distinctions are blurred, differences become unimportant.

Plainly the "Pakeha", originally mostly from the British Isles, now come from a wide range of ethnic stocks. They are not a race.

And Maori have a lively, growing and evolving community, with a strong culture, though it is no longer expected that all who identify themselves as members will have Maori blood.

Accordingly, NZ today being multicultural, it is probably better just to talk about New Zealanders (or Kiwis?), knowing full well that not all of them have been here for four or five generations.

And the ideal New Zealander? Well educated, healthy, confident, energetic, not lacking in initiative, and a good citizen. Anything more?

As many countries struggle to deal with mass migration, both legal and illegal, with refugees and asylum-seekers, New Zealanders must think carefully about what is involved for them. The composition of our population is changing. Newcomers may not accept all of what we call our "NZ values". We have communities living side by side. The goal is not uniformity; it seems to be recognised that "assimilation" is virtually unattainable.

But communities can give us strength. Variety allows us to take full advantage of a wide range of contributions, making good use of all our assets. Variety is stimulating, and movement and intermarriage enable us to make the most of it.

Our country; our choices. But we must do our thinking in the real world, the world of the possible. And immigration is a difficult issue.

The Community Care Revolution - An Australian Perspective

Keith Suter

Australians are living longer and they are demanding higher standards of care. Older Australians are not necessarily willing or wanting to live in aged care centres. They want to stay home - they want "choices". "Choices" is, of course, the mantra of the current form of economic philosophy. This is different from the era of, say, early Ford motor cars, when you could have any colour you wanted - provided it was black (black was the colour of cars because it dried fastest on the production line).

Last Monday I was involved in the launching of a set of policy papers on "Better Community Care". Other speakers were representatives from the NSW Council of Social Service, Aged and Community Services (NSW & ACT) and Council on the Ageing (NSW).

I spoke about the "community care revolution". In the field of aged care, for example, there has long been the tendency to assume that "aged care" should be "residential care": the creation of separate buildings for older Australians. The Australian Government has been involved in funding this work for about half a century, usually through non-governmental providers (such as Wesley Mission).

But older Australians would often prefer to stay at home for as long as possible. All three levels of government have therefore become involved in providing funds and/ or services to assist them do so. Thus, an increasing amount of "aged care" is actually the delivery of services to people in their own home.

This is not always as easy as it seems. For example, from an Occupational Health and Safety point of view, it is better to have all the workers on the one site - in a residential aged care facility - rather than travelling around to different homes. I spoke at this year's International Aged Care Conference at Darling Harbour on new trends in aged care and raised the issue of worker safety. One of the American participants - from sleepy little Connecticut - said that some of his workers now travel with armed guards to provide services in private homes. Thankfully, Australia has not reached the levels of violence of Connecticut - let alone Los Angeles - but it is a reminder of the safety issues involved.

Meanwhile, people with disabilities now have a greater salience within the community. This is a great change since 1981: UN International Year of Disabled Persons, with its theme "Breaking Down the Barriers". An older Australian is not necessarily a person with a disability but there may be some commonalities in the delivery of services. Thus, a fresh set of barriers to be broken down is to see the similarities in the delivery of services for older Australians and Australians with disabilities.

Again, this is easier said than done. Entire government departments have been built on providing services to different categories of people. They are now being challenged to provide "whole of government" approaches. By the same token, there is also a need for "whole of social welfare industry approach" among the non-governmental and the for-profit providers.

This week's Policy Papers are important because they show that we need new ways of looking at issues. They also provide a vision of what is required; there are no easy answers

but the quicker we start working on the issues the better. Finally, they show that the non-governmental members of the industry can work outside their respective silos; governments are now being challenged to do likewise.

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<http://www.wesleymission.org.au/pastoral/suter.asp>

Broadcast Friday 31st October 2003 on Radio 2GB's "Brian Wilshire Programme" at 9pm.

Being There In 2021 - what will it be like?

Debates at Te Papa, Wellington and one at the Auckland City Art Gallery, 1999, first broadcast by Radio NZ.

In 1999 the National Radio facilitated series of debates entitled the *National Radio Te Papa Debates "Being There in 2021 - What will it be like?"* The series were six panel discussions, each considering three different scenarios for 2021 focussing on a broad topic such as health. The debate was hosted by a moderator with four panellists with experience in the topic. The NZ Futures Trust assisted in developing the scenarios.

The moderator introduced the scenarios separately giving each panellist an opportunity to respond to the scenario. There was time for general comments and interaction and usually a final summary by each panellist before members of the audience were given time for questions and comments. Edited versions of all six debates were broadcast twice about two months later on national radio.

It is interesting to speculate on how the panellists' comments might differ if the debates were held in 2004.

National Radio Te Papa Debates

Being there in 2021:

Part 1 Culture and Identity

Part 2 Education

Part 3 Rural New Zealand

Part 4 Urban new Zealand

Part 5 The Economy

Part 6 Health

Notes by Jennifer Coote from the audio tapes of two of the debates, Rural New Zealand and Urban New Zealand were reported in e-Future Times, Vol 7, June 2002.

A summary of most of the *Culture and Identity* debate is reported in *Future Times* 2000/Volume 3 (pp 4, 5)

Volume 12 June 2004

A Tribute to Michael King - died 30 March 2004

Anthony Haas and Richard Hill - 31 March 2004



Richard Hill

Reconciling Biculturalism and Multiculturalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Michael King, Anthony Haas and Richard S Hill

Foreword

On 12 November 2003 Anthony Haas and Richard Hill presented a paper to the New Zealand Futures Trust on the theme of the challenging interface between biculturalism and multiculturalism. It was a paper informed not only by the direction of our own work, but also by the life and work, over three decades, of Michael King - who was referred to a number of times in the course of the presentation.

This morning, we learnt of the sad death of Michael King and Maria Jungowska. Within minutes, both of us independently, and then (within an hour) together, pledged to continue the journey which we and others shared with Michael; a journey seeking a socially cohesive, multiethnic New Zealand future; a future of harmonious interaction and cooperation between Maori, Pakeha and all other ethnicities/cultures within the nation.

Both of us began our journeys in different ways. Hill's began with political activism and scholarly study of the state and its relationship with the populace. Haas' has focussed on activist and intellectual engagement with the complexities of ethnic/cultural interaction in the South Pacific. Both journeys joined with, and were influenced by, Michael King's life and works.

In recent times, Hill has focussed on issues of rangatiratanga and biculturalism in New Zealand, via work undertaken at the Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Victoria University of Wellington; and Haas has developed the Centre for Citizenship Education, and in effect extended Michael King's *Being*

Pakeha notions into his *Being Pa'alagi* research programme (which he worked on when an associate at the Stout Research Centre in 2003). When we came together to plan a presentation to the New Zealand Futures Trust in November 2003 the issues were discussed with Michael King. It was during these discussions with him that it became clear that the three of us - despite very different backgrounds - were in effect sharing the same journey towards similar goals. King's foreword to Haas' *Being Pa'alagi* programme had already been drafted, and it formed a backdrop to our preparations and presentation. In fact, we conceptualised our seminar in the context of this draft foreword.

It seems appropriate then, as our immediate contribution to commemorating the life and work of Michael King, to merge his *Being Pa'alagi* foreword with our presentations. This tribute, reflecting text written in 2002-2003, does not take into account the public responses to National Party Leader Don Brash's Orewa speech in January 2004. Nor, given the instantaneous nature of this publication, does it incorporate feedback received since our presentation or give Haas time to develop a text from his speech notes. However, with the assistance of Maureen West of the Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, in the spirit of the urgency of carrying Michael King's work forward we present a compilation publication* in the following format:

- I BEING PA'ALAGI (constituting Michael King's draft foreword to the Being Pa'alagi programme, written in March 2002)
- II BICULTURALISM/TREATY OF WAITANGI (constituting Richard Hill's opening presentation to the Futures Trust seminar of November 2003)
- III MULTICULTURALISM (constituting speech notes for Anthony Haas' presentation to the Futures Trust seminar, and incorporating some information provided in a prior seminar to the Stout Research Centre in 2003)
- IV RECONCILIATION (constituting Richard Hill's closing contribution to the Futures Trust seminar)
- V CONCLUSION (presented by Richard Hill at the Futures Trust seminar)

Anthony Haas and Richard Hill

31 March 2004

I BEING PA'ALAGI **By Michael King**

Because of the nature of its modern history - the fact that it was colonised in the course of British imperial expansion and that the vast majority of its settlers came from one small part of the world, the British Isles - New Zealand developed in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century as a mono-cultural society.

It was not monocultural in the sense that only one culture, Anglo-Celtic in origin and character, existed there. Maori culture, that of the country's indigenous Polynesian people, also persisted in some regions. But Maori and Pakeha New Zealanders lived largely separate lives in different parts of the country, insulated from one another geographically, socially and culturally. And it was the Pakeha or European elements that determined the character of the national institutions. The political system, the legal system, the public service - all these were founded on British models and precedents. With few exceptions those who governed at

national and local levels were Pakeha; the law they applied was Pakeha; and the language of national discourse was English.

A minority of immigrants in the early period of settler history were not British: some were Italians, Dalmatians, Poles, Jews and Chinese, for example. But these people learned quickly that, no matter what language they spoke in the privacy of their homes and among their own families, to make material and professional progress in the society in which they had relocated themselves they had to join mainstream Pakeha culture. They had to speak English and live and work according to the British-derived laws and mores of Pakeha New Zealand. Accompanying what might be called this positive reality was a negative one: a degree of xenophobia. New Zealanders did not immediately trust those who did not speak English and who came from societies and cultures that were not Anglo-Celtic. Such people had to demonstrate that they were prepared to assimilate quickly, or to try to do so, to win the respect of their fellow Pakeha citizens.

If there was one single factor that began to alter this cultural template it was the Second World War. That global upheaval affected the composition and character of New Zealand society in several important ways. The absence of a large section of the New Zealand workforce in the armed services triggered the movement of Maori people out of the rural areas in which they had been isolated and into the nation's towns and cities. This demographic trajectory gathered momentum in the years after the war as rural economies declined and opportunities for urban employment increased. The war also brought a small population of displaced Europeans into New Zealand who, even though they were not large in number, had a disproportionate influence on the future character of New Zealand society because of their industry and because many of them took a leading role in arts and cultural organisations. And New Zealanders who served abroad in the war, some one hundred thousand of them, were exposed to other cultures and languages in a way they could never be at home in an island nation that lack borders with any other countries.

The aggregated effect of all these influences began to recondition the nature of Pakeha New Zealand. The most powerful and most important of them was the process of Maori migration which, over a period of three decades, turned Maori from being a rural people living largely in isolation from Pakeha people and influences into an urban one, living alongside Pakeha in the nation's towns and cities. And this new demographic reality, from which Pakeha leadership and officialdom averted its gaze up to the 1960s, meant that the country had to rewrite its social contract in the closing decades of the twentieth century. From being an unequivocally monocultural society, New Zealand was forced by this change in circumstances to give official recognition to Maori language and culture; to bend the institutions of the majority culture – the law, the education system, the health system, the media - in ways that acknowledged Maori values and protocols; and to give judicial effect to the Treaty of Waitangi which, for more than a hundred years, successive governments and guardians of the law had regarded as a legal nullity.

These adjustments, by which New Zealand went well down the road towards becoming a bi-cultural society, were made in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Their ultimate objective was an attempt to ensure that Maori New Zealanders participated as fully in the national life - sharing its resources to the same extent, influencing the character of national culture - as their Pakeha compatriots. With this objective largely achieved, the time is now ripe to cast a wider view over the country's cultural contours to determine whether or not there are other New Zealanders who are less than fully involved in the national life, and

whether or not members of the Pakeha majority culture and the tangata whenua culture ought to make further adjustments to accommodate those who are neither Pakeha nor Maori.

Another way of approaching this equation is to ask whether, having achieved a degree of bi-culturalism, the next logical revision of the New Zealand social contract ought to be in favour of multi-culturalism?

If this next step is deemed worthy of taking, the group on whom the focus of attention should fix first is New Zealand Pacific Islanders.

Pacific Islanders have developed a closer relationship with New Zealand than with any other country in the neighbourhood or the world. Apart from Australia, which is resolutely giving closer attention to the Asian region, Pacific Islanders are New Zealand's closest neighbours. Those of them who are Polynesian share a culture of origin with New Zealand Maori. New Zealand has been directly and not always happily involved in the colonial administration of some of their territories - Samoa, the Cook Islands, Tokelau. And people from each of those countries, and from Tonga, have traditionally looked to New Zealand as their first port of call for overseas aid, education and expatriate employment. Just as successive Australian governments have postulated a vision that declares their country to be, geographically and economically a part of the Asian region, New Zealand governments have opted to find a wider identity and focus of interest for New Zealand among the islands of the Pacific.

A consequence for New Zealand has been a steady development of political, trade-aid and sporting relationships with some Pacific peoples; and a significant entry of Pacific Island people into New Zealand as permanent residents. Both sets of factors have led to wider and more intimate interaction between New Zealanders and Pacific Islanders in the past three decades.

Are "old New Zealanders", Pakeha and Maori, adequately prepared for this interaction? And are New Zealand's Pacific Island citizens getting the full potential benefits of participation in the country's national life? If the answers to both these questions is negative, then what adjustments do both sets of peoples need to make in order to ensure that the effects of the relationship are positive and fruitful for all concerned?

This group of questions is almost identical to those I posed in relation to Maori and Pakeha interaction in the early 1980s. At that time I wrote a book called *Being Pakeha*, which had several objectives. One was to shed light on the nature of the Maori-Pakeha relations through history. A second was to spark debate about the nature of an evolving Pakeha culture and society. And a third was to communicate what changes had occurred in my own life and view of the world as the result of personal encounters with Maori - because I believed that all Pakeha New Zealanders would eventually be faced by a set of cultural circumstances in which I had become involved in the 1960s and 1970s.

This programme, *Being Pa'alagi* by Anthony Haas, arises from a very similar set of circumstances, personal and social. Just as I, as a Pakeha person, had intimate contact with the Maori world over two decades, Anthony Haas has had even more intimate contact with the ethos of Pacific Islands' cultures. Like me he learned things he didn't previously know, or didn't know he knew, and he has made adjustments accordingly in his own personal and family life. Like me too, the nature of those experiences is relevant to encounters, which New Zealand as a whole is having, or will have, with Pacific peoples who choose to live here.

I wrote my book out of the experience of being an Irish-Catholic New Zealander who sometimes felt, as often Maori had done, that I was living on the social and cultural margins of my country. I also recognised things about my culture of origin that were perhaps more in harmony with Maori culture than with Pakeha - a love of music, an emphasis on family, a focus on rituals of death that allowed expression of a full range of human emotions.

Anthony Haas is a Jewish New Zealander. He too is aware of contexts in which his own people have not been wholly embraced by the old mono-culture of Pakeha New Zealand. His culture of origin too has sometimes been a vehicle for more demonstrative displays of human emotions than those favoured by New Zealanders of Anglo-Saxon descent. And he has also, within his own immediate family, precedents for a sharp interest in the processes of politics and in particular the politics of social justice and equal opportunity. This background is an ideal one for approaching the kind of analysis that constitutes the substance of this book.

Here, then, is a programme of a kind we have not had before: a story of what it means to be a Pakeha New Zealander affected by the presence of Pacific Island people within our communities and within the wider neighbourhood of our region. While we anticipate the initiatives in the programme will display a high degree of perception and intelligence, it is by no means an academic treatment of the subject. It is, instead, a participant-observer's account of a range of human experiences, which have enriched the story-teller. And, in enriching the author, those experiences have also given him a means by which to enrich his fellow countrymen. This is a story that speaks to all New Zealanders, as it also does to our times. I cannot commend it highly enough.

II BICULTURALISM/TREATY OF WAITANGI

By Richard S Hill

What I am going to say can be summed up in a remark by William Faulkner: 'The past is never dead. It's not even past.'

The Rangatiratanga Discourse and Historiography

For some years Pakeha historians in the area of Crown-Maori relationships have been turning their scrutiny upon Maori perspectives on those relationships. This was needed in order to address a previous Eurocentrism in New Zealand historiography. Their findings have created, in essence, a new paradigm in Treaty of Waitangi studies, one which has a resonance with a pre-existing broadly based and Maori-led discourse – a discourse best described as a rangatiratanga discourse.

These revisionist historical writings constitute part of what an Italian scholar, examining New Zealand history from Griffith University in Queensland, has depicted as 'an historiographical revolution' here from the mid-1980s. Their exploration of indigenous issues and race relations took place within the context of that remarkable upsurge of Maori cultural politics in the 1970s-80s that we usually call the Maori Renaissance. This was led by Maori activists who, in Michael King's words, 'were determined that Maori ought to be able to behave as Maori in wider New Zealand life rather than submerge their identity in favour of Pakeha *mores* and values.'

'Maori Renaissance' 1970s-80s and Biculturalism

The Maori Renaissance led to the emergence of bicultural ways of 'doing and viewing' in many areas of everyday life in New Zealand. Bicultural modes of thinking and acting, in

fact, became so pronounced a feature of New Zealand life that by 1990 they had become incorporated into 'official culture'.

By that date, when 150 years of the nation's existence was commemorated, governmental pronouncements, backed by judicial decisions, celebrated the emergence of a bicultural society – heavily influenced by the 'Renaissance' and to a degree by the new historiography. By then, too, the Crown had acknowledged that, as part of its own contribution to the bicultural polity, it needed to play a crucial role in accommodating Maori forms and aspirations. It had come to appreciate that these aspirations were generally couched in terms of demands that it meet the promises it had made to its Maori partners at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; and that, therefore, improving its relationship with Maori meant officially elevating the Treaty to take into account its perennial and central significance to Maori (as Claudia Orange outlined during the historiographical revolution).

Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi [Autonomy/Rangatiratanga]

The state's uptake of the biculturalism that was emerging in society needed in particular to address Article II of the Treaty. Under it the Crown promised Maori *te tino rangatiratanga*. This was generally expressed in English in 1840 and thereafter as upholding the rights of chieftainship. But most historians would now (although some demur) see the promise as approximating, in Maori eyes, what would generally be called 'autonomy' – the running of their own collective affairs in their own fashion. Through revisionist but still mostly western modes of scholarship, then, historians have in effect been endorsing what Maori people, through their leaders and scholars, have been saying ever since the Treaty was signed.

It cannot be stressed enough that there is a consistency in the historical record on this issue. Clearly, throughout the existence of the colony and country of New Zealand, Maori have assiduously sought and fought for ways of effecting autonomy or *rangatiratanga*, although obviously the methods and goals have changed through time. The new historiography has been particularly significant in the arena of Treaty claims processes. A Waitangi Tribunal Report in 1996 summed up the *rangatiratanga* discourse as follows:

'Through war, protest and petition, the single thread that most illuminates the historical fabric of Maori and Pakeha contact has been the Maori determination to maintain Maori autonomy and the Government's desire to destroy it.' (WT, *The Taranaki Report: Kaupapa Tuatahi*, p 6)

Historiography has, in effect, long conceded such a theme for at least some of the 19th century (although often without appreciating Maori motivations for struggle). But few historians have focused on the quest for *rangatiratanga* in the twentieth century. At the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit we are currently conducting research by both Maori and Pakeha scholars on Crown/Maori relations during last century, and others are working in this field too. Findings to date are that the Maori quest for *rangatiratanga*, autonomy, self-determination – call it what you will – has continued to dominate the relationship between state and Maori, collectively organised in different ways, throughout the twentieth century. This includes periods when Maori virtually disappear from the existing historiographical record, including the decidedly monocultural post-war years.

Assimilation and Resistance

From the beginning of the colony of New Zealand the official policy had been that Maori would, in light of their colonisation by a 'superior' race and civilisation, eventually disappear

as a culture and/or as a people. When the great urban migration occurred after the Second World War, the Crown and Pakeha commentators believed that this would finally occur – that full assimilation would take place through such factors as detribalisation and intermarriage. But even in the face of massive movement out of their tribal rohe, Maori continued collectively to identify as Maori in many ways: organisationally, politically, culturally, tribally, sub-tribally, spiritually, non-tribally, pan-tribally.

The Maori Renaissance built upon that continuity of identification and organisation. It can be seen in one sense as one of the most overt assertions of rangatiratanga since the Anglo-Maori Wars. As a result of it, a bicultural society began to emerge from the previously dominant monoculturalism. The state followed this up by officially abandoning assimilation, and finding a substitute indigenous policy. This was replacement was expressed during the 1990 sesquicentenary under the official rhetoric of ‘two peoples, one nation’, replacing assimilationist language that dated back to Lieutenant-Governor Hobson’s founding words: ‘We are all one people’.

Past/Present/Future Understandings and Policies

Why is the modern rangatiratanga discourse, and the history on which it is based, significant for the future? As I noted in *Future Times* and the Trust’s website earlier this year, historians generally argue (if they think about it at all) that the present cannot be fully understood without knowledge of the past; and that without full knowledge of the present, the future cannot be properly and rationally planned. Insofar as they look to that future with any specificity, they argue – usually implicitly – that a better future can come about through taking heed of the lessons that can be learnt from the past.

What seems to me the best contribution an historian can make to ‘futures studies’ in New Zealand, then, is that of detecting and explaining past salient features that might have a bearing on the project of creating a better future. The intensity and longevity of the Maori quest for rangatiratanga is one very key feature which historians in the past, and the general public, have not fully appreciated – if at all.

The Crown, however, has always, historically, had to respond to significant manifestations of rangatiratanga.

It took up the rangatiratanga challenge that constituted the Maori Renaissance, for example, in two key ways:

First, by putting into place reconciliatory and reparative mechanisms to resolve the historical Treaty-based grievances of Maori; here, whatever the frustrations and delays, New Zealand is recognised as a world leader.

Second, by responding more vigorously than before to ‘closing the gaps’ or ‘reducing inequalities’ between Maori and pakeha.

Lessons of History

But as Maoridom has asserted in various contexts, these two responses, while *necessary*, are not *sufficient* to satisfy the requirements of rangatiratanga. And so, despite bicultural developments within the state, and between it and Maori, modern Crown efforts to meet

Maori autonomist aspirations have just added to a long list of inadequate responses from the past. What, then, is the essential problem?

In both past and modern manifestations, autonomist aspirations have focussed on ways of cementing in some kind of constitutional relationship, or guaranteed equivalent, between Maori and the Crown. One might surely think that the daily bicultural context of contemporary New Zealand life provides the best environment ever for a Treaty-based relational nexus to be forged between Crown and Maori – for negotiation of a formalised set of relationships, under the overarching guidance of the Treaty, that could govern the interaction between Crown and Maori and protect both parties' interests.

But the Crown has resisted such a development, and here lies the nub of the problem. While it refuses to make any concessions at all, Maori insist that it needs to respond fully and enthusiastically to their requests to discuss how best to apply the Treaty –how to find modern ways of addressing their quest for rangatiratanga. If it does not do this, the lessons of history seem clear enough: Maori will continue to be discontented, and to collectively organise in various fashions to mount pressure for change. It is surely not healthy for any society to have a sizeable discontented section of the population - for practical reasons even if social justice were to be discounted or rejected. In New Zealand's case, refusing to address rangatiratanga will hamper its indigenous people's journey from, in words I first heard used by the late Tamihana TeWinitana, 'grievance mode to development mode'.

Article One of the Treaty [Governance/Kawanatanga]

The necessary stations along the route of this journey should not frighten anyone. History indicates that Maori have generally been exceedingly patient. Organised in various collective ways, they have debated for decades with ministers, officials, local bodies, community groups and so on, to find ways of effecting rangatiratanga. Almost all of these suggested ways, even in the heady days of the Maori Renaissance, have come under the umbrella of Article I of the Treaty, the Kawanatanga or Governance Article. In short, the quest for rangatiratanga has generally sought to find autonomy within the overarching shelter of the Crown, not in some kind of sovereigntist otherness. The goal was always that of fitting Maori polity and culture within the parameters of the existing nation state.

Moreover, the dialogue has usually, from the Maori side, sought to find accommodation not only with the Crown but also with the rest of the citizenry. Maori discussion and debate with both state and citizen is now an integral part of the nation-building exercise initiated after the British entry into Europe in 1973. To try and close the dialogue down, as some argue, or to halt it at the point it has reached, is to attempt to defy the thrust of history.

Multiculturalism and Prioritisation

In my *Future Times* article earlier this year, I mentioned one of the difficulties of establishing a bicultural socio-polity – namely, the position of other minority ethnicities and cultures which wanted to preserve or develop some of their traditional customs in New Zealand. One result of the Maori Renaissance and the emergence of a bicultural discourse, was that the state began listening to non-Maori as well as to Maori communal voices, and Pakeha in general began being receptive to other cultures. State and Pakeha began to tolerate or even celebrate diversity, rather than seek to assimilate it out of existence, as in the past.

Maori welcomed this development, but remained mindful that they were the tangatawhenua; that (to cite Michael King) ‘Maori is the foundational human culture of the land, the first repository of its naming and its histories and its songs’ (*The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p 513), and that *they* were the people who had been struggling against the pressures of politico-cultural assimilation ever since 1840.

In short, the Maori perspective was generally to say: we welcome diversity, indeed we *pioneered* its welcome, but the Crown’s most urgent attention needs to be paid to its relational nexus with its own Treaty partners. Once the state shows that it is prepared to make advances in finding a rangatiratanga-based partnership, *then* Maori are prepared to fully explore modes of incorporating the aspirations of other ethnicities.

If the Crown can be persuaded to respond seriously to Maori requests for dialogue aimed at cementing in a guaranteed Treaty partnership, that dialogue can surely be joined at appropriate points by representatives of other cultures in what is increasingly a multicultural society in an officially bicultural land.

These community leaders, too, need to understand the past, including the central feature that Maori have been at the forefront of the struggle for the right to display diversity within the nation state for 163 years; and that promising modern developments were spearheaded by Maori. Maori have not only been instrumental in creating the bicultural discourse of modern New Zealand, they have also moved it into the highest councils of state. As Witi Ihimaera has said, since the 1980s the ‘sense of protest has shifted into the infrastructures of legislation and justice’; into Treaty-based decision-making and policy development.

Role of Scholarship

These areas can benefit from the application of scholarship, including international developments. Postcolonial theorist Homi K Bhabha, for example, stresses the disappearance of the old racial/cultural binaries and polarities. A hybridisation has emerged that adds up to the creation of new cultural forms in a ‘third space’ characterised by interactive negotiations and productive social explorations. Maori as well as Pakeha scholars are already taking heed of such reconceptualisations. Paul Meredith, for example, has called for the working through of ‘an inclusionary and multifaceted identity politics’ to attain an ‘interculturalism’ that reflects the many ‘differences and visions’ in NZ. He notes that such a relational approach will ‘demand negotiation, collaboration, compromise and much sacrifice’.

And it hardly needs saying, given the thrust of my argument so far, that it will have to take into account the Treaty of Waitangi and its modern principles.

III MULTICULTURALISM

By Anthony Haas

Introduction

The *Being Pa’alagi* research programme has focussed on:

- * interviews with Pa’alagi and Pacific people on self determination
- * identifying challenges in reconciling cultures.

It has four broad components:

- * beginnings of multiculturalism in New Zealand
- * 'here' – in New Zealand
- * 'there' – the Pacific Island countries in New Zealand's neighbourhood
anticipating the future Aspects of these will be highlighted below.

Overview

The programme examines values from 'there' and 'here' in the following terms:

- * Social cohesion – living successfully together in New Zealand
- * Te'o le va – learning from the Samoan concept 'look to the relationship'
- * Kaitiaki – learning from the Maori sense of duty of care for visitors
- * Good governance – managing our affairs transparently, by due process, and providing citizenship education to help the process
- * Tolerance – fostering tolerance to reduce the prejudice that threatens social cohesion
- * Multiculturalism – cultures of the multiethnic population coexisting consistently with social cohesion
- * Leadership – working to reduce the threats to, and increase the opportunities for, building a socially cohesive society
- * From monoculturalism to multiculturalism – via biculturalism: the route our voyage has taken

The programme is involved in the following case studies:

- * Citizenship education for local government
- * Multiculturalism in secondary schools
- * Opening channels of communication between migrant and host society governments
- * Pacific peoples' blindness & diabetes prevention initiative

The programme concludes there is a need for

- * Revising New Zealand's social contract in favour of multiculturalism
- * Providing what people seek, namely experience-based guidance

Leadership

Examining leaders' opinions and actions can illuminate such matters as:

- * Self-determination in the Pacific
- * The multiethnic context

Examples:

“Good government is no substitute for self-government”.

Frank Corner, former NZ Secretary of Foreign Affairs describing the Mau theme in Samoa.

“Good governance is needed to prevent tourism and investment being undermined by security threats”.

Australia's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr Ashton Calvert, during his Wellington visit in May 2003

“An audit of the region in which we do have serious influence, the Pacific, produces a chilling result ... It doesn't have to be like this ... Our failures are not born from meanness or lack of commitment ... This has been a costly but honest mistake in policies and direction. We shall all pay sooner or later. And we shall pay more the longer we fail to take leadership”.

Former NZ PM Michael Moore (author of *Pacific Parliament*, Asia Pacific Books, 1982) in 'When aid goes bad', *Dominion Post*, June 10, 2003

Wellington Maori leaders, hearing and sensing feelings about lack of inclusion, go out of their way to retrieve situations by facilitating inclusion in Maori/Pacific/Polynesian events.

Multiculturalism in New Zealand

This too can be illuminated by leadership statements, such as:

“Are ‘old New Zealanders’, Pakeha and Maori, adequately prepared for this (Pacific peoples oriented) interaction? And are New Zealand's Pacific Island citizens getting the full potential benefits of participation in the country's national life? If the answers to both these questions are negative, then what adjustments do both sets of peoples need to make in order to ensure that the effects of the relationship are positive and fruitful for all concerned?”

Michael King, draft foreword, *Being Pa'alagi* programme, 2002

Or, when examining Samoan value of care for the relationship (ia teu le va):

“We sent you our navigators and warriors ahead of us to Aotearoa a long time ago. Now we have joined you again – and are delighted to see our cousins. You are the Kaitiaki of this place. As Kaitiaki we know you must look after our best interests before you look after your own”.

Porirua Samoan at an Auckland problem gambling conference (2003)

Monocultural legacy

“From being an unequivocally monocultural society, New Zealand was forced by this change in circumstances to give official recognition to Maori language and culture; to bend the institutions of the majority culture - the law, the education system, the health system, the media - in ways that acknowledged Maori values and protocols”.

Michael King, draft foreword, *Being Pa'alagi* programme, 2002

Voices Calling for Inclusion

* Need to leave the margins, but ...

* Pacific peoples have put assertion on hold pending the biculturalist evolution.

However ...

* Long established New Zealand Chinese (for example) feel increasingly frustrated

* New immigrants are bewildered by the bicultural discourse, and wonder if they are welcome

* Complexities eg ...

“My father did not want his voice to be heard, for fear of re-runs of anti-semitism, prejudice and persecution”.

Anthony Haas, in *Mixed Blessings - New Zealand children of Holocaust Survivors remember*, Tandem Press, Auckland, 2003

Anticipating the Future

Experiences of *Being Pa'alagi* suggest some ways of anticipating the future in some sectors of endeavour, particularly in reconciliation policies.

Amongst these are:

- * Opening channels of communication between migrant and host society
- * Pacific Peoples Blindness and Diabetes Prevention Initiative
- * Citizenship education for local government
- * Reconciling biculturalism and multiculturalism, including in secondary schools

Case Study One: Opening Channels of Communication

In the 70s, Pacific migrants worked in partnership with the Government to develop advisory councils.

“We saw it as a great opportunity for Pacific peoples and particularly Samoans because they had the larger numbers, as a vehicle for conveying to government important issues for the Pacific community at that time. They wanted a voice”.

“The advisory councils achieved significant bringing together of the community, and, more importantly, leaders. It was the beginning of strategic thinking. You have to give credit now that it has survived”.

Taito Phillip Field, *DecisionMaker Pacific Citizens*, DecisionMaker Publications, 3rd qtr, 2003, <http://www.decisionmaker.co.nz/quarterlies/pacificcitizens>

Case Study Two: Pacific Peoples Blindness and Diabetes Prevention Initiative

* Blindness prevention for New Zealand in general and for Pacific peoples in particular is underdeveloped.

* Lessons:

- # define the issue
- # apply cross cultural communication
- # manage multiple lines of accountability
- # determine when citizen control of resources is acceptable/possible
- # determine ways for citizen participation in civic processes - e.g. being heard, designing solutions
- # build capacity for migrant and host

Case study Three: Citizenship Education for Local Government

Citizenship education can contribute by melding ‘unity and diversity’, including making sure that biculturalism is reinforced as a prerequisite for a successful introduction of multiculturalism

“The performance and behavior of the citizens, their understanding of their rights and responsibilities, their readiness and ability to take part as appropriate in local and national government, and the emphasis they put on the importance of transparency and accountability in public as well as private affairs”.

Roger Peren, Centre for Citizenship Education objectives, September 2003, <http://www.decisionmaker.co.nz/cce/index.htm>

* Pacific peoples' participation in local government, education and health in New Zealand could be improved:

“The question all New Zealand territorial local authorities face is how to attract participation from individuals or families in the development of the communities they live in so as to benefit the society of which they are a part –including Pacific peoples”.

Centre for Citizenship Education, *DecisionMaker Pacific Citizens*, 3rd qtr, 2003, <http://www.decisionmaker.co.nz/quarterlies/pacificcitizens>

- * Citizenship and governance toolkits can facilitate participation
 - * The ‘ladder of empowerment’ provides a set of goals to increase citizen control
 - * Schools can assist school leavers to access their voter and participation rights
- Commonwealth Foundation, *DecisionMaker How Participation works*, 2nd qtr, 2003, <http://www.decisionmaker.co.nz/quarterlies/participation>

Case Study Four: Reconciling Biculturalism and Multiculturalism

The starting point is to contribute to social action that assists development of a more harmonious and cohesive society

“It is a matter of investment in the discussion. In order to reach a full and inclusive multicultural programme for Te Papa we need to involve our Tangata Whenua”

Dr Seddon Bennington, CEO, Te Papa, in *DecisionMaker Guide to Parliament and Government*, 1st qtr, 2003, <http://www.decisionmaker.co.nz/guide2003>

Strategic Thinking

- * Concepts for reconciling biculturalism and multi-culturalism, under discussion with Richard Hill of the Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit.
- * Hill in *Future Times* website article ‘The Future of Rangatiratanga’, stresses the overarching importance of biculturalism and Crown-Maori partnership. E-FT Volume 8 March 2003
- * Within those parameters, ways need to be found to accommodate multiculturalism e.g. perceiving biculturalism as affirming multiculturalism (and/or vice versa).
- * Conceptual difficulties in this, including
 - # Obscuring diversity within both Maori and non-Maori communities
 - # Possibility of exercise being misused by people opposing rangatiratanga
- * Therefore need for public debate

International opinion

Such debate can be illuminated by references to overseas developments and opinions. For example:

“... the obligation of all to have an overriding commitment to the host country; the acceptance by all of common norms and values and of basic structures; cultural respect and the acceptance by all of the right of each to express his or her own cultural or religious heritage; the removal of all barriers of discrimination and equal access to all opportunities; and the need to maintain, develop and utilize effectively the skills and talents of all regardless of their background. ... It should be recognized these principles must take into account the special position of indigenous peoples. These

principles have the potential to become the benchmark against which success is measured and by which policies, programmes and performance are evaluated in six key areas:

- * access
- * equity
- * communication
- * responsiveness
- * efficiency
- * accountability.”

B Dellal, Director, Australian Multicultural Foundation, Commonwealth People, 2003.

Revising New Zealand’s Social Contract in Favour of Multiculturalism

Experience from opening the channels of communication between migrant and host society suggests expansion of multiculturalism in New Zealand is dependent on successfully navigating canoes through the turbulence, avoiding reefs and seeking out the sheltered waters.

Questions to be examined include:

- * Does New Zealand want to be bicultural and multicultural?
- * Do New Zealanders want to be Pa’alagi, or Tangata Pasifika
- * Are leading institutions ready and able to change?

Michael Powles in accentuating the option for New Zealand (and interested Pacific neighbours) to contemplate being Tangata Pasifika says “this approach is not to take anything away – we will still be New Zealanders”. (Anthony Haas, DecisionMaker Pacific Citizens, 2003)

“Ask whether, having achieved a degree of bi-culturalism, the next logical revision of the New Zealand social contract ought to be in favour of multi-culturalism?”

Michael King, draft foreword, *Being Pa’alagi* programme, 2002

IV RECONCILIATION

By Richard S Hill

I am now going to briefly sketch some factors to take into account when discussing ways of reconciling the concepts of a bicultural, Treaty-based nation, with those of a country characterised by increasing multiculturalism in everyday life.

Knowledge of the past

To move rationally into the future, societies and their decision-makers must have knowledge of the past. Central to that knowledge in this country should be an understanding of the history of Crown-Maori relations. There are various studies which show that such knowledge is slight. To rectify this, there are obvious implications for institutions such as schools, media outlets and the public service. These and other institutions need to take more fully on board the findings of recent Pakeha historiography and of Maori oral history traditions.

‘Respectful Dialogue’/Lateral Thinking

Widespread possession of such knowledge will not only help keep dialogue open, but also to create an *open* dialogue – a discussion that allows for respect between parties, and therefore mutual receptivity and fruitful negotiation in the ongoing search for accommodation and cooperation between peoples and cultures. [I recently received a letter from a person who had been several decades in this country. In it, hui was spelt as ‘hooey’ – whether by design or by accident does not matter, for to do so it indicates such a lack of receptivity to other cultures and aspirations as to make the rest of the letter exceedingly predictable.]

Whatever the wishful thinking of many, people live *within* cultures as well as inhabit the spaces between, and these cultures are just not going to go away. Respect for the differences between them does not necessarily involve approval of any given custom or practices. But it will assist in finding ways of enhancing each culture (such as incorporating ‘attractive’ aspects of the other), and in particular the liminal and exploratory spaces between. Both spaces, intra- and inter-cultures, provide sites for an open-minded engagement in respectful dialogue, something that establishes a base for lateral thinking on both enhancing and reconciling cultures.

Revising/Reworking the Social Contract

When the Maori Renaissance began, it operated under the rubric of multiculturalism. Its leaders appreciated that their struggle was part of a broader global struggle of indigenous people and other minorities, and members of the latter in New Zealand realised that too and played their part. Eventually – as we have noted - a kind of unwritten agreement among such minorities emerged: at least some Maori aspirations seemed to be moving closer to fruition, with such developments as judicial upholding of Treaty-based submissions, and so the Crown needed to be allowed to focus unimpededly on developing its Treaty relationship. Only when this had been advanced, could a serious dialogue with other ethnicities or groupings properly and effectively occur with regard to their role in state and society. A *full* revisioning of the New Zealand social contract had to be put on hold, in other words, until the two major cultures reached at least a *modus vivendi*, or a broad agreement on the way forward. Such a pause did not and does not preclude dialogue pending a full and positive resolution to Crown-Maori difficulties. Those engaged in this latter exercise, in fact, include Maori scholars and leaders interested in exploring ways of incorporating multiculturalism within biculturalist and Treaty-based arrangements. But once again, any such accommodations must clearly come within the rangatiratanga discourse that is central to understanding both our past and the present.

Article Three of the Treaty [Equality Principle]

There are many possibilities. One, for example, is to redress a general neglect of Article Three of the Treaty. A Te Puni Kokiri explanation of the principles of the Treaty recognised by the government, for example, is worth examining. It stresses that, under the Equality Principle based on Article Three, ‘social rights’ are to be ‘enjoyed equally by Maori with all New Zealand citizens of whatever origin. Special measures to attain ...equal enjoyment of social benefits are allowed by international law.’ It argues that one of the most effective measures to ensure Maori have ‘a fair position in relation to the wealth of society and the benefits of government’ is for tangata whenua to be ‘in charge as much as possible of decision-making which affects them, because Maori needs are best understood by Maori’. One might equally substitute the word community for Maori – or Pacific Islander, or Chinese,

or any other social or cultural grouping which aspires to assert its own identity within the dominant culture – or perhaps now with the dominant culture and also the tangata whenua culture, a reminder that such developments need to engage with Treaty-based dialogue and consultation.

‘Being Community’

Once such multifaceted dialogue picks up speed, with people at various levels of society talking with (not at) each other in good faith, it can become a positive thing per se. Even if or when multicultural arrangements have been fitted within the Treaty framework to the satisfaction of all, quality of life could be maintained and enhanced through a sustained dialogue based on respect for and learning from differences. Columnist John Bluck recently put it thus: ‘The very art of conversation, giving and receiving, involving as many different voices as possible...is not just a means to an end. It’s a permanent, ongoing, never ending way of being community.’

Flexible Identity

Many New Zealanders are finding that multicultural engagement and/or identification adds value to their lifestyle. Even people who seem to be within a monocultural living environment are currently exploring multiple identities.

Often they have always known about these, at least on a subliminal level – New Zealand Scots having seen themselves as both Scots and British, for example, and now as Pakeha as well. Cultural self-identity is, in short, flexible and changes over time, and new potentialities in a post-assimilation New Zealand bode well for an increase of tolerance and positive interaction within and between cultures.

Citizenship

Even in the old assimilationist days, multiple official identities were encompassed, the most obvious case being that of dual citizenship. Such pre-existing flexibility might be seen as a base for expanding definitional understandings of the meanings and potentialities of citizenship. To maximise the results for all citizens of greater social variety, new communities need to feel secure. Alan Davidson poses the question contained in the exilic cry of Psalm 137: How to ‘sing the Lord’s song in a foreign land.’ He notes that one of the ways migrant communities do this is to ‘sing the Lord’s song louder’. Migrant churches are ‘islands of security’ for traditional values and languages, allowing a sense of comfort sufficient to grapple with the challenges of the new land. For churches, one could substitute any conceptual or actual cultural or community site. Citizenship, in short, can accommodate and be enhanced by variety, but the non-dominant culture variants need the capacity to have their own chosen comfort zones respected for *so long as they want them*.

Enhancement

In turn, non-Maori need to respect the rangatiratanga base, the foundational social contract of the nation. In my understanding there are successful such examples of Maori/migrant interaction; the Auckland Regional Migrant Resource Centre, for example, has relationships with the Maori Treaty partners as well as with the Crown. Such processes have the capacity to maximise results for all citizens

Both of us believe that in post-assimilation New Zealand, the dominant culture can learn a great deal from both Maori and non-Maori ethnicities and cultures. Pakeha can learn from the consensual decision-making procedures of Polynesian institutions such as hui, which the Crown once tried to suppress but now attends and even hosts or imitates. Or, as King argues, the fact that Pakeha have accepted that a taniwha can hold up a highway development, might well help motivate or legitimate attempts to save, for example, Frank Sargeson's front section and final resting place from the bulldozer (*The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p 517).

Social Cohesion

Our respective fields and backgrounds mean that I focus on Maori issues, Anthony on ethnic diversity. Over and above our professional research, we would both like to see a cohesive society that is based on social justice. We both feel that, in the final analysis, one key to this is to come to grips with the past and to draw lessons from it.

A visiting British academic, calling for a policy perspective on multiculturalism that protects Pacific Island and Asian cultural, social and political rights, was recently reported as saying that 'New Zealand needs to get over its preoccupation with the Treaty of Waitangi'. This, I would submit, is to woefully misread New Zealand, probably in part because of a lack of knowledge of its past and observation of its present. The Treaty will not go away, and nor should it. But it *will* be revisioned, as it is a living document. And in this exercise, we believe, ways can surely be found of protecting minority communities' interests within the Treaty arrangement.

V CONCLUSION

By Richard Hill and Anthony Haas

Anthony and I stress that we have no prescriptive answers to the questions we have presented. Solutions must come from within the communities and parties concerned, and through their interactions, although we have made some suggestions as to modes and principles of interaction. Attaining positive results should not be impossible. History shows us that ever since 1840, Maori have been seeking ways of asserting their rights that have not involved taking rights off others. Michael King, who has thought long and hard about such things for decades (which is why I have cited him several times in this paper), finishes his recent history by arguing that 'most New Zealanders, whatever their cultural backgrounds, are goodhearted, practical, commonsensical and tolerant. Those qualities are part of New Zealand's national cultural capital that has in the past saved the country from the worst excesses of chauvinism and racism seen in other parts of the world. They are as sound a basis as any for optimism about the country's future' (*The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p518). On that last point we heartily agree with him.

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Keith Suter Comments

Global Revolutions And Democracy

The current world order has worn well - but is it now wearing out? It is a world order in which national governments have national control over national events. But national governments no longer seem to be so effective. We are moving from a world with borders to one without.

On August 25 I gave the Hunter Valley Research Foundation Lecture at Newcastle City Hall. I examined the implications of globalization and technological change.

"Globalization" is the collective term for the erosion of national boundaries and the reduced significance of national governments.

Countries will remain in existence but the process of globalization means that national governments will have to share their power with three other groups of entities.

First, there is "economic" globalization: the growing importance of transnational corporations. These are now the major driving forces in economic policy. Corporations can, for example, move jobs offshore in search of cheaper workers and fewer unions.

Second, there is "public order" globalization. Governments increasingly have to work together on common problems. Diseases, pollution and climate changes do not recognize national boundaries. They have no respect for human-made lines on maps.

Therefore, national governments work through inter-governmental organizations such as the United Nations and European Union. Until the recent expansions of the UN's peacekeeping work, about 80 per cent of the UN's expenditure was on economic and social co-operation.

The final form is "popular" globalization, the mobilization of people power. This is mainly done through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for example, Amnesty International, women's movement, peace movement and Rotary. They enable people to work together across national lines for the betterment of humankind.

The other revolution sweeping across the globe is the technological one. Most of the scientists who have ever lived in history are alive today.

We have only just begun to see the impact of that revolution. For example, a major computer change is "converging technology", where one computer can communicate directly with another, New mobile telephones are both a telephone and also camera, which enable a picture to be sent around the world instantly on the Internet. In Japan, the mobile telephone can be connected to the credit card account so that orders can be placed and paid for by the telephone.

But governments have not done enough to warn their citizens about the changes. People who see themselves as the victims of globalization and the casualties of change are going to extremist nationalist spokespersons to get explanations of what is happening.

I recommended that there be more public education on explaining the processes of globalization and technological change and their implications. Since the public are so sceptical of glossy governmental publications, why can't governments provide funding for non-governmental organizations to educate the public about globalization and technological change? NGOs know how to produce readable material without high cost.

<http://www.wesleymission.org.au/pastoral/suter.asp>

Keith Suter Consultant for Social Policy

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Volume 14 December 2004

Contents

Page 23 Tomorrow - A "To Do" Listing by Gordon Rabey (NZFT member)

Page 25 INTERNET VOTING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE by Janita Stuart

Tomorrow - A "To Do" Listing

Gordon Rabey (NZFT member)

So much is happening on the wide screen of global events and in the many activities which govern our own lives that we may overlook the middle ground of national needs which in so many ways can affect us all but for which we feel no personal responsibility.

It may be timely to re-state some of these perhaps to awaken a concern which may evoke a response.

Work

The world of work is probably experiencing the greatest changes. No employer can now give an assurance of sustained employment and the one certainty we have is the continuation of uncertainty. Each individual is now responsible for building and maintaining his/her employability. Career path plans are no longer an organizational concern.

Current Asian business journals are vibrant with references to the growth of ventures incorporating new technology and to the growth of multi-national strategic alliances, with one stating that thousands of newly qualified graduates in the fields of new technology are poised to seek employment in the western world. Brazil reports similarly.

Education

Paradoxically, one of New Zealand's most expensive exports must be the departure of qualified and competent people lured off-shore by the offer of better paid career opportunities. It is many years since planners had the guidance of occupational forecasting

statistics (then called Manpower Planning) which gave indicators of the estimated need for each professional and skilled category. Now we take pride in producing an increasing number of new graduates, technicians and apprentices without indicators of the assured needs for the qualified.

Another factor emerges here. These qualifications are current only in the year they are awarded. New knowledge, new technology, new competition combine to extend the boundaries. Without updating a new graduate engineer can be out of touch within three years. To maintain currency there must be a continuous need for appropriate coaching and mentoring programmes. Are the teaching institutions and the training providers geared for this? Perhaps an untapped resource in the recently retired?

In another direction - people gain knowledge, skill and perhaps qualification and on this basis they are appointed to in-charge positions. Is sufficient care taken with their transitioning into these positions and appropriate mentoring given when needed?

Workforce demographics

All political parties envision a retirement age of 65 yet the demographics envisage an increasing life span which could be 100+. What is the likely social impact of a numerically older age group, many in full possession of their faculties, facing some 30 years out of the mainstream and dependent perhaps on a government funded superannuation scheme which with a falling birth rate may be difficult to sustain? Yet concurrently all employers are seeking new markets, increased productivity and reduced costs - for more, better, different, cheaper, faster. But exhortations are seldom very effective, at best only briefly, and few respond to the unspoken employee question "what's in it for me?" At a time when performance bonus payments to top executives get wide publicity little thought has been given and few tangible incentives offered to those who generate the performance. Pay rates are set on the basis of the skill need to maintain a pre-determined output - and if special effort exceeds this? Anecdotal evidence tells us that when challenged, consulted and recognised the constructive input of the workforce may revolutionise the enterprise.

Added Value

This leads into the area of added value, which may offer the greatest potential for growth and profitability. One organisation demonstrated this by the response received to an open question passed to every employee "Looking first at your workplace and then at the whole company, how could we add value to what we do?" (the morale there was already high). In New Zealand what are our natural resources of every kind? What do we produce? What could we mix and match to create something? Is exporting logs the most cost effective? And of course questions like these apply equally effectively to the whole field of documentation and messaging.

And in education has there been a study of the causes of slow and under-achievement, and of truancy? (truancy officers deal only with effects, not with causes.)

Is the classification of decile schools a demotivator of staff and pupils? Are there incentives for low decile school initiatives and achievement?

Conclusion

No doubt much more could be said, and perhaps should be, but the point here is that the topics listed all refer to situations which, directly or indirectly, will influence our economic and social future.

Overall current responsibility for action would appear to be spread across several government agencies, and local government certainly has a part to play. Greater co-ordination of effort and a definition of accountability seem logical first steps.

An over-simplification perhaps but a formula for achieving national success might prove to be:

DEVELOP SKILL
ADD VALUE
INVOLVE PEOPLE

INTERNET VOTING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE

Janita Stuart

For this e-Government issue of Future Times, let's think about elections and how voting can be another one of the government services provided for the people electronically. When thinking about the possibility of using the Internet for casting our votes, a number of challenges immediately spring to mind:

- How do we know the voter is who he or she claims to be?
- How do we know that vote has not be seen, amended, intercepted, or deleted between leaving the voter's PC and arriving at the vote counting server?
- In the face of all the Internet viruses and worms, can we have confidence and trust in the system?
- Can I really cast my vote from any Internet-connected PC anywhere in the world?
- While multitudes of safeguard will have to be put into place to prevent corrupting the election, how can safe and secure Internet voting systems be affordable?

Let's look at each of these issues and see if the challenges found can all receive an acceptable solution.

Looking at the significant challenge of ensuring the identity of the person or the voting website with whom a transaction is occurring over the Internet, a separate article by the same author is in this issue which explores that in detail.

We've become a very mobile society and the trend does not appear to be lessening. Parliamentary election officials strive to maintain the participation of travelers by facilitating the special voting process a few weeks in advance of election day. This works well for some who are only traveling for a few weeks, but does nothing to cater for voters who must travel for longer periods. Local government elections strive to maintain the participation of travelers by allowing a three-week period between the time ballot papers are posted out and the time they are required to be returned. Again this caters for some but provides no access to voters who cannot receive their voting ballots and post them back within the three weeks. The flexibility of a voter being able to vote from any Internet-connected PC anywhere in the world provides an answer to the mobile voter's dilemma.

Other than the traveler, there are a number of groups of people who are notorious for low voter turnout. These are young people aged between 18 and 35, voters for whom English is a second language, and voters whose family roots are in a different culture from mainstream New Zealand. Internet screens can be designed that are appealing to these groups of people similarly to those that allow the user to select a language they wish the Internet page to display.

Although disabilities vary wide, Local Government's move away from polling booth voting to postal voting removed many of the barriers voters with mobility disabilities had. However the postal voting method continues to disadvantage some voters with disabilities such as mobility to return their voting papers via the post, inability to hold a pen for marking the paper, or placing voting papers into the envelopes as required by law. Internet voting with the full strength of computer technology can empower voters with certain disabilities to vote. For example, the blind have voice-read screens and responses can be entered with voice-activated technical capabilities.

One of the major concerns regarding Internet voting is common to all Internet transaction, the plethora of malicious interference from third parties. The hacktivists and virus and worm code writers cause a need for high security to be placed around the process so that voters can place their confidence and trust in the system. Should there be Internet connections placed in polling booths, a high level of security can be placed around the client's PC and the communication lines networked to the vote server. However the challenge is difficult and the risks high when similar controls do not exist such as what would occur if voting is permitted from any Internet-connected PC from anywhere in the world. Some of the software programs used by hacktivists/virus code writers, to create malicious actions are:

- ActiveX controls, JavaScript scripts, Java Applets, etc.
- "Back Orifice 2000 (BO2K) is software packaged and distributed as a legitimate network administration toolkit. It is very useful as a way to enhance security and is freely available, fully open source, extensible, and stealthy (see www.bo2k.de). Moreover, it contains a remote control server that, when installed on a machine, enables a remote administrator (or attacker) to view and control every aspect of that machine as though the person were sitting at the console. BO2K's open source nature means an attacker could modify the code and recompile such that the program evaded detection by security defense software (virus and intrusion detection software looking for known signatures of programs). There can be no expectation that average Internet users participating in online elections from home will have any hope of detecting BO2K on their computers. At the same time, the program enables an attacker to view every aspect of the voting procedure, intercept any action performed by the legitimate user with the potential of modifying it without the user's knowledge, and further install any other program of the attackers desire--even those written by the attacker--on the voter's machine" (California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000B, p. 27; Rubin, 2002, p. 40-41; Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 15).
- A proprietary product called PCAnywhere has much the same functionality as BO2K (Alexander & Jefferson, 2000, p. 1; Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 15; Rubin, 2002, p. 40).
- LapLink and Timbuktu (Alexander & Jefferson, 2000, p. 1; Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 15)
- Bubbleboy is a product that triggers as soon as an email message is previewed in MS Outlook (Rubin, 2002, p. 41).

Some of the capabilities of these programs are:

- Prevent access to the ballot website (California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000A, p. 12; California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000B, p. 21; Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 14)
- Prevent voting by causing the computer to crash (California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000A, p. 1, 20; KPMG & Sussex Circle, 1998, p. 21)
- Take over or lock the keyboard and mouse (Carey, 2000; Raney, 1999C, p. 2; Raney, 2000A, p. 2; Rubin, 2002, p. 41)
- Render the PC unable to function (Carey, 2000; KPMG & Sussex Circle, 1998, p. 21; Raney, 1999C, p. 2)
- Prevent the voter from voting while the voter is left with the impression that s/he has voted (California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000B, p. 21; Sullivan, 2000)
- Change the vote before it is encrypted (Alexander & Jefferson, 2000, p. 1; Barry et al., 2001, p. 9; Borenstein, 2000; California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000A, p. 1, 20; California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000B, p. 21, 22; Chidi, 2000; Francisco, 2000; Gibson, 2001-2002, p. 570; Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 14, 15; KPMG & Sussex Circle, 1998, p. 20, 21; Raney, 2000A, p. 2; Raney, 2000B, p. 2; Rubin, 2002, p. 40, 42; Sullivan, 2000; Weinstein, 2000A, p. 1; Yang & Sneiderman, 2004) which is illegal (LEA 2001 s 123 (1)(a)). However, the hacker has to detect where it is stored which requires a very highly sophisticated, targeted attack. S/he has to change the input to an HTML form on the computer in real time at the time the voter is voting. The probability of this happening is extremely slim placing it in the acceptable risk bracket.
- Vote for electors who have not voted (LEA 2001 s 123(1)(b); Sullivan, 2000)
- Prevent the vote from being transported to the vote server (KPMG & Sussex Circle, 1998, p. 20)
- Modify the software base and behaviour of any other programme on the computer (California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000B, p. 22)
- Download onto the client PC and complete its actions totally undetected even by expert systems administrators (California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000A, p. 20; California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000B, p. 21, 22; Gibson, 2001-2002, p. 570; Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 14; Rubin, 2002, p. 40, 42; Weinstein, 2000A, p. 1; Weinstein, 2000B; Yang & Sneiderman, 2004). There is no way anyone can guarantee that one of these programmes is not running.
- Erase themselves so no evidence is left behind (Rubin, 2002, p. 40; Yang & Sneiderman, 2004)
- Target systems below the level of abstraction at which those security protocols operate. Security mechanisms such as encryption and authentication (e.g., secure socket layer (SSL) and secure hypertext transport protocol (https)) are impotent against this kind of attack (Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 14).
- Originate from anywhere in the world, beyond the reach of N.Z. law enforcement (Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 14)
- Be activated at any time, either by remote control, or by a timer mechanism, or through detecting certain events on the host (or a combination of all three) (California Internet Voting Taskforce, 2000B, p. 22; Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 14, 37; Rubin, 2002, p. 41)
- Target specific demographic groups. Attacks are not always random (Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 14-15).
- Disable virus protection software (Internet Policy Institute, 2001, p. 14).

Although all these risks and challenges exist, there are remedies to them. Many people seem comfortable using the Internet for banking and purchases, so the precautions placed around

those transactions can be suitably used with Internet voting as well. The current remedies available are:

- The client PC to have firewalls and anti-virus software loaded, functioning, and maintained up-to-date. Although anti-virus software is always one reactive step behind the malicious code writers, it remains a good way of detecting and removing the harmful effects.
- The Internet voting system should be designed for an encryption session to begin immediately once the voter has logged into the secure portion of the website where actual voting takes place. This is how the banks maintain privacy. Should a hacktivist gain access to the voter's computer while the votes are being cast or gain access to any of the ISP communication channels, what s/he would see would appear jumbled up and make no sense. Should the hacker change any of the data, it is easily detectable at the vote server end.
- The link between the client and server must be initiated by the voter and occur no other way.
- Run dual channel systems, recording every vote on two separate systems. Therefore if a hacker should gain entrance and adulterate the votes on one system, it is detected when compared to the copies on the other channel. It will be possible to detect which channel was adulterated to know when copy to progress on to the vote counting software.
- The site must have enough bandwidth to handle far above average traffic. This and running dual channel systems will help prevent a denial of service attack from succeeding.

In the end, the voter must take ultimate responsibility for what software is loaded on the PC they wish to use for voting. If the voter can't be significantly confident that their PC is free of the risks brought by malicious software or hackers, s/he should either choose a different PC or vote using conventional methods.

With all the extra security that must be included in a good Internet voting system, the costs will be significantly high. Costs are also high as elections occur at three year intervals and computer systems become obsolete before there is another election to use the system again. Systems administrators would be required to keep informed of hackers' latest creations to put in place all the defenses against them and to watch the systems 24/7 during the voting period. These costs will prevent Internet voting from occurring if each Local Government Council must cover them alone.

However these costs can be optimised if Local Government Councils would join together and pool their resources to be able to purchase the systems and expertise required for a secure election. If the systems could also be used for Parliamentary and private elections, further savings can be generated by using the system more than once every three years. Just as Internet votes can come from anywhere in the world, the vote server receiving the votes can be located anywhere in the world.

The one disadvantage to mass cooperation occurs if a hacker should successfully gain entrance to the vote server, s/he could do far more damage than what is possible if each Council remained separate with their voting systems. It may be wise that only enough Councils should join together to purchase the systems necessary for a secure election and bar more Councils from joining. This would bring just the right amount of inter-Council cooperation without providing hacktivists an opportunity to corrupt a large proportion of votes.

In conclusion, Internet voting will most likely become a reality in the near future. A participant in a Brookings Institute and Cisco Systems, Inc. symposium, expressed it well by saying:

"About the Internet, whether we're going to adopt Internet voting, it seems clear to me that it's another Mount Everest, and we're going to climb it whether it's good for us or not, and because that's the way we people are. And I'm certain that there are people like me who want to be sure that the climbers have all the oxygen and all the clamp-ons and everything they need to get there and to come back safely. So the issues of integrity and security are certainly very important" (Armacost et al. 2000, p. 31).

Internet voting is not likely to replace postal voting, but will be one of the voting methods from which to choose at each election. There are many ways in which it adds convenience to voters and incentive for voter participation. However the Internet opens the way for malicious code writers and hackers to compromise the integrity of the election result. The challenge is huge, however there are appropriate ways to manage each of the risks that arise. An Internet voting system that is worthy of the confidence and trust of the voters is possible.

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Volume 15 September 2005

Contents

Page 32 Peak Oil: An Austere Future by Steve McKinlay

Page 37 Hydrogen, the motorist's saviour - or just another scam? by Neil Curtis

Page 39 The macho American Empire and the future -. by John Robinson

Page 41 Wisdom and Knowledge Technology - The Secret is Out by Daniel Hancock

Page 45 A Thirty Year Saga of Long-term Planning in New Zealand by Briony Coote

Page 49 FutureWatch in Government Policy by Yvonne Curtis

Peak Oil: An Austere Future

Steve McKinlay, June 2005

Abstract

Increasingly commanding world attention is the phenomenon of Peak Oil. Peak oil is the point at which the maximum production of oil is attained after which a gradual irrecoverable decline follows. Peak oil has enormous implications for modern industrial society, both economically and socially. The following article examines our society; it's dependence on oil and the forthcoming peak.

The Age of Reason

The fundamental promise at the dawn of the 20th century was the democratisation of modernity. The ideology of modernity prescribes rational thought as the ultimate liberator informing us to the truth about the world and ourselves. The road to progress therefore would be one built upon true knowledge, knowledge informed by science and logic, free from superstition, dogma and ignorance. And lets face it science mostly delivered, not only did it

put men on the moon but it laid the foundation for our modern all-mod-cons way of life. The last century, upon the foundations of science and logic was one characterised by great technological advancement. We have become accustomed to the belief consequently that there are technological solutions to all our problems, we like to call this human ingenuity.

However the 21st century dawns under the spectre of an ever-increasing pluralism. Science and rationalism is in decline in favour of baneful individualism.

The sciences popularly perceived as irrelevant by students and laymen are retreating into their respective labs and philosophy departments, in favour of a kind of pop-cultural post-modern relativism. In the wake of this retreat we are left with all manner of popular worldviews that by and large freely evolve within the democratized slurry of our suburban malls, determined by our SUV driven, recreational shopping lifestyles, mostly devoid of any rationality, selected for consumption by a corporatist media intent and dependant upon perpetuating a myth.

The myth itself is one of the most fundamental views to transpire within modern consumerist society. Supported by the mantras of neo-classic and supply-side economic theory and in conjunction with our newfound technological hubris emerges the unquestionable assumptions of perpetual growth and "endless substitution". Essentially the myth embodies the faith that the "market" will always provide. New products and resources are always superseded by something cheaper, more efficient and much better than the previous. To economists natural resources are no exception to the rule. The market of course dictates, as productivity increases, prices drop, production increases, more exchange occurs and living standards rise for all involved. And on and on and on it goes, forever.

Neo-classic economic theory is the supposed perpetual motion machine of the globalised mass consumer fantasy, predicated by endless economic growth compounding at 3% or so a year, creating wealth via fractional reserve banking and fiat currency. Tomorrow's expansion is the put-up collateral for today's debt. According to modern economics there are no limits to this growth. Forget the sciences, unquestionable faith in technological progress will allow us to use fewer and fewer resources for greater and greater returns. The reductio ad absurdum of this bizarre form of reasoning is that technology will eventually enable us to use zero resources for infinite returns.

Both science and reason inform us otherwise. We only need consult the laws of thermodynamics in order to inform ourselves that any kind of perpetual motion machine is impossible. Energy is the capacity to do work. No energy equals no work. Thus our entire global economy much to the chagrin of voodoo economists is 100% dependant upon energy. In order to grow economically we must also grow our energy consumption.

It may be offensive to futurists, technologists and economists but the laws of thermodynamics inculcate that neither capital, labour nor technology can create energy. We cannot convert our supposed intelligence, our ability to find novel technological solutions into energy. Instead available energy must be expended in order to transform matter (e.g., oil, natural gas etc.) or to divert an existing energy flow (e.g., water, wind etc.) into more available energy. Furthermore energy resources must produce more energy than they consume. It would never be economic to expend more than one barrel of oil to extract one barrel of oil.

Oil

No other energy source comes anywhere near the level of convenience or economic value of oil. For this reason alone oil has become the most important form of energy we use. About 40% of all energy use on the planet comes from oil, it has been estimated that 95% of all transportation is powered by oil. The substance oozes all over modern civilisation. Not only is it responsible for plastics and petrol, but oil (and its close cousin natural gas) is critical to our food supply in the form of fertilisers, pesticides and irrigation. Mass agriculture is wholly dependant upon oil and natural gas. Take it away and we are faced an immediate return to small-scale organic gardening. Sounds like a romantic ideal but the infrastructure is not yet in place to implement in such a way that we could all feed ourselves. A change over will take time and while oil is cheap mass agriculture wins hands down on economies of scale.

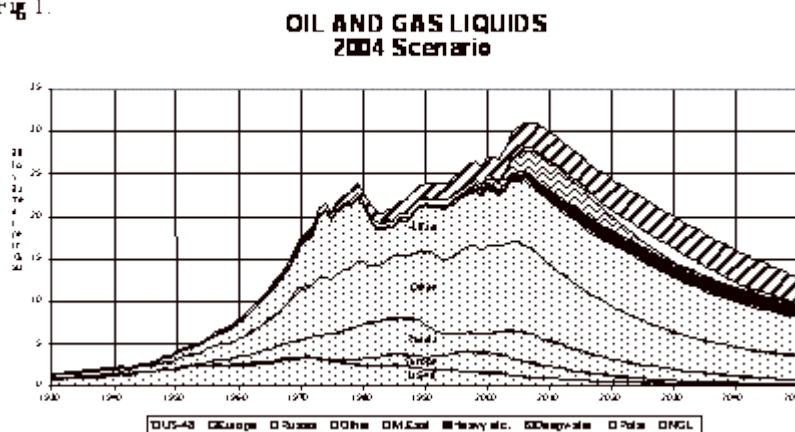
All respected geologists and scientists agree that oil is a non-renewable resource the global demand for which is growing at a rate much faster than new supplies are being found. It is understood that the total world discovery of oil in 2004 was about 7Gb (billion barrels), approximately 2Gb of which were deepwater finds. However in 2004 we consumed about 30Gb thus we are burning between 4 and 5 barrels of oil for every one found. What is more interesting is that the cost of exploration in 2004 exceeded the net present value of the discoveries in absolute terms,¹ clear evidence for the claim that the cheap oil is already gone.

This trend is not new. Oil *discovery* across the globe peaked during 1965. Since then discovery, on average has declined every year. Several groups of scientists, including oil exploration geologists and some brave financial analysts are now predicting a world-wide oil production peak between now and the end of the decade. "Peak Oil" as it is termed is used to describe the point at which half of all the oil in a particular region has been extracted after which a period of irrecoverable decline sets in until it is no longer possible to extract oil efficiently.

The term peak oil is derived from the graphed curve that can be observed when tracking all oil production. In 1956 Shell Oil geologist M. King Hubbert hypothesised that oil production roughly followed a bell shaped curve. He used this to successfully predict the peak in US oil in 1971.

Recent work by Dr Colin Campbell² suggests global peak oil this decade based on the Hubbert curve model (see fig1)

Fig 1.



the most probable year according to Campbell is expected to be 2007. These claims are not based upon any conspiracy theory, nor on popular belief, culture or economic dogma but on hard empirical evidence. Peak oil is a geological phenomenon immune to evolving relativistic views of politics and economics. The only point speculative in regard to peak oil is not if peak oil will occur but when. Regional peaks and subsequent decline in oil production particular in the non-OPEC states serve to support the peak oil model. For example peak production modelling was used to accurately predict the US, North Sea, Norway and, Denmark amongst many others. It follows that the global peak can be predicted with some accuracy using the Hubbert/Campbell model.

Economic Growth / Supply and Demand

Western democracies have enjoyed unprecedented economic growth and the subsequent rise in living standards since the end of the Second World War. Suburban life, a 4WD in the driveway, mobile phones, holiday homes, web-surfing, LCD screen TV's, DVDs, Playstations, iPods, and recreational shopping during the weekend are the reality if not the desire of many of us. As China, India and other transitioning economies race to industrialise their desire turns into economic demand. They want what we have. The growth rate for motor vehicle sales alone in China is around 50%. On the industrial front China needs to build in the vicinity of 60 power plants a year, each the equivalent of the Clutha dam to keep up with exploding electricity demand. If you want to grow a developing economy you need to grow your electricity sector.

According to International Energy Agency analysis the world currently consumes about 84 Million Barrels of oil per day (Mbd). Andrew McKillop ³ and Colin Campbell amongst others suggest absolute maximum oil production for the planet could not exceed around 90Mbd give or take a couple of million barrels. We have mentioned already that many of the non-OPEC nations are already in decline and as oil production follows a kind of bell shaped curve we are losing to depletion production from many of these wells.

Interestingly world demand in 2001 was around 76Mbd thus we have seen a growth rate of 8Mbd within 3 years. If we extrapolate the current growth trend factoring in some growth in demand we end up with a plausible consumption figure of around 94Mbd by 2008. It is exceedingly unlikely that this production capacity exists. Saudi Arabia the owner of the largest oil fields on the planet has admitted in numerous articles lately that they are pushing the limits of production. OPEC's president Purnomo Yusgiantoro is on record as saying last year "there is no more supply." OPEC is pumping at near capacity. It is entirely within the realms of reason that we will see structural supply deficits within a year or two.

If indeed the kind of oil required to meet exploding demand beyond a year or two is to materialise we first need to find oil in quantities larger than we are currently consuming, develop it and bring it into production. Even if we ignore current security concerns around the Middle East region this will be no mean feat, it can take several years to bring discovered oil into production. The amount of oil we are talking about, 8Mbd (required by 2008) is about the same as the entire production of Saudi Arabia. The vast bulk of Saudi oil was discovered during the 1940s and 50s. Before Iraq was liberated it produced about 2.2Mbd. Today a large oil field find is one that proves reserves of about 500 million barrels about a weeks supply on

the global market. Short of a miracle, a discovery of another Saudi Arabia, global oil supply will comfortably meet demand for a year or two at most. Beyond 2008 the picture is bleak.

The Rickshaw Economy?

Whether the year of peak oil is 2007 or a few years later, or indeed if as some suggest that we are already past peak the point to be taken is that we are entering the second half of the oil age. This will be characterised by the gradual decline of oil and gas at around 3% per annum. Thus by 2020 production of all liquid hydro-carbons will have fallen to the levels of 1990⁴. Although this sounds rather benign it will have catastrophic consequences for our financial system that depends upon perpetual economic growth.

Given that our present economy relies upon oil driven mobility provided by petrol and diesel combustion engines for which there appears no immediate alternative it would be foolish to rely upon the unscientific perpetual growth axiom. As we continue depleting the supply of relatively cheap conventional oil at an astounding rate of 80 odd million barrels per day the world continues to increase its economic and technological reliance upon oil. As long as supply continues to meet demand, for the next year or two, the world economy will continue to increase the dependence and no incentive to develop alternatives will emerge.

Until the point at which supply falters. At this stage we will be technologically and economically unprepared for the decline. Once the peak does occur the price for a commodity for which demand supplants supply will inevitably result in lower or negative growth in demand. It follows by implication that lower or negative growth in the world economy will occur. Ironically the requirement for investment in alternatives will occur at the time when economic recessions are already beginning to bite.

In 1976 M. King Hubbert (1903-1989) concluded his paper *Exponential Growth as a Transient Phenomenon in Human History* with the following observations:

It appears therefore that one of the foremost problems confronting humanity today is how to make the transition from the precarious state that we are now in to this optimum future state by a least catastrophic progression. Our principal impediments at present are neither lack of energy or material resources nor of essential physical and biological knowledge. Our principal constraints are cultural. During the last two centuries we have known nothing but exponential growth and in parallel we have evolved what amounts to an exponential-growth culture, a culture so heavily dependent upon the continuance of exponential growth for its stability that it is incapable of reckoning with problems of nongrowth. Since the problems confronting us are not intrinsically insoluble, it behooves us, while there is yet time, to begin a serious examination of the nature of our cultural constraints and of the cultural adjustments necessary to permit us to deal effectively with the problems rapidly arising. Provided this can be done before unmanageable crises arise, there is promise that we could be on the threshold of achieving one of the greatest intellectual and cultural advances in human history.

It is clear that our window of opportunity is being rapidly drawn closed. Peak oil detractors are often heard quoting the following, "the stone age didn't end because we ran out of stones, likewise the oil age won't end because we will run out of oil". It might be timely to remind such critics that the transition from tools such as axes and arrowheads made of stone to more effective weapons made from iron and bronze occurred over several centuries. We are

looking to transition a planet of 8 billion people, a global economy based on cheap abundant oil technologies, inherently committed to continued economic growth for stability to one that is dependant on some other yet to be developed (or even identified) technology. All this must occur within a few short decades.

To the vast majority of us conditioned by an extended period of prosperity this is not welcome news. Peak oil will vastly change our current political, social and cultural landscapes and there seems to be no path forward that doesn't involve immeasurable stress. Changes need to begin immediately, however before any change can take place widespread acknowledgement of the looming crisis is required, presently this is the problem we seem to be grappling with.

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¹ASPO Newsletter 50 Feb 2005.

²Colin Campbell is the founder of the Association for the Study of Peak Oil and Gas, <http://www.peakoil.net/>

³Andrew McKillop is an energy economist and consultant who recently edited a book for Pluto Books, ISBN 0745320929, title 'The Final Energy Crisis' including articles by Colin Campbell and Edward R D Goldsmith. He has held posts in national, international and supranational (Euro Commission) energy, and energy policy divisions and agencies.

⁴Colin Campbell., ASPO Newsletter 50, Feb 2005

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Hydrogen, the motorist's saviour - or just another scam?

Neil Curtis

We hear much these days of future woes; untoward global climate changes arising from our abuse of fossil fuels; neatly balanced by intolerable transport troubles shortly coming from the immanent exhaustion of oil supplies.

Hydrogen has been touted in the US as the saviour that will get politicians off this double hook, without antagonizing either their corporate backers, or voters. The story goes that we will be able to switch seamlessly and painlessly from gas guzzling SUVs to sleek and green hydrogen-fueled vehicles, while simultaneously virtuously saving the atmosphere. Just how realistic is this rosy prospect?

A few problems have to be solved first, in particular just where the required volume of hydrogen is to come from, how it will be distributed and stored and how likely it is that safe, efficient and economically viable hydrogen-fueled vehicles will be ready when needed?

Hydrogen is currently mainly manufactured from natural gas by an energy-inefficient process that produces one molecule of carbon dioxide for each two molecules of hydrogen - hardly a solution to the greenhouse gas (and Kyoto carbon emission charges) problem. We used to have a well-established CNG network, which more efficiently used natural gas for transport, until it was destroyed by political vandalism. Alternatively, hydrogen is produced by electrolysis of water, another energy-inefficient process, which would require large amounts of electricity. Where would the required electricity come from? Fossil fuelled generators (oops no oil, oh well, burn even more polluting coal) or nuclear power (after all a little bit of radiation may be good for you, and maybe, perhaps, possibly, the apparently insuperable problems with fusion reactors will be solved in time). Production of hydrogen by gasification of coal using reasonably well established technology looks to be a possible solution; apart from the ever present problem of economically feasible and ecologically sound sequestration of the carbon dioxide byproduct.

Obviously, we should develop renewable resources to replace the oil. Hydro-electricity would be the ideal, but we have already used the best of these resources, and opposition to new developments is getting stronger. Generating enough electricity by wind-power to produce enough hydrogen to replace all our petrol and diesel is possible. Ball-park calculations suggest that a 1 megawatt wind turbine with 50% overall output would provide the motive power for about 5000 cars with 100 kilowatt (about 2 litre equivalent) engines, at an optimistic 50% conversion efficiency, wind to hydrogen to wheels, assuming 5% time

usage for each car. With over 2 million cars, we would need 400 1 megawatt turbines, plus all the relevant infrastructure.

Photovoltaic solar panels are another potential "green" energy source. Sunshine provides less than 1 kilowatt per square metre (near midday on sunny, summer days). Mass production photovoltaic panels currently struggle to achieve 10% conversion efficiency, so VERY large areas would be required to produce enough electricity to produce enough hydrogen to replace petrol. Wave-power, tidal power, deep geothermal energy - all are potential energy sources, but are at best decades away.

Therefore, it looks as if production of enough hydrogen by peak oil times by electrolysis of water using renewable energy sources might be a wee bit of a problem (to add to the problem of replacing current fossil-fuel-generated electricity needed for all other uses). Large areas of the countryside would need to be covered in dams, wind-turbines or solar panels - leading to NIMBY on steroids.

Hydrogen powered vehicles will soon be available at a dealer near you. Yeah, right! The usual scenario is the (reliable and affordable) vehicle will be able to be fueled with hydrogen at a friendly local hydrogen station (with flybuys, of course), and drive at 100 kph for 500 km.

There are several problems with this scenario.

First, that local filling station. Hydrogen is a gas, which can be liquefied only at prohibitively low temperatures. It could be produced at central locations and distributed as gas by pipeline - though a pipeline to each local filling station would probably be prohibitively expensive. It could be trucked in, in heavy high-pressure steel cylinders. Hydrogen has a great propensity to leak from gas systems, and forms very explosive mixtures with air, so these filling stations will need good insurance. Alternatively, the hydrogen could be produced at each filling station, with major costs and technical problems associated with the generation and storage of the gas - those stations might turn out to be rather few and far between.

Next the car - obviously this will have storage for hydrogen, currently again in heavy high-pressure steel cylinders. Lighter plastic cylinders are "promised", as well as a variety of hydrogen absorbing media which might permit lower pressure storage - all very promising just before research funding rounds, with progress largely conspicuous by its absence.

The vehicle will have fuel cell powered electric motors. Hydrogen fuel cells have been available since Appolo Mission days. They still tend to contain platinum and fancy ceramics, and one large enough to drive a SUV is likely to be overly pricey for Joe Motorist, and unlikely to last the lifetime of the car. Again cheaper and more reliable variants are always "just around the corner".

It seems that if shortage of transport fuel is the problem then hydrogen is unlikely to be the answer. Rather than using electricity to generate hydrogen, we could use present technology to charge the batteries of battery/electric vehicles (particularly if/when the ever-promised, more efficient and lighter batteries eventuate).

The use of biofuel (alcohols, vegetable oils) in conventional (but more efficient) engines is also already technically possible, though the large area of arable land required to produce enough biofuel to replace all the petrol/diesel has economic and social implications.

Meanwhile, as we wait anxiously for the consequences of peak oil, we had better prepare for steadily rising prices and periodic shortages of conventional transport fuels. The prospect of large (and unexpected) Kyoto carbon emission charges for New Zealand will provide fiscal headaches for the Treasurer, and ultimately for taxpayers. Much of the trouble comes from our penchant for inefficient, over-powered and heavy vehicles. Logically, we should be changing to smaller, lighter vehicles with hybrid drive systems, (instead of to ever more clapped out second hand SUVs) and to greater use of rail for freight, to stretch dwindling oil supplies. Convincing the motoring public of the new realities of transport in the post-oil-peak world may provide a major problem for politicians, so expect more smoke and mirrors to add to the hydrogen fuelled mirage.

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The macho American Empire and the future - towards a new macro scenario

John Robinson NZFT Board member

We watch with horror the uncanny repeat of history as the 1968 destruction of Hue is mirrored in a ghastly 2004 rerun, the flattening of Fallujah. Yet the most shocking image of recent years was surely President Bush's speech to the USA Joint Houses of Congress when all the Senators and Representatives rose to their feet time and time again, applauding in a knee-jerk reaction - a conditioned response whenever a leading phrase from Bush provided the required stimulus. This showed a desire to give power to and to follow strong central leadership (the central tenet of fascism) in the one global super-power. Here was a tribute to the great leader, a clear statement of patriotic jingoism, and an echo of the twentieth century mass rallies such as Nuremberg.

That uncomfortable picture is in accord with the forecasts in a macro-scenario analysis which I set down some 15 years ago. A consideration of excess capital and the increasing oligarchic control of transnational corporations led me to complain of "How the fruits of human progress are destroying modern society and the environment" . The transition from juvenile growth to the mature stability of a leisure society more in balance with an over-crowded and highly stressed world environment was stymied and the debate which had flourished after the momentous year of 1968 was eventually blocked in the repressive 1980s and 1990s.

I forecast a further drift to central authority as "The foundations of the fascist state are readily seen in today's liberal ideology which takes power into few hands, out of reach of popular democracy, and which glorifies the power-grabbing super-hero." Later, looking again at what I had written, I felt that such an expectation was too extreme, a bit embarrassing even. Yet now talk of fascism in the USA, along with frequent references to oligarchy and empire, is common parlance. Perhaps I had it right. If so, perhaps forecasts can identify future trends, and perhaps we face a worrying future which demands attention.

The most important task for futures research is to rise to such a challenge and to consider the most useful and meaningful scenario presentation. The output of the many studies of the 1970s and since provides a considerable - and confusing - range of possibilities. The resulting cacophony and information overload covers such a wide range as to be of little, if any, practical value. There is a need for the formulation of a clear message through the identification of key trends and major forces, and then the development of a most probable scenario - a macro scenario building on, combining and choosing from the richness of that considerable resource. That is the path that I have followed in my own work.

That scenario must include those unwelcome events that are likely to occur whether or not we want them to. That is, we should move away from wishful thinking and consider the real world in all its richness and awfulness. A most probable scenario may run counter to any preferred scenario, yet it is important to understand where the world is heading without the confusion and self-deception of rose-tinted glasses.

Such scenario analysis should ideally be a repetitive, pulsing process. Once a set of scenarios has been developed work can continue to flesh out key areas, adding information, noting new research and studying additional topics (history, economics, science, etc.) as well as taking note of evolving events which may confirm or refute some scenario expectations. This is a living, scientific enterprise. Many years have passed since the initial flowering of scenario building and my own macro scenario development. Now we can consider which forecasts have proved robust, which trend analyses hold water and where the future may take us, all with the added guidance of more recent events.

Interdisciplinary futures research is akin to knitting - bringing together information from many sources to form an overarching pattern. A key to the process is the choice of input and the guiding goal, worldview and paradigm. The following few personal learning experiences illustrate the importance of that choice.

- *Limits to supplies of energy were not emphasised during the 1970s despite the oil shocks experienced of that period, and the consequent movements of petro-dollars through the global economy.* Yet that was the time of the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979. The scenario builders should have taken greater note of the events of the day, and read daily newspapers with greater attention. After all, the seeds of the future have been formed in the past and are reflected in today's world.
- *Co-workers in one United Nations University project were uncomfortable when I wanted to introduce environmental concerns into the analysis, even though the news of the day reported the concerns of scientific congresses about the increasing frequency of species extinctions.* Again, pay attention to what is going on around you. And the analysis should not remain confined within predetermined institutional boundaries - after all, environmental questions such as global warming have proved more important than assumed at that time.
- *A senior OECD economist told me that the key factor in the economic turmoil was the move of the USA in 1971 off the gold standard. Yet he was unable to make that point openly within the OECD. That event was linked with the onset of global overproduction which was clearly described in OECD Interfutures background papers.* All too often the truth is obvious yet not acknowledged, as experts cannot speak out on important issues - again those institutional boundaries. Being free of those constraints I made links between that information and theories of economic cycles derived from Marxism to formulate an economic forecast and a picture of the impact of excess capital.

- *In 1982 a group of futurists in Paris were discussing major possibilities over coffee. Their ideas were informed by an appreciation of the lessons of history and included the collapse of the USSR (since most empires last for a limited period) and the potential for conflict between the developed, wealthy West and the less powerful and generally poorer Islamic world. Those forecasts showed remarkable foresight and were correct, yet could not be included in their formal work, being too challenging to the status quo. The most valuable information is often passed on over coffee, being not allowed in the institutional setting.*

That last point illustrates how 'unexpected' trends can be forecast once one's mind is free from the constraints of 'conventional wisdom'. Futures research cannot exist as a truly scientific discipline until futures researchers are permitted - indeed encouraged - to 'think outside the square' and to 'think the unthinkable'. All too often future problems and challenges are met with denial as governments continue to expect 'business as usual' - and the most accurate forecasts are often those which are the most strongly repressed.

In order to formulate a robust most probable scenario (based on a considerable number of scenario exercises), I had to escape the ubiquitous institutional limitations and do the job myself. Free from institutional control and the self-censorship of political correctness and conventional wisdom, I developed an idiosyncratic theory of the global economy, took on board the extreme warnings of models which explored the consequences of limited food supplies for an increased population, and considered political systems in the light of historical experience where the struggle for global hegemony has been so significant. A study of history was key to that effort - wide-spread famine, disease, disruption and population collapse seems less unlikely, not impossible, when it is recognised that such events have occurred before. While built on information provided by many large-scale scenario projects, the final synthesis was guided by additional reading and by my own judgement. I feel that the effort was largely successful, but it was unpaid work, and I self-published the resulting books.

With those thoughts in mind, with an aim of building on past experiences and doing better this time, we should now plan to move into a further phase of macro scenario construction. There is a considerable body of analysis and scenario descriptions to build on, including a number of industry-specific New Zealand scenarios. What is required is the vision and the will to allow independent think tanks (adequately funded, adequately staffed, for an adequate period) to explore the long term. Since the most robust and valuable forecasts will be rejected and denied by influential bodies - including funding agencies - each team must be guaranteed academic freedom and tenure. The few experiences noted here show that clearly.

My expectation, and forecast, is that no such vision exists, and that mankind - including New Zealanders - will continue to move blindly towards a most unpleasant future. Can we refute that expectation and move forward in a more positive and open process? It would be an exciting enterprise.

Wisdom and Knowledge Technology - The Secret is Out

Daniel Hancock

In the mid-1980's I did what most teens did - began asking the big questions about why we were here, and why there was so much violence in the world. Then one day my economics teacher boldly declared Bob Geldof's 1984 Live Aid concert was "guilty conscience money".

If the West was genuinely concerned for those in poverty they would simply construct fresh water, electricity, and sanitation services in Africa for free. At the time, the equivalent cost of this construction was approximately two weeks of the military budget of the USA. After arguing that global communism would never work, I was introduced to physicist Peter Russell's, *The Awakening Earth* followed in quick succession by Ram Dass', *Be Here Now*. It was Timothy Leary, Ram Dass' colleague at Harvard who coined the term "futant" - one who is genetically programmed to foresee and help fabricate the future evolution of human consciousness. It appeared to me that Peter Russell was definitely one of these. His claimed that if we invested a proportion of GDP into studying the nature of "mind" we would inevitably manifest some credible and amazing solutions. This is based on the idea that any crises, such as nuclear war, famine, or ecological disaster, have as its root cause, a crisis of consciousness. Engineer and futurist Buckminster Fuller claimed "there is no energy crisis, only a crisis of ignorance." Swiss psychiatrist Carl Jung said the real challenge to humanity is psychological in nature.

Twenty years on and it appears global conditions have deteriorated. *Sir* Bob Geldof is still hopeful music will raise consciousness, the USA is still spending billions of military dollars each week, we now suffer from a new source of insatiable fear - "terrorism", as well as imminent ecological collapse through our unsustainable addiction to SUV's, McMansions, and reality TV. There are now a few billion more of us here too. Yet, now I know much more about the psychological reasons as to why we suffer - and along with that, hopefully a solution.

Our current civilisation is the result of a paradigm based on the Primacy of Matter (PxM). The PxM fosters the belief our biological existence is the only reality we have. When we add the theories of 18th century economist Adam Smith of "invisible hand" fame we end up worshipping *materialism* and its key attribute - money. Our psychological delusion is so powerful we dropped the gold standard and introduced the fractional banking system so we can now make money up out of thin air. Our fear, combined with having to service the horrendous debt and interest costs we've conjured up makes us "think" we need unrestrained economic growth or the financial system will collapse. Economic growth is predicated on more mirage realism - the abundant supply of energy such as oil and natural gas. We are so addicted to money we even rob future generations through the immoral use of financial debt and fictitious pricing systems whereby we discount the value of their supply access to today's market. But psychologically, perhaps even more anesthetising than this, is the mixture of Social Darwinism (the absence of a Divine Creator) with those who believe they are doing the Creator's work! Under this scenario we manifest the absolute worst narcissistic crime in human behaviour - the pre-emptive slaughter and destruction of any group labelled as an actual or potential threat on either religious grounds, or on the basis of projections of our unwanted feelings and perceptions, regardless of these being true or not.

Yes - perhaps it's a bit more obvious now, with reports out like the Millennium Ecosystem project findings and the excellent work being done on Peak Oil that the human species is still in danger of imploding at any moment.

But there is hope! Given the PxM and its pitfalls, how would we implement Peter Russell's proposed solution to invest a proportion of GDP in research and development of the mind? Is it necessary to create a Ministry of the Mind, or a Department of Peace such as the one being attempted in the USA? Would this work in NZ? Probably not, as NZ is not a world power and thankfully does not have to be very security conscious. Ring fencing a pool of money in

terms of "investigating the powers of the mind" would be cannon fodder for opposition parties to shoot at. Imagine Rodney Hide asking questions in the House about a new initiative bid for a "mind" portfolio when beneficiaries and low income earners are prevented from being empowered by doing Yoga!

So, what is the magic bullet? What can we do to rid ourselves of predator behaviour that has resulted in mad scientists creating things like the atom bomb, biological weapons, and the Fox News channel? What approach can appeal to all people, teenagers and pensioners alike, and be integrated effectively into our governance policy through appropriations or R&D policy? What would a *futant* do?

Drum roll please.... enter Wisdom and Knowledge Technology (WKT). WKT is the process of creating and using any informative or energetic system that allows us to either access or manifest more resources that improves our physical, mental, or emotional states of well-being. WKT's main objective is to unleash human potential and approach self-actualisation to use our consciousness to become aware of, and satiate our *authentic* needs. The greatest resource available to the human species is consciousness. Without consciousness we have no life, and no awareness. To change our reality, we need to change our consciousness. Overall, WKT is the process by which we invest in a new paradigm - the *Primacy of Consciousness* (PxC).

The PxC values the condition of our internal state (thoughts, feelings and emotions) more than the material things we surround ourselves with. It validates the understanding that we are more accurately described as energy based beings and not Newtonian biological machines. It incorporates what quantum science calls "the Mind of God", or the Holographic Mind that we all have access to - a massive field of intelligent energy. This field is non-local and connects all of us regardless of race, religion, class. What I do to you, I do to me, and these actions are often a function of my internal state and my perceptions. How I talk to you, reflects how I talk to myself. The PxC requires us to take total responsibility for our actions and our relationship with others.

WKT is the next advance in the systems chain from computers and Information Technology (IT). When we took IT, which is really silicon based (crystals) as opposed to carbon based consciousness, added it to the post-industrial age, we created the Information Age. By adding WKT to the Information Age, we now have the Consciousness Age. WKT is the realm of energy psychology, energy medicine, sacred geometry, earth energies, anti-gravity, zero point energy, action at a distance, and other such things. It is an opportunity to integrate the findings of quantum science with mechanistic and universal spiritual belief systems without conflict. It is an over-arching strategic direction organic in nature, where subtlety and elegance is valued. Like IT did, WKT has the potential to revolutionise almost every facet of our lives. The cost benefit ratios are very positive because they're done using a full cost allocation methodology.

During my time at the Ministry of Economic Development I was part of the team that implemented the new initiatives programme secured by Jim Anderton as part of his Deputy Prime Ministerial portfolio, between 2000 & 2002. I was fortunate to work with highly qualified public and private sector economists and management experts. This experience compelled me to believe in and accept the efficacy of unleashing human potential through the medium of skills upgrades, forming industry and regional frameworks, and policies promoting sustainable economic development and from a systems theory perspective, a

whole of government approach. But it was in Washington D.C. in 2003 & 2004 where I finally began piecing together the relevant experiential bits of my twenty year search into an overarching psychological plan. Unleashing human potential is all about consciousness.

From an energetic perspective, the laws of thermodynamics state that in a closed system matter cannot either be created or destroyed, and that all energy gradually loses order and work value as it breaks down (entropy). We are fortunate because we have sunlight and gravity, extraterrestrial sources of unlimited energy. There is a *third* source of energy; one I believe is both a stock and flow asset - our consciousness! Consciousness can create coherence and order - negative entropy, as well as influencing matter. Investigative journalist Lynne McTaggart in *The Field* describes compelling scientific experiments successfully done with consciousness and coherence.

In *The Isaiah Effect*, geologist and computer systems designer Gregg Braden writes about the Isaiah Scroll - the most treasured and protected of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Isaiah Scroll describes how the blueprints for all possible futures are already created. We are constantly being presented with *choice points* - the opportunity to take any one of these blueprints and through the power of intent transform "matter" into this reality. The Toltec nagual Don Miguel Ruiz claims that our Sun, just like our Earth, has its own consciousness and is connected to the galactic core, like the *Lokas* - planes of consciousness taught in the Vedic tradition. Light denotes information, and since 1992 the quality of the Sun's light changed whereby through vibration and frequency, humanity's consciousness is becoming more attuned to the perceptions of 'ether' and the 'etheric field' or subtle energies. Ancient civilisations, like the Romans, used the subtle energies of the Earth - ley lines, to finish conquering an enemy by building their strategic posts on the points where these lines interconnected. In Feng Shui, the Chinese call these dragon points.

Sri Yukteswar (guru to Paramahansa Yogananda) in *The Holy Science* describes the time of Dwapara Yuga when the orbit of our Sun takes us closer to the centre of our galaxy. When this occurs the information contained in the Light spectrum bathing the Earth's electromagnetic field accelerates. The minds of humanity are able to comprehend the finer electrical qualities of atoms and our interconnectedness to all life. Sri Yukteswar claims we are in the Dwapara Yuga now.

In *Visions*, Michio Kaku discusses the energetic astro-physicist model of evolution from a planetary type 0 civilisation, what we are now - using dead plants and animals to fuel our machines; to a Planetary type 1 civilisation. Type 1 is where we have transcended political and fear based attitudes to co-operatively create a terrestrially connected global energy grid, like that envisioned by Buckminster Fuller. So we must, dare I say it, *Think Big*.

Is NZ well suited to pilot and test a WKT approach? There is a school of thought that discusses the importance of mastering three legal documents by modern civilisation before globally we can have Heaven on Earth - the Magna Carta, the American Declaration of Independence, and the Treaty of Waitangi. It is no accident that NZ in addition to having a modern infrastructure, low population density, and relative isolation from the rest of the world, also has to deal with the integration of the consciousness represented by the third and final of these documents. The energy and consciousness that stands behind the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi are imbued with a spirit that if we are able to respect and honour takes us into a very advanced community of love and peace. To me, the Treaty expresses a heartfelt connection to this land as a treasure, because nature is alive. Our mountains, rivers, fjords,

and forests carry the consciousness of Mother Earth and that Spirit is all around us and responds to our hearts. It is contained in the Mind of God, and we must honour, respect, protect and nurture these at all costs. The unifying key that connects all these forms of energy is consciousness.

Finally, remember you heard it here first in *Future Times* - WKT, the secret is out!

Daniel Hancock is the Director of the Centre for Wisdom and Knowledge Technology Limited (www.cfwkt.com). He has a financial and management based background including work in the corporate sector and central government. Between 1990 - 1994, and 2002 - 2004 he worked for PowerCo Ltd, New Zealand's second largest energy lines company. From 1996 - 2002 he worked at the Ministry of Economic Development in its corporate office before being seconded into the greenfields team implementing the coalition government's frameworks relating to economic development, and industry and regional development. In 2004 Daniel travelled to Washington D.C. where he was inspired to self-publish *The American Meta-Economy; Atlantis Transformed* (ISBN 141202315-7). Over the last year he has reviewed over 30 publications on new science and findings, including personally meeting American scientist's and futurists Dr. Bruce Lipton and Gregg Braden. He travels regularly between New Plymouth and Wellington and can be contacted through the Centre's website.

A Thirty Year Saga of Long-term Planning in New Zealand.

Briony M Coote

New Zealand Planning Council and Commission for the Future

The Muldoon National Government was indirectly responsible for the establishment of the New Zealand Futures Trust. In 1975 the Government established NZFT's ancestor, the *Commission for the Future* (CFF) and its sister organisation, *New Zealand Planning Council* (NZPC) to raise awareness of the trends in NZ economics and society, limitations on resources and to set priorities on desirable social and economic goals. This was in response to growing social and economic turbulence and insecurity in the 1970s. Oil and energy crises threatened oil-dependent New Zealand industries and precipitated a substantial drop in the NZ standard of living. Unprecedented civil disruption, particularly on racial lines was exposing racial and income distribution inequalities. Also, it was the dawn of the computer age and accelerating change in automation, information and communication technology.

NZPC addressed short-medium term issues (5-10 years) and CFF long-term issues (10-25 years). CFF members included the Founder, Hon. Leslie Walter Gandar (Minister of Science), the Chairman James Duncan, a Government appointee (Hugh Templeton), an Opposition appointee (Roger Douglas), Dr. Edwin "Eddie" Robertson, Director General of the DSIR (NZPC/CFF appointee), Dame Silvia Cartwright and seven government-appointed members.

CFF published a four-part series *New Zealand in the Future World Series*. Its discussion paper, *Clarifying Values*, was based on most innovative types of background research: Brian Murphy's *Attitudes to the Future: a Social Survey*, usually called the Murphy Poll (1980), and the Televote Survey (1981). Televoting, prizes awarded at Science Fairs (a tradition NZFT

continues), disseminating information through published reports, TV programmes, radio and talk-back shows, seminars and public speaking all encouraged two-way communication with, and promotion of futures thinking, among the public. These forged communications networks with communities, public and private sectors, and created a groundswell of enthusiasm which would continue with NZFT.

CFF developed the *Futures Kit* for educating communities in futures skills which was completed by former CFF employees Myra Harpham and Terry McCarthy after CFF was disbanded in 1982. In 1999 NZFT, in consultation with Myra Harpham, produced a revised *Futures Kit*.

In May 1982 the Government disbanded CFF. CFF's long-term project had proved too abstract and politically distant for Government policy, particularly for a conservative Government. Furthermore, CFF was producing reports which were politically controversial, such as George Preddey's *Fast-Track Self Sufficiency: an Alternative Energy Plan*, (November 1980) which recommended unwelcome alternatives to National's "Think Big" projects.

NZPC accommodated former CFF functions, but this meant increased workload on reduced staff and budget. NZPC had been making some impact on Government policy-making e.g. the Government adopted some recommendations from NZPC's 1981 report, *The Welfare State?* However NZPC's closeness to the Government fomented public suspicion and undermined its public credibility, despite its status as an independent body. NZPC was criticised for being too academic, lacking grassroots understanding and producing diluted reports that oscillated between professional research findings and strategic recommendations that were most likely to impress influential politicians. NZPC had no grassroots basis for incorporating the communication networks CFF had established. NZPC continued to publish reports until 1992 but has now disappeared.

New Zealand Futures Trust

Former CFF members James Duncan and Eddie Robertson founded NZFT on 23 August 1982. By the time CFF was disbanded James Duncan, Chairman of CFF, had decided to continue as an organisation, the New Zealand Futures Trust:

"NZ needed an informed public since the implications of events and decisions do not become etched in public consciousness in any adequate manner. This means that such information about the features which determine their future takes second place to events competing for exposure in the mass media. NZFT aims to rectify this."

NZFT differed from CFF in being a non-government organisation (NGO) run by volunteers. Being a NGO gave NZFT distinct advantages over CFF and NZPC. First, the Government could not interfere with NZFT. Second, NZFT reports were not required to meet Government expectations, nor would they be politically embarrassing if they disagreed with Government policy. Third, NZFT would not have the professional freedom vs. political acceptability problem that had diluted NZPC's reports. Finally, since NZFT was non-Governmental, the public would not regard it as a "Government" organisation. Setting itself apart from direct lobbying would also neutralise criticisms that NZFT was "radical" etc, as much as possible. Therefore NZFT was much freer to cultivate rapport with corporate and public sectors and the general public.

As a NGO, NZFT has been compelled to utilise its expertise and education programmes, and communications networks to promote futures thinking even more intensely than a Government-funded futures studies organisation. This is in order to survive financially, remain independent and non-profit, and continue to promote futures thinking education and disseminate information on futures studies matters. The most predominant strategy in this respect is offering its expertise in contract research and training programmes to build support, especially corporate support, in the public, private and community sectors, and to provide further futures thinking education. In so doing, NZFT has established itself as a futures thinking consultancy as well as a futures organisation.

James Duncan completed CFF's long-term project. This was published in 1984 as *Options for New Zealand's Future*, popularly dubbed as "The Survival Book." A book format was chosen so the information could be widely disseminated and took the novel approach of presenting a holistic spectrum of NZ lifestyle, ranging from geography to ethnic minorities, instead of a specialised report. This was to exemplify NZFT's holistic approach towards the NZ lifestyle. Former CFF member Myra Harpham would continue two CFF projects independently. These were the *Futures Kit*, completed in collaboration with Terry McCarthy in 1982, and CFF's monthly journal, *Future Watch*. *Future Watch* would continue until July 1985 when Myra Harpham decided she could no longer continue with it. A *Future Watch* section still continues in NZFT's quarterly publication, *Future Times*.

The first NZFT Board members were former CFF Chairman, Professor J. F. Duncan, Dr Edwin "Eddie" Ian Robertson, Dame Miriam Dell, Professor Ronald Lister, Messrs Lindsay McCallum, Maui Pomare, and Ronald Guthrie. NZFT founding members came from diverse disciplines and backgrounds, which ranged from specialised sciences to lobbying experience in social issues. This has enabled NZFT to establish itself as a research organisation that produces a holistic view of futures studies. Moreover, being a holistic organisation has enabled NZFT to achieve more rapport with the diverse sectors of society that it needs for financial, individual and organisational support.

The holistic approach and educating people in futures thinking is maintained through working with a diverse range of clients: government departments, businesses, local bodies, religious groups and community groups. NZFT's approach has aroused scepticism among people who respect more specialised research and experts, so NZFT has researchers and working parties maintaining specialised research alongside holistic research.

NZFT has never been part of lobby groups which make up the majority of the voluntary sector, or joined the *Association of Non-Government Organisations in Aotearoa* (ANGOA), which co-ordinates NGOs. This is to maintain NZFT's non-partisan credibility as an independent organisation, free of pressures from politics, lobbyists, private companies and NGOs to conform to particular ethics, lifestyles or conservative and narrow viewpoints.

Since NZFT is not Government-funded like NZPC and CFF, and must remain non-profit to qualify as an NGO, it has always depended on public financial support, subscriptions, contract work and corporate supporters. In the beginning, NZFT rode on the momentum of support from CFF, which gave it supporters from every area and walk of life in the country, and both National and Labour. NZFT could expand on the CFF networks and public support to further promote futures thinking, such as contract work with corporate companies like Fletcher Homes and Dalgety's. Demand for future studies consultants in the private sector has varied, with corporate training courses in forward planning and future studies strategies being

requested. Forging reciprocal relationships with the public and private sectors is one way to keep NZFT financially supported whilst providing services in futures thinking programmes. NZFT provides seminars and courses for assisting public, private, legal and NGO organisations to incorporate futures thinking and studies in their strategic planning processes.

Future Times promotes NZFT as its "shop window" and is one of NZFT's biggest mediums for distributing FT information. *Future Times* was launched on 25 November 1982 on a quarterly basis, and also incorporated *Future Watch* and its distribution networks in June 1985. In its early years *Future Times* reflected NZFT's holistic approach by covering material "all across the board", or "bits and pieces about everything. Then the next issue might come out that is exclusive to one issue, such as transport or ethics."

NZFT continues to build on its networks to enhance its profile in media, universities/education facilities, private sectors, business consultation businesses, and continues a futures thinking presence in Science and Technology Fair activities and awards. Partnerships with organisations also continue to produce publications, such the *UNESCO Cultural Futures Kit* in 2000.

NZFT uses international channels with overseas futures organisations and institutions to maintain public education in futures thinking. More recently its website, www.futurestrust.org.nz and the related www.futurestrust.org.nz/links.html, provides people with access to futures links in other parts of the world.

Over the years there have been other futures projects and attempts to establish other futures organisations in New Zealand. NZFT has remained the constant in futures studies and futures thinking in New Zealand since the disbandment of CFF and NZPC.

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The author would like to thank the following people: Graham Butler, Jennifer Coote, Yvonne Curtis, Dame Miriam Dell, Robin Gunston, Myra Harpham, Eddie Robertso

FutureWatch in Government Policy

Yvonne Curtis

The term "FutureWatch" was used first by the Commission for the Future for the title of its members' newsletter. The newsletter featured abstracted information from a wide range of publications on issues of future significance. This title has continued to be used by the NZFT for a similar service provided by Jennifer Coote in *Future Times*.

Over the years it has become commonplace for those associated with futures thinking in the NZFT circles to refer to a broad environmental scan (a term used in wider business and policy circles) as "future watching".

In terms of long-term policy, future watching is a vital aspect of being able to provide sound policy advice that will stand the test of time. I have recently re-read a number of the reports prepared by the Commission for the Future and have been impressed by their quality and durability. Much of the future watching done then is still very relevant today for decision-making and the analyses of possible outcomes are still very useful as policy tools.

Thirty years on the term futurewatch has again appeared in government body reports and publications. A renewed recognition by public policy makers that there is a need for wide-ranging information collecting from often unlikely sources for sound long-term policy advice when considering issues that affect the future of any community.

Two examples are in recent Bioethics Council and MoRST reports.

The Bioethics Council's June 2005 *Progress Report* notes as part of its role that:

The Council is also expected to maintain a future watch or 'alert' role: that is, to help provide early advice on significant emerging issues for the public to grapple with.

For any community it is very valuable to be able to consider often highly emotive issues and possible helpful actions before the issue becomes a problem. Today the IT communication and modelling technologies have made "virtual problem solving" more effective even when considering the intangible ethical and spiritual issues.

The MoRST *Biotechnologies to 2025* report has been reviewed in detail by Jennifer Coote in *Future Times 2005/ Volume 3 (pages 9-10)* and below is a response to that reflection which answers some of the questions that Jennifer posed and outlines MoRST's plans to continue "futurewatching".

MoRST and FutureWatch

Lesley Middleton
General Manager, Science and Technology Policy
Ministry of Research, Science and Technology

MoRST welcomes the review prepared by Jennifer Coote from Futures Thinking Aotearoa on the *Biotechnologies to 2025* report and the valuable insights she offers for our ongoing work in this area.

She lays down the challenge of keeping science and technology connected to its broader societal context and focusing more on ongoing scanning, rather than one-off scans.

We hope our next steps will address these important challenges.

Over the next two years we will be working to design and put in place a scanning network, focused on emerging science and technologies, especially biotechnology. This initiative is about helping New Zealand keep on its toes with respect to the opportunities and challenges coming on the horizon from science and technology, especially in relation to those areas that are important to New Zealand like agriculture. It's also about providing a channel to better link science and government.

We are privileged to have Dr Barbara Nicholas leading this project working in partnership with Karen Cronin. This team will bring to the project a rich experience in science and technology policy, social research, and dialogue and communication practice.

The Network will identify issues that are new or at the margins of current awareness, providing an alert on issues and opportunities related to science and technology, the context for their development, and their relevance to New Zealand. To do this it will gather, synthesise and share information, through meetings and the production of occasional thinkpieces and reports.

Staff from MoRST and other agencies will be part of the scanning communities; an approach which should help embed scanning as a process within and across agencies.

The work of the scanning network will contribute to policy development for MoRST, but also across government and to external agencies with interests in new developments in science and technology, such as the Bioethics Council and other ethics bodies, Ministries of Health, Economic Development, Foreign Affairs and Trade, Agriculture and Forestry, Environmental Risk Management Authority, NZBIO, Crown Research Institutes and universities.