

April 2001 Issue

In this Issue

Section A:

Holistic Healing for Survivors of Abuse –

How to be a Survivor not a Victim

By Liz Mullinar AM

Liz Mullinar at the age of forty-eight recovered memories of being sexually abused when she was five. In this Paper, which she presented on 11 March 2001 at the Australasian Holistic Health Conference hosted by Monash University and held at the Pinnacle Valley Resort, Mt Buller, Victoria, Liz Mullinar describes her painful journey from recovering her memories to wanting to help other survivors of child abuse. Realising that there were no organisations available to help survivors of child abuse, she founded ASCA, Advocates for Survivors of Child Abuse, and established Mayumarri Retreat.

Using a therapeutic inter-modal approach developed by Margaret Williams who now works at ASCA, guests who stay at the Retreat are shown that healing comes from within. For six years, healing survivors of child abuse has been about empowering them to respect themselves again, to reclaim their emotions and to approach life positively with hope.

"We initially heal the child who suffered the abuse by unlocking the emotions the child blocked in the traumatised state... people have the capacity within themselves to transcend current difficulties through positive constructive change, given the right environment, opportunities and freedom. This healing model involves the whole person in Systems of Being, Doing and Becoming. The approach is to facilitate a transcendent beginning through a healing programme in an effective environment for change... The key to this process is the recovery of spontaneity, the energetic life force and the reinforcement of personal power.. The guests recognise there are alternate ways of living and have the opportunity to choose. The choice is not only about doing things a new way - it is also about who to be with in their new life."

Liz urges the medical and counselling profession to "not prescribe sedatives and tranquillisers quite so quickly, so that all victims are given the chance to release their pain." She challenges us all to help survivors of child abuse break the silence, so that they can reclaim their lives. "We want to change the belief that we are better off not feeling."

Section B:

(click on the title of the article to view)

The Cities or the Bush: Is that the real problem?

Barton Lecture by Rick Farley

Rick Farley is the Managing Director of the Farley Consulting Group, which specialises in land use agreements. He is the chairman of the NSW Resources and Conservation Assessment Council, the chairman of the Lake Victoria Advisory Committee, an Ambassador for Reconciliation and Co-chair of the NSW State Reconciliation Committee.

The Barton Lecture by Mr Farley entitled, "The Cities or the Bush: Is that the real Problem?" was presented on 6 March 2001 at the Bathurst Entertainment Centre as part of the Centenary of Federation. To the question, The Cities or the Bush: Is that the real Problem?, Mr Farley's response is, "I don't think so. I think the real issue is how Australia manages the forces of inevitable and ever faster change." An answer that Mr Farley thoroughly qualifies with his considerable experience of living and working in rural and regional communities and being at the forefront of local and national changes.

"During my 20 years with farming organisations, I saw and learned a lot. I saw the face of rural poverty up close ... I saw the class differences and bitter splits between the established graziers... I saw fierce internal farm sector debates about protection and tariffs... I saw the sector come to understand and accept that protection was the trade-off for centralised wage-fixing... I saw the pain that goes with industry deregulation – in the sugar industry, the dairy industry, the grains industry, the citrus industry and finally in the wool industry... I saw industries grapple with the impact of changing from a fixed to a floating exchange rate and the rapid development of a much more international market place, propelled by the communications revolution."

Outlining changes in Australia's landscape, employment and population, the three "practical" and "inter-related forces" that shape our communities, Mr Farley argues that "Change always has occurred in Australian society, but the pace now is accelerating... As change continues to accelerate, groups in the community have been left behind – not only in rural areas. They are concentrated around primary and manufacturing industries, where employment has fallen in relative terms."

Given that the real problem is how we all shape and manage the impact of change and internationalisation on our communities," Mr Farley addresses key issues in six areas which need to be on an agenda that aims to address how the impact of change can be managed. The key areas are: **Sustainable use of natural resources, Infrastructure, Communications, Adjustment, Local ownership and delivery and Native title.**

He urges that The Centenary of Federation provides an opportunity for us all to debate, look forward, concentrate on solutions and outcomes, not revenge. With leadership at all levels of our society, a holistic approach needs to be developed to manage change. This is within our reach, he affirms as, "The national spirit in which we all responded to the Olympics, particularly the huge volunteer effort, shows our capacity to pull together."

The final image Rick Farley leaves us with is powerful and evocative. "Finally though, Australians should think about the soul of our nation. Our future is not just about economics and population trends. The country – the land and waters – sustains us all. If the country is sick, it can't support us as well. If we don't care for it, it can't care for us. If the country is sick, the soul of our nation also is sad and diminished. Our enthusiasm and energy as a

nation fall. Our faith in ourselves and our national confidence are sapped."

Section C:

By United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

The winners of a new award -- the Millennium Peace Prize for Women -- were announced by Noeleen Heyzer, Director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), on International Women's Day.

The purpose of the prize was to recognize leadership that was often neither recognized nor rewarded, yet was essential to holding communities together and to building peace from the community to the negotiating table, Ms. Heyzer explained. While UNIFEM supported women's leadership in times of peace, it also believed such leadership must be supported in times of crisis and in times of war. The award winners, through their life stories and their commitment, had been at the forefront of peace efforts in their countries, in their communities and worldwide.

Section D:

Speech by UN Deputy Secretary-General Louise Fréchette for International Women's Day

In commemoration of International Women's Day, a special event entitled "Women and Peace: Women Managing Conflicts" was held at the United Nations Headquarters on 8 March 2001, with speakers highlighting such issues as the lack of women in peacekeeping leadership positions, empowering women as a development policy and the connection between protecting women's rights and peace.

In an opening statement, Louise Fréchette, Deputy Secretary-General, said that no strategy, in any United Nations effort, was going to work unless it involved women. Empowering women was a development policy that worked and no peace was likely to last without the involvement of women at all levels of peacekeeping and peace-building. In recognition of those facts, the Organization was beginning to take strong measures towards gender equality in all areas, but much more needed to be done. She urged Member States to put forward qualified women candidates for posts at all levels.

"Women can be a powerful force for peace and reconciliation and must be integrated more effectively in peace processes world-wide," said Louise Fréchette.

Click on the title in this section for the speech by Deputy Secretary-General Louise Fréchette that was delivered at the "Women and Peace" panel at United Nations Headquarters on the occasion of International Women's Day.

Holistic Healing for Survivors of Abuse –

How to be a Survivor not a Victim

By Liz Mullinar AM

(This Paper was presented on 11 March 2001 at the Australasian Holistic Health Conference hosted by Monash University and held at the Pinnacle Valley Resort, Mt Buller, Victoria.)

I am a survivor of child abuse. When I was 48 I recovered memories of sexual abuse at the age of five. I fought against recovering my memories and I was nearly successful. In other words I nearly died. It was only when I allowed myself to begin to remember my abuse that my life and my health began to change and improve in a major way.

Initially, after those who worked in the medical model had no answers, I went to a body therapist and then a highly qualified psychologist. Today I am very grateful to both of them.

As I started to emerge from the first stage of healing, I reached out for organisations to connect with other survivors, to help me understand how I could have forgotten such a traumatic event and to help me heal. I was stunned to discover there were no such organisations available. The only assistance seemingly available at no cost for adult survivors of child abuse was the sexual assault services. These had been established thanks to the hard work of the women's movement in the seventies. However, I found that, although they do wonderful work for rape victims, they are not the most suitable environment for survivors of child abuse. I found the staff were mostly not survivors but caring helpers who had not experienced pain themselves and so often unwittingly prolonged the victimization of their client.

I realised that what was needed was a national organisation run by survivors for survivors, where we would show by example that healing was possible and we would empower survivors to heal themselves from the devastating effects of child abuse.

My instinct that there was a better way of healing has indeed been proved since we established ASCA (Advocates for Survivors Of Child Abuse). Over the last six years I have witnessed dramatic and exciting healing in almost all our members especially, since creating our Retreat, Mayumarri, at Quorrobolong NSW. From witnessing others journey to healing, I now know I could have healed much more quickly.

For years I have had great respect for the medical profession and assumed they knew everything about their specialised subject. I have therefore been disillusioned to discover that, in the area close to my heart, they not only do not understand but also, in some cases, actively effect further damage.

I consider the assistance of well trained counsellors imperative for a survivor to heal quickly and I am so grateful for the commitment of well trained and caring professionals. However, despite this, I consider that the therapeutic system, as devised today for survivors of abuse, is primarily established for the convenience of the counsellor. Appointments are neat - hourly and weekly; close engagement with the client is discouraged and treating them as a

victim enforces their sense of worthlessness and need. Authoritarianism, contracts and economic rationalism re-abuse them. The apparently superior counsellor informs them how they can get better, how the counsellor will make them well. Cognitive therapy is given high credence. A belief seems to exist that a very effective form of treatment is through the mind, but our minds we are in contact with - it is our emotions from which we are removed.

The medical method of treatment from psychiatric hospitals and some psychiatrists is to treat the symptoms and endeavour to allay or remove them with drugs, to suppress the emotions rather than allowing the survivor to embrace and release their feelings. In particular, psychiatric hospitals seem afraid of allowing emotions to be expressed. A considerable number of our members have even suffered lobotomies - an expensive and ineffective way of helping. No other users of the health system have only their symptoms dealt with and not the cause.

Mayumarri is about healing the cause, not the symptoms. We endeavour to approach survivors in a different way. All of us in the community are survivors of child abuse. There is no sense of "authorisers". We allow ourselves to feel, engage in, hug and care for those who come for healing. We let them know we care passionately that they do heal and that they find the courage to heal themselves. We assure them that they have had the courage to survive and they can use that courage to begin their healing journey. We help people understand that healing comes from within, from themselves; that external forces do not heal us - we heal ourselves. We cannot heal solely by engaging our minds, our cognitive selves. We initially heal the child who suffered the abuse by unlocking the emotions the child blocked in the traumatised state.

By having guests coming for a week we break down the awfulness and limitations of the hourly appointment. Survivors given only an hour have to hold themselves, knowing that if they only have one hour or 50 minutes, cannot dare to begin to fully embrace their pain or their emotions in that time. Thus healing is inexorably slow or does not begin at all. After the session they are back in the outside world coping again, so the little part of themselves that might have begun to open out, closes down again for yet another week. Even for the survivor who, after a considerable time, does trust the counsellor enough to be able to go into their emotions still has periods of intense -remembrance-discoveries, followed by a long period of calm. Weekly appointments don't allow the natural healing speed of each client. They have to leave when they have nothing to say and are usually not able to go two or three times a week when they need to.

I know my healing was considerably helped once I started having two hourly appointments with my psychologist.

At Mayumarri guests come for a whole week, so they can drop their defences and open up to the emotional pain of their inner child and allow themselves time to experience it safely, process the experience and recover into a different self. This is why our guests experience such extraordinary healing in such a short time.

Validation, being accepted, being allowed to feel angry or sad and discovering others who had experienced similar situations have an amazing effect. Being encouraged to accept the abuse as fact and not to spend their time in fruitless blaming also seemed to make an amazing difference. When we started, I was happy to see the extraordinary changes in people just by providing that, a safe place to feel. I knew that was what I had needed and had been unable to find.

However, now with the programme devised by Margaret Williams, we can truly say we offer an environment for holistic healing. We give attention to the physical, emotional, cognitive, behavioural, social and spiritual aspects of the person. (Ochberg 1997)

Thanks to a Grant from NSW Health, Margaret and her husband John joined us after we had been open for nine months. Margaret has the expertise and professional counselling experience I lack, so she was able to add another vital element - inner child work through creative expression. As far as I can gather, Margaret's work in this area is unique. She concentrates on encouraging the wounded child and the wonder child to be revealed. She doesn't just invite people to visit their child. She supports the guests to BE WITH AND LISTEN TO THEIR CHILD(ren) and to form a bond of loving acceptance. Previously we had concentrated on finding the child, re-experiencing the pain and so hopefully releasing it.

Margaret approaches her work from the knowledge perspective that child abuse is a trauma-response to a crisis. This response may appear abnormal, until we realise that abuse is an abnormal situation for the child (Frankl 1984). The child's emotional self is disabled by the trauma and the true self hides behind behaviour masks, which is the psychological defence mechanism for getting rid of painful internal pressures. This information has helped us understand the signs of anxiety, hyper-activity, depression and childlike behaviour which were consistently presented by our guests. Trauma symptoms, which we have found to be consistent, are some or all of the following:

- ☒ Anxiety and/or panic attacks
- ☒ Depression
- ☒ Flashbacks
- ☒ Emotional disconnectedness
- ☒ Sleep problems and nightmares
- ☒ Environmental sensitivity and hyper-vigilance
- ☒ Physiological reaction when exposed to "triggering" stimuli
- ☒ Difficulty with concentration and intrusive irrational thoughts
- ☒ Abandonment fear
- ☒ No formal expression of the past and present and pessimism about the future

Traumatic stress responses include senses of guilt, abandonment, shame, defeat, damaged values and principles, confusion of meaning and purpose, betrayal, grief, and anguish. Unfortunately, these experiences are often mis-diagnosed as episodic or symptoms of a disorder and the sufferers find themselves in a Mental Health system which, in itself, can feel abusive.

All of our guests have experienced some form of amnesia from the trauma; it is a natural way of surviving, even if they have always remembered they are unable to access the details and/or the emotion during the abuse. An impaired capacity to process and to differentiate

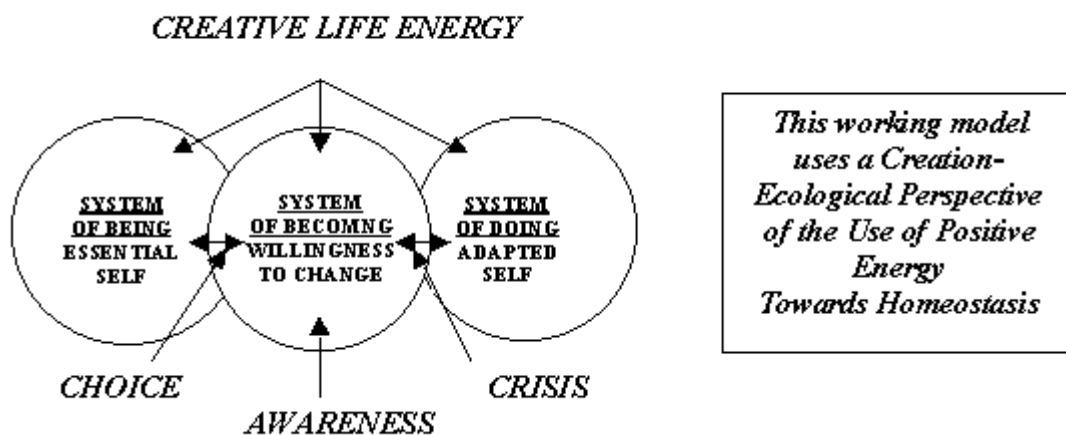
information may be at the root of the disturbed memory and concentration (Kluft 1991). Traumatic amnesias are age and dose related: the younger the age at the time of the trauma and the more prolonged the traumatic event, the greater the likelihood of significant amnesia (Briere & Conte 1993; Herman & Shatzow 1987).

Post Traumatic Stress may mimic personality and anxiety disorders, precipitating physical and psychiatric conditions or exacerbating pre-existing conditions (Mowbray 1988; Wilson 1988). The behaviour and sensations on which part of a mental illness diagnosis is made may, in fact, appear valid. What is usually missing in the exploration and diagnosis is a key question: "Are you a survivor of child abuse?" Stress and trauma responses include adaptive and maladaptive biological, psychological and social indicators, which have negative moral and spiritual consequences in society (Valent 1998). Survivors have already suffered all or some of the negative consequences of alienation, isolation, religious abuse and perhaps loss of employment and place of living, only to further experience a psychiatric label which has been given without full exploration of all the contributing factors to the presenting problem. It is important to point out that the apparent severity of the trauma is not directly proportional to the visible or invisible effects (Bradshaw 1990).

Margaret has developed a therapeutic inter-modal approach for working with traumatised clients incorporating creative expression. The hypothesis is that people have the capacity within themselves to transcend current difficulties through positive constructive change, given the right environment, opportunities and freedom. Their creativity is the meeting of the intensely conscious present in the healing environment and the unconscious focus, through the creative exercise, on the heightened meaning of the symbols and metaphors created in their work (May 1975).

This healing model involves the whole person in Systems of Being, Doing and Becoming. The approach is to facilitate a transcendent beginning through a healing programme in an effective environment for change. (Beutler et al 1995; Goren-Barr 1997). Treichner (1996:250) describes it as "addressing the healthy individual inside the sick individual and encouraging the self-healing process", while Gladding (1998:6) understands it as "promoting connectedness" between the mind and the body. Margaret has called the model Integrated Transcendence. I will explain it in her words.

INTEGRATED TRANSCENDENCE MODEL



Lusebrink's (1990) Expressive Therapies Continuum enables assessment of the balance between the client's subjective and physical existence through contrasts between the cognitive and symbolic, the formal and emotional and the kinaesthetic and sensory perceptions.

Healing is achieved through:

1. Re-finding the ability to move freely and spontaneously through the three systems to balance the self. Homeostasis or balance is a natural desire of living things.
2. Naming of emotions which have been blocked and the expression of the energy in motion in an appropriate and safe way. This releases the person from the neurological effects of the trauma.
3. Being aware of the self in the new understanding of life, incorporating the existing skills in a positive framework and re-discovering the real self which existed before the trauma.

In the approach:

1. The "narrative understanding" (Friedman 1997) of the history is explored as it presents.
2. The images and symbols of the traumatic events are reflected on to disintegrate the shame.
3. The emotional expression by using creative expression facilitates release from the trauma, allowing the spontaneous and positive inner child to emerge.
4. The events are integrated into the positive self and strategies for a new way of being are developed.

To begin their healing our guests move out of the frozen position of being a victim so long ago, by confronting their story from a safe place in the now, breaking the isolation and silence. Taking care not to re-traumatise them by asking them to repeat their story one more time is both professionally responsible and compassionate. Indeed, many of our guests are surprised we do not ask them to talk about their trauma again and again. They are used to having to tell each new health professional they encounter. The child is the one who experienced the traumatic abuse. The child blocked the emotion. Yet, persistently the adult is requested to tell his/her version of the child's story. This telling is not accurate as it has been modified by all the life incidents since the time of the abuse. WE believe many of these incidents are addictive behaviours which are implemented to ease the pain of blocked emotion.

The word emotion simply means energy in motion. Because creative activity provides the means for the child's emotional expression, energy is maintained throughout the process (Bradshaw 1990; Kristberg 1993). Understanding the difference between life energy and doubt about one's right to exist (or to truly FEEL about life) enables the person to clarify their emotions. Surmounting the emotional isolation and the alienation from self opens the way for trauma survivors to create authentic emotional bonds with others (Rogers 1957; Gladding 1998).

When trauma survivors' brains were flooded with information which they were unable to incorporate at the time of the abuse, through immaturity or lack of understanding, the information was stored in unconnected sensory files. Later, specific sensory input will "trigger" the person into a hyper-aroused state, through activation of the limbic, basal ganglia and brainstem areas (Greenwald et al 1996). The fear about the unintegrated information evokes reactionary, instead of responsive, behaviour. The identification of "triggering" stimuli is invaluable to assess neuro-linguistic areas.

During trauma, dissociation serves as an adaptive survival strategy to preserve the integrity of the personality. Existential discomfort, in assuming that external forces control existence, exacerbates anxiety (Corey 1996). Indicators of the split self will be hopelessness, helplessness, insecurity about decision making, self-hate, sleep problems, panic attacks, sexual issues and self-destructive patterns (Finkelhor 1986). Defence mechanisms, such as aggression, generate a "dysfunctional sequence of behaviour" (Cormier & Hackney 1993:286) or "asynchrony" (Perun and Beilby (1980:105).

Expressive Arts Therapy transposes the traumatised client from the abused inner world of "acting in" to the real outer world. It creates a healthy, flexible dialectic relationship between the two (Moreno 1973; Winnicott 1991; Van der Kolk et al. 1996). Symbol formation permits reflection, reconsideration and thought and enables the release of traumatic sub-conscious memories.

Learning to distinguish the "self from the not-self" (Viney 1992:71) gives harmony between the conflicting thought patterns and resistance behaviour. It enables movement into the System of Becoming an actor in one's own life, to respect the self as an equal to other people. Memory may be affected by the trauma. An impaired capacity to process information and to differentiate relevant from irrelevant information may be at the root of the disturbed memory and concentration (Kluft 1991).

Recovering and empowering the inner child and making it safe for the person to release what ever they need to, develops a level of intimacy and wholeness. Often what is needed is just the freedom to laugh and to play. The Gestalt model includes the use of creative means of human expression, including play, as a way of achieving holism of body, mind and soul, gaining vitality and lost scope (Perls 1973; Mackewn 1997).

So many survivors of child abuse have never known happiness or cannot recall experiencing it. It may remain unavailable because of the trauma of the experience or it is locked away with the pain experienced at the time of the abuse. Margaret facilitates, indeed encourages our guests to release the joy and childlike pleasures, which have been locked away, seemingly forever.

Problem-solving skills are necessary as new communication patterns are developed. Helpful intervention strategies are identified to strengthen, support and offer clarity. This offers resiliency where once it was absent or where coping skills were maladaptive.

Our guests have the opportunity to "continuously become" (Allport 1955) and embrace their talents and gifts, giving a sense of significance. Self-control and healthy personal boundaries are encouraged and modelled, indeed they are paramount. "Deep self-knowledge, when it comes, returns us to square one." (Moore 1995: 50)

The trauma cycle of dependence, independence and oppression, which restricted health and wholeness, is replaced by the possibility of interdependence with a separate identity. Transcendence over the effects of the history of child abuse creates a new narrative of harmony of the self and the Systems of Being and Doing. The key to this process is the recovery of spontaneity, the energetic life force and the reinforcement of personal power. (Gil 1988).

Recreating and claiming one's own value system gives a framework for planning the future and recognising the people essential to a positive life. Role models and mentors, either identified or appreciated, can play a very positive part at this time. Our carers are very mindful of their responsibilities in this area. The guests recognise there are alternate ways of living and have the opportunity to choose. The choice is not only about doing things a new way - it is also about who to be with in their new life. Affirming each step of the way is paramount.

Creativity is re-discovered, releasing the psychic healing energy of play and the spirit continues on the unjustly interrupted life path. "Living in the moment, belonging to and appreciating the universe and experiencing joy and wonder are a part of spirituality" (Merwin & Smith-Kurtz 1988).

So, from me as a survivor, may I encourage all of you to look at your clients who are survivors of abuse in a new way? Understand if you keep a rigid schedule you are perhaps stopping them from healing quickly; if you are authoritarian or parental, you are inviting transference and an unhealthy dependence from your client.

Unless you are prepared to accept, as the starting point, that the only way to heal is to return to the time of the abuse while staying in the now; to release the pain and the emotion as a starting point for healing then you are doing them a grave injustice.

Please don't offer us quick-fix solutions, different ways we can instantly relieve ourselves of the pain. We need to experience and process the release in order to understand how what happened to us has affected our behaviour and thinking today.

If my abuse had been wiped out by prayer counselling, TFT, kinesiology etc, I would not have been able to learn from the experience and see how my abuse has affected me and so correct that behaviour. For instance, in my abuse I decided I would never let anyone have power over me again. I can also remember the moment in my abuse when I realised my abuser was being totally unfair. This means I know I over-react to anything I consider unfair. Indeed it led me to setting up ASCA. I was so outraged by the unfairness of what was available to survivors of abuse. I knew I had to set up an organisation for survivors so our voices could be heard.

I find no disagreement with other survivors in our opinion about what we need in order to heal. In fact I have been amazed that visitors from such different cultures as India and Indonesia have come to visit and their ideas are *similar* to our own. The literature put out by the Delhi incest centre, by the survivor who runs it, I could have written myself to describe what survivors in Australia need. They have not been lucky enough to have a live-in centre or Margaret's programme but, having stayed at Mayumarri, they are determined that they will, as soon as humanly possible.

We hope to encourage doctors and psychiatrists to not prescribe sedatives and tranquillisers quite so quickly, so that all victims are given the chance to release their pain. We want to change the belief that we are better off not feeling.

Survivors can heal themselves with compassionate assistance and an understanding of what created their pain in the first place. They can move from victim to survivor if they are encouraged, empowered and helped, not sedated or allowed to feel dependant on their counsellor. They need to know they can heal themselves and that they are not healed by their counsellor. They need to be encouraged to accept their abuse as a fact , that reliving the story or blaming only slows the healing process.

At ASCA we focus on healing. We take our role of being part of the solution in the problem of child abuse very seriously. We empower survivors to respect themselves again, to reclaim their emotions and to approach life positively with hope. Every person deserves to feel whole, connected and free from the abuse of his or her childhood. Please assist us to break our silence and reclaim our lives which were so unjustly interrupted and affected.

[ASCA Website:](#)

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The Cities or the Bush: Is that the real problem?

by Rick Farley



Rick Farley

Rick Farley is the Managing Director of the Farley Consulting Group, which specialises in land use agreements. He is the chairman of the NSW Resources and Conservation Assessment Council, the chairman of the Lake Victoria Advisory Committee, an Ambassador for Reconciliation and Co-chair of the NSW State Reconciliation Committee. Mr Farley has been a member of the National Native Title Tribunal, the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation and its executive committee, the Australian Landcare Council, the Australia China Council and the Commission for the Future. He worked for rural organisations for 20 years and was the Executive Director of the National Farmers' Federation and the Cattlemen's Union of Australia. Mr Farley facilitated the Cape York Land Use Heads of Agreement and pioneered the national Landcare program with the Australian Conservation Foundation. He was a key figure in the passage of the Native Title Act in 1993. Mr Farley now provides advice to a range of development companies and Aboriginal communities throughout Australia.

Barton Lecture by Rick Farley

The Cities or the Bush: Is that the real problem?

I acknowledge the Wiradjiri People, the traditional Aboriginal owners of the lands where we meet, and offer my respect to their Elders and to their living culture.

Australia's Aboriginal culture is the oldest surviving culture in the world. I would like to borrow from it and tell you my story so you have a context in which to judge my comments today.

I was born in north Queensland, where the closest capital city is Port Moresby. I went to school and university in Brisbane, which is as far from Cairns as it is from Melbourne. My degree is in drama and literature, which no doubt was of some help later on the political stage.

I was a city boy – at least as far as Brisbane qualified as a city in the sixties. Many would argue that it did not achieve such status until after the Commonwealth Games and Expo. My father died when I was young and my mother worked to ensure my sister and I attended

private schools. She believed that a good school (not only a good education) was essential to our future prospects. Ours was not an affluent household.

My university days were coloured by sixties 'flower power', a lot of heady but ultimately impractical debate, theatre and some radicalism – the Springbok demonstrations, anti-Vietnam marches. In those days, young people still believed it was possible to change the world.

After I graduated, I moved to Nimbin for the Aquarius Festival – Australia's answer to Woodstock – and enjoyed being a hippie for a while. I sometimes still wonder what I'm going to do when I grow up.

In 1974, I moved to Rockhampton, became a journalist on the local newspaper, and ended up on the staff of a Minister in the Whitlam Government. I helped set up a Labor Government public relations machine to take on the Bjelke-Petersen Government.

The Cattlemen's Union was formed in 1976 as a break-away from the established Graziers' Association. They wanted a PR operation and offered me a job. Whitlam had been sacked, I was at loose ends and so I took the job. That changed my life. It started my apprenticeship in rural politics, one I might say that never has ended.

I worked for the Cattlemen's Union for 10 years and became its Executive Director at the age of 26 – with my liberal arts, hippie, ALP background. They were brave men, those leaders of the Cattlemen's Union.

I went from Rockhampton to the National Farmers' Federation in Canberra for another 10 years and was Executive Director for 7 of them. Some people thought I was 'the leftie from the right'.

During my 20 years with farming organisations, I saw and learned a lot.

I saw the face of rural poverty up close – stalwart families who opened up brigalow blocks with minimal capital, only to see beef markets collapse when Japan closed its markets after the oil shock. Many were living in tin sheds with earth floors, young kids and a car seat for a lounge. Not the common view of a pastoralist.

I saw the class differences and bitter splits between the established graziers – mostly woolgrowers and the large cattle companies – and the farmers and small cattle operators. Part of the folk lore was that you could always tell the difference between a grazier and lesser mortals by their boots. Graziers had leather soles because they never got off their horse.

I saw fierce internal farm sector debates about protection and tariffs. In general, those industries operating on the domestic market wanted some protection, while exporters, who paid for it, wanted protection reduced. Every farmer wanted a more flexible labour market.

I saw the sector come to understand and accept that protection was the trade-off for centralised wage-fixing. If there was to be more competition in the labour market, there had to be more competition in product markets. Two of the pillars of the post-Federation 'Deakinite settlement' to which Paul Kelly refers in 'The End of Certainty' had to be dismantled together.

I saw the pain that goes with industry deregulation – in the sugar industry, the dairy industry, the grains industry, the citrus industry and finally in the wool industry. Many people went broke, empires collapsed, and the social structure of rural and regional Australia changed enormously.

I saw industries grapple with the impact of changing from a fixed to a floating exchange rate and the rapid development of a much more international market place, propelled by the communications revolution. More people got left behind, not only in the regions, but throughout the national community.

I saw the costs of environmental degradation hit home. The farm sector started to calculate losses in potential production and to focus on the need for more sustainable management of natural resources. That prompted the historic negotiations between the NFF and the Australian Conservation Foundation, which led to the national Landcare program and the Decade of Landcare. It also generated even more pressure for changes in enterprise management.

I saw the Mabo judgement and the legal reality of native title – another major and long overdue change in the nature of relationships in rural and regional Australia.

I left the NFF in 1995. Since then, I have shifted from the macro to the micro – from the somewhat rarified heights of national policy to trying to achieve change at local level. I now work in the area of land use agreements, where industry needs to accommodate native title rights and environmental safeguards. It is much different to what I used to do.

For the last 10 years, I have been heavily involved in the reconciliation movement because there is no other choice about race relations that is acceptable to me. I have seen the generosity of Indigenous People as they continue to offer us the gift of their culture while everyday they feel the deep pain of social injustices that shame us all.

It is my honour today to present one of the Barton lectures as part of the Centenary of Federation. I must warn you that I am not an historian, not even an academic. All I can do is share with you some of the understandings I have come to from my range of experiences. I can not speak for other people and therefore speak only for myself.

The cities or the bush – is that the real problem? I don't think so. I think the real issue is how Australia manages the forces of inevitable and ever faster change. There are problems that are common to the capital cities, regional cities and rural areas. They no doubt will have new prominence in the wake of the Western Australian and Queensland elections, but they have been around since Federation, although more acutely since the big economic decisions of the eighties.

I shall begin by reminding you that the three practical forces that shape our communities are the inter-related forces of landscape, employment and population.

First, the landscape helps to shape our communities. The saltwater people are different to the desert people. Water catchments define regions of common interest because water is the most precious commodity in the driest continent on earth except Antarctica. Two thirds of our country is arid or semi-arid. The most hospitable country, where there is relatively secure rainfall, is on the east coast and in the south-east and south-west corners. That always will be where most people want to live.

Second, there has been a major shift in employment since Federation away from primary industries and manufacturing towards service industries. Primary and manufacturing industries' share of employment has fallen over the century from one third to about 6%. Services now account for well over 85% of total employment. That too has shaped our communities. Service industries need population to be concentrated, and employment has been falling in rural areas.

Third, as a result of those landscape and employment pressures, population has shifted over the century to larger centres and towards the coast, where it is most attractive to live. At the time of Federation, almost half the population lived in communities of less than 3,000 people and 40% lived in rural areas. By 1996, only 18% lived in these small communities and only 15% lived in rural areas. More than 80% lived within 50 kilometres of the coast.

The capital cities always have accounted for a huge slice of the population, but regional cities also have grown substantially since Federation. Indigenous people are becoming a bigger part of remote communities. Australia's national identity, as Donald Horne has identified, now is more about the beach than the bush.

The social structure of rural and regional Australia therefore has been undergoing profound change over the century. Population has shifted and concentrated, reflecting employment opportunities, and infrastructure has followed.

Middle sized family farming enterprises are under the most pressure. They either are being amalgamated for economies of scale, or carved up as hobby farms around regional cities.

In January, the *Australian* newspaper carried a feature article, 'Bitter harvest burns sugar', which dealt with the problems encountered by the small South Johnstone sugar mill in north Queensland as it attempted to adjust to world markets. It had gone into receivership owing \$25 million.

Just two weeks later in the same newspaper, there was another feature article that quoted Janet Holmes a Court: 'Everyone in farming in Australia realises it's a new ball game. It's not all about hands in the dirt, it's about hands on the computer. It's not about talking to your bank manager – most have disappeared. It's about talking to your rural adviser and scientific adviser.'

The same article reported that Stanbroke Pastoral Company, the largest landholder in Australia and the biggest cattle producer, was well down the road to vertical integration, owning its own feedlots and abattoirs. Kerry Packer's cattle company, Consolidated Pastoral Company, also was reported as vertically integrated, with its own breeding, fattening and abattoir operations.

That's the changing face of rural and regional Australia. The ruling equation is how best to operate in the international market place. If you can't get better or get bigger, get out.

And there is no going back. Our nation simply is too small to stand apart from the rest of the world. While we have a population of 20 million people, we have a small domestic market so our companies have to export in order to grow. Our small population also translates into a small tax base, so the levels of support and assistance available from our government are much lower than the levels available to countries with large populations.

The major economic decisions of the eighties – to float the Australian dollar, deregulate financial markets, reduce industry protection and free up the labour market – were inevitable and they are irrevocable. They recognised finally that Australia had no option but to become part of the growing international market place.

Change always has occurred in Australian society, but the pace now is accelerating. The competitive environment in which Australia has to operate is evolving ever more rapidly. The Chief Scientist has noted: 'Thirty years ago, knowledge doubled every fourteen years – it is now doubling every seven years. Not only is the speed of discovery increasing, but the rate at which knowledge is applied also has become more rapid.'

As change continues to accelerate, groups in the community have been left behind – not only in rural areas. They are concentrated around primary and manufacturing industries, where employment has fallen in relative terms.

In my view, there is a community of interests between smaller farmers and those displaced in the restructure of manufacturing industries – between, if you like, elements of the bush and the outer suburbs of the capital cities. Both have been hurt by the pace of change. Both have been unable to find a place in the new international world.

This assessment is shared to some extent by the Business Council of Australia, which has noted:

'In terms of income distribution between 1982 and 1997, every income group has improved its position with income gains exceeding price increases. In relative terms, the top and bottom of the distribution have done better than the middle.'

In other words, the rich are getting richer, the poor are being helped up, and the group in the middle can see the rich getting further away and the poor coming closer.

That is a recipe for frustration, bitterness and anger. I think we now are seeing a new politics of the powerless. There are many people in the community who believe they have lost control of their lives, through no fault of their own, in the whirlpool created by internationalisation of Australia's economy and markets and the communications revolution. They feel left out and want to lash out.

In perhaps one of her more intuitive statements, Pauline Hanson said last month she didn't only want to keep the bastards honest, she wanted to get rid of the bastards. She is a touchstone for the politics of the powerless because they know they can't change things, they just want revenge. One Nation is the vehicle.

I believe the real problem is not the cities or the bush. The real issue is how to ensure that as a nation we shape the way in which we have to react to change more effectively and provide equal opportunity to share in its benefits.

It's not as simple as the bush versus the cities. The problems are common in the bush, some regional cities and the outer suburbs of the capitals. They have developed over the century, but became much more severe after the big economic decisions of the eighties – particularly floating the Australian dollar and reductions in industry assistance. They were compounded by the mostly laissez-faire / let the market rule approach to their social impact adopted by successive governments.

An issue associated with how we manage change is the relative depopulation of the bush over decades. Population has shifted towards the coast, regional cities and the capitals, driven by the landscape and jobs. If Australia wants to change that, the landscape and jobs are the keys.

Change affects the entire Australian community. Many groups are caught in the fall-out. Many would argue that their issues deserve public priority eg:

- how to give new hope to the youth of the nation and reduce youth suicide and involvement with the criminal justice system;
- a more efficient tax system;
- how to deal with an ageing population;
- funding of private and public education;
- a more efficient health system;
- Indigenous land rights and a treaty.

But in today's political circumstances, there is a good chance that the issues of on-going structural adjustment in the primary and manufacturing industries and the relative depopulation of the inland will receive close attention. That being the case, it probably is helpful to think about an agenda for the process. Others also will have many valuable suggestions.

Sustainable use of natural resources

The first agenda item should be sustainable natural resource management. In many ways, it is the defining issue. Care for country is basic to the survival of our entire nation, not just particular sectors.

Without more sustainable use of natural resources, the ability of the country to support families and communities will be reduced even further. If we want to improve the long-term survival chances for industry, and therefore our ability to manage change, we have to look after the natural resource base and particularly water. We're not doing a great job.

Land degradation is extensive. In 1999, around 20% of farms experienced some form of land degradation, 16% reported productivity declines and 10% removed land from agricultural production.

Around 2.5 million hectares of land currently are affected by salinity, which in time could rise to over 15 million hectares.

Weeds cost over \$3.3 billion in lost production each year.

Nearly 90% of temperate woodlands and mallee have been cleared, resulting in loss of biodiversity. Large scale clearing continues, particularly in Queensland, despite clear evidence that this increases salinity.

There are increasing concerns about water quality and there is not enough water in some of our river systems to meet the combined demands of agriculture, human consumption and environmental flows.

The cost of arresting these trends is enormous, let alone remedial action. The Murray Darling Basin Commission says it will be impossible to reverse salinity in some areas of the basin.

If comprehensive action is to be taken, there have to be permanent partnerships between landholders and government. Neither can do the job without the other and it will take a long time. The partnership has to include long-term public funding so landholders have the confidence to change their management practices. That implies the support of all political parties.

The National Farmers Federation and the Australian Conservation Foundation estimate the cost of necessary work at around \$60 billion over 10 years. They propose that government meet half the total. The other half would come from landholders and industry.

To build on that proposal, Phillip Toyne and I, in a paper for the Australia Institute last year, suggested a 1% tax levy to raise the government's \$30 billion. That would be a transparent mechanism to raise public funds in the long-term.

I choose to believe that the electorate would support such a levy, providing they were confident it would be used effectively. There are many precedents for a special purpose tax levy, including the Medicare levy.

How we price natural resources deserves very close attention. Until the costs to environmental capital are clearly identified, management of our industries is incomplete. There is no environmental account in the national account. Water is our most precious resource, but markets now are inaccurate and incomplete. There are different pricing regimes on different sides of the River Murray. There is no pricing regime on the giant Fitzroy system in the Northern Territory. Emission markets also are not fully developed.

The question then of who pays once costs are identified is a separate matter for community and political debate.

Infrastructure

If industries are to compete as successfully as possible on international markets, they must have access to efficient public infrastructure. However, the Institution of Engineers in 1999 expressed considerable concern about this.

The Institution issued a report card in nine categories from national roads to planning. The highest mark was a C. There were five Ds. The Melbourne/Sydney/Brisbane railway system rated F. The report found major problems with the road and rail systems, water supply and sewerage not just in rural and regional areas, but in the cities as well.

Clearly, upgrading of national infrastructure is overdue and would have benefits across all industries. Everyone's competitive position would be improved. Rural and regional areas would derive additional benefits to the extent that they now are disadvantaged.

To be effective, there would need to be cooperation and integration between all levels of government. National markets offer the greatest efficiencies and strong interlinkages are necessary to develop them. That in turn argues for initiatives to be developed by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG). However, COAG would have to be strengthened as the current Prime Minister has not relied on it much to date.

The costs of any such exercise would need to be transparent and taken into account by government and the community. The costs will be high and those with other policy priorities legitimately will want public debate about value for money.

Communications

Equal access to information and service flows is another critical factor in dealing with the relative depopulation of the inland. As markets have internationalised, access to efficient communications has become essential. Without it, industries are at a serious competitive disadvantage.

That plainly is the case in some rural and regional areas where there is no mobile phone coverage and restricted internet access. In those areas, the capacity of businesses to compete is reduced substantially. So is their capacity to protect and create jobs and retain and attract population.

Adjustment

Adjustment packages then can be targeted to industries and regions experiencing particular difficulties. Regions also can be targeted for special development. There are many such examples since Federation – motor vehicle plans, steel plans, the brigalow schemes, Albury/Wodonga and so on. The packages can include things like access to discounted capital, tax incentives, education and training, provision of infrastructure and research and planning.

Elements of the primary and manufacturing industries have a legitimate case for special adjustment assistance. They were left largely to fend for themselves after Australia's markets were opened in the mid-eighties. The social impact of change was managed woefully by government in many areas. Their position now raises important national issues, not least the relative depopulation of the inland.

If the issues are to be addressed, once again an integrated approach by all levels of government would deliver the most benefits. The Commonwealth, States and Local Government all have programs that could be applied. COAG again would be the most logical vehicle and particular regions could be targeted according to an assessment of needs.

For this to occur, the national community would need to agree to give priority, both political and economic, to the problems of the primary and manufacturing industries and to some regions of Australia. There would need to be a national debate where those with other priorities could put their case. Costs would need to be understood clearly. Government should only be prepared to proceed where there is a clear mandate for action. The support of all political parties would be necessary because programs would have to extend well beyond the normal budget process.

Local ownership and delivery

From the recent State elections and public opinion surveys, we know that a lot of people feel disconnected from governments and public institutions and absolutely frustrated about their ability to control their lives. We also know that the most effective government programs are those which reflect the priorities of the local community and which are owned by the community.

The concept of giving communities some control of government programs in their region therefore should have some attraction. It could serve both to engage those who now feel shut out and improve the ownership and effectiveness of the outcomes.

Noel Pearson is discussing an exercise like this with the Beattie Government on behalf of Aboriginal communities on Cape York. He calls it the 'Partnership Program.' The principle is to regionalise program administration, identify all the ways government is dealing with the community, and give the community some say in priorities and how the programs are delivered.

Regional administration and delivery of programs by all levels of government, with some community control, certainly appears worthy of further discussion. Water catchments can help to define natural regional boundaries. It would have the added dimension of government and public institutions being seen to reach out for the disaffected in the community, and trying to heal divisions that clearly exist.

Once again, it would be logical to approach such an exercise through COAG because all levels of government have some programs in the same areas.

At the end of the day, when everyone else has packed up and gone home, it is the people in the community who have to live next door to each other and deal with each other. If they are not happy with the outcomes, there will be no final resolution of the issues and government and politicians will continue to have a big problem.

Native title

My experience has been that after some initial hysteria, developers are learning how to deal with native title, although with some extra costs. Indigenous communities are not opposed to development – in a lot of cases, it is their only chance to develop their own economic base.

Companies have developed new skills, just as they had to do for environmental assessments. Their preferred approach usually is to reach an agreement with Traditional Owners, recognising that they have the same community obligations to Indigenous people as they do to other groups. In a more pragmatic sense, they also recognise that it is better to front-end load their risk and devote some resources to negotiated outcomes in the first instance, rather than face the prospect of litigation over the life of their project. This is particularly the case where companies expect to do repeat business with Indigenous communities.

The desire of companies to reach legal agreements about native title now generally exceeds the capacity of Traditional Owners to respond:

- traditional boundaries have become blurred by dispossession so identifying the native title group often is difficult;

- genealogical research has not been completed before many native title applications are lodged so defining the native title group also is difficult;
- Native Title Representative Bodies are not in a position to devote significant resources to agreements. Their main priority is test cases to extend the law;
- many Indigenous communities do not have corporations that can deal commercially with developers and government, and that can hold native title rights and interests.

Government also has its own gaps to fill on native title. Some States still have not fully resolved the evidence they require before accepting groups as legitimate claimants for the purposes of an agreement. Some still have to develop efficient protocols between their agencies to consider and sign off on agreements.

Negotiated outcomes about land use obviously are the best result for everyone. There is community ownership of the results, costs are reduced and the benefits of development are shared. It therefore would be sensible to devote greater public resources to facilitating native title agreements. Native title clearly is a factor in managing change in many inland areas.

Looking forward

The most important step would be for everyone to look forward. There certainly have been mistakes made in the past, but they are in the past. The most relevant question is what should be done to fix them so work can begin on a forward agenda.

The politics of revenge can only go so far. Eventually, people have to roll up their sleeves and get on with the real job, which is to find some solutions. There really is no other alternative. Internationalisation of trade, capital and information will continue. Australia can't stop it and we are too small to remain as an isolated fortress economy. Change will occur faster and faster – consider the recent breakthroughs in gene mapping and the possibilities they raise. Australia has no option but to swim in the international whirlpool and our industries will have to continue to adjust.

The issues are tremendously complex. Many of them have been around since Federation. The shifts in employment and population certainly have occurred over many years. The accelerated pace of change since the big economic decisions of the eighties has brought many issues to a head. Because social impact has been dealt with poorly, there has been a loss of public faith in the central institutions of society. Just get rid of the bastards. That confidence must be restored or Australia will take the first steps towards anarchy.

Part of the challenge is to provide the leadership and vision necessary to chart these waters. Leadership needs to be at many levels – certainly from the Prime Minister and Premiers, but also in the regions, from business, trade unions, Indigenous people and learning institutions.

A coordinated national effort, in which everyone looks forward, would be in Australia's best interests. We have little enough resources as it is. It makes no sense for our communities to diminish our potential national effort by indulging in vendettas.

The tasks would be easier if there was a set four-year term of federal government. The current arrangements limit the viability of long-term initiatives to address structural change.

The benefits don't necessarily emerge during the effective two-year political cycle and it is difficult to achieve a bi-partisan approach to major issues. There is more opportunity to shape the impact of change where the term of government is longer. Some of the States already have four-year fixed terms, so there are working precedents for the Commonwealth Parliament.

In conclusion, I think the value of the Centenary of Federation is the opportunity it provides to reflect on our history and where we go from here. I sincerely hope that opportunity is not by-passed and wasted. There are many important issues for Australians to consider.

The cities or the bush is not the real problem. The core issue is how we all shape and manage the impact of change and internationalisation on our communities.

Change has been occurring throughout the century. At the time of Federation, almost half our population lived in small communities. Many of them have disappeared over time. It is not a new trend. Population has moved consistently to regional cities, the capitals and towards the coast. Over 80% of the nation now lives within 50kms of the coast.

Population has shifted in response to landscape and job pressures. Primary and manufacturing industries have declined in relative importance since mid-century and service and information industries have grown. The new growth industries are based in population centres, particularly along the coast where rainfall is more reliable and the country is most hospitable.

Government managed the social impact of the big economic decisions of the eighties very poorly. As one result, there are elements of primary and manufacturing industries that have not been able to adjust fully, and whose share of national wealth has been reduced.

They tend to be in particular regions, so the impact is not spread evenly across all regions. They are not confined to rural areas. There are common adjustment issues in the bush, some regional cities and the outer suburbs of the capitals.

Those people have a legitimate gripe. They have been left behind and their predicament raises a lot of very important issues, including relative depopulation of the inland.

There are things that can be done to help them – better resource management, infrastructure, communications, adjustment packages. It is possible to provide targeted assistance to particular regions.

But for that to occur, there needs to be a national debate about the directions we want to take as a nation – the priorities for political and financial capital. The cost of initiatives for particular regions would need to be identified clearly and interest groups with other priorities should be able to state their case.

However, the issue of sustainable use of natural resources is a stand-alone issue. It should be on every agenda because it is a national priority, as well as a priority for particular regions. Australia has a unique opportunity to take a holistic approach as ours is the only continent inhabited by a single nation.

The Centenary of Federation provides an opportunity for that sort of debate, but it requires sophistication as a nation. It can only be productive if everyone is prepared to look forward,

to concentrate on solutions and outcomes, not revenge. Part of looking forward is to recognise the issues we all have in common, rather than concentrate on things that divide us. Every Australian is touched by at least three fundamental issues:

- how we look after our land and waters;
- how Australia shapes its involvement in the international market place;
- how the pain and benefits of change are shared by people and families.

The national spirit in which we all responded to the Olympics, particularly the huge volunteer effort, shows our capacity to pull together.

There clearly are political pressures now for the needs of particular regions to be addressed. The marginal nature of many regional federal seats and the preferential voting system have created a political asset for some. But in my view, it would be foolish for politicians to automatically accept that these areas of the community should have public priority. There will be many who want to debate that proposition and they must have the opportunity. Unless they do, the outcomes will be tainted and lack the community mandate essential for long-term structural adjustment.

Leadership is a key ingredient to finding solutions. It needs to come at many levels of our society. Australia is a small nation and cannot afford the indulgence of internal division as we try to carve a place for ourselves in the international economy. Neither, it seems, can political parties and partners afford division and instability.

A holistic approach to managing change needs to be developed by government at all levels. Every level of government has a role to play. COAG is the natural vehicle for this process and can be used to a much greater degree.

Finally though, Australians should think about the soul of our nation. Our future is not just about economics and population trends. The country – the land and waters – sustains us all. If the country is sick, it can't support us as well. If we don't care for it, it can't care for us.

If the country is sick, the soul of our nation also is sad and diminished. Our enthusiasm and energy as a nation fall. Our faith in ourselves and our national confidence are sapped.

I think there are two areas where we can do much more to nourish the core of our national identity. Our land and waters now are badly degraded and we need to manage them much better. The country is sick for that reason.

The country also is sick in its spirit because there are disputes over it. The different interests of the First Peoples and those who came later have not been reconciled yet. The First Peoples have special rights and interests arising from their unique position. Until they are accepted and respected, the cultural fabric of Australia is incomplete and our soul will stay sick.

So the real problem is not the cities or the bush.

The real equation is how the Australian national community manages change, respecting the interests of all groups in our society. We have not been very good at it so far.

We now have another opportunity, offered by the Centenary of Federation, to consider what our national directions and priorities should be and to forge a national effort to achieve them. The nation did that at the time of Federation and it is well past the time to do it again.

(The Barton Lecture by Rick Farley was delivered at the Bathurst Entertainment Centre on 6 March 01.)

Millennium Peace Prize

By UN Development Fund for Women for International Women's Day

The winners of a new award, the Millennium Peace Prize for Women, were announced by Noeleen Heyzer, Director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), at a press briefing today as part of Headquarters' activities commemorating International Women's Day.

The purpose of the prize, which was sponsored by UNIFEM and International Alert, was to recognize leadership that was often neither recognized nor rewarded, yet was essential to holding communities together and to building peace from the community to the negotiating table, Ms. Heyzer explained. While UNIFEM supported women's leadership in times of peace, it also believed such leadership must be supported in times of crisis and in times of war.

The award winners, through their life stories and their commitment, had been at the forefront of peace efforts in their countries, in their communities and worldwide. They had built peace through resistance to violence, and through the creation of space in which dialogue could take place across ethnicities. They were responsible for holding the fabric of society together, and for rebuilding trust across fractured communities.

The awards would be presented this evening, she said, at a ceremony at which major chefs from around the world would come together in New York and prepare recipes for peace.

Ms. Heyzer announced the following recipients of the inaugural Millennium Peace Prize for Women:

Dr. Flora Brovina (Kosovo), who is the founder and President of the Albanian Women's League of Kosovo; a non-governmental, non-political organization set up to promote and protect the human rights of ethnic Albanian women and to help them become economically independent. Before and during the conflict in Kosovo, she worked closely with Serbian organizations, and the League now operates joint projects for Serbs and Albanians, and runs workshops to promote tolerance.

Asma Jahangir and Hina Jilani (Pakistan), sisters and joint-recipients who have been at the forefront of the movements for women's rights, human rights and peace in Pakistan. In 1981, they established the first all-women's law firm in Pakistan, and they have also been involved with the Women's Action Forum, with the first free legal aid centre in Pakistan, and with the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. Ms. Jahangir is currently the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Arbitrary and Summary Executions. Ms. Jilani is the Secretary-General's Special Representative on the situation of human rights defenders, and Secretary-General of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.

Veneranda Nzambazariya (Rwanda), an outstanding leader in the Rwandan women's movement, and a founder and driving force behind many major Rwandan non-governmental organizations working for peace, such as the Reseau des Femmes, the Pro-Femmes Twese

Hamwe, and the Campagne Action pour la Paix. Ms. Nzambazamariya died in an air crash in January 2000.

Women in Black (International), a worldwide network of women against war, violence and militarism, which organizes women-only non-violent silent demonstrations and protests. It was started in Israel in 1988 by American, Israeli and Palestinian women to protest against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. It now operates internationally. Women in Black in Belgrade will accept the award on behalf of the international organization.

Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres (Colombia), a coalition of women's organizations working towards conflict-resolution in Colombia. It acts as a national referee in the conflict zone and aims to ensure that women's plans for peace and coexistence reach the ears of national and international policy makers.

Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency (Papua New Guinea), a keystone of peace negotiations and reconstruction in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, since the mid 1990s. In 1992, under the slogan "Women Weaving Bougainville Together", the Agency began working to rebuild community trust on the strife-torn island. It has initiated anti-violence workshops in Bougainville, aimed at helping young people understand that the guns and violence they know from their childhood are not necessarily part of their futures.

Source: Press Briefing by UN Development Fund for Women, UN 8 March 2001

WOMEN AND PEACE: WOMEN MANAGING CONFLICTS

Speech by UN Deputy Secretary-General Louise Fréchette

for International Women's Day

I am delighted to be here. And I warmly congratulate the inter-agency committee organizing this event. Its theme -- women's role in managing conflict and building peace -- is particularly pressing.

It is one of the most lamentable characteristics of modern conflict that women and girls suffer its impact increasingly and disproportionately. They are seldom either the initiators or the prosecutors of conflict. And yet they have become specifically targeted as a way to humiliate the adversary and break the morale and resistance of whole societies. Rape, forced pregnancies, sexual slavery and assault are often used as deliberate instruments of warfare.

Steps have been taken to end the culture of impunity surrounding this lamentable practice. We saw a highly promising example of that just a few weeks ago in the landmark ruling of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, which defined rape in conflict as a crime against humanity.

But while women are often the first victims of armed conflict, they are now becoming recognized as a key to preventing, managing or resolving it. They can be powerful forces for peace, for the reconciliation of their communities, for bringing war-torn societies back to health.

I am happy to say that this recognition is taking root here in the United Nations. A year ago today, the Security Council issued a statement calling for the full participation and involvement of women in all peacemaking efforts. Last October, the Council held its first open debate on women, peace and security and adopted a resolution which emphasized the need to increase women's role in peace negotiations and in peace-building.

We in the United Nations know at first hand the invaluable support women can provide to peace processes in many countries -- by forming women's associations, non-governmental organizations and church groups to ease tensions; by communicating across political affiliations and ethnicity; and by working to persuade men to accept peace.

Take the example of Somalia, where after warlords failed to reach agreement in 12 reconciliation meetings, women challenged civil society to play a more active role for peace. They helped create the Peace and Human Rights Network, which brought together women, media, youth, ex-militia members, sports groups and traditional elders to coordinate a peacemaking strategy. Many of these women crossed the lines demarcated by warring factions to advocate peace.

Their groundwork contributed immensely to the subsequent success of the peace efforts of the President of Djibouti, and was acknowledged in a presidential statement of the Security Council.

Or look at Guatemala, where women played a key role both in the Assembly for Civil Society and at the peace table, to work for an end to the country's 36-year civil war. This cross-party and cross-sectoral coalition of women helped the nascent indigenous women's movement gain entry to the peace process. It not only gave crucial voice and visibility to the needs of Guatemala's indigenous population, but also created a number of opportunities for women from all sectors of society.

We must build on these experiences to integrate women more effectively in peace processes worldwide. We are missing the boat if we do not find a way to integrate women's efforts as part of any peace strategy, and capitalize on the beneficial role women can have in both conflict resolution and peace-building. But I think we, the United Nations, will be better at this if we ourselves have enough women in key positions.

Clearly, we must make determined efforts to increase the numbers of women in our own peacekeeping operations, especially at the senior levels. Mrs. King will tell you today about efforts the United Nations Secretariat is making to achieve this. Let me also take this occasion to appeal yet again to Member States: we depend in part on you to present as many qualified women candidates as possible for these positions.

I am glad that these points will be highlighted in your discussions today. But I would also suggest that they are part of a broader change in the international community's understanding of the role of women in general.

This shift is visible across the entire spectrum of the United Nations work -- from armed conflict to globalization and poverty; from illiteracy to HIV/AIDS; from human rights to humanitarian assistance. Indeed, it is now understood that the empowerment of women is essential if we are to achieve our fundamental objectives of freedom from want to freedom from fear, as expressed in the Millennium goals agreed by the world's leaders last September.

No development strategy is likely to work unless it involves women as central players. Their involvement has immediate benefits for nutrition, for health and for savings and reinvestment at the level of the family, the community, and ultimately the whole country. In other words, empowering women is a development policy that works. It is a long-term investment that yields an exceptionally high return.

Equally, no peace strategy is likely to be durable without the involvement of women. If they are given an opportunity to make their voice heard, if they can bring their own perspective to the table, the chances for lasting peace and reconciliation will improve immeasurably.

Friends and colleagues, I look forward to hearing about the outcome of your discussions today. I wish you all a very happy International Women's Day.

A glimpse of the discussion that followed:

The President of the Security Council, Volodymyr Yel'chenko (Ukraine) asked: How many women occupied the position of permanent representatives to the United Nations? How many women could be seen on the Millennium Summit photo? Women needed to play a more important role in the governmental and intergovernmental forums, including the Security Council, where plans and decisions in matters of security, war prevention and conflict management were made.

The Assistant Secretary-General and Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, Angela King, said that resolutions did not always lead to de facto action. Change would not happen overnight. The first challenge was to have women in leadership positions. Women's efforts and abilities in peacemaking had been demonstrated all over the world, and international meetings had raised awareness of gender issues in peacekeeping. Research was also needed to bridge the knowledge gap and build up an information base on women in peacekeeping operations.

President of the General Assembly Harri Holkeri (Finland) said that, as women and girls continued to bear the greatest burden of armed conflicts, equality and respect for their human rights were intertwined with peace. To achieve sustainable peace, it was essential to have full knowledge and understanding of gender issues in transition periods and in nation-building.

The moderator of the second segment of the event, Shashi Tharoor, Interim Head of the Department of Public Information, said that a new awareness had emerged of the multifaceted roles that women could play in the restoration and maintenance of peace in conflicted communities. The Council resolution, which called for all aspects of peace operations to be gender-inclusive and gender-sensitive, provided a blueprint for women's further participation at all levels and in all aspects of peacekeeping.

A DPI/UNIFEM video presentation, entitled "Women, Peace, Security", preceded the opening statement. The panel discussion on the theme included guest speaker Elisabeth Rehn, former Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as panelists Felicity Hill, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Asma Jahangir, Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Arbitrary and Summary Executions for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights; and Theresa Kambobe, United Nations Volunteer Programme.

Also, Women and Peace Petitions were received from the floor, supported by 30,000 cards and 130,000 signatures. They called for the integration of women into peace efforts and for their protection in conflict situations.

An interactive session followed the panel discussion, with participants asking questions both from the floor and via video conference from De Paul University, Chicago.

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