

TURNING TO THE HUMANITIES IN TIMES OF CRISIS

IN 2018, I BECAME A CREATIVE WORKER rather than an academic. I left my university position to take my scholarly skills to a wider audience. My interests broadly focus on the 'environmental humanities', an emerging response across many disciplines and the cultural sector to rapidly changing environments-natural and social, local and global. The environmental humanities use creativity, including writing, art, music and exhibitions, to work with audiences and communities personally, to try to slow planetary damage and to heal personal stress. Documenting environmental decline is not enough to create change: dismal stories just paralyse people, including the narrators of such stories, as climate scientists regularly testify. In distancing myself from institutional pressures, I sought out different freedoms that might enable me to contribute more directly to the transition to a carbon-neutral future for the planet, to find more fairness for its people and more sustainable and happier ways of

living with the crises and change already happening. The *Climarte* movement is one impressive model. Climarte sponsors festivals that support renewable energy with public art, brings together business, philanthropy and artists to fulfil its heartening motto: Art plus Climate equals Change.² The initiative began in Melbourne in 2015, and now reaches well beyond big cities, taking in regional areas like the Latrobe Valley where emissions reduction affects local industries. Working with innovative social movements like Climarte enables an individual to contribute to the broader community, especially to support people adversely affected by necessary economic transitions.

The creative sector, especially the generations coming after me, is crucial to 'making a difference'. The 'business-as-usual' system is broken. It has broken on my watch. I am one of the post-war generation that has lived through most of the era of the Great Acceleration. In just seven decades, global

- ▲ Detail, fig. 1.
- ▼ Fig 1. Alexander Boynes, Mandy Martin, Tristen Parr, Luminous Relic (still), as installed in Geelong Art Gallery for Climarte 2017, from the Catalogue of the Exhibition. [260 x 1210cm, pigment, sand, crusher dust, acrylic, oil on linen; 5 panels, connecting landscapes of industrial Corio (north Geelong, Victoria) and Antarctica. Threechannel HD video projection and stereo sound score, 6'00" duration, looped.]

IMAGE: ALEXANDER BOYNES



population has more than tripled, and humans are now placing unprecedented pressure on all Earth's natural systems. Mine is the first generation whose children and grandchildren will be worse off than their parents. Humans are no longer just one animal among many, but rather we, our domesticated animals, our technological changes and our megacities are together a geological force, under consideration as a new epoch, the Anthropocene.³ Fossil-fuel use and greenhouse gas emissions, extinctions, waste of all sorts and mental health issues have all skyrocketed at once. The digital revolution has re-envisioned the world as a 'global village', yet it is an increasingly unfair world where the rich in the richest countries are richer than ever, and many poorer nations are suffering the effects of rising sea levels, collapsed fisheries, famines and many other consequences of the climate emergency.4 The rapidity, the extent and the variety of negative changes to environments, including massive irreversible extinctions of species, have stunned us. Many feel guilt, grief and anxiety. Yet Australia's national governments have responded with paralysis and denial.

Universities, once places of knowledge for public interest, have turned towards ever-narrowing, often arcane specialties that support business models built on international competition and league tables. Most universities now encourage 'international' projects at the expense of local ones. Universities only count research outcomes that are placed in scholarly journals behind paywalls, at the expense of free-to-air media or books. Their funding models now depend on what they can count internally, rather than on how they contribute to Australian society. University expertise has narrowed sharply at exactly the time when the Anthropocene predicament demands crosscutting conversations that rise above specialty. We need to find ways to work collectively towards the common good. That means engaging audiences who don't just look like ourselves. We need to reach beyond scholarly and generational silos. The long apprenticeship to enter the research culture in a university, and the precarious nature of early career

appointments make universities less inclusive than they used to be. Youth-led initiatives have been crippled by the pandemic, but even before that, the 'supermarket university', where students don't need to attend lectures at all, has changed the nature of the institution, and severely limited opportunities for ad hoc intellectual interventions in response to urgent issues.⁵

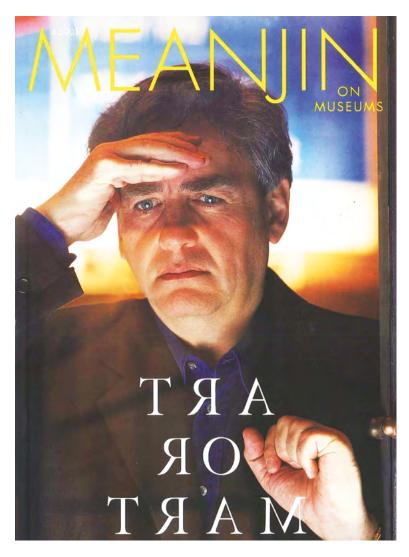
Museums are an alternative space for creative initiatives. As 'slow media', they offer a place for contemplation and reflection, and a chance for diverse audiences and different generations to work together and take stock of rapid change and plan for a rapidly changing future. They are both international and local places, where issues of global change are on display, creating opportunities for considering the new moral world.7 Museums are flexible spaces of intellectual leadership, powerful in different ways from universities. I have worked at the cross-roads between museums and universities, and sometimes in the form of projects where they work together. However, the GLAM sector (Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums) is also under funding pressure, and its broader long-term philosophies suffer under pressure to manage an ever narrower present. A "Blockbuster Exhibition", for example, may be seen as a financial lifeline. Yet paradoxically it can absorb all the budget for several years in order to attract visitors to fund, well ... the next Blockbuster. Meanwhile, the work of maintaining collections of natural history (the last animals of some species, for example), the historical stories of those who lived through disasters or travelled around the world to escape oppression, the personal diaries and papers and the conservation of historical art works, has been sidelined. Maintenance can be the hardest thing to do, as artist Mierle Laderman Ukeles argues through her art practice. Art Culture always favours 'pure individual creation; the new; change; progress, advance, excitement, flight or fleeing' over maintenance of the household (or institution). Ukeles, a first-wave feminist, set out to make art that challenged masculinist Art Culture. Since maintenance 'takes all the ... time,' her art practice celebrated 'homemaking,

motherhood and domestic work.⁸ Maintenance is not about individual stars: rather it is a place where women, diverse communities and volunteers collectively build a bigger, richer life for museums. Collecting for the future is core museum business.⁹ Neglecting the future has a cost.

'All over the world', Ian Britain wrote in 2001, 'those interested in museums, whether as organisers, spectators or critics, have witnessed a process whereby cultural institutions ... have become increasingly susceptible to marketing imperatives, strategies and criteria of worth'. 10 Blurring the boundaries between culture and commerce does not necessarily limit the aesthetic and scholarly values of the institutions, but it does shift their emphasis and spending. Two decades on from the 'museums' issue of Meanjin, we still need to debate the types of creativity supported by museums and universities, not just the 'bottom line'. Freedom of scholarship can work in partnership with business interests. Indeed, developing inclusive hybrid models for creative lives is exactly what the changing planet needs more of, 'Business-as-usual' has failed to come to terms with the natural or cultural worlds, and has accelerated damage to the planet and societies. The creative industries can still grow despite shrinking natural resources: the humanities in universities can expand by working with theatre, museums, music, art, dance and more. Creativity has no limits. Creativity has a future. It remains a place for hope, for meaning and—I argue—for economic, cultural and human growth.11

THE MANY AUSTRALIAN ECONOMIES

Canadian historian Michelle Murphy has documented how 'The Economy' can shape injustice in the western world. Life 'shimmers with economic forces brought into relief by practices of quantification that do more than just aggregate, measure and model with number', she argues. ¹² GDP becomes an 'affective stimulus', invested with collective aspirations and worries, a 'phantasy' dictated by the biggest economic players. The people whose life is a sum of small personal things, who spend time in conversations with



friends, gardening and walking, are invisible in such an Economy. If you *live* life, rather than consume it, you are excluded from the number crunching. Nature, clean air and water are essential to biological existence, yet because they 'cost' nothing, they are outside the conversation. The Covid-19 pandemic has further exacerbated what Murphy dubs the 'economisation of life', throwing up false dichotomies between the health of business and the health of citizens. A healthy economy needs a healthy society, and both economy and society are underpinned by a healthy environment. Life is very much more than The Economy.

When politicians talk, The Economy often becomes a proxy for the nation– yet it is not particularly Australian, nor inclusive of citizens. The things that count—for example, the Australian Supermarket Trolley—are surprisingly limited. Australia is surely much

▲ Fig 2. Meanjin on Museums 4/2001, in which editor lan Britain opened up the question of how museums 'have become increasingly susceptible to marketing imperatives', and how this changes their culture.

IMAGE: MEANJIN

more than the 20 items designated to represent the domestic economy. Of the list only the two litres of milk would be in my fridge. Many items are bulk-packaged, demanding a kitchen with massive storage, and a car to transport them. Bigger isn't necessarily cheaper. It just suits the logistics. Buying big adds waste at the supermarkets and at home. 14 Supermarket shelves are loaded with choices between very similar products in different coloured packages. The duopoly supermarket is not the only Australia. Yet these supermarkets and their co-owned businesses (Bunnings, for example), were kept open preferentially when all else was closed during the pandemic, although they were dangerously crowded and much more of a health-risk than a small fruit shop or organic grocery store.

The biggest companies, most of which are not Australian-owned, reaped the benefits of government policy and support structures. 15 The FAANGs (Facebook, Amazon, Apple, Netflix and Google (now Alphabet), none of which have headquarters in Australia or contribute much to our taxation systems, made huge profits and saw their share prices rise sharply, as digital work and entertainment became essential to life in lockdown. Rescue packages were blind or ideologically deaf to philosophically diverse creative initiatives that build and reassure communities. Mental health concerns exploded. Gender and intergenerational inequality also grew sharply in the pandemic. 16

Meanwhile, many small businesses and most creative industries struggled and missed out on support. Universities also missed out. All but a handful of private universities were defined as ineligible for the JobKeeper scheme, which served to reassure global financial markets of the health of the economy, while many citizens suffered. When universities are framed in economic, rather than creative terms, people's pain becomes invisible. Casual employees lost their jobs, and often their back-up jobs in hospitality at the same time. International students were regularly described as a major 'source of revenue', yet their own place in Australia was precarious as they were largely ineligible for JobSeeker. The diplomatic and cultural values of this generation of

international students studying in Australia have been railroaded by policies to save The Economy.

Humanities and arts educators faced peculiar challenges in 2020. The Federal Government adopted a new university fee structure for students, designed to encourage enrolment in what they defined as courses relevant to The Economy. 17 Political journalist George Megalogenis was among many who argued that 'sidelining the arts hurts the economy'. The arts, universities and community sectors are only 'useless' to The Economy if it is defined in terms that suit vested interests and global corporates. The next generation of students, despite everything, still seek out humanities courses to train their critical thinking and empathy, recognising the rising importance of these skills in an era of marketing, spin and antisocial behaviour. 'Not a dollar of promised funding had reached the arts by October Without the arts, all we had to make sense of a year in lockdown was politics', Megalogenis concluded.18 Increased student fees in fact provided perverse incentives for cash-strapped universities to *increase* places in humanities and offer fewer cost-intensive 'useful' courses like nursing. However 'expensive' courses in the arts (visual arts, theatre and music) were axed. Students were left with more expensive fees for humanities courses that offered less than before and were increasingly delivered online without the benefits of a peer group of learners. 19

CREATIVITY FOR LOCKDOWN

Communities, fragmented by successive crises, including—in 2020 alone—bushfires, floods, storms and the pandemic, turned constantly to the creative arts to rebuild and renew.²⁰ The creative sector itself struggled, but somehow kept faith, maintaining continuity often through unpaid work for when the visitors would eventually return to museums, audiences to theatre and crowds to the streets.²¹ Footballers, tennis players, musicians and theatre actors alike commented on how weird it was to perform without a crowd. Crowds stimulate performance, give it an edge.

Tim Byrne in a scathing report on how theatre companies coped during and after lockdown, commented on the 'dispiritedness' that set in as 'sector after sector' was nominated for federal government support, without a single mention of the arts, 'as if an entire economic ecosystem, and the central pillar of our cultural identity, simply didn't exist'. Yet even when locked down at home, Byrne noted, 'households around the nation immediately turned to ... streaming music, Netflix—without realising that everything that lifted their spirits, and from a mental health perspective literally saved lives, came from artists.' 22

The creative arts were the first response to the sudden shock of an empty diary, the cancellation of school and everything else. The challenge was to transcend paralysis. The television or a crime novel provided the only company for some locked down alone. Others, with a house too full of people, struggled to run both work and a school curriculum from the kitchen table, often with the same computer. Excessive family time demanded creative outlets. Some parents found themselves singing in an ad hoc rock band with their twentysomething offspring. Small creative routines pushed back at the four walls that squeezed life small, offering moments to laugh, to talk about anxiety, to bear witness to uncertainty.

Watching is not the same as performing, as playing, as practising. Participation is what has been limited in 2020 as we are physically isolated, yet the improvised playrooms of hotel quarantine—with tennis players hitting balls at upended mattresses, for example—show that creativity can take many forms. Music and the arts are food for the soul. There is a special value in making one's own music (singing in the shower, for example) or painting (whether it be a picture or an old chair) or gardening. It doesn't have to be perfect: it is the performance that counts. The urge to play is in all of us. Margaret Landvogt describes herself as 'an aging practising artist'. She links art to play, and play to emotional strength. Her lifetime of training, of practising, of playing with art has built a creative 'core strength' that has filled the vacuum of isolation brought on by the pandemic. Art for her is 'not about fame and

fortune' but rather 'a lifetime of joy'. Cognitive psychologist Jerome Bruner suggests that adults need to re-learn the playful creativity that children know instinctively. Play may be the only pathway to a 'new dignity'. 24

Professional creative workers have relearned to play as well. When the show Six Characters in Search of an Author was cancelled in London's West End, leading actors, Michael Sheen and David Tennant, found themselves suddenly without work. They improvised and self-filmed a sitcom, Staged, making fun of themselves (and each other) stuck in lockdown in Wales and Scotland respectively. Staged is now in its third season on streamed television in Australia.²⁵ Meanwhile Sam Neill (in New Zealand) persuaded Helen Bonham Carter (in London) to co-star in his own Cinema Quarantino Production, Das Fone Hell, a 2 minute 20 second video released free on Twitter.²⁶ Laughing with such international creative leaders helped us all, and their playful, irreverent projects found them new fans.

During the first lockdown I curated a virtual scrapbook of creative responses to catastrophe under the hashtag ArtsforSurvival. I am glad I did. Later in the year the rest of Australia (and indeed most of the world) was open more-or-less 'as normal', but Victorians were in harder lockdown than ever. By the end of 2020, we had been 'home alone' for eight months. #ArtsforSurvival kept some creative moments alive as the mood darkened. The three-week pause between lockdowns became a distant memory. We were fatigued by zoom calls, doom-scrolling and running both work and life on screens, on the kitchen table. We were lucky, of course. It worked. But the creative spirits were flagging: they needed air.

Galleries, libraries, archives and museums all suffered in the lockdowns. When you work for an institution that is all about audiences, closing the doors abruptly seems like death. Yet staff, working from home, revisited the original purposes of their institutions and turned to collecting their 'unprecedented' moment in history. Curators felt the need to 'bear witness' to the extraordinary times and urged the community to join them in this task. Thus the pandemic gave back museums to

► Fig 3. Tim Byrne's essay about forgetting the creative economy in the pandemic was the cover story for Australian Book Review, April 2021, no. 430.

IMAGE: AUSTRALIAN BOOK REVIEW



their communities in ways that will probably persist beyond 2020. Extraordinary stories have long created exhibitions to help survivors heal.²⁷ The successive crises of the recent past have brought on a new wave of personal storymaking, and new reasons to visit museums.

The GLAM sector didn't so much 'pivot', as government and business did, but rather innovate. It followed people on their personal journeys through crises and created new ways to host ordinary and extraordinary stories. 28 The John Oxley Library instigated a Covid-19 Collecting Drive calling on the community to collect ephemera (flyers, posters, signs, mail-outs) that reflected the 'experiences of Queenslanders'. 29 In Hobart, the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery joined forces with Libraries Tasmania in a Covid-19 Stories project that reflected 'the impact of this historic event on the lives and livelihoods of everyday Tasmanians'. Together they created a 'collective memory for the future'. The project included writing and oral histories, photographs and other objects, like children's drawings or unfinished jigsaw puzzles. The Museum of Perth also appealed for digital stories under the banner Coronavirus in West Australia. 'We need your help to chronicle these times', they wrote, calling for street scenes, social media posts, audio or video recordings or any other digital medium.31

The different responses to the pandemic in different states elicited a strong sense of 'local stories' in each place. The State Library of Victoria started a *Community Collection of Covid Ephemera* early in the first lockdown (6 April 2020), reminding people not to take risks but aiming for 'a collection of government, community and business documents, especially very local ones'. By the long second lockdown, extra strategies were needed to maintain interest in the library itself. The *Library in your Lounge* outreach program for members, offering 'services, collections and programs from the comfort of your home, a Covid-safe experience of the Library'. 33

It was harder to thread a national story through the distinctive state stories, so national institutions defined audiences differently. The National Museum of Australia in Canberra built on its 2014 gallery, Defining Moments, that presented '100 significant moments in history', and created digital material to help parents and teachers support children undertaking school-at-home projects in Australian history.34 Melbourne's Australian Centre for Contemporary Art also ran a Defining Moments program, building on its 2019 Australian Exhibition Histories 1968–1999 lecture series that reviewed 'the moments that have shaped Australian art since 1968'.35 Since lectures programmed for 2020 could no longer be presented live, Defining Moments was re-created as a podcast set, an ongoing resource for future students of art history.

State institutions wanted to capture the 'unprecedented' moment as it unfolded in a very local community, bringing together stories of living in the pandemic. National institutions identified special audiences—school children studying history at home, art-history students. The relationships with audiences were virtual, but still targeted and personal. Contrast this with the discourse about The Economy, where many economies were conflated or excluded, and where the global market defined what counted, rather than any individual's experience. Economic discussions were relentlessly future-focused, but actually were desperate to 'return to normal'. By contrast, museum patrons were encouraged to explore



the exceptional, to hold on to this remarkable moment in history, to carry the moment forward in time. Such collections offer concrete data for future uncertainty as they provide baselines to help people to grapple with inevitable future pandemics, in times that may never be 'normal' again.

TAKING HEART

Rebuilding a world of beauty for all humanity is life-affirming for artists and audiences, for curators and museum visitors. Musicians, for example, are taking new roles in redefining war zones far beyond Australia. The bombed streets of Mosul in Iraq are being re-enlivened through music. Local violinist, Ehsan Akram Al Habib, revived the diverse musical traditions of his province of Ninewah, home to many religious, cultural and ethnic minorities. Specific songs, instruments and musical forms are also a pathway to social cohesion as musicians plied their craft in Mosul's public places: on streets and laneways, in former churches and mosques reduced to rubble by the war. Music breathed new life into the

rubble. 'Music is a world of beauty for all of humanity, and it is a major part of Mosul and of Iraq,' said Ehsan. ³⁶ The music also re-tuned international audiences who knew Mosul only through television news of the war. Under the spell of local musicians, Mosul has become a new place of peace and possibilities for a *good life*. Impromptu concerts create a different future for Mosul after war, after Covid, when its wonderful complex history might make it a good place to live again.

A capacity to think critically and to behave in ways guided by moral rather than merely economic principles is something that scholars of humanities and the arts do all the time. The arts and creative humanities are heartening activities. Yet, as we turn to the task of 'recovering' from the pandemic, socially and personally (and even economically), the creative arts are often sidelined. An obsessive focus on economic growth doesn't help ordinary people survive. Supporting economic options seems to come at the cost of enabling creativity and maintaining our community spirit. We all still need playfulness and free-to-

▲ Fig 4. Still from 'Imagine if Music was a Crime', video by Rawi Khalid, musician and actor, bringing peace to Mosul by playing his Oud in its broken corners. Khalid's work is part of UNESCO's flagship program, Revive the Spirit of Mosul (posted to YouTube . 10 September 2020).

IMAGE: MOAMIN AL-OBAIDI air options to underpin sanity and health, in order to recover.

Since the famous Blue Marble view of Earth was photographed on 7 December 1972 from Apollo 17, we have become acutely aware that there is Only One Earth.³⁷ Yet while the Earth's resources are limited, and unfairly shared by humans, there is still one way to grow that doesn't add to injustice or cost the Earth. Participating in the creative sector is something that provides solace and sanity for all citizens. An economy based on natural resources cannot grow for ever. Yet there is no limit on the possibilities for human creativity, as the philosopher John Stuart Mill argued in 1848. There are always prospects for improving the Art of Living, 'and much more likelihood of it being improved, when minds ceased to be engrossed by the art of getting on.'38 Creative futures are healthy futures that demand less of the planet and more of the human intellect, particularly the various endeavours of the humanities.

I have just experienced my first theatre since 2019, at the Castlemaine Festival in March 2021. It is a wonderful and amazing thing to breathe again, alongside others, after more than a year of holding my breath. Ross Gibson has described and celebrated the collective intake of breath shared by a live audience: 'The actor is your representative, breathing you... and thereby extending you and helping you inhabit experiences other than your own'.39 Lee Lewis, artistic director of the Queensland Theatre, argues that 'art is intrinsically linked to the health of the cities. When the audience breathes, so the city breathes'.40 Following a year of bushfire smoke and Covid and #BlackLivesMatter, breathing has a new radical importance. It is always left out of The Economy. It cannot be digitised. Yet we all still depend on it. Every breath creates empathetic connections with broader life worlds. These are the connections that keep us alive. ¶

This essay honours the creative leadership of Mandy Martin (1952–2021). If you would like to join supporters of the **Mandy Martin Climarte Fellowship**, the information is on the inside front cover of this issue.



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- 8. Mierle Laderman Ukeles, 'Manifesto for Maintenance Art!' (1969). For the complete text of the Manifesto see Jillian Steinhauer, 'How Mierle Laderman Ukeles Turned Maintenance Work into Art', Hyperallergic, 10 February 2017 https://hyperallergic.com/355255/how-mierle-laderman-ukeles-turned-maintenance-work-into-art/ [accessed 10 March 2021].
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- 11. Technical solutions can help, but a reliance on technology alone to solve problems aggravates dissociation from what it means to live in the natural world within touch of other humans around us, rather than on screens and in virtual worlds, usually created by vested interests for their own purposes.
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- 15. Gareth Hutchens 'Dozens of companies report large boost in profits', ABC Business Report, 18 March 2021 https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-03-18/companies-report-large-boost-profits-after-receiving-jobkeeper/13256210 [accessed 18 March 2021].
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- 17. Brett, 'The Bin Fire of the Humanities'.
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- 19. Frank Bongiorno, 'Oh, the humanities', *The Monthly:* Today, 22 June 2020.
- Marcus Westbury, Creating Cities (Melbourne: Niche Press, 2015).
- 21. Zoos were another sector that was left stranded, with in some cases, animals being fed by unpaid volunteers, so they would be still around after the pandemic.

- 22. Tim Byrne, 'A plague on all our houses: How Theatre Companies are Coping after Lockdown', *Australian Book Review*, April 2021, pp. 26–28 (p. 26).
- Margaret Landvogt, 'Creative Play', unpublished manuscript (2 pp.) enclosed with a personal letter, January 2021.
- 24. Jerome Bruner, On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 17.
- 25. *Staged* went on to second and third seasons with BBC productions, as the pandemic dragged on.
- 26. Sam Neill @twopaddocks on Twitter, 23 May 2020. YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jGwBA6srFQo&ab_channel=TwoPaddocks
- 27. George Main, Craig Middleton, Martha Sear and Libby Stewart, 'Documenting Australia's 2019/2020 Bushfires', Museum Management and Curatorship, 35 (2020), 697-704.
- 28. The examples discussed below were just a small subset of a variety of programs: https://museum. wa.gov.au/collecting-covid-19>; <https://slwa. wa.gov.au/explore-discover/collecting-wa/covid-19-collecting-drive>; https://covid-19archive.org/s/ Australia/page/about>; https://museumsvictoria. com.au/collections-research/collecting-the-curve/> ; <https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/nswathome>; <https:// www.nma.gov.au/about/bridging-the-distancepandemic-experiences>; https://www.nla.gov. au/stories/blog/behind-the-scenes/2020/05/12/ covid-19-preserving-the-stories-of-australia>; https://digital.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/pages/ covid-19>; <https://mspgh.unimelb.edu.au/ healthworkervoices>; https://pandemicplayproject. com/>. (Thanks to Sophie Couchman for the helpful Twitter archive of links, starting 28 May 2020, and to responses posted after that date).
- 29. https://www.slq.qld.gov.au/blog/covid-19-collecting-drive
- 30. https://www.tmag.tas.gov.au/whats_on/ newsselect/2020articles/covid-19_stories_project>
- 31. https://www.museumofperth.com.au/covid19 The stories could be anonymous, with only the suburb identified. They were posted on Facebook https://www.facebook.com/museumofperth
- 32. https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/stories/covid-19-community-collecting
- 33. During the second 'hard' lockdown, people in the city of Melbourne were limited to within 5 kms of their homes and could only leave for 'four reasons', a different approach was needed: https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/library-your-lounge (This site is no longer accessible.)
- 34. The initial list of 100 events was developed by the NMA and its co-patrons, the late Michael Ball (former National Capital Authority) and Michael Kirby (former Justice of the High Court of Australia), with guidance from a range of senior scholars of Australian history, listed on the website as Judith Brett, Rae Frances, Bill Gammage, John Hirst, Jackie Huggins, Marilyn Lake and John Maynard https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/about. The 100 events chosen in 2014 are online: <a href="https://www.

- nma.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0013/540121/ NMA-100-defining-moments-print-version.pdf> [accessed 31 October 2020]. The school children's program was developed in 2020 https://digital-classroom.nma.gov.au/.
- 35. https://acca.melbourne/series/defining-moments/ [accessed 21 March 2021].
- 36. UNESCO's project "Listening to Iraq", is a partnership with the "Action for Hope", NGO, created in 2013 to empower vulnerable populations through celebrating cultural diversity and strengthening social cohesion. https://en.unesco.org/news/music-mosul-more-just-tune [accessed 9 March 2021]. "Imagine if Music was a Crime" YouTube: https://youtu.be/LAxPZrQfExE [accessed 3 June 2021].
- 37. This was the title of the book of the United Nations conference on Environment and Development, held in Stockholm the same year: Barbara Ward and René Dubos, Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet (New York: Norton, 1972).
- 38. John Stuart Mill, 'Influence of the Progress of Society on Production and Distribution' (1848), in *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume III*, ed. by John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965) pp. 705–57 (p. 756, my emphasis).
- 39. Ross Gibson, 'Breathing. Looking. Thinking. Acting', Humanities Australia (2013), 17–24 (p. 19).
- 40. Lee Lewis as cited in Byrne, p.28.