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Corporate World, Caliphate, or Gaia Peace?

AWAKENING TO A TRANSFORMED FUTURE

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THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

In an essay published late 2002, Philip Bobbit¹ claimed that just as the 20th century began with World War I the shooting of Prince Ferdinand in Sarajevo, the 21st century has begun with the cruel events of September 11.²

While there have many recent challenges to the nation state – the evolution of human rights, the emergence of mega transnational corporations, environmental problems that can only be solved through global agencies and action, to mention a few – it is the rise of the militant virtual nation that represents perhaps the biggest challenge. Al-Qaeda (not to mention global multinational corporatism) is the first, but there will be many more.

Bobbit's solution is the development of a stronger state, within the bounds of today's nation-states. Only strong states can challenge the virtual outlaws. But does Bobbit's solution go far enough? I don't think so. Rather, the argument I make is that the challenges of globalisation cannot be met by steps downward to the nation; instead they must be met by an evolutionary jump to the world state or at the very least, strong global governance.

What this world state should or will look like becomes the crucial question for this century. Will we be beholden to it, ready to sacrifice our lives for it, or are there other ways to organize our identity, and are other myths at play?

WESTERN ARCHETYPES

In the Western mythos, two archetypes are always at play. One is the land of Cockayne, fruit and leisure for all. It is a pastoral vision, pre-modern, where listening and sharing are central – humans live with nature. The other is the Land of Arcadia, more complex, living off nature, ever improving. In the first, communication and relationship solve our problems. In the latter it is technology. These two images wrestle with each other. The USA has been the exemplar of the latter. But the former does not disappear, it is the alter ego, ever in the wings, inspiring the flower children of the 60s, inspiring green activists, and now expressing itself through Oprah and the cultural creatives.³ Which one will dominate is another of this century's big questions.

But there are two other myths as central as Cockayne and Arcadia. The third myth is that of the apocalypse, the end of the world. According to this myth, humankind has sinned, fallen away from the true path, and must now suffer. Earlier comments on New Orleans and Hurricane Katrina by Christian extremists in the USA illustrate this.

The fourth myth is that of modernity, or realism; indeed, it is the non-myth, the truth before our eyes, the reality by which all other histories and futures are judged. It is real power – economic and political – that defines the present and future. But strangely, it is in the language of realism that the utopian seeds of global government are forming. To stop the outlaws, extra territoriality is required. To deal with the real problems, more than a list of policies is needed. Other worldviews must be engaged.

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE – HISTORY AND PROSPECTS

Moving to a world governance system, means that world hegemony must accede some of its sovereign powers to a global governance regime. Much can be gained from the experiments of the early American colonists. First, the federal system of checks and balances and layered governance is insurance against the return of the monarch. Second, the innovative energies of the Americans and third, the resulting alter ego of the West – the feminist movement, silicon valley, the new age movement, the cultural creatives, to mention a few. All of these can now become global resources.

But does this justify belief that America alone is right, and that others do not matter or are somehow lesser?

Every historical hegemony becomes blinded to its own arrogance. It insists that since it has succeeded, others must be less, forgetting that success can also be the final rung on the ladder of failure. Moreover, the roads used for expansion are also the same avenues that others use to enter the imperium. England "languaged" the world through English and now the natives return to the Mother, transforming England. It is worth noting that in the UK, Indian restaurants employ more people than coal mining, ship building and steel manufacturing together.⁴

And, remembering Rome, the question becomes, "Who are the barbarians?" Will they succeed? Can reducing civil rights and increasing budgets for security and arms be the answer? Of course not.

The answer is to become even more global but authentically global, allowing real communication, a conversation of civilizations (Cockayne), and remaining focused on the variables that have allowed technological innovation (Arcadia).

For this to become a reality for all of us, we all must learn to listen. This is something that many adults refuse to do. But when they don't, the children scream even louder and louder, using tools that are more pathological. The approach of listening to one another is critical. It means listening to others to clearly understand their concerns. It does not mean losing sight of one's foundational values – gender equality, human rights, for example – but expanding them. Cultural relativism is a positive step, but it is not an excuse for abusing either human rights or nature.

In one workshop in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, when 150 Muslim leaders were asked their preferred futures, they responded in ways that would make a western “Green” happy. Gender partnership, economic alternatives to capitalism, self-reliant electronically linked communities, ecological sustainability, and a global governance system were their key issues.⁵

And while the world has changed in the past decade (toward the security-conspiracy discourse), there is a lot to build on. Indeed, Riaz Hassan argues that it was the move to spirituality amongst Muslim groups that marginalized Al-Qaeda and others.⁶ While we have been able to watch the transformation of England to the point where the former foreign minister Robin Cook is willing to declare chicken tikka as the national dish, the transformation of a peaceful world view in the United States of America is still far from complete.

The first steps have already been taken. For example, minority “majority states” are emerging in the form of multicultural cities, such as Sacramento. However, for two reasons, further evolution has not occurred.

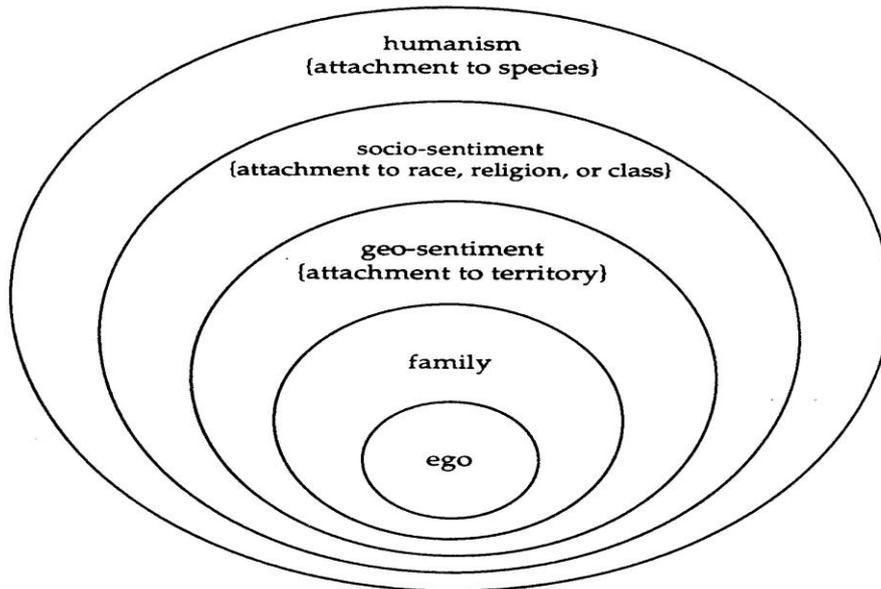
One reason is that other cultures insist on their authentic rights that solidify culture, instead of globally universalising it. This is the immigrant culture using religion and ethnicity as intellectual weapons, as defensive text. Instead of engaging with other cultures (the host and other minority cultures), imagined pasts that were more rigid are evoked. The majority culture reacts similarly, imagining an earlier purity. The way forward is, by definition, not the imagined past but a move toward a spiral future, always remembering history but creating a set of alternative futures. What is needed is an evolutionary jump.

Such a jump involves moving from ego to family to national to religious to social to human sentiment, and finally to a neo-humanist sentiment. This movement expands our circle of compassion to include more and more of “Others.”⁷

Sarkar's Neo-Humanism **The Liberation of Intellect**

neo-humanism

{love and respect for all beings, animate and inanimate, in the universe}



Here the ownership and imagination of territory is not just physical but as well religious (the khalifa) and/or social and ethnic (for example, the 1000 year Reich or the clash of civilizations). Ultimately it is species based – the Gaian view.

Neo-humanism imagines a new ethos in which we become 'lighter,' and our identities far more fluid, opening up to our full humanity, not resting in religion, nation or race.

But, caution is advised. It is not neo-humanism that is emerging as the new paradigm. Rather, it is uni-culturalism that is on the rise. Uni-culturalism has come back with such a vengeance that there are even calls to electronically tag the suspicious. Multiculturalism is forgotten, some say even killed.

Is neo-humanism, a transculturalism, possible?

Interlude

Writing this piece causes fear. As I open my notebook, I see the passenger next to me look in alarm as she sees me write the words above. What I am doing writing about Al-Qaeda? I see her fear and save the document. I read the current issue of Time and hear of Muslims in America having this eerie feeling of being watched. At Singapore airport, I say goodbye to my family. The airline staff asks me with a bit of nervousness why they are not going with me – "Is he a ___?" – they think. I stay calm telling them that my wife and children are going to London and I to Taiwan. They breathe easier.

WHAT CAN TRANSFORM?

The question continues to haunt. What will transform the USA? Terror did nothing but wake up the sleeping giant. Hurricane Katrina has been reduced to a managerial disaster preparation issue.

America's globalisation is being quickly nationalized, just as with the Yugoslavs who, in the face of trauma, quickly became Serbs.

In the past few years, some Americans have seemingly forgotten their alter ego. Fear brought out first the animal jungle self and then the super-ego, the right to fight till the death. The issue of world imbalance and the injustices the USA and others are responsible for have quickly disappeared. In Asia also, the evil was too easy to find in Bin Laden and others. In their own despotic states, the need to universalise tradition, to spiritualise, to globalise are lost in a blaze of conspiracy theory. There is collateral damage everywhere.

Why then be hopeful of a world government? Of expanding identities? Why be hopeful of the emergence of Gaia Tech – technology for the earth and technology developed in the partnership model (outside of corporatist science)? Why be hopeful of a future world without the globalisation of technology that magnifies differences?

I am hopeful because the other scenarios are too terrible to think about. "Cowboy Jihad" is the likely future – endless hot and cold wars, fought with new types of technology, from passenger airplanes to biological to nuclear weapons, perhaps later extending even to gene wars, with each one threatening not just the planet but also what it means to be human, staining our evolution. With a youth age boom predicted in Saudi Arabia in the next 10-20 years and with the end of oil in sight, the image of young, angry, unemployed Muslim men with no direction, only a desire for self-sacrifice, there will be no "business as usual".⁸

Nevertheless, "Back to Normal" is the hoped for scenario in the West and by nation-states everywhere. Back to the middle class doing OK, the rich doing very well, and the poor often marginalized. Nothing needs to change and terrorists can just be regarded as "loonies."

There are other competing accounts. Along with the psychological account there is the religious backlash - that the terrorists are demonic forces. There is also the political fallout - a new wave of fascism, perhaps the Islamic KKK.

First Nazism and 20th Century Fascism were defeated. Once these bit the dust, then communism became the main threat. That too is disappearing into the fog. But the new threat is Islamo-fascism. It is authoritarian. Neither moderate Muslims nor alter-ego westerners can engage with this sort of extremism. While both groups dislike the nightclubs of Bali - with drunken westerners, young girls and boys for sale, drugs everywhere – neither group would contemplate mass murder. Even Hare Krishna devotees - some of whom saw the carnage in Bali as Krishna seeking justice for the barbecuing of dead animals that is Australia's favourite past time - would never actually engage in such violence. Islamic extremism is authoritarian, not allowing other voices, using the dogma of history for its own purposes. And while Islam espouses against a priestly class, Islamo-fascism creates the new priestly class – the cleric, the mullah, who can give the fatwa at will. But who listens?

WHO LISTENS?

Hundreds of millions of unemployed third world youth listen. They have no jobs. Their governments are corrupt. The doors to the first world are closed. Furthermore, the number of these youths will grow and grow, as one can readily infer from youth bulges in various parts of Asia and Africa (for example, see the online reference *Mapping the Global Future*).⁹ 98% of everyone who will be born in the foreseeable future will not be Caucasian but Asian and African.¹⁰ From accounting for 50% of the world's population in 1850 or so, Caucasians will, if current trends continue, account for less than 5% by 2150.¹¹ They will age but the third world will stay young.

Thrown away by the best, cheated by their own governments, it is only the voices of the fascists that make sense – “It is all America's or Israel's fault,” they say – or they blame whoever. Thus the real issue is not religion per se but the failure of the world economy.

With polluted cities, pillaging landlords, water shortages, where is hope? Which leader can imagine a new system - one that is inclusive, innovative and concerned for economic distribution?

Clearly, no one in the West has. Those at the seats of power cannot see through the eyes of the Other – those who are ravaged by starvation and conflict. But as long as the double standard continues, as long as the West cannot or will not find its moral voice or see beyond stereotypes, the waves of unrest will continue.

In this era of interdependence and interconnectedness, we all change, or we all go down.

Interlude

I am in a taxicab in Melbourne.

...The driver from the Middle East says. Welcome, brother”. Our conversation turns to the world situation. "It is too bad Bin Laden does not have nuclear weapons," he says. "They would then understand." It is the story of humiliation. I can see it in his eyes. He is in Australia but he is not. Driven out from his homeland, he has no dignity.

...A Chinese taxi driver, while not wishing for nuclearization, cannot stop condemning the USA. "It serves them right," he says.

...But there is one driver, from Pakistan, who could care. "I just want to be happy and left alone," he says. And interestingly, he alone has been directly discriminated against, fired from a retail store for refusing to work even more hours than the normal immigrant must work. After months of working week days and weekends, he complained and was given his marching papers. But this did not lead to him hating Aussie managers. There is agency. He knew his talents. He just wanted to be able to express them. And knew eventually he would.

EVOLUTIONARY PATHWAYS

Gaia tech is our way out. For all of us. Even if we carry different passports, or multiple passports, there is really no other place to go. Of course, ultimately the earth will have to become an outward expansionary spaceship, but this is a topic for another day.

There are choices of course, evolutionary ones. We can stay on the path of Western corporate hegemony – neo-liberalism, Western values, with some minor dialogue when things get too difficult. This is the divided world – eventually leading to the Big Dog, High Gate scenario, not with real dogs but sensory telemetry and radio frequency identification (RFID) technology, which is a ‘Google’ for the real world that provides instant knowledge of where anyone and anything is.

Or, we can go the caliphate route, that is, create a religious empire, an Islamic global empire. The rights of women would decrease dramatically, as might technological innovation since it is the past that is evoked – notwithstanding the Golden Age of Islam in which astronomy, mathematics, and medicine flourished. Of course, it need not be Islamic. Among some Christian fundamentalists and their leaders, and within India's Bharatiya Janata Party (who ruled India from 1998-2004), one finds similar visions – a time of purity, in the past, when patriarchs ran the world, and children were obedient. Or, we could destroy ourselves.¹²

None of these alternatives is attractive. Gaia tech is my preferred future, and I believe the preferred of many on this tiny, fragile planet. However, there is a lot to do if we want to move towards this expanding image. I see three areas of necessary transformation.

First, engagement in the evolutionary struggle to become neo-humanist. To do so, we have to let go of identities we have spent hundreds of years earning. These are identities that tend to give us our reason to believe. These are the identities that give us community, however, pathological. Sports Illustrated writer Michael Silver finds the beauty of America through the patriotism of football. The agony of 9/11 is erased partly through the redemption gained from warrior struggle. Yet, while in the short run patriotism eases the pain, as each nation follows its own patriotism, collectively it can lead to ruin. Instead of facing individual aloneness by challenging addiction to ethnicity, religion and national territory, we feast on the symbols of isms.

It is these isms that prevent us collectively from jumping to the next level of human evolution. Individually we may transform, but just as one cannot have social equity in a sea of contemporary capitalism, one cannot have neo-humanistic individuals in an ocean of national and religious zealots. Thus, even as individuals become more neo-humanist, loosening the binds of geographical sentiment, the structures and incentives that exist continue to reinforce nationalism. More is needed.

Ibn Khaldun, the 14th century philosopher, wrote that to retain power, *asabiya*, or the sinews that bind, unity is required.¹³ The cheapest unity is gained through the creation of enemies, real or imagined. The deepest unity is what the planet calls on us today for - a unity that deals with our very real strategic problems. Of the grand challenges facing us – there are water, energy, climate, safety, and dignity, to mention a few.

Thus, we need a unity based on our common humanity.

THE SECOND FACTOR

However, and this is the second factor, this does not mean forgetting injustices, or that some are more equal than others; instead it means focusing on fairness. This means equal access, equal opportunity within a framework of rights for humans, plants and animals. Of course, over time this means moving more and more to a non-violent culture, including our views towards animals, step by step. This means transcending assumptions, particularly stereotypical assumptions – for example, that someone is poor because he or she is lazy or because some one else is rich. There is agency and there is structure. This means seeing life from a paradoxical view, holding multiple positions at once, seeing contradictions, indeed, moving from the flat land of the obvious to depth.

DEPTH

A ‘deep’ view means holding multiple positions, multiple factors, and not being overly swayed by any of them. Similarly, having ‘depth’ comes from understanding the many levels of reality. Those without depth have a ‘flat land’ view, which is misleading. Using the methodology of Causal Layered Analysis (see Sohail Inayatullah, *The Causal Layered Analysis Reader*¹⁴), one can see reality at four levels. First is the empirical, litany world. This is the official future, the way things are. This is the data of reality presented over and over to see with little connection of events. It is often unchallenged. The second level is the systemic, focused on understanding historical causes, connecting the dots, particularly at understanding correlation and causation. Level 3 is the worldview level. Here we try and understand reality from the perspectives of the person’s or the civilization’s paradigm – the often unconscious way we see time, gender, the other, truth. These worldviews are similar to paradigms. Level 4 is the myth and metaphor level of reality. These are the unconscious stories each person or civilization tells itself to make meaning of the world. It is only through the encounter with the Other that the myths we are living can become apparent to use.

The mind of the fundamentalist exists at the deeper worldview level – focused on the grand scale, the Big Picture, but one that is paradigm-based – and is misled into ‘conspiracy’ land, since he or she cannot see the depth of social science causes. He or she takes the stories of their own worldview literally, indeed, they generally are unable to see that they have a worldview, believing instead that they have the sole truth.

Then there is the empiricist-materialist. Some Western leaders live in flat land, wanting immediate solutions, outcomes – and rarely see history, culture, the weight of the past, and the misery of history. It is only the bottom line of profit, of the immediate, of the material world that counts. Everything else is secondary. When they do move to other levels of reality, they slip into good versus evil talk, or rational versus irrational.

The academic can see the social, economic and technological factors that explain events like terrorism, but she or he often cannot understand the pain that everyday people feel, and live in. She or he understands the system but does not live it, and thus cannot understand the deeper archetypes at play here.

The visionary can see the play of factors, of humanity dying to break out of its straitjacket, searching for a new metaphor or a new story, but she or he too rarely has the capacity to change the litany, our day-to-day turmoil. Judgements and conclusions about Others can be dangerously biased. For example, the flat land view is that the Palestinian suicide bomber is evil or deranged. As we move to the systemic we understand it is the day-to-day experiences of the Palestinians (their right to movement curtailed, for example) that creates real or perceived injustice, or the lack of sovereignty, the lack of jobs, and the loss of hope. At a deeper level – the third level – it is the vision of paradise, of a particular jihadist reading of Islam that creates the terrorist. On the Israeli side, it is the fear of annihilation, the lack of security, and the sense of being a chosen people. At the deepest level is the issue of trauma, the Jewish trauma from the Holocaust and the Palestinian trauma resulting from not having a homeland and loss of ancestral lands. Suicide bombing is a multifaceted issue – psychological (at the individual level), systemic (e.g., on the issue of Palestinian statehood), worldview (e.g., on matters of dogma and its interpretation by “fundamentalists,” and archetypical myth (that is, the understanding of what it means to be Israeli or Palestinian).

Along with transformed identity and a fairer society is a vision of the future. It is this vision that can give us hope and move us from the present. To create this vision is of course a new type of leadership. This is the moral lived spirituality as developed by the activist and philosopher, P. R. Sarkar. He wrote of a new type of leadership: serving others, courageous, innovative, and intellectually sharp – a new type of person: in Sanskrit, the *sadvipra*.¹⁵

"These sadvipras will work for the good of all countries, for the all-around emancipation of all humanity. The downtrodden humanity ... is looking up to the eastern horizon, awaiting the sadvipras's advent with earnest zeal and eagerness. Let the cimmerian darkness of the interlunar night disappear. Let the human being of the new day of the new sunrise wake up in the world."

Even while living the poverty of Calcutta and jailed by the government of Indira Gandhi, Sarkar was confident that humanity would make the evolutionary jump and reflect upon itself, that we would successfully create a world governance system based on Gaia tech – gender partnership, balanced between spirituality and material advancement, based on a concern for our long term ecological sustainability.

IF WE DON'T

And if we don't, what are the alternatives? Another few hundreds years of the nation-state, jungle capitalism, racial/religious/national identity? A savage empire (of the Islamic caliphate or of corporate American values)? Or is it business as usual - with developments in nano-tech, artificial

intelligence, genetics, aging, globalisation¹⁶ (including humanity reflective of its evolution), and the mind-body-spirit meditation revolution, a world where nothing changes and that is harder and harder to imagine and maintain?

An alternative world can be envisioned and can be created, step by step.

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Internationally, among other groups, Professor Inayatullah has presented to the European Commission, UNESCO, the Organization of Islamic Conference, APEC, the Thai Capital Markets Academy, the Ministry of Trade and Investment of the Singapore government, the Ministry of Education of the Malaysian government, the European Academic Cooperation Association, University Sains Malaysia, and Ministries of numerous governments. In Australia, along with presentations to local, state and federal departments of government he has conducted futures workshops for dozens of educational organizations and corporations. E-mail: s.inayatullah@qut.edu.au

POINTS FOR THE CLASSROOM (send comments to forum@futuretakes.org):

- *The author points out an important conundrum: when “other [outside] cultures insist on their authentic rights that solidify [their] culture, instead of globally universalizing it ... The majority culture reacts similarly, imagining an earlier purity.” What policies can national structures put into place that would protect minority cultural interests and practices but simultaneously continue to honor and protect the interests and practices of the dominant national cultures?*
- *As Inayatullah asks, will people be beholden to a world state or a strong global governance framework – ready to sacrifice their lives for it – should it emerge? Or is there an upper bound beyond which people tend not to identify? In 2018, will notions of identity be characterized more by smaller groups (“fission”) or by more by larger, perhaps trans-national or supra-national groups (“fusion”)?*
- *Inayatullah states that “only strong states can challenge the virtual outlaws.” Who will be the virtual outlaws in 2025, and will nation-states be strong enough to challenge them?*
- *The author comments on Hurricane Katrina, an event that (like other disasters) brought out both the best and the worst in human behavior. Considering human behavior during microcosm meltdowns, would you conclude that the evolution of civilization is linear or cyclical, and why?*
- *In an interlude, Inayatullah refers to a worker who was fired for refusing to work “even more hours than the normal immigrant must work.” In various other parts of the world,*

workers have fared similarly, as the phrase “white collar sweatshop” might suggest. However, a reductionist viewpoint fails to capture the long-term impacts of uncompensated overtime – on family life, healthcare costs, motorist safety, and even juvenile crime (when parents are too busy working and commuting to provide effective parenting). Will increasing cross-cultural interaction, in conjunction with social pressures, lead to lifestyles that are more balanced and less stressful? (Consider the work-leisure balance that has characterized much of Europe and the holistic perspective that is prevalent in parts of Asia.) Or, might an employers’ market, together with competitive pressures to “do more with less,” sustain workaholic lifestyles?

- Iyanatullah refers to three possible pathways forward – Western hegemony, the caliphate, and Gaia tech. Which possibility, or which other possible world, is most likely to emerge, and why? If the Western corporate world or a caliphate prevail, will this lead to a monolithic world that offers “no place to hide” for those who cannot adjust to it?
- The author’s “deep view” means “holding multiple positions at once, seeing contradictions, indeed, moving from the flat land of the obvious to depth.” Given the tendency in some cultures to “take a stand” on every issue, will this deep view be more prevalent in your part of the world in 2018? In what ways, if any, does this deep view differ from perspectives commonly characterized as holistic?
- Compare Iyanatullah’s “Gaia tech” with Gaia Peace as described in Groff’s article, this issue. In what ways are they similar? How do they differ?
- Demographic issues identified by the author include aging Caucasians and a younger third world. What are the possible long-term implications of this demographic shift? (also see Aguilar-Millan article, this issue.)
- Iyanatullah proposes that “...The real issue is not religion per se but the failure of the world economy.” In addition he notes “the real or perceived injustice, the lack of sovereignty, the lack of jobs, and the loss of hope.” To what extent can conflicts be characterized as interest-based (economic) vs. value- or identity-based? Or are both factors at play – for example, interest-based conflict with an identity-based veneer?
- Iyanatullah cites Sports Illustrated writer Michael Silver, who “finds the beauty of America through the patriotism of football.” In what various ways have other cultures symbolized their patriotism? Does the “patriotism of football” underscore the diversion-stimulation nature of US society?
- Cheap or deep? Iyanatullah sates that “the cheapest unity is gained through the creation of enemies, real or imagined” but calls for a unity that deals with our very real strategic problems, the common list to which he adds dignity. What basis for unity will emerge in the next ten years – one organized to face global challenges and strategic problems, or a counterpoint-based identity directed against real or imagined enemies?
- P. R. Sarker, cited in this article, refers to a new type of leadership. In addition to the characteristics identified by Sarker, what characteristics might a leader need in a Gaia tech world? How will leaders emerge in Gaia tech, considering cultural influences on the ways in which leaders emerge now in various parts of the world?

¹ Philip Bobbitt, “Get Ready for the Next Long War,” *Time* (9 September 2002), 74-75.

² Certainly 1990 makes more sense – the fall of communism and the rise of the Digital era.

³ www.culturalcreatives.org. Accessed 16 July 2008

⁴ Local Government Association 2000. www.lga.gov.uk. Accessed 16 July 2008

⁵ Sohail Inayatullah, "Leaders envision the future of the Islamic Ummah," *World Futures Studies Federation Bulletin* (July 1996), Coverage. See, Sohail Inayatullah, "Futures Visions of Southeast Asia: Some Early Warning Signals," *Futures* (Vol. 27, No. 6, July/August, 1995), 681-688;

⁶ See Hasan's *Faithlines: Muslim Conceptions of Islam and Society*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

⁷ P.R. Sarkar, *Neo-Humanism- the Liberation of the Intellect*. Calcutta, Ananda Marga Publications, 1981.

⁸ http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_home.html. Accessed 16 July 2008.

⁹ www.dni.gov/nic/special_globaltrends2010.html. Accessed 16 July 2008.

¹⁰ Sally Neal, *Social Trends: Implications and Opportunities*. Queensland Government, Department of Primary Industries. 2000.

¹¹ <http://www.lifeissues.org/international/v9n5.html>. Accessed 16 July 2008.

¹² See Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* for this scenario, and Oryx and Crake for brilliant breakdown. Comments from Pat Kelly. 27/9/2005. P.kelly@qut.edu.au

¹³ For more on Khaldun, see Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Trans. Franz Rosenthal. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1967.

¹⁴ Sohail Inayatullah, *The Causal Layered Analysis Reader*. Tamsui, Tamkang University, 2004

¹⁵ See Sohail Inayatullah, *Understanding Sarkar*. Leiden, Brill, 2002.

¹⁶ Michio Kaku, *Visions: How Science Will Revolutionize the 21st Century and Beyond*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998.