no. 62 | 2014

development dialogue

Global Disorders – a New Global Order?

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

Published by Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

Series editor
Annika Söder

Editors of this issue
Kristin Blom, Fiona Rotberg, Robert Österbergh

Authors
Main author: David Isaksson.

Co-authors: Martti Ahtisaari, Gunhild Stordalen, Mariama Williams, Thomas Weiss, Henrik Hammargren, Anna Zorzet, Maria-Teresa Bejarano and George Kioko.

Design and layout
Mattias Lasson

Text editing
Wendy Davies

Printers
X-O Graf Tryckeri
Uppsala, Sweden
October, 2014

ISSN 0345-2328
ISBN 978-91-85214-72-3

development dialogue

Development dialogue is a forum provided by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation since 1972. This publication series focus on how to generate new perspectives and ideas on global development and multilateral cooperation. *Development Dialogue* is published in consecutive numbers.

Editorial office
The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation
Övre Slottsgatan 2
SE-753 10 Uppsala, Sweden

Phone: +46-(0)18-410 10 00
secretariat@dhf.uu.se
www.dhf.uu.se

Cover Photo | Martijn de Valk

Contributing authors also include

Martti Ahtisaari is former President of the Republic of Finland. Before being elected President, Ahtisaari had a distinguished career with the United Nations and the Foreign Ministry of Finland. He is the founder of the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI).

Maria Teresa Bejarano is Assistant Professor at the Karolinska Institute. She is a physicist with a PhD in immunology/infection biology.

Henrik Hammargren, an independent consultant in the field of development cooperation, humanitarian affairs and peacebuilding.

George Kioko works for Youth Alive!, an American youth NGO based in California, and has a degree in economics from the University of Nairobi.

Gunhild Stordalen, PhD, founder and director of the EAT initiative and a physician, specializing in pathology/orthopedic surgery.

Thomas G Weiss is Presidential Professor of Political Science and director of the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY).

Mariama Williams, development economist and Senior researcher with the South Centre. Williams is a board member of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

Anna Zorzet is Assistant Executive Director at ReAct and holds a PhD in medical microbiology.

Photo | Urban Jörén

David Isaksson is a Swedish journalist and writer. He is currently the CEO of the communication and media company *Global Reporting*, which he co-founded in 1996.

David is the author of the reportages in this volume. His texts build on his experience from many years of reporting, as well on field visits made on behalf of Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

He has been covering global development since the early 1980s and is the author of some 30 books, most of them on global issues. In the 1980s David started to report from Latin America. Over the years, he has travelled and reported from almost 150 countries, across all continents, on behalf of various media organisations as well as NGOs and development agencies.

David's driving force has always been curiosity and the will to go beyond prejudices and stereotypes, meeting people in different environments in order to learn about their lives and experiences, with the aim of helping readers better understand what is happening in the world.

Global Disorders – a New Global Order?

Contents

Introduction

The present age is one of far-reaching global uncertainty and turmoil. It is also one of positive transformative change. Across the global South, countries are embarking on remarkable development pathways. Large swathes of people are being lifted out of poverty. In many areas, misery and squalor are being pushed back, economic growth and commercial activity are soaring, and unemployment is being reduced. With a rapidly expanding middle class endowed with newfound purchasing power, new lifestyles and consumer preferences are gaining a foothold. Where hopelessness has prevailed, faith in a better future is germinating in many places.

The current shift has no historical precedent in speed and scope, and it is substantially altering global power dynamics. With emerging economies increasingly recognised as players of growing political influence and standing on the world stage, traditional centres of gravity are being displaced. Beyond major nations such as China, India and Brazil, however, this '[r]ise of the South is a much larger phenomenon', as the UNDP's landmark Human Development Report 2013 observed. Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand and Turkey all count among the nations that are now making swift headway in bolstering economic growth and human development, contributing to the emergence of a more multipolar system of international governance.

This transformation has predominantly been examined from a macroeconomic and geopolitical vantage point. Considerably less has been said about what it means for people's lives on the ground. Many emerging processes and practices are slipping under the radar, leaving us with knowledge gaps, which it is vital to fill, especially when it comes to countries in the global South. With this special issue of Development Dialogue we highlight a variety of such trends and developments as they take shape on the ground. The aim is to take the reader on a narrative and visual journey that showcases, in almost ethnographic fashion, a mosaic of innovations and good practices that are building positive change across the globe. From off-grid living to collaborative consumption, from mobile banking to unorthodox virtual communities, from the proliferation of think-tanks to the spread of green roofs – the stories collected here make up an extraordinary array of exciting development alternatives and embryonic solutions to global problems, which may be the building blocks of an emerging new order.

Yet, formidable global challenges remain. With looming planetary boundaries and unprecedented environmental pressures showing no signs of abating, development achievements run the risk of being undermined, unless concerted action is taken. Climate change, serious ecosystem losses and resource scarcity are likely to dominate the global agenda for years to come. The income inequalities and other wide disparities between and within countries have yet to be forcefully tackled. The transnational spread of communicable and non-communicable diseases and the growth of antibiotics resistance are vastly increasing global health insecurity. In a series of essays, the volume also brings to the fore a number of serious global disorders, addressing which is part of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation's work programme. The lion's share of the contributions offer close engagements with reality on the ground in developing countries, as it is perceived from a Western perspective. This publication is a product of the Foundation's work stream 'Global Disorders – A New Global Order?' The aim of the work is twofold: to give a picture of the new landscape of interconnected risks to human societies and planetary life, and to enquire into the governance innovations needed to address them. International institutions and government ministries typically operate in separate arenas, each concentrating on their own turf. The complex convergences that characterise many global threats today thus pose considerable challenges. As many contributions to this volume underline, new governance structures must be designed to accommodate vast complexity, sophisticated early-warning mechanisms and coordination of a range of responses. Multilateral cooperation needs to be revitalised and deepened.

There is at the present moment ample cause for distress. As we write these words, the brutality of the war in Syria is sending shockwaves through the international community, the Islamic State movement is committing acts of unspeakable barbarism, the Ebola virus is ravaging West Africa, and Russia-Ukraine tensions have not subsided. Where formal governance mechanisms fall short, collective action emerging from the ground can have a critical role in addressing problems within society. In today's global village there is a rising demand, voiced from below, for functional, accountable governance. Many stories presented in this volume demonstrate that it is possible for citizens to act collectively for the common good and mobilise action for progressive innovation. It is not always necessary to wait for traditional governance mechanisms to gear up.

Photo: Sam Javanrouh

Photo | Chandra Gopalakrishnan

The original idea to explore emerging positive trends and developments in daily life was conceived by David Isaksson, a Swedish journalist and writer with long-standing experience of global development issues. He has compiled and served as main author of the stories contained in this volume.

The essays have been written by diverse experts. Martti Ahtisaari, former president of Finland, explores the erosion of trust in political institutions and the adverse effects this may have on democracy, growth and the provision of welfare. George Kioko analyses how skewed tax regimes lead to increased income inequality and how, conversely, fair taxation governance plays a key role in achieving sustainable development. Gunhild Stordalen's contribution highlights a range of governance problems in the nexus of food, health and the environment. She calls on industry, policy-makers, consumers and farmers to act collectively to address the interconnected complexity that characterises the field. The essay by Henrik Hammargren deals with breaches of humanitarian law, the plight of civilians in conflict and war, and the need for systems to monitor compliance. Mariama Williams examines the ramifications of lack of leadership and accountability in the area of climate politics. She explores how other actors assume responsibility and offers examples of local adaptation practices from Senegal and Ghana. The essay by Maria-Teresa Bejerano and Anna Zorzet deals with the topic of antibiotic resistance, another growing global threat exacerbated by insufficient leadership and lack of transboundary governance mechanisms. Thomas Weiss's essay centres on how the provision of humanitarian assistance risks being seriously compromised by business interests and a lack of coordination.

The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation gratefully recognises the work undertaken by all the contributors to this volume.

1 Movement of the people

The globetrotter

She is small, often dressed in black and wearing a scarf on her head. Quietly and patiently, she gets around, never with a book in hand, never flashing any stylish cabin luggage; she prefers to pack her stuff in small bundles, or in worn bags. If you sit next to her on the plane she may ask to borrow your pen. When she has to tick those tiny boxes on the migration form she may even ask for your help with filling it in. You realise then that she can scarcely read or write.

In the global metropolis the urban elite sit with tablets in their hands, sipping their lattes in cafés that looks very much the same, whether they are in Ulaanbaatar, Cochabamba or Nairobi. Writers like Thomas L. Friedman have called them the new class, living in a world that is becoming increasingly flat. But it is not the caffè latte and Instagram generation that are the really seasoned travellers. Nor is the real globetrotter a businessman who with casual elegance sails past the security checkpoint on the golden fast track.

The real globetrotter is a little old lady in a shawl, a grandmother from Asia, the Middle East or Latin America. She is not very interested in the country where she will soon land. What's important for her is family and relatives. Once there, she takes care of grandchildren, cooking, sitting in a kitchen or in front of the TV in a living room that is much the same whether it is located in a suburb of Stockholm, Erbil, San Salvador or Accra.

She, the globetrotter, is modern and ancient at the same time. She has a mobile, but cannot read or write, she travels around the world but does not know (or care) much about the places where she will be staying.

But yes, she knows the power of geography.

This chapter is about networks, or streams, about distances (real and fictive) and new (and not so new) linkeages that are being formed, uniting the world and challenging our perception of global geography.

Photo | Francois de Halleux

The globetrotter, modern and ancient at the same time.

Flying from Stockholm to Manaus (in amaz-onia, braz-il) is not very complicated

To get from one metropolis to another does not take long or require major adjustments. Flying from Stockholm to Manaus (in Amazonia, Brazil) is not very complicated. Continuing by boat on the Amazon River is also relatively simple. But if you really want to get out into the unspoiled rainforest you will need to trek for several days.

Still, this is a known way of travelling and is regularly undertaken by numerous adventure tourists. But there are other routes that do not follow our expectations, travel patterns that have evolved without being detected on the radar. Like songlines of the digital age they form streams that the urban elite could never imagine.

Geography and demographic changes are also bound to influence development in a way often not anticipated by the elite.

This chapter is about this kind of networks, or streams, about distances (real and fictive) and new (and not so new) linkages that are being formed, how they are uniting the world and challenging our perception of the global geography.

Photo | David Isaksson

Lagos, Nigeria

Which is the quickest route to Nairobi?

Ten years ago, getting from Cambodia to Kenya would have involved a number of changes of plane, and most likely at least one stop-over in Europe. Today it takes no longer to fly from Phnom Penh to Nairobi than it does from Sweden to Nairobi. The world is connected in a way it never was before.

Photos | David Isaksson

Kenya - Sweden - Kambodja

But it is the short distances that require the longest time and effort, as well as the need to sacrifice comfort and luxury. Travelling the world, making stops in London, New York, Los Angeles, Auckland and Bangkok, will not tell you much about what the world actually looks like. But if, instead, you choose to travel from Belgrade to Jakarta to Vladivostok to Lilongwe to Tripoli to San Salvador to El Paso, you will gain a very different understanding of how the world actually is. Such a journey would take you off the road, under the radar of the urban elite. It would also give you an idea of the new forces that are about to change our perception of people, places and – ultimately – power.

Stockholm

Chicago

When Chicago was closer than Stockholm

In the early 20th century there were more Swedes (born in Sweden) living in Chicago than in Gothenburg, the second largest city in Sweden. Had you, at that time, asked people in the countryside, or in small towns, about which large city their family members lived in, many more would have said Chicago or Minneapolis than Stockholm, the capital of their own country.

> 'That was where your cousin or your uncle was living. In Chicago you had people you could move in with temporarily. That was not the case with Stockholm at the same time,' says Hans Lindblad, Swedish writer and former MP.

But migration was not a one-way phenomenon, argues Hans Lindblad. The connection between Chicago and Sweden developed into a relationship with mutual benefits. Many migrants actually returned to Sweden and many more contributed in bringing back new ideas and thinking through letters, books and modern products.

> 'Migration was a people's project, not the supreme powers. The official Sweden did not like migration and the migrants. Those in power loathed the idea of freedom and democracy that was brought back from the US to Swedish homes and influenced the mentality of Swedes,' Hans Lindblad writes.[1]

What would have happened if the same percentage of Swedes had migrated to France? Most likely, Sweden and the Swedish language would have been strongly influenced by France and our vocabulary would have been French instead of American, Hans Lindblad argues.

The same process is happening today, connecting other countries, other provinces and metropolises. There is a clear parallel between what took place more than a hundred years ago and the current process in which large diaspora groups are returning from the US and Europe to Africa and Asia, turning brain-drain into brain-gain (read further on page xxx).

1 Utvandrare/invandrare, s 30, Svenska Emigrantinsitutets skriftserie 9 (1996)

Borders without bribes?

> 'Imagine what a six-lane dual carriageway leading from Lagos to Abidjan and Abidjan to Dakar will do to the economy of the region. It will completely transform the region.'
>
> *Mike Onolememen, Nigerian Minister of Works*

Photo | David Isaksson

Lagos, Nigeria

Border crossings are notorious as places where nothing happens without bribes or small 'service fees'. Everyone wants to have a piece of the cake: 'assistants', porters, policemen, migration officers, customs staff and many others. Most foreigners and affluent locals pay what it takes to make the process smooth. After all, it's just pocket money to them. But for local entrepreneurs, the 'problem' makes it impossible to develop business in a sustainable way.

A study from 2011 on bribes and other obstacles to free trade in West Africa, financed by the US development agency USAID, points to some of the key problems. According to the study, the average number of controls per 100 km is around two. Average bribes per 100 km vary between US$2.18 (Ghana) and US$13.96 (Côte d'Ivoire). Average length of delay per 100 km varies between 14 minutes (Togo and Ghana) and 28 minutes (Senegal).[2] How time flies when one has fun!

2 http://www.watradehub.com/sites/default/files/14th%20IRTG%20Report%20small4web.pdf

Now, things are about to change. The proposed Lagos-Abidjan expressway will connect five countries and contribute to the integration of a whole region with about 240 million people (Togo 7 million; Benin 8 million; Cote d'Ivoire 25 million; Ghana 26 million; Nigeria 167 million). That is roughly half the population of the EU.[3] The road will not only make it easier for business and transport, it will also connect artists, the creative industry and other actors within a modern economy. How long will it take for West Africa to overtake Eastern Europe as a region?

Another hassle for travellers is visa requirements. Several countries in Africa are now abolishing visas, at least for other Africans. Rwanda took the initiative in early 2013 and Kenya soon followed, making visas available upon arrival. Kenya is also targeting tourists from other African countries. With direct flights between Abuja and Nairobi, West and East Africa are even better connected than ever.[4]

From Kurdistan with love!

Out of the Kurdish population of approximately 30 million, about 6.5 million live in the Kurdistan region in northern Iraq. During the years of war, Sweden probably received a larger number of Kurdish refugees than any other country. Many of them have made a strong impact on Swedish society, becoming prominent politicians, musicians, writers and academics, others have chosen to return and many more have acquired a double identity. If you walk around in the streets of Erbil, the chances are high that you will come upon someone who speaks Swedish. The same goes for media, culture and politics.

Now, Kurdistan is once again in the centre of a violent conflict, fighting not only for its own survival against ISIS (the Islamic State) but also for other minority groups in northern Iraq. Still, everyday life continues as well as the plans to create an autonomous state.

Khaled Salih is a political scientist and currently Vice Chancellor of the University of Kurdistan-Hewler (UKH) in Erbil, Kurdistan. He has been an advisor to the Kurdistan regional government (KRG) in the drafting of the Kurdish constitution. He is also a Swedish academic, speaking fluent Swedish, with a background as senior lecturer in politics at the University of Southern Denmark.

> Chances are high that you will come upon someone who speaks Swedish.

3 http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/03/jonathan-assures-on-construction-of-lagos-abidjan-expressway/#sthash.3AIJ73V1.dpuf

4 http://socialmediaweek.org/lagos/2014/01/10/3-travel-highlights-can-learn-kenya-2014/#.UyDgkXmpqp2

What is it like to build a completely new country?

Kurdistan is an emerging society, recovering from many decades of violence and oppression. For the first time, people of Kurdistan are not fleeing or under oppression, they are constructing a new society.

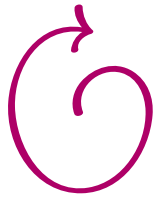
> 'Naturally, we have very little experience in building a country so we need competence and support from the outside. In order to achieve this, it is important that we maintain strong relations with the countries where we have lived during exile. But we also have to look for ideas from elsewhere. One country that we could learn a lot from is India, where states and regions have a far-reaching autonomy thanks to which they have created their own investment climate.'

Photo | David Isaksson

How have improved ways of travelling and the new digital technology changed Kurdistan's relations with the outside world?

> 'The geography has not changed, but it has got another, and a new, dimension, in which we are able to create networks without having to consider borders. When I travel in Kurdistan it is obvious how people who have been living in different parts of the world bring ideas and influences with them back here. One example is a Kurdish-Swedish businessman who has invested in tourism here.

> For the first time, people of Kurdistan are not fleeing or under oppression, they are constructing a new society.



Today we are more and more talking about a circular migration in which people maintain links to both countries.

He has brought influences and technology from many parts of the world, selecting what he believes is the best from each country.'

'This is also something we can see in the academic field. I have been in academia in Sweden and Denmark, so it's natural that I bring influences from there, while someone else might contribute with ideas from Australia. This, in turn, creates a fruitful dialogue.'

'Today we are more and more talking about a circular migration in which people maintain links to both countries. I have been in Kurdistan for 12 years, but my family lives in Sweden. Business people have their business activities in both Sweden and Kurdistan; this, I believe, enriches the opportunities for both countries. In that way we are able to continue developing the country and at the same time create business opportunities for Swedish companies.'

But although Sweden might have the strongest links to Kurdistan of all European countries in terms of social contacts, it has been slow to capitalise on this, according to Khaled Salih.

'Usually, Sweden arrives when the party is already over. This might have to do with politics, bureaucracy and fear of entering unknown territory. Sweden does have a fantastic network in Kurdistan, but it is not fully utilised, and Swedish companies are missing many opportunities. Turkey, by contrast, has had a strategy to establish itself here quickly, despite the ethnic tensions and the military conflict. Sweden has the idea that contacts should be established via Baghdad. This is a centralised view that does not correspond with the reality and this has weakened Sweden's role.'

Quebec, Canada

Learning from Quebec

Language is strongly connected with identity. The Kurdish language is surrounded by the majority's Arabic language, and the risk of domination is considerable. What should academics and politicians do, not only to preserve, but also to strengthen their own language and cultural identity? When Kurdish academics and politicians went looking for inspiration and similar experience they landed in Quebec, Canada, where the French-speaking minority has succeeded in getting its language rights recognised by the majority.

Austria or Kurdistan – which is most important to Swedes?

Austria is a member of the European Union and the country has a central place in European history. We might thus expect that relations between Austria and Sweden would be strong. But in fact, there are today much stronger relations between Kurdistan and Sweden, than between Sweden and Austria.

Austria is in 24th place in Sweden's trade relations with other countries. And although 176,000 Swedes visit Austria every year (mostly for skiing), only a fractionof that number of Austrians visit Sweden (2011).[5] Since Bruno Kreisky (who lived as an exile in Sweden 1939-1946) there have been few direct political contacts between the two countries.

Photo | Prepelita Alexandru

Photo | David Isaksson

Austria or Kurdistan?

The Gambia – the shortcut to Hong Kong

You can also buy your way out of geography. Would you ever think of passing through The Gambia on the way between Guanghzou and Hong Kong? Not very likely. But in fact, that is what's taking place. Thousands of mainland Chinese have secured permanent residency in the tiny West African country of The Gambia, a place they most likely have never visited and never will, as the African country has been unexpectedly profiting from a Hong Kong immigration scheme.

The fastest and cheapest way for a Chinese citizen to get residency in Hong Kong is to first gain permanent residency in The Gambia, waccording to visa agencies advertising the deal. The scheme, established in 2003, aims to attract affluent individuals to Hong Kong. An eligible applicant would have to invest at least HK$10 million in the city and have

5 http://www.swedenabroad.com/sv-SE/Ambassader/Wien/Handel/Handel-med-Osterrike/

residency anywhere in the world (with some exceptions). For a Chinese citizen to be eligible, the person needs to be a permanent resident in another foreign country. That's where The Gambia (which does not have diplomatic ties with Beijing) comes in. The country's loose requirements have turned it into a vehicle for wealthy Chinese to get a foothold in Hong Kong. It takes six 4cm-by-6cm headshots, 15 working days and roughly HK$100,000 to gain residency in the West African country, according to visa agencies in China. No visit to The Gambia is required.

Since the beginning of the Hong Kong immigration scheme, about 10,000 mainland Chinese have cited permanent residency in The Gambia, according to news reports.[6] But what will happen the day Gambians take to the streets in protest, requiring the new 'residents' to pay taxes? It might come sooner than some might think…

On the digital matatu trail

Ever since the first maps were designed the map has been a symbol of power. Those who owned the maps were also those who could dominate the interpretation of reality. Today, maps and cartographic information, could be built up in a completely new way with the help of crowd-sharing software tools. In this way, the map can be a part of advocacy efforts for strengthening democracy and citizen participation.

If you live in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, you either love or hate them. The colourful minibuses that ply the city's streets on informal routes, making improvised stops and operating without officially sanctioned fares are called matatus. The matatus system came into existence in the 1950s. Since then, thousands upon thousands of matatus have been moving passengers around Nairobi and a whole matatu culture has developed. Matatus follow few (if any) rules, go where people are, and the system easily adapts to needs. But the flexibility also gives rise to corruption, extortion and arbitrary decision-making, with criminal gangs controlling some routes. And as there are no rules as to how many vehicles can operate on a specific route, inevitably the situation further increases the existing congestion problems. With the economy developing, more and more cars and people moving into the city of 3.5 million inhabitants, the result has been endless traffic jams.

But what does the matatu network look like? Each driver has of course good knowledge about his own route, but there has never been a comprehensive map of the network as a whole: nobody actually knew what the whole route system for the matatus really looked like. Neither did

Photo | Julia Björne/Global Reporting

Mombasa, Kenya

6 http://www.scmp.com/news/ong-kong/article/1264161/west-africa-shortcut-rich-mainland-chinese-hong-kong-residency

passengers know possible alternatives that could save them time compared with the routes the usually would take.

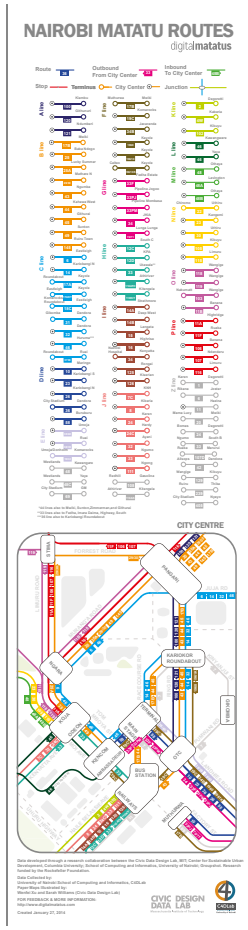
In a joint project, the University of Nairobi, Columbia University and several other actors decided to map the existing networks. Equipped with mobiles and GPS, students located – and travelled – every matatu route they could find in the city. By geo-locating the stops and collecting additional information, such as whether the network was sanctioned or not, a map no one had ever seen before started to emerge. Contrary to expectations (and prejudices) the matatu system was quite complex. What looked like total chaos was in fact a fairly structured system that no one knew existed.

The digital matatu project builds on previous experiences of collecting data based on a joint mapping model. It uses Nairobi's active mobile phone community to develop, through a collaborative effort, a standardised matatu bus route for Nairobi informal buses. The system generates data that can be used by third-party developers in order to develop mobile applications for transit information and other services. The aim is also to stimulate the development of crowd-sourcing applications so that people in Nairobi can develop models for their own transit information. Already, several new applications have been built with the use of the database, GPS positioning (which helps you track where the next matatu is in the traffic) and twitter feeds, with traffic information generated by the users themselves.

When the map was launched in January 2014 some exclaimed with pride that it looked like a London or New York map. Others were already asking government officials how they planned to improve the transport system. Government officials also saw the potential of the map and made it the 'The Official Nairobi Matatu Map'.

The project will contribute to a better understanding of the routes and at the same time facilitate and improve the transport information management in the city. But maybe most importantlys, the map contributed to a discussion about the city's public transport policy and how city planning could be improved. In order for a comprehensive system to be developed, it has to be done in co-operation with the users, allowing for more public participation, including in data creation through crowd-sourcing.

Nairobi is just one of several urban metropolises where traffic congestion has become a major obstacle to development and quality of life. A growing global community of creative urban thinkers and 'civic hackers' are helping cities to create and/or open up their transit data. Similar mapping projects are also under way in cities like Manila and Dhaka.



Download the full map at www.digitalmatatus.com

* share taxis similar to the Matatus, are popular all over the world. They're known as 'Dala dala' in Tanzania 'Dolmuş' in Turkey, 'Jeepney' in the Phillipines, 'Marshrutka' in Eastern Europe and 'Tap tap' in Haiti.

Living the Brazilian dream

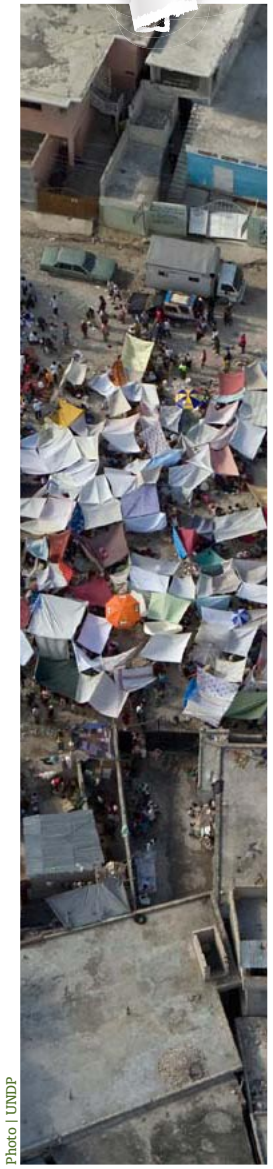


Photo | UNDP

Impromtu tent city in Haiti after the 2010 earthquake.

Under a canopy, in the churchyard of Nossa Senhora de Paz in one of São Paulo's rundown areas, a number of men and women are sitting and waiting, talking and killing time.

Italian immigrants built the church in the 1920s. Inside, the saints look down on you in a resolute manner. Today, the church is the focus for the pastoral work done by the organisation Missão Paz, which receives immigrants, including refugees, from all over the world.

News about Haitian refugees making their way to Brazil started to reach NGOs in São Paolo in 2011.

> 'We wouldn't have expected them to come here, but to go to the US or Central America,' says Martina Luna from the human rights organisation Conectas in São Paulo. 'We had no information about how they got to Brazil. So we started asking around and interviewing people – it took us about a year. We found out that many had no idea beforehand about the route and how they would be travelling, but that they all had a strong dream of a better life,'.

What Conectas found was a peculiar route that ended up in a refuge in the small Amazonian town of Brasileia, in the state of Pará. There, in a shelter intended for 200 people, as many as 800 men, women and children were sleeping in appalling conditions.

So far, this could be any refugee story, with people crossing borders illegally before being sent back home again. But in Brazil things are different. Brazil is a country that does not expel 'illegal' immigrants.

The route

The refugees from Haiti flew to Ecuador, for which they need no visa. From Ecuador they went by bus to the border with Peru, crossing illegally, travelling through the Peruvian regions of Tumbes, Lima and Madre de Dios, and then crossing another border to reach Braseileia in the state of Acre in northern Brazil. The route probably coincides in many places with routes used for drug-trafficking and other illegal activities.

By the end of 2013 some 15,000 Haitians had arrived in Brazil after taking this route. As of early 2014, about 70 to 80 people were arriving every day.

The policy and the people

Brazil has, historically, been a land of migration. In the neighbourhood of Liberdade you feel as if you are in Tokyo: São Paulo has the largest Japanese population of any city outside Japan and over the years hundreds of thousands of immigrants have arrived in the country. However, of the last decades, Brazil har received much less migrants than Europe, USA or Canada.

Brazil's policy falls somewhere between the two dominant integration models elsewhere: the US 'salad bowl' (where different cultures co-exist but do not mix) and the more European multiculturalism concept in which immigrant cultures are expected to blend into and become part of the dominant culture.

Brazil also has an immigration system that can grant you permanent asylum more or less automatically on humanitarian grounds. With this you are able to work and live in Brazil. However, there is no integration process, no language training and no social welfare. Once you are in, you are on your own, something that at present is not so bad, considering that in late 2013 Brazil registered its lowest unemployment figures ever. In many sections of the economy, such as construction, there has been a labour shortage and employers are more than happy to take on hard-working Haitians.

Photo | Jairo

São Luis, Maranhao, Brazil

* Why did Haitians choose Brazil in the first place?

Despite harsh conditions in refugee camps such as the one in Brasileia, it is striking how differently Brazil treats Haitians compared with many other countries. In the Dominican Republic, not even second-generation Haitians are granted citizenship. The US has also continued over the years to send Haitians back.

And the immigrants seem to be happy. A study shows that 90 per cent of those interviewed are happy with how they have been received in Brazil, and only 18 per cent state that they experience discrimination.

So why did Haitians choose Brazil in the first place? One likely explanation is that Brazilian soldiers have been part of the peacekeeping operation in Haiti since 2004. As the biggest Brazilian foreign military operation ever it has established the notion of Brazil as a land of opportunity for many Haitians.

Despite the fact that you can get a visa on humanitarian grounds in the Brazilian embassy in Haiti, the majority still prefers to use the clandestine, much more costly and dangerous route via Ecuador and Peru.

> 'People trust racketeers and there is confusion as to who should inform the asylum-seekers. The process at the Brazilian embassy typically also takes a long time,' says Martina Luna of Conectas.

Curiosity, not fear

It's evening in one of São Paulo's downtown university campuses and a conference is due to start soon. This evening, and over the next two days, local authorities, legislators and civil society organisations will meet to tackle the immigration situation.

While many (if not all) European countries might have the facilities to give support to those to whom they grant asylum, Brazil has no infrastructure of this kind. Refugees are welcome, but the country doesn't know how to help them. So yes, there is a need for a coherent policy on immigration.

Still, the difference in atmosphere compared to similar meetings in Europe is striking. The participants are curious, positive and genuinely interested in doing things together. In short, immigration is not seen as a problem but an opportunity for Brazil. In the long run, the labour market needs to be upgraded, more educated people are needed, as are unqualified workers. Labour shortage is already a fact in some sectors.

> 'Still, we need a developed humanitarian policy that is institutionalised, so that we know that we can do a good job, next time a crisis occurs, as when Haitians started to arrive,' says Eliza Dondac of Missão Pastoral.

The arrival of Haitians also challenges Brazilians' self-image. If others want to live the Brazilian dream, maybe it's time for Brazilians to update how they perceive themselves?

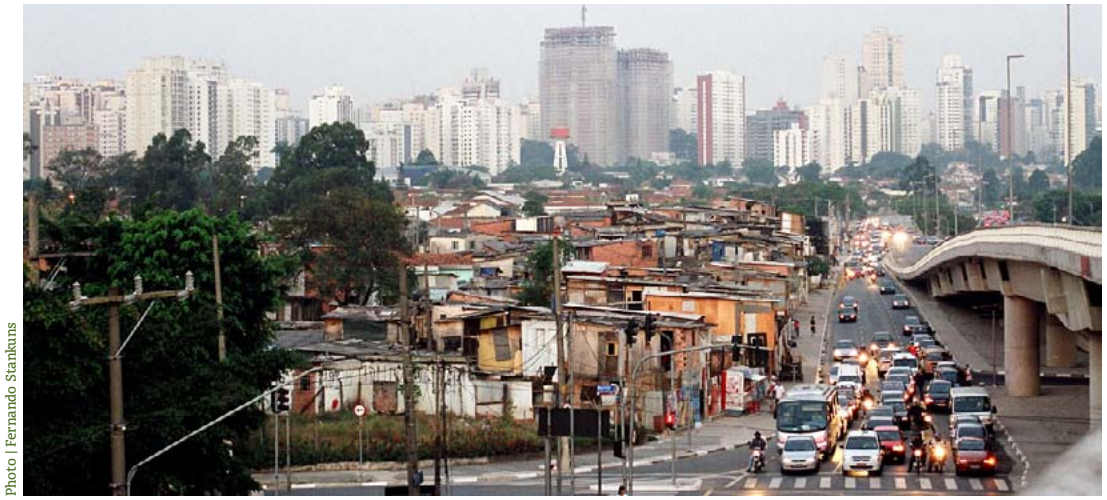


Photo | Fernando Stankuns

São Paolo, Brazil

> 'The whole image of Brazil as moving forward has been accepted by others since 2000. Now we are questioning how we all got into this dream,' says Eliza Dondac.

So far, Brazil has not made a big noise about its immigration policy, and the link between foreign policy and the integration of immigrants is not yet strong. When Brazil, as the only country in the world to do so, started to grant asylum to all refugees from Syria, this did not make the headlines, although Brazil is far ahead of all European Union countries when it comes to Syria. As a Syrian refugee, you will automatically get visa approval when you visit the Brazilian embassy in Beirut.

Learning from Brazil

- Use the status of asylum to speed up the process of immigration.
- Let immigrants come to your country; integration will follow.
- Most people are able to make it when they arrive, they just need to be given the chance to enter the country.

2 Who are you?

New Communities

> 'Perhaps what most typifies the Afropolitan consciousness is the refusal to oversimplify; the effort to understand what is ailing in Africa alongside the desire to honor what is wonderful, unique. Rather than essentialising the geographical entity, we seek to comprehend the cultural complexity; to honor the intellectual and spiritual legacy; and to sustain our parents' cultures.'[7]
>
> *Taiye Selasi, 'Bye-Bye, Babar (Or: What is an Afropolitan?)'*

Once, the community was the place you lived in, or the people you gathered with to watch football or to attend religious ceremonies. Today, people are forming new, virtual communities around a common interest – communities that could include people from the Stockholm suburb of Kärrtorp to the city of Beijing to the island state of Tuvalu. Bicycle aficionados, baristas, computer gamers, bird watchers and urban gardeners are just some examples of people who are forming these new communities. But what role will those communities have in shaping our global identity? And when identity is largely expressed in terms of being part of a global community, how much does it matter where you actually come from?

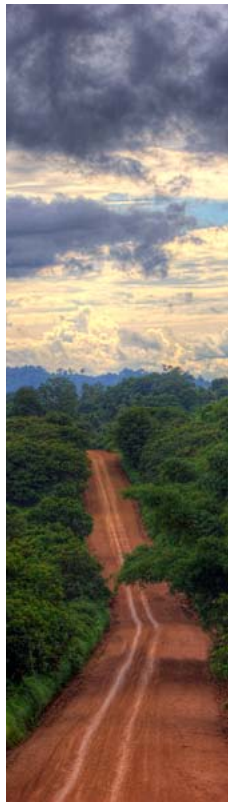


Photo | Ethan Crowley

How much does it matter where you actually come from?

The Afropolitan generation

In 2005 Taiye Selasi (then known as Taiye Tuakli-Wosornu) wrote a text about her own (and many others') identity in an obscure British on-line magazine that went viral and came to define a whole generation. Since then Taiye Selasi has turned into a globally renowned fiction writer with the novel *Ghana must go*. Together with fellow writers with a similar background – Teju Cole (Open City) and Chimamanda Adichi (Americanah) – she has created a new, global wave of writing, travelling and experiences. The Afropolitan generation has turned into fiction and success!

7 http://thelip.robertsharp.co.uk/?p=76

But what does Afropolitan really stand for?

In a television interview from 2013 Taiye Selasi says that being Afropolitan is about the experiences of Africans like herself, who have a decidedly fundamental relation to a country in Africa, but also a modern relation to the same country, and furthermore, a flexible personal identity.

Photo | Maurice (flickr)

Taiye Selasi (right) talking about her debut novel Ghana Must Go.

> 'All my identities overlapped, I did not belong here, nor there. I found that other people were very dissatisfied with the fact that I could not tell who I wasn't and from where I came, and it occurred to me at that time that others might feel the same way. So I decided to give a name to that experience. I also found out that that experience was not unique for Africans.'

Taiye Selasi lives today in Rome, London, New Delhi and New York, and she got the idea for the novel while visiting Sweden. So, where is she most of all from?

> 'I'm from this time, there is no other time that could have produced me,' she answers the reporter.[8]

8 http://urplay.se/Produkter/179395-UR-Samtiden-Stockholm-Literature-Vad-menar-Taiye-Selasi-med-afropolitan

Somalia – learning from Minneapolis

When people migrate to another country, many still maintain their local identity. The Swedes who migrated to Chicago a hundred years ago did not see themselves as Swedes, but as 'Smålänningar' (people from the region of Småland) or 'Wimmerbybor' (citizens of Wimmerby, a country town). It was the small community that moved to another small community and the links were maintained between those communities. In fact, people who had lived together in small villages in many cases continued to live as neighbours in small villages (even keeping the name of the village), but in a totally new country!

The same happens today, but in an urban setting. If you call Ivory Car service in the Harlem district of Manhattan, you will be almost guaranteed to have a driver who comes from the Ivory Coast in West Africa. 116th Street on Manhattan is like a miniature West Africa, with restaurants, hairdressing salons, markets and shops. Here, many of the approximately 3,000 Ivory Coast migrants in the US make a living.[9] This kind of clustering can be found in many developed countries. It is basically the same thing as when ICT companies cluster in Silicon Valley in California. But while company-clustering is seen as something desirable, ethnic clustering is seen as a threat to integration and development in many European countries. How can this be explained? Why are Somali migrants successful in the US when they often have problems getting jobs in Sweden and other European countries?

Photo | Jeremiah Peterson

Minneapolis, USA

Minnesota's Cedar-Riverside neighbourhood was once the home of a large Scandinavian colony of migrants. Today the area around the Riverside Plaza towers is often called Little Somalia, due to the area's large Somali community. The Twin Cities area saw an influx of Somali immigrants, beginning in the mid-1990s. Today, there are about 14,000 Somali immigrants in Minneapolis, by far the largest concentration in the US.[10]

9 http://www.newyorkinfrench.net/profiles/blogs/the-taste-of-c-te-d-ivoire-in-new-york#.UyCJPHmpqp0

10 http://www.startribune.com/opinion/commentaries/247927831.html

In a blog post, Abdi Husen explains how it all happened:

> 'The news about jobs in Minnesota spread like a wildfire, but now they just picked up the telephone and let it through a network of clan relatives, cousins and extended family members. The employment opportunities as well as Minnesota's hospitality news soon reached Somalis way beyond San Diego to refugee camps back in East African and other states. As they all made a dash for the opportunity, they were not disappointed. In short their pockets were warmed with dollar notes, and the hearts that had been iced with disappointment in San Diego began to throb with hope once again. Minnesota's cold snow thawed in the heat of their celebration for both the life and liberty they have been searching for. The formation of a sizable Somali community would later attract Somali professionals around the United States to Minnesota.'[11]

Something similar happened in the small town of Lewiston in the east coast state of Maine. In 2006, KPMG International released a study identifying the best places to do business around the world and ranked Lewiston as the best in New England. In August 2010, the Lewiston Sun Journal reported that Somali entrepreneurs had helped reinvigorate downtown Lewiston by opening dozens of shops in previously closed storefronts.

Ireland today, Somalia tomorrow?

Migrants leave poor, often fragile states, to work and live in countries of opportunity. But what happens later on? In a generation or two, many migrants will themselves return as tourists. A traveller labelled as a VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) is an immigrant, ethnically and racially distinct from the majority population of the country of residence (often a higher-income country), who returns to his or her home country (lower-income country) to visit friends or relatives. Included in the VFR category are family members, such as the spouse or children, who were born in the country of residence.[12]

Ireland is a good example of what VFR tourism means. Out of the total number of 7.4 million tourists who visited Ireland in 2012, 34 per cent consisted of VFR tourists, more than twice as many as those visiting the green island for business.[13] Ireland has for many years exploited the opportunity of former migrants returning as tourists and

'Visiting friends and relatives' will be a big part of tomorrow's travelling.

11 http://kakiewrites.wordpress.com/2013/10/10/little-somalia-in-minneapolis-you-betcha/

12 http://www.academia.edu/171236/VFR_travel_-_the_forgotten_tourism_marketing_opportunity

13 http://www.tourismireland.com/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?guid=f57448b3-92aa-4719-a982-bb698dcdaee7

visitors, making important contributions to the country's economy. Another country for which VFR tourism is increasingly important is South Africa. In South Africa, 30 per cent of the total numbers of tourists in 2013 were in the VFR category.[14]

In 2030 VFR tourism is expected to reach about 30 per cent on a global level.[15] In a country like Somalia, that number will most likely be reached much earlier.

The quest for a multiple identity

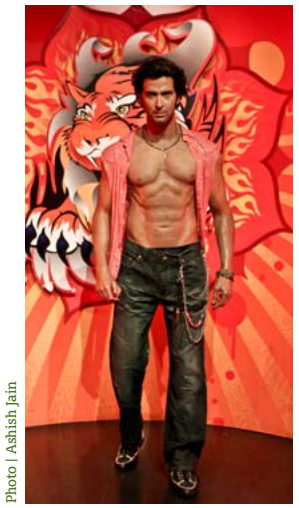


Photo | Ashish Jain

The wax figure of Hrithik Roshan

Do you know who Hrithik Roshan is? In fact, many in the world believe that he is a bigger actor than Brad Pitt. Hrithik Roshan is also one of the most popular figures at Madame Tussauds wax museum in London. Still, the chances are small that you who will know who he is if you live in Latin America, Europe (other than the UK) and the USA.

Once upon a time, everything that mattered came from the West. Now the world is changing and not even European superstars are in such demand as before. Hrithik Roshan comes from India and he is one of the most famous Bollywood actors. His rise to stardom in London is an illustrative example of how globalisation affects our consumption of music, film and popular culture.

So while former American presidents collect dust in the corners, the famous wax museum becomes more and more inhabited by figures representing artists, actors and politicians from countries like India and China. Still, there is no Madame Tussauds in Africa or in Latin America, but if you happen to be in the Chinese city of Wuhan, why not make a visit to its own famous wax museum part of your itinerary? There you could be pretty sure to encounter our common future.

The unknown megastar

Photo | Firdaus Latif

Maher Zain

Maher Zain is one of the biggest Swedish artists ever. Maher Zain received eight platinum awards for his debut album 'Thank You Allah'. His debut album was actually the highest-selling music album in Malaysia in the last decade, with sales of 8 million copies. Still, he is virtually unknown in Sweden. Maher Zain is not alone. While most chart lists only reflect 'Western' or to some extent world music, there is an enormous music scene, driven by people like Maher Zain. In many cases these artists live and work in quite an anonymous way in their home countries, while at the same time being megastars in other parts of the world. In some cases, as for example that of Iran, some world-famous stars are not even allowed to return and perform in their country of origin. Still, their music finds the way to reach the audience, as in the case of Rita Yahan-Farouz, who was born in Iran, sings in Persian and lives in Israel. Some hope that 'Israel's Madonna' as she is sometimes called, could be a bridge between the two countries.

14 http://www.capetown.travel/uploads/files/South_African_Tourism_Quarterly_Index_Q1_Jan_Mar_2013.pdf

15 http://cestur.sectur.gob.mx/descargas/Publicaciones/Boletin/cedoc2012/cedoc2011/unwto2030.pdf

Spinning the web – 4 million knitters united

> 'Ravelry is a great place for you to keep notes about your projects, see what other people are making, find the perfect pattern and connect with people who love to play with yarn from all over the world in our forums.'

Not long ago, knitting was something that took place in your home, or amongst a small group of friends. With web 2.0 knitting has turned virtual. The community Ravelry presents itself as a place for knitters, crocheters, designers, spinners, weavers and dyers to keep track of their yarn, tools, projects and pattern information, and look to others for ideas and inspiration. The content is all user-driven; the participants make the site what it is.

Photo | Jim Culp

Yarn bombing in Seattle, USA.

Ravelry is a good example of how new virtual communities are being formed with a model built on trust, collaboration and transparency. In the case of Ravelry it means, among other things, that the initiators share how the community is financed. Still, the commercial potential could be enormous: Ravelry has 4 million users and gets about 180 million (!) page views a month, so the 'owners' could probably cash in big. But (at least so far) they are committed to keeping the ads pretty, relevant, and accessible to very small businesses:

> 'Today we have about 1,500 active advertisers – most are active Ravelry members and many are very small businesses. Twenty-five per cent are Etsy shops and 50 per cent spend less than $15 with us each month'.

The queen of African luxury

In 2011, Swaady Martin-Leke from the Ivory Coast left her executive job at General Electric to found the African luxury brand, Yswara. Today, the company has stores in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Lagos, selling African made jewellery, exclusive tea and other luxury products. Swaady Martin-Leke is also a member of the African Leadership Network, one of the leading organisations of young, dynamic and influential leaders in Africa.

Photo | Yswara

Yswara candle

Swaady Martin-Leke

Under the slogan 'Passionately African' the company makes its mission statement:

> 'Now is Africa's time. The vitality of the continent is rising in the world as a formidable cultural influence in countless arenas. Africa is both diverse and magnetic, inspiring with its vibrancy and authenticity.
>
> YSWARA believes that it is essential to honour the past to embrace the future. It is our desire to bring the refinement and richness of African culture to both the international community and Africans themselves, to nurture and celebrate this vast and diverse continent so it may be fully appreciated.
>
> In the ubuntu spirit, we put people at the centre of everything we do. Through the YSWARA Foundation, we strive to expand the meaningful income of farmers and artisans we work with by providing market routes for their products, keeping commercial value in Africa, where it is often lost. Our focus is on broad-based wealth creation through conceptualising and producing our products in Africa, to be consumed by connoisseurs worldwide, and on supporting and enriching the lives of small artisans who keep our heritage alive through programmes such as Made in Africa for the World, our showcase of the strength of fine African artisans.
>
> …
>
> Nurturing African traditions, heritage and authentic relationship with nature, we obtain our teas and our handcrafted tea products using local resources and superior materials. Through this, we are committed to sustainability and empowerment, and support the conservation and promotion of African culture through exceptional creations.'

Open-minded Mongolia

How is rapid modernisation changing identity and values in one of the world's most rural and traditional countries? You might thing that it would be impossible to advocate for LGBT rights in Mongolia, but the opposite is true. Mongolians are surprisingly open-minded. Otgonbaatar Tsedendemberel (Otgoo for short) is a prominent human rights activist in Mongolia. In 2007, he was one of the founders of the Mongolian LGBT Centre and has since then been an outspoken activist for LBGT rights. The key to success has been to work together with other rights groups.

Otgonbaatar Tsedendemberel, one of the founders of the Mongolian LGBT Centre

Photo | David Isaksson

How has it been to raise awareness for LGBT issues in Mongolia?

'I would say that it hasn't taken such a long time for us to get accepted, even if it didn't look that way back in 2007. When we started, we launched a nationwide anti-discrimination campaign that was very successful. In many ways, we copied a US campaign called 'We give a damn' and we gained support from influential people, singers and other well-known artists in the country. We also took part in popular chat shows, raised awareness, and in the end the government supported us. So, when people saw that we were not causing any trouble to others, they started to accept us.'

In 2013 you organised Mongolia's first Pride festival. What was it like?

'We decided at an early stage that we would not organise the Pride week event outdoors, and did it instead inside a hotel, because the community was afraid of being 'out-ed', and due to security reasons. It was a whole week with multi-media exhibitions, a film festival and many other activities. We also had a strong support from the UN, the local EU mission and domestic and international organisations. In the future, I hope that the Pride will encourage more community members to be who they are and that we can do it outdoors like many other countries and communities do. More recently, we have discussed LGBT rights issues in a national dialogue, "Being LGBT in Asia".'

So what is the reason that the work for LGBT rights has been so successful in Mongolia?

'I think that it at least partly has to do with the Mongolian character, the fact that people are tolerant – this could also be to do with Buddhism. We are a country with a small population, squeezed in between China and Russia. There has been a strong Russian influence for a long time, something many young people want to break away from. For

us, the role models are Western countries, as well as developed Asian countries such as Japan and South Korea.'

How has the LGBT movement co-operated with other organisations?

'One reason LGBT rights have been so well accepted in Mongolia is that women have been very supportive of the movement. Mongolian civil society is run by strong women and without their support we would not have been where we are today. Thanks to them and to our sisters and mothers, LGBT rights became mainstreamed and seen as an integral part of the overall work for human rights. I wish more men would realise that LGBT rights are human rights as well.'

The image of Mongols is that of fierce warriors and riders, followers of Genghis Khan. But how are the Mongolian men in real life?

'There is a strong masculinity in the society, including how a 'pure' man should be. However, on the outside the Mongolian man might look tough and rough, but inside we are very gentle people. I think it comes from our nomadic spirit, we are a small population, we are generally tolerant and that also includes the men. Still, the society expects certain norms from you – and you have to play the 'game'. That is also why probably some 70-80 per cent of all LGBT people are still hiding their identities. Only a small minority of us has come out in the open.'

Mongolia is going through a very fast transition now, with a very strong urbanisation process. How does that affect LGBT rights?

'One advantage is that we are a very young society. The majority of the population is below the age of 35 and they are open-minded, so we can change their minds and influence people. But in fact, even old people are open to new ideas. We Mongolians adapt easily to new environments and situations. I believe it has to do with our nomadic culture.

'It is an advantage, while at the same time it scares me that we might lose our heritage. Now, all the young people like to live in the cities. Hopefully, it should be possible to combine our nomadic ancestry with a more modern life.'

So what is your next step?

'Now, our focus is on empowering and educating people. During the Soviet era, there were a lot of taboos in relation to gender and sexuality issues. Now, it is better, but still there are a lot of things missing, for example civil, human rights and comprehensive sexuality education in schools.'

What could others learn from the Mongolian LGBT movement?

'LGBT rights came to be included under a big human rights umbrella. That was how we succeeded in mainstreaming our issue. One thing is how we used the UN mechanisms, making our cause an integral part of the overall work for human rights. At an initial stage we started to address and work with the Human Rights Council in Geneva. Because of our international activities, together with those of other civil society actors, our government had to act, and start doing things.

'At present, we are also sharing our experience with other countries and Mongolian human rights activists are involved in exchange and capacity building in other countries in the region.'

Photo | David Isaksson

3 Welcome to the modern world

A day in the life

One day, at a legal office in a metropolis, the final part of a business transaction that has been going on for two months takes place. The buyer's attorney sits on one side of the table with his client, while the seller's representative is sitting on the other. Armed with a pocket calculator and a pile of documents, the two lawyers start the process, paper by paper, certificate by certificate. With everything confirmed and verified, the buyer's representative takes out a stack of cheques, which he starts to distribute: to the sellers, the two brokers and the legal representatives.

A couple of hours later, the participants in the meeting go to their local banks, and after spending some time queuing, deposit the cheques in their bank accounts. The whole process has probably taken a few hours for each of them. The most up-to-date technical tool used is the pocket calculator, a more than 50-year-old innovation; it is as if the ICT revolution had never taken place.

Nairobi, Kenya

Photo | David Isaksson

On another continent, in a different city, a young woman standing outside a grocery store in one of the poorer areas, needs to send money to her mother who lives in a rural district at the other end of the country. With a few clicks on her phone, the money is on the way, and her mother can use her own phone and go to a local store and get the money within less than an hour. She then proceeds to pay her rent and electricity bill. But, instead of having to go the landlord's office or the electricity company she just approves the bills she has received in her 30-dollar mobile phone.

The first city is called New York. The second is Nairobi, the high-tech marvel of Africa.

It is still true that most innovations originate from the United States and Europe, but more and more is happening today in other parts of the world, with Kenya as one illustrative example. With leapfrogging opportunities, changes taking place in Africa will have an enormous impact, in the near future.

Geeks and gazelles graze the coffee shop

It's morning at the iHub in Nairobi. The large open room, dominated by a coffee machine, is full of hard-working people. Bent over their computers, they are creating the economy of the future. Here, at the Silicon Savannah (as the Kenyan ICT industry has been called) there are no giraffes or antelopes grazing. Instead, there is a fast-growing herd of geeks, entrepreneurs, innovators, programmers, politicians and investors, all hoping to contribute to the country's future and become wealthy in the process.

At iHub you can borrow a desk, pitch your ideas, get legal advice for your start-ups, or meet a donor organisation or a tech-company with a fat wallet. At the time of writing some 200 companies are registered as members of iHub. By using one of Africa's two supercomputers they all hope to create wonders.

In the evening, the room is full of people from the Nairobi tech community listening to start-up companies and social entrepreneurs pitch their ideas. The atmosphere is, in general, no different from what you would find in a similar setting in Europe or the United States – with one exception: in Nairobi people really feel that innovations are making life better for the great majority, that innovations can make a difference.

The Ushahidi platform (ushahidi means testimony in Swahili), was initiated by human rights activists and journalists as a way to report

Photo | David Isaksson

At iHub people are creating the economy of the future.

Ushahidi

ushahidi platform is used by election monitors, organisations and activists from Cairo to Guatemala City.

on violence in Kenya after the post-election fallout at the beginning of 2008. The original website was used to map incidents of violence and peacemaking efforts throughout the country, based on reports submitted via the web and mobile phones by hundreds of people. The platform soon reached 45,000 users in Kenya, and the team behind it realised that they had started something that could be used by others around the world.

Since then, Ushahidi has become a highly professional not-for profit company and the software has been further refined. Today, the Ushahidi platform is used by election monitors, organisations and activists from Cairo to Guatemala City, and Ushahidi co-founder Juliana Rotich has achieved rock star status. Ushahidi is a good illustration of how the different worlds come together: a non-profit company that started with support from the development world and have now set a de facto global standard for what is known as crowd-mapping.

Banker and blogger Limo Taboi is financial director of Ushahidi. He traces the success of Kenya's ICT industry to its civic roots.

> 'There is no doubt that it's been a great mix of people who contributed to the development. There is everything from NGOs working in the slums to private companies, politicians and academics involved,' he says.

Limo Taboi sees Kenyans as early adapters – curious, interested and quick to jump on any trend. However, it is not just about trends, but just as much about solving everyday problems in innovative ways.

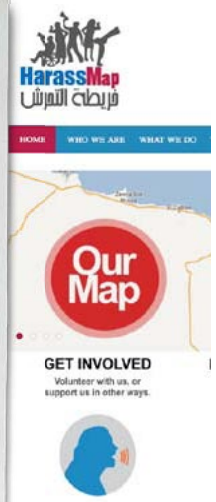
Today, Kenya's IT industry is growing at a record pace. From the present 5 per cent the target is to reach 25 per cent of GDP in 2017. The fast-growing industry, which is expected to create 50,000 new jobs, is now becoming increasingly important for Kenya's exports.[16] Ushahidi is also venturing into hardware, with the development of the backup generator (BRCK), which will help to resolve connection and electricity supply problems for data developers around Africa. The project was funded in record time through crowd-funding.

> 'There is an incredible amount of interest from the outside world for the Kenyan ICT industry. Many large companies are looking for partners among Kenyan entrepreneurs and start-ups,' Limo Taboi says.

16 http://allafrica.com/stories/201404170005.html

Ushahidi maps sexual harassment in Egypt

The Ushahidi crowd map software was used when activists in Egypt created HarassMap (harassmap.org), an initiative that uses social media to draw attention to street harassment in Cairo, Egypt's capital, and coordinate outreach activities in the streets to encourage bystanders to protect victims. HarassMap flags up sites of harassment anonymously reported via text messages, allowing communities to identify high-risk zones ripe for preventative action.



In an interview during Tedx I Almedalen political week in Sweden (2012) activist Rebecca T. Chiao explained the reason for developing HarassMap:[17]

> 'We planned HarassMap with four main steps to mobilise people. Firstly, through an anonymous reporting system via Frontline SMS and Ushahidi, Secondly, we send an automated response to every report, with information on how to access free services for victims, i.e. how to make a police report, legal aid, psychological help, self-defence classes, etc. Thirdly, we map each report online, helping to break the stereotypes that lead to inaction (harassment doesn't happen in my neighbourhood, it only happens to non-veiled girls, it happens in dark streets at night, or by young men who can't get married – all of these are proven false by our reports). Finally, there is a community outreach programme in which 500-plus HarassMap volunteers go out once a month to communities all over Egypt to ask people in their neighbourhoods with a presence in the street to be active and watchful guardians against harassers.'

How Nairobi became Africa's innovation hub

Innovations could be defined in terms of the use of ideas, technologies or ways of doing things that are new to a specific context. Innovation requires interaction between researchers, industry and political bodies, along with effective communications, networks and partnerships across organisations and channels. An innovation assumes two different characteristics: novelty, and its use or implementation.

The 'innovation systems' concept began to appear in the mid-1980s when several scholars started using the term 'National Innovation System (NIS)' to explain differences in productivity growth in OECD

17 http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/2012/11/09/harassmap-founder-makes-wave-against-sexual-violence-in-egypt

countries. The NIS concept highlighted the systemic nature of innovations, the fact that innovations take place within systems of interactions and incentives that influence both the capacity and willingness of firms (or organisations) and individuals to invest resources in new (inherently risky) ventures, methods and approaches.

At the same time, new theories of regional development evolved. They were based on the observation that closely connected and interacting networks – consisting of people, firms, skills, infrastructure and knowledge – can form powerful nodes for innovation and competitiveness, leading to economic growth. All of this was to be found in Nairobi.

Anne Salim works at iHub research, which aims to change the tech research landscape in Africa by bringing together researchers from around the continent to collaborate and build greater African scholarship.

Anne Selim talks about the Kenyan cyber world as an ecosystem where various players interact. A basic premise has been a change in legislation and the fact that the political rulers quickly realised the connection between greater openness and economic growth. Thus the result was the development of a dynamic model of innovation that is also strengthening democracy. And when actors started to come together, something entirely new began to develop.

Kenyan cyber world is an ecosystem where various players interact.

Photo | David Isaksson

'The government has actively facilitated the emergence of the IT industry, for example by lowering taxes on imported data products, which in turn reduced the barriers for new companies. Support for various IT clusters such as iHub and investment in infrastructure have also been important,' says Anne Salim.

Engaging the academic community and making university education more relevant have from the outset been part of iHub's strategy. Students are paired with companies and those who are working on their own ideas or start-ups are receiving support in how to become entrepreneurs. Another important role is played by civil society.

> 'Civil society has been involved in the development of a large number of mobile applications that mobilise citizens, for example when it comes to raising awareness of water use,' Anne Salim explains. 'Here the civil society organisations have played an important role in showing people how they can use technology to strengthen democracy, transparency and contribute to increased empowerment.'

Key factors for Nairobi's ICT development:

- Strong civil society with a long history of human rights advocacy work.
- Universities with a tradition of research and interaction with civil society.
- A strong and fairly independent media sector.
- ICT companies, both national and international.
- A government with vision, which saw the long-term possibilities in the telecom industry.

Innovation banking in Kenya

Mobile banking as such did not start in Kenya, but it is in Kenya (and subsequently in other African countries) that it has made its most significant impact.

Traditionally, paying bills in countries like Kenya meant spending endless time in queues, and often handing over money in person. The fact that ATM machines were installed in places where few people have a bank account further complicated the matter. Now, in a leapfrogging development process, Kenyans have gone beyond many of the problems that are still weighing down many other parts of the world.

The story of M-Pesa is in itself a good illustration of how inventions gain momentum. The idea that became M-Pesa began when researchers found that people in countries like Uganda and Ghana were using airtime as a substitute for money transfer. Mobile airtime was converted into a de facto virtual currency that was transferred to relatives who could use it or sell it. For example, in you lived in England you could pay mobile airtime in Ghana, which your relatives in Accra could resell and thus get the money that you have paid. In 2004, the first authorised airtime credit-swapping scheme was introduced in Mozambique, but it was in Kenya that it all took off. In 2007, M-Pesa (pesa is Swahili for money) was launched by the mobile operator Safaricom, thus mobile banking in its current form was born. Partly financed with development co-operation funds, M-Pesa was not popular among Kenyan banks. In fact, the bank sector tried to stop the emerging competitor.

Photo | David Isaksson

M-Pesa office in Nairobi, Kenya

But Kenyan politicians succeeded in breaking up the bank monopoly and what followed was an astonishing development. In six months, after the launch, M-Pesa went from 17,000 subscribers to more than a million. In 2008 M-Pesa won the Stockholm Challenge ICT award. By 2013, M-Pesa had more than 17 million subscribers and a number of new services had been developed. House owners could, for example, now easily collect rent with the use of M-Pesa. According to some estimates, one third of Kenya's GDP is today passing through the mobile handsets of the M-Pesa subscribers.

Why is there no M-Pesa in Europe?

Bob Collymore, originally from Guyana, is the CEO of Safaricom, the telecom company behind M-Pesa. In 2012 Bob Collymore was appointed a board member of the UN Global Compact Board by the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. The appointment was seen as recognition of Safaricom's commitment to environmental, sustainability and anti-corruption issues, as well as the work it has undertaken to address Millennium Development Goals four and five (maternal health and child mortality).

How do you see the role of Africa in the process of utilising and developing new technology?

'We don't have the ability to provide a lot of technical solutions, but as the needs are many in Africa we have to find innovative solutions. One good example is M-Pesa. I often hear people from Western countries saying: "Why don't we have M-Pesa mobile banking in our country?" So I do think that Africa, because of our need do find innovative solutions, is developing interesting solutions that could easily grow in developed countries as well.'

How could new technology be used to strengthen children's rights?

'We are already today using technology to bring educational solutions. If you take an average school or village in Africa, they don't have access to the same information as a child in Stockholm has. But by using mobile devices, we could deliver education content directly to the child. We are also delivering health solutions for infants and newborn children, using handsets and cloud-computing to register pregnancy and birth, thus reducing infant mortality.'

Youth unemployment is an important issue. By some, it's seen as a threat, but a young population could also be seen as an opportunity. How do you view the possibilities to create employment for young people?

'If we go back to M-Pesa, I would say we have created 100,000 jobs, largely in the youth sector, we are funding many new technical solutions, and young people are embracing technology. In Kenya, the application development community is more vibrant than in most of Africa, and indeed in large parts of Europe and the US. So, in the long run, I'm very, very optimistic about the future.'

How do you see the CSR work among African companies?

'I think CSR is on the increase. I am a member of UN Global Compact, so I push the agenda quite a lot. But we also see a lot of integration between the CSR and the more straightforward business areas. So when I talk about solutions, some might be CSR, but others are embedded into our companies, and when they are as of the latter, they become more sustainable, because then they are more long-term.'

But still, companies have to make a profit – how do you balance the two sides?

'As a large company, you have to take your leadership position seriously, which implies that you cannot only look to the interest of one stakeholder, but to a range of them, including the future generation, the society you live in, the regulators – and of course – your shareholders.'

A country with vision

> You have to see digitalisation as the driving force in the economy.

The annual ICT conference IST-Africa is coming towards the end, and not without a discernible fatigue among the participants. But Professor Shaukat Abdulrazak, head of Kenya's National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation, is bubbling with enthusiasm. After a few dutiful words from weary civil servants from the European Union the professor steps on to the podium, full of energy. What the world needs is vision, confidence and optimism! And Kenya has it all in abundance. One of the flagship projects to achieve economic growth will be the Konza Technology City, which is to be developed 60 km from the centre of Nairobi. Dubbed 'where African silicon savannah begins', the park is set to host business process outsourcing (BPO) ventures, a science park, a convention centre, shopping malls, hotels, international schools and health facilities.

Photo | David Isaksson

After the presentation Shaukat Abdulrazak says:

'I think Kenya succeeded because we have a clear vision of what we want to accomplish. The shoe that charges a mobile phone is already on the market. But we need even more innovative ideas, and companies that can become partners with us in business development. We want Kenya to be competitive so we measure and compare ourselves with other emerging economies. We want to catch up!'

And catching up they are. The fibre network is already drawn far beyond the suburbs of Nairobi and soon all first-graders will have their own computer. Kenya is following in the footsteps of Uruguay. Since iHub started four years ago, the centre has been joined by 16 IT clusters in Nairobi alone, and more are coming in other parts of the country.

In Kenya's Vision 2030 ICT has a prominent role. But what about the EU? Do we have no vision at all to come up with? What advice would Kenya be able to give the tired Europeans?

'You have to see digitalisation as the driving force in the economy, and just as we made our vision for 2030, to see it as a strategic role. ICT is an obvious driving force in all economic, social and political development,' responds a very pleased Shaukat Abdulrazak, and one cannot help wondering if he took the opportunity to charge his cell phone with his shoes during our conversation.

Uruguay – Successful e-learning

Uruguay is probably the country in the world with the most advanced system for e-learning in public primary and secondary schools. Where many other countries have failed, Uruguay has succeeded in not only giving computers to children in all schools, but also creating an integrated e-learning system that reduces the gaps in society. Why has One Laptop per Child, which has failed in so many countries, turned into a success in Uruguay?

It is mid-morning in a small town in the countryside of Uruguay. As we enter the playground of the local school, the noise is as deafening as in any schoolyard. After a while it calms down and we step into one of the classrooms. It looks just like anywhere in Latin America, with one important difference: all the children have their own computers. And they know how to use them.

Usually, when you visit a school in a developing country, you start by introducing yourself and the country you come from with the words: 'If you have a map of the world I could show you where my country is.' But in this case, the map is not needed as all the children are connected to the world with their laptops. They have no problem finding my hometown and with a few clicks they succeed in gathering enough information to write a short presentation about Sweden in Spanish.

Photo | David Isaksson

> Why has 'One Laptop per Child', which has failed in so many countries, turned into a success in Uruguay?

In 2007 Uruguay took the first step to introduce e-learning and the concept of One Laptop per Child in schools, within the framework of the national e-learning programme Plan CEIBAL. As a starting-point, laptops were distributed to each child from first to sixth grade in public primary school, as well as to the teachers. In 2010, the plan went on to include secondary schools.

The first generation of laptops used comes from the One Laptop per Child project ('We aim to provide each child with a hard-wearing, low-cost, low-power, connected laptop') and features Internet connectivity and video camera with audio, as well as educational software. Furthermore, thanks to local developers, some applications have been introduced to improve the laptops' Internet connection, hardware, and software. By 2012, more than 600,000 laptops had been distributed and the models continued to be upgraded, with tablets introduced in 2013.

> "It is not an educational programme, but a programme for equality and social inclusion.

Photo | David Isaksson

But what has been the key to success? First of all, insists Miguel Brechner, head of Plan CEIBAL, it is not an educational programme, but a programme for equality and social inclusion. To highlight this even more, the programme is under the responsibility of the president of Uruguay. Or, as Miguel Brechner puts it: 'My manager is the president, not the minister of education.'

Another key factor has been how the technical component has been applied. Miguel Brechner and others within the Plan CEIBAL team have a background in the computer industry together with a strong social commitment. This background might explain why the focus has been on the creation of technical systems that support social change, rather than on the laptops themselves; in CEIBAL, technology is not seen as a solution in itself, but a tool to achieve the overall social goals.

> 'The computer is of course important, but a machine that is not connected is useless. When we started, out of the 20-per-cent poorest families, only 5 per cent had computers. So our conclusion was that we needed to develop the infrastructure. Today, all of our schools have Internet connection, there are fibre optics in 80 per cent of all urban schools, and 800 schools have video conference systems,' Miguel Brechner explains.

Another important part of the project has been the educational platforms with on-line books, test and exercises that were created, for example in mathematics with over 100,000 exercises. Thanks to this, children and their families do not need to buy printed schoolbooks, something that is quite a burden for low-income households. Currently, there are more than 500 on-line schoolbooks in the system.

But technology is in itself not enough to change the whole educational system. Another major problem has been the hierarchical and vertical organisation of the school system and the lack of resources in many countryside schools. The teachers were also required to adapt to the new reality, which meant that their role would have to change. The old-time, authoritarian teacher, who punished the children, had to be replaced by the new educator who gives advice, orientation and inspiration and who can introduce children to knowledge.

Initially, there was some scepticism from teachers, but when they saw how interested the children were, their attitude changed. The role of teacher did indeed change as a result of the process. Another long-term aim is to increase the status of teachers and eventually also their salaries and working conditions.

Still, the biggest challenge was probably how to personalise the education so that it would suit each child and his or her capabilities.

> 'We wanted to help the children and their teachers learn to work on a project basis. One aim of the evaluation platform in each subject is to help teachers understand, so that they can compare and see why kids have failed, in order to improve,' explains Miguel Brechner.

Photo | David Isaksson

The role of teacher did indeed change as a result of the process.

In Latin America, as in many other parts of the world, there is a shortage of English teachers and in rural areas these are practically non-existent. The most novel part of Plan CEIBAL is the virtual, English classroom where children are able to listen to, and work with, a real teacher who is live, online, somewhere in the world, in a high-quality conference connection, thanks to the fibre optic network that covers most of Uruguay. In this model it is possible to match English speakers who need jobs, in for example Asia, with students who hope to improve their English in Latin America. The project, which has been developed in co-operation with the British Council, is most likely the first of its kind in the world where telepresence technology is used to teach English to large groups of primary school pupils in a state school system.

So what is the cost of Plan CEIBAL? Well, the truth is that Miguel Brechner doesn't really care much about that aspect:

> 'The cost is about $100 per child and year, but cost is frankly not the issue, we see it as a right to have a computer, the same way as it is a right to have water and electricity,' he says.

Ana Rivoir, researcher at the National University of Uruguay, has written several studies of the CEIBAL programme.[18] One of her conclusions is that the CEIBAL programme has led to a substantial bridging of the gap between rich and poor with respect to access to computers in households. This is partly because children have been using the computers at home and because schools' wireless networks often cover a fairly large area around the school, including the houses of many families. During evenings and at weekends, you can also find kids with their laptops, hanging out by the school gates.

According to the studies done by Ana Rivoir and her colleagues, members of the poorest deciles of the population received laptops under Plan CEIBAL en masse between 2009 and 2010. In December 2010, 65.7 per cent of the respondents from the poorest sectors stated that they lived in a 'CEIBAL computer home'. It is also quite likely that the Ceibalitas (as the computers are called) were the first computers in those households.

'The fact that so many poor homes were so quickly equipped with computers can only be explained by the distribution of Ceibalitas. In sum, our studies show that the digital divide has narrowed in terms of possession of computers at homes in Uruguay, and that the narrowing is very likely a consequence of the implementation of Plan CEIBAL,' Ana Rivoir says.

18 http://itidjournal.org/itid/article/viewFile/961/402

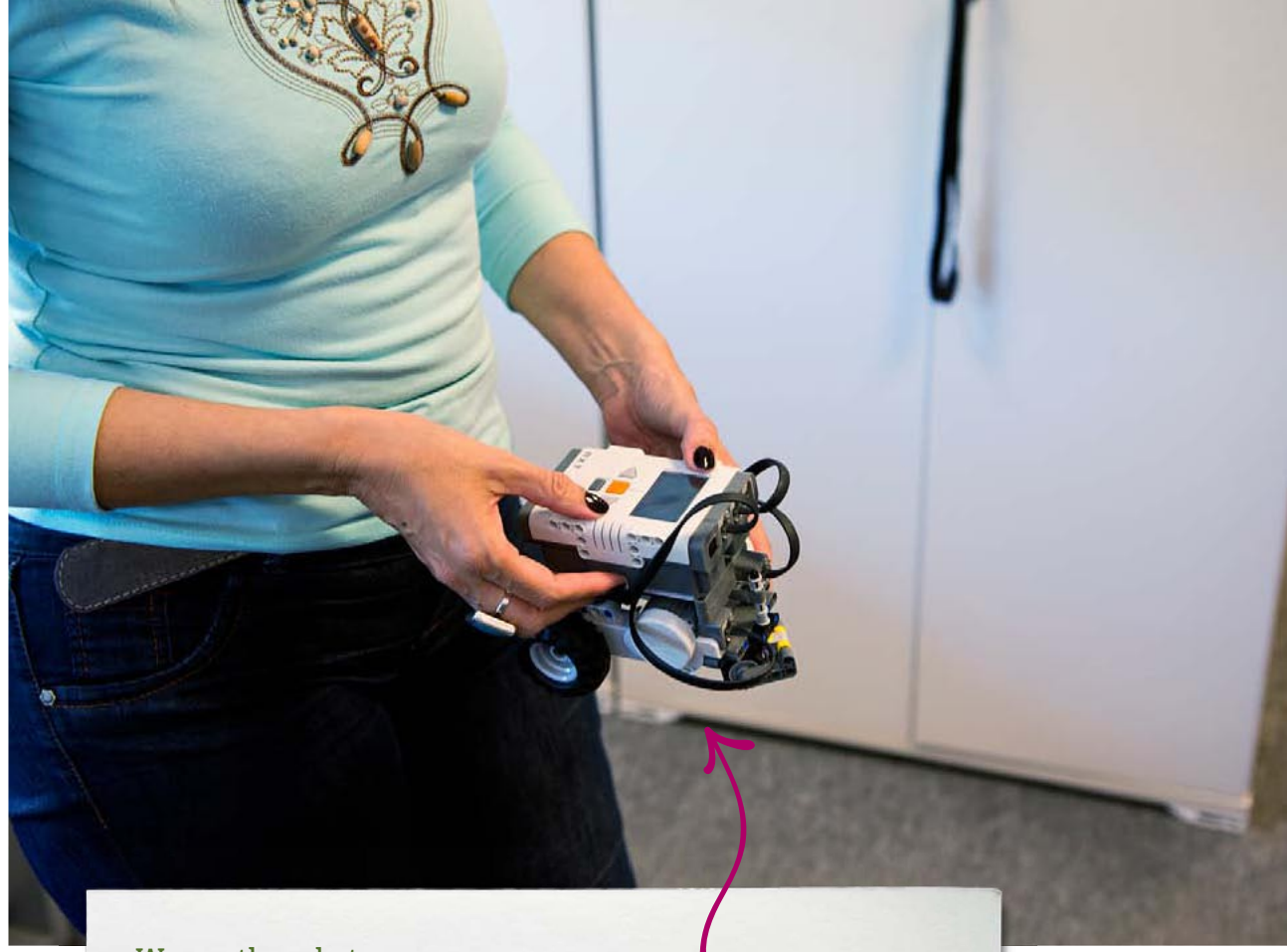


Photo | David Isaksson

We are the robots

Another concept developed by CEIBAL is the robotics project, with simple robots and machines that can help children understand more about mechanics, technology and programming. The robotics kits that are distributed to the schools make it possible for the kids (and their teachers) to build simple machines that they can programme with the help of the laptops.

Keys to success

- Know what you want to do and what you don't.
- Clear political leadership and aims.
- Bring in ideas and solutions from outside of the education sector. Many of those who worked with the programme have a background in computer science and ICT consulting.
- Children will not learn more, just by receiving computers; an integrated system is needed.

'The state should ask you for as little as possible'

José Clastornik is the Executive Director of AGESIC, the National Agency for e-Government and Information Society in Uruguay. The aim of AGESIC is to develop the relationships between citizens and public administration and to facilitate the access of documents and other contacts between the state and its citizens.

Historically, Uruguay has been seen as the Switzerland of Latin America, a small, relatively rich and peaceful country (with the exception of the period 1973-85). Now, development is taking off again. Uruguay has a leading role in the Agenda Digital network for Latin America (AGESIC).[19] Uruguay is the largest exporting country in Latin America per capita, and the ICT industry is growing. In the development of the ICT agency Uruguay has been establishing contact with Estonia, the most advanced country in the European Union when it comes to e-democracy. Uruguay is also the only country outside the EU that fulfils the EU Data Protection Directive (officially, Directive 95/46/EC on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data), which regulates the processing of personal data within the EU.

AGESIC has an important role in what José Clastornik calls the creation of a good government based on a social contract, free from corruption and with strong accountability to the citizens.

> 'Our aim is that citizens should be able to review all documents and contracts in order to exercise control over the authorities. The state should provide a one-stop solution for citizens in their quest for information and documents. The idea is also that the state should ask you for as few documents and as little information as possible,' José Clastornik says.

The technical side poses less and less of a problem; the challenge is how to engage citizens, he argues. It is also important to design a system that works for those who are not IT experts and to create a forum for dialogue with citizens, not just a channel for one-way information.

> 'We try to stimulate government agencies to be open and create incentives for private companies to use data that has been made available,' José Clastornik explains.

19 http://www.eclac.cl/cgi-bin/getprod.asp?xml=/elac2015/noticias/paginas/1/45751/P45751.xml&xsl=/elac2015/tpl/p18f.xsl&base=/elac2015/tpl/top-bottom.xsl

Photo | David Isaksson

Uruguay is the largest exporting country in Latin America per capita. The export of ICT is growing.

Life in balance

A new paradigm?

> 'When I listen to the experience of the Sami people it strikes me that it is very similar to what we have gone through in Guatemala: the land-grabbing and plundering of our nature, the way they take our language and force a different culture upon us. They want to cast all of us in the same way and they say that we are all the same, but it is clear that we are all different. However, we have common struggles to fight!'[20]

In 2013, the indigenous activist Natalia Atz Sunuc from Guatemala travelled to the north of Sweden, invited by the organisation Solidarity Sweden-Latin America to take part in the protests against a foreign mining company. The director of the mining company had just stated that 'no one' lived in the area, and therefore that there was no problem whatsoever with the exploitation. The 'no ones' were in this case the people who have been living here generation after generation, the Swedish indigenous Sami people.

According to the mining company, 'no one' lived in the area of exploitation.

Photo | David Isaksson

20 http://latinamerikagrupperna.se/sv/engagera-dig/aktiva/intervju-med-natalia-atz-sunuc-fran-smabrukar-och-ursprungsfolksnatverket-waqib

The visit by Natalia Atz Sunuc to Sweden was more than just symbolic. In recent years, the development of social movements in countries like Guatemala has helped shape the agenda in other parts of the world, too. And now a Guatemalan activist would support the Sami people in Sweden. After all, Guatemala had ratified the ILO convention 169 on the rights of indigenous peoples, something that Sweden was still refusing to do. So there was definitely work to do!

In many countries there has been a clear distinction between political activists on the left and those who want to live a more 'alternative' lifestyle, embracing mysticism or taking up indigenous traditions.

In Latin America, as well as in many other parts of the world, the traditional left has often proven itself to be authoritarian, top-down, patriarchal and male-dominated, rejecting local indigenous traditions and religious beliefs. Now, things are changing. Latin America, for so long locked in a left-right conflict is starting to embrace a different perspective where people with different political opinions are starting to question our modern, consumerist lifestyle and through this coming closer to each another. Instead of operating in a top-down manner, the new movements are networking horizontally, they encompass religious and mystic values, they are feminist, indigenous and sometimes also New Age and libertarian.

'There is a new paradigm in the making,' says Carmen Blanco Valer, an indigenous activist living in Sweden and Peru. The daughter of the well-known peasant leader Hugo Blanco of Peru, who in 1971 was deported to Chile and in 1973 was smuggled out of the country by the then Swedish ambassador Harald Edelstam, Carmen Blanco grow up with the traditional Latin American left and the solidarity movement. Today she sees a changing landscape:

> 'There are new kinds of network emerging that include many different actors, from environmentalists to feminists and HBTQ activists. In the beginning, everyone was afraid that it would not work, as we have different ways of thinking. Then we realised that the idea of living well, "buen vivir", could be built on a pluralistic model that would give room to many different voices and perspectives. If we want this change to happen, we must start talking with each other and try to understand each other,' Carmen Blanco says.

A possible starting-point can be traced to 1992. That was when the political elite in southern Europe and Latin America celebrated the 500-year jubilee of Christopher Columbus's 'discovery' of Latin America.

All over the Americas indigenous groups organised their own protest meetings. The jubilee also coincided with the Earth Summit (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro. From that point on, the fight for indigenous rights and the fight for the environment started to connect and interlace; the struggle for indigenous rights became a struggle for the environment and for a sustainable use of natural resources. In this struggle, new alliances are being formed. The mining sector and its brutal way of acting have played a key role as a unifying factor. The extraction takes place at the expense of people and the environment; it is done by companies that often do not pay taxes, while at the same time being involved in large-scale corruption and undermining of the democratic process. Indigenous peoples are particularly affected by the mining industry, whether in Mongolia, Peru, Congo Kinshasa or Sweden.

The indigenous movement is changing, from a patriarchal, Latin American 'macho' culture to a one in which women and feminism play an increasingly important role. The traditional left is also starting to understand that there are other values and other ways of understanding the world than the Marxist model. When an intersectional perspective replaces the class-only analysis, the view of who is oppressed and who is the oppressor radically changes. Thus, the new activism becomes a blend of mysticism, liberation theology, indigenous traditions and new technology. This comes together with the realisation that those who are really in the vanguard of the struggle against environmental degradation are not city dwellers in Europe who are collecting batteries to recycle, but those Indians and farmers who risk their lives while resisting the big mining businesses (which are often partly owned by the pension funds of the same Europeans who are recycling batteries).

Time for 'sumac kawsay'

Quechua is a language spoken by about 10 million people in the Andean region of Latin America (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador). The Quechua phrase 'sumak kawsay' means 'buen vivir,' 'living well' (similar expressions also exist in Aymara). The expression is rooted in the Cosmovisión (worldview) of the Quechua peoples. However, 'buen vivir', is not the same thing as 'la vida buena', 'the good life' which could be interpretated as a carefree way of living, consuming, spending, drinking beer and eating fast food. Instead, living well means living in balance and harmony with the community, with the earth. According to Quechua traditions 'sumac kawsay' considers people as an element of the Pachamama, or Mother Earth. The idea is to seek a life in balance with the earth and our resources, a sustainable way of living. In the indigenous traditions, the individual forms part of an ecological and social whole in which

you never own land, but are only its custodian for the time you are alive. In this, there is of course also a close connection to the ideas of a sharing economy (see page xxx). The indigenous traditions also contain a strong sense of collectivism, both when it comes to decision-making and to ownership of land, something that the political leadership in Latin America has tried to eradicate since the days of Simón Bolivar.

Photo | Mauricio Muñoz E

'sumak kawsay' means 'buen vivir,' 'living well'.

The concept of 'buen vivir', is also a reaction against the traditional Western idea of development, which has also been embraced by many developing countries. It is strongly spiritual and thus also rejects the socialist faith in progress as well as its materialist perspective. Eduardo Gudynas, executive secretary of the Latin American Centre for Social Ecology in Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, is a leading thinker on the 'buen vivir' concept. He writes:

> 'The Buen Vivir perspective is, in this sense, not only post-capitalist, but also post-socialist. As a platform to explore and build alternatives beyond European modernity, it is moving away from Eurocentric political thought…the increasing understanding (and feeling) in South America is that the modernity project is exhausted, and this is an opportunity to make visible, understand and promote alternative worldviews to move away from what we yesterday called development, and tomorrow will be replaced by Buen Vivir.'[21]

21 http://www.palgrave-journals.com/development/journal/v54/n4/full/dev201186a.html

Ecuador – giving rights to nature

Today, 'sumak kawsay' is included in the constitutions of Bolivia and Ecuador.[22] However, the presidents of both countries have since then entered into bitter conflicts with indigenous groups as they are trying to exploit oil and other natural resources on indigenous territory.

The Ecuadorian constitution now includes the following lines: 'We... hereby decide to build a new form of public co-existence, in diversity and in harmony with nature, to achieve the good way of living.' Thus, the economic, political, social, cultural and environmental areas should be arranged to guarantee the sumak kawsay development.

Photo | David Isaksson

Mother Earth is defined as 'a collective subject of public interest'.

In Bolivia, the Legislative Assembly passed the Law of the Rights of Mother Earth in 2010. The law defines Mother Earth as 'a collective subject of public interest' and declares both Mother Earth and life-systems (which combine human communities and ecosystems) as titleholders of inherent rights specified in the law. The law proclaims the creation of an ombudsman to protect the rights of Mother Earth (Defensoría de la Madre Tierra), a parallel to the human rights ombudsman office known as the Defensoria del Pueblo.

22 http://plan.senplades.gob.ec/web/guest

Can a river have rights?

The decisions in Bolivia and Ecuador were ridiculed by media and organisations representing the elite in the West, as something 'invented' by populist presidents, but such ideas have also been discussed in the US and Europe. In 1972, Christopher D. Stone, expert in international environmental law at the University of Southern California, argued in the essay, 'Should Trees Have Standing?', that rivers and trees and other 'objects' of nature do have rights, and these should be protected by granting legal standing to guardians of these voiceless entities of nature. Granting legal 'standing' legally means that an entity can bring a lawsuit to court, based on their stake in the outcome. In the essay, which has since been published in several updated versions, Christopher D. Stone makes a comparison with companies and universities that cannot speak themselves, either. So, if a company can have a lawyer (or other person) representing it, why shouldn't a river be able to have the same?[23]

Photo | David Isaksson

A river with rights?

In 2009, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution that declared 22 April as International Mother Earth Day, recognising that Mother Earth reflects the interdependence that exists among human beings, other living species and the planet we all inhabit.[24] Three years later, in

23 http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic498371.files/Stone.Trees_Standing.pdf

24 http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/63/278

2012, the Whanganui River in New Zealand received something that is so far unique: a legal voice of its own. In an agreement between the government of New Zealand and the Whanganui River iwi (the local Māori people), the river was recognised as a legal subject, much the way a company is. The court case was one of the longest in New Zealand's history and the settlement means that the river will have two guardians, one appointed by the iwi and the other by the government. After the settlement, the minister responsible for the negotiation, Christopher Finlayson, said the following to the media:

'Today's agreement which recognises the status of the river as Te Awa Tupua (an integrated, living whole) and the inextricable relationship of iwi with the river is a major step towards the resolution of the historical grievances of Whanganui iwi and is important nationally.'[25] What happened in New Zealand might just be the first step. In the Canadian state of British Columbia, the conflict between the First Nations and the Canadian government regarding waterways might be solved through a reconciliation process similar to the one in New Zealand. More cases will most likely follow.

Off-grid living: The Mirain Nihon project

Can we live without modern infrastructure? Would 100-per-cent off-grid living be possible? In recent years, more and more people in Europe and the US are making efforts to live outside of the infrastructure grids of water and electricity. Off-grid homes are autonomous, as they do not rely on municipal energy utilities. Going off the grid means shunning these public utilities in favour of creating your own energy. The grid is also very much a symbol of the centrally controlled, consumer society.

The Fukushima earthquake and tsunami disaster in 2011 for ever altered the trust that many Japanese had in the current development paradigm, as many came to realise that the infrastructure is fragile and energy can never be guaranteed. The Japanese advertising agency TBWA\HAKUHODO has for many years been a driving force in the field of innovation through its Human Centered Open Innovation (HCOI) lab. Now the agency is addressing two questions: Can we live without modern infrastructure? And if so, what will the future of Japan look like?

Together with its client Nissan, as well as 19 other companies, HCOI lab took on the challenge of imagining what the off-grid future of Japan might look like. The result is a house known as Mirai Nihon, or

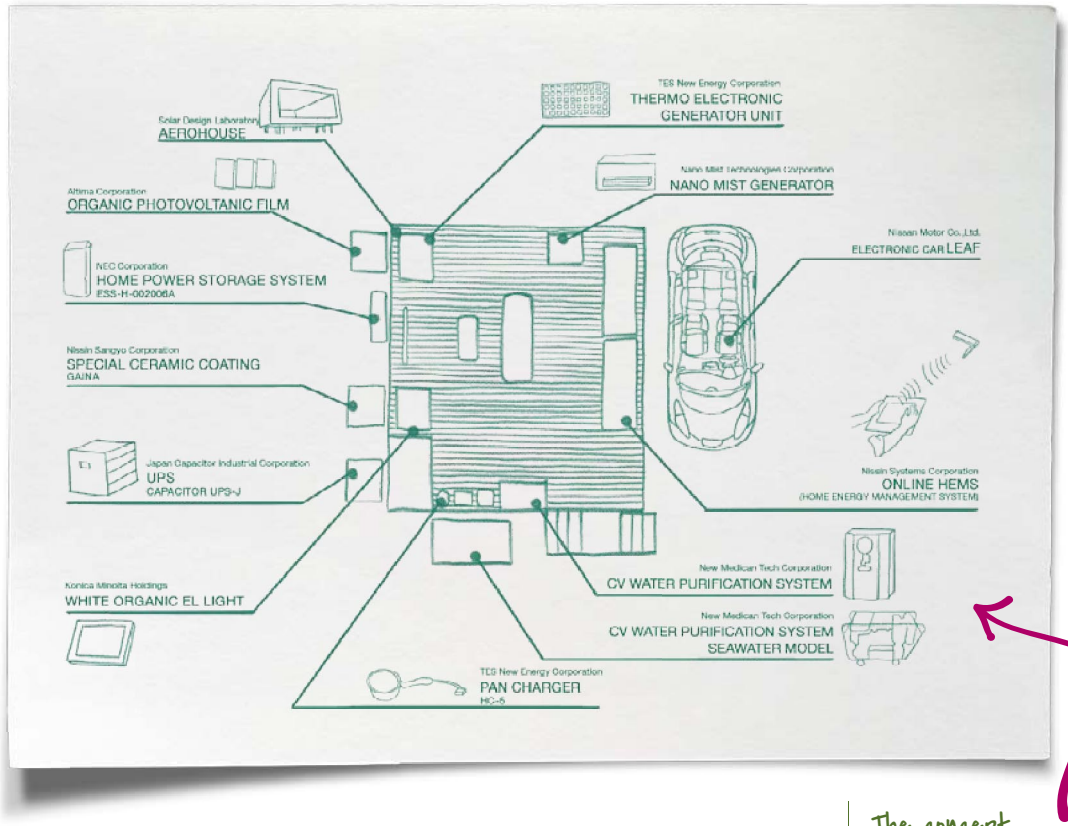


Illustration | HCOI Lab

The concept home Mirai Nihon – Future Japan – where technology and nature coexist with people and enable a 100 per cent off-grid life.

Future Japan, where technology and nature coexist with people and enable a 100 per cent off-grid life.[26] This home is a basic, modernist box made of wood, which can fit easily in the back of a truck, making the home mobile enough to be set up wherever it's needed. Off-grid power here is provided from several sources.

Could this really be the future of Japan? What will be the future connection between Japanese off-grid living and the 'sumak kawsay' of the Quechua people in Ecuador (see page X)? The relationship might be much closer than we think, as 'buen vivir' becomes more than just a utopian vision.

25 http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10830586

26 http://www.earthtechling.com/2012/06/the-future-of-off-grid-living-brought-to-you-by-japan/

Sharing is caring

'As we become increasingly interdependent, the once-rigid boundaries between the public sector, private sector, and civil society are being challenged – each sector pursues innovation and convergence. The time has come for us to pinpoint the competences of each sector and strategically use them to improve the well being of all citizens. In short, we need super-sectorial social innovation.'

WonSoon Park, activist, social entrepreneur, Mayor of Seoul

From couch surfing to car pools and guerrilla gardening, a new economy is being born across the world, enabled by ICT tools and passionate people. But what will sharing mean for global development?

It is has been estimated that the owner of a drill makes use of it for between six and 20 minutes during the whole period of owning the tool. The rest of the time it is stored away. The story has been contested, as well as the fact that the drill is too cheap to make it worth sharing it, but the basic notion remains unchallenged; there is a huge potential for sharing.

A sharing economy, collaborative consumption, or peer-to-peer economics, are a combination of old and new. It is about a way of operating that goes back to values many feel have been forgotten, but at the same time it is a way to organise business and social ventures in a totally new way, creating horizontal relations where the needs of different stakeholders could be enabled. Sharing is also a way for people to recreate the social fabric and together build a more sustainable society.

What has made a sharing economy possible is the development of web 2.0 and portable handheld devices that have brought computer power into everyone's hands and created the opportunity to develop many new kinds of person-to-person relations.

Rachel Botsman, writer of the book *What's mine is yours: the rise of sharing economy* has called renting, and not owning, the gospel for the new economy. In this, she defines three types of collaborative consumption:

Product service systems (Spotify and Netflix, where you rent for short periods rather than owning), *redistribution markets* (like eBay, where you sell or give away unwanted stuff) and *collaborative lifestyles* (like Couchsurfing), where people swap skills, time and other assets.

Sharing, argues Rachel Botsman, helps us create a more sustainable lifestyle, getting away from GDP as the measure of progress. As she puts

it, 'We need to measure the number of holes drilled not the number of drills sold.' But in order for sharing to work, trust is needed; you don't want to rent out your home to just anybody and you would not like to jump in and share a ride with a totally unknown person.

By far the biggest star in the sharing economy is AirBnb, the US company that enables you to rent out a room (or your whole apartment) when you're not using it and thereby boost your income. After just a few years, AirBnb has become one of the 10 biggest providers of lodging in the world, far bigger than several major global hotel chains. AirBnb, Uber (car service) and car pools are commercial ventures, driven by profit just like most companies. Inevitably, they also come into conflict with established companies (AirBnb with the hotel industry; Uber with taxi businesses, etc.) as their market share increases.

Those who lash out against AirBnb and similar operations argue that the company actually makes it more difficult for ordinary people to find somewhere to live, and contributes to the gentrification of neighbourhoods. AirBnb, in turn, argues that they are helping the local economy grow, and at the same time distributing wealth, as the money is spent in local stores and non-touristic areas. And of course, they are ready to pay taxes: 'Better tax us than stop the sharing economy,' is the message from AirBnb.

The sharing economy has, with the above exceptions, not yet come to the attention of most tax authorities as it is still relatively small, but when it grows politicians will have to make their decisions. Jenelle Orsi, director of the Sustainable Economies Law Center in Oakland, California, has made a great little movie* that highlights the difficulties in defining the sharing economy. Sharing, she says, exists in an 'economy sandwich', a grey area between less-regulated private ownership and highly regulated public commerce. If politicians try to kill the sharing model, the economy as a whole (as well as the environment and the social fabric) will be losing out. Instead, the solution could be a greater regulation on the part of cities – for example, as to how many nights per year a property can be rented out. However, this would require new control systems that, yes, will cost tax money. Another way around could be for cities to create their own hosting platforms. Such a development, on the other hand, would most likely have a negative effect on the sharing economy where new companies and business solutions are popping up all the time.

Another, equally important side of the development of the sharing economy, is how it changes the relation to labour. With the concept of full-time employment gradually disappearing, sharing means that people can support themselves through different means: low-income

* www.youtube.com/watch?v=LVuxiukfQCs

Illustration | Airbnb

Statistics about home sharing through Airbnb.

household can live in cities by renting out rooms, car-owners can get extra income by driving others, neighbours can grow their vegetables together and spend less on shopping. But it could also lead to people being trapped in low-level semi-informal jobs without social protection (as they are not getting any formal income), where 'sharing' only means that big companies can share even more profit with their investors.

So, is sharing a new form of exploitation of the poor, and of the informal sector, or is it a way to develop a more just and equal society where resources are used in a more sustainable way? Most likely, it is both. In a situation where the number of full-time, long-term guaranteed jobs are declining, sharing might improve the situation for many people, while at the same time giving us more satisfaction, enabling us to spend more time doing things together than in a purely consumerist society. On the other hand, sharing could accelerate a process in which everyone involuntarily becomes a micro-business operator with little or no social security. The latter is of course nothing new to the majority of the world's population. Some might also argue that paying taxes is the ultimate level of sharing (at least when money is used in a transparent way). On the other hand, sharing is fun. A study by Co-operatives in the UK, notes that seven out of 10 people in the report believe that sharing makes us feel better about ourselves, and eight out of 10 people say that sharing makes them happy.[27] So, while money doesn't buy happiness, sharing just might.

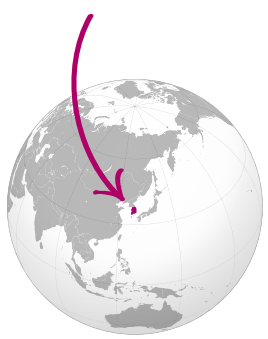
Getting more soul into Seoul

The new city hall of the megacity Seoul, capital of South Korea, hovers over the old administrative building like a flying object, not in an unfriendly or threatening way, but almost protectively. Unintentionally (as the building was commissioned several years ago) it also mirrors the current change in the city's administration, from a monolith to a city that listens and enters into dialogue with its citizens. The building is eco-friendly as well: behind the glass façade the largest vertical garden in the world is to be found, taking you into a virtual jungle on the way up the escalator.

In 2012, Seoul was declared a Sharing City by the recently elected Mayor Won-Soon Park, a prominent human rights lawyer and civil society activist who has been engaged in promoting social change for several decades, and who entered the political race as an independent candidate.

Park's ambition was to create a new kind of relationship between government and citizens: information and polices should be transparent, and the authorities should be in constant dialogue with society. In order

"In 2012, Seoul was declared a Sharing City."



27 http://www.uk.coop/sites/storage/public/downloads/sharing_0.pdf

Photo | David Isaksson

to achieve this, a number of on-line tools were developed and put to use. For example, citizens can record their own video messages that are then transmitted by the city's TV network. There is also an advanced Social Media Centre and a platform named Ten Million Imaginations OASIS, where policy-making suggestions and ideas from any of Seoul's 10.3 million citizens can be discussed and developed.

The new city hall of Seoul hovers over the old administrative building like a flying object.

But it was not enough just to listen and be transparent. During previous years, Park had established foundations and social enterprises such as the Beautiful Foundation and the Beautiful Store, which supported sharing and donation as tools to create social inclusion, social innovation and better use of resources in society. Now the city formally decided to support the sharing economy. Seoul was to become – as the first megacity in the world – an official Sharing City. At the end of 2012 this became a reality, when Act 5396 (promoting sharing) was approved.

Since then, Seoul's Social Innovation Bureau has been working to create a living social innovative ecosystem by collecting examples of innovation from around the world and researching how they can be applied in Seoul. The division also gathers the creative ideas of Seoul's citizens and then spreads and systematises those ideas. And people seem to like what's happening: in 2014, Won-Soon Park was re-elected for a new term.

Photo | David Isaksson

Seoul's Social Innovation Bureau collects examples of innovation from and research how they can be applied in Seoul.

The Seoul City Administration is also undertaking numerous initiatives for cross-sector innovation. The Simincheong (in English, Seoul Citizens' Hall), physically located in Seoul City Hall, acts as a 'speaker's corner' for anyone who wants to send a video message to the city administration. It is modelled after the forum for free speech at London's Hyde Park Corner, but is digital. Recorded opinion pieces can be up to 10 minutes long and are broadcast on the Seoul TV network.

'Over the last decades we have seen a rapid development of the economy of Seoul,' says BaeHyung Woo, director of the Social Innovation Division, Seoul City. 'Today, we have a lot of single households as well as elderly people living without much contact with younger generations. People feel that they are lonely; there is also a waste of resources in the city as well as environmental degradation. There are also many young people who are unemployed. So all in all, we needed a new approach as to how Seoul should be developed.'

Sharing constitutes an import part of traditional Korean culture and traditions, but has been gradually lost over recent decades, with the focus on growth and consumerism. The financial crisis of 1997 meant that large numbers of people lost their jobs, which in turn led to the emergence of a self-support movement consisting of many small groups. Many not-for-profit groups and organisations also took on the provision of social services in deprived areas.

Now, thanks to new technology it has been possible for sharing to make a strong comeback. Seoul is one of the most connected cities in the world, with almost everyone using smartphones, tablets and computers.

With the passing of the Act for sharing, the city can support companies within the sharing economy, giving them the recognition and official approval that could help businesses to grow. Today, many sharing companies and projects are being supported and promoted by the city, which also functions as an incubator for start-ups. One example is the initiative to connect old-age households with university students looking for places to live. In Seoul, rents are high, at the same time many elderly people are sitting in apartments that they are not fully utilising. Through the city's 25 boroughs contacts are being made. At the initial stage there were some conflicts. What took time was establishing a mutual understanding of different needs. The students wanted, naturally, somewhere affordable to live, and for elderly people it was good to be able to get financial support to pay the rent. But the key issue for many was not the money, but building human relations: older people wanted someone to move in who had time to talk with them and listen to them, as well as helping them with small things. For them, this was the essence of sharing.

In developing the sharing economy, Seoul is networking with cities like Amsterdam, Berlin and San Francisco. The difference is that sharing is much more commercially driven in the US while the focus in Seoul is on social inclusion and environment. So far, no other Asian capital has followed in the footsteps of Seoul, but there is a strong interest in other Korean cities.

Photo | David Isaksson

'So far most people have reacted positively,' BaeHyung Woo continues, 'even as we are at a very initial stage, still trying to spread the idea. But there is no doubt that some feel uncomfortable about sharing with others, the feeling that we should own everything ourselves is very strong in our minds. Within the business sector there are also companies who are afraid of losing business.'

For many the key issue was not the money, but building human relations.

Sharing is still in the initial stages and the key is to build confidence, as more conflicts can also be expected as sharing develops. The legislation also needs to be amended in order to accommodate the sharing economy and establish comprehensible regulations so that business operators pay taxes.

Are there any limits to sharing?

It's getting close to lunchtime. Everyone leaves the desks and the light overhead is turned off. Saving energy and creating a more sustainable city is another imperative for the mayor of Seoul. An innovative way to do this was to make the dress code more relaxed during the hot sum-

mer months. No black suits and ties mean that the air condition could be lowered, something that in turn saves energy.

So, what are the limits to sharing? Not many, as seen from the Seoul horizon. You can share a Luis Vuitton handbag, comic books for kids, or maybe the parking lot for your car. And of course, you can share your knowledge, dinner experience, and your time and care.

> 'In the long run, sharing will become very important for our city,' says BaeHyung Woo. 'It will change our concept about the usage of certain things, for example cars. And when sharing develops in scale and becomes part of the mainstream it will compete with traditional industry and then consumers will be able to judge for themselves how they could best use their money.'

A new 'share house' culture in Seoul

Several models for house- and space-sharing are being developed in Seoul. Woozoo (which means universal) is a social economy company developing house-sharing. The company first rents out old and empty houses and renovates them; then, it subleases these houses at a low price to young people, who share kitchens and other facilities. Another example of a share house is the 'borderless house' where half the residents are foreigners who would like to learn about Korean culture and the other half are Koreans seeking cultural contact with foreigners.

Sharing in Seoul also includes office space and meeting rooms. Several start-up companies are developing office-sharing concepts. A large number of meeting rooms belonging to the city are also available for citizens to hire. There are currently 779 places in the city uploaded onto a platform where you can borrow or rent a room (including the one we are sitting in during the meeting in the city hall!).

Wanted – more young entrepreneurs

D-camp is a joint initiative by several financial institutions, banks and large enterprises in Seoul with the aim of stimulating the development of new companies and business models. Among other things, D-Camp operates a hub and an incubator facility for newborn companies and provides direct investment, mentoring, education, matchmaking and entrepreneurship camps. But most of all, D-Camp is fighting against traditions and prejudices.

'What we lack is entrepreneurs. Most graduates don't want to start their own business, they want to be public servants or work in big companies. And if they start anything, they like to become owners of small cafés or restaurants. Korea is a country with strong social control, you are expected to do certain things, and if you fail you are seen as a looser, someone who brings shame on the family. So the result is that people don't take risks, they prefer taking safe decisions rather than risking failure,' says Seokwon Yang, senior manager at D-Camp.

Photo | David Isaksson

Creating new opportunities

In his role, Seokwon Yang tries to make companies understand that sharing is not harmful to the private sector, but a reaction to a new kind of demand that actually creates new opportunities. Sharing means that the barrier of consumption is lowered, while at the same time giving companies incentives to produce more durable goods that they can sell at a higher price (but consumers still benefit because the stuff will last longer). When things are shared among a group of people, it means fewer products overall. Thus, sharing means connecting old values with new technology.

Sharing also means opening up access to public data. Koreans know how to use their machines and how to access data and information, but what is lacking, argues Seokwon Yang, is the dialogue between citizens and the government, as well as making authorities accountable. Sharing

In Korea people don't take risks. If you fail you are seen as a looser, someone who brings shame on the family.

could also help Koreans break with the society's hierarchical system. One example is a start-up company that provides a rating of the quality of service at different hospitals in the city, in order for citizens to demand high-quality service and choose where it is best delivered.

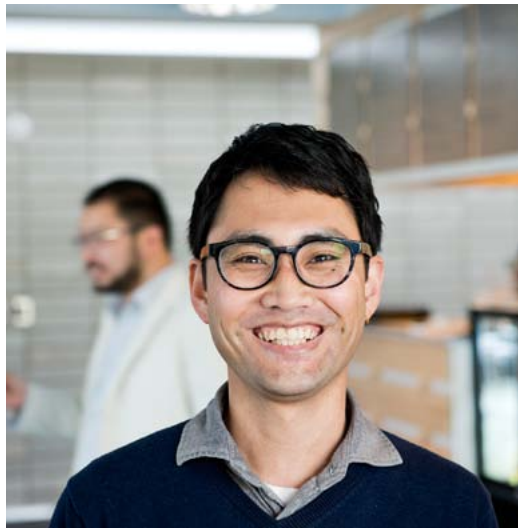


Photo | David Isaksson

Seokwon Yang, senior manager at D-Camp.

Sharing also reflects another shift within the economy, from products to services and ultimately to experiences. To a certain extent, the home-sharing giant AirBnb is offering a product that is more affordable than a hotel (private accommodation), but at the same time it is offering an experience: that of living in someone's home and being part of the local environment and context (also helping increase the income of people from low- and middle- income groups and thus enabling them to continue to live in their homes). This also partly explains why home-sharing has become so popular: many people who can afford to stay in hotels nevertheless choose house-sharing because it gives them a new and deeper local experience.

'In the same way,' says Seokwon Yang, 'a company like Hyundai will in 10 years from now not be selling cars, but mobility, whatever is needed to move you from one place to another.'

'People enjoy having foreigners in their homes'

Product

Service

Experience

Following the success of K-pop (Korean popular music and culture), Seoul has been steadily experiencing a boom in its tourist industry, with a growth of 12 per cent per year. In a city of about 10 million habitants there is an acute shortage of hotel rooms – an estimated 30,000 rooms only, compared to approximately 125,000 rooms in Tokyo (with about 14 million inhabitants).

The growing interest in sharing also reflects the fact that South Korea is becoming more international. The number of foreign visitors, both long-term and short-term, has increased sharply, and people are generally happy to see foreigners in their neighbourhoods.

Kozaza (which means 'lullaby' in Korean) is a local version of AirBnb with the difference that the company almost exclusively rents out rooms in traditional Korean homes called Hanok houses. Sanku Jo is the founder of Kozaza and believes that there is a win-win relation between sharing actors like Kozaza and the traditional tourist industry.

'I don't see any conflict with the hotel industry. On the contrary, we are helping the tourism business as a whole to grow. And with the mayor staying in one of the Hanoks, it not only created good PR, it also put the spotlight on the need to preserve our culture and heritage,' he says.

The major obstacle to Kozaza's growth is lack of capital. Here, companies such as AirBnb have an advantage as they have strong venture capitalists from abroad as backers, while Korean venture firms have been more hesitant.

Over the last few years, he believes, Koreans have become more curious, open-minded and ready to accept different cultures, as young people especially are networking a lot with people in other countries.

'The financial difficulties have made people very practical, many like to move away from the consumption model with the burden of ownership. In 2011, many told me that the sharing model would not work, that we are not open-minded and that Koreans would not let 'unknown' people into their private houses, but I believe we are changing. Some Koreans really enjoy having foreigners in their home, while at the same time learning more English. I remember one of our hosts who once told me: 'It's like travelling the world while staying at home at the same time!'

Koreans have become more curious, open-minded and ready to accept different cultures, as young people especially are networking a lot with people in other countries.

Keys to success

- An established policy and strong political commitment
- An emphasis on the social component
- Incubate and nurture small, social companies, create framework that helps companies and social networks to grow.

Photo | David Isaksson

Sharing the sharpest suit in Asia

Photo | David Isaksson

unemployable

employable

On the fourth floor of a 1970s building in a student district, the doors open into what looks like a tailor's shop, or a dry cleaning facility. On stalls, high-brand costumes and dresses are hanging, and everything smells newly washed.

In Korea, it is extremely important to be properly dressed for job interviews. As a result, young men (and, to a lesser extent, women) spend huge amounts of money buying they may never wear again once the interview is over. This is a waste of both money and natural resources. Could there be a smarter and more sustainable way to handle this? Could there be a way to share those clothes? Han Manil and a group of friends had been pondering the issue for some time when they came up with an idea: Open Closet.

In May 2013 Open Closet became operational after more than a year of working around the idea. At Open Closet young people can borrow good-quality suits and dresses for about US$30. One of the 50 or so people who come to Open Closet today is Lee Gwang Hyung:

> 'I was called to an interview this afternoon and I do not have anything good to wear, but when I Googled around I found Open Closet,' he explains, before sitting down at a computer to register.

Open Closet is a not-for-profit company with a small permanent staff and some volunteers helping out. Of the founders, Han Manil is the only one who works full time. So far, his salary is much lower than what he earned in his previous work, but his aim is to reach 80 per cent of his previous salary within three years.

Dressed in a tailor-made suit Han Manil might look like an odd social entrepreneur but once you meet him, it's hard not to get caught by his passion and enthusiasm.

> 'In the beginning many said that our model would not be possible in this society, that we would not make a profit, but once we started, we found a high demand for the service.'

In order to make Open Closet more profitable, Han Manil is thinking of taking the concept online. One option could also be to take on venture capital for expansion, but so far Open Closet has opted to work on a small scale.

> 'It is difficult to explain, but we would not like to turn this into just another rental company. Investment would also surely take away the control of the company and give it another aim,' Han Manil says.

Initially, the donors were mostly individuals but recently Open Closet has been receiving more donations from companies that collect from their staff, as well as directly from fashion designers.

> 'Designers like our idea. For them, the young people who come here might be their future customers. If they could borrow a brand costume and feel comfortable and relaxed while using it, the chances are good that they will remember the brand, once they start buying expensive clothes by themselves.'

But there is one fundamental reason why Open Closet is something more than just another rental company. The suits and dresses the students can rent all come from donations, and many people who donate are doing so because they want to do something good, helping the students who they know are affected by a high unemployment rate, going through great hardship when looking for job. This dedication would never exist in a private, renting company.

And then, there is one more dimension that, from Han Manil's perspective, might be even more important: the stories behind the sharing. Normally, in other situations involving donations, the relationship between donor and user is disrupted, but in Open Closet a new form of relationship is being created. From the users of Open Closet Han Manil has collected more than 2000 testimonies of what happened with them and the suit. The donors are also eager to learn more about what happens with their donations. There could be more than 100 stories just related to one single suit! And yes, Manil plans to make a book out of it:

> 'Can you image the feeling of being able to follow your old suit, how it helps the next generation in getting jobs and starting their career, it's a fantastic thing!' he says.

So, the actual focus might not be the sharing itself, but what the sharing produces: the stronger social fabric, the storytelling. Or simply put: for Manil it is not first and foremost the business that motivates him, it is solving a problem and getting a good story out of it, something that could also be built into a smartphone application.

> I would like to express my thanks to the sharing donor. I came from Jeju Island and I was staying in Seoul for a while. I had an interview with one company. I needed a suit, but it was too expensive for me to buy one so I visited Open Closet and made use of the service. I got the job, and I felt I was employed thanks to your service and energy.
>
> An Open Closet user

Meanwhile, Lee Gwang Hyung has tried on a suit and a matching tie. 'Yes, it looks good!' he says satisfied. Before leaving, he receives a micro bottle of perfume from the staff. 'It helps reduce the anxiety for the interview,' Han Manil says with a smile.

The driving force behind Open Closet

- Social cause. Support to jobseeker.
- Sustainability. Better clothes, used more often. Financially and environmentally sustainable.
- Branding. Quality brands get exposure – a win-win situation is created.
- Strengthening the social fabric – storytelling and relationship-building in society between donors and users.

How Bogotá became the world's third best cycling city

Around the world, people are turning away from cars and starting to ride bicycles. In cities where cycling was unthinkable just a few years ago, cycle lanes are now rolled out and traffic restricted. One city that is leading the way is Bogotá, the capital of Colombia.

The road from the airport towards the centre of Bogotá is lined with newly-built shopping arcades and malls, and passes through new residential areas, built for a growing middle class. Everything is neat, clean and efficient. At least until you get stuck in the traffic.

While economic growth is recognised as the key priority in many African cities the equally fast development occurring in many Latin American countries is not as often noted. This could partly be explained by the fact that development in Latin America is less dramatic and more focused on an improved quality of life. And yes, on cycling as well.

Moving around in the Bogotá traffic is a nightmare of the same dimension as in many other large Latin American cities. But now, things are starting to happen. More and more cycle lanes are being built, and on Sundays, more than 100 kilometres of streets are closed to traffic, leaving room for cyclists, joggers and skaters. Bogotá has a demographic advantage that makes it a cycle-friendly city. Only 13 per cent of its residents own cars, which makes bicycles something of a necessity.

However, the biggest incentive for change might be the traffic jams. According to calculations, on an average people in Bogotá years lose 22 days a year, being stuck in the traffic. This is more time than the total number of holiday days for most per person.

Photo | Mariana Gil/ EMBARQ Brasil

Cycling is empowerment, but also a way to break free from political polarisation. No matter your political orientation, you can ride a bike. Cycling doesn't just save time and emissions in Bogotá, it also connects people in a good way. 'If people are on bicycles they are equal, it's so different from when some rides cars that cost more than those on low wages could make in a lifetime,' says Diego Ospina, who runs the social company Mejor en Bici, which means 'better on a bike'.

Mejor en bici – better on a bike.

Mejor en Bici has developed a bicycle sharing system, SIBUC (Sistema de Bicicletas de Uso Compartido), and works to encourage companies and citizens to use bikes for commuting and fun. So far, cycling in Bogotá has gone from something deemed low class (and unthinkable) to the ultimate middle class recreation, but could it be developed even further? Yes, says Bicycling magazine, which in 2013 named Bogotá the third best cycling city in the world, behind Amsterdam and Copenhagen, but far ahead of Stockholm!

What is it then that has made Bogotá into the bicycle capital of Latin America? Being on a bike means embracing the global lifestyle of the urban middle class, thus cycling has turned into something desirable. Another reason has been a desire to reclaim public spaces. And this trend is not confined to Colombia. Another important factor is the quality of the environment. In Beijing, where bicycles once dominated, cars have contributed to making the city one of the most polluted in the world. Now, the authorities are trying to encourage people to use bicycles again, and sharing/renting cycle schemes have been introduced in the Chinese capital.

Cycling is also good for business, several studies show. Often those driving cars do much less shopping than shop owners believe, while cyclists tend to spend more per capita: they are easier to lure off the street for impulse shopping and they tend to come back again and again…[28]

From the times when authoritarian leaders like Pinochet in Chile or Fujimori in Peru totally opened up the market for old rickety buses and taxis to drive, pollute and congest as much as they wanted, Latin America's big cities have one by one started to take back control of the public space. In San Salvador, the historic centre, formerly so dangerous, has been rehabilitated; in Lima the barren desert hillsides are greening with newly seeded lawns; in Guayaquil, the old and dangerous riverfront area has been converted into a pleasant park, as good as any in Europe.

Five ways of being modern in Latin America

- Ride a bike.
- Recycle.
- Do voluntary work with a charity.
- Be result-oriented, leave the traditional political polarisation behind you.
- Be part of the sharing economy.

Photo | David Isaksson

28 http://www.torontocycling.org/uploads/1/3/1/3/13138411/cycling_economies_eglinton_final.pdf

As bare as you dare!

Nude cycling has been an increasingly popular form of protest across the globe. 'World Naked Bike Ride – as bare as you dare' is a global protest movement that has been organising events in 70 participating cities across 20 countries, from South Africa to Peru and Taiwan. On the site, the movement writes: 'We face automobile traffic with our naked bodies as the best way of defending our dignity and exposing the unique dangers faced by cyclists and pedestrians'.

Photo | Maks Karochkin

Mexico City, cycle city

At 2.45 pm on 16 January, the 100,000th cyclist registered on the Cyclist Counter in downtown Mexico City. As the Cyclist Counter had been located outside 222, Avnida Reforma, only since 16 November 2013, this impressive figure was reached in just two months. Thanks to this and many other achievements related to cycling, the Mexico City was recognised as the 2013 'Ciclociudad' (Cycle city) in Mexico.

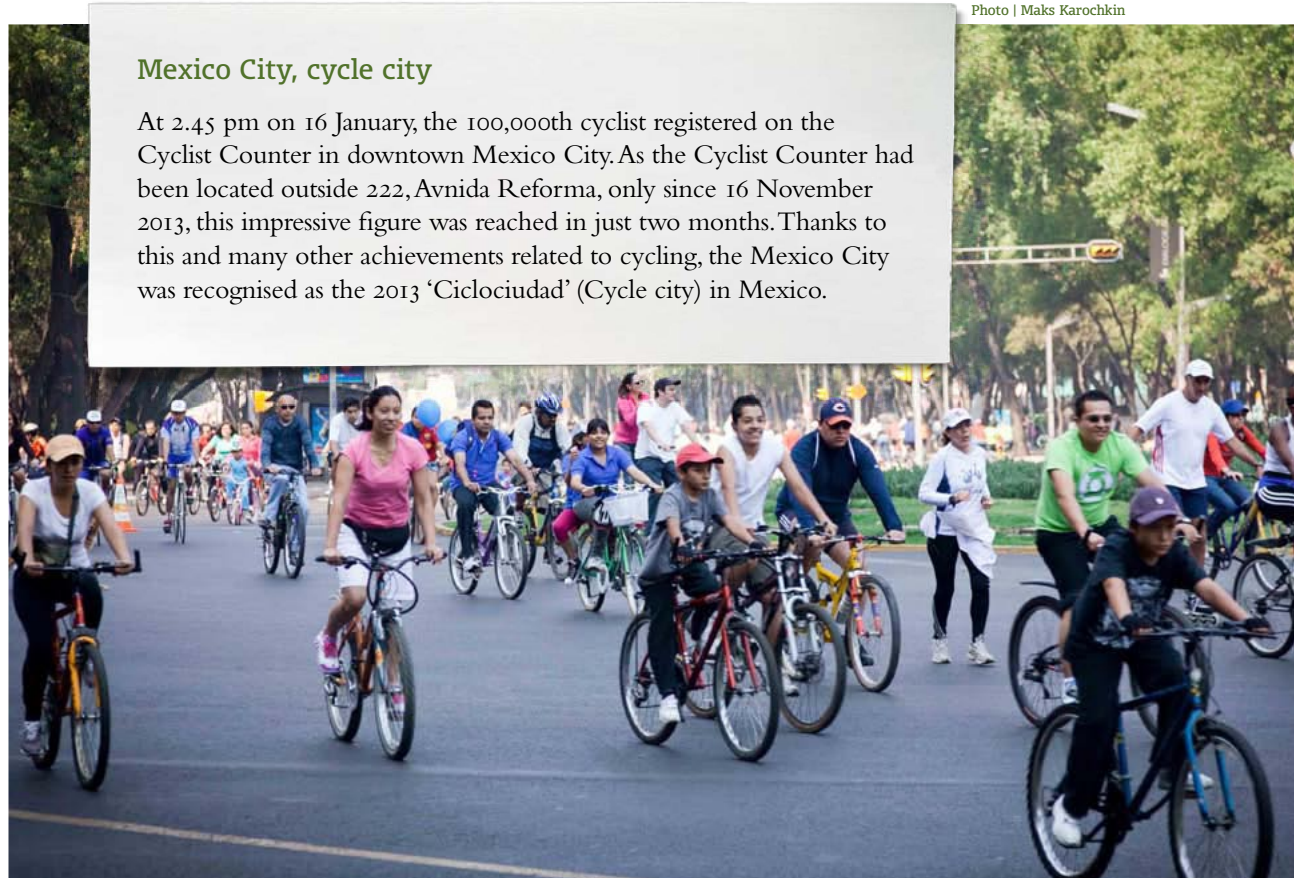
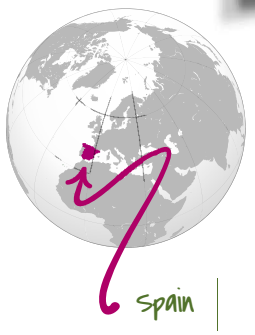


Photo | Fagor Automation

Mondragon – the future of market economy?

Could a more than 50-year-old co-operative model be the future of production and participation, and contribute to solving the current crisis in Europe? When the Mondragon co-operative group started in the 1950s in the Basque province of Spain, it did in fact establish the concept of a networking economy long before the expression was coined.

Today, the Mondragon model has showed its resilience to the financial crisis in Europe. While Spain and large parts of Europe struggle with rates of unemployment at 25 per cent and above and an uncertain economic future, Mondragon and the Basque country have shown that there are different models to keep the economy going and reduce unemployment. Mondragon has succeeded in absorbing those who lost their jobs, contributing to an unemployment rate of approximately 15 per cent in the region, while continuing to develop the business operations during one of the worst economic crises in the history of Europe. The workforce of Mondragon, about a sixth of them outside Spain, has remained relatively constant.[29]



spain

In the 1950s, the first co-operatives started in the small town of Mondragon in the Basque provinces of Spain. The initiative came from the priest José Maria Arizmendiarreta who was inspired by the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. What was even more remarkable was that the co-operative movement could develop, despite the political oppression during the dictatorial Franco regime.

> 'Those who started the movement realised that we human beings spend almost half of our life working, and they said that we needed to dignify the work and through this dignify the people. They wanted to break the classical model of the economy and put the person at the centre of the operations. Myself, I have never liked the expression 'human capital'. The human should be at the centre. Capital is only a means to achieve something, but humans should always be at the centre. Economy is a resource, not a means in itself,' says Mikel Lezamiz, director of Co-operative Dissemination at Mondragon Group.

Today, Mondragon is a local organisation with small, independent co-operatives as members (where each member has one vote). At the same time, it is a powerful financial group with a total staff of more than 80,000 people, business operations in several countries and about 100 co-operatives affiliated. Mondragon is the leading company in the Basque region and one of the 10 largest companies in Spain. In addition, Mondragon is most likely the world's biggest worker-owned co-operative, with global sales of €15bn.

The traditional co-operative movement surged in Great Britain in the early industrial era, with a focus on savings and consumption. While many other co-operatives, most notably consumers co-operatives, have turned into large conglomerates with little or no real ownership by those who are formally the members, the Mondragon group has chosen another model: inter-co-operation between independent co-operatives, some of them with a membership as small as eight, but each of them running their own business as independents and in the manner they choose.

In the Mondragon model, each member co-operative passes on 10 per cent of the gross turnover to the group's financial company, Mondragon Investments, which functions as the group's bank. When a co-operative makes an acquisition or expands its work, Mondragon Investment can co-invest up to 40 per cent of the total investment. Funds are also invested in research and educational centres, as well as in social programmes. Finance, industry, retail and knowledge are all key areas within the Mondragon framework.

> In the Mondragon model, each member co-operative passes on 10 per cent of the gross turnover to the group's financial company.

The principal idea is that the joint movement should have the strength to absorb temporary losses. If the financial situation becomes difficult, staff from one co-operative can be relocated to others. The co-operatives are also passing liquidity between them via Mondragon Investment. The members have the right to continue their operations at a loss for a maximum of five consecutive years, something that makes it easier to adjust to structural and cyclical changes.

> 'The power resides with the individual co-operatives,' Mikel Lezamiz continues. 'If the co-operative decides to expand the business, for example to buy a plant in another part of the world, it will seek credit from Mondragon Investment and probably from external sources as well. We pass people and innovation between co-operatives in order to compete all over the world. Participation makes us innovate more, so that we can become more competitive.'

Mondragon is both collaboration and flexibility. Companies within the movement can buy supplies together and they can offer their products jointly, while at the same time being independent and making their own decisions. There are synergies, but at the same time independence is guaranteed.

29 http://www.foe.co.uk/sites/default/files/downloads/agyeman_sharing_cities.pdf

Today, most co-operatives in developing countries are micro-credit schemes, savings and consumer co-operatives where members often borrow money for home improvement and/or small, private business. The Mondragon Group, on the other hand, has a strict business focus. Credits are for investments, in order to develop new and current business and to acquire already existing companies.

So, is there any real difference between Mondragon and traditional, commercial companies? Yes, argues Mikel Lezamiz. The co-operative movement is dominated by the people and not by capital. Mondragon cannot close the factories and move to China. Sustainability is required, here and now.

> 'We are in a market, 70 per cent of what we produce is for export, and we have to operate based on market principles. But while conventional companies are often not ethical, they are more profitable that socially responsible companies. This is something we see as a challenge, as we believe that we can be more competitive, while at the same time keeping our identity and our principles.'

The real test for the Mondragon group came in 2014 when it had to close down one of the biggest, and at the same time founding co-operatives, the home appliance producer Electrodomesticos. More than 1,000 staff members where reallocated to other companies within the group. The situation caused friction within the Mondragon group, but the outcome showed that the model did work: Mondragon was able to absorb those who were left without a job. One way of doing this - at the same time creating more jobs for young people – was to introduce a voluntary retirement system from the age of 58; another way was to reduce the salary and working hours of the members. Mondragon also introduced the family salary concept, which means that older people in the companies step down voluntarily, reducing their work-time in order for a young person to get a foothold in the labour market.

> 'There is 25 per cent unemployment in Spain and 14 per cent in the Basque country. In Mondragon, we have been able to retain people. This shows that we have a higher level of resilience compared to traditional companies, thanks to our model'.

In recent years, the expression 'social economy' has emerged as a way to describe a third sector that exists between the state and private companies and which includes many charities and non-profit companies. The social economy model is important, but it runs the risk of reducing co-operatives to something small and cute. But what is the most ideal 'co-operative': eight people who work perfectly together but without the ambition to generate more profit and work opportunity, or something with the ambition to grow larger?' Mikel Lezamiz asks rhetorically.

> 'In the social economy, values come first. This gives us inspiration and we fully support local initiatives in the social economy where people exchange products, create local currencies and do other things. But for our operations to work, we need to be profitable. We are part of the social economy, but the difference from many social economy [initiatives] is that the focus for Mondragon is production. Our mission is to generate social wellbeing through our business model and I believe that we are socially more responsible if we create employment for the youth, than if we were to create our own, small utopia where we spent time discussing what colour fabric we should have on our chairs. We might be a less perfect organisation, but one that generates jobs and social wellbeing.'

Could the Mondragon model be the future for the European Union? Today, many are looking for new paradigms, in which it is not the economy, but society that is in focus. In 2013, the European parliament passed a resolution highlighting the role of the co-operatives for the economy.[30] The parliament recognises that co-operatives are becoming increasingly important and that there are about 160,000 co-operative enterprises, owned by 123 million members and providing jobs for 5.4 million people. Co-operatives contribute, on an average, around 5 per cent to the GDP of each EU member state, according to the report, which also notes the resilience that the co-operative enterprise model has demonstrated during the economic and social crisis that Europe is still facing. In particular the report focuses on the co-operative option for restructuring businesses in crisis or without successors, via for instance a business transfer to employees. The European union also recognises that the co-operative business model contributes to real economic pluralism, and is a vital part of the 'social market economy' along the values of the EU Treaty.

> 'When the first co-operatives were formed 200 years ago, many of their members could not read or write. Today I believe that we have real opportunities for co-operatives in front of us. We are still reinvesting in the society; we are looking for the balance between participation and return on capital. Of course, we would prefer a world market that is not neo-liberal, but at the same time we have to operate in the system,' Mikel Lezamiz says.

30 http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=REPORT&reference=A7-2013-0222&language=EN#title2

The co-operative enterprise model has demonstrated resilience during the economic and social crisis that Europe is still facing.

Photo | Joan Grífols

How to produce healthy food for 9.5 billion people within planetary boundaries

Gunhild A. Stordalen

The key to reconciling global population growth and planetary boundaries is in our own hands.

The UN's mid-range projection is for the global population to peak at about 9.5 billion in 2075. In a world of finite resources, how do we feed another 2.5 billion people?

As a medical doctor and an environmental activist, I have become acutely aware of how the food we eat and the way we produce it threaten both human health and the global environment.

Today's global food system generates enough food energy for the current world population. Nevertheless, it fails to deliver adequate and affordable nutrition for all. Nearly 30 per cent of humanity faces hunger or malnutrition, and the subsequent risk of disability and stunted mental and physical growth.

At the same time, more people die from overeating than from starvation. Industrialisation, urbanisation, economic development and globalisation have brought about a simultaneous shift towards less healthy lifestyles, with a corresponding growth in diet-related chronic diseases and obesity. And these are increasing fastest among the poor.

Unhealthy lifestyles and diet-related diseases have outstripped infectious diseases and now account for 63 per cent of annual global deaths. Unless action is taken, non-communicable diseases will be the commonest cause of death even in poor countries by 2030.

The result is a worrying paradox. In many low- and middle-income countries, under-nutrition, malnutrition and obesity now often exist side by side. While these nations continue to deal with the problems of infectious disease and under-nutrition, they face a rapid increase in chronic lifestyle-related diseases driven mainly by alcohol and tobacco use, inactivity and unhealthy diet. As a result, macroeconomic development is strangled and the 'bottom billion' is locked into chronic poverty.

An unsustainable food system

The global food system is currently unsustainable. Not only is the human cost unacceptable, but we are also destroying the environment upon which the livelihood of future generations depends.

Global food production accounts for some 20-30 per cent of all human-generated greenhouse gas emissions, and consumes 70 per cent of all fresh water used by human beings while being a major source of water pollution. Agriculture is also the leading cause of deforestation and loss of biodiversity. And unsustainable fishing practices deplete stocks.

Globally, we produce about 4 billion tonnes of food every year. Owing to poor harvesting, storage and transport practices, combined with waste, however, 30 to 50 per cent of this food never reaches a human stomach. Squandering land, energy, fertilisers and water on producing wasted food is a tragedy we cannot allow to continue.

The whole food chain, from farming to transport, cooking and waste disposal, contributes to these problems. However, agriculture remains the chief culprit.

With economic development, dietary patterns change. People consume more meat, milk and eggs at the expense of staple foods. With the recent decline in prices, developing countries eat more meat at much lower levels of gross domestic product than the industrialised countries did some 20-30 years ago.

Urbanisation speeds up this trend by stimulating improvements in infrastructure, including cold chains, which in turn encourage the trade in perishable goods. That allows city dwellers to consume a varied diet rich in animal proteins and fats, with more meat, poultry and dairy products.

This is to a certain extent good news. As diets become richer and more diverse, the high-value protein, minerals and vitamins offered by livestock products improve the nutrition of the vast majority of the world's people.

But rearing livestock for meat, eggs and milk generates some 14.5 per cent of total global greenhouse gas emissions and utilises 70 per cent of agricultural land. Grazing animals and producing feed crops combine to make up the main drivers of deforestation, biodiversity loss and land degradation.

With the global population growing steadily larger, wealthier and more urbanised, demand is increasing for more resource-intensive, energy-rich foods – especially from animals. Current consumption trends mean that global meat production is expected to double by mid-century to meet the growing demand. That poses further threats to the environment while exacerbating problems of obesity and chronic diseases. Without action, these problems are set to become acute.

These interconnected problems are increasingly well recognised. Policy-makers, non-governmental organisations and the business community all agree that the global food system needs to change if we are to address our environmental problems, adapt to climate change, tackle the epidemics of non-communicable diseases and obesity, and create a more secure, nutrition-enhancing dietary future. However, less agreement prevails about *what*, exactly, should be done.

What can be done?

In recent years, policy and industry debates have focused on improving the environmental efficiency of food *production*, trying to produce more with less impact by utilising inputs more effectively, managing resource use and addressing deforestation. Others challenge this perspective, arguing that production-side approaches, while necessary, are not sufficient.

I believe that we need a three-pronged approach in order to address environmental concerns and tackle the twin problems of dietary insufficiency and excess.

First, we need to address power imbalances in the food system. Throwing more food at the problem may not solve problems of affordability and access. We need to correct price and subsidy distortions, support and empower small farmers and landless workers, agree better working conditions and fairer terms of trade, and improve access to transport, storage and market infrastructure.

Second, we must reduce the proportion of food lost or wasted along the supply chain. Such wastage undermines food security and leads to a meaningless squandering of precious land and water resources while generating 'unnecessary' greenhouse gas emissions.

Third, diets will have to change. What we eat, and how much, directly affects what and how much food is produced. We therefore need diets that are healthier and more sustainable, and have a lower environmental impact.

Towards a sustainable and healthy food system

Humans can survive and reproduce on a remarkably wide variety of diets, but much has been learned about combinations of foods that maximise life expectancy and minimise morbidity. A healthy food system should provide a diet:

- rich in protein, mainly from plants such as legumes (including soya) and nuts, fish, and modest amounts of poultry (including eggs) and dairy products (especially in the form of yoghurt and cheese), with red meat consumed sparingly and processed meat avoided.
- containing healthy fats from unsaturated vegetable oils such as olive, soya bean and rapeseed, which are also rich in n-3.
- using whole grains, with minimal amounts of refined grains and sugars.
- containing a variety of fruits and vegetables.

To produce a healthy diet of this kind for tomorrow's global population of 9.5 billion will require major changes. To do so sustainably, we need to avoid fossil fuels, rely on renewable sources of water and minimise greenhouse gas emissions – all without any net increase in the total land area used.

An immediate, no-regret option would be to reduce greatly the feeding of grains to animals, especially cattle. Converting grain to beef and milk is simply too inefficient in terms of the energy spent. Instead, the production of legumes, nuts, seeds, fruits, vegetables and fish would be bolstered. Locally produced food is preferable, or food transported by rail.

New technologies can have major impacts, such as efficient solar and hydroponic systems, which enable year-round production of vegetables near urban areas, and direct production of edible fatty acids from bacterial or algal factories that use only sun, small amounts of water, and atmospheric carbon dioxide as inputs. New and efficient desalination systems can expand food production in arid areas.

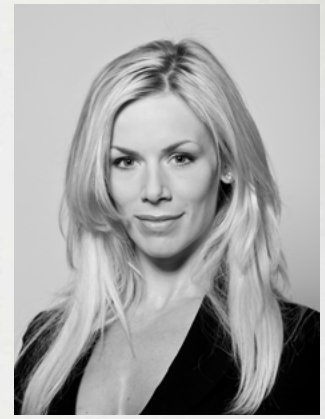
The complexity of the challenges facing us, and of the solutions we can utilise, call for an integrated, holistic and cross-sectoral effort across disciplines. In recognition of the interlinked nature of these challenges, the EAT initiative and the EAT Stockholm Food Forum aim to build a worldwide multidisciplinary, cross-sectoral network of institutions and organisations as well as an arena where insights can be shared between the worlds of academia, business and politics.

In order to solve the major global challenges related to the food we eat and how we produce it, we need not only more interdisciplinary knowledge at the interface between food, health and sustainability, but also innovation in industries along the value chain from producer to consumer.

Furthermore, we need new policies and market regulations from bold and visionary politicians. Finally, we need to develop strategies that increase consumer awareness, enabling better decision-making in everyday food choices, not only for ourselves but above all to ensure a sustainable future for all.

Humanity has become a force of environmental change on a global scale. Nowhere is this more evident than in the health and environmental problems caused by the food we eat. Fortunately, the answer to these challenges is right in front of us – on our dinner plate – or could be, if we change our eating habits.

Gunhild A. Stordalen is a medical doctor from the University of Oslo, Norway, and holds a PhD in pathology/orthopaedic surgery. She is co-founder and chair of the Stordalen Foundation, founder and chair of GreeNudge, and founder and director of the EAT Initiative.



Stordalen Foundation funds and promotes initiatives and research on health and sustainability. www.stordalenfoundation.no

GreeNudge combines behavioural science and climate measures, and was awarded 'Innovation of the Year 2013' by the Norwegian Association of Psychologists. www.greenudge.no

The EAT Initiative links food, health and sustainability across science, politics and business, partnering with leading academic institutions in the US, Sweden and elsewhere. www.eatforum.org

Checks and balances from the ground

By combining modern technology with old style activism, citizens around the world are able to keep track of companies and politicians. Social auditing takes many forms, but when authorities know that people can follow and report on what they are doing, the elite tend to behave much better than they would do otherwise.

Chicago – into the wild

Chicago Wilderness – the very combination of the two words might sounds like a contradiction in terms. With some 2.7 million inhabitants – and 10 million in the region as a whole – Chicago is the third biggest city in the US. Chicago has always been at the crossroads of the American mid-west: a connecting point, a city of immigrants, a refuge for slaves from the American South and a centre for slaughterhouses and the cattle industry.

You might also associate Chicago with the blues, with Al Capone or even with President Obama. But most likely, you would not think of Chicago as the point in the American Midwest with the biggest variety in terms of biodiversity. The latter is in fact something that few inhabitants of Chicago themselves are aware of.

Biodiversity in Chicago is not only a question of environment, it's also related to poverty and urban regeneration. In the Chicago metropolitan area, 14.5 per cent of the residents were classified as living in poverty last year.

In a world where an increasing number of poor live in middle- or high-income countries, new ideas and models are needed in order to develop what was once the developed world.

On a cold winter morning, with the first snow about to cover the ground, orchids might not be the first thing you would be thinking of, but the fact is that you will find more native species of orchids in the Chicago region than in the Hawaii Islands. Chicago is one of areas with the largest contrast between city and countryside but it is in fact in this region where you will find the highest biodiversity.

'There's a lot of endangered species here in the Chicago region that you are not going to see in other places,' says Catherine Game from Chicago Wilderness foundation, as we walk up to the Millennium Park in the centre of town.

Photo | David Isaksson

In the urban jungle, humans and animals coexist in a surprisingly well-functioning way. When taking a morning jog in Chicago, it would not be totally unusual to meet a coyote. With its wetlands the city is an important migratory bird stop, and then there are of course the butterflies: the Monarch butterflies with their yearly emigration from Mexico through the Midwest.

Chicago, the point in the American Midwest with the biggest variety in terms of biodiversity.

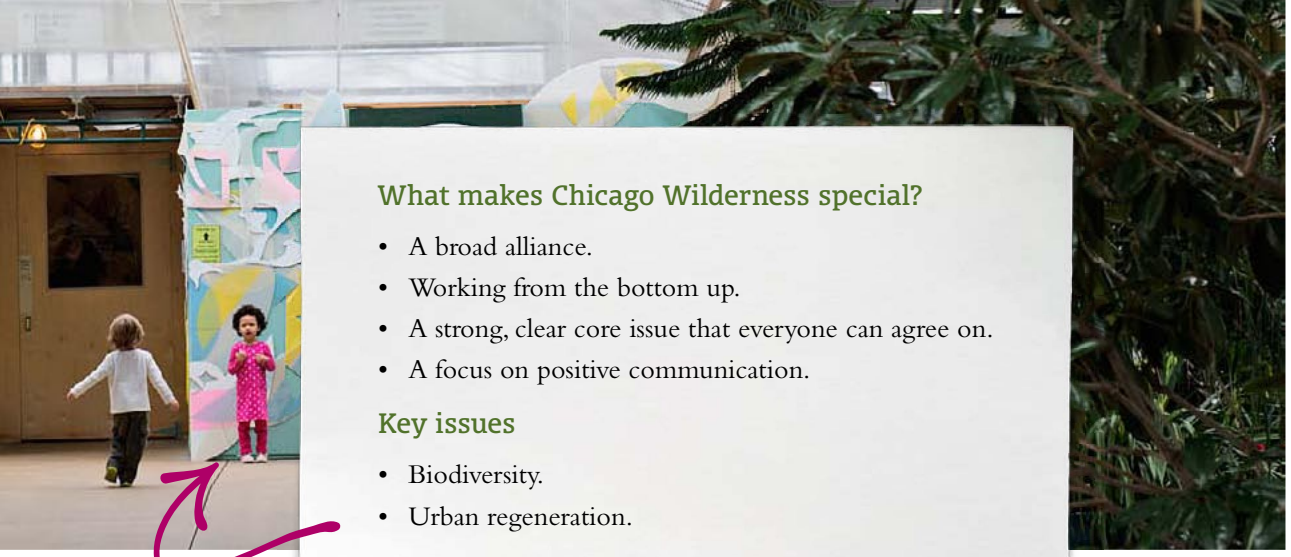
Chicago has a long and interesting history of protecting land. In 1909, the architect and city planner Daniel Burnham created the city's master plan (he also did the master plan for Manila in the Philippines, as well as designing the famous Flatiron building in New York), which included green spaces and a forest reserve district. Already at that time, there was a certain environmental awareness.

The Chicago Wilderness alliance started in 1996 as a biodiversity recovery scheme in a partnership between mainly a number of land management organisations in a mainly urban region that encompasses parts of four states (Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Indiana). The suburban sprawl had made Chicago grow outwards, putting valuable natural areas at high risk. At the same time, invasive species were moving in.

Since then, the Chicago Wilderness network has grown to include more than 325 organisations (in 2013), among them faith-based organisations, cultural institutions, companies and schools. The core is a non-profit trust, which is incorporated, but the rest of the network is member-driven, making room for new contacts and creative networking. What makes Chicago Wilderness unique is that it is an initiative that has been built gradually and from below, making it step by step more sophisticated without losing its soul. The key to success has been to maintain a strong core and focus that all can agree on: protection of biodiversity.

Photo | David Isaksson

'There are a lot of endangered species here in the Chicago region that you are not going to see in other places,' Catherine Game from Chicago Wilderness foundation



What makes Chicago Wilderness special?

- A broad alliance.
- Working from the bottom up.
- A strong, clear core issue that everyone can agree on.
- A focus on positive communication.

Key issues

- Biodiversity.
- Urban regeneration.

Photo | David Isaksson

Much environmental awareness communication has been loaded with messages to convey guilt. In Chicago, the focus is to make people think positive: opportunities instead of sacrifice. One initiative under the Chicago Wilderness project is Leave No Child Inside. The aim is to connect children with outdoor activities and stimulate them to do enjoy being active outdoors. This is in turn connected to the bill of rights.

> 'People may not recognise themselves as conservationists, but that is in fact what they are. Our aim is to see the city as an opportunity and not a threat. We want to boost initiatives and support what people are already doing,' Catherine Game continues.

Chicago's green roof project

Keeping your eyes down on the path, now curving uphill with frozen prairie grass at the sides, you could for a moment believe that you were walking on the real prairie, somewhere in ancient wild times. However, this is the roof of the City Hall in downtown Chicago, high up in the skyline of the city.

'The growing media ranges from one inch up to 24 inches. We wanted it to look like a rolling prairie. Ninety-five per cent of the plants are indigenous or adapted prairie species and we use only organic fertilisers,' says Michael Berkshire from the city of Chicago as he guides me through the miniature prairie.

In the mid-1990s more than 700 people died in Chicago due to the extreme summer heat. This became the wakeup call for both authorities and citizens. The green roof project became one way of reducing what is called the urban heat island phenomenon. Since then, a lot has happened.

Today, Chicago is the biggest green-building city in North America in terms of square feet. The sustainable development policy, implemented in June 2004, simply states that if you are receiving any assistance from the city for urban development, you have to provide some sustainable elements in your project. Those could include LEED certification by the United States Green Building Council, better storm-water management, better energy efficiency, and yes, vegetation on the roof.

'People are often surprised how green Chicago actually is,' Michael Berkshire adds.

Satellite data from 2010 shows 349 green roofs with a total of 5.5 million square feet. Since then the number has continued to increase.

The Chicago sustainable model includes both incentives and deterrents. If a construction qualifies for a green permit programme it will be speeded up in the administrative process, with a 30-day maximum handling guarantee.

Green roofs are excellent because they help to absorb storm water. A green roof adds value to the property, so the number of green roofs keeps increasing. The city hall is itself a good illustration. Its roof adjoins that of the Cook County authority, which has a 'normal' roof. While the city hall's roof often has a summertime temperature of a comfortable 90 degrees Fahrenheit (32 Celsius) the adjoining roof can reach 170 degrees Fahrenheit (80 Celsius).

And what a dream it would be to have a lunch restaurant up here on the roof of the city hall!

A green roof adds value to the property, so the number of green roofs keeps increasing.

Photo | Christopher Porter

Green roofs around the world

A green roof, or rooftop garden, is a vegetative layer grown on a rooftop. Green roofs remove heat from the air through evapotranspiration, reducing the temperature of the roof surface and the surrounding air. On hot summer days, the surface temperature of a green roof can be cooler than the air temperature, whereas the surface of a conventional rooftop can be up to 90°F (50°C) warmer. Green roofs also reduce storm water, which is often mixed with sewage, causing pollution.

Germany is possibly the leading country in the world with an estimated 10 million square metres of green roofs. But there are also green roofs to be found in other continents. Some notable green roofs in South Africa include the eThekwini Municipality in Durban, the Vele Schools project in Limpopo and the Sisonke District Office for the KZN Department of Public Works, which contains more than 100 different species of plants on a roof of 700 square metres.

Loyola – putting environmental work into practice

Photo | David Isaksson

Practise what you learn at the university by recycling, producing your own food, and integrating with the community. And yes, using rainwater in the toilets.

'Something is wrong with the toilets,' the student told the maintenance staff. The water was not crystal clear, but somehow brownish, dirty before even being used.

The Institute of Environmental Sustainability (IES) at Loyola University in Chicago resides in a brand-new building. One mission of the institute is to engage students in understanding and responding to local and global environmental issues. The IES strives to advance sustainability in operations across all university campuses and to develop an environmentally conscious culture throughout the university. The aim is simple: practise what you learn, recycle, produce your own food, and integrate with the community. And yes, use rainwater in the toilets.

'The norm is that the water should be so clear that you would like to drink it, but why is that so?' asks Aaron Durnbaugh, who is director of sustainability for Loyola. These toilets use captured rainwater and can have a slight tint because of leaves and other organic material on the roofs where the water is captured.

His aim is to create a future that involves all stakeholders and sees the opportunities. This week the IES is finishing their vegetable harvest and butchering the turkeys. The institute is also running a small farming operation at a satellite campus in rural McHenry County.

Too often, Aaron thinks, students are forced to address the negatives of the environmental issues they face, but there is much we can do to spotlight the opportunities and positive changes taking place. Guided by this philosophy Aaron's aim is that the university should set good examples that could inspire and possibly be duplicated by others.

> 'We are not a city, but we can use our campuses as anchors, make it more efficient for our neighbours to compost and recycle. In this way we can reach out to the community and make a more sustainable Chicago,' he says.

Carrots and cabbages for a safer city

The financial crisis in 2008 hit the poorer, southern parts of Chicago hard. Englewood, Washington Park and other areas lost large parts of their population. Businesses closed down, houses were abandoned, crime and drug-dealing moved in. Would Chicago go the same way as Detroit?

> 'We spent time looking at how we could stabilise the neighbourhoods, rehabilitate existing houses and get rid of vacant lots, and urban agriculture became one answer. Then we saw that when people started doing agriculture on an empty lot, the people who sold drugs moved away from their block as they did not want to be seen by people in the neighbourhood,' says Elvia Rodriguez-Ochoa, Open Lands Neighbourhood programs director.

Open Lands is working in partnership with neighbourhood space, providing education services to people who want to start community gardens. The vision is to make sure people have a connection to nature no matter where they live, and to provide help for habitat restoration.

Chicago has a long history of community organising and grassroot movements. The urban gardening is in line with what's called the 'alinsky tradition', named after Saul David Alinsky (1909-1972), considered to be the founder of modern community organising, and author of Rules for Radicals.

Still, it is a long process, which requires patience. First, a training course is needed, organising people around you. Then you have to develop your plot, find out what's ideal for sun, study what kinds of insects you need to attract. Despite this, people are not deterred. Today, there are probably about 400-600 urban gardens in the city of Chicago. The smallest garden model is called square foot garden where you can grow basic vegetables for a family. Some gardens grow food for the family, other for charity.

Another ambition is to link urban gardening with farming outside of Chicago. Many farmers want to retire and are looking for younger people to take over the work. Through the urban gardening network connections can be established.

Today most community gardens can be found in low-income neighbourhoods where there is often a lack of access to fresh fruit and vegetables as there are few well-stocked shops. One part of the project therefore also includes support for setting up farmers' markets in low-income communities so that people on public assistance can buy healthy products.

urban gardening – a grassroots movement?

This is sometimes done on a matching basis, so that if you spend $5 on vegetables you get another $5 worth of vegetables for free.

Gardening is also a way to engage young people in positive activities and improve their health, reducing obesity and getting kids out in the fresh air. Growing vegetables is growing power.

> 'There is a perception that you need to be rich to do outdoor activities, but everybody can be active, you don't need money for that!' Elvia Rodriguez-Ochoa continues.

The project is also closely linked to the ideas of a sharing economy, as you don't need to own the tools yourself: a lot of what is needed can be borrowed from the city's parks equipment library.

The butterfly

Another ambition is to connect gardening with the migrant communities in the city. There is a large Mexican community in Chicago and many of the immigrants have a long farming tradition in their own communities; thus, urban agriculture can help them keep a connection with their own culture.

Photo | Tarnya Hall

Every year, millions of Monarch butterflies gather in Mexico, before migrating to the American mid-west. Now, their natural habitat is rapidly disappearing and the number of Monarchs is declining. As a result, pollination will also be affected as Monarchs, bees and many other pollinators share much of the same habitat.

In Chicago, Monarchs are more than just one more indicator of the damage done to the environment, they are also a strong symbol of life and death, and the migration of Monarchs is celebrated every year by Mexicans, both in Chicago and in their country of origin.

Plastic bags are killing us!

You see them everywhere in cities, small towns and the countryside: a dirty mess of garbage, cans and thin plastic bags that have been used and then thrown away.

The use of plastic bags might be seen as a relatively small environmental problem, besides the aesthetic aspect. The disposable plastic bag is practical, cheap, small and light; still it causes a lot of environmental problems, clogging sewers and waterways. The bags are also posing a danger to animals and humans. In India, an estimated 20 cows die per day as a result of ingesting plastic bags and having their digestive systems clogged by the bags.

In several Indian states, grassroot organisations, such as the Shola Aandolan movement and NKS Kutumba, have mobilised against the use of polythene plastic bags. While working with local, and hands-on solutions to environmental problems, they are cutting across the different political parties, also reaching out to private-sector actors. In this, they are establishing new relations.

According to the Delhi government's website, India's capital, which is home to 17 million people, generates 574 metric tonnes (1.2 million pounds) of plastic waste each day.[31] In 2009, local activists succeeded in getting politicians in Delhi to impose a partial ban on lightweight disposable plastic bags. Still, millions of plastic bags were used daily in the city, so in 2012 the city took a new step, banning all kind of disposable plastic bags, including those used for wrapping of magazines, greeting cards etc. The only bags allowed (with some minor exceptions) are biodegradable ones; instead, citizens are encouraged to use jute bags.

Even if the issue is small, it might have a high importance as a way of creating a better environment and at the same time unite citizens behind an issue that is concrete and could lead to a positive result in a short time. So now it's up to the citizens themselves to make sure that the regulation is followed.


दिल्ली राजपत्र
Delhi Gazette
असाधारण
[रा.रा.रा.क्षे.दि. सं. 282
[N.C.T.D. No. 282
TRAORDINARY [PART IV
2. That the use, sale and storage of all kinds of plastic bags shall be forbidden in respect of the following places in the National Capital Territory of Delhi, namely :—
(a) Five Star and Four Star Hotels.
(b) Hospitals with 100 or more beds except for the use of plastic bags as prescribed under Bio Medical Waste (Management and Handling) Rules, 1998.
(c) All restaurants and eating places having seating capacity of more than 50 seats.
(d) All fruit and vegetable outlets of Mother Dairy.
(e) All liquor vends.
(f) All shopping Malls.
(g) All shops in main markets and local shopping centres.
(h) All retail and wholesale outlets of Branded chain of outlets selling different consumer products including fruits and vegetables.
3. In places other than the aforesaid places and as observed by the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi only Bio-degradable plastic bags shall be used.
The following Officers shall implement these orders in their respective jurisdiction namely :—
1. Member Secretary, Delhi Pollution Control Committee and its staff.
2. Director Environment, and staff of Environment Dept. Govt. of Delhi.
3. Additional Divisional Magistrates in their respective district.
4. Sub-Divisional Magistrates in their respective jurisdiction.
5. Environmental Engineers, Delhi Pollution Control Committee in their respective jurisdiction.
6. Asstt. Commissioner (FL), Municipal Corporation of Delhi.
7. Food and Supply Officers, in their respective Jurisdiction.
8. Medical Officer Health, NDMC.
9. Director Health Services, Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi.
10. Municipal Health Officer, MCD.
11. Food Inspectors of PFA Department, Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi.
4. Member Secretary, Delhi Pollution Control Committee shall act as the co-ordinator to implement the above orders. The Chairman and Member Secretary of the Delhi Pollution Control Committee are authorised to lodge the complaint under Section 19 of the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 *vide* notification No. S.O. 394(E) dated 16-4-1987 as further amended *vide* notification No. S.O. 624(E) dated 3-9-1996.

31 http://www.delhi.gov.in/wps/wcm/connect/environment/Environment/Home/Environmental+Issues/Waste+Management

Sierra Leone – fishing pirates, beware!

Photo | Petter Bolme/Global Reporting

Sierra Leone has found effective ways to reduce illegal fishing.

The waters of Sierra Leone are rich in marine resources and routinely attract unscrupulous operators who repeatedly fish in protected areas, often in conflict with local communities who have little opportunity to protect their livelihoods.

In co-operation with local fishermen and the government of Sierra Leone, the Environmental Justice Foundation (EJF) has developed a community surveillance programme that helps combat fishing piracy. In small boats, the activists travel to reported locations and document foreign vessels fishing illegally. With the help of photography, film and GPS equipment (images and position information) the identity of the pirate is established and information sent to the relevant authorities and to international organisations. If the identified ship is certified to export to Europe, the European Commission is also informed.

Until 2012, over US$100,000 in fines have been collected by the government of Sierra Leone. Community reports also show a significant decline in illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing activity as a result of this programme, writes EJF. Between January 2010 and January 2012 EJF received 252 reports of illegal trawler activity in the Sherbro River Area. But since January 2012, no trawlers have been sighted in the area, after two vessels were fined over US$300,000 by the Sierra Leone government.

In addition, the work done by communities on the ground in Sierra Leone is having much wider impacts. South Korean authorities are implementing new rules for their fishing vessels in West Africa and the authorities in Las Palmas have increased controls on the importation of fish from West Africa.

Kazakhstan – crowd-funding the rap

Kazakhstan

Everything can be crowd-funded, including rap music. Kazakhstan rapper Takezhan (Oteghaliev) has never been afraid of controversy. In 2011 he announced plans to organise a concert in support of striking oil workers in western Kazakhstan. The domestic workers had demanded the same wages as foreign workers were receiving and the protest led to violent confrontations, during which at least 10 people where killed.

At that time, the authorities put pressure on Takezhan to cancel the performance, but now the rapper is back. In early 2014 Takezhan reached out to his fans to help fund the production of a new political rap song. In a video on his blog, the rapper sings and asks the fans for financial help to finish the song he is working on.

Crowd-funding is becoming an increasingly important tool for musicians to finance their recordings. There are several websites where you can find information and spread your pledge. If Takezhan succeeds, he might have created the first crowd-funded rap song in Central Asia. And, even more important, he could be breaking new ground for political activism in Kazakhstan and the Central Asian region.

Kenya – auditing with social media

On the ground floor is a butcher's, and next to it a small clothing store. On the roof menacing-looking rebars point to the sky, and you'd better tread carefully between the washing lines. In the two small rooms below, filled with old computers and even older furniture the networking organisation Jipange Youth Groups is to be found. Jipange means 'plan yourself' in Swahili, and that is a good description of what is happening here.

Embakasi is one of Nairobi's largest districts with over 600,000 inhabitants. The area was hit hard by post-election violence in 2008, when over a thousand people were killed in Kenya. To enhance trust between the state and those who are young and in order to get more people involved in the community work, the NGO Plan International and local youth activists started a local democracy and ICT project here three years ago. One goal for the project is to help young people understand how the policy-making functions. Jipange also ensures that reports and official documents are available for those who want to know more about what is happening in the area. In the data centre, visitors can access documents and forms that need to be completed. At the weekends there are computer classes for children from the area.

The data centre in Embakasi, Nairobi, helps young people understand how policy-making functions.

Photo | David Isaksson

Dennis Omondi has been with the Jipange Youth Group since the start:

> 'We wanted to find a way for young people and authorities to come closer together and there we saw ICT as an important tool,' he says.

Cynthia Ochola Anyango, another participant, agrees:

> 'For us it's about being able to influence. We want politicians to listen to what young people have to say – that is democracy, pure and simple.'

The queue moves slowly, outside the municipal office. On the door there is a sign with the word: 'Chief'. This is the place to visit to get the birth certificate required in order to apply for identity documents. Until recently, people were queuing for most papers and documents required. Once they arrived at the desk they were often told: 'Unfortunately, you seem to be missing a piece of paper.' The solution was to pay a small bribe and then, surprise, the missing document appeared!

In recent years, the Kenyan authorities have launched an ambitious effort to make the country more digital. More and more documents are available online, and many services can be performed online. With the introduction of e-applications many 'opportunities' for bribes have been 'lost'. Now, applicants can immediately see how long the case will take and when the passport will be ready.

One of the biggest problems for people in areas like Embakasi is corruption, because it means that resources that would have been used for schools, health care and other social improvements 'disappear'. But government spending has not been transparent enough for citizens to follow, at least until now.

Yet, one can't be absolutely sure that everything works. That's partly why Jipange Youth Groups have started an initiative for social auditing, going through contracts and tender documents, examining what is happening with money allocated for projects and investments in their area. Concretely, this means that members of the group are going out, investigating for example the building of a school. So far, the group has audited 10 investment projects.

'For example, if the contract states that a school should have four windows we will check that the contractor really put in all four. The result is then published on the web so that those who live in the area itself can read about what is happening,' Dennis Omondi explains.

To jointly examine and verify a project has also become an important way to involve more people in the process, strengthen unity and at the same time do something good for the people who live in the area. Just the fact that companies and governments know that social auditing takes place leads to a decrease in corruption. But of course, not all bureaucrats and business people are as excited, as young people begin to ask questions.

Photo | David Isaksson

Jipange publishes the information the organisation receives on Facebook, on the blog and by texting the information to a list of approximately 1,000 people who in turn disseminate the information in their own networks. In fact, texting is the most common form of data communication in Embakasi as few people have smartphones, wireless networks and/or computers in their home.

One would think that local bureaucrats would be a bit uncomfortable having to face a new kind of social control, but John Mwangi Gitu, responsible for the youth support programme at the municipal office in Mbakasi welcomes the opportunities for interaction that social media and ICT technologies create. Previously, he was never sure if the information he shared reached the youth; now John can receive answers in just a few minutes. In the future, he hopes that the authorities will become even more connected:

> 'The technology allows citizens to follow policy decisions and get in touch with us if there is anything they think is strange. It is also important that those who plan projects knows what other actors are doing, in order to limit the risk of duplication,' he says.

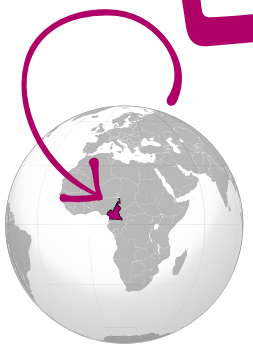
The technology allows citizens to follow policy decisions and get in touch with us if there is anything they think is strange.

Cameroon – GPS helps protect the rainforest

In the rainforest of Cameroon, the Baka pygmies are using hand-held GPS terminals to map and, ultimately, protect their habitat.

Joseph NBunge pans across the rainforest with the camera. He masters the camera, despite not knowing how to read.

The Central African rainforest (also called the Congo Basin) is the world's second largest; only the Amazon is bigger. For several thousand years, the Baka pygmies of Cameroon lived in harmony with nature within the rainforest. Now their habitat is threatened by logging and commercial agriculture, something that is also putting their culture and traditions at risk of extinction. In recent decades, most Baka have been forced to become permanent plantation workers who are exploited at very low pay. Between 1980 and 1995, 2 million hectares of rainforest disappeared in Cameroon alone. Now, the reduction is going even faster.



On the highway, not many kilometres from where we are, you can hear the thunder of trucks passing at night to avoid controls. Some are loaded with one giant block of wood.

'You have your supermarkets, but for us the forest is our supermarket.'

What is happening to the Baka and other pygmy peoples in Central Africa is not only a loss for them, but a loss for humankind as a whole. The fight for the environment, traditions and culture is also a struggle for human rights.

'In Europe, you have your supermarkets, but for us the forest is our supermarket. Here we find what we need, what we live on. Here we find peace and calm. Our roots, our culture, it's all here in the woods,' Noel Olinga says as he makes a cut in one of the branches of the tree. Out flows a milky white juice that tastes much like the coconut milk you can buy in cans.

'This milk is full of vitamins and nutrients. If a woman does not have milk for her baby this tree can save the child,' he says.

It's a powerful experience to walk into a rainforest, as well as to be surrounded by it. The trees above us stretch seemingly endlessly far up, as a vaulted green roof. At first you hear birds, but then it becomes almost completely silent. Down here on the ground it's almost dark.

'The forest is our natural life; we live by and through the rainforest. If it doesn't survive, then neither do we,' Noel Olinga continues.

Photo | David Isaksson

What I learn on our walk through the rainforest is of course only a small fraction of the knowledge of the forest that Noel and the others have, but it's enough to give me an idea of the immense richness of the rainforest – and the amazing experience that the Baka people of Cameroon possess. The only problem is that this knowledge is valued so little in today's modern society.

But what can the Baka people do to stand up to the powerful interests that are behind logging and commercial farming? Most Baka have little education (many adults cannot read or write) and they have no politicians or parties who are prepared to fight for their rights.

'We cannot return to the past, those days are gone forever, but what we can do is to protect our rights and our culture from how it looks today. And the more people in the world who know what is happening here, the greater the chance that politicians listen to us,' says Messe Venant from the Baka people's organisation, Okani.

A key to the survival of the Baka habitat is the use of new technology to document and protect their forest. By using film cameras they can record the traditions and stories and share them with the world.

Another way of protecting the rainforest is by using GPS equipment to crowd-map the environment. With support from Plan International and other NGOs the Baka people have received GPS terminals that they can use. On the handheld GPS, the buttons are marked with symbols for valuable plants, waterways and other important sites, but also symbols to highlight where illegal felling has taken place. With GPS terminals in their hands, the Bakas are creating detailed maps of the rainforest, maps that Okani and international partner organisations can use as tools for advocacy when they meet politicians and government officials.

The use of GIS (Geographic Information Systems) data makes their case stronger, as the maps can be verified by engineers and other professionals. With handwritten maps, the Bakas would not stand a chance.

Joseph NBunge looks up at the huge tree above us. The roots are so high that you have to climb over them. Down here it is strangely silent.

> 'We weep over the loss in our rainforest, over gorillas and other large animals that are no longer here. But we cannot just sit still and wait while what we still have left also disappears. With the help of modern technology, we must protect and preserve what is ours!'

Photo | David Isaksson

Baka people, Cameroon

International humanitarian law compliance – an illusion of knowledge*

Henrik Hammargren

'Facts do not cease to exist because they are ignored.'

Aldous Huxley

'The greatest enemy of knowledge is not ignorance, it is the illusion of knowledge.'

Daniel J. Boorstin

The global relevance of IHL compliance

Warfare in Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gaza, South Sudan, Iraq and Syria, Ukraine; increasing arms transfers to countries in conflict; torture and systematic illegal detention; the International Criminal Court's evidence requirements: any single one of these examples should be a compelling argument for ensuring systematic monitoring of international humanitarian law (IHL) but this is not the case. Today, about thirty armed conflicts rage around the world, with states and other duty bearers often violating their obligations under IHL with impunity. While reporting with the ambition to shed light on IHL violations does exist, it is too random, too little and too late.

Why are there no systems for systematic IHL monitoring corresponding to those existing for human rights? The question is as relevant as it is challenging. Although IHL is older than human rights law, and to a certain extent less controversial, it does not benefit from either a prominent civil society lobby or a developed methodology for compliance monitoring. While the International Committee of the Red Cross (IRCR) does most important work in the field of IHL, their role is limited by their mandate. Patchy reports from violent conflicts provide an important but fragmented picture and the questions remain – why is the international community comfortable with this, and what are the consequences?

IHL is a collection of rules with the purpose to alleviate human suffering in armed conflicts. IHL builds on a fundamental distinction between those who are engaged in fighting (the combatants) and those who are not (civilians, wounded and sick, and persons deprived of their liberty). IHL applies to armed conflicts, but not to internal disturbances or tensions, IHL is found in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 (I-IV GC), its two additional protocols from 1977 (I-II AP), other relevant international conventions and international customary law.

Even though human rights law applies in times of armed conflict, there are several reasons to invoke IHL. While human rights law overlaps in part with IHL, many issues are not covered or covered only in less precise terms than corresponding IHL provisions. It is generally held that human rights obligations do not bind non-state actors, whereas it is clear that IHL does so. Individual criminal responsibility is also wider and more established for IHL violations, at international and national level.

Not only parties to an armed conflict have obligations. Common Article 1 to the Geneva Conventions provides that states have an obligation not only to respect but also to 'ensure respect' for IHL 'in all circumstances'. Thus, third states should act and encourage parties to a conflict to end violations of IHL through diplomatic efforts, peace missions, sanctions and national prosecutions. Furthermore, states should not assist in violations of IHL, for example through arms transfers. International (intergovernmental) organisations with relevant mandates also have the obligation, under the terms of their individual mandates, to ensure respect for IHL. This applies to peace missions they organise, and arguably also to their policies and actions in general.

IHL provides an appropriate legal structure for regulating the conduct of parties to armed conflicts. The rules are, in general, good, despite weaknesses in some areas, such as detention in non-international armed conflicts and the rights of internally displaced persons. In a report to the 31st International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent the ICRC concluded that on the whole IHL remains adequate for regulating the conduct of parties to armed conflicts. What is required in most cases is greater compliance with existing rules, rather than development and adoption of new rules.

A double problem of ignorance and an illusion of knowledge

Why do we remain ignorant about IHL compliance? Poor and underutilised measures create a creeping acceptance of ignorance. The issue of compliance has been the subject of efforts in humanitarian communities for decades and the lack of effective mechanisms at intergovernmental level is well known. A number of mechanisms do exist – some specifically designed for IHL, others with a broader mandate sometimes used to promote compliance:

- the Fact-Finding Commission, Article 90 of the First Additional Protocol (the Commission is operational but never used; it depends on acceptance by relevant parties)
- the formal enquiry procedure under the Geneva Conventions (requires consent by the parties and has not been effective)
- the system of Protecting Powers (almost never used)
- Conference of States Parties to the Geneva Conventions, at the invitation of the depository (Switzerland)
- the ICRC's supervisory tasks – visits to prisons, protection of the civilian population, etc. (Due to its special role, the ICRC rarely goes public, occasionally it happens under strictly defined circumstance in their five modes of action.)
- the UN Security Council (sometimes acts decisively in case of IHL violations but is subject to political considerations)
- the UN General Assembly (a political body with non-binding decisions)
- the threat of prosecutions before the International Criminal Court (ICC) (sometimes provides incentives for parties to comply with IHL. The ICC's mandate is limited and national prosecutions under universal jurisdiction are rare).

These mechanisms contribute to a perception of a well-established system where monitoring is undertaken to the maximum extent possible. Nonetheless, all of the mechanisms have drawbacks. Some require consent from all parties to the conflict, some require political decision in quarters where decisions rarely are made in a timely and relevant manner. Almost all of them (with the exception of the ICRC) only act – if at

* The text builds on material developed for the international seminar on 'Promoting Respect for International Humanitarian Law' held in September 2012 at the Folke Bernadotte Academy, Stockholm

all – when breaches are already occurring, rather than taking a preventive approach.

Various human rights monitoring organs – UN-based or regional – cannot, due to limitations in their mandates, consider IHL. The UN Human Rights Council sometimes condemns violations of IHL, but is still subject to political considerations. Some states rejects having the Council review IHL on a regular basis. The UN Security Council and the General Assembly have referred to IHL on many occasions; however, whether a situation is dealt with is subject to political considerations, and often extraneous to the situation at hand.

A number of organisations have specific roles relevant to IHL. The ICRC is a key player that assists governments by providing training and other forms of assistance in peacetime and also reminds parties of their obligations during a conflict. However, due to its mandate and the necessity of retaining the confidence of all parties concerned, the ICRC rarely go public. Several human rights NGOs also refer to IHL, and often very professionally. However, this is still random. While proper references to IHL are often made in high-profile conflicts, in many other cases reports fail to take due account of IHL. Reports on non-international armed conflict often claims that non-state actors (armed groups or even state-sponsored militias) commit human rights *abuses*, rather than grave breaches of IHL. Other institutions collect reports on atrocities without focusing specifically on IHL.

Efforts by non-governmental organisations cannot replace international mechanisms, but they can play an important role in raising awareness and creating political will. But as of today, there are no equivalent measures in place for IHL as for human rights: no global annual report or systematically collected information at country level; no intergovernmental authority or council; and no systematic methodology. Existing means to promote IHL compliance are not enough and fragmentation contributes to a perilous illusion of knowledge.

Opportunities and challenges in IHL and monitoring

In comparison with other rights-based compliance monitoring, IHL actually has some noteworthy strengths. It is often viewed as less ideologically charged than human rights law, and thereby difficult to disregard with arguments of IHL being an irrelevant 'Western invention.' Reciprocity remains another advantage as both sides have an interest in respect for IHL. IHL also appeals to the professionalism of soldiers and many IHL breaches are clear-cut and easy to condemn (for example, large-scale attacks against civilians, etc.).

From the duty bearer's perspective, IHL compliance faces a number of critical issues that must be understood. Apart from the obvious challenge of low general awareness of IHL, some specific challenges include the following:

1. There are many reasons for non-compliance by *state actors*. Notably that states deny the applicability of international humanitarian law out of reluctance to acknowledge that a situation of violence amounts to an internal armed conflict and an unwillingness to grant 'legitimacy' to the armed group. States also reject some IHL rules. War raises the stakes, as violations may be tactically or strategically 'worth the price':
2. *Non-state actors* often have unprofessional command structures with little or no knowledge of IHL. Armed groups also often lack incentive to abide by IHL, given that implementation of their obligations is usually of little help in avoiding punishment under domestic law for participation in armed conflict. The interface between international and domestic law thus results in a lopsided legal situation unfavourable to non-state armed group compliance with IHL.
3. IHL also applies to *private actors*. One dilemma here is that private military and security companies lack incentives. Clarifying and reaffirming international legal standards regulating their activities and ensuring compliance with standards of conduct reflected in IHL and human rights law remains a major challenge.

Monitoring as methodology and tool raises an additional set of questions: How can conflict zones be accessed to verify IHL breaches? What facts are available? How can evidence be recorded and analysed? How should IHL data be translated into a story and disseminated? Setting up a systematic monitoring approach must tackle these questions in addition to other issues ranging from decision on outputs (i.e. annual global reports, country and/or issue specific reports, indices, etc.) to methodology for data collection, quality assurance and analysis. Monitoring should also strive to capture both positive and negative trends and reports should not only focus on violations but also on respect for IHL. Additionally, monitoring will need to constructively manage the interface between IHL and human rights law. And when material exists it will need to be effectively disseminated to have an impact.

Ensuring the protection of civilians and other persons affected by situations of armed conflict is and will remain a major challenge. Now is the time to break the illusion of knowledge. Political awareness and will, in particular among influential states, is essential for improving application of IHL worldwide. It is necessary to foster a greater culture of respect for IHL among all sectors in society and civil society, and the general public should also be sensitised. *Common ownership* and *common knowledge* about IHL are key words in this regard. Monitoring performance would be an important contribution toward strengthening ownership and building knowledge. The way forward is to learn from human rights activists and organisations and establish a sustainable and systematic approach of IHL compliance monitoring. We need to stop ignoring the facts.

Henrik Hammargren is an independent consultant with 20 years' experience as manager, policy analyst and advisor in bi- and multilateral development co-operation, serving the Swedish government (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency – SIDA) and the OECD as humanitarian advisor.

Pollyanna is not a role model – Humanitarian business and consequentialist ethics

Thomas G. Weiss

Over the last quarter-century, three trends have transformed the international humanitarian system in civil wars: militarisation, politicisation and marketisation. Many analysts, including this author, have written about the impact of the first two: humanitarian intervention (or 'responsibility to protect') and the post-9/11 world in which humanitarians are viewed, by Colin Powell and others, as 'force multipliers'. Both militarisation and politicisation have resulted in much weeping and gnashing of humanitarian teeth because the guiding principles of independence, neutrality and impartiality – developed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) but now in the system's DNA – no longer provide much guidance. Humanitarians are not independent but rely on the military and its priorities and intelligence. They are not neutral and impartial because they necessarily take sides and rarely can distribute assistance and protection without regard to location, ethnicity, gender and political affiliations. The ability to be or even to appear to be neutral and impartial is a fiction. In short, humanitarianism ain't what it used to be.

The third trend is less obvious but not less crucial in making today's war zones distinctly different from past ones. The humanitarian marketplace – with incentives reflecting external financing and the local economy's dynamics – is a critical contributor to an ongoing identity crisis. 'Humanitarian' and 'business' are juxtaposed in the sub-title of this essay, and in a recent book, for two reasons: provocation and accuracy. It jars those who idealise the enterprise because the adjective has uncontested positive connotations while the noun is associated with wheeling and dealing. The adjective is rooted in morality and principle – the parable of the 'Good Samaritan' jumps to mind – because humanitarians pursue the welfare of those in their care and are unaffected by political and market factors. If humanitarian action occupies the moral high ground, 'business' customarily occupies less lofty territory because its practitioners operate where money buys access, the common good is ignored, talk is cheap, and tough decisions about profits ignore human costs.

Reality is otherwise. Humanitarians are steeped in politics and calculations. Their day-to-day operations intersect in myriad ways with home and host governments, with armed insurgents as well as peacekeepers and local populations; and crucially, agencies acquire and distribute resources. Where they get funding and how and to whom they deliver aid has significant political and economic consequences – for recipients as well as for humanitarian organisations in a war zone and at headquarters.

The Cold War's end opened the latest chapter in humanitarianism's history, and one whose distinguishing characteristic is the dramatic expansion of 'suppliers' (their numbers, diversity and resources). While the number of UN organisations has not grown, their budgets have; and at least 2,500 international nongovernmental orgranisations (NGOs) are in the business even if only a tenth of them are truly significant. UNDP estimates that there could be 37,000 international NGOs with some relevance for Linda Polman's 'crisis caravan'; and a bevy of a thousand outside and local NGOs typically flocks to a contemporary catastrophe.

The current global bottom line is approaching US$20 billion (with the UN's share about two-thirds). We have witnessed galloping growth over successive decades: from less than US$1billion in 1989 to over US$4 billion in 1999 to almost US$17 billion in 2009. These numbers would strike most MBAs as a substantial commercial opportunity. Some individual agencies (such as the International Rescue Committee) or federations (such as Oxfam and Save the Children) are big businesses, while others are far smaller, including myriad mom-and-pop enterprises.

The market drives not only for-profit businesses but also humanitarians. Incentives and disincentives explain Naomi Klein's business model of 'disaster capitalism'. Mark Duffield described the industry as one that kept Western aid officials and agencies in business. Even the most courageous and dedicated individuals and agencies cannot ignore unintended consequences that sometimes make things worse, what David Kennedy called 'the dark sides of virtue'.

The idealistic image of humanitarian action is understandable because agencies must project a 'pure' image to Western publics. The marketing logic is clear: such organisations require contributions from donors whose heartstrings are tugged by powerful images of children caught in the cross hairs of violence who can be saved by generous donations. Donors want to be assured that their contributions are directly improving lives, which requires fundraising brochures depicting relief workers wearing T-shirts with recognisable logos helping smiling kids.

Like entrepreneurs, humanitarian agencies are concerned with their brand in an expanding and increasingly competitive global marketplace. While funding is more abundant than ever, resources are still 'scarce' for the magnitude of suffering confronting those who succour. For die-hard humanitarians who see themselves as apolitical and are offended by a contrary allegation, the term 'business' will be appalling, even if as suppliers they vie for market shares. James Ron and Alex Cooley have presciently described the 'scramble' for funds including the four 'P's' of marketing: product, price, place and promotion.

What is to be done? This analysis certainly does not lead me to denigrate courageous and dedicated individuals but rather to persuade them to reverse a traditional adage: 'Don't just do something, stand there'. More reflection and less reaction are required because effectiveness requires heightened knowledge and professionalism. There have been too few efforts to improve the quality and reliability of humanitarian action by enhancing the training, preparation, and qualifications of aid workers – in short, 'professionalising' this sector the way that associations of accountants and physicians do elsewhere.

We need the humanitarian equivalent of military science. Many dismiss that thought by arguing that the military has too many resources and, besides, is fighting the last war. Nonetheless, the military devotes substantial sums and human resources to learning lessons. Humanitarians virtually never do; they sprint to the next emergency.

Doing the right thing requires insight not intuition, but the dominant culture remains rapid reaction not reserved reflection. Traditional humanitarian ethics respond from the heart, whereas effectiveness today

requires a healthy dose of well-informed tough-mindedness to mount evidence-based and context-specific actions. Why? Because humanitarian personnel are specific targets; insignia no longer afford protection; and emergency responses are part of complex processes of conflict resolution and reconstruction.

The humanitarian equivalent of military science could bring substantial benefits to affected populations. This suggestion does not reflect a self-serving plea for more research but the conviction that more hardheaded, social scientific reflection and less visceral reaction would improve the humanitarian business. The value-added of social science lies in gathering, organising, interpreting and disseminating data-driven recommendations. Humanitarians require knowledge tailored to thinking about the marketplace that better specifies cause-effect relationships. Delivery and protection is the business of aid officials, but processing information, correcting errors and devising alternative strategies and tactics is the job of social scientists. A partnership would be beneficial for aid agencies and academics as well as the denizens of war-torn societies.

Respect for life and human dignity is the first-order principle; but independence, impartiality and neutrality are second-order ones that may or may not be applicable. Humanitarians who are clear about the costs of deviating from second-order principles will be more successful in helping victims than those with no principles or with inflexible ones (otherwise known as 'ideologues').

Thoughtful humanitarianism is more appropriate than the mindless application of traditional principles for at least four reasons: goals often conflict; good intentions can have catastrophic consequences; ends can be achieved in multiple ways; and choices are necessary even if options are not ideal. Humanitarians must set aside ideology, weigh alternatives, and project longer-term outcomes. Precisely because the dark sides of virtue can overwhelm the benefits of humanitarianism, empirical assessments are essential instead of a priori judgments based on second-order guiding principles. Humanitarianism provides an idealistic vocabulary and institutional machinery, but it should be judged not by intentions but consequences.

In this business, modesty is a virtue for aid workers and social scientists. Many observers, including many of the most committed humanitarians, are driven by the humanitarian 'imperative,' the moral obligation to treat all vulnerable populations similarly and react consistently wherever crises occur. No two crises are ever the same, however, and such notions fly in the face of politics, which consists of drawing lines as well as weighing options and limited resources to make tough decisions about doing the greatest good or the least harm. Physicians speak of 'triage,' and humanitarians have an equivalent: 'consequentialist ethics'.

A more accurate description of coming to the rescue is the humanitarian 'impulse' – sometimes we can act and sometimes we cannot. Humanitarian action is desirable, not obligatory. The humanitarian impulse is permissive; the humanitarian imperative is peremptory. The transformation of war and the marketplace requires the transformation of humanitarianism, the switch towards hardheaded analysis and away from rigid moral absolutes.

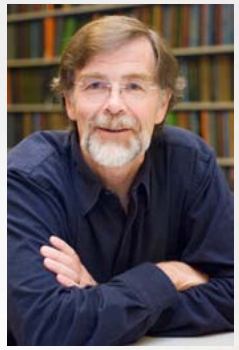
Frequently, the word 'dilemma' is employed for painful decision-making but 'quandary' is more apt. A dilemma involves two or more alternative courses of action with unintended, unavoidable and equally undesirable consequences. If outcomes are equally unpalatable, remaining on the sidelines is a viable and moral option. Humanitarians find themselves perplexed, or in a quandary, but they are not and should not be immobilised by contemporary wars. I am not recommending paralysis by analysis but good-faith efforts to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of any military or civilian course of action and opt for what often amounts to the least-worst option.

The calculus is agonising but inescapable. Consequentialist ethics help determine which impulses to recognise and which to restrain. In their fervour to react, humanitarians have often devoted inadequate energy and resources to understanding the nature of catastrophes and tailoring responses accordingly. Doing something or doing nothing should both be considered.

Whereas 'humanitarian action' has a handsome tone of selfless caring, 'strategy' indicates cold-hearted calculation, at least to the ears of many humanitarians for whom even 'professionalisation' has a hollow ring. But humanitarians require strategic thinking as an investment in strategic doing.

Humanitarian impulses and goodwill are no longer adequate, if indeed they ever were. Pollyanna is not a role model. Tempering idealism with robust analysis increases the tensile strength of the international humanitarianism safety net.

Thomas G. Weiss is Presidential Professor of Political Science and director of the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies at the Graduate Center of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY). His latest single-authored books include: Governing the World: Addressing 'Problems without Passports' (2014); Global Governance: Why? What? Whither? (2013); and What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It (2012). He is also a co-director of the Future UN Development System (FUNDS) Project (see www.futureun.org).



Grassroots solutions

New ideas are coming from the grassroots and from developing countries around the world, but are we able to identify and make use of them on a more global scale?

While traditional civil society organisations are becoming more and more tied up by the rules and reporting that are required for public funding from aid donors, new social movements and new alliances are emerging around the world. In this process, indigenous groups, LGBT activists, tech geeks and workers never before recognised are interacting.

Today, the learning process is no longer one-way, with the West dominating as it used to. In more informal processes, exchange of ideas takes place on a horizontal level, connecting Mongolia with Botswana and making the experience of organising in Guatemala also useful for activists in Sweden.

The solutions to civil engagement that could solve many of our problems might be found in other parts of the world. But are those in the West – or the Global North – ready to listen?

'¡Ya basta!' ('Enough is enough!')

> 'In retrospect, what we did was, when the country was asleep, we came by and with a kick, we woke it up'
>
> *Subcomandante Marcos*

On 1 January 1994, the day the NAFTA Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, USA and Canada entered into force, a hitherto unknown guerrilla group started a rebellion in Mexico. Some thousand badly armed men and women besieged three towns in the southern state of Chiapas, one of the poorest regions of the country.

The group was called EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army), but soon became known as the Zapatistas, a name taken from the revolutionary hero Emilio Zapata who died in 1919. The uprising sent shockwaves, not only through Mexico, but also through the region and, in fact, the entire world. No one was expecting an uprising of this kind; after all, this was in the post-communist era in which Francis Fukuyama had declared that history had come to an end and Huntington's The Clashes of Civilizations had just been published in its first version. Ideologies were dead, the corporate, big business and big politics interpretation of globalisation ruled, and the civil wars that had taken place in Central America over several decades had ended in peace agreements (that changed very little).

The uprising in Mexico was entirely different from previous uprisings in Latin America as well as in the rest of the world. The Zapatistas rejected the traditional left-wing concept of a revolutionary vanguard that would win the struggle on behalf of the masses. Instead, the Zapatistas grew from, and always consulted with, the grassroot bases of the movement. Their approach was holistic; it built on the indigenous perspective of the earth as something sacred.[32] For this reason, the Zapatistas were the first postmodern (and post-communist) guerrilla movement, emerging as a part of the growing anti-globalisation movement.

Photo | Shannon (flickr)

Zapatista women in La Garrucha, 2007.

Another aspect that made them different was that their aim was not to build their own power base, but to reduce the dominant role of the of the state and the political elite, and to promote a holistic approach (including environmental concern), an alternative to dominant globalisation paradigm.

At the same time, and this might sound contradictory, the Zapatistas were also the first insurgent movement that truly used the forces

32 http://struggle.ws/mexico/reports/pomo_ezln.html

of globalisation and ICT technology as a tool. From an early stage, the Zapatistas realised that the most important war was not the one fought on the ground, but over the Internet. With only a fraction of the resources of the Mexican government, the Zapatistas succeeded in winning the war of minds, exploiting the mythical aura that surrounded the then unknown leader Subcomendante Marcos (who was later identified as the academic, Sebastian Guillen).

Those who did not manage to meet the mythical fighters could at least buy dolls wearing the same hood.

Photo | Oriana Eliçabe

Visitors flocked to Chiapas. Nobel laureates, politicians and artists such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Danielle Mitterand and Oliver Stone all wanted to be associated with the new movement. And in the beautiful tourist town of San Cristobal de las Casas in the heart of Chiapas, those who did not manage to meet the mythical fighters could at least buy indigenous dolls wearing the same hood – a pasamontaña – as the guerrillas wore. A new Latin American revolutionary icon had been created.

But the Zapatistas also realised early on how important it was to get ordinary people's stories and testimonies direct to the world press. Thanks to couriers, stories from villagers who hardly knew how to read and write were sent via e-mail to journalists worldwide, while the Mexican government did not have a clue as to what to do to counter these strategies and win the war of information.

After 12 days the fighting came to an end. A ceasefire was agreed. Six years later, in March 2001, the Zapatistas arrived at the capital in triumph. Hundreds of thousands of supporters and curious people congregated at Zocalo central square. On its way to Mexico City, the Zapatista caravan had travelled through southern Mexico, hailed by hundreds of thousands of people along the way. It was like a carnival for a victorious army, a victory celebration. But the Zapatistas had not conquered any new territory. They have not even won a single military strike.

It must have been the first time in world history that an armed and revolutionary organisation was able to march into a capital city without weapons. Marcos was interviewed on television, radio and newspapers. The then president Vicente Fox invited him to the palace; Marcos declined.

Today, the discussion on globalisation has changed focus, the ideas of Fukuyama and Huntington are largely forgotten, but many of the ideas that the Zapatistas championed – sustainability, respect for indigenous rights, and alternatives to a consumerist lifestyle – are gaining ground all over the world.

In December 2012, 50,000 Zapatistas marched in silence to challenge the official line that them movement was dead. In the communiqué the Zapatistas wrote: 'Did you hear that? It is the sound of your world crumbling. It is the sound of ours resurging.'[33]

Twenty years after the uprising in Chiapas, this postmodern mixture of new and old, of modern and ancient, is notable in many countries; social organising and social change are taking new, and at the same time old forms; advanced ICT technology is being used by indigenous groups. The Zapatistas did not win any war, they did not fundamentally change Mexico, but their ideas have had an enormous influence on the anti-globalisation movement and what has happened since. Or, as they themselves put it in 2014:

> 'It was not the eagerness to "survive" but a sense of duty that put us here, for better or for worse. It was the necessity to do something in the face of millennial injustice; the indignation that we felt was the most forceful characteristic of "humanity". We are not striving for any place whatsoever in museums, theses, biographies, books. In that sense, with our last breath, do we Zapatistas ask ourselves, "Will they remember me?" Or do we ask ourselves, "Did we take a step along the path?" and "Will someone keep walking it?"'[34]

South Korea – an Asian hub for democracy?

South Korea (referred to hereafter as Korea) is a country poised between the expanding global South and the declining North. On the one hand, it is a traditional Asian society that tries to copy Japan in almost every way; on the other, it is an open and vibrant society, full of social activists.

'Actually, I would say that we are part of both worlds,' says Mikyung Ryu, International Secretary at the Korean confederation of trade unions.

Korea has a tradition of a strong and militant labour movement. During the 1980s and '90s the trade unions were a strong force in the struggle for democracy. Today, Korea is trying to be more global, learning from others and reaching out to the world. While academics, politicians and social movements are starting to establish contacts outside of the Western world, the Korean labour unions have long-established links with the trade union movement in countries such as South Africa and Brazil (besides contacts with Germany and the Nordic countries).

Photo | David Isaksson

Seoul, South Korea

33 https://www.commondreams.org/view/2014/01/15-6

34 http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/12/26/rewind-2-on-death-and-other-alibis/

Could South Korea become a hub for labour organisation and knowledge-sharing?

How can the other social movements in Korea piggy-back on the global networks of the labour unions?

Korea is also becoming more and more important in the regional context. Human rights organisations and others are turning to Korea for networks and inspiration. Already, there are linkages between Korean unions and garment workers in Cambodia. When striking garment workers in Cambodia were shot at, members of Korean unions went there, made videos and broadcast the material locally, via alternative news channels created by journalists who have been fired from official media and formed their own co-operatives.

Even more surprising, there are contacts between South Korea and Ukraine. When police attacked union leaders in Seoul in December 2013, demonstrators protested outside the South Korean embassy in Kyiv.

'We hardly knew where Ukraine was by then, but thanks to our network we were able to find someone who could translate and interpret, and now we are exchanging ideas and information,' Mikyung Ryu says.

Another interesting process is that labour groups in other countries are contacting the South Korean labour movement when abuses take place in Korean- owned companies, typically in the garment industry.

'We are working to increase the knowledge of how Korean companies are acting abroad. In many cases these companies are small, with no real head offices in Korea, something that makes the work more difficult. This also connects us with a new group of activists, something that I believe will be very valuable for the future,' Mikyung Ryu adds.

But could links be established between actors within the Korean sharing economy and the social movements in the country?

There is an active debate taking place within the Korean labour movement as to how best to organise the self-employed. Since 1998, the line between labour and capital has been becoming blurred; as in many countries, many workers in Korea are becoming involuntarily self-employed through outsourcing and privatisation.

This rethinking has also made the unions realise they must include a gender perspective, as most of the new-self employed workers are women. Another issue is the often paperless migrant workers and whether they should be unionised or not. In this process, Korean workers have to show solidarity with workers from elsewhere. Or, as Mikyung Ryu puts it:

> 'Migrant workers have been living here for a long time. The challenge for us now is to get Korean society to understand the need to fight for the rights of others'.

Changing the world, song by song, line by line

No one could possibly call Dakar a beautiful city; the grey houses where construction never ends, the dusty heat that engulfs the city, the seemingly endless suburbs dominate the landscape. Although Dakar is situated on a peninsula, surrounded by sea and beaches, which at least should be beautiful, there is nothing of Rio de Janeiro's or Maputo's beauty and charm about the capital of Senegal. The tourist kiosks in the centre have since long closed, the sea smells of faeces and garbage, and when the traffic to and from Dakar is pressed through the suburb of Rufisque, the only possible way in and out of the city, and queues become mile-long, then it is easy to refrain from laughing. No, Dakar is no place for lazy days. The city turns inward, towards the large poor areas in the hinterland; it's urban and working class. Dakar is West Africa's Marseille, twice as big, but just as dirty and ugly. And there is one more thing that unites the two cities: the love of rap culture.

Senegal

December 2011. In a residential area under one of many flyovers, N'Dongo, from the Senegalese rap duo Daara J. Family, is mixing songs for a new album. But most of all, he is thinking about the need for a real, participatory democracy in Senegal.

> 'Every day we say: You, the people, it is you who have the power! Democracy, it's about people having the real power, and not what the president or ministers are doing. Power and democracy is about people understanding that they, by voting, can contribute to the change,' says N'Dongo.

It was in the summer of 2011 that changes started to happen in Senegal. A spontaneously organised movement, inspired by developments in North Africa and led by young rappers, took to the streets to protest against corruption, unemployment and the incumbent 85-year-old president Abdoulaye Wade who, by fixing the Constitution, was trying to get re-elected for a third term. The movement, the name of which translates as 'Enough, we are fed up!' received strong support from the musician and superstar Youssou N'Dour. For 10 years, N'Dour, just like George Soros, had invested in democracy and change by putting the money from sales of his global hit songs into Internet cafés, a newspaper, and radio and television stations.

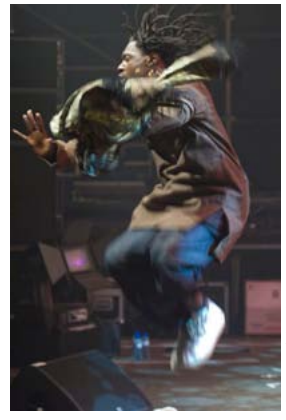


Photo | Mário Pires

Daara J Family in concert, 2009.

> 'The change will be for real but the politicians are scared,' continues N'Dongo. 'They are accustomed to running the country and making a lot of money out of it. So, when you have it all and realise that you


Photo | Oriana Eliçabe

Writing lyrics. Guédiawaye, Senegal

are losing your power - that makes you crazy! The president has been able to control most things, but now he realises that it is no longer possible to control the people. Even if he buys people's votes on Election Day, freedom will come, for real voices cannot be bought.'

But who are those that are bringing change to Senegal? The warehouse- style area is full of people, mostly guys in their teens in the mandatory caps. It is the final of the big rap contest. For those who win tonight there will be radio appearances and a recording session, the possible beginning of a dream that could help them leave poverty behind. Yet it is not the dream of escaping that dominates the evening, but the feeling of belonging to something important.

'The language does not matter. Rappers speak the same language, whether they are from Sweden, the USA or Senegal. The determining factor is the involvement, if you are honest and frank, if you are fighting for the vulnerable,' says Amadou Fall Ba, head of Dakar Hip Hop Akademy, organisers of tonight's show.

At lot has happened in Senegal in recent years. Yet Amadou is surprised about what might now be about to take place:

'We never thought the rulers would give up power, but now it might happen. The rappers urge people to vote, we are all engaged in our local communities. Through music, we can change the world!'

Moving towards transparency

In spring 2012 the elections took place in Senegal, turbulent but mostly fair, according to international observers. Wade lost to Macky Sall, and most important of all, Wade accepted the election results.

During his presidential campaign, Macky Sall had promised to lead the fight against corruption by declaring his assets, and this he did, according to the following report:

Agence France-Presse, 8 May 2012 at 17:11

'Senegalese President Macky Sall has declared over 2 million euros (US$2.6 million) in possessions to the country's highest court, in an effort to improve transparency, local media reported on Tuesday.

The declaration was made public after being published in the government's gazette on April 24. Sall, who was elected on March 25 after a crushing victory over incumbent Abdoulaye Wade, owns amongst others a 699-square-metre villa worth 533,000 euros and a 2,000-square-metre piece of land in Dakar's upmarket suburbs. In Houston, Texas, he owns a 300-metre-square apartment valued at $220,000. In Senegal, Sall also has several other houses, pieces of land and shares in two real estate agencies. He also owns a fleet of 35 vehicles "used mainly for political activities" for the ruling party.'

In 2014, Senegalese lawmakers passed a law requiring all senior government workers to declare their wealth at the time of taking office.[35]

The law also stipulates that officials will be audited at the time of leaving office. The driving force behind the law was Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Minister of Good Governance, and a former journalist who became popular for his investigative reports exposing financial malpractices during the regimes of the country's last two presidents. The major reason for the law was to dissuade government officials from corruption attempts and thereby strengthen their credibility.

Abdou Latif Coulibaly is not alone. All over Africa, there are journalists and civil society activists working to expose corruption while at the same time putting themselves at great risk.

35 http://www.africareview.com//News/Senegal-parliament-passes-wealth-declaration-law/-/979180/2255178/-/13wr2vw/-/index.html?relative=true


Photo | Jeff Attaway

Dakar, Senegal - the seemingly endless suburbs dominate the landscape.

The Vagina Monologues in Mongolia

Squeezed in between its powerful neighbours China and Russia, Mongolia, with fewer than 3 million inhabitants, is a mixture of modernity and old traditions. The contrast is visible from the very moment you enter the capital, Ulaanbaatar. Just 10-15 minutes away from new office buildings in glass and steel, thousands of families are living in traditional gers, tent-like structures, houses that could easily be taken down and moved when your herds of cattle needed new pasture.

Mongolia has the lowest population density on earth, only one person per square kilometre. At the same time, urbanisation in Mongolia has been extremely fast. Today, approximately 60 per cent of the population lives in Ulaanbaatar. There is no second city; everything else consists of villages and small towns.

Mongolia is also a nation with a young population, curious and open to changes. The education level is high (almost 100 per cent literacy rate). The attitude is very 'Western', with strong influences from Japan and South Korea, something you immediately feel when walking the streets of Ulaanbaatar. In private companies, most people, from management to junior staff, are under 35 years of age. That means that the great majority of those paying taxes are also young.

'In Mongolia changes are possible. People like to try new things. Here we are doing a lot of things for the first time', says Zolzaya (or 'Zola') Batkhuyag, one of the founders of the organisation Young Women for Change in Mongolia.

Zola Batkhuyag, one of the founders of the organisation Young Women for Change in Mongolia.

Photo | David Isaksson

One of those 'first times' was the presentation of the The Vagina Monologues in Ulaanbaatar in 2011. The Vagina Monologues is a play by Eve Ensler, first performed in the United States in 1996. The play is based on Ensler's interviews with women in different parts of the world. It is made up of a varying number of monologues read by a varying number of women (initially, Eve Ensler performed every monologue herself). Each of the monologues deals with an aspect of women's experience. A recurring theme throughout the piece is the vagina as a tool of female empowerment.

> 'A lot of people said that this was something extreme, that Mongolians were not ready for it,' Zola recalls. 'But we believed that if people heard it, they would understand. And it worked; people understood the play. I remember one man who came to the stage afterwards, saying: "Now I understand why sex with my wife was very bad."'

For Zola Batkhuyag, the route to the young women's organisation was via more traditional human rights work. 'We wanted to create our own environment that could be free and dignified, without sexism, discrimination and violence. We found out that all of us had our own story and uniqueness but that we together could bring changes to happen.'

In Ulaanbaatar most professionals are not only young, but also women. While many men remain in the countryside taking care of animal herds, families will invest money and effort in getting a good education for their daughters.

Despite this, decision-making in the society is in the hands of older men. Mongolia is a patriarchal society with very few female decision-makers. Out of the 76 members of parliament, only 11 are women (which, however, is still is a great advance on the previous election). Political power is divided between two large parties. Clearly, many young people would like Mongolia to develop in a more transparent and democratic way. As Zola puts it: 'Young people's political participation is very low, so the older generation is always making decisions and talking on behalf of the young generation; always on behalf of, never including.'

This is the reason for groups of young people forming their own organisations, outside of the political parties. Besides Young Women for Change several other organisations have been created. One of them, NextGen Mongolia, started with the idea of creating a network of young professionals, aiming to have an impact on legislation and the social economy. At NextGen's lectures and meetings several hundred young people would gather, something that has made the organisation into an influential lobbying group for young professionals.

Photo | European External Action Service

Meeting with participants in the Womens' Leadership Forum 2013 in Ulaanbaatar.

Photo | David Isaksson

Housing development in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

Despite the reluctance of the political leadership to share power it has been possible to gain acceptance from the general public, says Zola. The key to success has been to do things in an inspirational way, leaving the language of policy papers behind, using street arts, social media and the language of a young generation.

'You must talk with people in their "own" language. If we find the right way to do things, people will support us. In the three years that have passed since we started, a lot of men have also given their support to our activism,' Zola continues.

Mongolia is changing fast from a traditional nomadic society into a modern country. The use of traditional dress is an illustration of this: previously worn by old and young alike, traditional costume is now worn by young people only when they want to 'dress up' and reconnect with history and tradition.

Changes are also affecting how people are interacting with each other, and old traditions are rapidly disappearing. At the same time, argues Zola, it is no marginalisation of minority groups but development of the society as a whole, something everyone wants to take part in: once you live in the city, no one wants to go back to the life in the countryside.

'Everyone likes to live a more comfortable life,' Zola says. 'So why should those who live in apartments and write blog posts on the Internet tell others that they should keep their traditions? We have rich traditional ideas but some of our traditional ideas will not help us in the future, because some of our traditional values are based on patriarchal ideas. So it's harmful for women and children.'

But what are the challenges that Mongolia will face in the future? Corruption, and how money from the booming mining sector is being used is one of Zola Batkhuyag's concerns. There is a risk of what is sometimes called a resources curse. 'I'm also afraid that some people will try to recreate things from the past. We need to look to the future, not nourish the myths of Genghis Khan. We are a democratic country, we are protecting human rights, we are open and adaptable – this should be our pride!'

So 10 years from now, what would Mongolia look like? Zola's dream is a country where everyone feels protected by the jurisdiction. 'If we are brave enough to develop young people's creative skills,' she says, 'Mongolia has a very good possibility of developing, becoming a high-tech bridge between Asia and Europe. We need the wealth from our mines, at the same time we need to be more eco-friendly. So we should use our resources, but use them in a responsible way. And it's very important to invest in and develop the educational system.'

Building women's power in Mongolia: the key to success

- Adapt your plans and your information so that people can understand it.
- Involve women in your work.
- Use media in a creative way.
- Engage men – they are your partners, not your enemies.
- Do things in an interesting and fun way, don't be boring!
- Share and learn from each other.

Zorig Foundation – training the next generation

Since 2001 Zorig Foundation (named after a murdered politician) has been running a number of youth scholarship and training programmes in Mongolia. The idea is to make young people more critical and give them better knowledge of the society they are living in.

Participation is through projects where young people discuss the situation in the country and what the values in society should be.

Zorig Foundation is also running a youth leadership programme with 20 participants who take part in an eight-month programme.

'So far, more than 200 young people have taken part in the programme and they are important in the ongoing change process in the society. Often they develop a deep friendship. But of course, it is difficult to measure what we actually achieve. Mentality changes take many years,' says Badruun Gardi, director of Zorig.

Photo | David Isaksson

Badruun Gardi, director of Zorig.

The feminisation of labour

I'm from the north of Brazil, from the state of Bahia, I moved here to São Paulo with my parents. I have been a domestic worker for some 20 years. In my job, I'm doing everything for the family, washing, cleaning, making dinner, yes everything that a domestic worker usually does. I have been working four-five years with every family, mostly my experiences have been good, but different families treat you in different ways. Today, I'm working regulated hours, I live in my own home and even if it takes me one and a half hours to get to work I have my own life, outside of work. But many others live with the family, working 10-12 hours per day, always doing things for the family. I would never like to live that way. Today, I would never ever work in a family that did not respect me.

Marcela, São Paulo

In October 2013, 200 domestic workers (everything from nannies and household workers to chauffeurs and gardeners) from some 42 countries gathered in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, to form the International Domestic Workers Federation. It was a historic moment: for the first time ever this large but 'forgotten' group of workers were recognised as 'real workers'.

Around the world, millions and millions of (mainly) women are working as domestic workers, many under appalling conditions, working long days, living with their employer-family and with no formal employment contracts or legal status. So far, they have to a large extent been 'invisible', and their labour has seldom been seen as 'real work', compared with what male workers in traditional industries do.

An important milestone was reached in 2011 when the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted Convention C189. The convention recognises domestic workers as a group and clearly regulates working hours, payment and many other highly relevant areas.

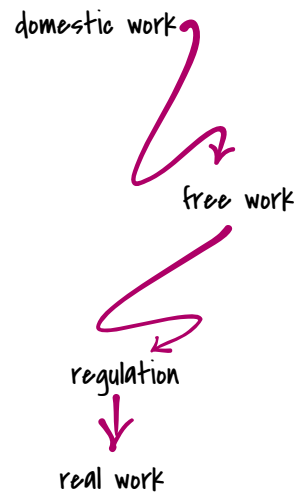
From being seen as working within a private sphere, domestic workers are now becoming part of the formal labour market. What does this mean for how we view the role of domestic workers? And how will the unionisation of domestic workers change the roles within the family?

Eileen Boris is a professor at the department of Feminist Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She has written extensively on the role of domestic workers in a historical and political perspective.

'For many people "my home is my castle",' Eileen Boris says, 'but with that perception it is difficult to understand that "my home" also can be "your workplace". However, traditionally, the home has always been a place for work: for household work, home industry and manual labour in many forms. Poor women have always been working. The sentimental view of the home as a place for family life emerged with middle class, otherwise known as bourgeois society.'

One driving force behind the current movement for organisations among domestic workers has been the reorganisation of labour as a part of the globalisation process, in which industrial production has moved to developing countries in the South, while the service industry has expanded in already developed countries in the North. Over the last decades, middle class women in the North have started to work full time, needing help with childcare and other domestic issues. One result of this is what Eileen Boris calls the intensified commodification of women's household labour: 'A disruption in the Global South starting from the 1970s as a result of civil wars, structural adjustments and other factors resulted in a strong push of migration from Philippines, Central America and other regions to US and the Middle East. To a large extent, migrant labour became synonymous with domestic labour.'

Many of the first organisations that were formed among domestic workers were based on ethnic groups (migrants from a particular country or region) while unionisation took longer. The global feminist movement and activists working on migrant labour issues were the first to see the organisational potential among migrant workers. The role of domestic workers was also 'discovered' when journalists, researchers and others became interested in the informal sector. This being said, domestic workers have a long history of organising in countries like South Africa and the US.



The transformation of the labour force is also having a strong impact on the labour unions themselves, where the numbers of affiliated members in traditionally 'male' fields such as the metallurgy industry has declined while more workers in the service industry have become unionised. Or, as Eileen Boris puts it: 'The new face of labour is female and if unions are to survive they need to get women as members!'

This view is shared by many trade union organisations. IUF, the International Union of Food and Allied Workers, has for example taken an active role in supporting the international organisation of domestic workers.

But how long will it take before domestic work is recognised as a 'proper' job that should be paid accordingly? Not necessary very long,

Eileen Boris believes. 'Working in the automotive industry was seen as a "bad job" until it got unionised. The same thing could be said about domestic workers. The concept that domestic work is not real work, that is something that should be done for free, has led to devaluation of the work. But this has more to do with the recognition than anything else. It is not a real job because we fail to recognise it as employment.'

Photo | David Isaksson

Domestic workers in São Paolo, Brazil

Still, the biggest change might be the one that happens in family life when home suddenly becomes a place for collective bargaining and the resolution of labour issues. As Eileen Boris points out: 'It is indeed a very intimate situation with someone working in your home who actually knows everything about you. For this to fully work, there has to be a great level of trust between the parties. Therefore, in most cases, an adversarial bargaining relation would not work.'

In order to succeed, domestic workers have had to develop new forms of collective bargaining because the traditional system would not work with the 'host' families as a direct counterpart. Instead, organisers in developing countries have relied on public opinion and the legal system to regulate salaries and working hours. This, in turn has been made possible thanks to strong support from the general public. Another development can be seen in European countries like Sweden and Belgium where different forms of tax subsidies or checks have been introduced to subsidise the remuneration of domestic workers.

Eileen Boris mentions Uruguay as an example of a state that is practising innovative kinds of labour relations. When a domestic worker makes a complaint, an inspection is carried out, not in that household alone but in the whole residential area; thus the worker who made the complaint is not singled out, something that would inevitably lead to retaliation. Additionally, enforcement is achieved through shaming and public exposure.

But for collective bargaining, who could actually be the counterpart? Again, Uruguay is a good example. Here, the Housewives' League emerged as the bargaining partner in order for a tripartite process to work.

So what can we expect of the future? The ageing population in Europe and parts of Asia means that there will be an increased need for care, as family members will probably be unavailable. People are increasingly remaining in their homes or in homelike settings, not having to move out when they grow old or frail.

Rather than remaining an area that lags behind in terms of pay and working conditions, domestic work could provide a model on how to create dignified relations. From being regarded as the lowest level of worker, domestic workers could actually become positive examples of how things could move forward. 'After all,' Eileen Boris says, 'it is our/your precious ones that the domestic workers are handling, they are in control of the family environment, so what could be a better place to start decent relations than in your own home?'

Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No.189), Article 3

'In taking measures to ensure that domestic workers and employers of domestic workers enjoy freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, Members shall protect the right of domestic workers and employers of domestic workers to establish and, subject to the rules of the organisation concerned, to join organisations, federations and confederations of their own choosing.'

Organising domestic workers in São Paolo

What do these changes imply? One important thing is that labour organising has moved into the homes of ordinary citizens. It is always easy to say that you support workers' rights, but what about the rights of those who work in your own home?

In Brazil there are about 8 million domestic workers, of whom about 3 million work in São Paolo. This makes domestic work the largest type of employment for women in Brazil.

The organisation of domestic workers has now started in Brazil. In a non-descript office building in central São Paulo, the labour union Sindomestica has its office. Sindomestica, which operates in São Paulo only, is affiliated to one of the national confederations. So far, it is only organising a very small group of domestic workers but the number is growing.

Laiara Pinheiro da Rocha, director of Sindomestica

> 'It all started in 2004-2005 when I worked as a domestic worker and I realised what big problems we had,' says Laiara Pinheiro da Rocha, director of Sindomestica. 'In 2006 we started to organise, in the beginning it was very difficult as we had very little political support, but today we are more accepted.'

Photo | David Isaksson

As of March 2014, 13 countries have ratified the Convention, Brazil not being one of them. This means that the legal status of domestic workers in Brazil has not changed, even if the country has taken some important steps forward in recognising the role of domestic workers by applying new rules. Working hours are now established and there is a minimum salary, even if many domestic workers still do not get it.

> 'Initially the companies and persons were quite negative about us forming a union, but when we started to explain what regulations would mean they calmed down,' Laiara Pinheiro da Rocha continues. 'Legally we do not yet have the same rights as other workers, but I believe this is about to change now. Other unions support us. It has been a gradual build-up, through which we are becoming more and more accepted as having real jobs. We have signed a collective agreement. But 90 per cent of all labour union leadership is still male and this is something that we have to change.'

It is a long process, but people are gradually beginning to understand what is happening, according to Laiara. 'We take with us the need for struggle, that valorisation of our work. In this the global movement is very important, as it means that we are getting recognition on a global level. And this gives us the same rights as other labour groups. It gives us strength and more respect, among other things.'

Laiara emphasises that there has been a big change in the way society looks at domestic workers: 'We are receiving better salaries and getting more accepted. Previously, domestic workers were illiterate, living isolated lives in the homes of the families they worked for. Now, most would have mobile phones and they do not live in the homes of their employers.'

However, a lot of problems remain. 'Many domestic workers who have arrived from the north-eastern part of the country still do not know how to read and write, maybe they have worked for the same family for 20 years, and they have no social relationships other than with the family they are working for.'

What will the future be for domestic workers? 'We will never disappear,' Laiara asserts. 'It is still difficult for women to find good pre-schools. As long as the government does not give more support to women in terms of paid maternity leave and other welfare programmes, the system with domestic workers will remain.'

Stopping the killing machine

You might think that AIDS, malaria or tuberculosis is the biggest danger to health in Africa. And yes, 'traditional' diseases are still the major health problem on the continent, but by 2030 traffic and road accidents will account for more deaths than most diseases.

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) about 1.3 million people are killed yearly in road accidents worldwide. The majority are pedestrians, and most of them live in poor or middle-income countries. In fact, road accidents kill more young people between 15 and 29 than any war or any disease.[36] Ninety per cent of all road deaths occur in middle and low-income countries, yet those countries are home to only every second car in the world.

While countries in Europe and America have greatly reduced the number of road deaths, much remains to be done in Africa and many Asian countries. Still, a lot could be achieved with limited resources. According to The Economist, the cost of a speed bumper in Africa is only about $US7, while building fences between pedestrians and traffic in Bangladesh will cost US$135. [37]

Morning traffic in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

36 http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/jan/20/uganda-agency-road-safety-traffic-agency

37 http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21595003-roads-bring-growth-poor-countriesand-death-making-them-safer-need-not-cost-much-reinventing

'The son of the official fled from the scene'

The son of a government official on Saturday fled the scene of an accident in Kandal province that killed one man and caused two others to lose a leg, police said.

Ek Sovannara – the son of former Kandal provincial police chief Ek Krit, who is now an adviser at the Ministry of Interior – collided with a motorcycle carrying three men while traveling on National Road 8 from Phnom Penh to Prey Veng province, according to police.

Police allowed Mr. Sovannara, himself the deputy police chief of the Prey Vor International Checkpoint in Svay Rieng province, to fix a blown tire on his Lexus SUV before he sped away from the scene of the accident, according to Men Sokhoeun, Khsach Kandal district police chief.

'The offender asked permission from us to fix the tire and said he will solve the problem after that,' Mr. Sokhoeun said. 'But he escaped after fixing the tire.'

Cambodia Daily, 14 April 2014[38]

Photo | David Isaksson

In Cambodia road accidents are most often caused by drivers who disobey the rules or neglect safety measures.

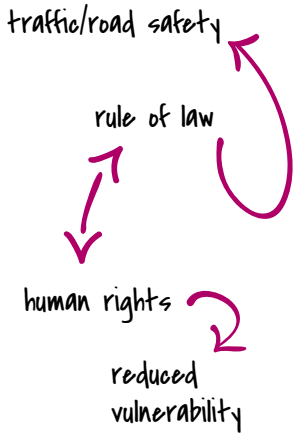
The Cambodian Coalition for Road Safety (CRY) is a local organisation working to promote respect for traffic laws and improve general safety on the roads in Cambodia.

> 'Traffic accidents already kill more people than HIV/AIDS and we are working a lot with communities to reduce the number of accidents, even though it is not always easy to explain to people why, for example, they need to wear a helmet,' says Vannarith Nob at CRY.

In 2012, there were 90 casualties per 100,000 registered vehicles in Cambodia, an increase of 100 per cent since 2005 and several times higher compared than in the neighbouring country, Vietnam.

Contrary to popular belief, road accidents are most often caused, not by bad roads, but by drivers who disobey the rules or neglect safety measures. In Cambodia speeding and drunk driving are two of the key factors that contribute to the high death toll.

But why should civil society be engaged in road safety issues, isn't that an issue for the governments? Not only. Privilege, poverty and the rule of law are all relevant factors. Those who cause accidents are often closely connected with the financial and political elite of the country, and in many cases they get away without any penalty at all.



At the same time, those affected are often the poorest in the society. For many of them, even a minor injury will lead to costs for health care and loss of income, which could have a devastating effect on the household economy. Or as Vannarith Nob says:

> 'Most of the people who die are local farmers. Motorcycle riders and passengers are also very much affected. For that reason we are pressuring the government for tougher laws and that road safety should be included in the national budget.'

Another problem is lack of law enforcement. When people don't trust that the legal system will bring those who have caused accidents to court, sometimes they try to kill the culprits. This, in turn, means that those who have caused an accident may try to flee.

'It is not enough to have laws they must also be enforced. Education without law will never work!' Vannarith Nob continues.

Mauretania is one of the most dangerous countries in the world. At least if you are a pedestrian. With 28 deaths on the road per 100,000 persons/ 250 deaths per 100,000 cars Mauretania is about ten times as dangerous as Sweden.

38 http://www.cambodiadaily.com/news/police-officers-car-kills-one-in-hit-and-run-56510/

Redefining success – Why?

Based on the text of the 2013 UNU-WIDER Annual Lecture, given by former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari in September 2013, and his speech at the Global Economic Summit in Kiel, October 2013

The demanding need to understand and sometimes even guide the global economic system – or systems, as one might nowadays argue – is as timely as ever. Even though we have managed to move towards poverty reduction goals on a global scale, we still have a lot to tackle in terms of understanding what quality of life really means in the 21st century. The basic challenge for researchers and political decision-makers all around the world is still the same as it was in the 1970s and the 1980s. As societies and their dynamics constantly change, the way we see and interpret wealth and growth also changes. This is not only an interesting theoretical discussion around the economic paradigms and models. Our understanding of economics, poverty and growth deeply affects the choices we make, and the political practices we choose, when combating the everyday challenges of inequality. This is true both at the level of global decision-making, but also at the level of national or regional policies, and even at the level of smaller local communities.

My personal experience with these challenges goes back all the way to the early 1960s when for the first time I encountered serious development policy challenges in Pakistan. The observations I made at the time have been guiding me throughout my career. Unless we can solve the very challenges of deep inequalities in any given society, we can never achieve peace that is truly sustainable.

I have become increasingly convinced that we have to start seriously challenging our conventional ways of thinking when it comes to the relation between economic growth and the quality of life. This does not only concern developing countries or emerging economies, but also the Western world, Europe and the US in particular. The good news is that we already have some good examples of egalitarian policies from which we can learn. In the following, I will take a look at some of the things we have learned in the Nordic countries.

A recent study, which I commissioned and my organisation Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) published,[1] shows clearly that economic growth alone is no longer a remedy against poverty, deprivation and other social ills. The study makes the case that what matters is not only the aggregate level of national wealth, but also how the wealth is used within a society. In countries with more equal revenue-sharing there is more trust between people, a higher perceived level of wellbeing, lower infant mortality, better health, longer life expectancy, greater social mobility and better learning results for children in school; there are fewer homicides, and fewer prisoners in jail.

The Nordic countries are a good example of such egalitarian societies. The basic idea of the 'Nordic Model' has been to pursue universal welfare policies, which means that public programmes, services and transfers are designed to serve everyone living in the country. Democratic principles and the rule of law are cornerstones of everyday political decision- making. In the Nordic societies, we believe in the basic tenets of a fair society, which treats everyone on an equal footing. Trust in the national institutions is high. This view of society has already relatively long roots, which cannot be said about many other Western societies.

1 'A Recipe for a Better Life: Experiences from the Nordic Countries', CMI Publication by Heikki Hiilamo and Olli Kangas with Johan Fritzell, Jon Kvist and Joakim Palme, Unigrafia, October 2013

When talking about the 'Nordic Model', I certainly do not mean that it would be possible or desirable for other countries just to copy the model as such. But the egalitarian principles and values should be carefully explored and learned from, when feasible. Values and principles do not cost anything as such. The only price that one has to pay is the readiness to move away from one's comfort zone – which of course can be a tedious process.

As we have come to know, even the 'Nordic Model' cannot be taken for granted. Simultaneously with the present crisis of the European economy, we are facing notable structural problems in the continent. Our egalitarian values and our social model are at stake, and we have to take this seriously. Our Nordic tradition of balancing the markets and growth with benefits to society is entering a challenging phase. Are our struggling economies still able to bear the costs of our social model? When considering the answer, one should also ask whether our societies are able to bear the social costs of increasing poverty and inequality in the future.

Another thing that I want to briefly touch upon is governance. Which, again, is closely related to the debate on fair society and the quality of life. Progress in economic growth in a country does not always correspond to progress in democratic and social reforms. No matter how rich in resources or wealth a country might be, if the leaders are not held accountable and the resources transparently managed, the chances that good education, health care and equal opportunities will benefit the majority of the population remain small. Recent high growth in resource-rich countries has indeed led to increased inequality in situations where the governments have been unwilling or unable to tackle growing inequalities between their citizens, as for example between rural and urban dwellers.

It is also important to note that where national institutions and trust in them is weak, attitudes towards laws and regulations are also often dismissive. This in turn is fertile ground for corruption and governance based on arbitrary decisions, often favouring the elites.

When talking about sustainable peace and the reduction of social tensions in any given society, equal access to opportunities is everything. Only this way can we build a society in which its citizens accept and respect their public institutions. Without proper education, health system and adequate level of social security, the functional capabilities of citizens will not be realised.

Martti Ahtisaari had a distinguished career with the United Nations and the Finnish Foreign Ministry, before being elected President of the Republic of Finland in 1994, a position he held until February 2000. Since then he has continued to work in international peace mediation and conflict resolution. He founded the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), an independent non-governmental organisation working in the field of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and post-conflict statebuilding. Today Martti Ahtisaari chairs the board of CMI. In December 2008 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Skewed tax regimes as a cause of income inequality

George Kioko

One of the most important canons of taxation identified by Adam Smith is equity. Tax systems have to ensure that the burden of taxation is distributed equitably, in relation to the ability of tax-payers to pay.[1] Taxes are primarily raised through taxing employment income (or workers/employees) and capitals gains (or owners of capital). Taxation is the easiest way to redistribute wealth in an economy. Skewed tax regimes have contributed to the widening of the gap between rich and poor. The tax systems have not been responsive enough to changes in the markets, where some people have learnt how to avoid taxes legally and others get tax reprieves from their governments.

Governments have tried to outdo each other in attracting investors by giving tax incentives to corporations so that they can build companies and employ people. Technological advancement has enabled countries like the US and China to gain comparative advantage in production of goods and provision of services. They are able to produce more, high-quality goods, or provide services, faster. The cost of labour in the US and Europe has increased so much that some companies have moved to India and China where labour is cheaper, thus leaving people in their own countries unemployed.[2] The owners of capital are able to move to more favourable areas, as seen in the movement of business-processing firms to India, and of US manufacturing firms to China. The same cannot be said of labour as the other essential factor in production. Labour mobility is limited because of immigration laws in different countries, among other factors.

Therefore, many economies have adopted policies that give the owners of capital more incentives to establish businesses and employ more people. What is missing is any requirement that for a company to qualify for these incentives they have to employ a specific number of new employees and ensure that the existing ones are paid well. The result is that owners of capital (for example, in Kenya, where capital gains are not taxed[3]) continue accumulating and hoarding wealth in tax havens such as Switzerland.[4] Your income might increase a thousandfold but your basic needs can only increase to a point where you do not derive any utility from consuming an extra unit of the 'needed' item and from this point onwards you will start craving other goods and services that are considered 'wants' in economics.

The world population is increasing at a faster rate than the rate at which economies are creating jobs. The global population grew from 2.5 billion people in 1950 to 6.8 billion in 2010.[5] Furthermore, governments give tax breaks to the owners of capital while employment taxes have increased over time. The economic growth in Europe and the US that occurred in the early 20th century was a result of the demand created by the 1st and 2nd World Wars,[6] and – before this – the industrial revolution and the colonisation of various territories where massive quantities of raw materials were transferred to the colonial rulers. Fast-forward to the 21st century and we experienced worldwide recession in 2008, which led to banks being bailed out in the US and Europe, widespread protests and the Arab Spring (though the latter had other causes, too). All these events were attended by large numbers of frustrated young unemployed and underemployed citizens. There were no reported protests from the owners of capital.

'Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital', Abraham Lincoln once said. 'Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.' But this has not happened; instead, we have a situation where a small minority earns the bulk of the income and pays little in the way of tax. Economists state that capital and labour are equal factors in production. However, the industrial and technological revolutions have led to enormous accumulation of wealth in the hands of relatively few owners of capital. A look at taxation policies and systems in the world shows the majority of tax policies and systems in the world give companies tax breaks, tax holidays or charge a lower tax rate and hope these will give the companies an incentive to produce more goods and or provide more services and therefore hire more people. Increase in demand for goods and services would happen if households have more disposable income and not if the corporations pay lower taxes. Consumers can set in motion a cycle that allows companies to survive and thrive and business owners to hire. It is not when their profits increase that owners of capital hire more people, but when they have more customers and are therefore confident they have a growing market for their goods and services. An ordinary consumer is far more of a job creator than the owners of capital. If the consumer does not thrive the economy does not thrive. Trickle-down economics is a totally false notion. Giving tax breaks to the wealthy does not guarantee that they will create jobs. Income inequality is a result of the wealthy hoarding their funds instead of reinvesting.

The majority of tax systems and policies in the world tax capital gains at a rate of 15 per cent while employment income is taxed at up to 35 per cent.[7] This means that the 90 per cent of the world's population who are already struggling to earn a basic living contribute more to the taxman than the 10 per cent of the population who already have enough to pay for their basic needs and a holiday to the Maldives. They contribute more in terms of value for money, considering that they have other competing needs. What would happen if the taxman received more from the wealthy, and also relieved the tax burden on the poor 90 per cent by increasing the minimum taxable income to a point where they can at least cater for their basic needs and transfer this burden to the wealthy. Such a policy change would increase disposable income to the poor, the demand for goods and services, and the revenue for tax authorities, thereby enabling better social amenities.

To achieve this we need to come up with institutions that can redistribute income and wealth. Africa, for example, has most of the world's resources, which if used wisely can help educate many people, build high-tech hospitals, and universities where research and development can be undertaken. But these resources are being siphoned off by a small minority. Transparency will help tax authorities nab more tax evaders, mostly people who know how the system works and the loopholes that they can exploit.[8] This requires policy-makers to put aside their personal interest and focus on the interest of future generations. They should come up with and adopt a tax on wealth, levied progressively at different wealth bands. We need greater transparency about asset ownership, and automatic transmission of bank data to tax authorities. We have to address income inequality before it breeds discontent among the masses and wipes away the many years of hard work. It takes years and hard work to build a nation but it takes a single mistake to destroy it.

George Kioko has an undergraduate degree in economics from the University of Nairobi. He has volunteered for Children's International Summer Villages, a global organisation dedicated to educating and inspiring action for a more just and peaceful world through building intercultural friendship, co-operation and understanding. He currently works for Youth Alive! Kenya, in the finance department.

1 Smith, Adam, 1776, The Wealth of Nations

2 Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu Limited, '2013 Global Manufacturing Competitiveness Index'

3 Kenya's Income Tax Act, 2012.

4 Larudee, M., 2009, 'Sources of Polarization of Income and Wealth: Offshore Financial Centers', Review of Radical Political Economics, Vol. 41, No. 3, pp. 343-35. .

5 '2009 World Population Datasheet': www.prb.org/pdf09/09wpds_eng.p

7 Moore, Stephen, 2012, 'Income Tax Act, Kenya', Manhattan Institute for Policy Research

8 OECD, 2013,'Action Plan on Base Erosion and Profit Shifting': www.oecd.org/ctp/BEPSActionPlan.pdf,

Taking ideas forward

Unlocking Mongolia

What do Mongolia, Bolivia and Burkina Faso have in common? In fact, much more than you might think. Out of the world's almost 200 countries, 32 are land-locked developing countries, defined as not having access to the sea or to a major river system connecting to the sea. Even though some land-locked countries like Botswana are fairly successful, 16 are among the world's least developed countries (LDCs).

Photo | David Isaksson

Erdenetsogt Odbayar, interim director of the international think-tank for land-locked countries.

Despite the large differences in terms of economic development and social structure, there are surprisingly many things that unite the land-locked countries. Above all, there are the limitations (and increased costs) that their geographical situation causes for transport and development, but there are also other issues such as migration and climate change. Many land-locked countries (if not all) have extensive natural resources that could be exploited in a way that could facilitate development for everybody.

In the early 1990s, Mongolia took the initiative to form a joint pressure and lobbying group for land-locked developing countries (LLDCs). The Group of LLDCs was founded and formally established and later, in 2001, a UN Office of the High Representative (now the UN-OHRLLS) was also established as a result of UN resolution 56/227 on the least developed countries. In 2010 a draft multilateral agreement was approved by the LLDC group in NY that would make the think-tank an internationally recognised intergovernmental organisation. Now, step-by-step, national parliaments of land-locked countries are ratifying the agreement in order to create a strong ownership of the International Think-Tank for Land-Locked Developing Countries (ITT for LLCDs).

'In the UN a lot of time was spent on talking about the problems that many land-locked countries are facing, but not about us as a group of countries, having similar problems, facing common challenges. So, if we could get a unified voice our problems could get better attention from the donor countries, that was the reason for forming the think-tank,' says Erdenetsogt Odbayar, interim director of the international Think-tank for Land-locked Developing Countries, based in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

The most pressing issue for land-locked countries is the high transportation cost, due to the lack of access to seas and waterways. The most extreme case may be that of Kazakhstan, with 3,500 km to the nearest port, but the issue is also pressing for Mongolia.

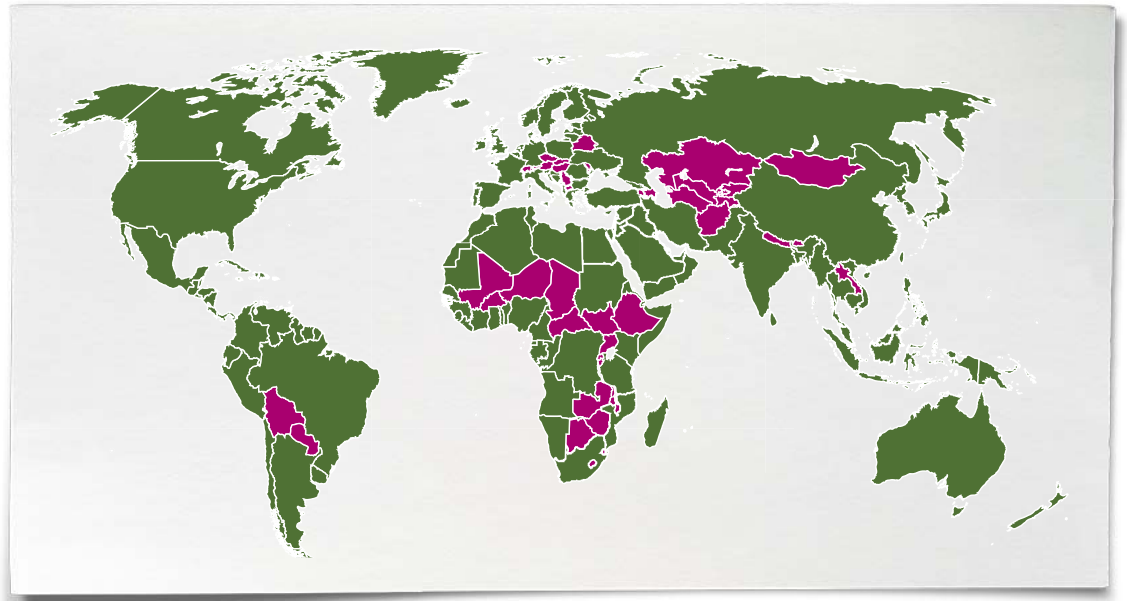
'Mongolia spends 6.2 per cent of its entire GDP just to get our products to the sea. This is four to five times the cost for a country with a seaport,' continues Erdenetsogt Odbayar.

In order to compensate for this, land-locked countries are arguing that they should pay lower duties for entering markets such as the US and the EU.

Another priority for many LLDCs is World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations, as many are not yet members of the trade organisation. The need for increased capacity for trade negotiation is a key priority when your counterpart is China, Russia, the EU or the US.

But it is not only the land-locked countries that would be the winners from increased integration. Developed countries in the North would also be winners, Erdenetsogt Odbayar argues:

> 'You might ask yourself: why should developed or industrial countries care about our challenges? But if you see us as a group we are also a huge market. A possible WTO agreement could boost the world's economy by trillions of dollars.'



Land-locked countries

So far, there have been few attempts, if any, to systemise experiences and best practices between countries such as Bolivia, Nepal and Burkina Faso. But donors could also learn from land-locked countries and experience could be shared in order to speed up development. One country that supports the LLDC process in a strategic way is Turkey, which today backs land-locked countries in its vicinity. Another is Austria, which gives aid to Bhutan.

Improved and more efficient customs handling systems is one area where co-operation could be developed and experience shared. Another is management of natural resources. In many respects these countries have similar problems when it comes to urbanisation. Several countries rely to a large extent on commodities from outside, and are thus vulnerable economies, highly dependent on their neighbours.

> 'For example, we have approached the government of the Czech Republic on how we could learn from them. In many ways there are similarities between us as we have both passed through a transition period from a communist past,' Erdenetsogt Odbayar says.

The overall goal of the International Think-tank for LLDCs is to use top-quality research and advocacy to improve the ability of these countries to build capacity with a view to benefiting from international trade, including WTO negotiations, with the ultimate aim of improving human development and reducing poverty as well as unifying their voice.

One aim for the think-tank is to tap into and make use of already existing resources, as not everyone is aware of the knowledge they have and how it could be useful for others. There are, for example, good research institutes in countries like Luxembourg that could be useful for LLDCs if they could help with their expertise.

> 'It is important that the International Think-tank for LLDCs has its own networks around the world. Through that we could dip into already existing resources and make papers, best practices and other things available for a larger audience, including journalists and politicians,' Erdenetsogt Odbayar continues.

In 2013, a lecturer and expert on economic development from Laos toured three other LLDCs in Asia, thanks to a joint support from Japan and the LLDC think-tank, presenting his findings and stimulating discussions.

> 'It was an eye-opener to many as it gave us a possibility to learn more about how Laos has succeeded in bringing investors to the country. The Laotian experience was seen as very useful, not only for Mongolia, but for other countries in the region as well.'

From his viewpoint in Ulaanbaatar, Erdenetsogt Odbayar is sure that the experience-sharing between LLDCs in Africa, Latin America and Asia has just started to take place. Ethiopia has successfully developed a system of dry ports (customs-controlled areas from which sealed land transportation trucks and trains could depart and then be connected direct with sea transport in neighbouring countries without having to pass through one more customs system) and is starting to share this experience with other members. Paraguay is another active co-operation partner.

> 'So far there has not been much contact between Mongolia and African countries but we believe there are many things we could learn, for example when it comes to negotiating with the Chinese for mining rights. China is the biggest investor in Mongolia and there are probably a lot of things we could learn from – for example – Zambia,' Erdenetsogt Odbayar continues.

* Read more at land-locked.org

And when land-locked countries want to build up their welfare system, the model to look into might not be the one in Austria, but a highly successful African country: Botswana.

> 'We can be the playground that connects different actors, coming up with new ideas that would lead to more action and useful policy-making suggestions'.

New thinking, new think-tanks

There are about 7,000 so-called think-tanks around the world, which undertake research in social, financial and other fields. Until recently, the West totally dominated the list of important think-tanks in the world. Now, things are changing. In the 2013 ranking by the University of Pennsylvania,[39] several think-tanks from developing countries are high up on the list, especially when you take the relatively small budgets into consideration.

Ghana, with a population of 25 million, has 38 think-tanks (2013), according to the study. Only Kenya and South Africa have more think-tanks among African countries. Ghana, which has been a stable democracy for more than a decade, and is seen by many as a model African country, is positioning itself as the gateway to West Africa. But the competition is stiff as rapid changes are taking place in many neighbouring countries.

Photo | Pete Souza

President Barack Obama speaks to the crowd at the departure ceremony at Accra airport in Ghana, July 11, 2009.

IMANI Centre for Policy and Education, which could be considered a classically liberal think-tank, is ranked at position 68 on the list of global think-tanks outside of the US (and position 109 if the US is included), ahead of any think-tank in Finland and Greece and most in Sweden.

39 http://gotothinktank.com/dev1/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/GoToReport2013.pdf

And when the scope is restricted to sub-Saharan Africa only, as many as six Ghanaian think-tanks make it into the top 100.

Franklin Cudjoe is the founding president and Chief Executive Officer of Imani and a well-known speaker at global events such as the World Economic Forum in Davos. He is also an outspoken critic of the government in Ghana and a strong free-trade advocate.

> 'The main reason for our humble success is that we have carved a niche in Ghana's policy environment for putting out objective, independent analysis and critique on many issues, using tried and tested techniques that apply across different disciplines. Through effective communication skills and the ability to work with public-spirited media and civil society, we are shaping national, regional and global agenda in order to close the citizen participation gap in the governance process,' Franklin Cudjoe says.

Imani is networking with other think-tanks in Africa and around the world, in countries such as China and South Korea. Together with the OCP Foundation in Morocco, Imani is bridging the gap within the Atlantic space and, together with the South Korean Embassy in Ghana, the co-operation is focusing on energy policies. Through these and other ways of co-operation, new kinds of relations are built up that are based on mutual exchange, instead of old colonial relations.

Since the African renaissance debate was restarted by the (then) South African president Thabo Mbeki in 1997, several think-tanks have played an important role in shaping the new image of Africa. Through the active participation of think-tanks in the New Partnership for Africa's Development and the implementation mechanism Africa Peer Review, governments are starting to agree on common denominators for upholding the rule of law.

> 'Not so long ago economic freedom, trade and good governance issues were not part of the political debate. Now this is changing, many think-tanks are helping shape the discussions on natural resource management and transparent governance. In Ghana, we have our ups and downs in our relations with the government, but the relationship is good, as it has become more respectful. Now, they better understand things we say,' Franklin Cudjoe concludes.

Walk the charge

Virtually every adult Kenyan currently has a mobile, but many do not have electricity in their home, or they are moving around all day without being able to charge their phone. As a result, a micro-business has developed with entrepreneurs who rent out plugs on street corners. But now, a Kenyan company has, literally, taken a new step by developing a charger that you can put in your shoe!

Anthony Mutua, an electrical engineering graduate of Mombasa Polytechnic University College, has for over two years been developing a mobile phone charger which is placed in the shoe. Now, the charger, made by his company Hatua Technologies, has hit the market!

Exposing land-grabbing in Cambodia

The fight for the right to land is intensifying in many countries around the world. Land-grabbing is becoming an increasing problem, and poor farmers, who often have no legal documents to prove their ownership, or those groups who have cultivated the land for generations, have little chance against large companies that operate together with governments to promote economic development.

One way of strengthening people's rights is the project Open Development Cambodia, supported by the ICT Centre Spider at Stockholm University.

Open Development Cambodia* (ODC) is an 'Open Data' website, the first of its kind in Southeast Asia. The open data movement is based on the simple premise that data collected for public interest should be publicly available – without restrictions. Information or 'data' in the public domain should be freely available for everyone to use and reproduce as they wish. ODC does not promote any particular perspective, agenda or bias other than to provide objective information about Cambodia and its development. But the data is of high importance when people are claiming their rights.

'Often, people are unaware of corporate development plans until bulldozers arrive to start new projects sometimes on top of land that they believe is theirs,' says Terry Parnell at ODC. 'So what we wanted to do was to create a comprehensive database that would provide all stakeholders with information on various plans and claims on the land to enable more timely and proactive discussion.'

* www.opendevelopmentcambodia.net

By gathering information from the government, donors and others, Open Development Cambodia has created a spatial database of the country, in English and the local language, and presented as an interactive map with different layers. For example, if you would like to know locations of recent mine licenses, you can tick that box and find them on the map. By using Open Development Cambodia, development stakeholders, including community members, can also see which wells have disappeared – or are in danger of disappearing – as more and more land is claimed by large companies.

'We want people to download our maps, and add their own information such as their historical land and natural resources claims, logging and anything else that could help them utilise the map to strengthen their rights,' continues Terry Parnell.

The first to see opportunity in Open Development Cambodia were foreign journalists and researchers. Now other groups are increasingly using the site.

> 'Some organisations did not understand what it would be good for; they were simply not accustomed to thinking of data as important for advocacy work. But farmers understood. In the villages where people made their own maps, they had a better chance to advocate for their ownership rights then other villages that did not do this. Their identity was strengthened when they could say, "Those are my fruit trees",' notes Terry Parnell.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Photo | David Isaksson

Still, it remains a challenge to aggregate data. ODC aims to attract donor and development organisations, government agencies, private businesses and even communities to contribute data voluntarily.

> 'There is much talk about the need for donors and governments to openly share their data, so this is hopefully just the beginning in Cambodia. In addition there is increasing interest in how various development stakeholders can share their data more openly,' says Terry.

With more external help ODC will be able to strengthen its research and analysis, allowing it to extract more information and make the site even more useful. One area of particular priority is obtaining more information on the companies that buy and invest in land. Often ownership is unclear. So, when regular citizens acquire knowledge and take action, it is not always popular, particularly if it impedes development and powerful local interests in the land. A pending cybercrimes law may make information-sharing more challenging.

> 'Maps are powerful tools...for both planning and advocacy. While it is obvious that increasing people's knowledge may be a threat to some, an informed citizenry is an appropriate prerequisite for good development policy and management,' Terry Parnell concludes.

From brain-drain to brain-gain

Decade after decade, countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America lost many of their most skilled and talented people to Europe and the United States. Each year, an estimated 30,000 academics leave Africa for the developed world. In Ghana alone up to 68 per cent of the country's trained medical staff abandoned the country between 1993 and 2000, according to African Business magazine.[40]

Now the trend is in the other direction: more and more professionals – scientists, researchers, artists, entrepreneurs – are returning to their original home countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The previous brain-drain has been reversed and is turning into a brain-gain.

In Lagos, Seoul, Delhi, Accra, Montevideo and many other cities, you meet them everywhere: those who became tired of living in 'developed' countries or of trying to obtain permanent residency in the West, tired

40 http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-124644558.html

of racism, prejudice and paternalism; those who realised they could have a better life by returning to the past of their parents, which is now turning into the future; those who have come back, fired by a good measure of patriotism and a spirit of adventure.

Photo | David Isaksson

What we see happening is what some researchers call a possible mega-trend in the making. But what will it mean for developments in Europe and the United States? In the US, some are starting to realise what a loss of talent could lead to. In Europe, where right-wing xenophobic parties are gaining ground, few seem to understand the long-term negative effects on productivity and innovation that the current trend could lead to, even as a brain-drain similar to the one that affected Africa is now taking place in Southern Europe, with thousands of skilled professionals leaving countries like Spain and Greece.

Lagos and Mumbai are both centres for the film industry. Nollywood and Bollywood are both bigger than Hollywood.

The giant city of Lagos is in some ways reminiscent of Mumbai in India. The same mix of wealth and poverty, the same intensive business, the same luxury that the visitor is not fully able to detect and interpret, because that road that runs through some of the richest parts of the city resembles the rough track to a construction site.

The photographer and documentary film producer Niyi Babade is an example of the so-called reverse brain-drain.

Lagos is a dynamic, exciting and forward-looking city. And just like in the Indian city of Mumbai, the geography puts constraints on development: a narrow isthmus and lagoons and the fact that everyone wants to live in 'the right place' (otherwise the commuting time will be absurdly long) often makes the situation unbearable. And then, there is of course another similarity: Lagos and Mumbai are both centres for the film industry. Nollywood and Bollywood are both bigger than Hollywood, another sign of how the world is changing.

The photographer and documentary film producer Niyi Babade is an example of the so-called reverse brain-drain. He lives in a typical middle-class neighbourhood in Lagos, 40 minutes (on days when traffic is flowing) from the centre of town. The apartment costs about US$1,300 per month to rent. Previously, he and his family lived for several years in Ireland – where schools function properly, where there is water and electricity around the clock. 'Myself, I would never move from here,' he says. 'There is much work here that pays well. The profit I made on my last film was enough to pay two years of school fees for my children. I would never be able to make that money in Europe'.

In South Africa, there are thousands of highly qualified returnees from the diaspora. Brazil recently reached its lowest unemployment rate ever, with less that 5 per cent unemployed, although the international media mostly report on violence and corruption in the country. Brazil is more and more becoming a magnet for migrants, not only from neighbouring Latin American countries, but also for US Americans who have started to migrate south.[41]

Vivek Wadhwa, entrepreneur and researcher at Duke University in the US, believes that the flow of talents from Asia to the United States may already have reversed, with more future entrepreneurs leaving the United States than moving there.

In his first study, Vivek Wadhwa included an analysis of patent applications in the US: 'In 2006, foreign nationals residing in the United States were named as inventors or co-inventors in an astounding 26 per cent of patent applications filed in the United States. This increased from 8 per cent in 1998. Some US corporations had foreign nationals contribute to a majority of their patent applications – such as Qualcomm at 72 per cent, Merck at 65 per cent, GE at 64 per cent, and Cisco at 60 per cent. Over 40 per cent of the international patent applications filed by the US government had foreign authors.'[42]

41 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-12745667

42 http://www.american.com/archive/2008/july-august-magazine-contents/america2019s-other-immigration-crisis

Since then, the trend has accelerated. In 2012, a study from Partnership for a New American Economy showed that immigrants played a role in more than three out of four patents at the nation's top research universities.[43]

According to Vivek Wadhwa, highly skilled immigrant entrepreneurs from India and China are leaving the United States by the tens of thousands each year, attracted by better economic and professional opportunities in their home countries. The report, 'The Grass is Indeed Greener in India and China for Returnee Entrepreneurs,' (2011) by Vivek Wadhwa and others,[44] is based on a survey of US-educated Indian and Chinese professionals who returned to their home countries and started businesses there. The respondents cited economic opportunities, favourable conditions for starting a business and the speed of professional growth as the leading motivations for returning home. Family ties also played a significant role in luring the entrepreneurs back to their native countries.

Most returnees believe that the entrepreneurial advantages are better in their home countries, where they can benefit from lower operating costs, heightened professional recognition, greater access to local markets and a better quality of life than they could attain in the United States. The latter is interesting, because you might not associated an overcrowded city in India with a better quality of life, than, for example, San José in California. But apparently, for many people, close contact with their own family, culture and traditions are more important than living the American dream.

Here are some of the survey's key findings:

- More than 60 per cent of Indian and 90 per cent of Chinese respondents cited economic opportunities in their countries as a very important factor in motivating the return home.
- The returnees took pride in contributing to economic development in their home countries. More than 60 per cent of Indians and 51 per cent of Chinese rated this as very important. Fifty-six per cent of Indians and 59 per cent of Chinese said their quality of life back home was better than or equal to what they had experienced in the United States.
- In China, 76 per cent ranked access to local markets as very important. In India, 64 per cent did.

43 http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/26/business/immigrants-played-role-in-majority-of-us-technical-patents-study-finds.html?_r=0

44 http://www.kauffman.org/what-we-do/research/immigration-and-the-american-economy/the-grass-is-indeed-greener-in-india-and-china-for-returnee-entrepreneurs

A higher salary was the only advantage the respondents attributed to the United States. Sixty-four per cent of the Indian respondents said their salaries were better in the United States than at home. Forty-three per cent of Chinese respondents said that salaries were higher in the United States, while 20 per cent stated they were about the same in the United States and China.

India and China are still the major destinations for returnees, but it is in Africa where the reverse trend is most notable. The economic boom during the last decade has resulted in a new demand for professionals in many African countries. Innovative ICT technology, better communication and an improved political climate have also contributed to the current process. A report by the South African outsourcing company Adcorp in 2014 indicates, for example, that a net total of 359,000 highly skilled South Africans have returned from abroad since the global financial crisis began in 2008.[45]

'There is a momentum among young, upwardly mobile people to come home,' says Rolake Akinola, a Nigerian business analyst with years of work experience in London, in an interview with Time magazine. 'We call ourselves the Repatriate Generation.'[46]

But what is the aim of the so-called 'repatriate generation,' or Afropolitans, as they are also called (see page xxx)? Money and business opportunity is of course important, but major factors may also be a feeling of pride and a sense of duty, as well as the challenge of working in an unpredictable setting. It's the African adventure, but reversed, as it is Africans themselves living it.

'Don't wait till it gets better, come home and make it better!' The video trailer at the website of the Homecoming Revolution is loaded with sound, music and symbolism, just like a Disney Movie. What follows are short clips showing successful Africans who have decided to return, or are already back in Africa. The video ends with the words: 'You need Africa – and Africa needs you. Isn't it time you came home?'

At Homecoming Revolution you can upload your CV, find ads for new jobs and read articles about current trends. But maybe most importantly, you can feel part of a trend that is making the world better and better. And of course, you are coming home, aren't you?

45 http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/labour/2014/01/14/expertise-flows-back-into-sa-as-brain-drain-is-reversed

46 http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2086837,00.html

Uruguay – Back to the future

Together with Cuba, Uruguay has the oldest population in Latin America. During the years of economic crisis and military dictatorship, almost 15 per cent of Uruguay's tiny population (approximately 3.5 million) emigrated. Today, Uruguay is one of the countries in the world that is actively trying to convince those who emigrated to return.

'There are two trends that coincide, the crisis in Europe and the USA and the economic boom in Uruguay where the unemployment rate is among the lowest in the history of the country, something that has led to a shortage of qualified labour,' says economist Lucía Pittaluga.

Photo | Jimmy Baikovicius

Punta del Este, Uruguay

Another contributing factor is the fact that it is getting more difficult to get permanent residency in the United States. But the most important factor is a change in mind-set: the pessimistic view harboured by those who left Uruguay 10 or 20 years ago, has been replaced by new expectations of the future. People are hopeful; they feel that things are improving!

Many of those who left for Spain were skilled workers; others were medics, engineers and nurses. Today, the country lacks qualified technicians and workers for the expanding industrial sector. By 2012, Uruguay had registered about 40,000 returnees. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs

runs a programme with tax incentives and simplified administrative procedures for those who return, something that means that they can import private goods for private use without being taxed. Still, it is quite a bureaucratic process that should be further simplified, Lucía Pittaluga believes.

Many of the returnees are children to those who fled the military regime; there are also 'native' Spanish citizens who choose to migrate to Uruguay.

> 'So far, there are more people talking about returning than those who are actually coming back, but I believe the process will accelerate. The people who are returning have important networks that Uruguay can benefit from. We also have migrants from neighbouring countries, and this is a relatively new phenomenon. The regional mobility is increasing, many of those coming to Uruguay from the region will take up relatively low-paid jobs as domestic workers and labourers in the agriculture sector and other areas,' Lucía Pittaluga continues.

Despite the positive trend there is also a certain fear among those living in Uruguay that they will lose out in a competition with the migrants arriving. There is also the issue of culture and tradition: how will the migrants influence the society as a whole; what new ideas they will bring with them?

'In the future we can expect a shortage of labour in many sectors, especially since we have an ageing population. This became clear when the new gigantic paper mill was under construction and the company needed to look for qualified construction workers outside of Uruguay. And who will take over the agriculture work when the current generation of farmers retire? Not their children anyway, as they are not very interested,' Lucía Pittaluga concludes.

Diaspora networking

There are several network organisations that try to create incentives for the diaspora to return. Some of them are:

- The Digital Diaspora Network: Africa – a collaborative effort between several UN agencies that seeks to promote development in Africa through mobilising the African diaspora.
- The World Bank's African Diaspora Program
- Sikaman Association of Ghana, based in the Netherlands.
- Homecoming Revolution (homecomingrevolution.com)
- Findajobinafrica.com

Creative centres, talented people

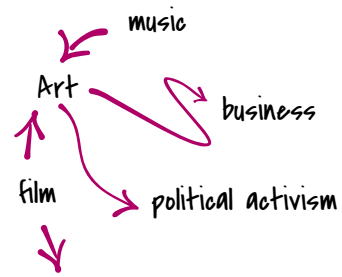
Which are the countries, cities and regions in the ascendancy, the ones we should take a look at? In 2002, the American urbanism scholar Richard Florida launched his theories about the creative class, creating the gay-bohemian index that showed that creativity and tolerance was a key driving force behind economic development and increased property values. Florida used what he called the three T's of economic development: technology, talent and tolerance. Thus, an environment that was favourable for gays and bohemians would also benefit everybody, contributing to economic development and prosperity. In more recent works Florida also argues that the development of urban mega-regions in itself contributes to further clustering and further concentration of talents.

'The creative centers are not thriving for such traditional economic reasons as access to natural resources or transportation routes,' writes Richard Florida. 'Nor are they thriving because their local governments have give away the store through tax breaks and other incentives to lure business. They are succeeding largely because creative people want to live there. The companies then follow the people – or, in many cases, are started by them. Creative centers provide the integrated ecosystem or habitat where all forms of creativity – artistic and cultural, technological and economical – can take root and flourish.'[47]

But could the 'Florida model' also be applied to countries in the South? In Florida's model the people striving for social change are not a significant group, but in a global context, they most likely would be (and why not?) a part of the creative class as well. So, where are the places that matter, where innovation and social change is taking place?

Lagos – the city of the future?

Many are scared of the Nigerian mega-city Lagos, but Lagos actually contains many of the features that give it a potential to become a world-class city in the future. It is a vibrant urban region with a large business community, it has the world's second largest movie industry and it has been the centre of the fight for democracy in Nigeria. Currently, Lagos is constructing a totally new city on reclaimed land, Eko Atlantic City, which Nigeria hopes will turn Lagos into the economic hub of Africa. When completed, Eko Atlantic will have some 400,000 dwellers and several hundred thousands will commute there every day. While some call Eko Atlantic just another gated community (admittedly a fairly large one) that will cement inequality, others, like Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka, describes Eko Atlantic as 'rising like Aphrodite from the foam of the Atlantic.'[48]



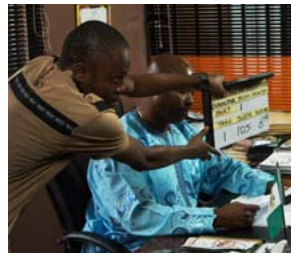


Photo | David Larson

47 Florida, Richard, 2002, The Rise of the Creative Class, Basic Books.

48 http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/eko-atlantic-the-making-of-a-future-city/141035

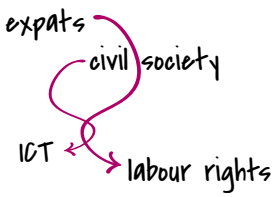


Photo | David Isaksson

Phnom Penh – emergence of a new militant working class

The Cambodian capital is a messy, corrupt and polluted place, but it is also a very dynamic city. It is the capital of the only democratic country (with many flaws) in Indochina. Thanks to a strong civil society and a mixture of expats and Khmer geeks, a strong clustering of ICT and human rights organisations has developed. Cambodia is also a country where textile workers (mostly women) are increasingly confronting multinationals for better living conditions.

Photo | Hendrik Terbeck

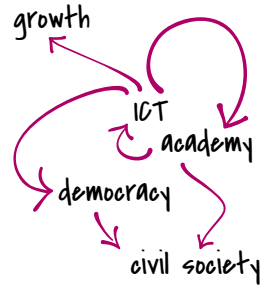
Dharamsala – engaging China in a constructive way

More than any others, the Tibetans know the harsh reality of living under a brutal one-party state. The city of Dharamsala in India is the capital of the Tibetan government in exile and as such a centre of culture and learning. Many believe that Tibet's struggle is a lost cause. But could it be that the non-confrontational and non-violent way of engaging China will actually work in the end?

Photo | Peter Durand

Nairobi – the Silicon Savannah

The Kenyan capital is the home of the Silicon Savannah, the cradle of the African ICT industry. Dusty, chaotic, innovative and dynamic, Nairobi is becoming increasingly modern, with free Wi-Fi on local matatu minibuses. The development of M-Pesa, a mobile-phone based money transfer and microfinancing service, has made Kenya the world leader of mobile banking, and now the Kenyan government aims to give every child a laptop.



Montevideo – the global retrotopia?

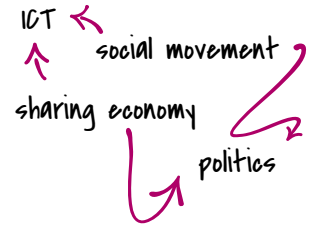
Some call Uruguay a retrotopia, a country that is looking back in time and at the same time creating the future. Montevideo, the capital of the tiny South American country, is a world-class laboratory for ICT technology, political change and social innovation. Uruguay was the first Latin American country to legalise abortion (and marijuana), and the current (2014) president, José Mujica, has been called the world's poorest leader as he insists on giving away most of his salary and continues to drive his old, battered car. Despite this, Mujica plays a key role in the US-Cuba dialogue.

Photo | Rod Waddington

Porto Alegre – where participation started

Porto Alegre, the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul in southern Brazil, has for several decades been a laboratory for social change. Porto Algre is the home of the World Social Forum and the place where the ideas of participative budgeting emerged. It is also an important hub for social venture, ICT development and sharing. In 1999 the first free software project (PSL-RS) was started in the city. In May 2014, the 15th Global Free Software Forum (FISL) was held in Porto Alegre.

Photo | forfunoficial



Power – The world of tomorrow?

A new financial order

With Detroit in bankruptcy, Mongolia experiencing the highest economic growth rate in the world[49] and large companies from countries like India and China buying into the old business structure, the global financial and business system is changing all the time. In Africa, some new billionaires are turning philanthropist. One such is the Nigerian oil tycoon (and fashion designer) Folorunsho Alakija, the first woman on Forbes' annual ranking of the 40 richest Africans, who has a net fortune estimated at US$600 million. And when fellow Europeans can no longer afford skiing holidays, Switzerland looks to China to fill its resorts. The number of Chinese tourists visiting Switzerland is growing annually by 40 per cent, and Mandarin-speaking ski guides have plenty of offers to choose from.[50]

What can we expect from all this? What strategies could the old world apply? And how will the current changes translate into global political changes?

The decline of the West

How does it affect the 'West,' no longer being the centre of the world for politics, knowledge and communication? What should we expect from South-South relations in the long term? What would a mapping of South-South relations look like?

The trend has been very clear in recent years: growth is taking place outside of Europe, Japan and the United States. The discovery of large reserves of oil and natural gas in Africa creates new opportunities for countries such as Tanzania and Mozambique; a shift of power is in the making. So, while Europe focuses on Russia and Ukraine, a long-term, more important development is taking place in other parts of the world.

when fellow Europeans can no longer afford ski-ing holidays, switzerland looks to China to fill its resorts.

49 http://www.businessinsider.com/fastest-growing-economies-through-2015-2013-1?op=1

50 http://www.worldcrunch.com/culture-society/switzerland-grooming-slopes-for-chinese-ski-boom/ski-skiing-alpine-chinese-tourism/c3s15116/#.U6nyrRYVep1

Seeing the old world from the outside

How do people in the South look upon the old world? When they tell our story, what does it look like? What ideas do they have for regeneration and for getting us all back on track? Is the North prepared to listen to the South?

In 1995, just a few years before the Asian financial crisis, Mahathir Mohamad, then prime minister of Malaysia, expressed his opinions as follows: 'Western society is riddled with single mothers which promotes incest, homosexuality, with cohabitation, with unlimited greed, a lack of respect for others and, of course, with a rejection of religious teachings and values. The people who are living in such an environment are as so rootless and strayed as if they would have been drifting around in the Ocean.'

During the previous years, many Asian countries had passed through a period of fast growth. Thanks to diligence and discipline, poverty had been left behind, the ageing leaders had finally achieved their dreams and their countries had developed rapidly. Still, people were not thankful; instead they started to insist on democracy and individual freedom. The leaders came to feel that they had acquired not only material wealth but also 'moral depravity' from Europe and the US. So, they needed a way to rally support against the negative cultural influence of the West. Thus, the term 'Asian values' came into existence as a way of defining elements of society, culture and history common to the nations of South East and East Asia that, supposedly, contrasted with the 'Western' principles of democracy and 'human rights'. The West was accused of using the talk of human rights as a way to secure its own position of hegemony over the rest of the world. Universal human rights were portrayed as a threat to the culture, stability and ethnic unity of the nation, as they were based on a Western individualistic society, and had no place in Asia.

In 'Shared values,' a White Paper issued in 1991, the Singapore government tried to show how the country's cultural world was under attack from abroad:

> 'A government composed of honourable men (Junzi) who have a duty to do the right thing for the people and the people's trust and respect, suits us better than the Western idea of a government given such limited powers as possible and always regarded with suspicion until proven otherwise,' wrote the Singapore government.

Photo | Ant Smith

Asian leaders came to feel that they had acquired not only material wealth but also 'moral depravity' from Europe and the US.

Singapore was not alone. In countries such as Vietnam and Malaysia the leaders also hit the brake, using neo-Confucianism as a pretext and tool. They were especially worried about Western influences on the younger generation, perhaps because the leaders anyway understood so little about what young people were doing.

> 'If you don't agree, you just keep quiet. Let us manage our society. If we are wrong we will find out by ourselves'
> Yoweri Museveni, president of Uganda

The neo-Confucianism of the 1990s simply became Asia's own version of the American right-wing 'family values,' which would prove that Asia stood for order, responsibility and growth, while the West was sinking deeper into decadence and decay.

The end of the Asian values discourse came in 1997 when the Asian financial crisis hit countries like Malaysia especially hard, demonstrating in a crude way that Asian 'superiority' was more an idea constructed by those who wanted to remain in power than a model that actually worked.

Photo | Adam Jones

Are there any parallels with today's Africa? While US Christian Right leaders made headlines when international pressure forced them to retract support for Uganda's notorious Anti-Homosexuality Bill of 2009, a new report by Political Research Associates shows that US Christian Right groups continue to build organisational strength and campaign to inscribe homophobia and anti-abortion politics in the constitutions and laws of African countries in the years since.

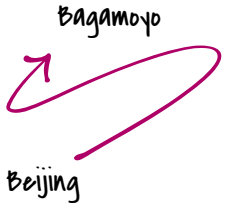
> 'Although anti-abortion and anti-LGBT legislation were established by British colonial governments, US Christian Right groups label human rights supporters as 'neo-colonialists' imposing liberal sexual morals on Africa. Hiding behind African staff, these groups have established local offices and befriended key African political and religious leaders. The charismatic beliefs shared by many African Christians and American religious conservatives has also created an opening for the US right-wing to exploit,' writes Rev. Dr Kapya Kaoma in the report Colonizing African Values: How the U.S. Christian Right is Transforming Politics in Africa (2012).[51]

So far, the expression 'African values' does not seem to be widely used, but it might just be a question of time. In early 2014, the president of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, defended the country's Anti-Homosexuality Bill when signing it into law (the law has since been rejected by the constitutional court of Uganda). In an interview with CNN he hit back at criticism from the West and at President Obama's warning that US-Ugandan relations risked being damaged.

Museveni said the US should 'respect African societies and their values, just the way we don't interfere with yours,' and warned: 'If you don't agree, you just keep quiet. Let us manage our society. If we are wrong we will find out by ourselves, just the way we don't interfere with yours.'[52]

51 http://www.politicalresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/Colonizing-African-Values.pdf

52 http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2014/02/25/video-ugandan-president-homosexuals-disgusting-obama-respect-african-values/



China-Tanzania relations

In the 1960s and 1970s, China sent thousands of workers to Tanzania to help build a railway as a gesture of solidarity. The railway, commonly known as TAZARA, is among the longest in Africa and covers a distance of 1,860 kilometres (1,160 miles) from Tanzania's capital city of Dar es Salaam to Zambia's Copper Belt city of Kapiri-Mposhi. At that time, the focus was agriculture production. Tanzania's home-grown Ujamaa socialism with collectivisation went well with the Chinese people's communes.

Today, the close relations remain and even if the business model (and in Tanzania the political system) has changed, the focus for co-operation is the same: development through infrastructure.

In March 2013, China's President Xi Jinping visited Tanzania where he signed several agreements for development projects, including the US$10 billion investment in the port of Bagamoyo, a small city north-west of the capital.[53] 'President Xi's visit is historic,' Tanzania's minister of foreign affairs and international co-operation Bernard Membe noted, adding that: 'An agreement like that of the port of Bagamoyo is a lifelong investment.'

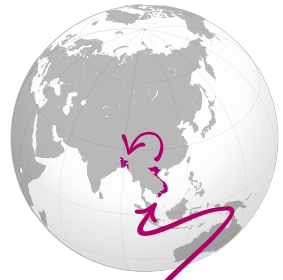
Scheduled for completion by 2017, the port at Bagamoyo will – if it is built – handle 20 times more cargo than the Tanzanian capital, which is the country's largest port. So, why is China building it? If will facilitate China-bound shipments of minerals from Zambia, Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo via the Indian Ocean. The construction of the port should also be seen against the background of the offshore gas discoveries along the coast of Tanzania, which promise to play their part in promoting a strong and enduring relationship with China.

The port will also transform Bagamoyo into an East African hub for Indian Ocean shipments to and from six of Tanzania's mostly land-locked neighbours (Malawi, Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda). In this, Bagamoyo will provide a highly competitive alternative to Kenya's port expansion plans in Mombasa and Lamu which, as well as catering for national trade, are focused on meeting the needs of neighbouring countries. Thus, with its investment, China is having a radical impact on the economic development of East Africa as a whole. The port is most likely to become a game-changer in the way that TAZARA never was.

Tanzanian railway

53 http://sabahionline.com/en_GB/articles/hoa/articles/features/2013/03/27/feature-01

Vietnam goes to Bangladesh



Often, South-South relations are seen as a way for countries such as Brazil or China to exploit other developing countries. But there are also examples of other kinds of co-operation.

The media is full of reports on the situation of textile workers in Bangladesh. But how does Bangladesh get on with its neighbours? What mutual relations have been developed? And what are the benefits of these?

Photo | David Isaksson

Vietnam

Over 40 years have passed since Vietnam and Bangladesh established diplomatic relations.[54] As soon as Vietnam gained independence in 1971, Bangladesh came out in strong support of the country and its struggle against the United States, condemning the bombing in the north of Vietnam. In 1973, Vietnam and Bangladesh officially established diplomatic relations, but not much happened until the early 2000s, when increased commercial co-operation began to take off. What, then, can Vietnam and Bangladesh collaborate on? Agriculture plays a vital role in the economy of both countries, and experts have been travelling between the two countries to study water management, improved agricultural practices and other areas. Mitigating climate change is also something that unites the two countries. Bangladesh is among the most vulnerable countries, physically and economically, to climate change. Vietnam, too,

54 http://vietnamnews.vn/opinion/198025/bangladesh-eager-to-build-on-historical-relationship.html
http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/old/more.php?news_id=141422&date=2012-08-28

is vulnerable, and floods, cyclones and droughts regularly strike both countries, affecting hundreds of thousands of families every year.

Despite this, trade between the two countries is very small, compared to their sizes. Bangladesh exports jute and jute goods, leather, urea fertiliser and pharmaceutical items to Vietnam and imports agro-machinery, agro-products and construction materials.

Another area is the export of manpower: 'Bangladesh has more than two million workers abroad. Can Bangladesh share with Viet Nam the experience in training workers for labour export since Viet Nam also has an abundant number of human resources?' asks Vietnam's official English-language newspaper in an article. [55]

At the same time, the two countries are competing to attract the international textile industry. Could a race to the bottom for low salaries be converted into a race to the top in terms of quality and workers' security? Can Vietnam and Bangladesh together create a win-win situation?

55 http://vietnamnews.vn/opinion/198025/bangladesh-eager-to-build-on-historical-relationship.html

Shovna village, Bangladesh

Photo | T. Krupnik/CIMMYT

Photo | David Isaksson

Accra, Ghana

Why the taxman is the real revolutionary

Let me tell you how it will be.
There's one for you, nineteen for me,
'Cos I'm the taxman, yeah, I'm the taxman.
Should five per cent appear too small,
Be thankful I don't take it all.
'Cos I'm the taxman.
Yeah, I'm the taxman.

The Beatles song from 1966 about the taxman who took away it all is a good illustration of how most people in the West perceive the tax authorities. But today, the trend is changing. Tax is becoming an issue of justice and transparency. Tax havens are disappearing, the pressure on foreign companies to pay taxes in developing countries is on the increase, and the so-called Tobin tax (or Robin Hood tax) might even become a reality.

The organisation Tax Justice Network (TJN) seeks to promote socially just, democratic and progressive taxation systems in Africa and the rest of the world, advocating for pro-poor tax regimes and the strengthening of tax regimes to promote domestic resource mobilisation. TJN aims to challenge harmful tax policies and practices that favour the wealthy and aggravate and perpetuate inequality.

'Tax is the most important, the most beneficial, and the most sustainable source of finance for development,' writes Tax Justice Network on their website, arguing that if companies and citizens paid their taxes, aid dependency would be sharply reduced in many countries and social welfare could be increased.

More and more citizens are calling for a more just tax system and demanding that large companies pay their share. Civil society organisations are also becoming engaged in tax issues, something that is happening not without risk for those who publicly denounce land-grabbing and tax evasion. Will the taxman be the true revolutionary of the future?

Black Monday – Fighting corruption in Uganda

> 'Fighting corruption must be everyone's business. In that regard, we must continue to make corruption such a risky behaviour. We also need to acknowledge and dignify those who manage public offices with integrity.'
>
> *Bishop Zac Niringiye, Uganda (from Black Monday Newletter, No. 13)*[56]

With the growing demand for social services, while at the same time donor support is dwindling and corruption is on the increase, the issue of who is paying tax (and who is not) is moving up on the political agenda. More and more civil society organisations and agencies are addressing the fact that in many countries, poor people pay the bulk of the taxes while foreign companies and those well off contribute next to nothing to the national economy. At the same time, the new wealth from oil and other natural recourses paves the way for increased corruption, as there is a fear that oil companies are colluding with politicians, using loopholes in the legislation to evade taxes.

'Every week, multinational companies operating in developing countries receive a gift of well over two billion dollars in the form of tax incentives, exemptions from the standard tax regime that others have to follow,' writes the organisation Action Aid in the report 'Give us a break – How big companies are getting tax-free deals'. The report reveals that the tax breaks given by developing countries to big companies globally could put the 57 million children who currently don't go to primary school, into the classroom with enough cash left to meet international targets on basic health care provision and agricultural investment needed to end hunger.

56 http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/bm_dec.pdf

According to Action Aid, only a few developing countries publish 'tax expenditure' reports detailing the tax revenue given away through incentives to foreign companies and others. Indeed, in many countries it seems that even the government itself is not aware how much revenue is foregone.

In Uganda, Action Aid and local partners have developed a campaign to increase awareness of who pays taxes, and how the money collected by the authorities is used. The campaign looks at three crucial areas: resource generation, how taxes are allocated and how they are utilised in delivering social services.

One part of the campaign is called Black Monday. Every Monday Ugandans are encouraged to show their dissatisfaction with the theft of taxpayers' money. The first Monday of every month is dedicated to peaceful actions. The campaign encourages citizens, in its own language, to act as follows:

- Wear black clothes every Monday to show you are tired of theft.
- Do not buy goods or services from businesses owned by thieves. Support Ugandans working honestly to make a living.
- Isolate every thief implicated in a theft scandal. Don't invite thieves to your burials, events, weddings.

Photo | Action Aid

Every Monday Ugandans are encouraged to wear black to show their dissatisfaction with the theft of taxpayers' money.

Fredrick Kawooya is campaign manager at Action Aid Uganda. He sees a very close correlation between tax incentives, corruption and the lack of resources for education, health and other social services in the society.

Apart from harmful and unnecessary tax incentives, Uganda has very poor revenue generation with a tax to GDP ratio at about 13 per cent, one of the lowest in sub-Saharan Africa, according to Action Aid. In addition to this, small traders and local consumers, who are resource-constrained, are actually taxed at a higher rate than big companies. Yet, most citizens do not realise that they pay taxes, as most of these are indirect taxes charged on goods that they consume in their daily life.

> 'A key part of the campaign is to raise awareness so that people understand that they do pay taxes all the time, for example when they are buying fuel or food products. On the citizen level we try to engage with people on the issue of the taxes that they pay, we try to show them how the money is being used and how it affects their lives. On thing we try to make people understand is that they are the ones who pays most of the taxes and have a right to take interest and query how their taxes are used. We also put emphasis on how the tax system has been designed to favour the rich and the powerful,

including multinational companies, and how this denies people a right to services,' Fredrick Kawooya says.

Action Aid is working to create a partnership with the private sector with the aim of building a local tax base to which foreign companies should contribute. In general, Fredrick Kawooya's, impression is that people in urban areas fully understand tax as a concept, while many in the countryside have more difficulty comprehending how the taxation system works.

'There is a tax injustice in the way that local business do pay taxes, while foreign companies and the rich pay very little or nothing at all. We are hopeful that things will change, but in order to achieve this we will require mobilisation from private sector players.'

From people working with technical or legal aspects within the administration, there is also often a strong commitment as civil servants recognise the need to close loopholes in the tax system. The problem has more to do with politicians who continue to give way to incentives, as they often have their own interests to protect.

Increased revenues from oil and natural gas means that governments in authoritarian countries, such as Uganda, become less inclined to listen to, or follow, advice and recommendations from donors on human rights.

'They are resistant, I would say. When we talk about resource mobilisation they have no problem with what we are doing, but when we move one step ahead, talking about how the income is used, then it becomes sticky. Generally, most politicians are not happy when you talk about transparency and accountability,' Fredrick Kawooya adds.

Photo | Stefan Gara

Increased revenues from oil and natural gas means that governments in authoritarian countries, such as Uganda, become less inclined to listen to, or follow, advice and recommendations from donors on human rights. It is a positive trend that countries in Africa are able to free themselves from the conditionality that often comes with development co-operation funding, but with less possibility to exercise control transparency is declining. 'Sovereignty comes with a cost, and with increased resources we risk a government that is less concerned with good governance,' says Fredrick Kawooya. 'The problem, however, is that the media, civil society, at least so far, are increasingly getting muzzled by the dictatorial regimes and are not strong enough to move the country towards increased transparency and accountability.'

In Uganda, army generals and strong politicians are involved in land grabbing processes. The Kyangwali sub-district is home to an expected oil reserve with over 300 million barrels. Kyangwali is also the site of growing land disputes, with powerful officials scrambling to take possession of huge tracts of public land where several thousand families have been forcefully expelled.

Another preoccupation is that environmental sustainability will become less of a priority with increased natural resources. The discovery of oil and natural gas in several African countries means that increased wealth is streaming into the country, but who is benefiting? Without transparency and increased citizens' control we will not know. Unfortunately those in power are not very interested in listening. Instead, they tend to present human rights as something Western.

'With more money to be made, the level of transparency is declining while corruption is on the increase as there are more opportunities to steal,' Fredrick Kawooya continues.

In order to track the development, Action Aid Uganda has started the website Oil in Uganda (oilinuganda.org), which monitors, follows and provides news on the developments within the oil industry in Uganda. One example of the difficulties about following the tax issue is the behaviour of the company Tullow Oil. The investigator writes:

'The tax payments the company has made to different governments, including around $23 million (56 billion shillings) to Uganda is

certainly a welcome gesture, and a milestone in the growing global push for transparency in extractives sector. Tullow has chosen to distinguish itself from the rest and set a trend of 'big business' voluntarily disclosing payments made to governments. But let us review those numbers again, maintaining our focus on what may be lacking. Indeed, Tullow paid $23 million, but the majority of this money was in fact payments on behalf of their employees: More than half ($12.1 million) was PAYE and national insurance.

This money can be more attributed to the workers than the company. Everybody who is in formal employment pays taxes on their salaries, [the system] known as Pay As You Earn. The rate depends on the salary levels and is actually a cost to the employee, not the employer.

Naming

Shaming

So what is it that we are actually being told? This appears to be half the story, and when oil production starts, we will still only be told half the story because secret Production Sharing Agreements between the companies and government make it impossible for one to even know how much the company was meant to pay in the first place.'[57]

Action Aid Uganda is now mapping the international companies in Uganda and how they act through naming and shaming. The aim is to agree on a minimum standard that the companies should comply with, a kind of code of conduct for foreign investment.

The next step is to finalise the work on a double taxation treaty, and use the findings for this work within the context of a regional discussions, in order to mobilise regionally against tax incentives.

'Our aim is to engage the citizens in the budget processes so that they can understand, follow and keep track of how their money is being spent. Through this, we hope to make tax issues less abstract,' Fredrick Kawooya says.

Photo | Mirko Eggert

Fort Portal, Uganda

57 http://www.oilinuganda.org/features/opinion/extractives-sector-transparency-are-we-getting-there.html

Thailand, anti-corruption demonstration, 9 Dec. 2013

Which are the most corrupt countries?

In many Western countries the dominant perception is that corruption is a problem affecting Africa, Asia and Latin America. Reports on dishonest politicians and corrupt bureaucrats from faraway countries appear frequently in the Western media, but the reality is not that simple. According to the organisation Transparency International (TI) the global corruption picture is not what seems on the surface.

The Bahamas, Chile and Uruguay are all less corrupt than France (position 22 according to TI), Botswana is considerably less corrupt than Hungary, and Greece, the most corrupt country in Europe (position 80), is definitively more corrupt than South Africa, Tunisia and Senegal.

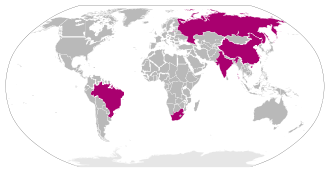
Investor motivation – what counts most?

The aim of tax breaks is to encourage companies to invest in countries with higher risk than normal. But in practice these incentives subsidise profitable investments that in most cases would have been made anyway, and some even 'crowd out' local investors. Tax incentives are a product of faulty economic logic, poor policy-making and, not so seldom, corruption. In addition, tax breaks are pitting developing countries against each other in a downward spiral of offerings.

Several surveys also illustrate that tax incentives are not the major criterion for an investment. In the World Bank's Investor Motivation Survey for the East African Community (2013)[58] 93 per cent of the investors said that they would have invested anyway, had tax incentives not been on offer; tax incentives ranked 17th, behind a host of factors including exchange rates, utility and transport infrastructure, and the other benefits of free zones. In fact, what the companies cherish more than anything else is those resources and facilities that have been financed thanks to taxpayers' money. Yes, that's the way it is.

58 http://www.taxcompact.net/documents/workshop-lusaka/2013-02-13_itc_Mwachinga_WBG.pdf

Emerging powers – What will a multipolar world look like?



BRICS

Perhaps the most visible sign of the changes in global power is the BRIC group, formed in 2009. That year, the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) held their first meeting in the Russian city of Yekaterinburg. This was probably the first occasion that the respective leaders of the four countries attended an exclusive meeting without other actors present.

Since then, BRIC has turned into BRICS, with South Africa as the fifth member. The inclusion of South Africa was symbolically important as it added Africa as a continent, and a country with long experience of diplomatic networking. Together, the BRICS represents almost 3 billion people and a financial power that is steadily increasing.

Photo | GCIS

The chairmen of the BRICS countries at BRICS Business Council, 20 Aug 2013.

The fifth BRICS summit, held in South Africa in 2013, announced plans to create a BRICS Development Bank, an alternative institution to the World Bank, aimed at 'mobilizing resources for infrastructure and sustainable development projects in BRICS and other emerging economies and developing economies' (the bank is expected to start lending in 2016).

Despite the fact that the BRICS represent such a sizeable part of the global population, as well as financial and political power, there are surprisingly few scholars working specifically on relations between the five countries. One of those who is studying the BRICS countries, and what the emerging group of non-Western powers could result in, is Oliver Stuenkel, assistant professor of international relations at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV) in São Paolo, Brazil. Oliver Stuenkel's research focuses on the foreign policy of Brazil, India and China and their impact on global governance. He is the editor of the Post-Western World website and author of the books *IBSA: The rise of the Global South?* (2014, Routledge Global Institutions) and *BRICS and the Future of Global Order* (2014, Lexington).

Oliver Stuenkel's interest in Asia started in his youth when he spent time in India together with his parents (he still speaks Hindi) and was greatly impressed by the development he saw taking off there. So, what does he mean by a post-Western world? He explains:

> 'From around 1800 to 2000, we lived in what I call the Western world. No civilisation in history has ever been able to influence global affairs in such a fundamental way. Most geographic names (America, Amazonia, Asia, etc.), all major political philosophies, the concept of the nation state, the way we measure time, and all major international institutions are Western. What is often forgotten is how much Western ideas and concepts have dominated the global conversation for the past centuries. In the same way, the flow of ideas, academic thought, the concept of modernity and consumer patterns are all strongly influenced by a Western perspective. The fact that some people confused modernisation with Westernisation illustrates this concentration of power in the West. Yet, for the past two decades we have witnessed an incredibly fast process of deconcentration and multipolarisation. Consumer patterns are increasingly influenced by emerging powers. Ideas begin to travel directly between non-Western countries. Emerging powers are beginning to create their own international institutions, such as the BRICS Development Bank. We are increasingly living in a world that is neither Western nor non-Western – the West, after all, will continue to play a crucial role in global affairs. Yet since we do not know how exactly this world will look, I think Post-Western World is the best option for now'.

In the 1980s several commentators, politicians and writers predicted that Japan would overtake the US. As time has shown, Japan's role as a financial superpower never came into being. What's happening in the world today, however, is something much more substantive and irreversible as it includes a fundamental power shift. But to what extent will the BRICS be able to find common ground? In Oliver Stuenkel's view:

> 'The main thing that unites the BRICS countries is that they all oppose a unipolar world with the United States as the single dominant power, but besides that the differences are vast. Another important

thing with the BRICS group is that the members are not putting any limitations on each other. As such, it is a low-cost affair that is not difficult to keep going. All it requires of the members is to take part in a meeting once a year. An important part of the interaction that takes place at ministry level would have existed anyway, even without BRICS.'

There is another important difference between BRICS and, for example, the EU or the South America free-trade agreement, Mercosur, which has often been overlooked. All four initial member countries (and South Africa as well, to some degree) have global ambitions; for example, they have a systematic engagement with the UN Security Council, either as permanent members or as candidates.

Historically, the ties between the BRICS have been insignificant, with some exceptions: China has strong trade relations with all BRICS, and there is a long, historic relationship between India and Russia. Relations between India and South Africa are almost non-existent, despite the fact that Ghandi spent 23 years in the latter country.

'What really unites the BRICS countries,' Oliver Stuenkel adds, 'is a joint dissatisfaction of how the world is run by the US. However, this does not mean that Brazil would prefer China to the US; there is a strong ambiguity among all BRICS on the role of China. In a conflict between the US and China, Brazil would still side with the US.'

The Crimean issue has been particularly difficult for the BRICS countries to weigh up. While the protection of national sovereignty is a key issue for the BRICS, as most have strong ethnic minorities within their borders, this is not the same thing as condemning the Russian annexation of Crimea. So the solution has been to say as little as possible, neither condemning nor supporting Russia. What the BRICS have declared, however, is that they believe it is wrong to isolate Russia over the issue.

It is partly thanks to the BRICS grouping that Brazil today enjoys unprecedented global visibility and that it is often mentioned together with China and India, the two powers that are set to dominate the 21st century. Despite that fact that Brazil (together with Russia) has benefited most from the BRICS co-operation there is a great deal of scepticism in Brazil about BRICS. Oliver Stuenkel continues:

'The Brazilian elite has traditionally been sceptical about an independent Brazilian foreign policy. During the Cold War, Brazil was essentially pro-American, and the idea of looking towards Asia and Africa is very new. For many, the BRICS idea is largely seen as a

Third-World development that is throwing us back to the Non-Aligned Movement of the '70s, while it in fact has very little to do with that. Many also see BRICS as something ideological, anti-American. Or they are simply not interested. However, one major difference compared to the Non-Aligned Movement is that the relationship within BRICS is built on strength, not on weakness.'

But Brazilians also have a problem understanding the country's new role in the new global world. When the BRICS' National Security Advisors (NSAs) met in January 2014 in New Delhi, all major Indian newspapers reported on the meeting. In Brazil not a single newspaper mentioned the encounter.

Even if Brazil readily accepts migrants and sees itself as an ethnic melting-pot, it is in fact one of the most homogenous countries in the world, with only a small fraction of the population born abroad, compared to some 10 per cent in many European countries.

For over 500 years, Brazil has been on the periphery of the global arena, so people are surprised, and wonder why the world should be interested in Brazil now? 'The change is only slowly gaining ground. Brazilians themselves have also shown little interest in the world outside of the country. From the elite, few choose to study abroad and there is not much interest in the country's foreign policy,' Oliver Stuenkel says.

The 'Lula years' (the presidency of Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, 2003-2011) 'oversold' Brazil to the world, creating enormous expectations while at the same time, the economy boomed and the poverty gaps declined in a way not seen anyway else in the world. The world wants Brazil to succeed and most countries expect Brazil to support Western norms. By comparison, India is not an active promoter of democracy or humanitarian interventions. Brazil is different: the country is more open to defending democracy.

At the same time, Brazilians consider that Brazil is a special country, which could make a unique contribution to the world; they believe Brazil should be on the UN Security Council just because it is Brazil.

In recent years, African-Brazilian relations have been gaining ground. Compared to China, Brazil is not in Africa in order to secure the supply of raw materials but to find new export markets and to build new political relations based on old cultural ones. Brazil is also increasing its aid to Africa. Despite this, it is far behind China in developing its African relations.

Brazil has been on the periphery of the global arena, so why should the world be interested in Brazil now?

It was former President Lula who early in his first term identified Africa as a priority in Brazil's efforts to diversify its partnerships. During his presidency Lula opened up several new embassies in African countries (some of them have since closed), and there is no other country in the Western hemisphere with so many African embassies as Brasilia (with the exception of Washington DC). Lula made 12 trips to Africa, visiting 21 countries. In the opposite direction, Brazil received 47 visits from African kings, presidents and prime ministers from 27 nations. Although at first the strategy was fiercely criticised by the opposition as being too driven by ideology, the wisdom of strengthening ties with Africa has now largely been accepted by the political mainstream in Brazil, Oliver Stuenkel writes in a recent article.[59]

There is no doubt that we are moving into a more multipolar world.

Photo | JJ (flickr)

Summing up, there is no doubt that we are moving into a more multipolar world. But will democracy benefit from this?

'It's an interesting question and I haven't yet made up my mind as to how to reply,' Oliver Stuenkel says. 'I do think that in several instances the US and European pressure have contributed to democracy in the world. So, would there be a rollback with China as the emerging power? I hope the answer is no, because China does not promote any ideology. But there is no doubt that a multipolar world is going to be messier and more complicated to navigate in. At the same time we have an anti-liberal backlash in Africa, with churches from Brazil and the US financing the radical anti-gay movement. Overall, I believe that the whole liberal movement will have to adapt profoundly to a new global context in which we will be able to speak in a less authoritarian way.'

59 http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_33516-544-2-30.pdf?130218102618

Besides BRICS there are other groupings of countries challenging the current world order. IBSA is the acronym for the India-Brazil-South Africa dialogue forum that was actually created before BRIC(S). Some argue that IBSA is de facto dead, but Oliver Stuenkel believes that IBSA does have a future, not least from the perspective that all three IBSA members are democracies and are thus able to freely debate issues related to human rights and civil society, matters that cannot be discussed openly at BRICS summits. Oliver Stuenkel, who has just published a book on IBSA, believes that the three democratic countries together are certain to play a far more important role in global affairs than at any previous point in history.

Yet another grouping of emerging powers is the so-called MINT countries (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, Turkey). So far, these countries are not, unlike Brazil, aspiring to a global leadership role, but development is fast and by 2050 both Mexico and Indonesia will be larger economies than Great Britain, Germany and France, according to a recent World Bank study.[60] The MINT countries are also busy building their own South-South relations. One example is the Seventh International Turkish- African Congress that was held in 2012, organised by the Turkish institute TASAM and hosted by the Sudanese Ministry of International Co-operation.[61]

So with BRICS, the MINT countries and many other countries as part of a changing global power landscape, what developments would Oliver Stuenkel expect to see in the next 10 years?

'BRICS or anything similar will continue to exist. I expect the Chinese dominance to grow even further, but it depends very much on how China and India will get along. We will see an additional Chinese influence also in other areas. So far, China has not created a close alliance with other countries, but this might change if the Chinese economic dominance becomes more profound. The biggest hope for the United States in preserving its influence is that the emerging countries will not be able to unite. The MINT countries are also important and will form part of a multipolar world. They will most likely not be as influential as the BRICS, will not have the same political ambitions, but it is clear that they will play an important role in a multipolar world that is going to be very different from the world we see today.'

60 http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25548060

61 http://www.tasam.org/en/Etkinlik/89/7th_international_turkish_-_african_congress

Miracle drug or global threat? – A global disorder and urgent concern

Maria-Teresa Bejarano and Anna Zorzet

What do a newborn with sepsis in Dar-es-Salaam, a child with pneumonia in New Delhi and a woman in a Swedish nursing home waiting for a hip replacement have in common? They all need effective antibiotics to survive. From birth to death, antibiotics are indispensable for treating everyday bacterial infections and the unavoidable infections that come with the care of premature babies, cancer chemotherapy and organ transplantations.

Hailed as 'miracle drugs' when discovered, antibiotics changed the world by saving and improving countless lives. Unfortunately, increasing and accelerated emergence and spread of antibiotic resistance (ABR) coupled with the lack of new antibiotics, are threatening health systems globally. ABR is the ability of bacteria to survive the antibiotics designed to kill them and results from bacterial adaptation to antibiotic exposure. It has been fuelled by massive overuse and misuse of antibiotics, coupled with poor sanitation, hygiene and infection control. Polluted environments from aquaculture, agriculture, wastewater from municipalities, pharmaceutical manufacturing and hospitals contribute to ABR development and dissemination.[1] ABR is currently considered one of the world's greatest public health threats and also an economic and environmental hazard.[2]

Lack of access to effective antibiotics is a global public health and security threat

Intensified human mobility and food trade accelerate the spread of ABR across national borders and across different bacterial species, from bacteria in animals to those in humans. Spanning all continents, ABR represents a health security threat that leads to unacceptably high rates of preventable deaths, with significant social and economic losses. In Europe the estimated deaths due to resistant hospital infections exceed 25,000 annually, with an economic impact of over €1.5 billion.[3] In Thailand, resistant hospital infections cause more than 38,000 deaths and productivity losses of over US$1.2 billion each year.[4] In low and middle-income countries (LMICs) where the burden of infectious diseases is higher and data is scarce, the evidence suggests that 70 per cent of neonatal infections are resistant to first-line antibiotics, resulting in increased mortality and multiple costs.[5]

Antibiotic resistance is a key challenge to sustainable development and Universal Health Care

The post-2015 agenda must address the fact that the lack of effective antibiotics undermines the achievements of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and jeopardises what has been achieved so far. Infectious diseases remain a dominant cause of lives lost in sub-Saharan Africa,[6] the most lethal infectious childhood diseases frequently no longer respond to standard treatment and effective drugs are often unavailable in poor countries. The consequences are devastating: every year, bacterial infections kill more than 2 million children and 1.3 million adults die of tuberculosis.[7] Already, we cannot safely treat multiresistant strains of typhoid fever,[8] a major killer of children in LMICs, or gonorrhoea, of which there are 106 million new cases a year, globally.[9]

Sustainable access to effective antibiotics – what is needed?

ABR strikes the poor hardest. Access to effective antibiotics is a challenge particularly for poorer populations with limited access to water and sanitation, medicines and health care. Most of the yearly 0.8 million under-five child deaths due to pneumonia result from poor access to antibiotics rather than from ABR.[10] Weak health systems and unstable central drug distribution systems contribute to shortage of essential medicines. Access to effective antibiotics should thus be a priority health concern in LMICs where infections and resistance are at appallingly high levels.

Infection prevention and improved hygiene can reduce the need to use antibiotics but are not sufficient to prevent resistance. Although ABR is a challenge for all countries, there is no one solution for all. Health systems are globally undermined by the lack of effective antibiotics, and the responsibility for implementation of multisectoral strategies to secure their success ultimately lies with national governments.

Innovation

The threat of ABR is compounded by the collapse of the antibiotic R&D pipeline due to significant difficulties in discovering novel antibiotics and to research funding being directed towards more profitable drugs. Before the problem becomes so large that there is yet again a profitable market, a new economic model must be in place to deliver the antibiotics needed, ensure accessibility for all who need them, and secure their responsible use. Curbing ABR also requires innovation of affordable and timely diagnostic tools, particularly in LICs.

Surveillance and awareness

Awareness of the magnitude and severity of the problem and of the risks and benefits involved in taking action is a prerequisite for action. This entails generation of data and analysis of risk costs and impacts, and massive awareness and education campaigns. A global surveillance and monitoring programme must be in place; however, many countries have limited surveillance capacity and current information on the global burden of ABR is fragmented and unreliable. Countries and organisations with expertise and capacity must work with WHO and other supranational and funding bodies on building laboratory and surveillance capacities. Agreement on what should be reported globally, including standards for both resistance and antibiotic use data, is urgently needed, to establish effective and early warning systems.

Responsible use

Antibiotics are a precious public good and an exhaustible resource. Yet, in many parts of the world antibiotics are available without any prescription and are inappropriately used. The distressing failure of antibiotics, together with no imminent delivery of promising new ones, requires a radical rethink of current controls on their distribution and use while ensuring access to those who need them. Moreover, markets in regions with weak regulatory oversight and high burden of infections are highly infiltrated with counterfeit drugs. Indeed, the

1 ECDC/EMEA ,2009, 'Technical Report. The bacterial challenge: time to react' (September). http://www.ecdc.europa.eu/en/publications/Publications/0909_TER_The_Bacterial_Challenge_Time_to_React.pdf (accessed 31 Oct 2013); WHO (2000), 'Global Principles for the Containment of Antibiotic Resistance in Animals Intended for Food', http://whqlibdoc.who.int/hq/2000/who_cds_csr_aph_2000.4.pdf

2 Howell, Lee (ed.), 2013, 'Global Risks 2013', Eighth Edition, World Economic Forum; US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2013, 'Antibiotic resistance threats in the United States, 2013', http://www.cdc.gov/drugresistance/threat-report-2013/pdf/ar-threats-2013-508.pdf

(accessed 31 Oct 2013); 'G8 Science Ministers Statement (June 13, 2013)', Foreign and Commonwealth Office, https://www.gov.uk/government/news/g8-science-ministers-statement

3 ECDC/EMEA, 2009, op. cit.

4 Phumart P., T. Phodha, V. Thamlikitkul et al., 2012, 'Health and Economic Impacts of Antimicrobial Resistant Infections in Thailand : A Preliminary Study', Journal of Health Systems Research., Vol. 6, No. 3, pp.352-60.

5 Grundmann, Hajo et al., 2010, 'A framework for Global surveillance of Antibiotic Resistance', Drug Resistant Updates, No. 14, pp. 79-87.

6 Global Health Action, 2013, No. 6: 19090, http://dx.doi.org/10.3402/gha.v6i0.19090

7 Committing to Child Survival: A Promise Renewed UNICEF Progress Report 2013. http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/APR_Progress_Report_2013_9_Sept_2013.pdf

Global Tuberculosis Report 2013. WHO. http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/91355/1/9789241564656_eng.pdf?ua=1

8 Cooke, F. J. and J. Wain, 2004, 'The emergence of antibiotic resistance in typhoid fever'. Travel Medicine and Infectious Disease, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 67-74.

9 WHO, 2012, 'Urgent action needed to prevent the spread of untreatable gonorrhoea. (Notes for the media)', Media Centre, 6 June, Geneva.

10 O'Brien, K. L., L. J. Wolfson, J. P. Watt et al., for the HiB and Pneumococcal Global Burden of Disease Study Team, 2009, 'Burden of Disease caused by Streptococcus Pneumonia in children younger than 5 years: global estimates' The Lancet, No. 374, pp. 893-902.

most counterfeited medicines are antibiotics, accounting for 28 per cent of global counterfeit medicines and an estimated 5 per cent of the global antibiotic market.[11]

Norms for using antibiotics must be established, changing deep-rooted behaviours across the globe. Civil society and others need to share knowledge on successful approaches in achieving responsible use of antibiotics. Antibiotics should only be used when they are absolutely needed, for both humans and animals.

Funding

Funding allocated to management and prevention of drug resistance at the local, national and international levels must match the magnitude of the problem. Health aid programmes, as part of the strengthening of national health systems, have to provide adequate access to antibiotics and training programmes to ensure effective treatment and minimise drug resistance in the community. Aid should support efforts to improve global antibiotic stewardship and surveillance.

The need for new global health governance structures

ABR emerges as a threat that goes across borders. Combating it is a responsibility that no single nation can address in isolation, and a challenge that reaches beyond the health sector. In recognising this, the issue must be on the global political agenda. It is crucial to define and prioritise the actions needed, and which actors should carry out which function, and to envisage institutional arrangements. Governments must give a clear indication about their commitment of resources required to tackle this increasing threat to global health security.

The transboundary nature of ABR requires global leadership and collaboration on all levels. This includes governments, international and regional bodies, and NGOs. We need to agree on actions that will help preserve antibiotic effectiveness as a vital component of health systems and start acting now!

Anna Zorzet has a Masters in molecular biotechnology from Uppsala University. After working in Australia on cancer research, she pursued a doctoral degree. Her thesis was in medical microbiology, with a focus on antibiotic resistance. After working on bacterial resistance in the lab, she concentrated on policy action on antibiotic resistance, joining the international network ReAct (Action on Antibiotic Resistance) in 2011 and becoming its assistant executive director in 2012. She works with many regional and international networks on antibiotic resistance, as well as WHO, and is on the Stakeholder Advisory Board for the EU Joint Programming Initiative on Anti-Microbial Resistance.

Maria Teresa Bejarano trained as a medical doctor and gained her PhD in immunology/infection biology at Karolinska Institutet, Stockholm, where she is associate professor. She has been senior project manager at ReAct and worked for 12 years at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) where she led several strategic international health research activities. Between 2009 and 2012 she served as a member of the executive boards of three WHO research programmes: Tropical Diseases Research (WHO/TDR), Sexual and Reproductive Health Research (WHO/HRP) and the Alliance for Policy and Health Systems Research (WHO/AHPSR).

11 Cockburn, R. , P. N. Newton, E. K. Agyarko, D. Akunyili, N. J. White, 2005, 'The Global Threat of Counterfeit Drugs: Why Industry and Governments Must Communicate the Dangers', PLoS Medicine, Vol. 2, No. 4, e100. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.0020100

A Southern perspective on managing climate change adaptation

Mariama Williams

As we move through the second decade of the new millennium, the global economy is beset by a number of critical development, environmental and social crises. Persistent poverty and lack of access to modern energy sources, water and sanitation are still day-to-day realities for countless millions of girls, boys, men and women in developing countries; at the same time, the world is hovering on the edge of dangerous climate change and we are, seemingly, approaching the margins of some planetary boundaries with significant resource constraints in multiple areas; there is also growing and protracted inequality of wealth and income across, between and within countries – which portends serious threats to democratic governance and social cohesion.

Increasingly, it is becoming clear that the current global governance institutional complex is seriously challenged to respond appropriately and effectively to global disorders, even when institutional processes exist to address some of these issues. A principal factor behind this lack of effective response is the undue influence and control exerted by a few powerful vested corporate interests over the political processes that undergird international environmental and economic negotiations. These dominating stakeholder interests coupled with the pecuniary election-cycle- driven motivations of policy-makers and the national competitive advantage focus of technocrats in key government ministries and departments have led to the prioritising of parochial national interests over the global good. The end result has been persistent logjams that are behind the very snail-like and sometimes deadlock negotiations over climate change under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

It is important to re-gird and strengthen processes, such as the UNFCCC and the implementation of the Rio+20 outcomes such as the Sustainable Development Goals process. It is also important to place emphasis on ensuring the fully and effective participation of those whose health, income/livelihoods and safety are the most vulnerable to global threats: between 1984 and 2003, the lives of about 4 billion boys, girls, men and women have been impacted by natural disasters and extreme weather events. Many of these events and occurrences are linked to climate change and the persistent environmental degradations that have increased the fragility of the socio-ecological systems.

Climate change threatens the foundation of our human society and all ecosystems; it is not deterred by wealth status, level of development or inequality. Though its impact may be ameliorated, at least, in the short run, by elements of these, climate change is ultimately destructive to all. It also exacerbates the challenges of poverty and inequality.

But while there are clear and positive environmental effects of reducing carbon emissions and switching the growth path to a cleaner and more environmentally sustainable pathway, there are also costs to economies, as well as equity costs. The social benefits accrue if the actions taken to overcome environmental degradation and to mitigate climate change involve promoting better and more sustainable living and better health for people. In some cases, low carbon and clean energy initiatives may even increase access to modern energy services for millions of men and women. However, due to the high levels of inequalities and economic and social disparities now existing within and between countries and the fact that the benefits of prior periods of high economic growth were not evenly distributed, there will be social costs from the reduction of economic growth as economies transition to new low carbon

pathways. During the transition, some jobs may be lost, and there may be the switching of government revenues to expenditures on mitigation activities and a lowering of spending on adaptation and poverty and social programmes. In addition, it is now also recognised that the switch to clean energy, as in the case of biofuels, can also have a serious impact on access to land and the food security of the poorest men and women.

The reality is that there has not been enough effective action to reduce global carbon emissions. The use of renewal energy globally is quite low and it is even more so the case with regard to energy efficiency, even among the more developed economies. Greenhouse gas emissions continue to grow, carrying with them the increasing threat of catastrophic and irreversible climate change. (Many scientists point out that with the current trajectory, the global mean temperature could reach 4°C by the end of the century, even if current mitigation commitments by developed countries are fulfilled; and by 6°C, if they are not fulfilled. This will have devastating consequences, particularly for the poorest.)

Hence, adaptation, the long benignly neglected twin to mitigation, in the dual strategic approach to addressing climate change, is increasingly become a pressing concern globally. (This is especially so for the US after the destruction caused by Hurricane Sandy and for the UK after the floods of early 2014.) Adaptation, which is more commonly seen as changing the way we do things, to react to and to prepare for climate change impacts, has been more actively pursued in developing countries, by necessity. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change noted that adaptation actions have multiple drivers, such as economic development and poverty alleviation, and are embedded within broader development, sectoral, regional and local planning initiatives.[1] Adaptive activities (such as climate-proofing agriculture, promoting water conservation and efficiency, pest and disease management, fire management) are critical to sustainable development. However, adaptation presents an additional burden to the imperative of promoting sustainable development, poverty eradication and food security.

But for too long, adaptation has been treated with benign neglect as the stepchild of international climate policy. Adaptation projects, which are seen to have primarily local and national benefits, have received less than 20 per cent of the climate financial flows and support offered for mitigation (which is seen to have global benefits). This persistent deficit in financing adaptation has left developing countries and their citizens to deal with adapting to climate change through reliance on their own domestic resources, often incurring debts.

Without the benefit of institutional frameworks and support, women and other small farmers, artisanal fisherfolk, pastoralists and indigenous women and men have tracked, monitored and taken actions to address dramatic changes in weather patterns in their communities. Women in countries as diverse as Ghana, the Philippines and Senegal have been coping with soil erosion through crop rotation, mixed crops and shifting cultivation to higher ground.[2] They have also used stony borders, half-moon canals and open trenches to backtrack shorelines and control and direct water flow and recharge groundwater. Women have also drawn on traditional knowledge, information and techniques to undertake small-scale levels of reforestation. In most cases, they have undertaken these tasks on their own, in women's groups and cooperatives, or have initiated the projects and later, with the enrolment of the youth and men in their communities, achieved successful outcomes in adaptation and mitigation.

For example, in Senegal, water collection has become a heavy burden on women due to the impact of climate variability on underground water resources.[3] Rainfall shortage, shorter rainy seasons and drought forced women to walk long distances for water. Women have responded by improving their energy- and water-management solutions, including undertaking their own small-scale reforestation and regeneration of mangroves. In the coastal areas of Ghana some women have experienced losses to livelihoods due to declining fish stocks. Climate change, in conjunction with detrimental fishing practices by men and fishing trawlers, has exacerbated gender asymmetries in the fishing sector. This has resulted in 'loss of income for poorer women (who are in charge of processing, storing and marketing fish catches), increases in the price of fish, and lower levels of protein in diets'.[4]

Using their informal, historical, social, and cultural knowledge of the atmosphere of the coastline and the behaviour and character of artisanal fisherfolk, including women, have in some countries anticipated the dire consequences of the resulting shallowing of water for fish-bearing

Indigenous peoples and pastoralists have been practising sustainable land management through simple practices such as planting and managing trees, promoting and giving support to natural regeneration of selected woody plant species and providing cuttings for wind and water erosion control on fields. In many part of Africa as well as Asia, people have drawn on their traditional knowledge and practices such as use of stone bunds, improved gully control, planted field boundaries, and coverage of soils with branches and crop residues to reduce and control wind and water erosion. They have also worked to 'trap' sand and dust in the dry season and surface water in the wet season). Additionally, through the use of techniques such as planting spreading intercrops (cowpea, groundnuts) and maintaining adequate densities of mature farm trees, many African female and male farmers have contributed to adaptation and building resilience in their community so as to ensure food security.

Research undertaken in East and West Africa by United Nations University researchers among others show that the strategies of household mobility and mobile livestock management have been age-old adaptation techniques that have sustained families in dire times. This research also highlights that children in mobile livestock-keeping households have a superior diet and better health than those living in towns and villages. Unfortunately, some of these strategies are threatened by so-called modern approaches that, instead of supporting and strengthening the local adaptation actions, have counterproductively tried to thwart the traditional approach of mobility and livestock management. Many of 'modern methods', which are often imported from elsewhere, have not only dramatically failed, but have created more environmental degradation and ultimately distort and may even destroy local people's adaptation capacity.

These findings around adaptation on the ground (local adaptation) point to an emerging reality, at least in the response to one level of global disorders: climate change can only be tackled by involving the efforts, knowledge of all citizens, in their various locations, enabling them to address their local and regional particularities in responding to and managing the impacts of climate change. Hence the stubborn reluctance of those who have traditionally sought to control development from the top down, through pre-designed externally-derived project templates or conditionalities on their financing must give way to a wider process of inclusion, sharing of knowledge practices and skills. This reality must also ground negotiations at the international level.

Our challenge then as global citizens of this seemingly imperilled planet is to work

1 Parry, Canziani et al., 2007. See also IPCC 2007.

2 WEDO, 2008

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

towards ensuring balance between the sets of growing and seemingly intractable global disorders and the solutions emerging from the ground up, in academia, and the collaboration of scientists, practitioners and politicians. Ultimately, we can, together, create long-term sustainable global, regional, national and local-level partnerships that achieve a positive momentum for solving global disorders. But this can only arise through enlightened leadership and inclusive and democratic participation that ensures sustainable livelihoods, which is premised on meeting and securing the needs of the most vulnerable and marginalised.

Central to this inclusive and accountable approach to managing global disorder must be the acceptance that vulnerability, resilience and adapting to climate change are global, national and local issues. Adaptation is an international equity issue, as much as mitigation is. Adaptation places an additional burden on developing countries and is thus inextricably part of the framework of historical responsibility and accountability of developed countries to developing countries for their contribution of the stock of greenhouse gases and its associated present-day impacts on global temperature rise and the attendant impact of increase in the intensity and frequency of extreme weather events. Therefore, climate finance for adaptation must be at the same level as mitigation finance. (This was agreed under the Cancun Agreement and reaffirmed in subsequent agreements, which called for balance between the financing of adaptation and mitigation, but is not yet in practice.)

Developing countries must also ensure that they begin now, with financial and technological support from developed countries, to make the transition in their economic activities to sustainable low-carbon pathways in order to limit their present and future contribution to further warming. It is, likewise, a central part of the responsibility of developing country governments to recognise that adaptation is a government-wide issue. Hence it is imperative that national governments leverage the climate finance support that they receive through the UNFCCC financial frameworks to support the adaptation efforts being undertaken by individuals, groups and communities. Governments must also work to ensure that both externally and domestically generated resources are utilised to provide a high level of stock adaptation (including investment in the long term to build adaptation capacity in the built environment, infrastructure, agriculture, forestry and the natural environment) that will complement and ensure the long-term sustainability of the adaptation flow efforts being undertaken by women and men on the ground. Ultimately, the international community must continue to ensure the availability of timely adequate flows of climate finance and the transfer of technology and support for capacity-building, equitably between adaptation and mitigation as agreed under the UNFCCC.

Mariama Williams, PhD, is a senior researcher and programme officer with the South Centre. She is also a director of the Institute of Law and Economics, Jamaica, and a member of Caribbean DAWN. Her current research areas are the debt and financial crises, climate change and climate change finance, and the post-2015 development agenda. She has extensive experience in the areas of sovereign debt crises, international trade policy, macroeconomics, economic development, climate finance and feminist economics, gender issues and the empowerment of women. Mariama Williams sits on the board of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

Across the Global South, countries are embarking on remarkable development pathways. Large swathes of people are being lifted out of poverty. Misery and squalor are being pushed back. The middle class is expanding and new consumer preferences and lifestyles are gaining a foothold. The current shift has no historical precedent in speed and scope. It is altering the global power dynamics, giving rise to a new, multipolar system of international governance.

This much vaunted 'rise of the South' has mainly been chronicled in terms of economic and geopolitical impact. But it is also producing a host of emerging trends and practices that are transforming people's daily lives. From off-grid living to collaborative consumption, from mobile banking to unorthodox virtual communities, from the proliferation of think-tanks to the spread of green roofs – an extraordinary array of development alternatives and embryonic solutions to global problems is materialising.

At the same time, formidable global challenges remain. With looming planetary boundaries and unprecedented environmental pressures showing few signs of abating, development achievements run the risk of being undermined, unless concerted action is taken. Climate change, ecosystem losses and resource scarcity are likely to dominate the global agenda for years to come. The wide disparities and income inequalities between and within countries have yet to be forcefully tackled. The transnational spread of communicable and non-communicable diseases and the growth of antibiotics resistance are vastly increasing global health insecurity.

This special issue of *Development Dialogue* juxtaposes a focus on innovation and good practice, which are building positive change on the ground with explorations of major global disorders threatening human communities and planetary life. The main author is the Swedish journalist and writer *David Isaksson*, who has compiled and written up the stories and narratives from across the world. In addition, the volume features special essays by *Martti Ahtisaari, George Kioko, Gunhild Stordalen, Henrik Hammargren, Mariama Williams, Maria-Teresa Bejerano, Anna Zorzet*, and *Thomas Weiss*.

ISBN: 978-91-85214-72-3
9 789185 214723

development dialogue

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

development dialogue is addressed to individuals and organisations globally, including policy makers, international institutions, members of civil society, the media and the research community.

development dialogue is intended to provide a free forum for critical discussion of international development priorities for the 21st century.

development dialogue is published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden.
www.dhf.uu.se