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ALARA is a strategic network of people interested or involved in using action learning or action research to generate collaborative learning, research and action to transform workplaces, schools, colleges, universities, communities, voluntary organisations, governments and businesses.

ALARA's vision is that action learning and action research will be widely used and publicly shared by individuals and groups creating local and global change for the achievement of a more equitable, just, joyful, productive, peaceful and sustainable society.

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Guest editor: Janet McIntyre

Managing editor: Margaret O'Connell

Editorial team: Paul Aylward, Ross Colliver, Margaret Fletcher, Susan Goff, Peter Howie, Janet Kelly, June Lennie, Janet McIntyre, Eileen Pigott-Irvine, Robert Sanders, Shankar Sankaran, Jack Whitehead, Janette Young

Editorial inquiries:

The editor, *ALAR Journal*

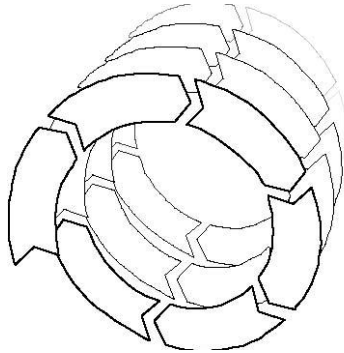
ALARA Inc

PO Box 1748

Toowong Qld 4066

Australia

alar@alara.net.au



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Editorial

Janet McIntyre

Thank you to all the participants who have contributed to this special edition of ALARA, The lead papers appear here in print along with a full online version, that enables all our voices to be heard in one place. Please follow the link to <http://rc10internetforum.wikispaces.com/XVIIth+ISA+World+Congress+of+Sociologyw> and via ALARA website at www.alara.net.au.

The collection spans religion, culture and nationality and provides space for differences of opinion and freedom (to the extent that our differences and freedoms do not undermine the wellbeing of others). The papers draw on our current praxis and are a response to current events. They are the result of a symposium at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Indonesia, organized by Professor Dr Bambang and Dr Lisman Manurung, entitled 'Democracy, good governance and accountability' in Jakarta, an interfaith symposium entitled 'Contributing to Peace', organised by the Chaplain, Geoff Boyce, at Flinders University, and three joint sessions of the International Sociological Association's Research Committee 10 on Participation and Research Committee 51 on socio-cybernetics in Barcelona, entitled 'Representation, Accountability and Sustainable Futures'.

This edition was finalized the day after the commemoration for the victims of the bushfires in Victoria, Australia. Local, national, regional and international solidarity was modelled through donations, volunteering and acts of kindness to strangers. Indonesia showed its neighbourliness by sending staff and funding to support the disaster victims.

About the authors and their abstracts

All authors contributing to both this printed edition and the full online version with all the voices are acknowledged here.

Abdushomad, Muhammad Adib, is a graduate of Flinders University and a senior staff member at the Ministry of Religion in Jakarta. He has developed a proposal for PhD research on ways to enhance interfaith dialogue, curriculum development and critical thinking with pesantran (religious boarding schools) in Indonesia. This research could help to enhance discursive democracy in Indonesia.

Banerjee, Reshmi, PhD, is a Post Doctoral Research Fellow, in the Department of International Relations, University of Indonesia, Banerjee discusses food security in India, which together with water will be pressing concerns for everyone in the years ahead. *reshmibchakraborty@yahoo.com*

Castro Laslow, Kathia, PhD, has many years experience facilitating evolutionary learning for a sustainable future. She was a student of Bela Banathy and has helped to pioneer a form of action learning and participatory action research. She is one of the founding members of the International Systems Sciences and has lead special integration groups on evolutionary design based on two generations of work by the Laslow family. *kathia@syntonyquest.org*

Hilton, Brian, is a senior lecturer at the Nottingham Business School in Ningbo, China. He has published two books on systems thinking and sustainable futures and is an active member of the International Systems Sciences. His paper, *Responsible corporate philanthropy: an emergent alternative to corporate social responsibility? The case of accountable security*, makes a case that corporate market responsibility can be

enhanced by civil society networks (such as Green Peace and Amnesty International) but that more participatory dialogue is needed to work out shared interests.

hilton_brian@hotmail.com

Li, Jon, is an action researcher who has worked on systemic planning issues for the last 20 years. He is a member of the International Systems Sciences. His teachers, Stafford Beer and John P. van Gigch, influence his work. Jon stresses that participation is a way to test out ideas and to make cities liveable for the next generation. He cites a range of useful references to enhance our understanding of liveable cities.

jli@davis.com

Manurung, Lisman, is a senior lecturer at the University of Indonesia and member of the Jakarta Provincial Council. His areas of expertise are water and transport. His research moved in the direction of PAR by working with stakeholders to document their diverse ideas. His paper weighs up the viewpoints of stakeholders who give their views on water affordability and availability. His research makes it clear that the public private partnership has not delivered affordable water to the very poor, nor has it prevented the environmental degradation of Jakarta caused by too many wells to avoid paying for water. *lismanm@yahoo.com*

Mugabushaka, John, is a PhD student at Flinders University, who reflects on his Congolese heritage, personal experiences and his commitment to make a cultural shift away from a patriarchal mindset. His paper on 'participation and development as freedom' provides hope for all those approaching difficult challenges.

john.mugabushaka@flinders.edu.au

Mustofa, Muhammad, PhD, is a professor at the University of Indonesia and a well known media commentator. His

paper details the extent of white collar crime in Indonesia and is based on action learning with his graduate students who help collect secondary data from newspaper articles to track the cases of white collar crime. He invites them to write up their findings in class papers, which form the basis of an ongoing action learning team. *masmus2151@yahoo.com*

McIntyre-Mills, Janet, PhD, is Adjunct Professor at the University of Indonesia and Associate Professor at Flinders University's Institute of Public Policy and Management. She contributes in the fields of sociology and critical systems thinking and their application to complex *governance and public policy* concerns. Her work has contributed to policy areas concerned with sustainability, complex problems, and critical systemic approaches to public health, wellbeing, and participatory democracy. *janet.mcintyre@flinders.edu.au*

O'Donnell, Kim, is a researcher at Flinders University, South Australia, who has mentored many Aboriginal health and wellbeing projects. *kim.odonnell@flinders.edu.au*

Kelly, Janet, is a nurse, PhD candidate, and researcher at Flinders University, who is also a firefighter in the CSS who contributed to the firefighting effort in Victoria. Together with Kim O'Donnell, they reflect on the need to enhance wellbeing of people, rather than merely concentrating on parts of the body in program approaches that do not address the whole person within their environment. Both Janet and Kim contribute their ideas with Janet McIntyre who has led a research project entitled 'User centric design to address complex needs' with Aboriginal service users and providers. *janet.kelly@flinders.edu.au*

Outhred, Rachel, is a qualified teacher and PhD candidate at Flinders University, with lecturing experience in Development Studies in the United Kingdom and Australia.

Her current research highlights the difficulties in achieving participation with some of the most marginalized and powerless women and children in the Upper Volta region in Africa. *rachelouthred@hotmail.com*

Parra-Lunna, Francisco, is a Professor at the University of Madrid, Spain, and has been Director of the University Institute for Human Resources. He is author of eleven books on social system theory and its applications. In this paper he makes the case that sociologists need to enable organizations to evaluate outcomes based on measures that are constructed by the people who they serve. *parraluna@cps.ucm.es*, *parraluna3495@yahoo.es*

Sudarmo, PhD, is a lecturer at the Department of Public Administration of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of the Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia. Before embarking on his Flinders PhD scholarship, he worked on Saturdays in Solo as a street trader, thereby learning of their difficulties first hand. He has advocates for the rights of informal traders and details the political context of their removal from the centre of Solo to the outskirts. His research explains how fines and licenses support the existence of the very bureaucracy that controls them. Those traders considered to be 'noisy and morally unacceptable' were regarded as 'beyond the pale' and forced to the margins of society. His research enables the traders to explain how they tried to organize to support their rights and the way in which the powerful (to date) have overruled their attempts to trade freely in Solo. *sudarmo63@yahoo.com*

Sunesti, Yuyun, is a student at Flinders University undertaking postgraduate research. Her paper, presented at the 'Contributing to peace' symposium, explains that in Indonesia only some religions are regarded as official religions and that this contributes to tensions and to the

undermining of the new democracy. She stresses the importance of interfaith dialogue. *yuyunsunesti@gmail.com*

Varona, Glen, is a PhD candidate with lecturing experience in the Philippines. He has first hand experience of the topic he is researching, namely, the need to enhance policing to make it more ethical and to ensure that policing engages with this generation and the next. *archer_1_4@hotmail.com*

Williams, Chris, intends submitting his PhD dissertation on non-government organizations (NGOs) in the Asia Pacific region in 2011 to Flinders University. Since completing his Masters studies in 1999, Chris has worked for a State water utility and a metropolitan local government. His commitment to lifelong learning includes active participation on the World Social Forum events in 2008 and the 2009 World Water Forum in Istanbul. He makes the case that a contested resource is one of the keys to understanding the nature of sustainability and the global commons. Lessons from water activists are shared in his paper.
will0447@flinders.edu.au

Wijaya, Andy, PhD, is a graduate of Flinders University and a lecturer in the Faculty of Administrative Science and the Head of Master Program in Public Administration, Brawijaya University, Indonesia. He stresses the importance of participation in developing measures of excellence and to control corrupt practice. *andyfiftawijaya@yahoo.com.au*

Action learning and action research enable us to open up a dialogue in the interests of a peaceful sustainable world. Warm, hospitable dialogue is the basis for friendship. Participation enables dialogue to test out ideas not only by so-called 'experts' but also by those with lived experience. These testing processes enhance democracy, governance and ethics by improving the match between perceived need and

policy/service response. At the very least participation keeps issues such as food security on the policy table to enhance solidarity.

Building awareness of the value of participation was one of the key goals of the symposia and it is a key concern for all the contributors. Enabling participation is the first difficult step that is discussed by many of the contributors.

Some of the papers that appear in this collection begin to raise the importance of participation as a way to address the concerns raised. The contributions by Wijaya and Manurung develop a case for Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a form of evaluation to hold water companies to account. Other papers, such as the paper by Sudarmo, detail how PAR with informal traders in Solo (Indonesia) tried to enable these civil society lobbyists to be heard by government authorities. Sudarmo details the challenges and explains how difficult it is to achieve dialogue (let alone change) with powerful stakeholders who use participation and decentralization cynically.

Rachel Outhred also discusses the barriers to undertaking PAR with marginalized women in the Upper Volta (Africa) because access can be controlled by powerful gatekeepers who control the status quo, namely unpaid labour secured through violence and tradition, along with an ongoing flow of development funding.

Varona and Williams bring years of lived experience to their PhD research journey, which they have just commenced. Varona's research is aimed at enhancing democratic policing to protect the global commons in the Philippines, whilst Williams's research is aimed at understanding and supporting transnational water rights through social

solidarity and PAR that draws on the lived experience of the people.

Much innovative work is conducted without naming the activities as 'action learning' or 'participatory action research'. The 'aha,' or 'light bulb,' moment was experienced by many who have presented their work at the two symposia and who are trying to foster participation with powerless and powerful stakeholders to promote peace, social justice, and sustainability. The papers do not gloss over the difficulties.

Janet McIntyre
Edition Guest Editor

Contributing to peace through participation to support unselfish 'feed forward' to the next generation of life

Janet McIntyre

The commons can be regarded as the sacred web of life (Capra 1996). But unless we consider ways in which we show agency (Giddens 1984) through making choices to protect the commons, we will contribute to the demise of the commons and the undermining of peace. Remember, as Edmund Burke admonished, 'All it takes for evil to prevail is for people of good will to do nothing', to paraphrase the well-known aphorism. We have a choice; it is not our destiny to make decisions that undermine the future for this generation and the next. Policy and praxis to support a sustainable future needs to hold in mind multiple variables and to consider:

- *relationships across the sectors (public, private and third sector) and the way they play out across the state, market and society,*
- *knowledge domains spanning a range of domains including professional and lived experiences,*
- *paradoxes and implications for policy and practice through participatory action research,*
- *testing ideas to ascertain if policy decisions are sustainable for this generation and the next, and*
- *dialogue: making decisions based on careful contextual considerations and taking into account the norms, values and rules.*

In our practice we need to show agency in making new paradigms, learning by doing, developing pilot approaches and leadership in rule making. Open democracy needs to enable reframing the social, economic and environmental agendas, so that we understand that we are in not in separate competing lifeboats engaged in a zero sum game (Hardin 1968). We are all in the same space ship, to use Buckminster Fuller's concept. We need to understand the importance of this metaphor and its relevance to the way in which we organize within and across nation states.

Introduction

This *ALARj* edition makes a plea for systemic approaches to governance and democracy based on avoiding one-way communication that undermines peace, because it alienates people from one another. Boundaries maintain the rights and freedoms of everyone and are important for maintaining ideals, but a sustainable future requires harmonizing differences through communication based on respecting diversity to the extent that freedom and variety does not undermine the freedoms of others¹. This is because we are all going to be winners or losers if the zero sum approach is applied to climate change and development options.

Narrow pragmatism-based on considering the consequences for the short term and short-term gain is unsustainable. We need to consider the social, economic and environmental consequences for self-others and the environment in this generation and the next. This requires expanded pragmatism based on testing out ideas with future generations of life in mind. We need to be caretakers for the next generation and as such they are the principals and we are their agents. This can be understood by means of this simple scenario (adapted from Khisty & Ayvalik 2003: 59):

Each of 10 people own 1 1000 lb cow and all 10 cows graze in a common area. If an additional cow, is added then all the cows would eat less grass and they would weigh 900 lbs.

¹ Thesis and antithesis are vital drivers and both are needed for a hospitable dialogue towards an evolving synthesis. Churchman (1982) discusses the implications of decisions that “cut off” opportunities for thinking, research, policy making and practice. Derrida (2003) also looks at boundaries, communication and decision-making when he develops his arguments about democratic thinking. He argues that tolerance is too limited and that instead he thinks the cultural concept of tolerance should be reworked to support a sense of hospitality towards others and towards diversity, wherever possible. Derrida’s choice of concept has many implications for the nature and context of communication and decision-making. Rights and responsibilities are linked with citizenship and tolerance in Western democracies. The rights of citizens are bounded in conceptual and geographical space. Hospitality is not a concept with a necessarily strongly Western or legalistic overtone. It is much wider. Hospitality to travelers and strangers (provided they are non-violent) is a concept that has resonance with Christianity and with Islamic culture and in Indigenous cultures throughout the world. Hospitality is given to people as they move from place to place. Nationality, citizenship, property and boundaries are widened for a while when being hospitable. Communication linked with the concept of hospitality is more likely to be respectful and supportive of transformation than communication that is only linked with mere tolerance.

But I do not care, because I have an additional cow and so have 900lbs x 2 rather than just 1 cow of 1000lbs. The health of all the cows is threatened if I continue to introduce more cows, but in the short and medium term I will get richer and more powerful, until the number of cows outstrips the amount of grass for them to eat- then all the cows fall ill and die². Then the rich and the poor cattle owners will suffer as their animals die.

This is also an example of what Ulrich Beck (1992) calls the 'boomerang affect' of systemic feedback. Science based on simplistic cause and effect has forgotten that socio-economic decisions have 'externalities' that go beyond the immediate 'terms of reference'. The case I wish to make is that competition for resources has led to 'the tragedy of the commons'. The scenario can help us understand how we make use of resources and how we compete in ways that lead to poverty and pollution which enhance 'risk society' (Beck 1992). I support the argument that we need to mobilize civil society to work towards 'democracy without enemies' and 'without borders' (Beck 1998, Grugel 1999, Gould 2007) in order to protect the wellbeing of this generation and the next. This is the difference between:

- Development for growth that is unsustainable because it forgets the externalities of poverty and pollution.
- Evolution that is based on responding to the environment, adapting and evolving designs that *are* socially, economically and environmentally sustainable.

This is why I believe that discursive democracy is so important and why the role of action learning and participatory action research that supports expanded testing of ideas, not only by 'the experts' but also by people with

² See also Khisty and Zeitler (2001) and Khisty (2006) who cite Loyd (1833) and Hardin (1968).

lived experience is so important³. Civil society needs to find a way to make sense of complexity rather than denying it⁴.

Koestler (1978) poses the question: “Are we a sick civilization that will die out?” He cites his earlier work, *Ghost in a Machine* (1967)⁵. Will we be able to rise above our base

³ The so-called „enemies within“ are human values according to West Churchman (1979) they are religion, morality, politics and aesthetics (see McIntyre-Mills et al 2006 a, b, c). We need to embrace them because values make us human. But we need to avoid believing that those who are more like us are more acceptable and that those who are less like us are less acceptable. Instead we need to examine the „enemies within“ critically and systematically so that we homo sapiens sapiens are able to see through the shadow of our projections, whether they are orientalist, occidentalist, for example. The purpose is not to re-state or cover the territory already covered in the C.West Churchman series „to address the enemies within (our values which make us human but which can filter the way we see the world). Volume 1 stressed that the leap of faith required to address this paradox and to develop resonance and trust through respectful communication is where spirituality, religions and the sciences touch fingers across the divide across subjective, objective and intersubjective experiences of the world. Volume 3 explores this argument. We need to recognize “the enemies” or values that make us (and everyone else) human - these include: “politics, religion, morality and aesthetics”, to use West Churchman’s (1979a: 23) concepts, so as to examine the human potential for hubris, which means thinking we can behave not only like a God who has all the answers, but one who projects the wrongs onto others.

⁴ Conceptual tools can be used to enhance our thinking and practice so as to make creative decisions about ways to minimize pollution and poverty. This means rethinking our relationships across self, other and the environment. The closest we can get to truth is through compassionate dialogue that explores paradoxes and considers the rights and responsibilities of caretakers (see McIntyre-Mills 2000, 2006a).

⁵ Koestler (1967) developed an argument in “Ghost in the machine”, that human evolution of the brain has retained the basic drives which override reason. So emotion and desire for power can lead to irrational decisions.

“...evolution superimposed a new superior structure onto an old one, with purely overlapping functions, and without providing the new with a clear-cut, hierarchic control over the old- thus inviting confusion and conflict....The limbic system may be compared to a primitive television screen which combines, and often confuses, projections from the internal, visceral environment with the external environment...But Nature in her frugality did not discard the old screen. Since it seemed adequate for smelling, tasting and feeling what is going on inside the body, she has kept the filaments in the tube of the old screen glowing night and day...” (Koestler 1967: 283).

“Man finds himself in the predicaments that Nature has endowed him essentially with three brains which, despite great differences in structure, must function together and communicate with one another. The oldest of the three brains is basically reptilian. The second has been inherited from the lower mammals, and the third is a late mammalian development, which ...has made man peculiarly man. Speaking allegorically of these three brains without a brain, we might imagine that when the psychiatrist bids the patient to lie on the couch, he is asking him to stretch out alongside a horse and a crocodile...” (Koestler 1978: 9, cites MacLlean’s National Institute of Mental health, Bethesda, Maryland).

“Nature has let us down, God seems to have left the receiver off the hook, and time is running out. To hope for salvation to be synthesized in the laboratory may seem materialistic, crankish or naïve; but to tell the truth, there is a Jungian twist to it – for it reflects the ancient alchemist’s dream to concoct the elixir vitae. What we expect from it, however, is not eternal life, nor the transformation of base metal into gold, but the transformation of homo maniacus into homo sapiens sapiens. When man decided to take his fate into his own hand, that possibility will be within reach” (Koestler 1967: 339).

Essentially the limbic system of the brain coexists with the neocortex. Greenfield (2000) argues that the notion that a particular part of the brain performs a particular function is incorrect, however and that it is possible for the brain to rewire messages to different parts of the brain through consciousness or thinking about our thinking. So the language, logic and symbolic thought which is part of the

instincts of greed for power which result in poverty and pollution through rational thought, or will we sink into oblivion because we fail the evolutionary test that nature has given to us? “Those civilizations which survive this and other tests of sanity will grow” (Koestler 1978: 284).

It has been argued convincingly by Baroness, Professor Susan Greenfield (2000: 13), a neuroscientist, that the human brain is not a compartmentalized hierarchy of functional parts and that it has considerable plasticity:

As the brain becomes more sophisticated, it appears to exploit instinct less and less and instead uses increasingly the results of individual experience, of learning. Hence individuality, I would argue, becomes more evident: the balance starts to tip correspondingly away from nature to nurture - the effects of the environment. It is this personalization of the brain, crafted over the long years of childhood and continuing to evolve throughout life, that a unique pattern of connections between brain cells creates what might be best called a „mind“.

Enabling people to think about their thinking through dialogue, storytelling and by means of mental walk throughs aided by software (McIntyre-Mills 2008) to make connections across self, other and the environment could enhance their consciousness and the capability to make socially just and sustainable decisions.

Can participation help to enhance consciousness?

Liberal voting within the boundaries of a nation state is insufficient to achieve change. Open democracy needs to enable reframing the social, economic and environmental agendas, so that we understand that we are in one space ship, not in separate competing life boats engaged in a zero sum game to prevent people who are floundering in the

neocortex only functions through its interconnectedness with the lower instinctive and emotive parts of the brain. Koester (1967: 48) explains that Holon means part-whole. We are all part of a wider system. When we look upwards we are subordinate. When we look downwards we are superior. This is the Janus paradox that we as human beings live and which need to understand better.

water or in other boats from boarding and sinking our own life boats.

Current research (McIntyre-Mills 2006a, b, c, 2007a, b, c, 2008a, b, c, d, e) supports the argument that thinking about our thinking is aided through discursive dialogue and debate to test out ideas. The process of testing or falsification is vital for science, democracy, ethics and peace. Testing out ideas is the basis for science, democracy and an expanded ethical pragmatism to ensure that people who are to be affected by decisions are part of the decision making process. Testing out the ideas needs to be undertaken (not only by experts) but by caretakers who have 'lived experience' and who are concerned about the wellbeing of future generations of life. I have cited the work of Greenfield (2000) on consciousness and that the more connections we make the more mindful and conscious we become (McIntyre-Mills 2006, 2008a, b, c).

This is an important starting point for why 'thinking about our thinking' is important. It is helped by realizing that our thinking shapes who we are, how we live and the quality of the environment that we co-create through our political designs and choices.

Connections are the substance of consciousness. Our research to date supports the research undertaken by National Economics and the Australian Local Government Association (2002, 2003) which concludes that the greater the tolerance for diversity, the greater the level of socio-economic wellbeing in Australia, America and Europe.

Definition of key concepts to address the area of concern

Commodification is the overarching narrative of western democracy at the moment, but narratives of identity, rights and responsibility can be made and remade through story telling and respectful listening. Flannery (2005: 302-303) has stressed that “all the efforts of government and industry will come to naught unless the good citizen and consumer take the initiative” by making an effort to change their daily lives and living in a more sustainable way.

It is possible to do things differently and that we can make a difference by enhancing the ability of people to engage actively in designing and shaping sustainable policy, provided they are encouraged to think critically and systemically about the future. This is a vital caveat. We need to change the way we think about society, economics and the environment. According to Dr. Neil Hamilton⁶, Director, WWF International Arctic Programme, within the next five years the polar ice cap is likely to melt, thus releasing more carbon and methane into the atmosphere and raising the sea level by perhaps seven metres. The way forward, he stressed, is for us to reconceptualise the market and to reduce the emphasis on economic profit in the interests of wellbeing of the planet.

What do we mean by the ‘global commons’? Initially the concept was narrowly defined as “assets outside the national frontiers such as oceans, space and the Antarctic”⁷. This definition has been reframed to refer to the common good supported by social, legal, economic and environmental

⁶ Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Monday 9 June 2008, 10.05am.

⁷ OECD definition available at <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/search.asp>.

policy⁸. The Brundtland report, *Our Common Future* (1987: 20), highlights the need to work across boundaries:

Until recently the planet was a large world in which human activities and their effects were neatly compartmentalised within nations, within sectors (energy, agriculture, and trade) and within broad areas of concern (environment, economics, social). These compartments have begun to dissolve. This applies in particular to the various global „crises“ that have seized public concern, particularly over the last decade. These are not separate crises: an environmental crisis, a development crisis, an energy crisis. They are all one. The planet is passing through a period of dramatic growth and fundamental change. Our human world of 5 billion must make room in a finite environment for another human world. The population could stabilize at between 8 and 14 billion sometime next century, according to UN projections. More than 90 percent of the increase will occur in the poorest countries, and 90 per cent of that growth is already bursting cities⁹.

The global commons and quality of life provide the bases for wellbeing. Wellbeing' is defined in terms of Nussbaum and Glover's (1995) conditions for quality of life. The concept of 'Quality of life' draws on Nussbaum's notion of capability (1995: 83), which includes the importance of critical reflection:

Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length, not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living... Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's own life. This includes...employment outside the home and to participate in political

⁸ Welcome to the Coalition for the Global Commons (<http://www.global-commons.org/display/CGC2/Home>):

“When referring to the global commons, people think mainly of ecological and climate issues, but the global commons involves most of our social and economic concerns as well. These include unemployment, loss of culture, hunger, water access, disease, migration, human rights abuses, biased information flows, lack of finance and aid, and mounting debt - all relationships that impact our lives across national borders. On March 5, 2008, the Coalition for the Global Commons launched an **international consultation process** that engages partners across the world in the development of a common global action plan. The Coalition for the Global Commons seeks to provide a multilateral platform in politics, economics, civil society, science, religious communities, academia, and the media that will enable leaders, experts and the public across the world to work together for a new system of global economic and political cooperation. Our consultation activities include personal discussions and 'town-hall' meetings, advanced electronic methods for obtaining group agreement from distinct opinions, and this moderated Wiki website. The results of these consultations will be made public at a conference of international stakeholders in 2010, Convention on the Global Commons, where consensus on an action plan will be completed.”

⁹ *Our Common Future* (1987) available at <http://www.worldinbalance.net/agreements/1987-brundtland.html>.

life...being able to show concern for other human beings...being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants and the world of nature... Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.

Peace is based on reciprocity, give and take¹⁰, and being prepared to avoid greed so that the relationships¹¹ across self, others¹² and the environment are sustainable and equitable. Greed is not good¹³; it leads to some people living at the expense of others and at the expense of the next generation. What are the implications of competing for the last of the non-renewable resources? Competition for scarce

¹⁰ The originator of peace studies, John Galtung (1990), argues that peace needs to avoid the four usual processes for dealing with conflict, namely: A or B win or lose at the expense of the other or avoiding the issues or achieving some compromise that is less than acceptable.

¹¹ According to Khisty (2006: 10): The word 'Interbeing' is a portmanteau, a „made up“ word, coined by the Buddhist monk, Thich Nhat Hahn, that includes the concepts of interconnectedness, interdependence and interrelatedness. He explains „interbeing“ as a fundamental reality of life where “things do not exist separately and outside each other” (Hanh 2000: 172). “Note that each element is neither a whole nor a part, but a whole/part, for which Koestler (1967) coined the word „holon“ and „holarchy“. In order to exist each Holon has to retain its own identity or its own agency and at the same time it must also fit in with the other holons that are an intrinsic part of its environment. Every Holon must maintain not only its won agency but its own communion ...on which its existence rests....” (Jotin: 2006: 9).

¹² Ethical thinking can enhance representation and accountability by means of a design of inquiring system that makes a case for expanded pragmatism through thinking about the consequences of our decisions for ourselves, others and the environment in this generation and the next. Our environment shapes us and we shape the environment in ongoing recursive cycles. Human Animals are not the only tool makers and not all human animals can make or use tools. Learning through testing out ideas and tools within an environment leads to the evolution of species. Powerful tool makers and users dominate the less powerful and the environment to extract profit and short term gain. Discrimination and frailty can make human animals as vulnerable as other creatures. Expanded pragmatism (as opposed to narrow pragmatism) considers the consequences for self, others and the environment in the short medium and long term of protecting the interests of the powerful at the expense of the powerless. The challenge for traditional liberal democracy was to ensure that government organizations acted as accountable agents for the principles, namely the people they serve during a three or four year election cycle. Voting in elected members who represent the people was considered to be both necessary and sufficient.

“Any Self-Other gradient can be used to justify violence against those lower down on the scale of worthiness; any causal chain can be used to justify the use of violence means to obtain non violent ends. Gandhi would be as skeptical of Marxist ideas of revolution and hard work, of sacrificing a generation or two for the presumed bliss the day after tomorrow, as he would be of liberal/conservative ideas of hard work and entrepreneurship, of sacrificing a social class or two for the bliss of the upper classes even today ...take care of the *means* and the *ends* will take care of themselves” (Galtung 1990: 302). Galtung stresses that mindfulness of Ghandi extended to accompanying economic boycotts with collections to help those who were in dire need as a result of financial hardship and respect for all sentient creatures. This is because we are all part of one environment as acknowledged by non dualistic Buddhists and others who think in terms of the interconnectedness of nature.

¹³ See Pizzigati, S. (2006) *Greed and Good* available at <http://www.greedandgood.org/NewToRead.html>. This is the mantra of the 80“s stock market players.

resources has implications for peace within and across nation states, but also intergenerational consequences. Competition, in particular for the last of the non-renewables, oil and uranium underpins international relations.

The argument developed in this paper is that if people are able to make more connections across social, economic and environmental concerns through ‘joining up the dots’, so to speak, they will understand that human beings exist only because they have air to breathe, water to drink and food to eat.

Peace needs to be informed by a definition of violence across the personal to the interpersonal and in terms of relationships with self-others and the environment. The dualistic atomistic thinking encouraged by Cartesian thought (Veitch 1977) plays out in the way that we divide and categorize without comprehending the interconnections across science specializations or across different kinds of knowledge (McIntyre-Mills 2006). Galtung (1990: 292) defines types of violence as direct and structural:

	Survival needs	Wellbeing needs	Identity needs	Freedom needs
Direct violence	Killing	Debt Maiming, siege, sanctions, misery	Desocialization, resocialisation, secondary citizen	Repression, detention, expulsion
Structural violence	Exploitation Active	Exploitation Passive	Market Penetration Political segmentation	Silencing Marginalization fragmentation

Direct violence by war and sanctions are as problematic as indirect structural violence of the market rules that appear to privilege the powerful in the *short* to *medium* term. Let us

consider two examples that span both structural and direct violence.

Example 1

Structural violence of the WTO, which controls markets, leads to imports of low-cost goods to USA. In the bid to compete standards of quality drop and farmers /producers who cannot compete on price are excluded. The surprising result is that USA is putting its own population at risk according to 'Food and Water Watch' (a citizen's group dedicated to defending the global commons):

The WTO's agreement on Agriculture has been a failure for fruit and vegetable farmers in the United States and has encouraged the development of export platforms in the developing world that benefit from low wages and weak environmental standards to ship low-cost fruit and vegetable products to the United States¹⁴.

This is an apt example of what Ulrich Beck (1992) called the 'boomerang affect' of risk society where poverty and pollution have a feedback affect.

Example 2

Direct violence can be illustrated by revisiting Galtung's (1990: 297) reference to Israel's relationship with West Bank inhabitants. We can explain and expand his table with reference to current events in Gaza and we can develop the argument that without the bases for life in Gaza and in all undeveloped areas we undermine wellbeing.

The UN despite making statements recently about the war has not intervened¹⁵, despite the reports submitted by Archbishop Desmond Tutu that were commissioned by UN,

¹⁴ <http://www.foodandwaterwatch.org/food/pubs/reports/the-poisoned-fruit-of-american-trade-policy>

¹⁵ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jan/09/hamas-gaza-ceasefire-un-israel/print>

in which he argued that the Israeli army attacked a civilian family killing 18 on November 2006 in Beit Hanoun.

Tutu had to wait 18 months for a visa and then his report was rejected by Israel's ambassador as 'another regrettable product of the Human Rights Council. The report was dismissed with the comment "...It is regrettable that the mission took place at all"¹⁶.

In January Tutu called the blockade 'an abomination' that continued, because of international complicity¹⁷.

Israel has been bombing Gaza continuously since December 27, and began its ground invasion on January 3. More than 700 Palestinians had been killed by January 8. Around 3000 Palestinians have been injured, according to Palestinian medical reports. Almost a third of these are children, according to Gazan medics¹⁸.

Across Europe¹⁹ protests were mounted in response to concerns about the slaughter of civilians and the disproportionate force used against people trapped within the Gaza zone. Yesterday I attended the peace rally on the steps of Parliament House, South Australia (January 11, 2009). The arguments couched in the language of peace by Nobel Peace Laureate, Desmond Tutu, have broad resonance.

War is never acceptable for the innocents maimed and traumatized. The notion of 'a just war' and 'the right to defend oneself' using weapons of mass destruction such as

¹⁶ McCarthy, R. Desmond Tutu: Israeli shelling in Gaza may be a war crime. September 16, 2008. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/sep/16/israelandthepalestinians.middleeast>

¹⁷ BBC News. Tutu: Gaza blockade abomination. May 29, 2008. Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7425082.stm

¹⁸ Harrison, S. Israel's bloody assault on Gaza continues. January 9, 2009. Available at <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2008/777/40131>.

¹⁹ Millard, R. Protests call for end to carnage. January 12, 2009. Available at <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2009/01/11/1231608521465.html>.

"Demonstrators rallied across Europe in their thousands at the weekend to call for an end to Israel's military offensive in the Gaza Strip."

the Nuclear Bomb dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima remains problematic, despite the rationalization that it shortened the Second World War.

How can we achieve it?

We could consider the following thinking and practice when we contribute to peace:

- reframing definitions,
- participatory processes that support critical thinking and judgment that supports social, economic and environmental sustainability,
- advocacy by civil society, and
- governance supported by charters, covenants and the law.

The principle of subsidiarity namely that people need to make decisions at the lowest level possible could be guided by international laws on the sustainable use of the global commons including air, water²⁰, energy and soil.

Transnational solidarity (Gould 2007) with others requires the *will* to work with others, based on a realization that sustainable futures require working across conceptual and spatial boundaries (Beck 1992, 1998). By conceptual boundaries I mean disciplines and cultures. By spatial boundaries I mean organizations, communities and nation states. Narrow definitions of the global commons included only water, soil, and air. But food and natural resources for every aspect of life is dependent on the commons. If we define the natural resources as sacred then we move towards a spiritual approach to the way in which we engage with others and the environment. Bakker's (2007) paper argues that NGOs and localised approaches to protecting the

²⁰ 71% and only three percent is drinkable and much of that is privatized and commodified (see http://www.rosaparks.fcps.net/stlp/2001-2002/earth_con/earth.htm).

commons could be achieved by means of covenants and principles that support local-global accountability. A good example is the Aarhus convention. This convention enables civil society to report any actions within their local communities that harm the environment. It applies across the European Union. It is built on the principle of subsidiarity, which means that decision need to be taken at the lowest level possible, but it is governed by concern for a sustainable future within a federalist region of Europe. Despite the shortcomings of this federalist approach, perhaps lessons could be learned that could be applied more widely (Florini 2003). Warm, hospitable dialogue is the basis for friendship. The argument is developed in *Philosophy in a Time of Terror* (Borradori 2003) and *Assault on Reason* (Gore 2007) in which he argues that democracy needs to be more than voting. We need discursive dialogue if we are to shape policy and engage with one another. This means listening to one another in friendship. If we can do that we can model an agora approach to discursive democracy, which creates better understanding of one another. Citizen advocacy on environmental concerns helps to inspire solidarity that spans national boundaries. This principle and policy provides an alternative to current forms of democracy and governance, which needs to be supported by a more robust legal system²¹.

The work of many organizations (including International Sociological Association, The International Systems Sciences and Action Learning and Action Research Association, for

²¹ Florini (2003) emphasized the importance of combining both centralized steering from above (in the interests of the global commons) and steering from below in the interests of holding the elites in business and the state to account and in the interests of mobilizing an interest and concern about public issues. She does not favour leaving democracy in the hands of 'philosopher kings', she believes in democracy as the best worst option and cites Winston Churchill (2003: 209). Participation beyond voting in elections is supported in her vision. She cites the Aarhus convention and regional federalism as the way forward. She believes that networks that are more transparent and accountable will be part of our digital future. But she is concerned about bridging the digital divide. That is the challenge to ensure that we do not have the digital haves living in domed, safe environments whilst the rest face the worst that environmental degradation has to offer.

example) on new forms of engagement are relevant today, because democracy and governance structures and processes do not represent the needs of non citizens, powerless nation states, the poor and displaced and most importantly it does not look after children and the next generation. Human rights dialogue needs to be expanded so that we think about the environment of which we are a part. Indigenous peoples across the world have understood this. As caretakers we have a responsibility to ensure that we allow the children of the next generation to have a liveable planet.

Civil society needs to model different ways of doing democracy and governance by working across spatial (organizations, nation states) and conceptual boundaries (cultures and knowledge domains). Two-way communication that is respectful of diverse ideas and helps to build relationships is vital for local and international governance. This is the key point made by Habermas and Derrida (2003) in their conversation about thinking and its relevance to preventing terrorism²². Trust develops further networks of co-operation. But as Edgar (2001) stresses with reference to governance in Australia, we need space for difference and space for cooperation. We can be free and diverse to the extent that we do not undermine the freedom and diversity of others.

Agents for the next generation (the principals) need to share ideas about the global commons, caretaking and the commodification of food, water, shelter and energy. We need to rethink our approaches to economics and politics, if we wish to ensure peace.

Beyond social contracts: caretaking for the next

²² Baruma (2007) also discusses the diverse discourses of Ramadan, the public intellectual who wishes to draw together Islamic discourses of reformist principals Salafism with Western Enlightenment through reason and dialogue.

generation

If the rights of children are to be protected then we can argue that the nation state is inadequate as a means to protect them. We could argue that this generation of adults ought to act as agents who care for the principals, namely the next generation. This means protecting the commons for our children. The kind of decisions we take today will impact on their quality of life socially, economically and environmentally.

On the 18th of January a ceasefire was called with the announcement that Israel had achieved its goal, namely to destroy the Hamas bases. The peace talks depend on accepting a Palestinian and Israeli state. But Harrison (2009: 3)²³ argues that

the aim of the current bombings and invasion are not to do with stopping the firing of home-made rockets, but breaking the back of any Palestinian resistance to Israeli domination.

Whether or not we agree with Harisson, it is undeniable that the 'fall out' of war cannot be localized as the political landscape of democracy and international relations has changed as a result of digital communications (Devji 2006). What happens in Palestine will affect all who identify with the war for a range of reasons.

Nation states are treated as if they are set in stone when in reality they are in 'Brownian motion' (Geertz 2004). Geertz is concerned about the way in which nation states are shaped by power – social, political and economic and that the boundaries of the nation state are shaped by external players. The boundaries are determined by the victors in wars or by (what were once) powerful market economies.

²³ Harrison, S. Israel's bloody assault on Gaza continues. January 9, 2009. Available at <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2008/777/40131>.

Unlike Geertz who emphasizes contextual considerations, Habermas (1984) comes up with an ideal process²⁴ for democracy and governance²⁵. Between these two positions of:

- the need to consider context and political dynamics in ‘complicated places’ as suggested by Geertz (2004), and
- the ideal to strive for respectful dialogue is,
- the desire and the *will* for peace, which will only occur when the powerful realize that the zero sum approach needs to be replaced by the ‘win-win’ approach, because we are part of one planet and we will stand or fall together.

Participatory Action Research (PAR) enables people to a) make the connections across their own lives and the lived context, and b) to work across boundaries of sectors and knowledge areas to bring about changes for social and environmental justice. It comprises the following ongoing praxis cycles: ‘learning by doing, questioning, observation, reflection, taking a decision, designing for change, action to implement the design.’

²⁴ The work of Habermas does not sufficiently address the challenges of sustaining his ideal, given that the state if it is strong but undemocratic may not encourage dialogue, even if it does promote better governance, because it is transparent and accountable – albeit hierarchical. The challenge for governance and democracy is to balance centralized controls with decentralized debate. The balancing of individualism and collectivism is central to the challenges faced by democracy and governance.

²⁵ Democracy, in its most basic sense of majority decision making, requires that those who decide be sufficiently alike that they will respect the will of the majority. Global-level decisions will inevitably have a highly restricted agenda, set by what the majority of the richest nations will tolerate, and a very reduced role for the world’s publics. The difficulties of global democracy should make us pause when considering the rhetoric about democracy at the national level, for that too, despite the belief that nations are relatively homogenous political communities, is subject to similar limitations as to both agenda and participation. The question is whether one needs to rethink some of the “assumptions of democratic theory in order to find ways to widen the scope of accountable government by consent.” (Hirst in Pierre 2000: 17). Pierre, J. (ed.), (2000). *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering and Democracy*, University Press, Oxford.

What would the world be like if the master narrative of *commodification* were replaced with a *global commons* narrative? Whilst bureaucracy has a vital role in ensuring that democratic states can operate to support freedoms (to the extent that they do not undermine the freedoms of others) it is also undeniable that democracies are built on participation. Research shows increasingly that marginalized people are excluded from active roles in shaping policy, for a range of reasons including lack of skills, connections and confidence. The structures and processes of international relations and federal governance need to be re-considered to allow diversity to the extent that it does not undermine the freedoms of others.

The *more* we think about our thinking in formal research and through testing out ideas with people, who are to be affected by decisions, the *more* likely we are to be able to support the global commons. We face today not only the potential to use nuclear power in negative ways, but also the potential to exacerbate global warming with carbon emissions.

Why do we make such selfish decisions in the interests of 'us' versus 'them' at a personal, community, national and international level?

The arguments developed by Dawkins (1976) about a) 'the selfish gene' making decisions to ensure its own survival, and supported by b) 'the cultural idea or 'meme' that we need to survive at the expense of others does not make sense when we realized that the binary oppositions of 'us versus them' is based on simplistic thinking, a misinterpretation of Cartesian logic (Veitch 1977). Firstly, as I have explained elsewhere (McIntyre-Mills 2006a), 'I think therefore I am' has within it a liberative potential. Thinking is part of being and it is embodied, but it is not entirely genetically determined. Secondly cause and effect, subject and object need to be reconsidered in non-linear systemic terms.

Dawkins (2006) argues that biologically we have evolved to be 'medium range' thinkers who are unable to think about the big picture. Greenfield (2000) suggests that it is because we do not use our full capability. We are socialized to think in compartments, because by defining 'terms of reference' powerful decision makers have control. But we *can* and do show agency and make decisions, 'albeit not under circumstances of our choosing', to paraphrase Giddens' (1984) structuration theory.

Dawkins's argument is flawed, because if it is analysed critically and systemically it is evident that:

- He falls into the trap of thinking in terms of 'binary oppositions', namely that God can only be seen as a '*deist personal god*' OR as '*a universal life force*' / '*energy*' in the sense used by Einstein (and many Indigenous pantheist religions). He stresses that the former is unacceptable. He argues that even if a personal god provides comfort, the usefulness of the belief does not make it rational. Perhaps he could accept that people's perceptions can be seen as a continuum from abstract to more concrete representations and that educational background, intellectual capability and circumstances shape the way in which people make sense of their world. People with different mindsets or ability to think in abstract terms will be more likely to interpret god in more literal ways. Education will enable them to see god in more universal terms. Education and critical thinking enhance our ability to think conceptually. This seems to be a more acceptable response to narrow interpretations to religion than advocating no belief in god, which of course is an option, but not the option (if we are to avoid the trap of

fundamentalism or closed mindsets) as Dawkins suggests.

- If we accept the notion of the sacred as 'the web of life' (Capra 1996) we are not far from a belief that would have universal acceptance.
- Cultural beliefs are a response to our environment. Culture can change. It is neither genetic nor deterministic. We can make choices to be altruistic (Frankl 1963). Human beings have the ability to choose to rise above the 'circumstances that are not of their choosing' (*op cit*). This is the high road. The low road is to realize 'the boomerang affect' of poverty and pollution. They have no boundaries and we cannot protect ourselves from their fallout of 'pay back' effect.

Our thinking co-determines who we are and our environment. Evidence detailed in the Stern Review (2007 chapter 3) supports the argument that, with a rise in temperature of about two degrees Celsius, we can expect an extensive impact within the Asia Pacific Region resulting in loss of species diversity, increased vulnerability to drought and low agricultural yields, higher living costs, increased environmental refugees and the increased vulnerability of the poor)²⁶. Cuts will need to be made by both developed and developing nations through a revised notion of accountability. Accountability needs to address the opportunity costs for the next generation of excluding social and environmental indicators (Gallhofer & Chew 2000, Elkington 1997, McIntyre-Mills 2006b).

²⁶ The recent change in government in Australia has led to a promise to ratify Kyoto, but no fixed targets have been agreed at the recent Bali summit to address climate change. Some delegates from island nations expressed the opinion that the cost to the environment of travelling to the conference was high and that little had been achieved. Even if the USA had agreed that international targets should be set, it amounted only to an agreement to discuss the need to have fixed targets (see <http://www.reuters.com/article/latestCrisis/idUSL1566501>).

Environmental sustainability requires legal contracts, but these need to be informed by a range of disciplines. A systemic approach takes into account many knowledge domains that span the ethical, the religious and the scientific. Knowing *what* knowledge to use and in *what combination* is the challenge which Aristotle called 'phronesis' in Nicomachean ethics (see Irwin 1985). Action learning and action research enables us to open up a dialogue in the interests of a peaceful sustainable world.

Living a life at the expense of others (including the next generation) and at the expense of the environment is unsustainable. As urban dwellers we tend to forget our connection to the landscape.

Our choices determine the life chances of future generations. Energy and water for agriculture and cities are limited resources. Global conflict (terror and war on terror) can be seen as a result of competition for scarce resources and with climate change we will see ever greater competition.

Solidarity movements for a new democracy

What is citizenship? When is it convenient to recognize a national boundary and when is it not? Markets can invade the rights of people to earn a decent wage. Boundaries could protect jobs and rights or they can exclude asylum seekers from the right to safety. To what extent has our bounded understanding of culture, politics, nationality and human rights changed?

Two policies applied within the EU, namely the Aarhus convention and Local Agenda 21 provide space for local people to shape and hold the market and the state accountable at the local level where they live and work

(Florini 2003, McIntyre-Mills 2006a, b, c, 2007a, b, c). The nation state is no longer the only basis for decision making within the European Union. But we also need to find ways to ensure that social, economic and environmental decisions that are taken at the local level do not impact negatively on others. Global covenants (Held 2004) on how to live sustainably need to be implemented by means of global bodies that oversee federalist institutions spanning national and local governments.

Policies and processes to underpin a peaceful world

Could the Aarhus Convention help to address some of the UN millennium goals by holding the market to account through greater transparency and participation? Acc to Florini (2003:190):

it allows individuals and NGOs to seek redress in court when governments or corporations fail to meet these obligations to provide information. And the transparency requirements do not discriminate on the basis of citizenship or geography. An NGO or individual in one country can demand information from a government or corporation in another.

To sum up, the following policies could help us to address the challenge:

- Local Agenda 21 (Selman & Parker 1997) which enables people to design their futures in terms of triple bottom-line accounting (Elkington 1997). Local people are invited to participate in local government decision making that impact on the environment and social justice. Civil society is supported by law to hold the public sector and the private sector to account.
- Federalism guided by International Criminal Court and regional courts that report to the International court²⁷.

²⁷ Held *et al* (1999: 114) argue that the EU provides a federalist approach to decision making which could be worth considering more widely as a means to protect the commons regionally. The Maastricht Treaty of 1991: "... agreed ...not only to extend the scope of the economic and monetary union, but also to extend the framework of political integration to other spheres. In particular, it significantly advances the notion of EU citizenship: every national citizen of a member country of the

- Anti discrimination and anti racism laws.
- E-democracy to link local, national and regional federations.
- Global covenants (Held 2004) to cover social, economic and environmental concerns through regulations that are monitored by ombuds at the local, national and regional level.
- Intellectual property rights will be reframed to reflect the global commons, so that no company can commodify human life and animal life or the environment to the extent that it undermines the quality of life.

Consciousness is about making connections through thinking and respectful conversation that recognizes overlaps and differences. Mindfulness of diverse ways of seeing are important for peace makers and those who wish to manage risk and who wish to avoid fundamentalism in religion, politics, arts and sciences (social, environmental and economic). It is also essential for democracy and for making good decisions.

Vignette from Central Australia

On 28 January 2009, I caught up with Peter Turner whom I met in 1998 in Alice Springs whilst researching the life chances of residents (McIntyre-Mills 2003). I reframed the research from 'quality of life of rate payers' to include all residents, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. We spent some time discussing the

EU is now also a citizen of the Union with a right to travel and reside anywhere within the EU and the right to vote and contest political office in the country of their residence. Accordingly, the importance of old political borders further declines and the process of deterritorialisation continues. Freedom of movement and the right to political participation wherever one resides challenges a traditional basis of loyalty to a single state (see Khan, 1996). If the Maastricht treaty were to be fully implemented, along with the social terms and conditions of the Amsterdam treaty (concerned to outlaw discrimination based on gender, race, religion, nationality, among other categories), the member states would have taken several major steps towards becoming a highly integrated supranational political association...)"

challenges of social, economic and environmental meltdown which we face in 2009 as a result of the choices we have made in the name of development.

Socially we face the challenge of people fighting for scarce resources and expressing the conflict in terms of culture. Language and tradition can and do lead to conflict. As more and more desert people from different lands congregate in Alice Springs, so the tensions rise. The Warpari, Luritja, East and West Arrerrente and many other groups compete for space in the so-called 'town camps'. In the past respect for the land owned by the local Arrerrente people was shown. As the pressure on the local lands grows so the conflict increases, fueled by alcohol and the belief that the old customs should be upheld. Desert people are making a move from the traditional to modern living within a generation and they are competing for space in terms of cultural criteria. Peter also reflected that these old ways of life needed to acknowledge that what was done on one's own land has an impact on other people. So mining in one part of the NT impacts on others. He explained that he was worried that some Aboriginal groups were making decisions about mining uranium or storing waste. It is a decision that impacts on all people.

I shared with him the article by Van Onselen (2008) reflecting on Huntington's legacy. He became well known for his so-called 'clash of civilizations' thesis. We agreed that Huntington could be criticized on two counts: 1) culture is not a fixed category; it is learned behaviour, and 2) democracy is not specifically western. Indigenous people the world over have engaged in discursive democracy and value finding

consensus through dialogue. Huntington's thesis is flawed, because he accepts the above points.

I argue that science, ethics, and democracy share in common the need for testing out ideas. Democracy has 'come unstuck' because it is not open to testing and because it has allowed the market to shape the debate.

The conflicts in Alice Springs are a microcosm for the sorts of conflict that are playing out on a wider stage. If we decide to mine uranium we need to think about the entire cycle including storage and its uses. As the last of the non-renewables, it is costly to mine and in South Australia we have limited water supplies to support mining, so we need to weigh up the impact on future generations in social, economic, and environmental terms. In South Australia, we have 'a knot of problems' in the sense used by Bateson (1972) that can be described in a case study that illustrates the complexities for planners and policy makers.

Our starting point is the need for better communication, not just as a means to an end, namely closer representation of people and their ideas, but also because communication is the basis for transformation in thinking and practice. It is also the essence of life (McIntyre-Mills 2006). Conversation that is collegial and discursive²⁸ is essential for democracy, governance and better interfaith and international relations.

Peace processes at the personal and interpersonal level

Human beings and the environment construct each other and co-evolve. Our choices could create an environment that

²⁸ See C. West Churchman Series, Volumes 1 and 3 edited by McIntyre-Mills, J and Van Gigch with McIntyre-Mills, J respectively.

limits the choices for future generations. It is this co-evolution that will shape our future on this planet. Understanding the way in which human and natural systems shape each other is vital. Maturana and Varela (1973, 1980) and James Lovelock (2006) in *Revenge of Gaia* and Gore (2007) have stressed this point. Overcoming 'mind traps' (Vickers 1968, 1983) and compartmentalised approaches to both thinking and practice is vital for our survival. It is possible to do things differently and that we can make a difference to democracy and governance by enhancing the ability of people to engage actively in shaping sustainable policy provided they are encouraged to think critically and systemically about the future²⁹. The argument that I develop in this paper is that our hope as a species rests in our ability to think creatively and to consider the consequences of our choices:

1. **Thinking and practice** (praxis) could lead to a better balance of social, cultural, political, economic and environmental concerns to ensure a sustainable future for ourselves and for future generations. This needs to be enshrined from above and below in local – global covenants supported by law.
2. **Continual questioning** of ideas that underpin policy decisions as to who will get what, when, why, how and to what effect?
3. **Advocating** for future generations of life.

Table 1. Approaches to support peace based on “stitching together” a “patchwork” of positions and realizing the value of different ideas (Edgar 2001).

²⁹ We hoped that if it were possible to create a means by which we could combine both decentralized decision making and steering from below and centralized steering from above based on the common good, prompted by „if then” scenarios that are future oriented and wellbeing oriented, then we would be able to build a system that could be used for spatial and conceptual transboundary decision making.

		Molar – fixed identity and politics Focus is on one point of view	Transformation	Molecular – open identity and politics Works the hyphens of self and other
Bonds	How people communicate - Process	Emphasis on shared local language and culture	Respectful communication Participatory democracy that models communication to heal the divides	Social movements using language that is inclusive- use of the Internet and access to digital communication
Boundaries	Why people draw lines - Rationale	Self determination Achievement of rights	Will to communicate based on shared values. Understanding that idealism of triple or multiple bottom line accounting and pragmatism of sustainability are one	Concern for sustainable futures defined in terms of multiple social, cultural, political, economic and environmental factors.
Norms	What people are required to do within a context	Cultural norms that address group identity	Policy and legal environment that supports participatory democracy	Laws and policy that support social and environmental justice

Source: Table 1.3 McIntyre-Mills (2006c: 29) which draws on the work of Edgar (2001), Elkington (1995), Bogue (1989) and a reading of Borradori (2003).

Ethical guidelines

I make the case that participation is vital for democracy but also for ethics and for science. Idealism requires rules not

tests, but we need to consider rules within a changing world in terms of the consequences for ourselves, others and the environment. Expanded pragmatism has implications for international relations and peace, because it is based on dialogue and considering the consequences of thinking and practice. Dialogue that engages and explores the way in which people see issues, that explores what they think is important, why and how helps us to extend our ability to think and act to protect the global commons. New democracy needs to be de-linked from nationalism and it needs to embrace transnationalism. Fighting for scarce resources needs to be reconceptualised.

The shift is from a) closed paradigms, based on assumed professional expertise, and divisions across self-other and the environment; to b) working with different kinds of knowledge. Two policy steps towards peace would include enabling a) local people to have a say in their own futures and b) ensure the bases for quality of life. Molar and Molecular politics and identity form a continuum of options. Cultural shifts occur for many reasons; sometimes when sufficient trust exists for transformation to occur and sometimes when people realize that without change we are headed for a dismal future. Transformation is about appreciating many factors, not least of which are emotions and power³⁰. Civil society, researchers and policy makers who strive for *the common good* need to engage in self reflection by asking the following sets of question for addressing (molar) fixed and molecular (fluid) politics and identity:

- What *norms* do interest group members hold that allow for separate and shared identities?

³⁰ In the social sciences the dialectic / or “unfolding” and “sweeping in” are the concepts that are closest to structural differentiation. The dialectic is vital for exploring paradoxes and contradictions in social life. Rules and boundaries need to be addressed and remade within context. Molar is a metaphor for the rooted, fixed, categorical identity politics. Debate and conflict is from a specific position and arguments have teeth, because they are identified with this position and standpoint that representation is fixed and politics is positional and rooted in being. Molecular is a metaphor for openness to change and for the ability to make and remake options in different configurations using different elements.

- How do processes support *bonds* of association and friendship? Do these processes allow for openness or closure?
- Why are *boundaries* drawn in particular contexts?
- Who benefits from being included or excluded?

The basic questions need to be considered in iterative cycles as suggested by Wadsworth (1997, 2008a, b). If we can consider what is the case and what ought to be done (see Ulrich 1984) through considering all the stakeholders who will be affected by decisions and the extent of the affects socially, economically and environmentally then we will be closer to working with knowledge and 'managing diversity' (see Flood & Romm 1996). Norms, processes and boundaries can have positive and negative implications for some stakeholders, depending on the context. I argue that there is space for both molar (fixed) identity and politics and molecular (fluid) identity and politics (see Deleuze and Guattari, in Bogue 1989).

Questioning as a process for addressing perspectives, methods and areas of concern

- Who are the stakeholders?
- What is /are the **Perspectives held by stakeholders**? Why are the Perspectives chosen?
- What are the **Methods** chosen -How and why are they appropriate to the area of concern?
- What is the **Area of concern**? Why is the **Area** chosen?
- Will the perspective and methods help the researcher address the area of concern?
- In whose **Opinion** is the research useful?

POMA is a contextual questioning process that helps us realize that a shopping list of methods and theories is useless unless we have the will³¹ to apply them (see Checkland & Holwell 1998: 9-21) ethically³².

Conclusion: Peace flags waved in vain?

Will we be able to rise above our base instincts of greed for power that results in poverty and pollution through rational thought, or will we sink into oblivion because we fail the evolutionary test that nature has given to us? On the 12 January 2009, I listened to the ABC news whilst I ate breakfast. Bush announced that Obama's greatest challenge would be a terrorist attack on the USA (see Chomsky 2003). We need to make the connection that the landscape of democracy has changed (Devji 2007). War and poverty and pollution cannot be quarantined in so-called less developed places. Digital communication has made the world a smaller place. The paper suggests that one of the greatest challenges for policy makers is to match the right kind of knowledge to an issue. This requires 'phronesis' or a process of matching based on dialogue (see Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by Irwin 1985).

³¹ „Will“ is the concept made famous by Nietzsche (1901 [2002]). Do we have the will to be compassionate or only to follow our own passions and our own will to be powerful? Overcoming the medium range mindset is not just about being able to think more critically and systemically, it is about the power blocks that have invested in the status quo. Unless they can be convinced that it is in their interests to change they will not do so (see

http://nietzsche.holtof.com/Nietzsche_the_will_to_power/the_will_to_power_book_I.htm).

What drives us, our will or our values? If they are values, what are they? What ought they to be as policy makers and managers? What is the code of ethics we follow? (See Magee, B. (2000). *Wagner and Philosophy*. Penguin and Beilharz, P. (1991), *Social Theory*. Allen and Unwin).

³² Ethical decisions are based on a conversation on what ought to be considered versus what **is** currently the case. Three broad theoretical approaches can be identified (adapting Preston *et al* 2002), namely: Idealism (which is a non-consequentialist and deontological approach based on a moral law), Pragmatism a consequentialist approach that addresses the meanings of the different stakeholders) and a virtue based approach, based on Aristotle's work. He believed that inner virtue was the result of careful thinking and that **eudaimonia** was the goal of reasoning and that it would lead to happiness of the individual and to society. The **expanded approach to pragmatism** stresses that if the consequences for all the stakeholders are considered, then **expanded** pragmatism can improve on utilitarianism (that considered only the happiness of the greatest number), by developing an approach based on the idea that all those who are at the receiving end of a decision should be party to the decision making process (or at represented during the process by leaders who care about not only themselves, but also others including sentient beings and the environment).

We need both centralized controls – to protect the commons and decentralisation to the extent that individual freedoms do not undermine the common good, this is vital for testing out ideas and ensuring a good contextual match. This is so that we can co-create a shared understanding of one another's viewpoints. Finding ways to work with rather than *within* knowledge boundaries is vital (Gibbons *et al* 1994) and requires listening and learning from one another.

Questioning in ongoing iterative cycles as we listen and learn requires that we communicate with warmth and respect at all times. Do we listen actively with interest and empathy without being naïve or cynical? Are we mindful that 'power and knowledge' (Foucault & Gordan 1980) are linked *or* that political economies have established the right to determine what constitutes knowledge or who has the right to patent it (Drahos 2005)? This is problematic for social justice and for ensuring access to the global commons (air, water, soil, and the genetic codes of life).

Consciousness based on thinking about our thinking and making connections enables us to become more aware of the implications of our choices. Biologically we are not destined to behave in the ways dictated by the so-called limbic reptilian base brain (inherited from our evolutionary past stages of development, on which is built in successive layers a lower mammalian and higher mammalian brain) (Koestler 1978). We *are* capable of thinking about the implications of our choices if we can avoid zero sum arguments that encourage us to polarise *us and them*. Liberal voting within the boundaries of a nation state is insufficient to achieve change.

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Dissent within the international water community

Chris Williams

Civil society has played a key role in reshaping the definition of the global commons. This article gives examples of how participatory action research has played a key role in the reframing process. International examples of leadership show how solidarity transnationally can bring about awareness as a precursor for change.

Introduction

Amidst the clash of cultures arising from the push towards globalisation is an emerging counter-phenomenon that seeks to preserve local and minority culture, and is driven by silenced voices seeking to be heard. In so doing, space has been created for many voices, and the starkness of the contrasting chatter is profound.

It is not as if multinational water policymakers ought to be surprised by this occurrence. Amidst widespread unrest in the water sector in the late '90s, civil society protests, for example, forced a two-year freeze on World Bank funding for the construction of large dams, with the strength of civil protest most prominent in India's Narmada Valley. The World Bank was hopeful its consultation efforts during the moratorium period might restore society's trust in the Bretton Woods institutions, all the while being pressured by commercial interests to promptly resume development lending (Biswas 2004). Dissent was not silenced in the South, however, and strong and audible voices emerged in civil society.

This article firstly collates the achievements of outspoken advocates for water rights – people who individually have made a stand and, in the process, have acquired a label as water warriors or ‘mavens’. Separately, a fissure has emerged within the broad international policy community that has been highlighted, for example by the coexistence of the World Economic Forum and the World Social Forum. Where previously there was a singular policy leadership focused primarily on top-down development and new technology, a counter-message now highlights alternatives: bottom-up, pluralism and local culture. Each message probes for justice and an imprimatur to proceed but, without meaningful dialogue and consensus, multiple chattering voices only speak louder towards an ultimate crescendo. Recent times are witness to the emergence of a new phase, where activists of the South strengthen both their voice and their confidence, and are moving into non-traditional spaces. Their message appears confronting to some, yet clearer to others, and presents the options to listen or to speak in response. Before exploring this plural policy world, however, it is salutary to look at an earlier time when there was a solitary voice of international water policy, and a mere handful of individuals who refused to be silenced.

A water warrior

Canadian water warrior, Maude Barlow, recently visited Australia and was interviewed at length on the government-owned broadcaster, Radio National (Barlow 2008) concerning the conflict-riven state of water policy. She returned to her native Ottawa to a key advisory role in the United Nations General Assembly that, in December 2008 (*ibid*), established the human right to water within the new International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN General Assembly 2008).

The history of water policy stretches back to 1977 to the United Nation's initial attempt in Mar del Plata, Argentina at open debate on the impacts of water shortages (Biswas 2003). Simmering suspicion and open hostility continued, as explained in a recent *D!ssent* editorial,

... the Second World Water Forum (The Hague 2000) had a tightly-controlled agenda with speakers from only the major water corporations, the major bottled water companies, and the World Bank. No civil society organisations were given a role on stage or off, and all dissent was resisted (Davidson 2008).

This sad situation continued beyond The Hague Forum, and could still undermine the achievements of the General Assembly and water warriors such as Maude Barlow. Since 1977, global water policymakers have lurched from mistake to debacle and back again, mostly behind closed doors where dissent and debate are anathema. There is little scope that the next water industry forum in Istanbul can 'bridge divides for water' according to its theme³³, as there is no sense of the width of the gap without any recognition of 'the other side'.

The plot is lost

Much of the water industry's angst occurred during the two-year preparations for 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (the Rio Earth summit). The industry was aghast that the Summit's draft agenda highlighted climate change, biodiversity and desertification, complete with an untidiness of concepts and scientific foundations, but ignored water *per se* (Biswas 2003). A mere five months prior to the summit, five hundred water professionals hastily descended on Dublin to thrash out four principles including:

- Principle 4. "Managing water as an economic good is an important way of achieving efficient and equitable use, and of encouraging

³³ See <http://www.worldwaterforum5.org/>

conservation and protection of natural resources" (The Dublin Principles 1992).

Five months later the 40-chapter Rio blueprint³⁴ for environmental sustainability and development was released, including Chapter 18 (the longest) on water. Controversies over the wording that eventually appeared were evident at many of the preparatory committee meetings that were held before the Earth Summit. Various parties were concerned that placing less emphasis on water as an economic good might imply that it was less important as a social good. In the end, the blueprint reflected the enormous variety of political forces that went into drafting every chapter. Some insight is gleaned into the blueprint's drafting process:

Chapter 18 (on water) lacks substance and is especially short on quantitative detail. Despite its laudable goals, the chapter assumes rather than demonstrates that water contributes to social and economic well-being (Scott 1992).

It is not surprising that the detail and fineprint from the Dublin Principles became detached from the Rio blueprint in the haste of the intervening five months, and has since been completely overlooked.

The shift in international thinking to limit state monopolies and to recognise the role of private providers is supported by the view that water is an economic good. **This does not necessarily mean that water should not be managed by public bodies** but that the public or private provider prices should be set to reflect the cost of production. However it seems more likely that a private firm, concerned about its own survival, would operate like that (Dublin Principle 4, ctd, my emphasis).

Even with this understanding that the nexus between social and economic values of water was broken in five months in 1992 - between Dublin and Rio - the task of dialogue and reconciliation between civil society and the water industry was not simplified. There are still major divisions within the

34 Local Agenda 21 (LA21).

United Nations, none moreso than between the General Assembly's human rights covenant and the Dublin Principles that spawned the initial economic valuation (and privatisation) of water. In November 2008, Secretary-General of the UN World Meteorological Organisation seemed unable or unwilling to see beyond the Dublin Principles, stating that

... the WMO was a pioneer in drawing international attention to the fact that „business as usual“ would no longer be an option for the water sector. This called for a paradigm shift that adopted the Dublin Principles regarding freshwater as a resource with economic value and the need for a participatory approach in its management (Jarraud 2008).

Water industry privatisation has been profit-motivated with barely a whiff of community participation for the last fifteen years, but the economic goods approach is now to be replaced, or at least accompanied, by the human right to water.

Other voices of dissent

Optimism, opportunism and disbelief from the '90s were summarised by author and water warrior Sandra Postel, director of the Global Water Policy project, former vice-president of Worldwatch Institute and one of the 'Scientific American's significant fifty scientists' of 2002. Ms Postel's hopes were dashed at the ten-yearly review of the Rio summit's sustainability progress, but she still had cause for optimism. Returning from the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, Postel (2003: 93) reflected that:

... this missed opportunity [at Johannesburg], need not relegate societies to inaction. A meaningful international response to global problems has emerged outside the context of high-profile global summits, sometimes involving a snowball effect of voluntary actions by governments, business, private groups and communities.

To Ms Postel, the dissent and debate that could, and should, have been vented in Dublin, Rio de Janeiro and Johannesburg now had other airings, whether these flowed from the 1999 Seattle protests against the World Trade Organisation, or the promise arising from the 2003 World Water Forum in Kyoto.

Civil society dissent climaxed during the tabling of the World Panel on Financing Water Infrastructure³⁵ report released at the Kyoto Forum (Barlow 2007), yet these objections fell largely on deaf ears. Ministerial delegates ignored the protests of civil society and felt they had reached consensus; including, controversially, support for private sector financing, new mechanisms for private sector involvement in water supply management, and a conspicuous failure to refer to water as a human right.

Another forum for debate - without consensus?

The earlier schism had widened considerably by 2003, with the Water Forum's credibility now languishing, and civil society turning its back on the Forum's process, instead developing and tabling their response at the 2005 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Included in the Porto Alegre manifesto's twelve proposals (CACIM 2007) are to:

- forbid any privatisation of common goods for humanity, particularly water (proposal 7), and
- start with the execution of an alternative development model, based on the sparing/efficient use of energy, and a democratic control of natural resources, most notably potable water, on a global scale (proposal 9).

³⁵ Panel chaired by former IMF General Manager Michel Camdessus, included two NGOs, Transparency International and WaterAid. The panel articulated the need for a new financial architecture to stimulate and support flows of private capital for water and sanitation, including controversial calls to use official aid funding to support private sector involvement through the provision of low cost finance and risk-mitigation mechanisms such as currency guarantees for private investors in developing countries.

Ms Postel's confidence in the snowball effect of voluntary actions seems vindicated, as the 2006 World Social Forum in Bamako and subsequent Forums have continued the transformation of public policy on water. A guiding principle in the Bamako WSF appeal (Lang 2003), '... to construct a world founded on the recognition of the non-market-driven law of nature and of the resources of the planet and of its agricultural soil' stands in stark contrast to the water industry's Dublin Principles. The Bamako Forum commenced a work program 'for the democratic management of the planet's resources'³⁶ to

- prohibit the buildings of dams (insofar as they are really necessary) without compensation for the displaced populations (economic refugees) – Action 4; and
- fight against the privatization of the water, which the World Bank promotes, even in the form of private-public partnership (PPP) and to guarantee a minimum quantity of water per person while respecting the rhythm of renewal of ground water – Action 6.

Culture to the fore

It was understood there would be both winners and losers the longer that economic globalisation prevailed, and the principal role of social justice was to relieve the suffering of the losers. But it became obvious that minority and local cultures were regularly losing the struggle, and that a homogeneity would soon prevail in the headlong pursuit for modernisation. Many in Asia saw this as a travesty and major injustice. Whilst some societies gained experience at raising strong voices in opposition, for others these were uncharted waters.

36 Continued in WSF2007 in Nairobi, available at <http://www.wsfprocess.net/2007p>.

The shoes of pioneering Narmada Valley water warrior Medha Pathar would be difficult to fill, yet a new style of water activist from Asia has recently taken the international water policy debate to the heart of neoliberal globalisation. Vandana Shiva is similarly credentialed to Maude Barlow and Postel, but is steeped in the culture of the South. She successfully led a ten-day, online debate in *The Economist* (2008), garnering popular international agreement that 'water markets violate the water cycle'. Throughout the debate, policymaking solely on an economic basis was discredited, time and time again. The victory is testament that the discourse of the South can be heard with a legitimacy of its own, even if a hearing must be won on the field of spirited debate. Ms Shiva (2008) concluded:

It is the women who walk long miles for water who are leading the movement against the privatisation and commodification of water. They are building the movement for defending water as a public good and a human right. They know their water security lies in protecting, conserving and sharing our commons and precious gift of water.

Being mindful of its cultural significance, the Mekong Program on Water Environment and Resilience (M-POWER 2007) comprises a research community that uses action research techniques, often engaging in the political debates and actions that researchers are analysing and commenting upon. One of M-POWER's five cross-cutting action research themes is devoted to social justice, and addresses three distinct questions.

1. How are the livelihoods of vulnerable peoples affected by the use and management of water resources by other more powerful groups?
2. Under what terms and conditions are women, ethnic minorities, and other socially vulnerable groups engaging in water governance?
3. To what extent do procedures perceived to be fair and just increase the acceptability of differentiated outcomes? How can outcomes for disadvantaged groups be improved? How can their share of benefits, compensation and access to resources be increased? How can exposure to involuntary risks and factors that undermine livelihood resilience be reduced (M-POWER 2007)?

This research agenda highlights the active and essential roles that civil society organisations can play in the new, plural fabric of action research. As an Aalborg University researcher (Lang 2003: 82) remarked:

In the policy area of the Mekong, „good governance“ has been equated with creating NGOs as partners with the State and business sector in the case of Thailand, and as counterparts in development projects with international donors as in Cambodia. A new kind of participation is required ... aimed at enabling communities to enter the decision-making space and to negotiate with the powerful.

Civil society organisations therefore find themselves sitting in the ‘invited space’ whether from their own, or others’, endeavours. Their strength is a closeness and understanding of the cultural dimension that, for the plight of globalisation’s losers and victims, has been dismissed for far too long. The pursuit of good governance has also heightened expectations on NGOs that can best be met by a balance between listening and talking when the discourse is joined.

Legitimacy in action research

For a long time, the State has held a monopoly on scientific research that informs the making of public policy, yet critics become outspoken when this research continues to be misapplied for corrupt political ends. Mekong River researchers Molle and Floch (2008: 20) concluded, for Thailand’s 2003 Thaksin government, that:

The targets of the water grid [project] were so ambitious that it strained the imagination to envision anything close to its realisation ... Most water experts would comment on the near absurdity of the project... Yet the checks and balances are insufficient both to derail the project and impose a more open decision-making process. Secrecy was the rule. This suggests that the governance of large water projects has yet to become more politically balanced and open to public scrutiny, in line with the principles enacted in [Thailand’s] 1997 constitution.

Elsewhere in Thailand, civil society was resisting the unintended or unforeseen consequences of earlier constructions of large dams, seeking relief for the victims, and a reversal of profit-driven practices that were doing irreparable damage to societies and ecology.

By June 2001, an exploratory challenge was successful to the operations of the controversial Pak Mun dam, with the dam's floodgates being opened. A 12-month trial period was allowed for a government-commissioned investigation into the dam's impacts on endangered native fish species and the livelihoods of local fisher folk (Drinkwater 2004). With so much at stake from the monopoly State researcher who was exposed to clear conflicts of interest, a counter-research program was commissioned by NGOs, drawing on the knowledge of local fisher folk. With the assistance of South East Asian Rivers Network and Assembly of the Poor, a board of Fisher Experts was assembled, comprising the twenty best fishers. Researcher, Malee Traisawasdichai Lang, (2003: 92) recounts the methodology used to resolve the question of the validity of the research, explaining that it was most important for two reasons:

... First, the local researchers were not familiar with writing and thus relied on the help from the young intellectuals, acting as research assistants, to produce the written texts. Second, disagreement among researchers about the interpretation of the data on some fish names and characteristics soon emerged. However, it did not take long for the local researchers to find a solution in their lively discussion.

Faced with valid and conflicting research findings, the Thai government relented to a four-month opening period annually for Pak Mun floodgates. Similar 'Thai Baan' research techniques have been used elsewhere, for the Rasi Salai dam where the gates have remained open since 2003 and throughout the Mekong basin, and are being adopted as a standard that embraces action research methodologies.

Asia's rapidly expanding cities pose considerable challenges, not only for basic infrastructure, but also for justice and equity for residents of slums and squatter communities. The Asian Development Bank perceived their role to help local entrepreneurs investing in small piped water networks (Conan 2003), and their research surveyed eight Asian cities. The Asian Coalition for Housing Rights viewed the water research challenges more holistically in their survey of eight Asian cities (Satterthwaite 2005: 6), with water scarcity intrinsically linked to poverty, basic rights and social justice, as ACHR's Arif Hasan reflects:

The most important finding of the report is that urban development in Asia is largely driven by the concentration of profit-seeking enterprises in and around urban centres. The ACHR partners have to see how the negative aspects can be minimised and how the positive aspects can be supported and promoted. In Asian countries, there are now enough examples from which one can learn. How can one increase this learning process?

Partners

As has been seen in the Mekong basin and the rapidly expanding cities of Asia, conflict is not inevitable in a pluralistic society. Voices that once were silenced now have the space to be heard. By themselves, NGOs would merely add to the chatter and clamour. Some NGOs have shown their deftness at negotiating with the powerful; others have leveraged their strengths, legitimacy and commitment, as the 2008 Asian Water Colloquium, for example, builds water policy alternatives, remaining firm in seeking remedial justice for the destruction of water resources by the State, international financial institutions (IFIs), big business and other private entities,

in solidarity with water justice movements whose resolute mobilisation has strengthened opposition to water privatisation and commodification while promoting the search for alternatives (Centre for Law, Policy and Humans Rights Studies, n.d.).

It is this research area that could be unfamiliar, even daunting for NGOs in civil society – to select suitable partner organisations and to build strong and vibrant partnerships that cross expansive divides, such as the water policy debates.

Conclusion

For water policymaking, the time has moved on from a single, prevailing dominant discourse. It is immaterial whether this was caused by the abuse of monopoly privileges and corruption by the State, or from a growing maturity amongst civil society organisations. The significance is that water policy is increasingly being cast in a plural environment, where the weight of public opinion, the strength of the community commitment to social justice, and the weight of moral arguments are starting to prevail. Civil society is not-so-much being led into this role by the small band of water warriors, yet a space is being cleared for civil society organisations to enter and to engage. Within Asia, NGOs are defending local and minority cultures against an onslaught of globalisation, and the new space created by these water warriors, can promote the legitimacy of local cultures and rights without challenge. It is the force of legitimate and engaging action research that has prevailed in the Mekong basin and elsewhere, and shows promise as a methodology that is ideally suited to the newfound roles and spaces of civil society organisations.

The challenge for NGOs is to continue to strive for a just society - one that hears clarity amongst these chattering voices.

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Policing and the global commons: a research agenda

Glenn Varona

Defining what the Global Commons consists of may not be an easy task, but the future of humanity depends on its conservation and sustainable care. Humanity is inextricably linked with the Global Commons, and what we do to it would have far reaching consequences on us and our posterity. This article seeks to promote research into how policing could be employed and redesigned to enable us global citizens to protect, conserve and steward our Global Commons, starting with a discussion of how and why past and present developments in police and police reform are unable to effectively perform these tasks. It proceeds with presenting a tentative case for citizen participation in policing on a global scale that would enable both citizen and police stakeholders to work together and learn as they do towards the task of promoting sustainability for the future.

Introduction

This past 2008 Christmas holiday season provided me with the opportunity to reflect on what matters while I was enjoying with my family an almost all expenses paid holiday in the Grampian Mountains of Victoria, Australia. I also discovered some interesting holiday reading in the laundry room (of all places) of a caravan park in a sleepy little town called Dunkeld! Four science fiction writers and futurists apparently pooled their efforts together in writing an anthology of their respective ideas of what the future might look like in 2042. There were, of course, four different views, ranging from the utopian to the dystopian, from the utterly pessimistic to the bright and optimistic. Of all four, I read with some interest the darkest and most pessimistic writer. Frederick Pohl (1992, 1994) was tasked to give the worst case forecast and begins his segment with a science fiction narrative essay entitled, *A Visit to Belindia* and then proceeds

to a short story, *What Dreams Remain*. To summarise his works without giving too much of it away, he portrays the world in 2042 as one where the ozone layer shall have finally been destroyed, and unprotected sun exposure would be sheer suicide. This would be the result of previous human generations' thoughtless exploitation and destruction of the natural environment in the unmitigated pursuit of economic gain. In this dark future, there are radical effects on the environment and climate, which in turn would have horrible consequences on humanity. The social fabric is destroyed, political order becomes impossible to enforce, and people rich enough are able to live in domed, exclusive gated communities protected from the sun's ultraviolet radiation, while the less fortunate have to scratch out a most miserable existence outside these protected strongholds. If the modern gated community is defined as a residential area with access restrictions, privatised public spaces, secured designated perimeters in which non-residents are prohibited from entering and insiders secure themselves against outsiders (Hurst 2000: 64), Pohl's (1994) futuristic domed gated community takes it one step further. Those who live in it can survive in a world environment that is all but destroyed. Those who are unable to do so live short, miserable lives. Science and technology shall have both reached a point at which they are no longer able to solve humanity's intractable problems, and whatever technology is left is merely being maintained to keep civilisation going, if necessary by cannibalising broken old machines and devices to keep in running condition those still functional.

Amid the breathtaking scenery of the Grampians, it certainly got me to thinking seriously about the future, our humanity, our children, the world we all share, what we are doing to it, and my own particular research into policing ethics and governance. More particularly, I had to ask, what role would policing; in terms of the police and the communities being

policed, as well as policing as public policy, have to assume in our future as a planet, if only to avoid such a dark and dystopian future or something like it? This paper is an attempt to deal with this issue, if only because it gave me new eyes to see in a new light just how much is at stake. The Grampians and similar such places are all part of what could be called 'the Global Commons', the term 'commons' being derived from an Anglo Saxon Law concept that defines a tract of ground, such as grazing areas or the village square, shared by the people of a village but belonging to no single person. It is property held in common for the good of all (Palmer 2000: 9). If we extend that to cover the integrated global ecosystem; the atmosphere, lithosphere, hydrosphere and biosphere of a materially closed system called Planet Earth over which no single person or entity could claim private ownership, then we could define the concept of a Global Commons (Palmer 2000: 9, 30; Zen 2000: 17). Not everyone is convinced, however, that the Global Commons could be defined with certainty. Snape and Gunasekera (1997: 2-3) aver that what comprises the Global Commons is an issue over which there is no clear agreement, for indeed, what of natural or environmental resources that do not cross national boundaries? Could they be considered part of the Global Commons? And what of cultural resources, such as works of art, or even social and political problems affecting humanity in ways that could not be easily understood, let alone resolved? It is possible to argue that these issues might make defining the Global Commons difficult, but it does not take away the fact that there are significant parts of our world that are not and cannot be placed under private ownership, and so they are everyone's property and arguably everyone's responsibility. Now, as I understand it, the English law concept of a commons does not preclude the issue of policing. Indeed, in order to keep the peace, villages in Anglo Saxon Britain must have had policing mechanisms in place both to protect people and their rights to private property as well as to ensure that nobody abuses anybody's

person or rights in the village commons. Policing of one form or another has always been part of organised human society, and the police have frequently been powerful social institutions throughout human history (Newburn 2003: 1). Thus, if it is possible to imagine policing in the context of an ancient English village commons, it could be similarly possible to imagine policing in the context of the Global Commons.

Policing and the environment

While it may be difficult to think of the traditional public police as protectors of the natural environment, the idea is not so strange. Indeed, many government agencies throughout the world tasked with environmental, resource or conservation functions have police powers and policing mechanisms in place to enable the enforcement of laws and policies related to environmental and resource conservation. Of these, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) of the US Government's Department of the Interior and the Australian Customs Service (AQIS) are classic examples. The former, in fact, has an Office of Law Enforcement with a staff of 261 special agents and 122 wildlife inspectors all over the United States, whose tasks include dealing with the international and domestic smuggling of imperilled wildlife, protecting wildlife from environmental hazards, preventing unlawful commercial exploitation of US wildlife and the maintenance of a National Wildlife Property Repository among other things (US Fish and Wildlife Service 2005). Other conservation agencies without police powers like these are often able to deputise the regular public police or secure the services of private security agencies to carry out policing functions. As a case in point, the Philippine National Police, created under congressional legislation, is tasked, among other things, to provide a wide variety of policing services to national and local levels of government, including local and national

environmental protection bodies, not many of which have their own respective capability for policing (Congress of the Philippines 1990: 32). Indeed, anyone who has extensively travelled the Philippines' national highways may have encountered Department of Environment and Natural Resources checkpoints, but manned by often heavily armed Philippine National Police officers, tasked solely with apprehending people driving vehicles carrying illegally cut trees, illegally trapped or hunted wildlife or illegally shipped forest flora.

Giving police powers to conservation agencies does not constitute the full concept of policing the Global Commons. Such policing frequently targets only specific jurisdictions and are unable to operate beyond them. For example, while the US Fish and Wildlife Service may have certain linkages with their equivalents in other countries (US Fish and Wildlife Service 2005), their police powers do not really extend anywhere outside the national borders of the United States. It is also safe to say that in the defined structure of the US federal system, where the federal and state governments are legally not supposed to operate within each other's constitutionally defined jurisdictions and state governments are politically and legally independent of each other (Padover 1953: 18, 73), each state's conservation policing efforts and agencies are further limited to operate largely within their respective state's domains. Even in nations like the Philippines, where the political structure is unitary instead of federal, and so there is only one legal national police (The Constitutional Commission 1986: 58), police are able to enforce only national and local laws within national boundaries. And in the case of the Philippines, there may even be problems with local law enforcement, as local government law, *Republic Act 7160: The Local Government Code of the Philippines*, grants Philippine local government units the power to pass independent local legislation on a

number of matters, including the local environment. Thus, each local government unit, such as a province or city, may have different laws over local environmental issues, and a single national police may find itself having to enforce opposing local laws belonging to two different local governments. Consider, for example, taking from my lived experience, the issue of bird species such as the Philippine Oriole (Antolihao). I know that the provincial and municipal governments of Bohol province in the south central Philippines have laws that are rigorously enforced and policed with regard to prohibiting the hunting of this and other bird species. While an oriole is in Bohol, it is under the protection of Bohol's laws, conservation agencies and police. Hunting birds such as these with the ubiquitous air rifle, something that Philippine law allows civilians to possess without need of obtaining a gun license, is presently illegal in the province, and anyone caught doing so faces a stiff fine, among others. But if that oriole should fly out of Bohol and into Cebu, where protective laws are either non-existent or not as rigorously enforced, then it becomes fair game for bird hunters. Philippine National Police officers assigned to Bohol could not enforce Bohol's environmental laws in Cebu, notwithstanding that the Philippine National Police has jurisdiction in both places. The first problem in relation to policing the Global Commons, therefore, is the extremely narrow scope of legal police power for governments, their conservation agencies and their police.

In 1992, Interpol had begun the effort to address this issue through its active involvement in fighting what it calls environmental crime, and it has notched a few success stories under its belt, focusing largely on pollution and the African wildlife trade (Interpol 2009). Still, it is safe to say that this is not nearly enough to resolve all the issues and aspects affecting the Global Commons. Indeed, part of the problem resides not just in the limited jurisdiction of

policing, but in the nature of policing itself. For all intents and purposes, policing, as a capacity, is firmly located and entrenched in the apparatus of the state (Shearing 1996: 288). This is not to say, of course, that policing has not seen any changes in recent history. Since the function of policing has always been the regulation and protection of the social order, if necessary through the use of legitimate force, changes in that social order would also effect changes in policing (Reiner 2005: 676). The rise of market economics as a force governing individual and social attitudes has, for better or worse, changed the nature of public service and with it, policing.

New Public Management, among others, has become the guiding principle behind public service, in that market management principles have replaced traditional administrative bureaucracies because it is believed that market principles enable better efficiency and effectiveness (Hughes 2003). For the police, this denotes the drive to improve cost efficiency and performance effectiveness through the imposition of market management and discipline into policing (Jones 2003: 616). To a great extent, this has been true, but it has created new problems and issues, not the least of which is in public sector accountability and by extension, police accountability. In embracing private sector, market based thinking, police are redefining the way in which they look at themselves, their functions and roles, and their relationship to the citizens they are supposed to be policing (Johnston 1992 cited in Shearing 1996: 293). Policing is presently more pro-active or pre-emptive and has become more of risk management rather than the traditional maintenance of law and order, focusing on surveillance, security and crime prevention rather than on crime control (Ericson & Haggerty 1997: 18). Policing has also become more pluralised, fragmented and disaggregated (Reiner 2005: 692) by which is meant the public police under

the state now has to share policing space and functions with non-state, sub-state or supra-state entities. One example is in the increasing employment of private security firms to take over functions that were formerly within the sole province of the public police. Australian data, to illustrate, shows that in the period between 1996 and 2006, the Australian population increased by 11.8%, while the number of public police personnel increased by 14.5% and private security providers increased by 41.2% all within that same ten year period. As it stands, there is now a 1.2:1 ratio between private security providers and public police officers (Earle 2008: 74). While a more efficient, effective and pluralised police may have beneficial effects on preserving the Global Commons and people's rights and responsibilities over them it does not mean that all is well. Policing run like a private corporation may actually come under market control, which could imply that policing would only be carried out where there are reasons for preserving profits or marketable resources. This is indeed what is happening with exclusive gated communities of the wealthy whose policing and security are under the care of private security providers, leaving the less privileged excluded communities outside these places to the public police (Reiner 2005: 692). This may have actually created a new economically based class system and a whole new set of prejudices (Zedner 2004). The relationship between distributive justice and freedom is indirect, so that as the degree of freedom is increased, the distribution of goods and services becomes more uneven (Parra-Luna 2008: 253). The Market exemplifies freedom, beginning with freedom of choice, while policing is, as law enforcement, ideally concerned with justice if the laws are just, as is presumed. The public police are supposed to emphasise the logic of justice (Reiner 2005: 721). This has made the plural mix of policing and Marketisation difficult to work out in practice. Be that as it may, for the Global Commons, where there are no clear property rights to enforce, and it is difficult to assign individual responsibility for the disposal and use of

resources within these commons (Snape & Gunasekera 1997: 2), where lies the economic motivation for policing?

Police forces are also going beyond the traditional crime control, law and order functions and have recently been involved with peacekeeping and security operations. Developing nations, in fact, carry a large share of the UN Peacekeeping effort throughout the world. Typical of these is the Philippines, whose national police have contributed 319 officers, out of a total of 670 Filipino peacekeepers all over the world, in places as diverse as Haiti and Timor Leste (United Nations 2008). Recent policing research has found that the ideal police to citizen ratio in a peaceful, stable country is somewhere between one and four officers for every 1000 citizens (1-4:1000), with cities needing tighter ratios than rural areas. However, for nation building and stability operations, of which peacekeeping is part, the ideal ratio is 13.26 to 20 per 1000 civilians, with the ratio climbing above 20:1000 in strife torn areas requiring external intervention (Broemmel, Clark & Nielsen 2007: 110). It is reasonable to assume that policing of this nature does not put Global Commons concerns and the environment among its most important priorities.

Yet another change in policing in recent times over the traditional crime control and law enforcement model has been the introduction of Community Orientated Policing (COP) or Community Policing. The whole idea behind this is to democratise policing through the involvement of citizens and their communities in dealing with crime and other policing responsibilities. This combines the public police with the community's citizens in collaboration, interaction, joint planning; action and evaluation of local crime control, peace maintenance and law enforcement (Directorate for Police Community Relations 2003: 12-14). This policing model has been developed with a view to improving police

relations with the ordinary citizens of communities and solve the issue of decreasing public confidence with the public police (Newburn 2003: 3). While its stated objective may be to enable citizens of a community to identify policing problems and become involved in their resolution, ultimately it is the police who define the nature of policing and frequently make plans of action independently (Pino & Wiatrowski 2006: 89). In the end, COP does not really empower ordinary citizens, as police merely use the community's cooperation in performing their roles as law enforcers and peacekeepers. This model of policing may work in the Global Commons, and indeed, many conservation agencies with police powers, such as the US Fish and Wildlife Service have similar mechanisms in place in performing their environment based policing functions (US Fish and Wildlife Service 2005). Even so, this is not sufficient to police the Global Commons as COP concerns are arguably limited to local community crime and social order. At the risk of sounding cynical, it may even be possible to argue that COP is more concerned with improving the public image of the police rather than improving policing. Whatever the case, whether it is under the COP model, the plural policing model, or even the tried and true traditional crime control model, policing is defined under rules, principles and roles that are too narrow, too limited and too constrained to function for the protection of the Global Commons and its people. What, then, should be done?

Participation and institutional learning for policing: The way forward?

Perhaps a good place to start would be to determine who 'owns' the Global Commons, and there are at least two possible answers: no one owns them, in which case they are no one's property and subject to no one's responsibility; or that they belong to everyone, which would mean everyone is responsible for them. There is a stronger case for the latter

view, not only because humanity has rights to the Global Commons, and rights have corresponding counterpart obligations (O'Neill 2002), but also because humanity's connection with the Global Commons is undeniable. We are integrally and inseparably part of our global ecosystem in its entirety (Palmer 2000: 30). As we use the world's resources, we create effects on them and ourselves that we could not avoid. In order to survive, and remain cohesive, human society should have a shared understanding of and a commitment to every human being's rights and a just distribution of society's resources (Preston: 2007: 43). This would also require a just and equitable sharing of responsibility and accountability, a shared sense of concern for future generations towards sustainability (McIntyre-Mills 2008: 147). Sustainability requires humanity to live within its means, and whether humanity could attain equitable sustainability depends on the aggregate consequences of individual human choices. Responsible and accountable decision making could enable us to be stewards of our world and its future – global sustainability reinforced by justice (Zen 2000: 36, 37). This would mean an ethos whereby people are able to place themselves on the receiving end of a decision before actually making it for others (McIntyre-Mills 2006: 91). This could open a conceptual space where multiple perspectives are spanned by holistic and ethical perspectives that seek to improve the human condition (Nelson 2003: 464 cited in Guo & Sheffield 2007: 615). A sustainable world could only come about if, besides being responsible decision makers making responsible choices, people also move beyond being choosers to 'makers and shapers' of the future, requiring the design of means by which people can think creatively and shape the future they desire (McIntyre 2004: 39).

In relation to policing the Global Commons, all this would mean the establishment of a system that binds the world's

citizens and their police together in a manner well beyond what the traditional, plural and COP models of policing provide. Democratic participation and community and institutional learning could make this possible. Deliberative and collective action methods may hold the promise of achieving this: a global public involved in citizen-centred (and by this is meant global citizenship) collaborative public management (Cooper, Bryer & Meek 2006: 76) in relation to policing the Global Commons. It may be possible to create an international policing system where police and world citizens are part of a global community of practice, a knowledge-based social structure whose members are able to work together and learn as they do (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002: 4-5), thus enabling police and community stakeholders to work out better strategies for protecting and conserving the Global Commons. Participation in public affairs, according to Alexis de Tocqueville and J. S. Mill (cited in Mansbridge 1999) enables citizens to learn the competence needed to develop public policy. In this case, it may be possible for such global civic engagement to enable both global citizens and police to learn the competence needed for conservation and sustainability. Individual government public police, including those belonging to conservation agencies, could not longer act as experts in this regard, as the complexity of problems and issues dealing with the Global Commons, including its policing, could not be simplistically reduced to a single theoretical construct (McIntyre 2004: 41). Protecting and policing the Global Commons should become part of global governance, in which it may be possible to establish a gradual understanding of how human and natural systems interact (Whitman 2005: 314), thereby making conservation and policing efforts to that end more effective.

Police-citizen cooperation towards preserving the Global Commons should begin with a respectful and meaningful

dialogue among equals, as dialogue is the only means by which we can attain contextual truth (McIntyre 2004: 39). A practical aspect of this dialogue is public deliberation, in which people are able to create (or re-create) police institutions, which they could embed in a democratic framework working with and through civil society (Pino & Wiatrowski 2006: 71). Dialogue may enable police and citizens to share their lived experiences and knowledge, thereby creating new knowledge and possibly understanding. Learning arises when concepts are shared and all participants develop the capacity to see the world through one another's eyes (McIntyre-Mills 2006: 91). This could lead to the development of a communal vision in which police and citizens on a global scale are able to see themselves as partners and co-creators of a future they desire for the world and its commons. Research has shown, in fact, that active citizen participation and the ownership of policing have been found to improve police effectiveness in crime reduction, as both no longer see themselves as antagonists, but as members of one and the same community for which reducing crime is in everyone's best interests (Neyroud 2003: 591). This is similarly true of environmental management, and the US is a case in point. Since the 1960's, most American federal laws have provided formal mechanisms to enable citizens and organisations to become involved in environmental policy making (Daley 2008: 21). This may arguably extend beyond the US and protect the Global Commons, as both police and citizens would be able to see that the protection and stewardship of these commons is in everyone's best interest. Indeed, to fail in these could mean the extinction of humanity. Policing through democratic participation may make it possible to use police power towards sustainability and stewardship. Indeed, if at the state and sub-state level, studies show the critical importance of increasing the focus of policing on citizens and their active involvement in it (Docking 2003: 3), it goes

without saying how much more critical this would be for policing the Global Commons.

Some principles

It is possible to view the idea of policing through democratic participation as a double knit knowledge system, taking from Wenger, McDermott & Snyder (2002: 19), which would look like:

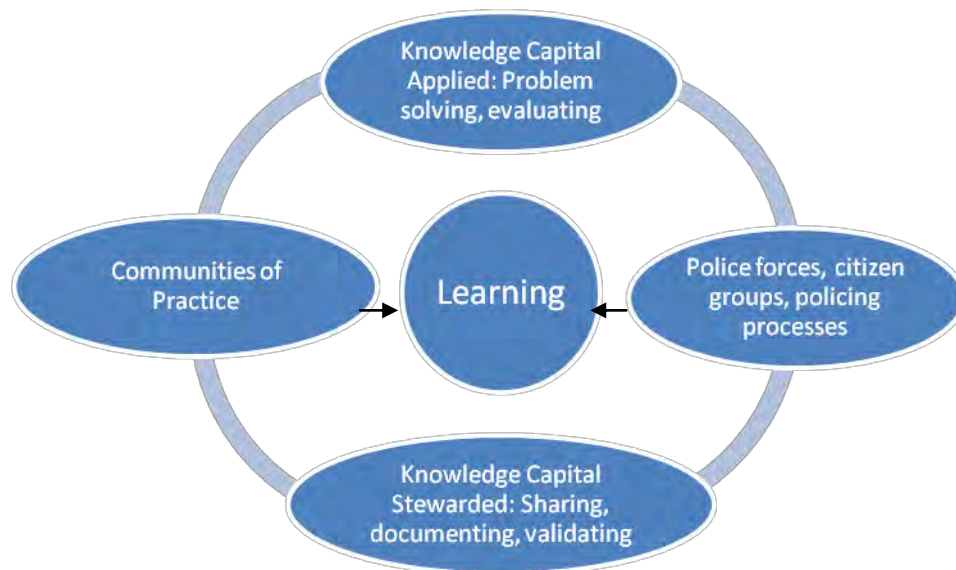


Figure 1: democratic participation as a double knit knowledge system.

Hopefully, citizen participation in policing, if carried out, could develop a system like this for policing the Global Commons. Global civic engagement could mean people participating together for deliberation and collective action within a network of institutions and a variety of interests to develop a global civic identity and involve people in governance (Cooper, Bryer & Meek 2006: 76). Police and citizens could become a community of practice on a global scale, by which is meant groups of people (i.e. police and citizens), who share a common concern, a set of problems or a passion about a subject and who deepen their knowledge and expertise by continuous interaction (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002: 4). The deepening of knowledge

becomes knowledge capital, which when applied to processes and working groups could be preserved and stewarded, contributing to learning. Such learning may result in empowerment, as knowledge empowers; and the participants and stakeholders can exercise a collective ownership of both the processes and the results (McIntyre-Mills 2006; McIntyre 2004). And then, it may be possible for global citizens and their police to work towards evaluating the results of their collaboration by combining citizen participation with performance evaluation as derived from market management principles (Heikkila & Isett 2007: 238). For this to happen, though, may I propose that police-citizen cooperation assume the following principles:

Policing as Stewardship - While police power must necessarily retain its punitive capabilities, its orientation would have to change towards one of stewardship, rather than mere enforcement. This would entail a sense of trusteeship and trust over police powers and those over whom these powers will be exercised (Neyroud 2003: 584). Stewardship of the earth is essential to sustainability (Turner & Zen 2000: 34). But this is a principle that both police and citizens working together would have to learn, even as they learn to become good stewards of the Global Commons together. We may learn that we would have to give up certain cherished ways of doing things in favour of better, more sustainable, but more painful ways. Sustainability, however, could never be the result of coercion. It would require citizens who know and feel a sense of ownership of their world and its ecology (Palmer 2000: 44) working with police who share this knowledge and sense of ownership to make this happen.

Policing as Social Justice - Social justice is inseparable from sustainability (Zen 2000: 37). Interpreting Dodson (1993), social justice could be understood as the quality of a society wherein all people are entitled to the same rights and services regardless of individual personal circumstances. Perhaps it could also be added that as everyone enjoys equity in rights, everyone also has equal responsibilities towards others and the world around them. So, while everyone, in a socially just system, is able to enjoy the benefits and resources of the Global Commons, everyone is equally accountable and responsible for it. Policing the Global Commons would have to have a social justice dimension to ensure that the benefits of the world's resources and the duty of conserving them are shared equitably. The institutional design of global policing would have to go beyond the traditional focus on law enforcement and the existing direction towards risk management and security (Pino & Wiatrowski 2006: 77, 81). It would have to emphasise more strongly the human rights and ethics aspect of policing (Newburn 2003; Neyroud 2003) and the internalisation of an institutional culture towards humaneness, which could be learned in police organisations if collaborative dialogue with citizens were made part of police training, operations and occupational concerns. Police on a global environment would have to build the institutional and organisational capacity for holistic understanding (Foster 2003: 203, 212), especially of sustainability. Participatory design in the policing institution arguably could mean that everyone involved in the common desire for a sustainable future becomes a subject, not merely an object of policing policy decisions (McIntyre 2004: 38). This would not be possible without a continuing meaningful dialogue with the world's citizens to be able to constantly unfold and negotiate the boundaries of assumptions about sustainability and development, to borrow concepts from Churchman (1979) and Ulrich (1987: 278-279). It is in this unfolding of boundaries that learning and co-creation

towards finding the right policing solutions for sustaining the Global Commons is possible for all global stakeholders.

Democratic Policing – Collaboration and dialogue between police and citizens would need to be built on a democratic framework. Democracy and human rights, the key to building trust as social capital, should be the core principles of policing (Pino & Wiatrowski 2006: 71) if it is to attain the competence to protect the Global Commons. A democratic framework for policing is the best way to generate a shared dialogue that could enable the creation of shared meanings and enable stakeholders to make policy decisions and become co-creators of a shared future. It is also important to note that democracy in policing the Global Commons should be based on global cultural diversity, since such diversity supports the inclusion of local knowledge, which would enrich experiences, learning and decision making in trying to resolve the social, economic and environmental problems of the world's common spaces (McIntyre 2004: 39). Diversity, especially on a global scale, is a vital source of social innovation (Fisher 2000: 41).

It would be difficult to determine the organisational and institutional reforms that would be required for police and policing on a global scale to attain the necessary capacity for protecting the Global Commons and the citizens using and conserving it. It would be difficult to design models for cross-jurisdictional police operations and to make police view conservation and sustainability as part of their functions in addition to risk management and crime control. It is not easy to determine how police should be equipped and trained for such functions, and the greatest difficulty of all is to find ways and means to enable a shared, democratic participatory dialogue between globally spanning police and the world's culturally diverse citizens involved in creating a sustainable future for the world. It would require, at the very

least, changes in our value systems, not just those of our police, and the capacity to challenge our ways of thinking (Zen, Palmer & Reitan 2000: 44). But this essay is a research agenda, whose main intent it to stimulate thinking on this subject and promote future studies. I do hope that, because of efforts like this, we would see for ourselves and our posterity a better and more sustainable future, where places like the Grampians could still be seen and enjoyed, rather than the dystopian future that Frederick Pohl conjured up in some of his most fascinating, albeit depressing science fiction. We are our own police, in the final analysis, and how we police ourselves to establish a future we desire for our world is entirely up to us.

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Reflecting on recent PAR: Ensuring the world's poorest women have access to social justice relies on bypassing the gatekeepers who silence women

Rachel Outhred

This article presents research conducted that seeks to explore the work undertaken by the NGO and explore the policies and processes of the major stakeholders involved in the process of 'releasing' and 'rehabilitating' these women and children. The research evaluates the social, legal, economical, historical and political frameworks that exist around the Trokosi women, in order to gain an understanding of how these frameworks can be adjusted to better represent the rights of the women.

Introduction

Since 1998 reports of customary servitude, sometimes termed 'slavery' in West Africa have flooded through international media (Ahiabile 1995; French 1997; Gakpleazi 1998; Dogar 1999; Gyau Orhin 2001; Hawksley 2001; Ben-Ari 2002; *Mercy's Story and Trokosi* 2003; Owusu-Ansah 2003; Rinuando 2003; Eckardt 2004), Reports have sited narratives of the institutionalized and systematic torture, repeated rape, forced marriages, forced labour and social outcasting of women and girls in rural settings in West Africa.

The practice is named 'Troxovi' and the women are called 'Trokosi'. Various forms of international media reported,

and continue to report that Trokosi is being practiced in Togo, Benin, Nigeria and X by the Ewe group. The belief system sends young virgin girls to shrines, as living sacrifices to the Fetish Priest in order to appease the gods for sins or crimes committed by ancestors or relatives within the community. They are called Trokosi, literally translated 'Brides of the gods'. The community believes that by appeasing the gods they will be saved from calamity. These women and children are raped by the fetish priest (and in some cases by his friends also), they are put to work in the priests fields and they are denied the right to a variety of the social commons, including access to land, health care and education.

Media reports state that the total number of Trokosi women could be as high as 30,000 in West Africa and states that in 1998, 5,000 Trokosi women existed in the African state in which research was conducted (see Gyau Orhin 2001).

In 1998 legislation was passed to ban the practice within the African nation, however no practitioners have been arrested and the practice continues. A Non-Government Organisation (NGO) has lobbied since this time for the government to enforce the legislation and arrest the priests, shrine owners and family members who continue to send their girls to the shrines. The NGO began to negotiate with fetish priests and shrine owners to release the women and girls and set up a training centre in order to give the women skills to survive outside the shrine. The NGO reported that women are so heavily stigmatised, they can not return to their communities (*Mercy's Story and Trokosi* 2003).

The NGO is a Christian organisation run by national employees and financed through several international governmental aid agencies and through the personal donations of church communities around the world. The

2007 Human Development Report states that through the work of the NGO, 3,500 women have been released and rehabilitated out of a life of slavery (HDR, X 2007: 72).

The research conducted seeks to explore the work undertaken by the NGO and explore the policies and processes of the major stakeholders involved in the process of 'releasing' and 'rehabilitating' these women and children. The research evaluates the social, legal, economical, historical and political frameworks that exist around the Trokosi women, in order to gain an understanding of how these frameworks can be adjusted to better represent the rights of the women.

This paper uses the evaluation of the NGO's Trokosi development program as a case study to explore the challenges of ensuring the world's poorest women have access to global commons. Within this Trokosi case study, global commons refers to the environmental commons, such as community land. Global commons refers to social commons, such as political space and healthcare. It also includes intellectual commons; both in reference to receiving knowledge and forming it; and it refers to the cultural commons; having equal rights to participate in, and shape the communities cultural practices.

After using secondary resources to evaluate the Troxovi practice for my masters thesis, there remained so many questions that could not be answered without conducting primary research. In all of the articles written on the Troxovi practice, there seemed to be little analysis of the historical events that have impacted on the rights of women and children in West Africa and both historical, and current day western influences in the nation seemed to be ignored in the majority of the literature. The tensions that exist when acknowledging that the practices and traditions of the Ewe

people are not confined to the influence of African traditions alone, seemed to have be completely overlooked or ignored. In most of the literature the Ewe people were being viewed and analysed outside of a context that acknowledges European interaction and nationalist struggles. However, the practice can not be investigated devoid of invaders during the transatlantic slave movement, the conversion projects of missionaries, colonisation, nationalist struggles, post colonial power relations, globalisation, the current state of the world's capitalist neo-liberal economics and Eurocentric development theories and practices. These issues are central to the Troxovi practice, as after centuries of being traded, converted, robbed, developed and adjusted by western powers, no African community, no matter how remote, has escaped impact. In fact, no group has been affected more than those poorest within the nation; the rural female population (see Amadiume 2000).

It had simply not been acknowledged that the Trokosi women are not simply subordinated by *savage natives*, but have been denied access to social justice through a variety of racist and sexist political interactions. All social norms are created through historical events, including social norms which legitimate violence against women and in paraphrasing the thoughts of Merilyn Tah, Margaret Jolly (2000: 151) writes, that "social norms which legitimate violence must be transformed..., 'the roots of violence are cultural' but so are the means of digging up those roots."

I choose to focus on the Trokosi emancipation project for several reasons:

1. To further examine the role of historical events in the subordination of the nation's rural women;
2. To assess the extent to which the NGO has effectively 'dug up the cultural roots' (Jolly 2000: 151) of this practice and found ways to rework their

traditions, while respecting the rights of women;
and

3. To evaluate the frameworks that exist around the Trokosi women from the community level to the international level, in order to establish how these frameworks can be adjusted to further empower the world's poorest women.
4. The research also sought to create a model based on the achievements and oversights or obstacles of the NGO and the international community for other practitioners to use to emancipate gender specific cultural practices that legitimate violence against women.

Relying on secondary research my earlier work 'The Trokosi Women and Children: Assessment of the Extent to Which Human Rights Legislation Is Addressed in South East X' (Outhred 2005: 85-6) concluded:

- The Troxovi practice is against national domestic law, as of 1998.
- The Troxovi practice is against a number of treaties in International Law, to which the nation is a signatory.
- All signatories to international legal treaties are liable to accountability.
- Though in its current form international law is patriarchal in nature, these frameworks must be reshaped and reclaimed for women right's to be realised.
- The Trokosi women and children do not have the same rights as other women and children in the African state. Though this nation ranks higher on the Gender Empowerment Measure and the Gender Development Index (UNDP,

1995: 14) than the three other countries in which Troxovi is believed to be practiced.

- Uneven power relations and the viewing of women as cultural battlegrounds will continue to perpetuate the oppression of women.
- One's group's deficiency of rights is equal and proportionate to another group's power.
- The argument of cultural relativism is one that relies on the notion that there is such a thing as natural rights and begs the question: Why should the natural right to religious freedom overshadow the rights of women? (Outhred 2005: 86)
- The use of the Trokosi women within the Troxovi religion is currently being practiced far from its original form.
- The enforcement of legal instruments *alone* will not end the Troxovi practice.
- 'Social relations change, they are not fixed or immutable' (March, Smyth & Mukhopadhyay 2003: 103), however, the 'roots of violence are cultural' (Jolly 2000: 151) but so are the means of 'digging up' those roots.
- 'Emancipation dramatically demonstrated that power was in the hands of the free, not the slaves' (Lovejoy 2000: 3).

Building upon the findings of my earlier work, this research set out to use a critical systemic and feminist approach to investigate how the Trokosi women, emancipated through the work of the NGO, became powerless, what policies, politics and social relations have been built around them, what access they have to these frameworks and in what ways they are represented and/or excluded.

Originally the majority of the research was to be conducted *within* the vocational centre where the emancipated Trokosi women are fed, taught basic living skills, taught a trade and counselled. This training centre is run by the NGO and is funded entirely by an overseas governmental aid agency and through the personal donations of citizens of the United States; received through the NGO's partner organisation in the US. The research plan was to complete a number of key stakeholder interviews in Accra, and then to live with the women at the centre, using observation and interview to discuss their experiences prior to contact with the NGO, their experiences at the centre and their hopes for the future. The key objective was to gain an understanding from the women themselves about how the Troxovi practice *and* the emancipation process has realised or impeded their rights and to discover how the policies, processes and politics surrounding the women can be transformed to better represent their rights as community members and as citizens.

This research plan was changed part way through the data collection period. There is simply not space within this report to record all of the events leading to the changes in the research plan; however, the need to make these changes inform fundamental conclusions regarding the research question.

The change in the research plan

Upper management and the Executive Director of the NGO agreed to and welcomed, research into the Troxovi practice for over two years and an overview was sent to key members of the NGO six months prior to my arrival, and was approved both verbally and in writing by the Executive Director. During this time I had been in consistent contact with both the Executive Director and with a member of

upper management. I sought local information in order to establish the research plan. This was particularly true of the ethics approval process.

Early on in the project I was well received by the organisation until it became clear that I was not planning on conducting my research in the same manner as many university students who had come before me. Many students had travelled to the area and had been taken to various places of interest by the NGO. They had spoken to the women through the NGO's translator or staff members and made their conclusions. These were the conclusions that I drew on in my masters thesis.

In 2008 an *independent* report had been commissioned by the NGO and funded through a governmental donor. Whilst I had been told verbally on several occasions that I would have full access to this report and other reports conducted on the project, I witnessed the Executive Director publicly informed all staff that under no circumstances were any of the reports to be given to *anybody* without the Executive Director's permission. The Executive Director promised a copy of the report to me personally, however in the five months that I was conducting fieldwork, this offer never materialized.

The Executive Director did, however introduce me to the author of one of the *independent* reports, written to secure another three years of funding for ING's vocational centre, where emancipated Trokosi were housed and educated. The Executive Director stated to his staff that this report cost US\$26,000 to commission and the amount of funding that it secured was in excess of US\$900,000 (principal researcher's diary submission, September 2008).

Several events led me to question the *independent* nature of the report, including the fact that the author was described as '*a very good friend*' by the Executive Director (principal researcher's diary submission, September 2008). His office was in the geography department of the university and upon looking into the matter I found that his qualifications are in oceanography, natural resources and urban and rural planning. It was clear that he possessed no qualifications in women's rights or cultural practices; the two central areas to any investigation into the Trokosi women and children. The author gave me a list naming the people I should contact. He seemed very interested in where I am receiving my funding from and claimed that in order to conduct this research I need huge amounts of funding. He asked if I was being funded through AusAid and asked how much money I had in my bank account. He told me several stories about people who had gone before me wishing to conduct *independent* research into the Troxovi practice and indicated that they all had to stop the project mid way through, due to financial constraints. He also told me that speaking with an ex-Trokosi woman would cost me US\$50 for half a day, and speaking to a priest would cost over US\$200; unless I went through the NGO (principal researcher's diary submission, September 2008).

It was very clear to me that the author was actively seeking to discourage me from conducting independent research. At the time I wondered if he was fearful that my findings may not resonate with his. However as the project moved on, it became clear that this was not the issue.

In a meeting with a member of upper management, the manager raised two issues with which she was uncomfortable. The first being that interviewees and the organisation should not be named. The member of upper management said that I had travelled '*under the banner of* [the NGO]' and that therefore '[the NGO] *should receive the credit*

for the final results' (principal researcher's journal entry, 12 September 2008). I explained the nature of independent research and explained that staff needed to feel secure that they could share whatever information they see as important, without fear of the NGO losing credibility or of losing their job.

The second point mentioned by the manager eventually became an issue of immense tension within the research project and was responsible for major changes to the research plan. This was the use of an independent interpreter.

Initially I was told by the member of upper management that an independent interpreter would cost in excess of US\$250 a day plus expenses (principal researcher's journal entry, 12 September 2008). After resisting offers for a member of upper management to do the translations for me, the nephew of the same member of upper management and a student of the author of the 2008 *independent report*, I informed the NGO that I would seek an independent interpreter from the language centre within the local University.

During the course of seeking a translator I continued interviewing participants from other stakeholder groups. This included the governmental Human Rights Commission. Once again, there is insufficient space to discuss the entire interview; however in summary the interview raised a number of issues.

It was stated in the interview that the Commission had just completed an assessment of the Trokosi situation, which included travel to the rural areas. The Commission was in the process of finalising the research findings and said that the report would be available in February 2009. The following was stated:

„We discovered two things. The first thing is not proven yet. But we have been told by people within the communities that some lists are not accurate... the lists that [the NGO] are making... We have been informed that they [shrine lists and Trokosi lists] are not accurate.“

„...some women that are „liberated“ were never Trokosi.“ „We have several independent people reporting the same thing. We believe that [international governmental aid agency] money is slipping into the pocket of someone at the top.“

„The other finding is that either the practice has been transformed through the advocacy work of this department and through the work of [the NGO], or the practice is not as prevalent or as abusive as it has been reported and continues to be reported“ (interview transcript, 15 September 2008).

In response to my question: ‘Can you clarify? You believe that the current ‘independent’ reports commissioned through [the NGO] are reporting higher incidences of Trokosi and worse conditions for Trokosi than is actually the case’, the interviewee replied;

„Yes. We will be holding a stakeholders workshop about this issue later in the year or early next year.“

[Local resistance groups to the emancipation process] ...are allowing transformation. These days it is a matter of an individual priest misusing power. [Local resistance groups] have changed things. Now the Trokosi go to school. This council is transforming the practice from within as well, not just [the NGO]’s work.“

„...one of the problems is that all the research going out into the international community is coming out of [the NGO]. All interviews with the Trokosi women and all interviews with community members are currently conducted and/or translated by [the NGO]. “

After this interview, the need for an independent interpreter was even more pressing. I met with an academic at the local university’s language centre and I was assured that an interpreter could be found within the project’s budget and we set the dates for travel to the vocational centre.

Two days before we were set to leave for the vocational centre the representative of the language centre contacted me and informed me that he had found me an interpreter and we set up a meeting. At the meeting he named the interpreter: My interpreter was to be the member of upper management who had originally offered to do the interpreting; the staff member who I had told on more than ten occasions that I can not use her or her nephew as translator. The academic told me that he had a met with her weeks prior and she had asked that he keep it *'between the two of them'* for as long as possible (meeting held 18 November 2008).

Other events that initially only seemed slightly bizarre, became central as impediments, or attempted impediments to the research. Within the first week of arriving I had a meeting with the Executive Director and I explained the research plan, the *'critical analysis'* paradigm and that my next task would be to seek an independent interpreter. My journal records a response from the director that I found problematic. He paused for a long period of time. Then he leaned forward on the lounge chair in his office and stated:

„I think your research will not be easy.“

I enquired as to which aspects he thought would be difficult and he responded;

„I would not be surprised if you came under physical threat doing this research. You may be harmed.“

I asked him who he believed would be the instigator of violence towards me and he responded saying that the fetish priests may harm me or the organisation that resists the NGO's emancipation process. He paused and then stated;

„Rachel, you know I hate to say this... but all of my country-men; they are liars. Every one of them. They just lie“ (principal researcher's diary entry, September 2008).

The reason I found this conversation bizarre was that just two weeks prior to this conversation I had sought specific

pieces of information required by the ethics approval committee. One of these issues was that of threat to the researcher. The ethics committee was concerned about retribution being taken on the Trokosi women or on the researcher following the release of the research findings. I had been told by a member of upper management that she had spoken to the Executive Director and they believed there was no threat. I also found it bizarre that the Executive Director believes all informants to be liars. I wondered what had stirred both the conclusion and the comment.

As time moved on, it became extremely clear that the original research plan could not take place. It also became clear that access to the women at the vocational centre was reliant on using the NGO's staff as interpreter. This happened through a series of events that I do not have space to fully discuss in this paper, but which nevertheless deserve some attention:

- After the initial brief discussion with the Executive Director after arriving in X, the Executive Director did not attend (or cancelled) over six different appointments for interview.
- Initially I was told by the Executive Director that the organisation would provide accommodation at the vocational centre¹. Upon arriving in X and discussing the *independent* nature of the research and my intention to source an independent interpreter, I was told that I would be charged US\$50 a night to stay at the centre and \$16 a day for food and that this would be doubled to bring an interpreter. I was then told by a member of upper management that the NGO may be able to arrange a discount for me, but it would need to be cleared with the Executive Director. This was

¹ Letter of Invitation, 11 February 2008. Dates changed in subsequent emails, February 2008.

never cleared, however I was told that there was room for me at the vocational center but unfortunately there would simply be no room for me *to bring an interpreter with me*. This happened, though the timing of this research and the need for one or two rooms in the centre had been cleared by the NGO at least six months prior.

- I received physical threats. One took place on the street by a stranger. I was just one hundred meters from the organization's office after conducting interviews. I was confronted by a stranger, grabbed on the shoulders, pushed away and then pulled in close and the stranger whispered in my ear '*You are not welcome here, give up now and go home.*' I was also covertly threatened in a number of interview and informant situations, for example: One informant made me aware that he knew of my whereabouts on a number of prior occasions, yet did not indicate how he had this information. I politely asked him how he knew this information and he simply smiled and stated: '*This meeting is over now*'.

Eventually, in light of these events, I left the organisation's accommodation in Accra as I felt unsafe and I felt it might jeopardize the independent nature of the research. I informed my parents and the Australian High Commission of the move, as they were my emergency contacts. I also discussed with my mother, who is an academic and women's rights advocate herself, that I was worried that after this move, the Executive Director would attempt to discredit my actions and the research. On her advice I emailed my supervisors with up to date information about the situation and asked them to be very careful if contacted by the Executive Director. Within hours, before speaking

with me the Executive Director phoned my parents in Australia and spoke to my mother. In this conversation he explained that I had left the accommodation and that he was *'very concerned for my safety'*, citing the reason for this major issue of concern: *'Are you aware? Do you know Rachel has a Xian boyfriend?'* My mother reports that the tone of the conversation implied that I had *run away*, to be with some strange man.

The following morning I confronted the Executive Director about a number of impediments to the research project and asked for an explanation. Within this meeting he blamed his lack of attendance for interview on his secretary and stated *'I didn't know you were waiting. I have told her now that she should tell me when people are waiting'* (interview transcript, 21 November 2008). However, at the end of every scheduled interview day (after I had waited in the reception area for over eight hours) he greeted me, apologized, saying he was too busy that day, and rescheduled. The Executive Director stated that I can have access to the *independent* report written in 2008, however this has still not yet been shared with me. He stated that he fully supported my travel to the vocational centre and claimed he had told all staff to give me whatever resources I required. Yet, this had been a central point of frustration as all staff members claimed having to seek approval from the Director in order to supply me with any of the project resources and whenever the Director was approached directly, he informed me that he would have to get back to me. He would then not attend meetings or interviews to respond to the requests.

Within this meeting, the Director initiated a conversation about my leaving the organisational accommodation. Within this conversation he made it clear that he somehow knew where I was now staying, and that he knew of my Xian boyfriend, that he had informed my parents and that he *'does not condemn me'*. I had, in fact sought refuge within my now

fiancée's village. I found the conversation (and the phoning of my parents) extremely interesting for several reasons. The Director had sexualised a political situation in an attempt to discredit me. In ringing my parents he had sought to tell a story of a rebellious daughter whose reputation was questionable. I found it almost ironic that the Director was perpetuating the exact kind of attitude about women that the organisation's project seeks to confront. The Director also asked me if I planned to continue to attend the vocational centre and stated that *'for ethical reasons I ask that you do not confront any of the women without my consent'* (interview transcript, 21 November 2008).

Due to these events, the methodology included both PAR and action learning based on reflection on my role and experience as a researcher. The observation portion of the research was originally to be focused on the workings of the NGO as an organisation, how the Trokosi emancipation project is implemented and how released Trokosi women function in the community.

Observation was not only focused on the NGO and the Trokosi program but included the political and socio-economic conditions and issues of representation, international academic trends and the state of organizational transparency and accountability within international NGO's. What was initially planned to be open participatory action became secret interviews conducted in hidden corners of governmental buildings, or hushed whispers within organisational hallways. Many opted for the status of 'anonymous informant' rather than participant or interviewee.

At least one representative from each participant group warned that caution should be exercised when looking into the Trokosi practice and one interviewee and several

'informants' either covertly or overtly threatened that continuing with the research would be harmful to the researcher and it became evident that I was under surveillance.

Of particular interest is that within the original research plan, approximately 75% of interviewees were to be female, however of all of the interviews conducted, across three different organisations or governmental departments, not one interviewee was female. It is also noteworthy that of the 100 planned interviews, approximately thirteen were to take place within Accra and the remaining within the vocational centre or the rural areas surrounding the centre. However, not one interview with a rural Xian or a former Trokosi woman was secured.

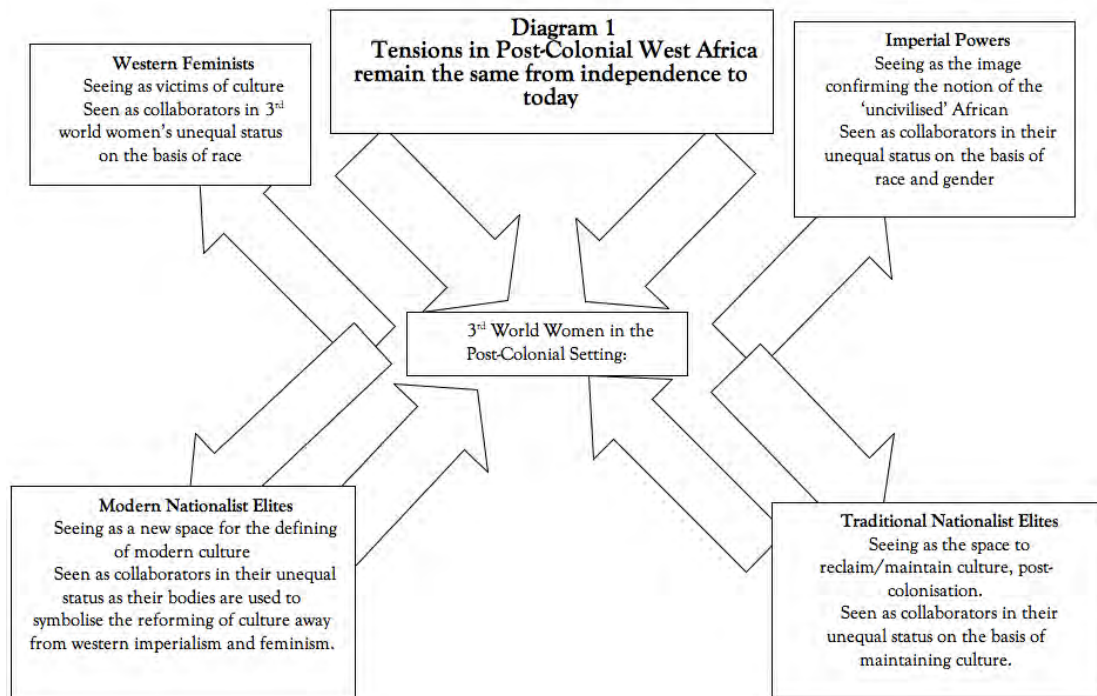
Whilst the empowerment of rural women is supposedly the very focus of the Trokosi project, the rural women are represented and their futures are discussed by urban males. The research sought to gain valuable insight from rural women, who have little formal education and no access to learning an international language. However; of the interviews secured, the average interviewees was 41 years of age, male, educated to masters level and a speaker of at least one international language and two local languages.

Challenges to the use of Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Whilst, in theory using a participatory approach will give a voice to the people whom the research is about, it also assumes that meaningful access to participants is granted. When dealing with research that will impact on social justice, it is almost always certain that strong political ramifications will result from any research findings.

One of the challenges of PAR, as it relates to gender empowerment, is that a certain level of empowerment by the participants must first be established in order to even gain meaningful access to participants. Often this is restricted by governments or citizens seeking to avoid complex interactions between imperialism and women's rights. In fact, the correlation between key historical events and the funding of both the Trokosi emancipation project and the funding of groups that resist the emancipation project are astonishing. Unfortunately there is little room to explore this issue within this article.

Access can also be restricted by traditionalists or traditional structures seeking to maintain culture through women's duties and women's bodies. The key players and key issues within this complex paradigm have remained the same since independence struggles. They are confronting and they reflect complex tensions within the society. See Diagram 1.



And finally, an international NGO's may resist meaningful access to poor women as funding is often reliant on research findings that eventuate from such access. For these reasons, it has been impossible to assess if emancipated Trokosi's rights are adhered to in any greater sense than non-emancipated Trokosi women, as the women can only be accessed through the NGO, seen through the NGO's lenses and communicated with through the NGO. In this way the NGO simply replaces the community (or shares the space with the community), of gatekeepers to the women. Currently within this space, the international community views Trokosi practicing communities and village priests as misogynist oppressors, the NGO as liberators and the Trokosi women as victims requiring rescue from their own kind.

Local groups who resist the emancipation process see the NGO as collaborators, selling out on their culture in exchange for development funds. They see the Trokosi women as the gatekeepers of sexuality and community morality; and the international community as oppressors, seeking to continue a long history of imperialism and deculturalisation within X.

How either practicing or emancipated Trokosi see the international community, the fetish priests, the NGO, resistance movements and themselves is unknown. Access to current Trokosi is restricted by the practicing community and access to emancipated Trokosi is restricted by the NGO.

There remains no impartial qualitative research or quantitative statistics on the empowerment of the women and their access to both environmental and social commons. Do they have greater access to political participation? Do the women have greater access to economic resources? In what ways are the women able to participate in community life?

Do the women have greater access to environmental resources, such as land? Do the women have greater access to education and health care? Are the women more readily able to make decisions concerning their futures? Do the women participate in the cultural activities in the community to a great extent? Are the women able to contribute to knowledge formation? Are the women able to shape their community and cultural practices? How many slaves exist? And finally, is the concept of the Trokosi fact or fiction and in whose opinion? All of these questions remain answered by the voice by the NGO.

Expected outcomes

As this paper has been written mid way through the data collection stage of the research plan, the impact cannot yet be assessed. The research collection will now continue within Australia where international partner organisations will be interviewed concerning the process by which funds are secured and how results are monitored. Personal givers will also be interviewed to access their perception of the practice, why they chose to give to the emancipation project and whether they perceive any conditions attached to the receiving of money by the organisation. The governmental agency that funds the emancipation project will also be interviewed concerning funding, aid effectiveness and accountability structures. The final research findings have also been requested by the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice in order to further inform their action surrounding the practice.

Central issues

Central issues raised by the research findings are:

- In assessing the world's poorest women's access to global commons, there must first be access to the world's poorest women;

- The need for strategies to assess aid effectiveness within projects funded through non-government organisations and through personal donations;
- Accountability for the conclusions of research conducted by western students in post-colonial states after a rise in the popularity of 'Human Rights tourism';
- Historical events that have not yet been acknowledged by the former imperialist powers as devastating acts of violence and oppression that continue to impact of citizens today, especially the world's poorest women.

Recommendations

The most pressing recommendation is that funding donors and organisations swiftly put out to tender an independent report to assess the effectiveness of the Trokosi emancipation process, as it relates to the *empowerment* of the women. Researchers should have a strong background in women's rights within a postcolonial context, be fluent in Ewe and should have experience in dealing with sensitive cultural issues.

Other recommendations will include the tightening of accountability structures around the ethics of 'human rights tourism' and research in post-colonial contexts, the strengthening of accountability and aid effectiveness evaluations in non-governmental aid structures.

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References to the location in which this research was conducted have been removed and denoted with an 'X'.

Participation efforts of Solo's street vendors in policy formulation during the reform era but without results

Sudarmo

The city government of Solo keeps control over street vendors, by implementing a successful divide-and-rule approach which has effectively destabilized the solidarity and unity of the street vendor groups in Surakarta. The city government is unresponsive and does ignore the street vendors' proposed participation to materialize social justice, During the New Order era there was a lack of Solo's street vendor participation in the formulation of the Local Law on regulation and guidance of them because the City's government and its local legislative assembly, DPRD, deliberately overlooked the value of the street vendors' participation and did not provide any chance to participate in the policy formulation that affects their life. This is also because of habituated by established Javanese social hierarchism which created a psychological burden against demanding participation, obstacles from their socio-economic status, lack of their own organizations that could support them to take part in the policy process, and lack of back-up from local non-government organizations. In post-New Order reform era there has been a high participation of Solo's street vendors in the efforts to have a revised local law on street vendors that represents more of a balance between their rights and obligations and better meets the sense of social justice for them, but this has failed to achieve the results they expected.

Introduction

Indonesia had suffered from economic crisis since mid-1997. It had been followed by the fall of President Suharto on 21 May 1998, with a transferring of power to his Vice-President B.J. Habibie. Suharto encouraged Habibie to create a new era of governance by redefining the relationship between the

central and local governments. The passing of the Law 22/1999 about regional autonomy and the Law 25/1999 about fiscal balance between central and local government were considered to be starting points in the establishment of a new concept of decentralization in Indonesia that would provide more decision-making powers to local governments (Bhakti 2006). During the crisis period, there was a large increase in the number of unemployed Indonesians (see for example, Firdausy n.d.).³⁸ In a response, the Coordinating Ministry of People's Welfare (i.e., Koordinator Kesejahteraan Rakyat) encouraged the development and the growth of the 'micro-business sector', including informal sector street vending. This was intended as part of attempting to reduce unemployment as the macro economy was declining. However, this would require the willingness of all stakeholders to work together and the government apparatus to work well (*Solo Pos* 2005).

In addition, although there was a transition to Indonesia having democratic elections, a free press and colourful civil society in the post-Suharto '*reformasi*' period, it was claimed that "the democratization has been shallow because only the top layer of the bureaucracy has been replaced while most state officials have today not embraced the idea of new procedures and standards and civil servants maintain the old pattern and attitudes" (Antlöv 2002: 2) The fall of Suharto and the transition to polyarchal democracy in Indonesia in 1998-1999 did not involve a massive transformation of personnel in the bureaucracy, judiciary or military or any large-scale redistribution of power in the Indonesian business world (Webber 2005: 17). In the decentralization reforms, extensive decision-making powers and corresponding budgets were delegated to the local government level. However, worsened by the uncontrollable

³⁸ The International Labour Organization, ILO, noted that official unemployment was 15.4 million people or 17 per cent of the total labour force.

power blankness left by Suharto's sudden fall, a fragmentation of decision-making power and authority multiplied the scope for exploitation of public offices for 'private' ends (Webber 2005: 17). In spite of the greater transparency facilitated by political liberalization and the adoption of numerous laws and measures aimed at fighting the phenomenon, levels of corruption were perceived to have risen in post-Suharto Indonesia (*ibid*). Moreover, although *reformasi* (reform) suggests transition to an Indonesian democracy and the possibility to decentralize the power formerly nearly monopolized by the central government to local government, it does not mean that every grassroots' demands, interests, preferences and ideas will be accommodated by the local government. This is because "democracies do have specific limits on specific freedoms" (Macklem 2006: 488-9) and there is "judicial control" (Petrova 2002: 11) in which "it is very much subordinate to the executive and other powerful groups (Kingsbur 2003: 192; Hendaridi 1999: 126-129). Diamond (2000: 414), describes this era as a "gray area" of democracy which is "neither clearly democratic nor clearly undemocratic. Bhakti (2006) even describes the transition toward democracy in Indonesia as a compromise between authoritarian and democratic power. It was predicted that an evolution of a durable and stable cohabitation of democracy and patrimonialism would influence Indonesian governance and democracy in the future but, if their peaceful co-existence was not possible, the direction of post-Suharto politics would evolve either towards a more liberal democratic regime or back towards a more authoritarian one (Webber 2005: 17-18).

This paper argues that during the New Order era there was a lack of Solo's street vendor participation in the formulation of the Local Law No.8/1995 on regulation and guidance of them. This was both because the City's government and its DPRD deliberatively ignored the importance of the street vendors' participation and did not provide political space for

them to be involved in the policy formulation and also because of internal barriers between the street vendors themselves where they were (a) conditioned by traditional Javanese social hierarchism which produced a psychological burden against demanding participation, (b) obstacles from their socio-economic status, (c) lack of their own organizations that could encourage them to take part in the policy process, and (d) lack of support or advocacy from local non-government organizations. These influences of these factors were compounded by the city government strategies which, in alliance with the formal business sector and based on patrimonial ties, tended to discriminate between street vendors by using divide and rule and to privilege the formal business sector in urban development at the expense of the street traders.

This paper also argues that there has been a high participation of Solo's street vendors in the efforts in post-New Order reform era to have a revised local law on street vendors that represents more of a balance between their rights and obligations and better meets the sense of social justice for them, but this has had no results. This is partly because of an unresponsiveness by the city government and DPRD to the interests, demands, preferences and ideas of the street vendors as these power-holders have not had enough political will to respond to them, and partly because of the street vendors' lack of resources, fragmentation, lack of coordination and collaboration due to distrust, opportunism and self-maximizing among them. These weaknesses have been utilized and compounded by the divide-and-rule strategies of the city government in alliance with the formal business sector and Surakarta's leading aristocratic family.

All the analysis presented in this paper is based on the empirical research used following an ethnographic method in Solo. It involved several periods of fieldwork using participant observation, spending much time watching

people, talking with them about what they were doing, thinking and saying. This approach was designed to gain an insight into the street vendors' viewpoints and the way they understood their world, and included triangulation by using several approaches to people and to topics from different directions. Those approached were selected on the basis of both purposive and snowball sampling. This was combined with interviews with local people who were not street traders and with detailed content analyses of secondary research and local newspapers.

Reviewing the literature

Participation is an important dimension in governance. It is a taking part or involvement and it may include distinct and complex meanings. Nasikun's (1990: 99-100) publication on *Partisipasi Penduduk Miskin Dalam Pembangunan Pedesaan: Suatu Tjiauan Kritis* based on the work of Ralph M Kramer (1969), titled *Participation of the Poor: Comparative Community Case Studies in the War on Poverty*, defined participation in three categories. The first category is where "participation requires the involvement of the poor citizen in the process of decision making which is represented by their representatives in coalition together with the government agents and non-government organizations, and other leaders of interest groups". The second category is where "participation means the poor citizen is placed as the main consumer of a development program and therefore their interests and advisory must be heard and considered by policy makers." The third category, what Nasikun calls 'radical participation', is where "the poor people are seen as the constituency of a development program which is politically "powerless" and "therefore they need stimulation and support." In this category of Nasikun's, their powerlessness is the factor causing them to remain in poverty and only through mobilization of them and their organization as an effective pressure group will they be able to influence the process of decision-making that has effects

on their lives. These categories are based in political ideologies of what activism is possible and desirable. Participatory approaches need to be used in such a way that people are empowered, rather than being used as window dressing by the powerful.

Nagel (1987: 1) defined participation more generally as “actions through which ordinary members of a political system influence or attempt to influence outcomes.” ‘Actions’ implies movement, energy and effort or activities intended to achieve the outcome. ‘Ordinary members’ of a political system refers to the non-elite persons who “can be any persons except those who perform the activities in question as a requirement of their principal jobs” (*ibid*). ‘Influence’ implies that participants achieve what they demand to obtain because they wish it to come about. A ‘political system’ is defined broadly as any organized structure of power, influence and authority. An ‘outcome’ in general is a variety of events that participants influence. According to Nagel, participation includes both psychological involvement and engaging in action. He also noted that although there might be engagement in an activity that does not depend on one’s own preference it could not be regarded as participation. Such a condition is labelled by some writers as ‘mobilization’ or ‘pseudo participation,’ which is assumed to be not real participation.

However, the definition used by Nagel did not specifically address the existence of powerless people as discussed in Nasikun’s works, which state that they basically need support from others so that they will act in particular ways. In Nasikun’s definition mobilization and the provision of support from others, such as non-government organizations, to the powerless people that is intended to make them aware of their own interest and encourage them to participate and give their voice based on their interest in the process of decision-making, can be seen as ‘participation.’ Since this

participation refers to broad forms of engagement, as discussed earlier, what will be defined as 'street vendor participation' in this study can take the forms of actions, protests, demonstrations, movements and any other action intended to influence the public decisions that affect their livelihood.

Participation of citizens in policy process in local governance may face a range of obstacles. For example, Gaventa and Valderrama (1999), using reports of research in Latin America by Schonwalder, Tanzania by Mukandela, and Bolivia by Robinson, identify six factors that constituted obstacles for the citizens in more participation: (a) control of power relations by the state, (b) level of citizen organization, (c) participatory skill, (d) political will, (e) level of participation, and (f) insufficient financial resources at the local level (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999: 8-10).

They concluded that, although citizen participation

is about power and its exercise by different social actors in the spaces created for interaction between citizen and local authorities, control of the structure and the process for participation including defining spaces, actors, agenda and procedures, is usually in the hands of government institutions and can become a barrier for effective involvement of citizens (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999).

The study by Schonwalder, examining the degree to which decentralization offers a space for more democratic participation in Latin America, argued that "not enough attention was paid to the question of power." He showed that the

local elite, local governments and other actors operating on the local setting such as political parties and even some NGOs have often been prone to co-opt popular movements in order to further their own agenda (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999).

The study in Tanzania by Mukandela found that decisions over who should participate in the lowest local level decision making bodies, which approved requests before being forwarded to higher levels in the district, hindered their effectiveness in achieving high levels of popular participation in decision making. He underlined that although

the norms state that the majority of the positions are for community representatives, in practice decisions on who to invite can and were taken in some of the districts by government officers at high levels of the administration who invited influential people when important decisions were made (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999).

Control by the government over decisions about the nature and structure of participatory channels at the local levels also restricts the influence of traditional decision-making bodies in the local affairs. The study by Muzitwa *et al* in Zimbabwe showed that when the certain powers of traditional structures of decision-making were taken away and granted to village development and ward development committees, frictions between traditional leaders and democratically elected leaders emerged (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999).

Drawing from Robinson's study in Bolivia, Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) summarized that in municipalities with strong union traditions people were able to influence decisions over municipal spending while in those areas where people lacked organizational capacity political participation were generally low. They also concluded from the study by Herzer and Pirez in Argentina, Peru and other countries in Latin America, that

the existence of popular organizations with a certain presence at a local level and the occupation of political posts in the municipal government by parties or individuals who favour popular participation seem to be fundamental conditions under which citizens can influence decisions at the local level (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999).

Citizen participation is also affected by the participatory skills of local authorities in planning processes. The study by Mukandala in Tanzania, for example, found the importance of educated officials in expressing the local people's needs. He concluded,

when the populist legislative members lack education they have difficulties to push through their particular issues from the grassroots and have difficulty countering the technical presentations of the departmental technical staff.

Another study by Manor and Crook also found the importance of planning skill and experience as important factors for participation. They argued that

when essential planning skills and experience of local authorities in the planning process are lacking, they become obstacles for more meaningful participation for disadvantaged groups (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999).

Another obstacle to more citizen participation is political will. Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) underline the importance of the availability of this as well as of opportunities of the local people. They argued that barriers to strengthening participation include

the absence of a strong and determined central authority in providing and enforcing opportunities for participation at the local level ... [and] the lack of political will by local government officers in enforcing the legislation that has been created for this purpose (Gaventa & Valderrama 1999).

Barriers for participation also may be higher in a society due to that society being firmly hierarchical (Gaffar 1990: 64). In Javanese culture, societal hierarchy is still persistent. People are still usually classified as *wong gedhe* (people with high rank of status) and *wong cilik* (ordinary people, as well as poor people). This dichotomization resulted in self misconception among the officials who regard themselves in the former class and as benevolent to the ordinary people in the latter; people seen as being socially, economically and

politically backward. Consequently, the ordinary people are considered and treated as requiring to be assisted. As their rewarding of the officials' or the government's benevolence, the ordinary people are expected to obey the officials' policy. This condition would then become a barrier for more participation by the 'ordinary people.'

Moreover, direct local citizen participation in decision-making may be affected by the extent to which "the individuals or groups or institutions that strengthen them exist" and "the extent to which the financial resources of the local government to support them also are provided (Gaffar 1990). Other factors, including the level of education, social and economic status, level of inequality and strong social hierarchy, also may impede participation (Gaffar 1990).

The failures of local organizations set up to increase participation in policy formulation may have different causes. Montgomery classified major ones into three groups. The first group he described as 'apathy', the condition in which organizations fail, because of the indifference of their members; the second group of failures are identified as 'internal colonization', which occurs when small groups of local notables seize control of a functioning organization and divert it to their own interests; the third is described as 'external colonization', the situation that arises when outside actors (usually governments) discover a well-run local organization and seek to use it for purpose incompatible with local priorities (Montgomery 1998: 98-9).

The participation barriers of the Solo street vendors in the policy process may take one or more of the forms discussed above, such as the internal barriers set by the street vendors themselves such as their status in the social economy and their Javanese culture of social hierarchy but also external barriers such as the bureaucracy hierarchy of Solo's city

government, the political will of the government and the DPRD and a lack of support from individuals, groups or local institutions, including the leaders of location-based organizations and city-wide associations of Solo's street vendors and local NGOs.

Although participation can be conducted through "negotiation ... (and) protest" (Monroe-Clark 1992: 26), it does not always mean that all the demand, interest and thoughts of street vendors are accommodated, because "participation can result in political co-optation" (Cooke & Kothari 2001: 25) as "authority-structures often attempted to use participation for their own purposes;" (Monroe-Clark 1992: 26) and thus, "it masks continued centralization in the name of decentralization" (Cooke & Kothari 2001). In other words, although Solo now has a decentralized local government that may involve the street vendors in decision-making, there is a probability that they or some elite of them can be co-opted by the city government to influence others. The decision-making would then be basically still dominated by the city government or even be carried out through adopting a top-down approach, which centralized the decision-making in the hands of the city government that represents the city government interests or agenda, which may differ from what the street vendors demand, prefer and think. Moreover, the

acts and process of participation ... sharing knowledge, negotiating power relationships, political activism and so on – can both conceal and reinforce oppression and injustices in their varied manifestations (Cooke and Kothari 2001: 13).

This is to underline that as the city government has its own agendas or goals, the city government may use a variety of ways to materialize or achieve them, including oppression, eviction or other ways which are unjust, including using a divide and rule approach to achieve its own goals of its policy implementation.

Street vendors, as part of the informal sector economy, had existed in Solo before 1997 but the number was relatively small; only several hundred. In the early years of growth, they were mostly local people but also many people from outside Solo migrated into the city. According to Lee, there are four main factors associated with migration: (1) factors associated with the area of origin, (2) factors associated with the area of destination, (3) intervening obstacles, and (4) personal factors (Lee 1966: 47-57). Most migration has happened because of the economic motive to make the migrant's livelihood better.

The Solo city is within the Province of Central Java and surrounded by three other districts: Karanganyar (from the east around the north to the west), Boyolali (north), and Sukoharjo (from the east around the south to the west). Solo is a centre of business and, after the pervasive economic crisis, started to recover from early 1999 (Rejeki 2006). In 2000 the property sector of the primary market started to expand, and in 2002 and 2003 new centres of trading arose (Rejeki 2006). Solo's economic growth in 2005 reached 5.9 per cent, which was much higher than those of its neighbouring Central Java large cities such as Yogyakarta and Semarang, respectively with only 5.45 per cent and 4.89 per cent (Kristianto 2006). According to Adib Ajiputra, the chief executive of the Indonesian Real Estate of Surakarta, Solo also has attracted many people due to its economic potential (Kristianto 2006). It is also a city where many people run their activities during day and night. During the day the population of Solo is estimated to increase to one and a half million (Kristianto 2006) although its official residential population was only about half a million in 2005 (Pemerintah Kota Surakarta 2007). Solo has many centres of people's activities including business and industrial centres, private and public offices, entertainment and tourism, and education (KPPKL 2003), the latter including two state and 24 private

universities (Pemerintah Kota Surakarta 2007). In these centres, there are many people from outside Solo working (www.infosolo.net). Many other migrants from outside Solo are also looking for formal employment but not all of them are being absorbed due to their lack of skill required for this so many work in the informal sector. Moreover there are not such unlimited employment possibilities that anyone arriving can find formal employment, largely irrespective of their education and skills. As an example related to this study, recent statistics show that Solo's street vendors include people with low, medium and high levels of education: 65 per cent reporting junior high school or less; 32 per cent senior high school and three per cent college or university (KPPKL 2003).

Many Solo residents are involved in activities during the evening and this leads to Solo being described as "a city that never sleeps" (www.infosolo.net). The situation where there are many centres of activities during the day and night provides market opportunities for street vendors; and this market also encouraged migrants from the surrounding districts who had failed to get formal employment in Solo city as well as in their own area of origin due to their low education, to enter the city's informal sector and try to operate a business nearby (KPPKL 2003). The number of street vendors has increased from year to year, compounded by the economic crises where the formal sector could not provide employment for them; and becoming a street vendor was the only option for their survival available with easy entry requirements (KPPKL 2003). In 2001 there were officially 1,115 street vendors; in 2002 this had tripled to 3,390; in 2003 increased by another 13 per cent to 3,834 (Handayani 2006: 9); and by mid-2005 by more than half again, to 5,817. In a politically important change, at the end of 2003, about 74 per cent of the total street vendors were long term Solo residents (KPPKL 2003) but by mid-2005 the city government claimed that about 80 per cent were non-

Solo residents; migrants from the surrounding Districts, who had entered this informal sector for economic reasons.

The street vendors formed location-based groups in the different locations where they operated their business. Several of these also allied themselves into citywide associations and some associations and individuals joined the *forum warga* (citizens' forum) *SOMPIS* (*Solidaritas Masyarakat Pinggiran Surakarta*, the Solidarity of Marginalized People of Surakarta). However, other vendors remained unorganized and did not join any of the city wide street vendor organizations or the *forum warga*.

The street vendors are one of several marginalized communities in Solo. Others include: domestic helpers, prostitutes, pedicab/trishaw drivers, parking attendants, street singers, beggars, masseur and disabled people (Handayani 2006: 9). Some of these marginalized communities had formed their *SOMPIS* association between 1996 and 2000. There was a common awareness among these communities that they all felt economically, socially and politically marginalized and that they needed an organization that could accommodate and promote their interests. In a congress on 25-26 July 2001 in the Yayasan Indonesia Surakarta (YIS, Surakarta Indonesian Foundation) Hall facilitated by a local NGO in Solo, the *Konsorsium Monitoring dan Pemberdayaan Institusi Publik* (Consortium for Public Institution Monitoring and Empowerment, or *KOMPPIP*), they declared an organization they named *Solidaritas Masyarakat Pinggiran Surakarta* (the Solidarity of Marginalized People of Surakarta or *SOMPIS*). This starting association consisted of: (a) pedicab drivers (already organized into the Tritonadi Pedicab Drivers Association and the Surakarta Pedicab Drivers Association); (b) traditional market vendors (members of the Gede Market Association); (c) street singers (in the Committee of Indonesian Street Singers and the Union of Indonesian Street

Singers); (d) parking attendants (in the Surakarta Parking Attendants Association), (e) workers (in Surakarta Workers Union Coalition); (f) disabled people; (g) slum residents, (h) hawkers, (i) collectors of used goods (*pemulung*), (j) two location-based groups of street vendors (the *Panca Manunggal* street vendors group, led by Edy Sarnyoto, and the *PKL 2000* street vendors group, led by Joko Sugiharto); and other elements.

The declared mission of the *SOMPIS* was to make its members aware of their rights in social, economic and political affairs; with a declared vision of the materialization of the rights of the marginalized in moving towards a just and prosperous society that was participatory and democratic. Since its establishment the number of marginalized organizations affiliated to it has grown considerably but some of them have disintegrated. By 2006, there were only six associations of self-labelled marginalized people that had joined *SOMPIS* (Handayani 2006). There had also been a citywide street vendors association that had been formed and joined in 2002, *Gundang Kalimnas*, which itself had 17 location-based street vendor associations as its members and was led by Edy Sarnyoto (who had previously led the location-based *Panca Manunggal* group), but had disintegrated the following year (Handayani 2006).

As well as the failed *Gundang Kalimas* there have been other recent attempts to form city-wide associations of street vendors: the *Forum Komunikasi PKL se Surakarta* (usually abbreviated to *Forkom*) with Joko Suryadi as its leader and the *Pedang Kaliso*, led by Arisdono. The *Forkom* rose in 2003 as the *Gundang Kalimas* fell. But the *Forkom* also sank into inactivity after it had held a single large demonstration in April 2003 and tried to free itself from its relationship with *KOMPIP* and *SOMPIS*. Its leaders moved to a position where they preferred to cooperate with the city government in the mayoral period of Slamet Suryanto and became involved in

controlling the street vendors. After its first mass demonstration in February 2003, the *Forkom* had never organised any significant public activity in favour of the street vendors' participation until Mayor Slamet Suryanto was replaced by Mayor Joko Widodo in July 2005. Since then *Forkom* has organized demonstrations as responses to Joko Widodo's more restrictive policy on street vendors. This organization prefers to use a physical confrontational approach to express their dissatisfactions with the city government policy such as by public demonstrations, although it also more privately lobbied the power holders in protecting its members, who are loyal to their leader. The *Pedang Kaliso* rose in 2004 because the *Forkom* was seen as incapable of carrying out the street vendors' mandate for promoting their interests and acting as the public representative of street vendors of Solo city, particularly during Mayor Slamet Suryanto's period of office. However, there are many other street vendors who have not joined or will not join *SOMPIS*, *KOMPIP*, the *Pedang Kaliso* or the *Forkom*. They remain unorganized, either because of inactivity on their part or because they actively prefer to be independent. Some have no emotional or organizational ties with others, in order to avoid compulsory membership fees for the associations. Both the *Forkom* and the *Pedang Kaliso* have different approaches toward the city government's policy on street vendors. Although the *Forkom* is relatively strong because it cooperates in its actions with a local NGO, *YAPHI* (*Yayasan Pengabdian Hukum Indonesia*, Foundation for Indonesian Legal Awareness), and other activists and non-street-vendor associations and the *Pedang Kaliso* obtained support from the *SOMPIS* and *KOMPIP*, the Solo street vendors were fragmented. There were many locations where street vendors were numerous: the area surrounding the Monument of 45 in Banjarsari (Monjari), the area surrounding Manahan Stadium, Slamet Riyadi Street, Urip Sumoharjo Street, General Sudirman Street, privatized Tipes square, area surrounding Kasunanan Surakarta palace including Alun-alun Lor (north square of the royal palace)

and that of the traditional market named *Cinderamata* market, other areas closing to traditional markets, and other streets. In these trading areas they formed location-based groups. In one location usually there were more than one group. Although in public forum city government often declared that street vendors were local asset that should be empowered, it mostly saw the street vendors as sources of messiness, slums and city disturbance for city transportation. These assessments had been part of its reason to govern them by relocating, providing shelter or just removing them.

As the numerous street vendors both long-term Solo residents and migrant occupied many public spaces in Solo and constructed permanent or semi-permanent constructions, the city government defines them as a public problem, perceiving them as the cause of a deterioration of the Solo Beautiful City. According to Anderson (1990: 79),

a public problem can be formally defined as a condition or situation that produces needs or dissatisfactions on the part of people for which relief or redress is sought by persons other than those directly affected; and there is always the possibility that a problem will be defined differently by those directly affected than by others.

Anderson also points out the obvious fact that “problems are often defined differently by individuals and groups holding varying interest and values; while problems may be persistent, how they are defined may change over time as society changes” (*ibid*). In addition, as Pal (1987: 12) argues, “problem definitions are inextricably bound to policy goals, which are what the policy is trying to achieve, its aim and its direction. A policy’s goals are made specific by the problems the policy identifies; and policy makers are often sensitized or prepared to recognize a certain problem because of pre-existing goals they may have”. When government positively takes action on the problem on the agenda, thereby development of a solution for the problem occurs, and policy formulation takes place (Levine 1990: 86). Policy formulation

is basically the development of specific instruments to achieve goals (Levine 1990: 89).

In an advanced democratic country, this involves highly political processes in which many interest groups seek to get legislation agreed to that is advantageous to their groups (Greene 2005: 281) in which the development of relevant and acceptable proposed series of actions for dealing with the public problem take place. In this formulation process, the two main questions generally raised are “how are alternatives for dealing with the problem developed and who participates in the process of policy formulation” (Anderson 1990: 35). The answer to the first question usually is represented in the development of instruments to overcome the perceived problem; and the actors who are involved in the formulation of policy in the local government could include a number of players such as interest groups, local representatives in an elected legislature, the mayor of the municipality, local government agencies and other non-state stakeholders such as local residents, developers, investors, public transport drivers, street vendors and any other road user. Despite this, for the basis for defining the problem of Solo’s street vendors and to achieve the policy goals it is not enough for the city government (Mayor and the DPRD) to merely take account of the symptoms and base its response on its own perspective on street vendors as the sources of the city deterioration. Nor is it appropriate to simply act in its own interest, nor be dependent on the work of a team it has hired as they may simply perform whatever the city government orders because they are subject to it. The local authority should be required to explore both long-term Solo resident street vendors and immigrant street vendor’s ideas, interests, demands and preferences or even to involve them or at least their valid representative in participation as the basis for deciding or formulating policy. This would provide for more representing of the street vendors’ aspirations without undermining other stakeholders’

interests, provide for more adequate consideration of the causes of their becoming street vendors, including why so many have migrated to Solo to become street vendors. As Anderson (1990: 79) argues, it is very important to consider the “what causes of conditions” in defining a problem as the basis for formulating policy.

In other words, given the involvement of various actors including the state and other non-state stakeholders, with Solo’s street vendors, or at least their representatives, being involved in the policy formulation, a wider range of information and different points of view can be obtained so that a more appropriate solution can be developed. Thus, a fundamental difficulty in policy formulation, which, as Levine argues, is “the limited information so that policy makers have little guidance in the selection of appropriate responses... could be minimized” (Levine 1990: 86). This could be achieved if the street vendors, or at least their valid representatives by the city government, are willing to explore honestly and transparently into their interests, preferences, demands and ideas, considering and taking them into account in formulating its policy.

Barriers to street vendors participation

The city government as well as the DPRD, in particular during the New Order era, formally recognized the potential of the street vendors to provide positive contributions to the city government but their view of the negative aspects of the street vendors is dominant. The policy formulation of Local Law No.8/1995 made in that previous era did not involve the participation of the street vendors. Consequently, policy formulation has been based on the perspective of the government itself but without the information or data articulated by the street vendors or their representatives.

There are four obstacles why the participation of street vendors in the New Order era has been lacking. Firstly, the barriers of the city government as well as the DPRD deliberately ignoring the importance of street vendor participation and the incapacity of the local Assembly to articulate the voice of street vendors. Basically, citizen participation in the local law is about power and its exercise by different social actors including the authorities (the city government and DPRD), street vendors and other stakeholders. However, control of the structure and process for participation in defining spaces, actors, agenda and procedures were still in the hands of the city government and DPRD and this situation caused the street vendor to be isolated from participation. Thus there was a power-domination by the city government in formulating Local Law No.8/1995. During this era the city government's political will for participation was lacking and a strong power to provide and enforce opportunities for the street vendors to participate in the formulation of policy was absent. As Gaventa and Valderrama (1999: 8) argued, the situation where opposition is weak is very common, in particular in undeveloped democratic countries.

During the New Order era, the DPRD although comprising representatives of the supposedly different parties tended to have a single view under the domination of the government party Golkar and the military while opposition was absent. The lack of city government organizational capacity representing the societal civic interest could be explained by looking at the political system in Indonesia during the New Order era. Although Solo, as happened in any other municipality or district in Indonesia, had a DPRD which was usually asserted to be the representative of the local people there was no guarantee that they really represented the interests of their constituents and articulated their interests. As a matter of fact, Solo's 1992-1997 legislature in particular, did not always represent the local society's interests because

in the system of elections in Indonesia it was not possible for the local society to elect their representatives directly. The people only chose a party or the symbol of a party but not the individuals who aspired their interests and values because the information about them was lacking and the election system did not provide an atmosphere where political aspirations from the society were accommodated deliberately (Sanit 1997: 217; Moh 1999: 251; Haris 1997).

After destroying the rebellion of the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* or PKI) in 1965, when the Mayor of Surakarta was Utomo Ramelan (the local leader of the Communist Party), the New Order had ruled the Indonesian political atmosphere from 1965 to 2000, with the succession of Mayors of Surakarta, Sumanta, Kusnadar, Mari Wongso Prawiro, Suhartono, Hartomo and Imam Sutopo all having military backgrounds.

In a democratic society, it is expected that actors in policy formulation may agree on the existence of a problem but they may not share the same understanding of its causes or consequence (Greene 2005: 281). It is therefore, to be expected that the search for a solution to a problem will be contentious and subject to a wide variety of pressures, defeating efforts to consider policy options in a rational manners (Greene 2005). Regrettably, this did not happen in the case of policy formulation in Surakarta. All of the actors in Solo's policy formulation, including the city's DPRD, its mayor and its city government bureaucracy agreed on the existence of street vendors as being a problem, perceiving them to be a disturbance to other citizens and undermining the development and beauty of the city. They also tended to share the same understanding of the consequence; the street vendors must be controlled (Muslim 1996). What was not understood adequately were the reasons why they had become street vendors, why people from outside Solo migrated to Solo and what was their contribution to local

development, including the employment opportunities they created by themselves and their potential for contributing to the city government income. Consequently, the solution to what was universally defined as a problem was not contentious and was subject to a single opinion by the DPRD combined with the city government. There was a lack of a wide variety of pressures, defeating efforts to consider policy options in a rational manner as usually happens in plural democratic country. The city government and DPRD tended to protect the interests of elites, rich people and formal traders.

A second obstacle was the lack of organization among street vendors to articulate their voice and a lack of local NGOs that could encourage, support, and advocate for the street vendors to take part in the policy process. The local NGOs that were concerned with the issues of street vendors and provided advocacy for them, such as *KOMPIP-LESKAP*, did not emerge until 1997.

Street vendor organizations had not existed in the early 1990s because potential leaders were scared to try to set up an organization on behalf of street vendors because it could be classified as a '*gerakan makar*' (subversive movement) or opposition to the ruling party. During the New Order any citizen activity that was regarded as an opposition to the government policy or the ruling party would be accused of being subversive or part of the banned Indonesian Communist Party. Given the absence of organizational capacity, political participation was generally low (Robinson 1998).

A third barrier came from the social hierarchy of traditional Javanese society which placed street vendors in a lower social class and with a psychological restraint coming from their feeling of *prekewuh* (shy, afraid, unethical, not eligible to

participate, inferior). The Indonesian social system, especially Javanese society, still classified, recognized and used the dichotomy of '*wong gedhe*' and '*wong cilik*' (Gaffar 1986: 185).

The former refers to people with a high ranking position because of their wealth or property or position in the government. The latter refers to civil society groups who are usually represented as 'lower class' or 'poor' people. The relationship between the two different social classes is usually marked by the model of communication or language used between them. The *wong gedhe* will speak to the *wong cilik* with *ngoko*, the language form representing the lower evaluation of the lower class. Conversely, the *wong cilik* will speak to the *wong gedhe* with *kromo* or *kromo inggil*, a form used to define the *wong gedhe* as members of a high social class that must be appreciated and respected by the *wong cilik* with their correspondingly defining themselves as inferior people. This social hierarchy resulted in defective perspectives or misconceptions. In the government's perspective society in general did not know anything about politics and economy. Given this, they must be assisted, guided, and ordered with strong laws. Because the state officials assume themselves to be benevolent, the appropriate reward that the lower class must provide to the government is obedience to its order and to not carry out any activity which may be represented in the government's point of view as disobedience. In other words, because the street vendors were seen as *wong cilik* and the city government regard themselves as the benevolent rulers, all the *wong cilik* should do was to follow what the officials do and what the city government decides (Gaffar 1986: 185). Given the tight hierarchical relationship involved this caused psychological obstacles to the street vendors participating in decision making. Moreover, given the tight hierarchy between the two classes, any political communication was dominated by the *wong gedhe* and dialogical communication was lacking

because the *wong cilik* were restrained in speaking from their feelings of *prekewuh*. Given this relationship, the upper class tended to order the lower class and the lower class to follow, or to obey the decisions made by, the *wong gedhe*.

A fourth obstacle was from the socio economic conditions where street vendors were identified as living in poverty, and more focused on how to survive for themselves in their economic activities than in the wider political world. Street vendor participation was seen as useless by many of them because they were regarded by the city government as inferior people, weak people, '*sampah masyarakat*' (garbage of the society), '*wong ora kanggo*' (useless people) so that they were underestimated by the local authorities. Consequently, their interests were not heard and ignored. Given this city government rejection, any participation of the street vendors was absent or unrecognized.

In the post-Suharto era the desire of the street vendors to participate in the policy formulation has been high. Regrettably, their struggle from 2002 to revise Local Law No.8/1995 has not been successful. One of the reasons for this has been the lack of political will of the city's government as well as is Assembly. The city government's promise to accommodate the street vendor interests in a revision turned out to be only lip-service and has never materialized. The city government itself still strongly controls the structure and the process of participation and has restricted the street vendors in expressing their interests due the incompatibility of these with the priorities of the city's government and Assembly.

There was a lack of a supportive political will to revise the old law for street vendor betterment among the members of the 1999-2004 DPRD, the representatives of Solo's people. The Mayor Slamet Suryanto's slogan of *nguwongake uwong*,

meaning to humanize human beings or appreciate humans as human being, was not implemented sufficiently, in particular in the last year of his power in 2004. It was initially implemented to maximize his interests to gain support from the ordinary people, particularly the street vendors, until 2004. However, his reputation was declining by the end of 2004 with the middle and upper economic class people of Solo accusing him as being a bad mayor as he was assessed to be incapable of managing the street vendors as well as keeping the beauty of Solo city. So he proposed the 2004 draft for a revised law on street vendor regulation, which was in some ways more coercive than the existing 1995 Law, in order to improve his reputation in his attempt to retain his position in the forthcoming 2005 direct Mayoral election.

In early 2005, some of the street vendors attempted to propose their alternative draft to the new 2005-2010 DPRD in the hope that the city government as well as the DPRD would listen their interests but their expectation did not materialize. The promise of the DPRD to give information to the street vendors regarding their proposal draft in about 3 months was not kept. The lack of communication between the DPRD and the street vendors is obvious because of bureaucratic obstacles and competing interests among stakeholders in the DPRD. The DPRD's argument that the revision of this local law could not be conducted due to financial uncertainties affecting Solo's 2005 Annual Budget could be understood and accepted by the street vendors. Nevertheless, although the 2006 Annual Budget improved due to major financial support from the central government and an increase in locally raised revenue, there was still no response to the street vendors proposal for the revision of the law.

In the two Mayoral periods of the reform era, Slamet Suryanto's 10 April 2000 to 10 April 2005 and the first part of Joko Widodo's 2005 to the present, although there has been

believed to be a rise in the practice of democracy in Indonesia, Solo's street vendors have not been provided with a chance to revise this old local law which they see as far from just to them. The city government as well as the post-New Order DPRD that was believed to have a high sense of democracy even kept the Law produced by the New Order regime as the main legal basis for ruling the street vendors. In other words, the city government as well as the DPRD did not accommodate street vendors' interests that did not match with their own.

In addition, street vendors have suffered from elements in their own organizational culture and tradition that has become part of the barriers to their participating more. There are three significant characteristics of this. First, the citywide street vendor associations tend to be dependent on the capacity of their leaders and lack other internal capabilities. The criteria of leader capacity as usually perceived by the street vendors are based on his outward performance such as his capability to communicate, his intelligence and physical appearance. If the leader becomes busy with some activities other than the issues of the street vendors, the organization starts declining, as in the weakening of *Gudang Kalimas* and *Pedang Kaliso*. The latter organization was also too dependent on the support from the officials of *KOMPIP* and *SOMPIS*; and when these were busy and gave only limited attention, its officials lacked confidence to run it. Moreover, the citywide street vendor organization also tends to only respond temporarily to immediate external threats. They will rise when there is an 'enemy' or other stimulus from outside but when the situation is peaceful, there is no activity. This indicates that these citywide organizations did not have capability to have sustainable activity because their existence tends to be dependent on the capacity of the leader himself rather than on the capacity of the whole membership. The members only work together when they need to but when the external conditions they face are normal they tended to

ignore them. They have not seen the organizations as necessities that may facilitate their achieving sustainability by keep their business livelihood surviving.

Second, the culture has tendencies to be fragmented and lack coordination and collaboration due to distrust between the street vendors. There were more than 5,000 of these vendors in Solo. However, not all of them were well organized. As well as those described in this study there were many other street vendor groups that are not affiliated to any other citywide organization. The existence of the citywide organizations was supported by only about 50 per cent of the total number of location-based groups in Solo, indicating that these associations did not represent the interests of all street vendors in Solo and tends to be fragmented and not well coordinated.

Moreover, the relationship between *Forkom* and *SOMPIS* and the emergence of *Pedang Kaliso* indicates that among the street vendors themselves there is a tendency to distrust each other. Aris Dono in his collaboration with *SOMPIS* and *KOMPIP* did not trust *Forkom* as being the appropriate organization to accommodate the Solo street vendors' interests and so, supported by these two organizations, he preferred to form a new citywide organization. Similarly, Joko Suryadi preferred to leave *SOMPIS* which was believed to be the client of *KOMPIP*, and his distrust in this local NGO caused him to prefer a cooperation with another local NGO, *YAPHI*.

Third, the culture has tendencies of opportunism and self-maximizing. For example, the case of Joko Suryadi helping the city government to remove street vendors trading in General Sudirman Street and causing them to collapse indicated that the leader tends be opportunistic. The original reasons why he was elected was because street vendors and

the officials of *SOMPIS* and *KOMPIP* all trusted him as the person who hopefully could help street vendors against any other government actions that negatively affected their welfare. However, after his election the leader not only undermined the function of *Forkom* as a tool of the street vendors to protect their vulnerable livelihoods but also represented a leadership tendency to be self-maximizing while ignoring the interests of street vendors as a whole. The organization tends to be abused to achieve the leader's own goals. However, some leaders of the location-based groups also tended to opportunism; on the one hand looking for support from their citywide association in their struggles but on the other hand being pro the city government actions that may affect other street vendors' future livelihoods. An example is the leader of *Panglimatomo* who, it was claimed, had two faces. Other location-based groups of street vendors, for example the *Manunggal Karya* group in Kalilarangan Street, the PPSK-UNS group in Ki Hajar Dewantara Street and another group in Kota Barat, may not need the existence of the citywide organizations because without them they could survive and be secure because they were supported by the power holders.

The citywide street vendor associations themselves were fragmented and although they have similar missions to change the attitude towards them of the city officials, they have different approaches resulting from the leaders being narrow-minded and egoistic and reluctant to make cooperation among them to achieve their shared goals. Joko Suryadi tended to agree with Slamet Suryanto's policy which had emphasized the peacefulness of Solo rather than *Solo Berseri*, but Aris Dono was concerned about the 2004 draft law on the street vendors being more coercive than the old 1995 operating version and that make him and his groups scare although it was not implemented strictly until Slamet Suryanto resigned. Aris Dono also thought that the implementation of the local law was seen as far from just,

and also had worried about the strong policy exercised by the current city government towards street vendors recently. But when he needed more support from the officials of the *KOMPIP-LESKAP* their support for him was minimal because some of them had been co-opted by the city government while others were busy looking for jobs for their own future. On the contrary, Joko Suryadi disagreed with Joko Widodo's policy toward the street vendors that tends to put an emphasis on the *Solo Berseri* policy that favoured the interests of the elite, rich people and large traders at the expense of marginalizing the poor street vendors.

The different leadership styles of Joko Suryadi and Aris Dono, leading to different approaches in dealing with the city government policy, and egoism may have weakened the strength of city street vendors as a whole. This weakness may have resulted in the entirety of street vendors in Solo not being able to organize enough capacity to force the city government and the DPRD to revise the 1995 Law. The physical power demonstrated by Joko Suryadi was not enough because the city government themselves could also use their power in cooperation with the police and military that was stronger than Joko Suryadi had. Aris Dono's capacity to lobby the DPRD was also weak. He was too dependent on power being provided from the outside, in particular from the *KOMPIP-LESKAP*. When that power was co-opted by other powerful groups, he could not carry out significant actions. Moreover, there was a tendency of the city government as well as the DPRD to not revise this local law. Their promise to accommodate the street vendors' aspiration for revising the old local law appeared to have been just for lip service and never came into reality. Thus the proposal for revising the old local law may have failed because of the internal weaknesses of the street vendors' citywide organizations, which were compounded by the DPRD being unresponsive in understanding the problems experienced by the street vendors.

Such an unresponsiveness and ignoring of the street vendors' proposed participation, however, could mean that they lack accountability to the street vendors. The street vendors were required to follow the rules set by others but do not receive adequately their rights and they did not have a sense that their preferences and needs were being understood. This situation not only indicates a lack of responsiveness and thus lack of accountability to the street vendors from the city government and the DPRD but also undermines Article 44 of the Indonesia Law No. 39/1999 Concerning Human Rights:

every citizen, both individually and collectively, has the right to submit orally or in writing requests, complaints and/or proposals to the government for the implementation of clean, effective and efficient government, in line with prevailing legislation.

The efforts of Afrendi, the street vendors of the area surrounding the *Kasunanan Surakarta* who joined with *Pedang Kaliso* together with Aris Dono and his friends to propose the 2005 alternative draft for a new local law, shows that street vendors' efforts to have better lives, a sustainable livelihood and social justice also finds obstacles because they are not only controlled by the city government, but also by the formal business sector which is supported by the local aristocratic family and the city government. The city government keep control over street vendors by implementing a successful divide and rule approach, which has effectively undermined the solidarity and unity of the street vendor groups in Surakarta.

Conclusion

Despite the concerted efforts of the vendors little progress has been made to meet their demands for social justice, not only because of the lack of political will from the authorities, business and aristocratic family, but because of the lack of co-ordination amongst the street vendors compounded by a

lack of continuing local NGO support, a lack of resources and a lack of organizational capacity. The divide and rule strategies used by the city government or a combination of the city government and aristocratic family privileging the formal business sector to control street vendors had caused them to become increasingly fragmented and unable to coordinate effectively across the different interests of street vendor groups.

Their poverty has been exploited not only by the authorities, but also by the business sector and the aristocratic family. Divide and rule has been achieved by giving resources and preferences to some at the expense of others and by employing others to enforce the will of the authorities or worse, some are employed to bully street vendors into leaving areas wanted by others for their own interests.

This approach to divide and rule has succeeded in undermining coordination and collaboration by creating distrust among the street vendors. As a result the vendors are encouraged to be opportunistic and self-maximizing while they remain fragile and unprotected. It is recommended that solidarity networks need to be established with the help of national and international NGOs to enable vendors to lobby for the rights of informal sector workers.

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Leaders of Change: Social entrepreneurship and the creation of ecologies of solutions

Kathia Castro Laszlo

The line of inquiry on evolutionary learning communities (ELCs) to promote evolutionary development (ED) seeks to identify the conditions by which people can self-organize to learn, design and implement actions that will improve their quality of life and their socio-ecological milieu. In the fall of 2007, the Universal Forum of Cultures took place in the city of Monterrey, Mexico. This UNESCO sponsored world event offered an opportunity to implement an evolutionary learning community with local citizens to bridge the knowledge of the Forum with the sustainable development needs of the local community. Over two hundred citizens responded to the call to join the “Leaders of Change” initiative. The ELC was conceived as a group of potential social entrepreneurs who came together to learn, identify possibilities, and support each other in the development of projects to translate their vision into action. This article reports on the design, process, and outcomes of the eight-month action research project as well as the outcomes, reflections from the experience and implications for future research.

From knowledge based development to evolutionary development

Monterrey, the capital of the northeastern Mexican state of Nuevo León, has historically been considered an industrial city. In the last few years, a major shift has begun to propel the region beyond the confines of physical industrialization and transform it into a knowledge city. Industrialization in Monterrey was launched in the mid-19th century by the steel company *Fundidora de Fierro y Acero Monterrey*, which

accelerated the emergence of today's Mexican leading multinational companies such as Cemex (cement), Vitro (glass), and FEMSA (beverages). Today, a new economic revolution is underway: in 2004 the State of Nuevo León decided to give a new strategic business orientation to the region by making Monterrey into an International Knowledge City. One of its core objectives is to position the State of Nuevo León, and in particular Monterrey, as the main Latin American IT supplier for the United States of America and Canada (Sada 2006). It is a vision that will transform Monterrey from an industrial center to a knowledge and cultural hub. Monterrey's reputation across Mexico is of an entrepreneurial and international city, so the transformation toward a knowledge hub is congruent with the values and aspirations of its people.

The intention is to increase the gross economic output of the state of Nuevo León through industries and economic activities based on knowledge, research and technological development. The government of the state of Nuevo León defines a knowledge city as a geographic territory where government, business, and society devise a strategic plan for the common purpose of building a knowledge based economy (*Monterrey Ciudad Internacional de Conocimiento* 2007).

Within the field of knowledge management, the application of knowledge strategies to promote economic development of cities and regions has been denominated "knowledge-based development." There seem to be two recognized purposes: On the one hand, it is clear from the literature that knowledge-based development (KBD) is a powerful strategy for economic growth and the post-industrial development of cities and nations to participate in the knowledge economy. For example, technical and scientific knowledge for the innovation of products and services, market knowledge for

understanding changes in consumer choices and tastes, financial knowledge to measure the inputs and outputs of production processes, and more recently human knowledge in the form of skills and creativity, are all codified within an economic model that seeks financial returns (Lever 2002: 861). On the other hand, there are approaches to knowledge-based development that indicate the intention to increase the skills and knowledge of people as a means for individual and social development, eventually making prescribed formal education less needed (Gonzalez, *et al* 2005: 109-110). Of course, this is not to say that human development precludes formal education any more than the advent of telecommuting precludes air travel; it merely makes it less of a necessity.

These two objectives are implicit in some of the communications (e.g., websites and public presentations) that describe the project Monterrey International Knowledge City. As part of the overall strategy and to use it as a launching path, the state of Nuevo León requested to be the host for the second Universal Forum of Cultures in the Fall of 2007. The first iteration of this UNESCO sponsored global event took place in Barcelona in 2004. The Universal Forum of Cultures “summons people instead of countries or governments; it is the civil society that reflects on the problems and challenges of humanity with the purpose of improving the well being of the present” (Forum Monterrey 2007).

In the transition from an industrial to a knowledge city, the Forum offered a clear opportunity to capitalize on the throughput of information, knowledge, technology, energy, values and people to accelerate this important transition and to leave a legacy of progress in service of both local and global sustainable development. However, even with the international infusion of expertise on topics related to a

global agenda, the two interrelated main purposes of KBD (i.e., an increase in intellectual and human capital to bring about more creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship that will positively impact economic possibilities) can very well continue to operate within a framework of 'business as usual' that focuses on economic growth at the expense of the social and environmental impacts that a single focus on economic growth can create.

The research on evolutionary development (Laszlo & Laszlo 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007) has been focused on expanding the boundary of KBD to incorporate a systems and complexity perspective to development strategies. Carrillo (cited in Gonzalez, *et al* 2005: 108, emphasis added) considers that the first success factor for KBD initiatives is "a leadership committed, above all, with the sustainable wellbeing of *its* community." From an evolutionary development perspective, this community cannot be anything less than the whole *planetary* community of humans and all other living and life support systems. The interconnectedness of cultural and political systems around the world, and the common challenges of climate change and resource depletion demand that local and regional strategies of development are in sync with these global realities.

As a result, a third purpose of KBD has been proposed to foster evolutionary development (Laszlo & Laszlo 2007): the purpose of contributing to a socially, culturally and environmentally sustainable learning society - one that address the most pressing global issues of our time while enabling our collective creative capacity to produce life-affirming, future-creating, and opportunity-increasing realities. KBD, as a meta-field that seeks to manage the best utilization of the diverse array of human knowledge (from all scientific disciplines and cultural traditions) for the

stewarding of human activity systems, has a strong say in the kind of outcomes promoted by development initiatives.

To include this third purpose, there is a need to recast those who live in a knowledge economy as more than knowledge workers. In reality, only a fraction of a city's population would have the educational level and capacities to be employed in knowledge industries such as information technology and biotechnology. The real impact of a knowledge city is in the empowerment of knowledge citizens. Carrillo (2004) defines knowledge citizens as a better educated (formally or informally), critical and informed population that is ready to participate in civic life, is politically active, is interested in a better quality of life for itself and the next generations, including concern for healthy lifestyles and less dependence on consumption, is appreciative of artistic expression and cultural activities, and is more competent in human relations. Knowledge citizens do not have to be PhDs in computer sciences, but have access to information and knowledge through communication technologies that enable them to be active participants in the shaping of their life and their interdependent future. Knowledge citizens make possible a learning society. A learning society describes the human and social capital that makes possible a knowledge city. Learning is the process of acquisition and creation of knowledge, while knowledge is the outcome of such a process. The knowledge city may be thought of as the hardware: the infrastructure for learning and knowledge creation. The learning society is the software: the culture of learning, creativity and innovation that distributes the benefits of access to knowledge across society by offering a higher quality of life and greater opportunities for meaningful living. A knowledge city, without knowledge citizens, would create a polarization of those with access to the ivory towers of the complex and expensive info-tech industries, universities and research institutions

and those who continue to live at the low-tech margins of society.

The purpose of evolutionary development is to foster a global sustainable learning society: one that has a high level of exchange and interconnections among the population and institutions around the world in order to inform local development strategies with lessons learned in different contexts. No community, city or country is isolated. Information and communication technology is enabling the exchange necessary to develop strategies with local and global relevance. Our ability to respond to sustainability challenges requires collaboration among governments, businesses and civil society across regional, national and international boundaries for the creation of a viable shared future.

Evolutionary development: Expanding the horizon

Knowledge citizens are individuals capable not only of following prescribed instructions but also of improving and creating solutions. They do not expect government to solve societal problems, but understand that their ideas and participation are an essential component of finding solutions and creating alternatives. Similar to the change in education from an emphasis on knowledge reception to interactive learning (Laszlo & Laszlo 2002), the notion of knowledge citizens shifts the locus of control to the people: their interests, ideas, and aspirations are key in defining the what, how and why of change. Knowledge citizens are active participants in the improvement of their quality of life and in the shaping of their society.

Evolutionary development is a systemic and strategic view of development that prioritizes economic, human, social, cultural and ecological needs as equally important in the

dynamic search for improved quality of life and ongoing viability of living systems. Since it seeks to create a metastable dynamic interaction between human and natural systems, evolutionary development is a proposal that includes and goes beyond sustainable development. Sustainable development is the next evolutionary challenge for humanity. It involves mastery of the flows of resources and energy on this planet to stop the destruction of ecosystems and find a stable path of co-existence. Evolutionary development moves beyond the search for a balanced equation between supply and demand of resources, to explore the evolutionary creative potential of human beings in partnership with Earth. This involves not only the redesign of the economic system but also the evolution of institutions and cultures.

Figure 1 shows the transition from unsustainable development to evolutionary development, using as a framework the funnel of the Natural Step (Nattrass & Altomare 1999). The funnel is a conceptual framework that represents the closing of options and the narrowing of possibilities if we continue to use more resources at a more rapid rate than the earth's ability to regenerate them. Continuing on the unsustainable path of development, with a single focus on economic growth and considering social and environmental impacts as externalities, leads to the intersection of the two walls of this funnel which represent civilizational collapse. Sustainable development, using this framework, means stabilizing these two trends: curbing our resource consumption, reusing and recycling, generating energy from renewable sources, and finding ways to do more with less. However, much of the emphasis of sustainable development is on the scarcity of resources. There is a very hopeful response from the business sector in terms of showing their corporate citizenship by adopting eco-efficient strategies and innovating products and services

that are environmentally friendly. Yes, this kind of innovation may result on green buildings and clean energy, but unless parallel to these infrastructural changes there is a commensurable transformation on the consciousness of people, redefining the purpose of our existence and the quality of our relationships to each other and the planet, we may find ourselves living “green” but meaningless, disconnected, stressful and conflicting lives.

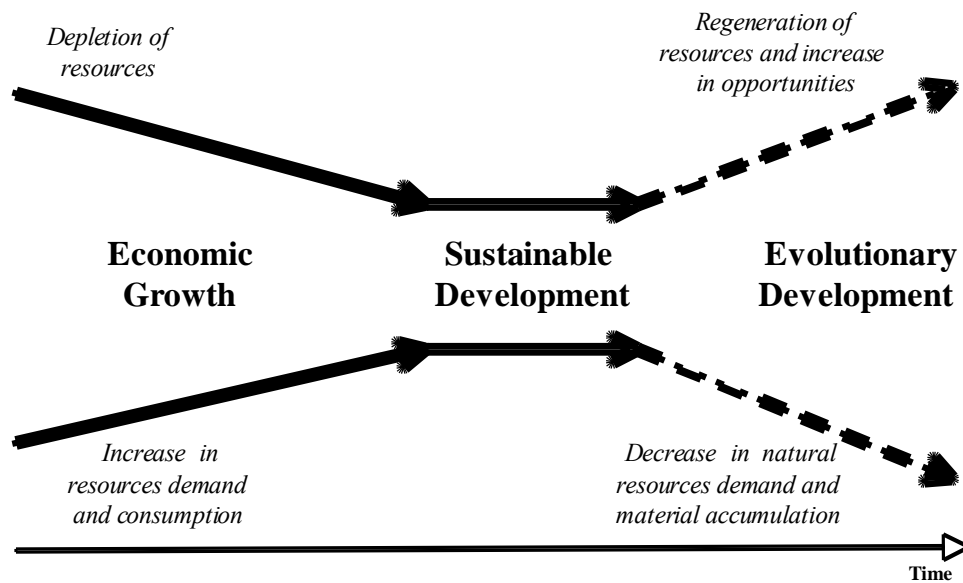


Figure 1. Beyond sustainable development.

Evolutionary development includes sustainable development, that is, our ability to live within the Earth’s carrying capacity to satisfy our material needs without robbing future generations of their right to also do so. However, it presents a broader vision that redefines the meaning of being human and the possibilities of mastering living in syntony (or dynamic harmony) with our socio-cultural and natural environments.

Evolutionary development is grounded in a mental model of abundance. This abundance is systemic. As it was well

articulated by Donella Meadows (1973) more than 30 years ago, there are real limits to growth based on the carrying capacity of the Earth's ecosystems. The limits to growth become apparent when the main industrial processes that extract natural resources, transform them into products and services, and commercialize them are linear in nature: the take-make-waste production line. But nature's design is systemic and cyclical. Nature doesn't produce waste, only food for other systems: the exhausted CO₂ from animals is food for plants; and decomposed leaves are food for the soil. It is in these cycles of renewal that systemic abundance is created: an abundance not in terms of unlimited resources, but rather unlimited cycles of regeneration to sustain life.

Collaborative social entrepreneurship

We are living unsustainable lives and most of the social systems in today's world (business, schools, healthcare system) were not designed with sustainability in mind. Nevertheless, public, private and social institutions are starting to acknowledge that our global civilization is going on the direction of collapse, and there are clear indicators of the decline of political, economic, and ecological systems (Diamond 2005).

The solution of the complex global problems (including poverty, armed conflicts, environmental degradation, global warming) cannot be left to business and government leaders alone: most solutions and alternatives require cultural and behavioral changes both at institutional and individual levels. For example, strategies to address global warming involve reducing CO₂ emissions. In addition to the regulations and programs for carbon reduction or CO₂ sequestration by industries and other institutional players, there are many actions that citizens can take to do their part: their consumption options, transportation choices and lifestyles can either contribute or ameliorate global warming.

Because of the power that people have to achieve change, there are initiatives that seek to harvest the collective power of individuals to support social change. For example, CarbonRally.com is an organization that creates healthy and fun competition among teams (of students, neighbors, coworkers, or whoever wants to accept the challenge) to reduce their carbon footprint through small but significant changes in their daily lives.

CarbonRally is an example of a social enterprise. Its founder, Jason Karas (2008), combined his business expertise and his concern for the environment to create a company that makes money through corporate sponsorships while engaging communities around the world in a friendly and fun competition to respond to global warming:

I'm concerned that our CO₂ emissions could have rough consequences for the next generation, and that time is running out to address the problem. That said, I'm optimistic that we can do something about it. The past year has seen a remarkable increase in awareness, corporate initiatives, technical innovation, and policy. To win, we'll need to couple all of these advances with personal action on a massive scale.

A few friends and I created Carbonrally in late 2007. I have a dozen years of experience in corporate strategy and new product development in the telecoms industry, and advanced degrees in business and environmental economics from Duke University. My favorite job these days is being the dad of two little kids. My time outdoors with them is motivating me to do something about climate change. I've realized it's time to RALLY UP. I hope you will join me.

Social entrepreneurs have the vision, creativity and determination usually associated with business entrepreneurs. However, they are committed to produce lasting social change. The profit motive is not their priority. Social entrepreneurs create innovative organizations that apply management and business expertise for efficient operation, although they can be either for profit or nonprofit, with the purpose of creating social value (Guía de Emprendimiento Social para Lideres de Cambio 2007: 1).

Entrepreneurial activity is encouraged by governments and universities. It is a means to promote economic development and to create new jobs. New business incubators provide vital services to entrepreneurs to support the development and implementation of their business idea through access to information, work space, legal and financial services, among other features. The development of entrepreneurs has parallels with the development of leaders: traditionally it has been seen as a process of development of *individual* capacities and each entrepreneur receives the support necessary to increment the possibilities of success.

Social entrepreneurs face similar challenges to launch their ventures. They need advice and support to translate their idea into action and initial resources to scale their idea before it can be self-sustaining. However, since they are focused on social problems, it would make sense to see the development of social entrepreneurs as an intrinsically collaborative process that connects entrepreneurs addressing interrelated issues. This is the notion of the ecosystem of solutions: a network of social entrepreneurs, collaborating in the implementation of their solutions, and learning from each other in order to create synergies for the common good. In other words, creating evolutionary learning communities (ELCs) (Laszlo & Laszlo 2000, 2004; Laszlo 2001) to empower social entrepreneurs to act collectively, may be a useful strategy.

The notion of ecologies of solutions or collaborative social entrepreneurship shifts the emphasis from the individual contributions and sees the real impact in the new connections and relationships that will enable a deeper cultural transformation. If social entrepreneurship continues to focus on individual entrepreneurs and their enterprises, we will be cultivating individual trees instead of a forest. The

'business as usual' business mindset values competition over cooperation. This mindset is frequently adopted by social entrepreneurs, resulting in the creation of new (green) products and services that generate a profit but may not make a significance difference in shifting direction away from unsustainable trends. But if a more systemic and evolutionary mindset informs the actions of social entrepreneurs, then in addition to innovative solutions we would have a fertile ground for the emergence of a new culture, an hybrid between business and nonprofit practices, that is aligned with the larger shift required for sustainable and evolutionary development.

Dialogues at the Forum Monterrey 2007

A culture of learning is both a path and a destination for evolutionary development - a process that relies on participatory action research from a systems perspective. The vision of a sustainable learning society implies a society whose members have developed the policies, strategies and programs to balance the economic, human, social, cultural and ecological needs through processes of learning, participation, collaboration and inquiry. The creation of a sustainable learning society requires bringing people together through dialogue to define the paths that make sense to them; the ways forward that are meaningful and feasible given their values, situation, talents and aspirations. The creation of a sustainable learning society begins by enabling and empowering individuals in community to develop their competencies and sensibilities to meet their personal, economic, social, and environmental needs.

Monterrey's current vision and initiative as a knowledge city is primarily focused on the economic growth dimension. Yet, the Forum Monterrey 2007 had a broader agenda organized in four themes (1) cultural diversity, (2) sustainability, (3)

knowledge and (4) peace. The local relevance of these themes for the region is equal to its global timeliness:

1. Cultural diversity: Although Mexico is rich in regional cultural diversity, with many indigenous groups and distinct cultural traditions in each state, there is a strong dominant homogeneity that characterize Mexican culture. The border states with the United States of America blend into their local cultures the influence from the powerful northern neighbor. Nuevo León is one of these border states and Monterrey is a city with an openness and appreciation for international cultures. Monterrey has several world class universities, attracting regularly international students and visiting professors from all continents and it is an international business center since it is the home for large multinational corporations. With the program of Monterrey as International Knowledge City, several IT companies from India have established operations in the city because of its geographical location and engineering talent (Laszlo, Laszlo & De Fougères 2008). These conditions position Monterrey as a new multicultural center.
2. Environmental sustainability: Water shortage has been an issue for Monterrey for decades. With the growth of the city, air contamination is becoming a health problem. However, the public transportation system is inefficient and unsafe and there are not enough regulations to reduce industrial and household pollution. The city lacks of an effective and comprehensive recycling program. The whole country's infrastructure is dependent on oil and the efforts to reduce energy consumption and to develop alternative energy sources are insufficient. Environmental sustainability is not yet a priority. It

is not part of the compass to set development policy.

3. Knowledge: Although this is cornerstone for the region's development strategy, there is a huge need to increase the educational level of the population to shift to knowledge-based development.

Industrialized nations have a population with an average of 15 years of formal education. Mexico's average in 2003 was 7.8 years. There has been steady improvement since in the 1960s when the average was 2.6 years of education. Nuevo León is among the states with higher educational levels: the state average is 9.1 years while poorer states in the South, such as Chiapas, have a state average of 5.9 (Salgado 2009). The Forum's Dialogues and events provided a venue to inform and educate the general population on topics that formal education may not address yet. Educational institutions were able to involve their students and educators in the Forum to enrich their curriculum. The Forum provided valuable resources in the formation of knowledge citizens with a more global perspective.

4. Peace: Armed conflicts have been part of recent Mexican history in the south (e.g., Chiapas) where social injustice has forced indigenous groups to organize in guerrillas and defend their rights. In the last 5 years, a noticeable increase in violence lead by drug dealers has put Mexican society in a constant state of fear. Mexican culture shares strong connections with Catholicism (e.g., the influence of the Guadalupe Virgin in popular culture) and there is pride in the importance of family values across the country. However, these values are being shaken by the insecurity created by extreme inequality: the gap between rich and poor has lead to organized crime in the form of kidnapping and

murders as means for economic recompense. These realities were external to Monterrey for many decades but not anymore. Social justice and peace are inextricably connected.

These themes were explored during 8 weeks with a series of educational and cultural events that comprise the Forum's agenda of "Dialogues" (see table 1).

Table 1. Dialogues agenda.

Week	Dialogues theme	Date
1	Peace and Spirituality	25-30 September 2007
2	Education, Science and Technology	2-7 October 2007
3	Cities, Population and Natural Resources	9-14 October 2007
4	Knowledge Based Development	16-21 October 2007
5	Health and Quality of Life	23-28 October 2007
6	Governance, Participation, Human Rights and Justice	30 October-4 November 2007
7	Identity, Diversity and Cultural Policy	6-11 November 2007
8	Communication	13-18 November 2007

Given the educational and cultural purpose of the Forum, the Dialogues component played an important role in engaging people in considering and integrating new perspectives. Jorge Angel Diaz, the Director of Dialogues for the Forum Monterrey 2007, explained that dialogue could be more than a communication exchanged between two or more people. The dialogue that each of us can have within ourselves when we engage with an author (through reading

his or her writing) or through the appreciation of a work of art are important forms of dialogue (Diaz 2006). It is through dialogue that we learn. In essence, dialogue means thinking together. Without the Dialogues component, the Forum Monterrey 2007 would have been an enjoyable and memorable event. However, through the Dialogues, the Forum sought to expand consciousness, introduce new questions, and spark interest in people to seek their own answers (Diaz 2006).

The Forum Monterrey 2007 attracted four million visitors to the city of Monterrey during the eight weeks of the event (Montemayor 2009). The Dialogues agenda was carried out through conferences and panel discussions in which the general public was invited to participate. However, their participation was passive in most of the cases, since the emphasis was put on listening to national and international experts who were brought to present their views on the topics selected. The audience was there primarily to listen and the level of participation was generally limited to a few questions at the end of the event. In other words, there were not enough spaces for true, interactive and participatory dialogue among the citizens and visitors attending the events.

Anticipating that this was going to be the case given the scale of the event, a collaboration between three organizations was created: the Forum Monterrey 2007, the EGADE (Graduate School of Business Administration and Leadership) of the private university Tecnológico de Monterrey and the educational non-profit organization Syntony Quest. Their collaboration focused on creating an Evolutionary Learning Community (ELC) as a space where a selected group of citizens could engage in deep, interactive dialogue to learn from each other, integrate the knowledge from the Forum, develop new capacities, and apply them in

social entrepreneurship projects. The name of this initiative was *Líderes de Cambio* ('Leaders of Change') and it was an initial effort to expand the boundaries from a knowledge city, with economic and technological objectives, to a sustainable learning society, with human, socio-cultural and ecosystemic dimensions as well. 'Leaders of Change' was also conceived as part of the legacy of the Forum: a strategy to connect the world event with the long term transformation toward a knowledge city and sustainable learning society – from the bottom up.

Leaders of Change: The design of the initiative

The main purpose of Leaders of Change was to plant the seeds for an ecology of solutions generated by a diverse group of citizens as a result of their participation in the Forum Monterrey 2007. With such a wonderful array of knowledge resources available as a result of the agenda of events of the Dialogues of the Forum, the Leaders of Change initiative was a small effort to intentionally facilitate dialogue among a small group of citizens to catalyze further learning and action. It was an opportunity to bridge the Forum as an event to the International Knowledge City initiative as a longer-term socio-cultural transformative process.



Figure 2. Call for participation through the Forum Monterrey 2007's website: "Wanted 100 Leaders. Leave a legacy in your community and become a leader of change!"

The formal sponsored process of Leaders of Change was conceived as an eight-month action research process that began before the launching of the Forum, from August 2007 (one month before the inauguration of the Forum) to March 2008 (four months after the conclusion of the Forum). Some seed funding as well as in-kind donations such as access to meeting facilities and food were obtained for the project.

The methodological foundations of this action research project included: 1) a participatory inquiring orientation (Heron & Reason 1997) that integrating different ways of knowing; and 2) an evolutionary systems design perspective (Laszlo 2001) which provided a systemic and evolutionary view of development to help participants see the “big picture,” develop leadership and collaboration skills, and engage in design conversations about solutions and possible futures. The process began as a structured training session that involved participants in dialogue and a collaborative exploration. As time went by, the structure became more open-ended and the initiative of participants to decide what to do and how to do it became more relevant for the success of the process.

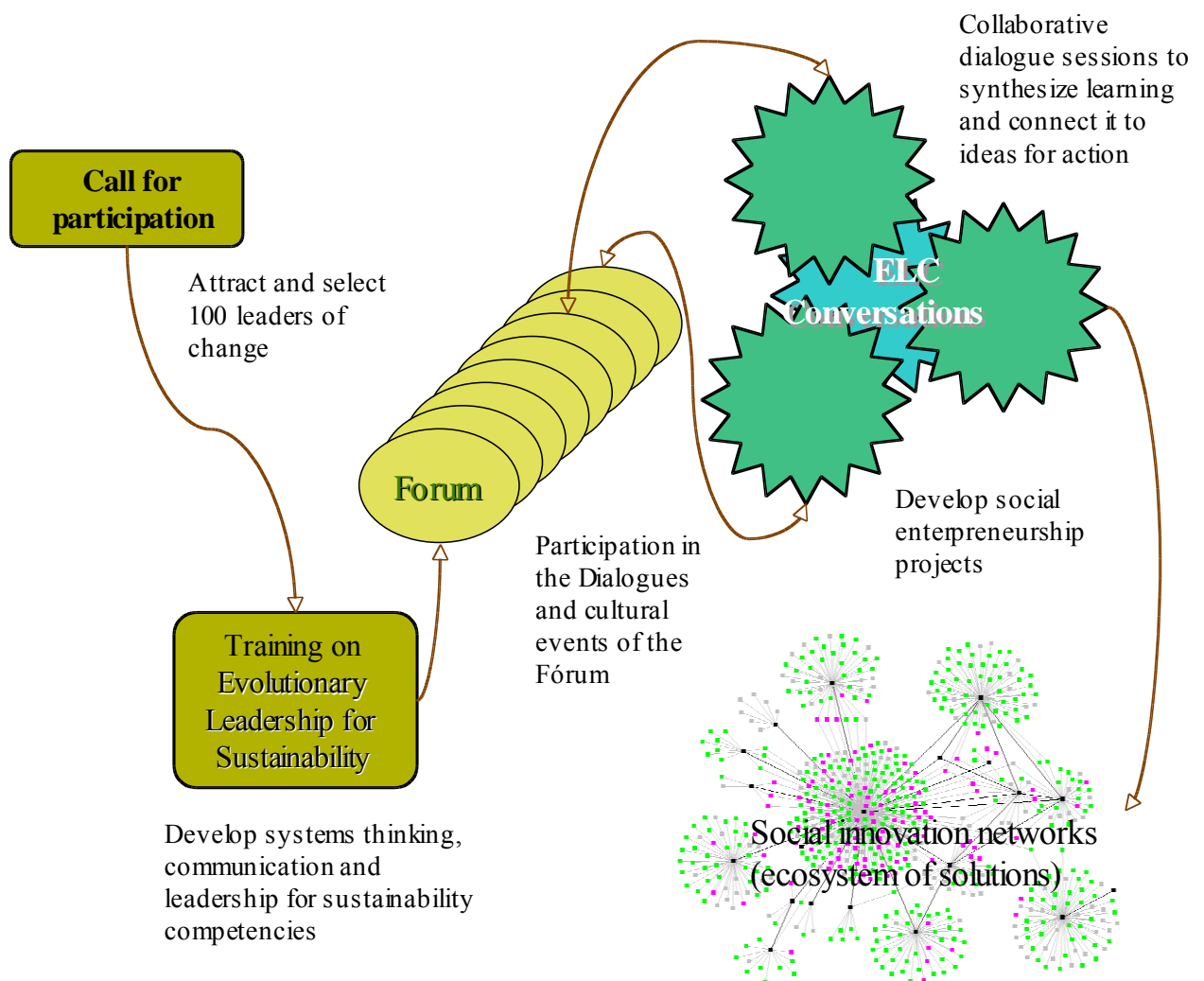


Figure 3. Design of „Leaders of Change“ process

Characteristics of the initial group of Leaders of Change

A call for participation was launched in mid June through the official website of the Forum (www.ForumMonterrey2007.org) and the Tecnológico de Monterrey’s university radio station³⁹. The message of the

³⁹ Radio spot message: “The Universal Forum of Cultures, the Graduate School of Business Administration and Leadership of the Tecnológico de Monterrey, and the organization Syntony Quest invite the Monterrey community to participate in the initiative “LEADERS OF CHANGE.” If you are between 18 and 99 years old and wish to leave a legacy of wellbeing in your community... you have the qualities that we are seeking! For more information contact us at lidesdecambio@monterreyforum2007.org or call the number 8625-6170.

call sought to attract diverse participants with a common focus: a desire to learn and to be part of positive change in their community.

Interested citizens filled out an online questionnaire as part of the selection process. A total of 211 applications were received from which 112 citizens were accepted to participate based on an appraisal of their qualitative responses of why they wanted to be a Leader of Change and also based on their time availability to commit to the eight-month process.

The composition of the initial group was half males and half females. The age ranges covered from 18 to 65 years of age. The educational and occupational backgrounds, as well as the socioeconomic status of the group was diverse, representing different sectors of the local population (see figures 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8).

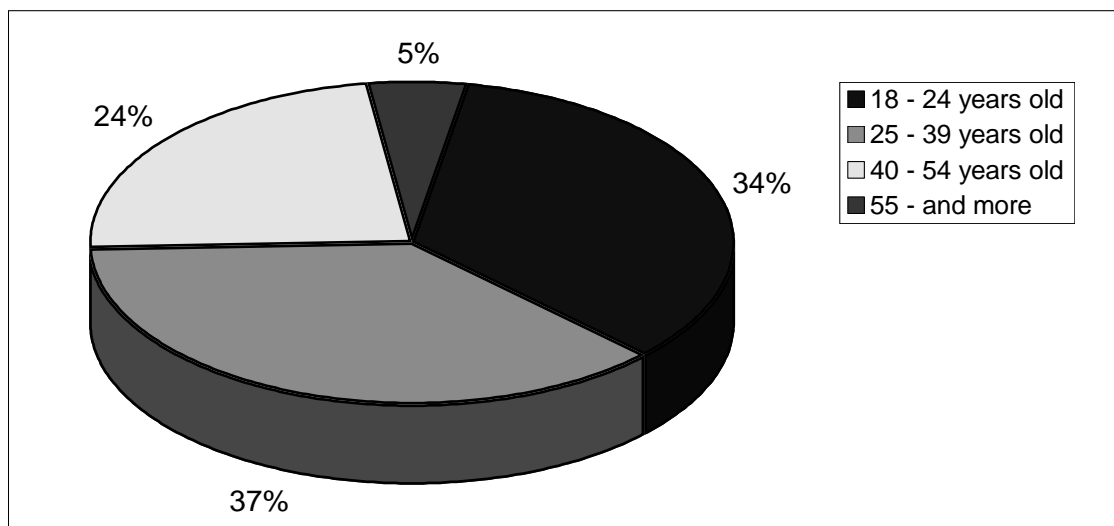


Figure 4. Age distribution of „Leaders of Change“.

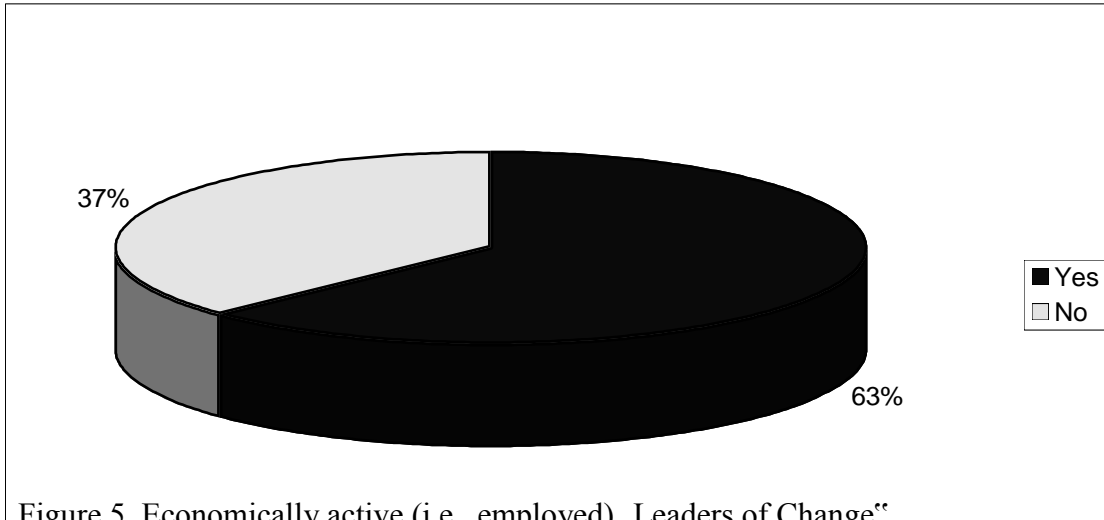


Figure 5. Economically active (i.e. employed) „Leaders of Change“

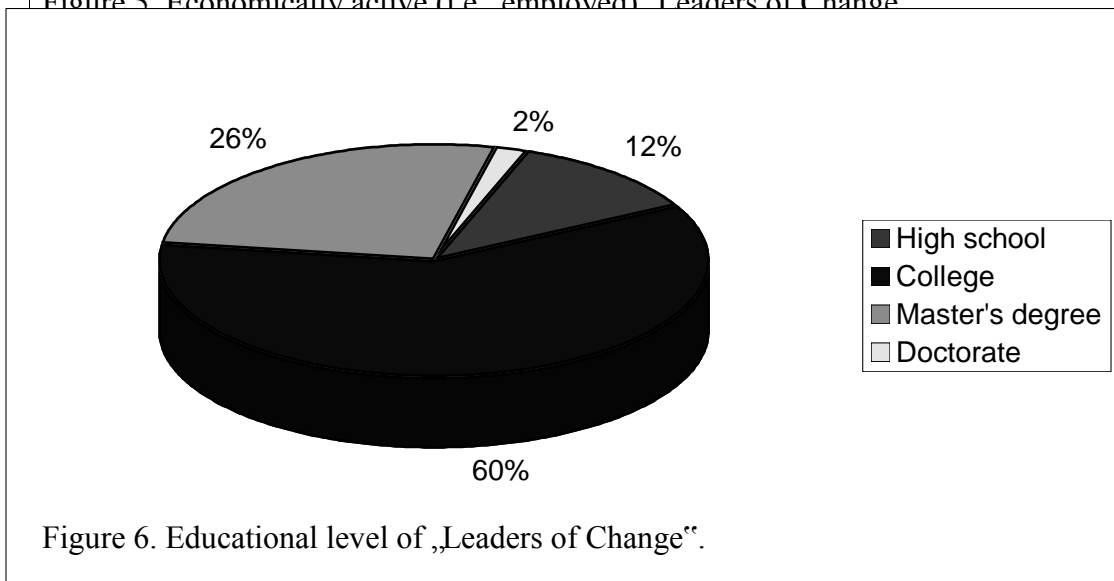


Figure 6. Educational level of „Leaders of Change“.

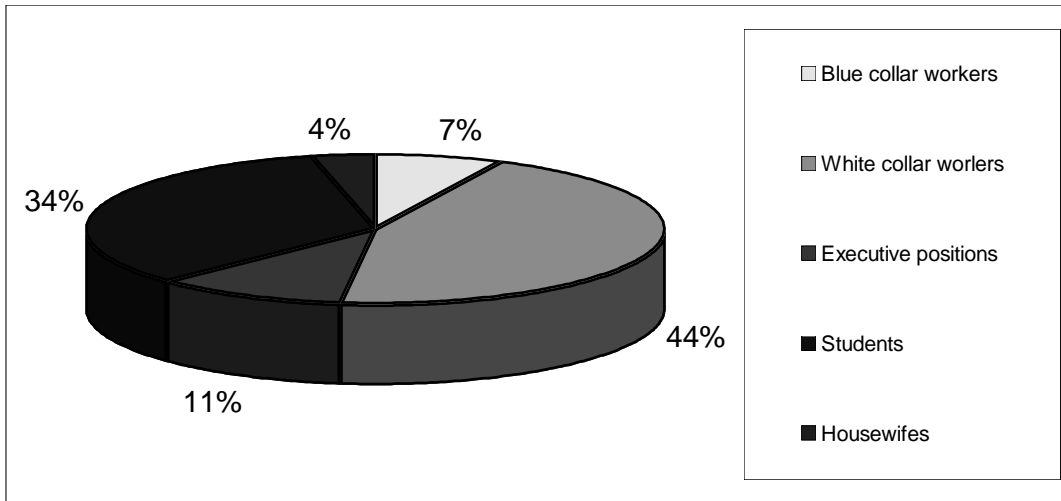
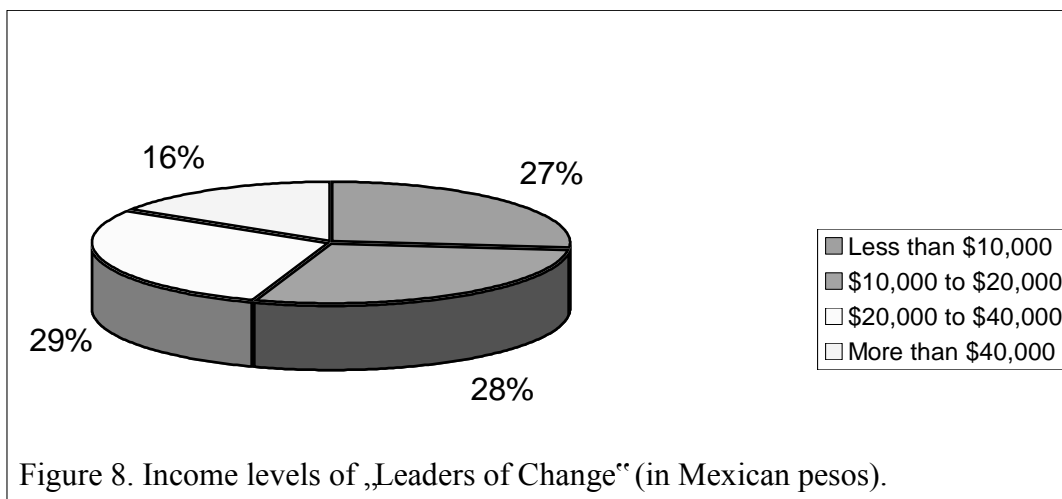


Figure 7. Occupations of „Leaders of Change“.



The process of Leaders of Change

The 112 individuals received a three-day training on Evolutionary Leadership for Sustainability a month before the Forum was inaugurated. The training focused on developing systems thinking, communication and collaboration skills and provided the evolutionary development framework for understanding social and environmental sustainability challenges and opportunities. Because of the size of the group and the characteristics meeting facilities available for this training, we offered the course twice for a group of approximately 50 participants each time. This made the learning process more interactive. During the three days of the training, the participants got to know each other and connected with their peers in a deeper way. An unexpected outcome was that these two subgroups maintained stronger internal bonds than with the larger group of 112 as a whole throughout the rest of the experience.

We brought together the whole group of Leaders of Change (or two subgroups according to their date of training) for eight collaborative learning sessions to create an evolutionary learning community through which we sought to facilitate three kinds of dialogue:

1. Generative dialogue for community building: Create a sense of belonging to the community through the development of interpersonal connections that are meaningful and lasting
2. Evolutionary dialogue for learning and knowledge creation: Facilitate the acquisition of knowledge and the development of skills through mutual support, sharing ideas and experiences, and access to learning resources.
3. Strategic dialogue for envisioning possibilities and catalyze actions: Generate solutions and action proposals that will be the source of self-empowerment for the participants as social change agents or social entrepreneurs in their communities.

Table 2. Schedule of sessions of the ELC.

Session No.	Date	Relation to Forum	Type of dialogue
1	8 September 2007	Before Forum	Generative dialogue
2	8 October 2007	During Forum	Generative and evolutionary dialogue
3	22 October 2007	During Forum	Evolutionary dialogue
4	5 November 2007	During Forum	Evolutionary dialogue
5	26 November 2007	During Forum	Evolutionary and strategic dialogue
6	5 January 2008	After Forum	Strategic dialogue
7	2 February 2008	After Forum	Strategic dialogue
8	1 March 2008	After Forum	Strategic dialogue

The explicit approach to learning fostered by ELCs seeks to generate personal, social and environmental transformation

for sustainability. One assumption of the process is that there is collective wisdom available that needs to be activated and accessed so that people can step forward to provide solutions to their own problems, as well as to create new possibilities for their future (A. Laszlo 2001, 2003).

Diaz (2006) considered that, as a result of these dialogues,

it will be possible to take certain clear actions in the future. That will be possible because opportunities will be generated. We will see horizons from which we may construct; the platforms on which we'd stand will allow us to know where we are and what our possibilities are. In the end, we will propose solutions for some of the dilemmas of humanity.

Lessons learned from the experience

The number of applications and the fact that we had 112 individuals who accepted being part of Leaders of Change was an indication that there is concern and interest to participate in social change initiatives from diverse citizens.

From a diffusion of innovations perspective (Rogers 1983), we expected to see the number of active participants diminish as the process advanced. There were a number of participants that were primarily attracted to Leaders of Change because of the (free) three-day training or as a way to stand out and have privileged access to the dialogues and cultural events during the Forum. However, they were disappointed when they found out that there was not real advantage or differentiated treatment but rather responsibility to carry forward the legacy of the Forum. These individuals stopped going to the sessions early in the process. Then there was natural attrition as the Forum was coming to an end and the emphasis was shifted from learning and reflecting on the themes of the Forum to their own ideas and initiatives for social entrepreneurial activity (see Table 3). Having a project idea or the commitment to

start a social enterprise was not part of the selection process. We were interested in seeing if the community building and learning within the ELC would foster social entrepreneurial spirit to a group of citizens that would not have been on a social entrepreneurial path without this initiative.

Table 3. Participation in ELC sessions.

Session No.	Date	Number of Participants
1	8 September 2007	87
2	8 October 2007	50
3	22 October 2007	40
4	5 November 2007	36
5	26 November 2007	40
6	5 January 2008	30
7	2 February 2008	21
8	1 March 2008	21

20 participants attended 75% or more of the sessions (between six and eight of the eight sessions) of the ELC. The other 92 participants attended five or less sessions. This means that 18% of the initial 112 participants completed the process, including the sessions that were focused on social entrepreneurship.

During the first session after the Forum (January 2008), with the 30 participants that attended we brainstormed and generated ideas for social enterprises based on their interests and learning in the previous months. In that session 26 project ideas were generated. By March 2008 there were eight projects (see table 4) with a defined team to further it.

However, they were only sketchy ideas and none of the projects had a proper business plan with clear next steps for implementation.

Table 4. „Leaders of Change“ social entrepreneurship ideas.

Project	Description
Tlaltoca	Educational sustainability center and experiential programs for children and youth on ecological and social justice issues
Motivational Circle	Speaking series and educational sessions for middle and high school students to encourage them and coach them to continue their formal education
Etni-K	Commercialization of authentic indigenous products from (apparel, jewellery) with fashionable designs
Human development group	Training and coaching services for elementary teachers on human development (e.g., emotional intelligence, conflict resolution, etc.)
Forum Legacy	Cultural and social events to bring together the community of volunteers that participated in the Forum Monterrey 2007. Organize a delegation from Monterrey to participate in the Forum Valparaiso 2010 (in Chile).
Wiki Museum	A museum created by the people and for the people of Monterrey with a collection of objects and artifacts to tell their story as “regiomontanos”
Ethical Enterprises Consulting	Consulting services to help Mexican corporations become socially responsible while taking care of their bottom line.
Sustainable fishing	Education and recreational opportunities to

	learn the “catch and release” fishing technique.
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After the last session in March, MBA students from EGADE (Graduate School of Business Administration and Leadership) offered advise to those Leaders of Change who were interested and available to work on developing a business plan for their project idea. Four of the projects (Tlaltoca, Motivational Circle, Etni-K, and Forum Legacy) have a business plan and all of them have started operations in different degrees. Nevertheless, there is a huge need for more support and these initiatives need funding to effectively scale and become self-sufficient.

The formal eight-month initiative was under funded. It was possible because of the volunteer work of researchers, trainers and students. As a result, there were some deficiencies that limited the potential impact of Leaders of Change. The first deficiency was in communication. The Forum organizers promised to enable a web-based virtual collaboration space for Leaders of Change but this never happened. This resulted in limited unidirectional email communications from the facilitators/researchers to the group of 112 Leaders of Change and no real possibility for having online dialogue and plan projects during the time period in between face-to-face sessions.

The success of Leaders of Change resided in the gathering and identification of citizens with the potential to become social entrepreneurs and creating the initial conditions for the learning that leads to the path of creating and implementing social enterprises. To the time of the writing of this research report, a core group of Leaders of Change continue to communicate and gather informally. A seed has been planted and we hope to create the conditions to continue to nurture it for it to flourish in the future.

Conclusion and implications for future research

Leaders of Change represents a pilot case study of an exciting possibility in the field of evolutionary development. The Forum Monterrey 2007 provided an ideal opportunity to test some of the theoretical and methodological concepts to create Evolutionary Learning Communities.

The process was documented through notes from each session of the ELC, reflections on the experience, and interviews with some Leaders of Change. In addition the application questionnaire has both quantitative and qualitative information that needs to be analyzed to get a clearer picture of who answer to the call of Leaders of Change and to explore further implications for catalyzing socio-ecological change efforts through citizen participation.

In terms of action research, a next phase for Leaders of Change would be the creation of a synergistic social incubator to collaboratively nurture the seeds that each of the projects represent and intentionally link them in the creation of cultural shift toward a sustainable learning society. This is a new possibility through a nascent partnership between Syntony Quest and the Institute for Sustainable Social Development (www.idess.org.mx) of the Tecnologico de Monterrey.

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Note: this paper was presented by the author at the 52nd Meeting of the International Society for the Systems Sciences (ISSS), July 13-18, 2008 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, Wisconsin, USA.

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- Reference list (Harvard style)
- Appendices (use sparingly)
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- Does it illustrate good practice in AR and AL?
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- Does the writer present ideas with flare and creativity?
- Would the writer benefit from some mentoring to produce an article of journal-standard?

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