

LEVIATHAN

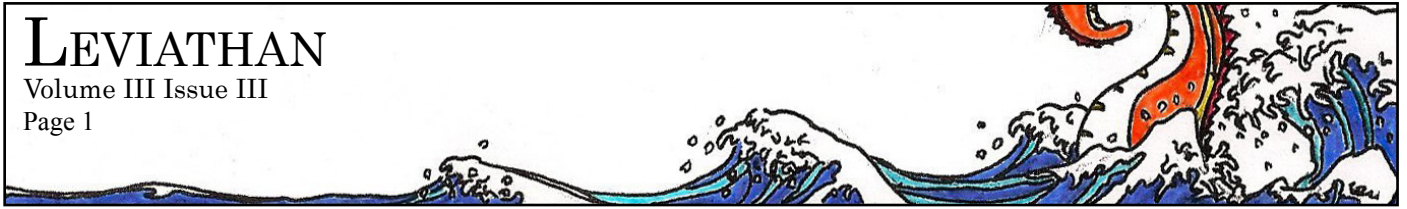
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DEVELOPMENT



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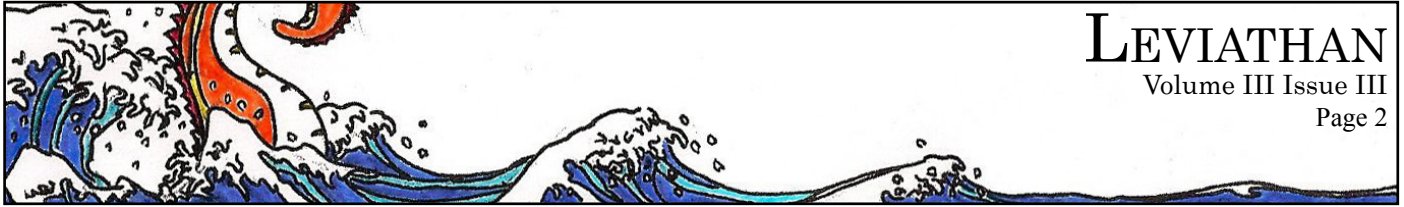


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Dear Reader,

It is with pleasure that I welcome you to Leviathan's last instalment of the 2012-13 academic year. For three years now, Leviathan has drawn on the work of students and staff alike to discuss, debate, and analyse the myriad political and cultural issues pervading current events. Leviathan strives to offer rich political material from a wide spectrum of viewpoints, presenting unique frameworks for our content as we explore a variety of themes. The theme for this issue is Development.

The Development issue aims to address some of the most significant social and political challenges relevant today—our writers tackle a range of topics including gender, sustainability, healthcare, military aid, the economics of happiness, Scotland's independence, Indonesia's rise, China's risks, and more.

As a society, we pursue development in a variety of forms. Wealthy nations thrive on technological advancement, but how much of it helps those countries less fortunate? International summits and billions of dollars are committed to reversing the tide of environmental degradation and climate change, whilst powerful interests and the engines of consumerism stand as fierce obstacles. Western countries that once led innovation are now mired in recessions and failing education systems. All eyes are on Asia, whose booming population and markets are shifting global power dynamics. Meanwhile, sectarian violence and terrorism threaten democracy and human rights across several continents. Governments appear more and more out of touch with their constituents. What kind of aid truly fosters empowerment? Is the road to progress paved by large organizations and governments, or by small grassroots and non-profit movements? How can such a diverse range of entities collaborate to effectively create more prosperous communities around the world? What is our generation's role in this process? What are the threats to development... and is it always a desirable thing?

It is with pride and gratitude that I thank my team and all of the writers and artists who dedicated their time and work to this issue, and every issue under my editorship. As I pass the mantle on to the next Leviathan editor, Maxwell Greenberg, I wish him and his team the very best of luck. The Edinburgh University Politics and IR Society—the journal's founder and winner of the 2013 EUSA Global Award—has been indispensable to Leviathan through its constant support and academic contributions. Finally, our success would not be possible without the generous help and guidance of the University's Politics and IR department, who continue to lead the way in exceptional scholarship and teaching.

As always, we encourage you to read, ponder, and critique relentlessly. Our hope is that Leviathan not only challenges you to think differently, but also inspires you to add your voice to the debate. We await your feedback and look forward to your future involvement. Stay updated by following our brand new Twitter page @LeviathanEdUni, and we welcome your questions and comments at leviathanjournal@gmail.com.

Cheers, and enjoy.

Natasha Turak
Editor in Chief

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Transitional Justice

Professor Gerhard Anders analyses justice and reconciliation in post-conflict countries.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, debates about political new beginnings have increasingly been framed in terms of transitional justice. Africa is no exception in this regard. Since the establishment of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda during the mid-1990s the African continent has loomed large in debates about how to deal with past injustices and realize political transition. These debates tend to revolve around by now well-established institutions such as truth commissions or criminal tribunals but they are by no means confined to these. The problem of new beginning after violent conflict or political oppression also shapes controversies about the reintegration of refugees and former combatants, the reform of state institutions and the introduction of democracy and the rule of law. Western donor agencies and humanitarian activists see transitional justice as key to peacebuilding after violent conflict, democratic governance and economic development.

“In many situations the return to a pre-exceptional equilibrium is impossible because it only exists as a myth of a harmonious idealized past.”

Transitional justice institutions are exceptional instruments established to address extraordinary situations that cannot be dealt with by the state institutions either because the scale of the problem overwhelms them or they are implicated in the violence and are thus part of the problem. In these situations, transitional justice mechanisms signify a new beginning and the attempt to come to terms with the past. None of these interventions is meant to be permanent. Even investigations of the ICC, a permanent international criminal tribunal, are con-

ceived as temporary interventions in the internal affairs of a country in response to extraordinary circumstances sanctioned by international law.

In spite of the extraordinary character of international investigations, criminal



Mandela and Tutu by Sarah Werner

tribunals or truth commissions follow a well-established set of templates with criminal trials at one end of the continuum and blanket amnesty on the other end. These mechanisms are employed in a liminal phase, the transition from chaos to normality. This logic of exceptionality is not limited to transitional justice. In general, it is utilized within humanitarian interventions drawing on a pan-human ethic of compassion, international humanitarian law and human rights in order to justify the sometimes massive state-building and emergency missions such as recently in Haiti after the devastating earthquake in 2010.

International organisations such as the UN, development agencies and governments tend to clearly distinguish an emergency situation requiring exceptional measures, on the one hand, and the development phase with stabilizing institutions and restored economic growth, on the other hand. Often, however, this boundary is fuzzy and it is difficult to clearly demarcate the boundary between state of exception and return to normality.

To start with, in many situations in Africa and elsewhere the return to a pre-exceptional equilibrium is impossible because it only exists as a myth of a harmonious idealized past, which is in stark contrast with the violent and unstable present. The end of a transition phase is also often contested and it is not always clear when the return to the supposed normality can be declared.

For instance, in Germany there have been heated debates in recent years about the return to normality after coming to terms with the past, in German *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. In South Africa many do not think that the transition phase after the end of Apartheid ended with the report published by the TRC. Recently, President Zuma in his populist mode has called for a ‘second transition’ to highlight the ongoing need to come to terms with Apartheid’s legacy. As a consequence, debates about justice, compensation and recognition have expanded in various arenas such as land rights or access to public services.

In the end, it boils down to a question of authority and legitimacy that maybe can never be resolved for all citizens alike. When can someone say that the nation has come to terms with the past and with which authority? South Africa and Germany show that transitional justice cannot effect the type of closure promised by truth commissions and international tribunals.



Dr. Gerhard Anders is a lecturer in African Studies - International Development, and is Programme Director of the MSc in Africa and International Development at the University of Edinburgh.



Development as

As Scotland's referendum day approaches, David Kelly

On the 19th of March, 2013, Scotland celebrated the 200th anniversary of the birth of one of its most famous sons – the explorer, missionary, medical pioneer and anti-slavery campaigner, Dr. David Livingstone (1813 – 1873).

Into humble beginnings in the South Lanarkshire town of Blantyre, Livingstone died in modern-day Zambia having secured immortality as, in the words of former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, “Africa’s first freedom fighter”.¹ His irrepressible egalitarian spirit won him countless friends and the country from which he hailed innumerable admirers. He fostered links and built friendships between Scotland and peoples across Africa that endure to this day. Livingstone’s adventures deep into the African interior – during which he survived a legendary lion attack and was the first European to set eyes on Victoria Falls – were not merely scientific in purpose. He sought to export Christianity to Africa, as well as commerce and medical expertise. He hoped that his extraordinary journey across the ‘Mother Continent’ would draw attention to the abomination of slavery. The devastating ‘Scramble for Africa’ – which followed his death and led to the brutal colonisation of entire nations and peoples would have appalled Livingstone.

“Scotland faces significant constraints on its capacity to act in concert with the developing world, as foreign policy and international development are retained by Westminster.”

Scotland has done much to honour Livingstone’s legacy. In 2010/11, the Scottish Government demonstrated its strong commitment to international development by increasing Scotland’s aid budget from £6 million to £9 million.² This budget is targets aid towards Rwanda, Tanzania, Zambia and, most notably, Malawi. Livingstone’s famous visits to Malawi were the initial catalyst,

and remain the contemporary cornerstone, of the “unique and historical relationship” between Scotland and Malawi.³ This partnership was formalised in 2005 with the signing of the Scotland-Malawi Co-operation Agreement by then First Minister of Scotland Jack McConnell and the late President of Malawi Dr. Bingu wa Mutharika.⁴ The agreement established numerous inter-governmental and inter-parliamentary initiatives, which have spawned a multitude of formal and informal links between charities, churches and communities.

During her visit to Scotland marking Livingstone’s bicentenary, Mutharika’s successor, Dr. Joyce Banda, extolled the virtues of these deep emotional and political ties between her hosts and “Scotland’s African home”.⁵ She further proclaimed that Malawi was “open for business”, urging Scots to “walk with us, work with us and invest with us”.⁶ In that spirit – the true spirit of development – Scotland has sought to invest in Malawi’s future rather than merely relieve her present suffering. Scottish projects in Malawi have sought to empower indigenous communities and end the cycle of dependency. Scotland’s engagement with Malawi and other nations in the developing world reflects the idea of the Indian economist Amartya Sen of “Development as Freedom”.⁷ In his influential 1999 study, Sen conceptualised freedom “as both the primary end and as the principal means” of development. Thus, a developed nation is a nation empowered to exercise its intrinsic right to self-determination free from economic or political dependence upon any other entity.

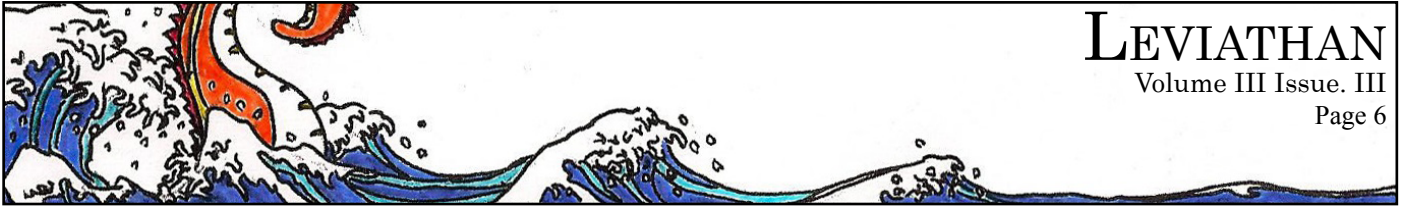
The holistic and long-term focus of Scottish aid reflects a similar consensus in Scotland, that development aid should do more than simply feed the hungry, shelter the homeless or heal the sick, however essential and pressing those needs are. Development strategies should build up resilient, skilled, and self-reliant communities that are ready to face their own unique challenges in their own unique way. Development is as much

about preparing for the challenges of the future as coping with the problems of the present. Development goes above and beyond temporary disaster relief. Developing countries do not need perpetual handouts – they need a hand-up. Truly successful development aid makes itself redundant.

In pursuit of this objective, the Scottish Government’s Malawi 2013 Funding Round includes financial support for a range of pioneering, empowering initiatives – from the training of Malawian healthcare professionals by the University of Edinburgh, to the financing of microloans for over 15,000 Malawian entrepreneurs.⁸ Moreover, in February earlier this year, Scotland became only

“...an independent Scotland could put internationalism and altruism at the heart of its vision for a just and developed international society.”

the second country in the world to achieve “Fair Trade Nation” status.⁹ The Fair Trade guarantee – of a fair price for producers; a ban on child labour; safe working conditions; environmental protection; equal rights for female workers; and a “social premium” to fund investment in critical local infrastructure – makes an essential contribution to the long-term development of countries like Malawi.¹⁰ In addition, Scotland’s vibrant third sector has a burgeoning reputation thanks to its effective contribution to international development. Dalmally-based Mary’s Meals feeds over 700,000 school children every day, helping satisfy their hunger for both nourishment and knowledge.¹¹ The Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund (SCIAF) works in 16 countries across Africa, Asia and Latin America providing, for example, healthcare and support for HIV/AIDS sufferers.¹² Stirling-based Developing World Health brings together scientists, hospitals and pharmaceutical companies to conduct medical research into diseases particularly prevalent and



Empowerment

explores the legacy and ideas of David Livingstone.

deadly in the developing world.¹³ It argues that the delivery of new treatments and medicines can “not only cure people or prevent disease, but can potentially rescue entire communities, opening the way for economic and social development”.¹⁴

These Scottish success stories have improved countless lives. Nevertheless, Scotland faces significant constraints on its capacity to act in concert with the developing world. Powers over foreign policy and international development are retained by Westminster under the Scotland Act which established the Scottish Parliament in 1999.¹⁵ However, this could all change if Scotland votes Yes in next year’s historic independence referendum. Independence will empower the Scottish Parliament to act in all policy-areas, including international development and foreign policy. An independent Scotland’s place in the international family of nations, her voice on the world stage, her choice of friends and allies, of partnerships and investments – all will be in the hands of Holyrood rather than Westminster. That much is indisputable. However, the impact this fundamental shift of political and economic power will have on the nature and effectiveness of Scotland’s contribution to international development is contested.

Politicians from “Better Together”, the cross-party campaign against independence, have repeatedly articulated what they see as the threat Scottish self-government poses to the UK development budget. Prime Minister David Cameron has highlighted Scotland’s significant contribution to “the 2nd biggest aid budget in the world” as a reason for Scots to vote No in 2014.¹⁶ Cameron’s pledge to devote 0.7% of UK Gross National Product (GNP) to the budget of the Department for International Development is certainly to be commended. Nonetheless, it was in 1970 that the UK Government first promised before the UN that it would meet such a target.¹⁷ In February this year, Cameron appeared to end lingering hopes that Westminster might finally meet its moral obligation to the developing world. He announced that spending would

be diverted from development aid to “peacekeeping and other defence-related projects”.¹⁸ Britain’s third sector reacted incredulously to the policy change. Sorcha O’Callaghan, Head of Humanitarian Policy at the British Red Cross, attacked Cameron for “blurring the lines between



Malawian Farmer by Sarah Werner

aid and military objectives”.¹⁹ Oxfam’s Max Lawson insisted that development aid should be spent on “hospitals and not helicopter gunships” and “schools not soldiers”.²⁰

Westminster’s record is particularly lamentable when compared to Scotland’s European neighbours. The Centre for Global Development’s Commitment to Development Index (2012) is dominated by small European nations, with Denmark (1st), Norway (2nd), Sweden (3rd), Luxembourg (4th), Austria (5th) and Finland (7th) all in the top ten.²¹ Smaller and more agile polities evidently possess an inherent advantage in promoting and investing in effective international development.

Scotland’s Minister for External Affairs and International Development, Humza Yousaf MSP, has confirmed the SNP’s intention to follow in Norway’s footsteps. Norway, home to the Nobel Peace Prize and 5 million outward-looking citizens, dedicates 1.1% of its GNP to overseas development.²² In January, Yousaf announced that if Scotland votes Yes in 2014, the SNP’s 2016 election manifesto will pledge to surpass the 0.7% UN target and spend around 1% of Scottish GNP on international development. This would create a £1.5 billion annual Scottish international development fund.²³ Like our Scandinavian cousins, an independent Scotland could put internationalism and

altruism at the heart of its vision for a just and developed international society.

As Scotland’s date with destiny draws ever nearer, the pertinence and potency of Livingstone’s humanitarian ideals remain undiminished. Amartya Sen’s belief in the fundamental indivisibility of empowerment and development mirrors Livingstone’s own faith in the virtue of respect and self-reliance. Both men’s ideas are manifested in Scotland’s model relationship with Malawi. However, Scotland can do more for international development. As a full and equal global citizen, empowered with the competencies and opportunities of independent statehood, Scotland could place itself at the vanguard of international development.

Are the people of Scotland ready for such momentous change? Dr. David Livingstone certainly would not have shirked from taking a step forward into the unknown for the sake of a noble endeavour.

¹³David Livingstone 200. (2013) “Celebrating the bicentenary of the birth of Dr David Livingstone” Available at: <http://www.davidlivingstone200.org/> [All articles accessed 1 April 2013]

¹⁴Scottish Government. (2008) “Scottish Government International Development Policy” Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/05/06144819/1>

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Scottish Government. (2005) “Co-operation Agreement between Scotland and Malawi” Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/11/scotland-malawi-agreement>

¹⁷Banda, Dr Joyce. (2013) “Address to MSPs by the President of Malawi” Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-21845448>

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Reid-Henry, Simon. (2012) “Amartya Sen: economist, philosopher, human development doyen” Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2012/nov/22/amartya-sen-human-development-doyen>

²⁰Scottish Government. (2013) “Malawi 2013 Funding Round” Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/International/int-dev/mdp/Malawi2013>

²¹Scottish Government. (2013) “Scotland: A Fair Trade Nation” Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/International/int-dev/Fair-trade>

²²Ibid.

²³Mary’s Meals. (2012) “Key facts at a glance” Available at: <http://www.marysmeals.org.uk/>

²⁴SCIAF. (2012) “What we do” Available at: <http://www.sciaf.org.uk/our-work/sciaf-what-we-do.html>

²⁵Developing World Health. (2013) “About Us” Available at: http://www.developingworldhealth.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46&Itemid=55

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷HM Government. (2013) “Scotland Act 1998” Available at: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/46/schedule/5/part1>

²⁸New Statesman. (2012) “Full transcript: David Cameron: Speech on Scottish independence: Edinburgh: 16 February 2012” [Online] Available at: <http://www.newstatesman.com/uk-politics/2012/02/united-kingdom-scotland-world>

²⁹UN Millennium Project. (2006) “The 0.7% target: An in-depth look” Available at: <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/press/07.htm>

³⁰BBC. (2013) “Aid money could go to defence – David Cameron” Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-21528464>

³¹Morris, Nigel. (2013) “Aid budget cash ‘should go on hospitals and not helicopter gunships’” Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/aid-budget-cash-should-go-on-hospitals-and-not-helicopter-gunships-8505758.html>

³²Ibid.

³³Centre for Global Development. (2012) “Norway” Available at: http://www.cgdev.org/doc/CDI%202012/Country_12_Norway_EN.pdf

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Gardham, Magnus. <http://www.heraldscotland.com/politics/referendum-news/yousaf-plans-15bn-foreign-aid-budget.19911790>



Investing in Women:

Naomi Jefferson analyses investing in gender equality

Gender equality is more than a goal in itself. It is a precondition for meeting the challenge of reducing poverty, promoting sustainable development and building good governance.¹ As Kofi Annan explains, gender issues are intrinsically bound to society's development. Without tackling inequalities of gender, it is impossible for a country to develop socially, economically or politically. A long-term solution? Invest in women.

The World Bank has called investing in women "smart economics;"² potentially one of the best investments a country can make. Investment is most effective when it is as multidimensional as possible – in diverse areas such as education, childcare, health, and micro-finance. The broader the investments, the more likely inequalities will begin to dissipate in more than one area of life. Gender inequality is widespread throughout society and therefore, investment should also be widespread and varied.

Although investments cannot fully tackle barriers of patriarchy, they have the ability to empower women financially and socially – a necessary step towards gender equality. Investment in women creates a domino effect: once women are empowered, there are incredible social and economic benefits that are quick to follow. Gender equality can be the key to development.

In less developed countries, investment in girls' education is imperative. Larry Summers, former chief economist at the World Bank, believes girls' education is "the highest-return investment available in the developing world" and even goes on to claim "the question is not whether countries can afford this investment, but whether countries can afford to not educate girls."³ In most

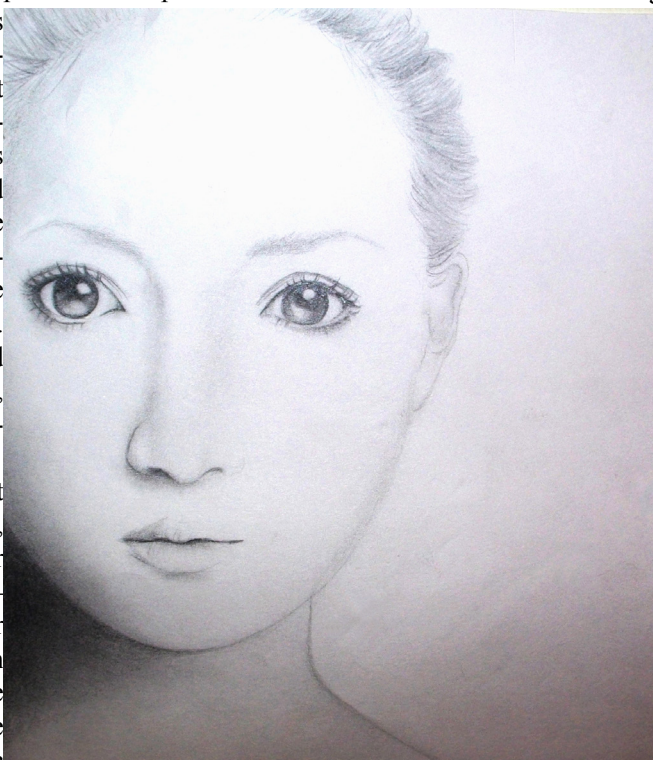
developing countries, the literacy rate of women is lower than that of men and the majority of girls do not complete schooling. The moral impetus of achieving equality in education is clear. However, economic incentives to promote equality in education exist as well. A report by the Council on Foreign Relations has found that simply one year more of primary education correlates with a 10-20% increase in women's wages later in life, while each year of secondary schooling yields an increase of up to 25%.⁴ The economic returns

family with less children, allowing for healthier and more financially secure children. The benefit of educating girls has the potential to extend far beyond the individual and can help ensure the welfare and economic security of future generations. Investing in girl's education is not only morally just, but is also a smart economic strategy.

Inequalities in women's healthcare also limit the development of society. In sub-Saharan Africa, three out of every four new HIV infections are among women aged between fifteen and twenty-four. Overall, HIV prevalence in young women is found to be more than four times higher than among young men of the same age bracket.⁵ These statistics highlight the gross gender inequalities women still face in terms of healthcare. It also indicates the lack of access women have to proper contraception, one of the many areas of health that should be more heavily invested in.

Access to contraception can help prevent acquiring STIs and is also key in protecting against unwanted pregnancies. According to the World Health Organization, over two hundred million women in developing countries "would like to delay or stop childbearing", however, they do not have access to contraception.⁶ Because of the lack of resources, women will be

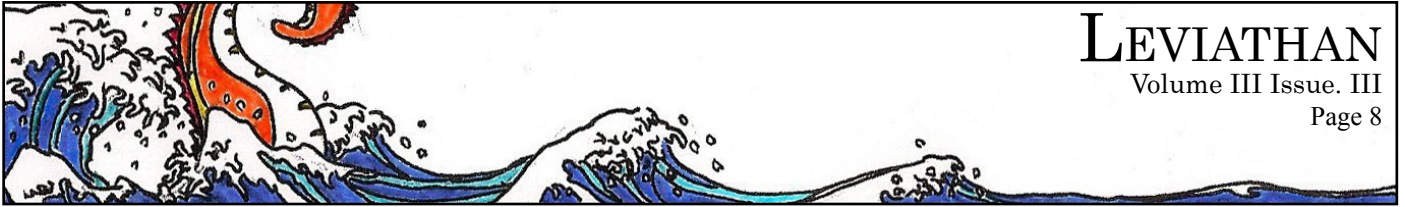
more likely to have an abortion, which is often unsafe in developing countries. Deaths due to unsafe abortions comprise about 13% of maternal deaths in the world.⁷ The lack of safe, viable options for women is unfair and intolerable. It is necessary that women have better access to contraception as well as safe and legal abortions. By investing in these areas of health care, gender gaps can be narrowed and countless lives of



Anu Hiekkaranta

of girls' education indicate that investment is not only effective in improving women's lives, but also, the economy.

Advancements in girls' education has a ripple effect; leading to developments in other parts of society as well. Higher female education rates are correlated with lower fertility rates. This allows for smaller and therefore, more sustainable families. A woman will be more likely to economically support a



Key to Development

as a long-term strategy to global development.

women could be saved.

Gender inequalities in income and access to financing also are a major hindrance to development. Despite working two thirds of the world's working hours, women still earn only a tenth of the world's total income.⁸ The gender pay gap is astoundingly high, resulting in those in poverty to be unfairly over-represented by females. Closing the gap would reap both social and economic benefits. Hartmann, economist at the Institute for Women's Policy Research, believes that equal pay would result in a stimulus effect that would significantly grow the economy, even in developed countries where the gap is significantly smaller.⁹ Paying women equally would decrease the disproportionate number of women in poverty whilst stimulating the economy at the same time.

Providing a higher and more equitable pay for women would benefit the family and local communities as well. The World Bank determined that in de-

“The question is not whether countries can afford girls' education but whether countries can afford to not educate girls.”

veloping countries, women on average reinvest 90% of their income back into their families, while men reinvested only about 30-40%.¹⁰ Financial institutions should look towards investing in women; as the data suggests, the investment is often high-yield. Therefore, the money invested into women is likely to pay off in the long term, benefitting individual women as well as their families and communities.

Violence against women is another limitation to development – a violation of the most basic of human rights. Gendered violence not only presents a public health problem, but more broadly, social and economic costs within

society. These costs are extended when women go into isolation and fail to participate in the community due to detrimental physical and psychological effects. According to the World Health Organization, 71% of women in Ethiopia reported physical and/or sexual violence throughout their lifetime.¹¹ This staggering statistic indicates that in some countries, the majority of women have experienced gendered violence - a factor making social and economic development an incredibly difficult task. Investments must be made to combat this behavior in society. The WTO notes that school-based programmes promoting gender equality and addressing violence against women have proven to have an effect in reducing gendered violence.¹² Governments should make the investment to teach citizens, from an early age in life, to promote gender equality. By investing in these programmes, development will be more possible.

Approximately four million poor women from developing countries each year “go missing.”¹³ Often, it is suggested that these women vanish because they do not have access to the same medical treatment and resources that men have access to - due to large-scale mistreatment and inequality. Although financial investments can ensure that women have the things they need to survive, social investments by the community and government must be made as well. Money can help to empower women economically, but investments by the community must also be made to empower women socially. Problems such as “missing women” highlight the more widespread issue of patriarchy and the inability of a community to see the value in women's worth. Investment should be broad – not only entailing financial backing, but social and political support of women. In order to tackle gender inequality and promote development, investment in women must be

made in every aspect of society.

The gender gap, as it exists now, entails “colossal losses to the global society and economy.”¹⁴ The social, political, and economic benefits of empowering

“Money can help to empower women economically, but investments by the community must also be made to empower women socially.”

women and working towards gender equality are massive. Investment would produce a double dividend – “fulfilling the rights of women and also helping to save and improve the lives of children,” with widespread benefits throughout all levels of society.¹⁵ Large-scale development cannot occur unless gender inequalities are addressed.

Several years ago, Bill Gates attended a gender-segregated event in Saudi Arabia. A male audience member asked Gates how his country could become a world leader in technology. He replied curtly, “If you're not fully utilising half the talent in the country, you're not going to get too close to the Top Ten.”¹⁶ Without empowering and tapping into the potential of women, society simply cannot progress.

¹ “Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now”, Accessed: <http://www.oecd.org>.

² “Gender Action Plan: Gender Equality as Smart Economics”, Accessed: <http://www.worldbank.org>.

³ Nancy Gibbs, “To Fight Poverty, Invest in Girls”, Time, Feb. 14, 2011.

⁴ Council on Foreign Relations, “Girls' Education Key to Global Wealth”, April 20, 2004.

⁵ Center for Global Development, “Start with a Girl: A New Agenda for Global Health”, 2009.

⁶ The World Health Organization, “Family Planning Fact Sheet”, July 2012.

⁷ The World Health Organization, “Unsafe Abortion: Estimates and Prevention”, Accessed: <http://www.who.int>.

⁸ Global Poverty Project, “Women and Poverty”, Accessed: <http://www.globalpovertyproject.org>.

⁹ Laura Basset, “Closing the Gender Wage Gap Would Create ‘Huge’ Economic Stimulus, Economists Say”, Huffington Post, Oct. 24, 2012.

¹⁰ Refer to footnote 3 for source

¹¹ The World Health Organization, “Violence Against Women”, Nov. 2012.

¹² The World Health Organization, “Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women”, Accessed: <http://www.who.int>.

¹³ “Four Million Missing Women”, 2012, Accessed: <http://www.econ.worldbank.org>.

¹⁴ The World Economic Forum, “Gender Gap Report 2010”, 2010.

¹⁵ United Nations Children's Fund, “Women and Children: The Double Dividend of Gender Equality”, 2007, Accessed: <http://www.unicef.org>.

¹⁶ “Gates: Women Key to Saudi Arabia Economy”, Washington Post,

Traditional Versus

Alex Paul discusses the need for security

International development and aid have become inextricably linked in the public consciousness in recent years. One reason for this is prominent campaigns such as Band Aid, Live 8, and Make Poverty History. Another has been the increasing ability of 24 hour news outlets to broadcast footage from natural disasters, such as the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and the 2010 Haiti earthquake, straight into our living rooms. But the distribution of aid has also become an important political tool of Western governments eager to demonstrate their humanitarian credentials to their citizens and the rest of the world. Recently, the UK Government announced that, in 2013, it would meet the 0.7% target (of aid spending as a proportion of GNI¹) for the first time. However, at the same time, David Cameron publicly suggested that, in future, some of the UK's aid budget could be spent on providing "basic levels of stability and security in deeply broken and fragile states"² by funding peacekeeping and stabilisation operations, rather than on more traditional forms of systematic aid. Predictably, such comments provoked controversy. But does the Prime Minister have a point? Would spending more on security actually help poorer states develop?

First though, a quick note on aid. The largest form of aid, systematic aid, involves cash transfers from one government to another. The OECD³ has termed this "official development assistance" (ODA) and defines it as expenditure to listed countries and multilateral institutions which is provided by official agencies (which include state and local government) and which is administered with the promotion of the "economic development and welfare of developing countries."⁴ As previously noted, many developed coun-

tries have pledged to spend 0.7% of their GNI on ODA. This target was officially endorsed by the UN General Assembly in 1970 and is a key feature of the UN's Millennium Development Goals. However, despite widespread multilateral agreement and UN endorsement of the target, very few developed countries have actually met it. These countries include the UK, who in 2013 became the latest (as well as the first G8 member) to become a member of this very select group (other members include Sweden, Norway, Luxembourg, Denmark, and the Netherlands).⁵

Whilst many have welcomed the news of the UK hitting the 0.7% target, Cam-



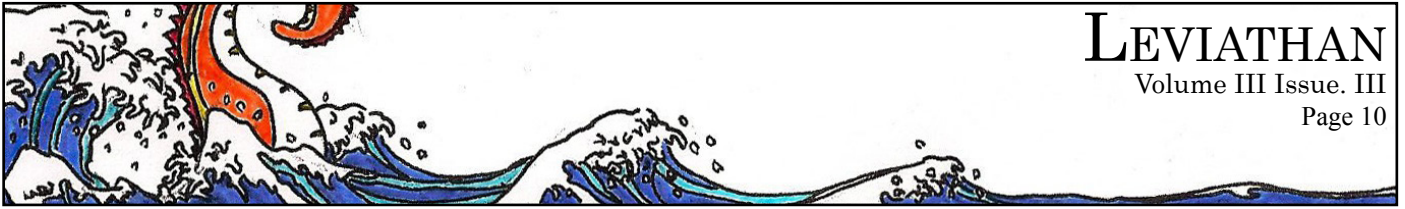
Malian Soldier by Rae Gilchrist

eron's comments about security spending as part of it have not proved so popular. Politically, the Liberal Democrat chair of the House of Commons International Development Committee, Sir Malcolm Bruce, labelled it as an attempt to "use the aid budget to make up for defence cuts" whilst Ivan Lewis, Labour's shadow international development secretary said Cameron's comments would "not stand up to scrutiny."⁶ Meanwhile, several charities, including Christian Aid, Oxfam, and ActionAid claimed that people expect aid money to be spent on "schools, not soldiers"⁷, and that following through on Cameron's suggestion would result in the

"blurring of links between military action and aid delivery,"⁸ putting at risk the safety of aid workers working on the ground. It is also worth noting that military services and peacekeeping are specifically excluded from ODA by the OECD, and so shifting some of the aid budget from development to security in the future could mean that the UK would no longer meet the 0.7% GNI target.

The entire furore could just be over some pie-in-the-sky thinking from the UK Prime Minister. But the swift and strong condemnation from NGOs is perhaps underpinned by their awareness of a nagging truth – that aid can only be successfully delivered in a secure environment, and such environments can very often only be provided by military force. Perhaps Cameron's suggestion was not as far-fetched as some have claimed, especially as Number 10 later confirmed that any part of the aid budget used to fund military spending would only be spent in three areas, which would be peacekeeping, security, and demobilisation. Importantly, it was stated that, "the new funds would not be used for combat operations or combat equipment."⁹

One pertinent example in the debate over using money earmarked for aid on security and peacekeeping is that of Sierra Leone. The West African state was engulfed in a vicious civil war for much of the 1990s. Finally, in 1999, the UN deployed its largest-ever peacekeeping force, UNAMSIL, to the country in an effort to end the fighting. However, the peacekeepers struggled to subdue rebels fighting against the government and so, in May 2000, the UN requested assistance from the UK Government. The British



Military Aid

as a prerequisite for development.

force, which included elements from the Army, Navy and RAF, provided short-term military support to UNAMSIL which enabled the peacekeeping operation to stabilise the situation. They also helped the UN to run a disarmament programme and re-train Sierra Leonean armed forces with the aim of ensuring that it could provide the security and stability needed for serious redevelopment and reconstruction to occur. Over a decade on, these efforts were hugely successful, with the Sierra Leonean government now undertaking a major infrastructure-building programme and the country attracting significant levels of foreign investment.

It is clear then that creating a secure environment is an essential pre-requisite for the success of any reconstruction efforts in a war-affected state. The contribution of peacekeepers in this regard was demonstrated by Columbia professor Virginia Page Fortna, who quantitatively determined that the presence of a peacekeeping operation in a conflict zone contributes to a longer-lasting peace. In her 2004 essay 'Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace?'¹⁰, she concluded that "peacekeeping is an effective conflict management tool" which makes "the efforts of the international community to help war-torn states avoid a slide back into civil war...well worth it."¹¹ The example of Sierra Leone shows how the rapid development of domestic security forces can help contribute to the maintenance of peace. Indeed, as a result of the training delivered by the British (and later international) forces, the Sierra Leonean army has now been rebuilt to such an extent it now contributes troops to other peacekeeping operations, such as to the African force currently deployed in Mali.

So does the example of Sierra Leone lend validity to Cameron's argument that the international community should prioritise stabilising fragile states over more traditional forms of aid? Certainly in recent years, the arguments for a move

away from systematic aid have increased. The Dutch journalist Linda Polman has claimed that "when aid organisations don't actively discriminate, the most likely beneficiaries of war zones are the powerful, rather than the most needy,"¹² whilst the Zambian economist Dambisa Moyo has argued that some forms of aid have actually "made the poor poorer, and growth slower"¹³ and goes onto describe the idea that aid alleviates systemic poverty in Africa as a "myth."¹⁴ Meanwhile, the journalist Richard Norton-Taylor wrote that David Cameron's idea of using part of the foreign aid budget to support peace-

"Mali can only experience sustained development in the long-term if a modicum of security is achieved in the short-term."

keeping operations "must be applauded"¹⁵ for acknowledging the need for greater integration between military and civil solutions to conflicts.

A case in point here is Mali. Ranked 182 out of 186¹⁶ countries on the United Nation's Human Development Index, Mali is a state where adults have an average of just 2 years of schooling. But, as the instability in northern Mali in the last year demonstrates, any efforts by its government to improve the quality of life for its citizens invariably come second to basic security requirements. Even if the government is unable to deliver basic services, aid agencies cannot step in to do so because of the chronic instability that cripples the country. Mali can only experience sustained development in the long-term if a modicum of security is achieved in the short-term. This is why the deployment of NATO forces to train the Malian army is essential. Mali is one of a few relatively successful democracies in Africa, an achievement directly threatened by the Is-

lamist rebels. Restoring the democratically-elected government's control over the state and giving it the ability to enforce its authority should be regarded as an objective of equal importance as to that of delivering humanitarian aid.

This article does not argue that the stability and security of developing states should always trump the necessity to save lives through aid. But the point being made is that aid and security are not principles that can be isolated from each other when seeking to encourage development. Focusing solely on one, such as systematic aid, is risky at best as it ignores how domestic or regional insecurity can greatly impede development and totally undermine the good work being done in the first place. Whilst Cameron's recognition of the interconnectedness of aid and security should be welcomed, care must be taken to ensure that aid spending is not simply replaced by security spending. Both have a vital role to play in helping some of the poorest societies in the world develop, and it would be wrong to prioritise one at the expense of another. But it is time for a radical re-think about how we help the poorest states build a better society for their citizens. Improving security and stability is a good place to start.

¹Gross National Income

²Osborne, A. "Cameron suggests using foreign aid cash for military", Reuters. 21 Feb 2013. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/02/21/uk-britain-economy-budget-idUKBR91K00G20130221>

³Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

⁴OECD, Aid Statistics: Official Development Assistance and Coverage. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/officialdevelopmentassistanceandcoverage.htm#Definition>

⁵Tran, M. "George Osborne declares 'historic moment' on UK aid target", The Guardian. 20 Mar. 2013. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2013/mar/20/george-osborne-historic-moment-aid>

⁶Reid, T. "Aid money could go to defence - David Cameron", BBC News Online. 21 Feb. 2013. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-21528464>

⁷Mason, R. "David Cameron must spend Britain's aid money on 'schools, not soldiers', Oxfam says", The Telegraph. 21 Feb. 2013. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/defence/9884820/David-Cameron-must-spend-Britains-aid-money-on-schools-not-soldiers-Oxfam-says.html>

⁸Ford, L. "David Cameron's 'aid for military' comments slammed by range of NGOs", The Guardian. 21 Feb 2013. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2013/feb/21/david-cameron-aid-military-ngos>

⁹Watt, N. "David Cameron gives green light for aid cash to go on military", The Guardian. 21 Feb. 2013. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2013/feb/21/david-cameron-aid-military>

¹⁰Page Fortna, V (2004) 'Does Peacekeeping keep peace?' International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War' International Studies Quarterly (Vol.48, No.2) pp.269-292

¹¹Ibid:288

¹²Anthony, A. "Does humanitarian aid prolong wars?", The Guardian. 25 Apr. 2010. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2010/apr/25/humanitarian-aid-war-linda-polman>

¹³Moyo, D Dead Aid: Why aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa Penguin Books: London (2010)

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Norton-Taylor, R. "Cameron is right to give aid money to peacekeeping operations", The Guardian. 22 Feb 2013. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentis-free/2013/feb/22/cameron-right-aid-money-peacekeeping>

¹⁶International Human Development Indicators, HDI. United Nations Development Program. 2013 Report. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/103106.html>



Arctic Development

Michael Weinberger assesses the future of the Arctic and its lucrative resources.

Crossing Russia, Norway, Canada, USA, Iceland, and Greenland at 66.5 latitude, the Arctic remains largely undeveloped. Practically infertile, covered with 4-meter thick ice, and faced with freezing conditions, man has had few opportunities to exploit any form of bounty in these barren conditions. However, as climate conditions change and technologies improve, the economic development of the arctic region becomes more realistic. The ice covering the arctic is now down to 2-3 meters as of 2013¹, and scientists project that the ice thickness will continue to drop. This in turn will help expand three major markets: shipping, minerals, and oil.²

With less and less ice, two main shipping routes are poised to expand by 2050 according to the University of California. First, the Northwest Passage route winds through Northern Canada and extends until Alaska. Second, the North Sea route crosses above Norway, and Russia. These routes aim cut trade route distances by 5,000 nautical miles, which is 20% more efficient than trade through the Panama Canal to Asian markets. Additionally, unlike the Panama Canal, there are no

size restrictions of the boats that can cross them. Both passages have already been crossed; however, there lie many obstacles to make it a commercially viable option as the Arctic is currently inadequately charted, rescue insurance costs are high, capricious weather delivers 12-meter waves, and it is uncertain what the competitive reaction will be.

Regarding minerals, there are already an abundance of mines in the Arctic drilling for gold, diamonds, and uranium. The warming of the Arctic will have two main effects. Primarily, it will make exploration easier, and expand the time in which exploration can take place. Additionally, in theory, warming will lower costs of shipping the resources to market.³

The biggest market, however, lies in energy. According to the United States Geological Survey, it is estimated that 13% of the world's undiscovered oil lies in the Arctic, and that 30% of the world's undiscovered natural gas is found there. Though the Arctic has been exploited by Canada from as early as 1920, the next step is offshore drilling. However, as rosy a picture oil companies would like to paint of the extraction of oil from the

Arctic Ocean, complex obstacles abound. Firstly, the infrastructure required to create a floating island to drill into the Arctic is not adequate, nor are the underwater pipelines to transport the oil. Though there are some similar floating islands in the North Caspian Sea, the depth is only 3 metres, whereas the Arctic Ocean reaches 300 meters deep. Additionally, creating a pipeline from the arctic poses a great environmental threat; if it were to rupture, it would be impossibly difficult to clean up.⁴ Finally, even if all these obstacles were overcome, to which market would the oil go? The next largest city from the Arctic Circle is Moscow, which already has a safe supply.⁵ Despite of all these challenges, Shell has invested over 2.7 billion pounds sterling in Alaska, trying to send out a mobile drilling unit called Kulluk. However, Kulluk was not viable, and Shell has called off Kulluk's operations until 2014.

Perhaps more critically pressing than any of the above-mentioned issues are the territorial claims each Arctic nation has put forward. With territorial waters reaching only 12 nautical miles from shore, and exclusive economic zones reaching 200 nautical miles, all countries have applied to the UN to extend these rights beyond the arbitrary line and onto the continental shelves (recall Russia placing their flag at the bottom of the North Pole in 2007). Still, no clear outcome can be forecasted.

On the whole, the development of the Arctic is still uncertain. Rich with opportunities and challenges, it is difficult to foresee how politics, climate, technology, and markets will clash. Alas, like a crown, the Arctic rests upon the top of the earth, encrusted with jewels and riches, with 6 descendants all claiming legitimacy to the throne.⁶

1 AFP, Oil and Gas reserves in the Arctic [video], AFP, 24 April 2012)

2 <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/xq.html>

3 GeoBeats news, Climate Change Will Open New Arctic Shipping Route By 2050

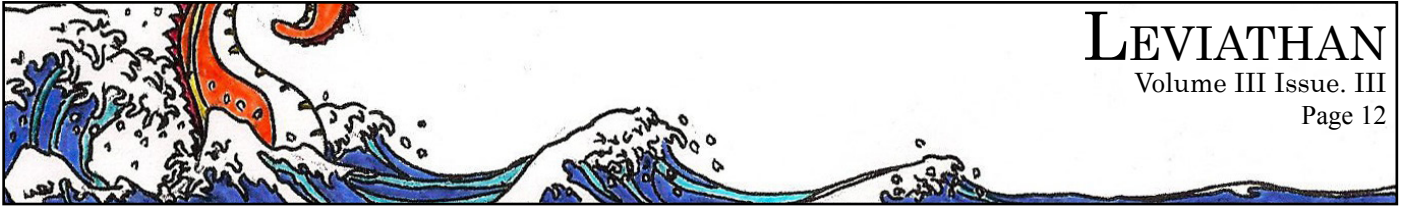
4 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-21320661>

5 Peter Zeihan Dispatch: Challenges in Developing the Arctic [video], Stratforvideo 23 September 2010)

6 Economist Magazine, Arctic sea ice: climate change, oil and trade [video], The Economist, 1 June 2009)



Rae Gilchrist



Another BRIC in the Wall

Alexander Stolz spotlights Indonesia's rise toward global economic ascendancy.

There is a problem in the world's largest Muslim state. It is being overlooked. This is a shame, given Indonesia's recent economic performance and transition to democracy. As Europeans debate their social welfare states and the merits of the European Project and American Republicans hold the world economy hostage, international capital markets have sought more fertile ventures. This zealous quest has led the rise of the so-called "emerging markets" and the coining of the term 'BRIC nations' by Goldman Sachs analyst Jim O' Neill. These countries have seized the attention of international markets. In the incessant chatter about the economic potential of these four nations; Brazil, Russia, India, and China, the real progress that has been made by nations like Indonesia has been overlooked.

Indonesia could have failed. It is a state with many competing ethnicities and a bitter legacy of Dutch colonialism. A strong American ally during the Cold War, its leader for 30 years, Suharto, saw to it that Indonesia was not bothered by Communists. Though brutal, ruthless, and corrupt, he was successful in both his domestic and foreign policy and

“Unlike the ‘Asian Tigers’, Indonesia did not rise economically due to competitive exports... it developed more organically.”

set a path for subsequent Indonesian presidents to follow. Domestically, Indonesia was secular and pursued a loose free market policy. Internationally, Indonesia was a founding member of ASEAN and is the only Asian member of OPEC. The country was adamant on staying outside Communists China's sphere of influence and it was careful in preserving its status as a secular state. These achievements are highly laudable and paved the way for Indonesia's

current economic ascendancy. Today Indonesia is utilizing its cultural roots to its economic advantage. It has familial ties to the Islamic world and it is eager to build up trade within the confines of Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. Its small but highly entrepreneurial Chinese minority has close ties to the Chinese mainland and Diaspora who serve as the middleman between the two nations. Finally, Indonesia has not relinquished its Cold War ties to the USA. Indonesia works hand in glove with American authorities on security issues and has been largely successful in weeding out extremist elements in its society.

The country's abundance of natural resources, including petroleum, minerals and forestry products, is a natural advantage. Additionally, it is well positioned geographically to exploit international maritime trade. Indonesia's trade is diversified across nations and products, allowing the country a certain degree of flexibility. The Indonesian Rupiah remains undervalued, giving Indonesian exports a competitive edge. It exports primary goods including petroleum and coal to China as well as textiles and manufactured goods to the West. Indonesia is the tenth largest natural gas exporter in the world, allowing it to participate fully in the natural gas bonanza currently underway. It is largely self sufficient in terms of its agricultural needs.

Unlike the "Asian Tigers", Indonesia did not rise economically due to competitive exports. Indonesia developed more organically and has a high rate of domestic consumption. This is in stark contrast to China which is still an export-oriented economy, having largely failed to shift toward an economy rooted in domestic consumption and to address its savings glut. The country also spends over a third of its GDP on investment.¹ Although Indonesia doesn't reach as high as China in terms of investment to GDP ratio, Indonesia invests huge amounts in its mining and mineral sectors. Its debt to GDP ratio is a paltry 24%.²



Flag of Indonesia, Creative Commons

“Above all, Indonesia has a competent market-oriented leadership.”

India's on the other hand, at 51 %³, is very high by developing countries' standards, to say nothing of the developed world threatened by debt crises. Indonesia has a population of over 230 million people, the fourth largest in the world, with near universal levels of literacy. Other Asian nations, including India, only have literacy rates of 50%.⁴ It sits on the intersection of Asian sea lanes giving it leverage over its exporting neighbours. The Strait of Malacca, carrying over 25% of the world's sea-bound oil, passes through Indonesia.

All of these features bode well for Indonesia's growth which is set to reach 6.8%⁵ this year and unlike other economic factors, these natural bounties will not go away. Above all, Indonesia has a competent market-oriented leadership. President Yudhoyono, a military man by training, has maintained a conservative fiscal policy and has set about developing large-scale national projects. So far these endeavours are proving fruitful and President Yudhoyono's policies have earned the aplomb of the markets and foreign investors.⁶ In light of these achievements, Indonesia's rise should be recognized and encouraged.

¹ CIA World Fact Book, Indonesia, India and China. Feb 2013. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

² CIA World Fact Book, Indonesia, India and China

³ CIA World Fact Book, Indonesia, India and China

⁴ CIA World Fact Book, Indonesia, India and China

⁵ "Indonesia's Economy: Tipping the Balance". 23 Feb 2013. The Economist. <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/2157245-gloomy-politics-so-how-long-can-bright-economics-last-tipping-balance>

⁶ "Indonesia's Economy: Tipping the Balance". The Economist.

To Look Beyond

Paola Tamma on how happiness enters the development

Development, individual or social, cannot be sectorial. It regards an individual's wellbeing and ability to thrive within its social context, and is made up of several interacting factors. Imagine a boy solely and obsessively preoccupied with filling his piggy bank. He has no friends, is in poor shape as he never does any sports, cannot read or write, and if he loses any of his savings he falls into a deep depression. Can he be said to be thriving?

An exclusively macroeconomic focus has blinded policymakers to indicators of national performance besides GDP. This conception of development is a misunderstanding: it falsely perceives a positive correlation between this abstract measure and the wellbeing of a society. In fact, Layard suggests¹ there might even be a negative correlation, illustrated by rising rates of suicide, alcoholism, crime and mental illnesses in high-income countries. Obsessing over our piggy banks may actually jeopardize our ability to thrive. Having rejected reductionist indicators of development, this piece will look at the adoption of happiness as a policy objective, and consider the potential difficulties involved.

If GDP growth is ineffective and counterproductive, then what is to be the next social goal? Social scientists old and new found an alternative in happiness. As Bentham put it, "Pains and pleasures are the exclusive motives behind our actions"²: we seek avoidance of the former and maximization of the latter. Layard found that this inherently human impulse corresponds to measurable brain activities. He believes that reaching scientific evidence about the nature of happiness removes all barriers to its pursuit. Hence, all policy should aim at increasing happiness. I endorse his call for a policy objective broader than maximization of national income, but what would happiness policy look like? According to Layard, happiness depends partly on genes and partly on experience. The first component is predetermined, but policy can focus on the independent variables (improving background, national institutions, and policies), changing people's life experiences for the better, thus increasing net national happiness.



Joshua Valanzuolo

The seven domains he specifies as consequential for happiness (income, work and job security, private life, community, health, freedom, and philosophy of life) are all variously impacted by policy. We must assess the aggregate impact of policy in each domain, weighted according to people's preferences, in order to sanction policy as good or bad. This amounts to a utilitarian cost-benefit analysis: the sophistication of the methods might have increased, but the principle remains Bentham's.

While this approach has benevolent intentions, it faces the same limitations and criticisms that a simplistic quantitative appraisal of national income generates. The little-known inventor of GDP himself, economist Simon Kuznets, warned the US congress about the risk of reductionism inherent in his creation:

"The valuable capacity of the human mind to simplify a complex situation in a compact characterization becomes dangerous when not controlled in terms of definitely stated criteria. With quantitative measurements especially, the definiteness of the result suggests, often misleadingly, a precision and simplicity in the outlines of the object measured."³

It seems that the same warning applies to any policymaker concerned with comprehensive, uniform quantifications of social objectives such as happiness. 'But policy needs evidence!' I hear civil servants scream. I turned to Professor Neil Thin for an answer.

A self-declared happiness scholar, his most recent work criticizes exclusively quantitative approaches to happiness, because they fail to acknowledge the complexity of the self.⁴ He argues that the problem with a cost-benefit analysis of happiness is that what is truly being measured are self-reported, blunt statements about people's momentary perceptions – not their 'real' happiness level. Does such a thing exist? Certainly a more in-depth look at people's lives and perceptions would give any happiness measurement more credibility. He advocates for a more complex and nuanced approach concerning people's happiness that would go beyond aggregate numbers and simplistic indexes. Policy needs to be well formulated and transparent in how it is to improve human life. Rather than simply alleviating pain, a positive agenda must be developed creating an environment for individuals to thrive. In order to avoid the risk of patriarchal prescriptions ("to be happy, do this"), he stresses the importance of empathy and understanding of people's preferences and perceptions. Finally, he argues for a holistic and temporal perspective on happiness, because human life's domains interact between each other and aspirations change throughout time⁵.

From this discussion, many questions arise: how are we going about understanding people's preferences? Are they all equally valid, or are there 'better' and 'worse' ways to gain happiness? Could and should policy influence these? The evolution of development discourse toward the happiness objective is still at its inception, despite giant leaps in recent times. In 2011, the UN adopted the measure of Gross National Happiness, a phrase coined by the king of Bhutan, reported to have said in 1972 that "Gross National Happiness is more important than Gross National Product". UN secretary Ban Ki-moon spoke of the worldwide need for "a new economic paradigm that recognizes the parity between the three pillars of sustainable development. Social, economic and environmental well-being are indivisible. Together they define gross global happiness."⁷ This new measure comprises nine indicators,

the Piggy Bank

discourse. What are the implications for policy and people?



Dr. Neil Thin

including ecological wellbeing, cultural diversity, the quality of governance, social justice, and psychological health, which are operationalised through 72 variables.⁸ It remains to be seen what governments would make out of this building momentum towards a new, broader understanding of development. Certainly, to look beyond their national piggy banks would gain them a healthier, more supportive, more productive and certainly happier population.

Paola Tamma interviews Edinburgh University's Professor Neil Thin.

Dr. Neil Thin specialises in the application of multidisciplinary happiness and wellbeing scholarship to social planning. He has spent over 20 working towards poverty reduction, and promotion of justice and wellbeing in poorer countries, working from grassroots to governmental levels and international official agencies.

Q: Dr. Thin, You are a happiness expert. How did you become so interested in it?

A: I had worked on poverty reduction and social justice for 20 years but was increasingly through the 1990s trying to help development agencies articulate more positive visions of social progress leading not just to the minimising of harms but to the optimising of the enjoyments that life has to offer. Somewhere along the line I

stumbled across Ruut Veenhoven's World Happiness database and immediately I became a born-again would-be happiness scholar.

Q: Tricky one: could you give me your one-sentence definition of happiness?

A: Happiness is a loose label we use for our thoughts and conversations about the goodness of human experiences and whole lives, particularly our own lives.

Q: At one conference you gave for the EUID (Edinburgh University International Development Society), you spoke about the importance of adopting a happiness lens on development. Could you expand on what does this means in terms of policy recommendations for development practitioners?

A: My 'happiness lens' concept is not about particular policy recommendations but about promoting transparent (i.e. explicit and rational) thinking and planning that focuses on how activities and interim goods (like money and schooling) are expected to end up making people's lives go better. Apart from this ethical transparency, its four key features are: positivity (going beyond harm reduction to think about and promote really good lives); empathic respect for subjectivity (recognizing the importance of letting people say how they experience things or how they evaluate themselves); holism (exploring how goods and experiences in different domains interact, e.g work, family life, and leisure); and a life-course perspective (trying to understand how aspirations develop, and how earlier life phases interact with later life phases form a sense of a life narrative).

Q: Your recent piece of work 'Counting and recounting happiness and cultures: on happiness surveys and prudential ethnobiography, 2012' criticizes exclusively quantitative approaches to happiness, because they fail to acknowledge the complexity of the self. You argue for a holistic conceptualization and a life-spanning perspective on happiness, which call for more in-depth anthropological approaches to the study of happiness.

What are the downsides of happiness indexes and quantitative self-report statements such as those used by Layard

and recently picked up by international organizations such as the UN?

A: The main downside is that they appear empathic (allowing people to self-rate) while not really being so (because people can only respond with numbers, not with accounts of how they arrive at their self-ratings. Another downside is that aggregate numbers take on a life of their own, being confused by researchers for actual happiness when all they really do is give us evidence of one kind of rather blunt self-report. They're not intrinsically wrong, just liable to be abused in a reductionist way.

Q: You are part of a panel of 'experts on happiness' bridging UN and Bhutan on the topic of Gross National Happiness. What is it that you do?

A: This is the 'International Expert Working Group' appointed by the Government of Bhutan to help them draft reports to the UN on how we can translate the UN 'New Development Paradigm' idea into specific kinds of policy and specific approaches to the evaluation of development, including making inputs into the post-2015 replacement of the Millennium Development Goals.

Q: And how optimistic are you about this kind of quantitative debate on happiness; do you take it as a move in the right direction ("at least they're talking about this") or do you see it as damaging for the potential of the happiness discourse in development?

A: I definitely see quantitative happiness surveys as a major step in a good direction. I just want to see much more work done on analysis and on qualitative assessment.

Dr. Neil Thin is a Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh.

¹ Layard, R., 2003. "Has social science a clue?: what is happiness? Are we getting happier?" In [online]: Lionel Robbins memorial lecture series, 03-05 Mar 2003, London, UK. Available at: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/47425/> [accessed 9/4/13]

² Bentham, J., 1780. *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, London: MacMillan

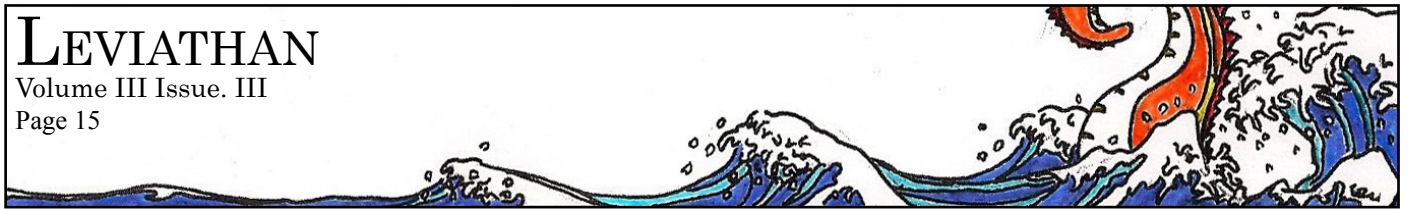
³ Kuznets, S., 1934. "National Income, 1929-1932". In [online]: 73rd US Congress, 2d session, Senate document no. 124, pp. 5-7. Available at: http://fraser.stlouisfed.org/docs/publications/nipab/19340104_nationalinc.pdf [Accessed 9/4/13]

⁴ Thin, N., 2012. "Counting and recounting happiness and cultures: on happiness surveys and prudential ethno biography". In *International Journal of wellbeing*, 2(4), pp.

⁵ Thin, N. Email interview, 28.3.2013 (see below)

⁶ A/RES/66/281, 2012. "International Day of Happiness", [online]. Available at: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/281 [Accessed 9/4/2013]

⁷ UN News Stories, 2012. "Interview with the Prime minister of Bhutan, Jigmi Y. Thinley", [online]. Available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/newsmakers.asp?NewsID=49> [Accessed 9/4/13]



China's Wall

Annie Kowalewski uncovers the

The Great Wall of China has been called one of the world's greatest wonders and is a well-known UNESCO world heritage site. During the Han Dynasty, the Great Wall was used for trade and protection. While trade takes on a different route today, the Great Wall's significance has become symbolic. China, a world economy, has seen miraculous growth and development since the Cultural Revolution. The country's development is unparalleled, and, like the Great Wall, seems impenetrable. Yet recent events have hinted at cracks in China's development—cracks deep enough to threaten the claims of China becoming the 'future of the world'.¹ These cracks reveal that perhaps the wall is not as impenetrable as it seems.

The first crack in China's development is distrust. This distrust began during the Cultural Revolution, the first step to China's current success. This revolution, led by Mao ZeDong, destroyed every previous loyalty of Chinese civilization. Through propaganda and raids, the revolution destroyed the remnants of ancient Chinese culture, severed family ties, and broke the barrier between city dwellers and villagers. After the revolution, China's institutions were completely dissolved—there was no set leadership, no social hierarchy, and no firm government organization.

“The cultural revolution destroyed remnants of ancient Chinese culture, severed family ties and broke the barrier between city dwellers and villagers.”

This fostered ample conditions to mold an entirely new system for the country, but also created a society without shared, countrywide values and culture. Filling the void of tradition and fueled by Deng XiaoPing's ideology of the rich life as the glamorous life, material items and success became the ultimate goal of both government and civilians. Because of this

society based purely on economic ties and gains, not ideology or widespread values, a level of distrust exists within China on both the international and local scale.

Perhaps the most obvious example of distrust on the international scale is between “the most important bilateral relationship in the world”² : China and the United States. China and the U.S. are major trading partners and agree on the need for diplomacy, but despite efforts to build ties, each country has an underlying distrust of the other's intentions. In China, many policymakers and foreign analysts hold that the United States' pro-democracy foreign policy is trying to constrain China's rise and undermine its political system. In the United States, American officials worry that China's authoritarian pathway to power will result in direct cost to the U.S.³ U.S. distrust towards Chinese motives have deepened with the recent Chinese hackings of U.S. government sites⁴ and is even straining economic ties between the two nations after the U.S. Congress passed a bill restricting federal purchases of networked equipment “produced, manufactured or assembled” in China.⁵ Neither side really understands the political and institutional structure of the other's system, so both countries tend to wrongly assume the other is more strategic and centralized than itself, thus creating false intentions behind what could very well just be coincidental events. The economics of Chinese manufacturing and American design hold the two countries together in a quest to build ties, but these ties are not built on mutual trust and understanding.

Another instance of international distrust is found in China's relationship with its neighboring regions. China's history is plagued with territorial disputes. In 1997, China struggled with Hong Kong's transition from a British colony to a Chinese territory.⁶ In the mid-1950s, Tibetan resentment of Chinese rule triggered armed resistance and China has been keeping close tabs on Tibet ever since, recently through Android spy malware.⁷ In 1949, China faced another obstacle when the Guomindang took control of Taiwan and set up a separate,

democratic political system with U.S.-like elements. In 2012, China and Japan conflicted over the “righteous” owner of the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands.⁸ Currently, China is still quelling Tibetan activists, attempting to block Taiwan from entering the international diplomatic arena, and has yet to resolve the issue of the true ownership of the islands in the East Sea. This assertiveness and territorial

“Corruption and increased access to independent media fuel distrust towards officials in positions of authority.”

bullying of its neighboring regions fosters accusations of China as power-hungry and ruthless, and neither adjective makes for a reputation of having an open diplomatic sphere of communication. The international community sees China as a vital trade partner, but there are no shared values or mutual trust to create any ties beyond economic ones.

Within the country, distrust penetrates the inner workings of Chinese society. Chinese citizens are wary of those from different economic classes due to the increasing income disparity between the rich and poor and the differing class benefits. Food and hygiene scandals such as the return of the bird flu⁹ or rivers contaminated with dead pigs¹⁰ lead the public to distrust food suppliers and corporations. In fact, according to a survey of people in seven different Chinese cities, only 20-30% of people said they felt trust for those they didn't know – a 30% decline of those willing to trust others from previous surveys.¹¹ Corruption and increased access to independent media fuel distrust towards officials in positions of authority. From a top-down perspective, the government has a partially institutionalized distrust in its own military and intelligence agencies. As demonstrated in the Bo XiLai incident, suspicions even run within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) itself. Between Chinese locals and foreigners residing in China there is growing resentment,



of Weaknesses

cracks in China's powerful facade.

illustrated by the visa checks in Beijing or the intolerance of foreigners at the “bar street” in Shanghai. Distrust runs through all levels of relationships in Chinese society: between nations, CCP officials, citizens, and even expatriates. All these trust issues are a crucial ‘crack’ in the Chinese wall of development, as distrust breeds social unrest.

The second crack manifests itself in the short-term economic goals on which China's development was founded. To kick-start the economy, China's short-term policies included efforts to increase the labor pool and keep family incomes high while minimizing social costs. Increasing the labor pool called for recruiting workers from rural areas to the cities. These migrant workers became the cheap labor that helped China grow as a manufacturing economy. Due to the influx of migrants, there is now a new class of citizens in China not present in the pre-1980s. However, registration policies have not adapted to include this new class. Since many migrant workers are still unregistered and unable to register in urban areas, they cannot apply for the same social benefits city dwellers have. This has left a large portion of the population, nearly 240 million¹², without working benefits such as injury repercussion or rights such as minimum wage and reasonable living

conditions. Naturally, rising frustrations from this discrimination act as another potential basis for social unrest.

In order to keep family income high, China adopted the one-child policy in 1979. In the 1980s-1990s, this policy kept families' disposable incomes high, which was then returned back to the state. It also allowed families to fully invest in their only child, resulting in a younger generation with new opportunities, such as receiving a more liberal education abroad. Yet now, the one-child policy shows detrimental effects. Estimates predict that by 2035 there will be less than 2.5 workers for every retiree, a dramatic drop from the 1980s, when there were seven working-age people to every retired one.¹³ China's aging population will soon become a drain on government funds while simultaneously lowering the country's manufacturing ability, a very detrimental combination to its current rate of development.

Focusing purely on short-term goals also meant that many long-term benefits were disregarded. For example, environment was a second priority to production. To construct and manufacture quickly and in such great numbers, China sacrificed its land availability, water cleanliness, and depleted its natural resources. Due to urbanization and a growing middle class, water demand is spiking while China faces problems with water scarcity.¹⁴ Today, in many of the large cities, smog and pollution generate massive health problems¹⁵—health problems which now another sum of the government's budget must address. The economy was built on short-term policies that are now increasingly harmful and costly to rectify.

Finally, the third crack is presented by social changes in the Chinese population. After development, the trend in the West has been to choose quality of life over quantity of materialistic goods. Similarly, in China there is a shift in the richest of the population to live a more luxurious life—to increase leisure time and enjoy better quality goods. As a country, China does not develop recognizable brand names, so to associate itself with luxury, China sought to buy and invest in brand names such as America's IBM or Greece's Follie Follie.¹⁶

However, these luxuries are reserved to a handful of the upper class and present a stark contrast to rural or migrant workers who are deprived of even the most basic needs. In general, the Chinese people are beginning to demand an increased quality of life—whether it is through luxury goods, better working conditions, or more social benefits. The migrant workers and middle business class are becoming restless, and widespread media fuels this restlessness.

Walls can only have so many cracks before they shatter completely. Cracks such as social unrest, long-term problems or the demand for a different lifestyle are not cracks that more of the same, strict, authoritarian-like government policy can smooth over. Chinese leadership can either deal with these challenges in the same innovative way many Western countries did, by inventing its own form of democracy, or it can continue its single-party rule and see more desperation resulting from closed-thought representation. The change in leadership presents some hope of change, with Xi Jinping's push for the “Chinese Dream”, plans for better sustainable development strategies, and advocates anti-corruption. Whether this change proves effective still remains in question. What the cracks do expose is that China is not as powerful nor as confident as it seems; but rather, a nation running on fear. If the government is unable to adapt to address changing demands, then these cracks will start breaking the bricks of Chinese society and the great wall that is China could fall.



Jessie Stevenson

¹ US recession fears. This confidence was lost, and there was a huge crash. “East Asia.” Centre for Policy and Development Systems.
² U.S., China must overcome mutual distrust - CNN.com.” CNN.com International - Breaking, World, Business, Sports, Entertainment and Video News.
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⁷ Tibetan Activists Hit by Second Android Spy Malware.” Mashable
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Developing Public Health

Ally Memon on the need to re-think development

Every government's public health agenda is influenced both by local needs and the global standards laid out in the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs establish clear benchmarks and focus for global health development issues. Any advocacy for improving public health must go hand-in-hand with other forms of development. It is important to note that there is interdependence between forms of development, as well. The conditions in which people live and function have an effect on their well-being and vice-versa. For example, if people achieve a global standard of education, then, chances are that they will be better aware of preventive health measures. Improvements in measurable areas of development like education, water and sanitation systems, conservation and environmental quality will have a positive impact on health. This is a positive feedback loop; better health leads to more economic development since healthier people will be more productive. If we think of this relation in terms of the MDG's for Health (G4 Reduce Child Mortality; G5 Improve Mental Health; G6 Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other related diseases), then these health outcomes cannot be achieved without progress in other MDG's which are related (i.e. G1 Eradicating poverty

“Health improvements and effective healthcare service delivery cannot be independent of improvement and development in other sectors.”

and hunger; G2 Achieving primary education; G3 Promote Gender equality and empower women; G7 Ensure environmental stability; G8 Develop global partnerships for development).¹

For this reason, collaboration is essential to achieving development agendas. Health improvements and effective healthcare service delivery cannot be independent of improvement

and development in other sectors. The challenges in achieving improved public health and development are vast and vary region to region. In the context of Pakistan as an example of a South Asian nation, the obstacles in delivering effective healthcare services are concentrated around human resource factors. The health sector has gone through devolution with the federal health ministry being dissolved and health policy, planning, and implementation being handed over to provincial ministries.² Among their many functions, the prime agenda for any provincial health ministry or department in the country is the effective delivery of healthcare services and control of communicable diseases, namely, tuberculosis, polio eradication, malaria, HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis B and C.³ More recently, a growth in measles outbreaks has challenged and over-stretched the resource base for the country's health departments, where more than 2,500 cases have been reported in the month of January 2013 alone.⁴

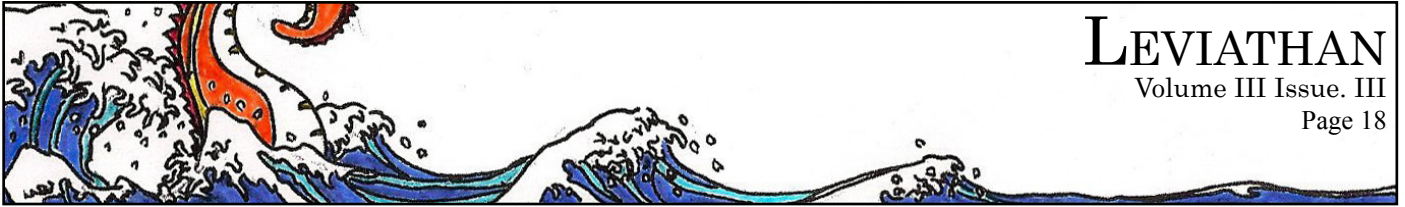
Pakistan's current Director General of Health Services in Sindh highlights that the major challenges faced are associated with lack of trained healthcare workers. There is an inability to train and deploy trained human resources in healthcare due to inadequate funding and dominance of the private healthcare sector which attracts skilled healthcare workers. This lack of trained manpower creates large managerial deficiencies. Deploying an already under-trained and short-staffed personnel base to remote communities is demanding due to the poor transport infrastructure that makes it difficult to reach rural populations. The sheer extent to which these populations are dispersed is a challenge added to the equation, since no link road systems exist that can lead to remote villages, of which there are many.⁵

The problem of lacking human resources may be addressed through more collaboration with the education sector—something that the World Health Organisation (WHO) encourages and

tries to support—and other national initiatives that encourage institutional alliances in the country for the training of manpower in the health sector.⁶ Other factors such as overstretched resources and gender inequality that create social imbalance in rural communities are obstacles to progress in public healthcare service delivery. In terms of building institutional capacity as the department of health, there is a large gap that needs to be filled in making personnel I.T. literate

“Any improvements in public healthcare service delivery... are directly causal in relationship with development in other sectors such as education, communication & works and irrigation.”

and establishing information systems to improve communication, sharing of data and strengthen accountability.⁷ According to the Director General, health development is not an isolated or independent domain. Any improvements in public healthcare service delivery (and the nation's quality of health) are directly causal in relationship with development in other sectors such as education, communication & works and irrigation. Also, any future developments in healthcare services and improvement in its delivery are dependent on political reforms that sanction and implement far more public spending for health and education sectors than present. This is an inevitable and undisputed requirement that policy makers in the region must wake up to since populations will continue to grow and unplanned urbanisation will continue encouraging disease outbreaks and epidemics. Any future capability and capacity to respond to this challenge is only possible if adequate funding for intra-sector building as well as inter-sector collaborating is done in the present.



care Service Delivery

through interdependence and collaboration.

Globally, there is a chronic shortage of health workers. An estimated 4.2 million health workers are needed and this critical shortage is recognized as a fundamental constraint to achieving progress in health and development⁸. The Global Health Workforce Alliance (GHWA) was created under the WHO in 2006 as a common platform for action to address the crisis. The GHWA is a 'partnership of national governments, civil society, international agencies, finance institutions, researchers, educators and professional associations dedicated to identifying, implementing and advocating for solutions'⁹.

From a services perspective, a country like Pakistan operates on a dual-class system, whereby the well-off can protect themselves by affording private healthcare the poor continue to face a deficient healthcare system with poor quality services and live as isolated populations with no nearby access to facilities. Even where the case is that services are reachable, these populations are unable to afford transportation costs to such facilities and typically cannot afford drugs or prescribed treatments.¹⁰ Language is a barrier to collaboration between the public and private health care sectors. Private-sector firms and practitioners operate entirely in urban areas that speak the national language whilst rural practitioners, mostly public sector employees, speak and work in the provincial language.. With reference

to manpower for health in this context, there is the dilemma of misdistribution of health workers between rural and urban set up's causing a shortage of human resource in rural areas; weak HR management systems that affect governance due to a lack of coordination and monitoring mechanisms; and a non-regulated private-sector that operates primarily in urban areas which pays relatively more than the public-sector and hence attracts the competent human resource pool.¹¹

Observing with a wider lens, the crippling issue is that of government expenditure on health being a mere 2.2 percent of GDP between 2008 – 2012, one of the lowest in the world, which does not give the world's sixth largest populated country much hope.¹² According to the Leprosy Tuberculosis & Blindness Welfare Association of Pakistan, the country spends less than 1 percent of its GNP on health in the public sector, among the lowest in the world.¹³

Health improvement must go hand-in-hand with education development since education will be (directly or indirectly) the biggest promoter of health awareness and disease prevention in the long run. Realising that human resource issues in healthcare need to be addressed through collaboration and development in other spheres such as education, some recently introduced initiatives seem promising in the attempt to meet burdening health

demands. The Pakistan Medical and Dental Council has made it mandatory to develop integrated curriculums, new medical colleges have cropped up across the country, and a ministry for Human Resource Development has been established in 2012 which sets the agenda for the training and development of personnel across Pakistan wherever

there are shortages in meeting public-sector service demand.¹⁴ The GHWA is supporting collaboration and development in Pakistan through a country coordination and facilitation (CCF) initiative where each devolved province (and its health sector) having a CCF committee engage in independent coordination mechanisms, strategies and plans for human resource capacity building for healthcare. Such an initiative brings partners like the UN, WHO and USAID who engage in the planning process.¹⁵

In the context of Pakistan and other developing countries in the South Asia region, the factors which will continue to determine healthcare service delivery and utilisation are unequipped human resources, lack of education, inadequate rural infrastructure development, gender inequality, and socio-economic divisions between rural and urban populations. There is a great need to direct efforts towards inter-sectoral collaborations that focus more on disadvantaged rural segments of the population that actually represent the majority. In attempting this, we must not forget that improved healthcare service delivery will be dependent on the development of other sectors in real-time. Health is only one cog in the wheel for the human development system.

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⁹Manderson, L. (1998) Health matters in developing economies in Petersen, A. and Waddell, C. (1998) Health Matters: A sociology of illness, prevention and care. Open University Press, Singapore

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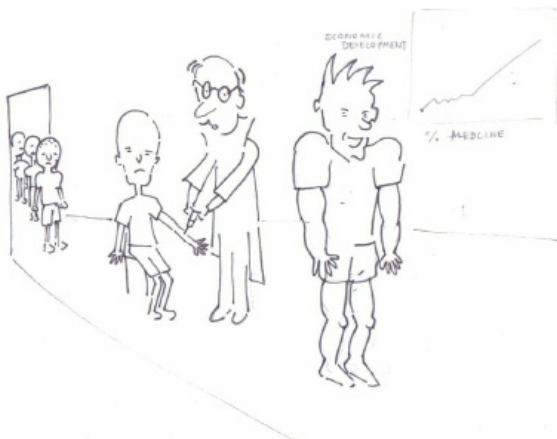
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¹²LETBRA (n.d.) Health Situation in Pakistan. Accessed on Apr 02, 2013, <http://leprosy-tb-blindness.angelfire.com/Health_Situation_in_Pakistan.htm>

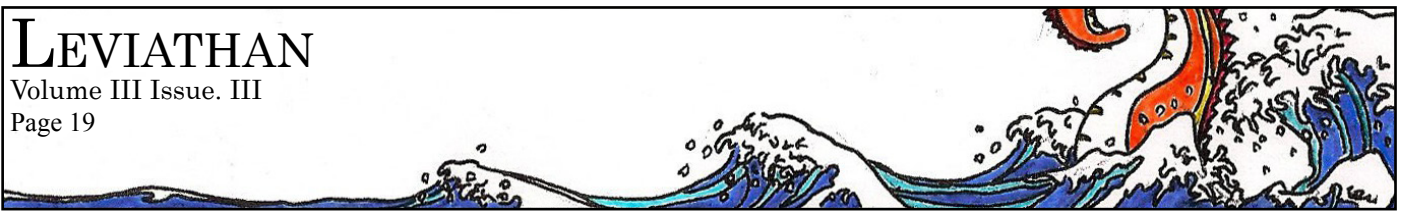
¹³W.H.O (2013) About the Alliance

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Jessie Stevenson



Adam

Anu Hiekkaranta discusses how the church lost

Is the era of state-sponsored homophobia coming to an end? As of March 2013, same-sex marriage had been legalised in eleven countries: the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Canada, South Africa, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Iceland, Argentina, Denmark, and various regional jurisdictions in the United States, Brazil, and Mexico. While churches remain reluctant to accept, let alone adapt to, the change, conventional wisdom demonstrates that the law is under no such pretences. Legislation has a habit of adjusting to changes in the social atmosphere and, even if slightly lagging behind, to follow along with cultural currents. Europe and the United States in particular are without a doubt moving towards becoming more supportive of gay rights, but does that mean a shift toward a more secular state as well? The development of marriage equality cross-nationally provides evidence for the declining influence of the church and the inevitable secularisation of democratic nations. To illustrate the recent chain of events, this article highlights the developments of LGBT rights in two very different Western democracies: the United States and the Republic of Finland.

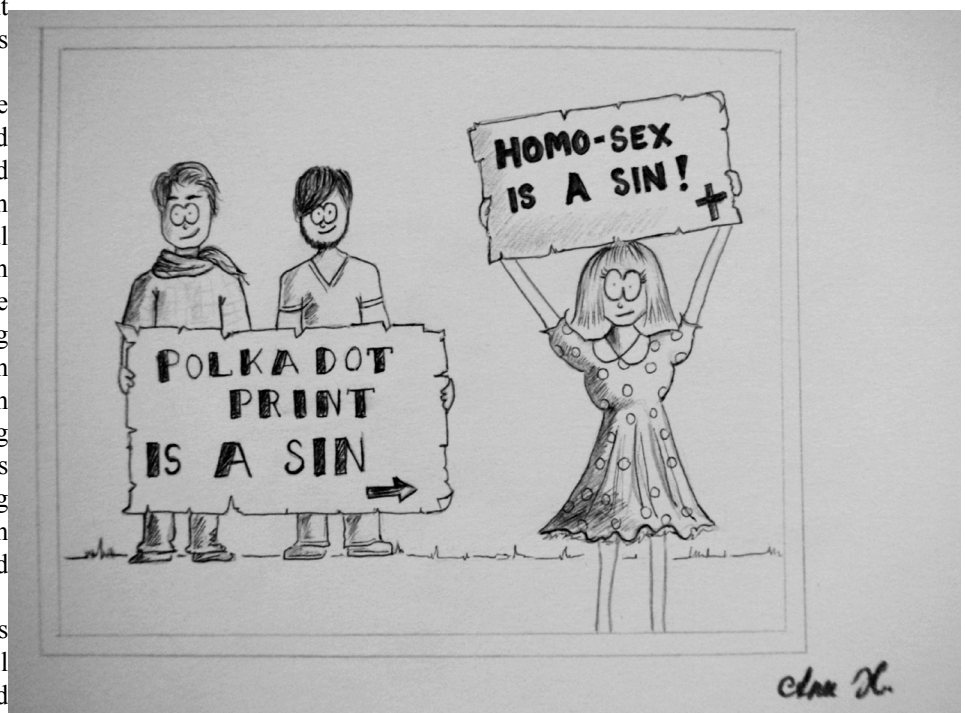
Attitudes toward gay rights have changed at an unprecedented speed over the past few years in the United States. According to the Pew Research Center, around 70% of the millennial generation, aged 18-32 today, stand in support of same-sex marriage.¹ The New York Times went as far as claiming that support for LGBT rights had won the election for Barack Obama in 2012.² Secularisation and the changing demographics of the United States have resulted in a wave of coming out in support of marriage equality in both major parties, the Democrats, and slowly but surely, the GOP.

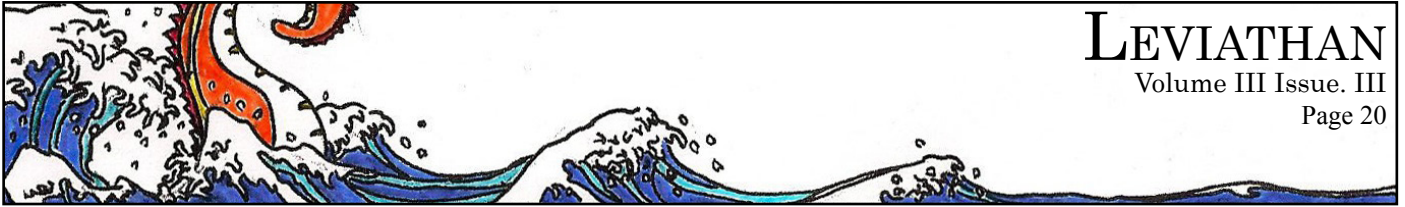
The two potentially landmark cases in what has been described as the civil rights movement of our time reached the Supreme Court of the United States

in March 2013. The Court will rule on the constitutionality of two controversial cases: The Defence of Marriage Act, a federal law signed in 1996 defining marriage as a union between opposite sexes, and Proposition 8, California's 2008 ban on same-sex marriages. The ruling may result in a number of directions, the most optimistic of which would end the debate for good and allow same-sex couples to marry in every state in the US. The arguments from the opponents have relied on positions such as the reluctance to change the traditional definition of marriage stated in the Bible and the more secular arguments such as the possible disadvantages of being raised by single-sex parents as suggested by Justice Scalia. The arguments based on Biblical verses are beginning to lose their significance by the minute, and the secular case against marriage equality is hardly sturdy. The particular argument by Justice Scalia, for instance, is not only ill-informed, but also out of touch with the current academic research. Both the American Psychological Association and the American Academy of Pediatrics

have found no correlation whatsoever between a child's well-being and the sexual orientation of the parents.^{3,4} The Democrats have vociferously supported marriage equality during the court hearings, but the GOP remains somewhat quiet in the face of the surprisingly fragile arguments on the side of traditional marriage proponents and the sudden shift in public opinion. Fawning on the white Christian demographic has proved disastrous for the GOP in the progressively secularising and more religiously diverse United States of the 2010's. However, the GOP is willing to do whatever it takes to prevent another embarrassing loss at a presidential election.

The Pew Research Center reported in 2012 that one in five American adults, including one in three adults under 30, did not identify with any religion.⁵ Religious disaffiliation is at an unparalleled high in the United States and around the world. Particularly higher statistical percentages are reported from the Nordic European States like Sweden and Finland, where only around 18-





and Steve

the battle over the definition of marriage.

33% of the population reported belief in God.⁶ Are we to conclude that the gay rights movement caused secularisation? Certainly not, as correlation is not to be confused with causality. Nevertheless, the two phenomena are without a doubt interactive. For the purposes of sociological analysis, one can be better understood with reference to the other. A case in point is Finland, the last Northern European battleground state for gay rights. In 2010, following the airing of “Homoilta: Gay Evening,” a one-off talk show themed around the rights of the LGBT community featuring religious authorities, politicians and laypeople, several daily and annual records were broken in the number of resignations from the Finnish Evangelic Lutheran Church. The talk show was recognised with the journalistic award of the year. The following year, during the formation of the sitting government, the Christian Democrats successfully negotiated the exclusion of marriage equality and LGBT adoption rights from discussion in the government until the next election in 2015. Their argument is popularly summarised by the saying “Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve.” The event went by with little media coverage until a couple of years later. In 2013, after a citizens’ petition campaign for marriage equality, I Do 2013 was launched in Finland as a response to the conservative parties’ unwavering position on marriage equality. Once opened on March 19th, the required 50,000 signatures were collected within the first hours of the campaign – a never before seen speed and support for a social cause in an otherwise steady social democracy with a population rarely enthusiastic over a political cause. No guarantee of the petition to turn into legislative effort can be given, but the tide has already swept, and the legalisation of same-sex marriage appears to be nothing but a matter of time in Finland. While this chain of events by no means implies losing one’s religion due to support of

marriage equality, it certainly suggests dissatisfaction with the church’s and the conservative parties’ determination to remain unaffected in the face of social change.

“...the opponents of marriage equality invariably share a common characteristic: a strong belief in God.”

The case of the United States’ conservative party’s anti-gay rhetoric, grounded in fundamentalist interpretation of Christian dogma, is parallel to the Finnish conservatives. This debate is blazing in nations across continents. While the legal details of each country differ from one another, the opponents of marriage equality invariably share a common characteristic: a strong belief in God. Correspondingly, in the UK, where the prime minister has promised in 2013 to move ahead with plans to legalise same-sex marriage, the primary concern with the issue is the demolition of traditional marriage as it was intended by God. The most far-right members of the American Republican Party who oppose marriage equality are also essentially the same crowd, insisting on the inclusion of creationism and not evolution into the educational curriculum. The base of each of these parties is, to put it bluntly, a dying demographic with a mean age much higher than the supporters of middle and left parties in each country. Adding to the effect, the conservative parties are also rapidly losing the support of younger voters.

While the time of Christianity is not over, the Biblical doctrine has simply lost its legal significance in the debate on marriage equality. In a non-theocracy the answer to the question of whether or not the dogma of one religion should apply to all citizens under the law appears obvious, especially to the socially liberal and educated younger

generations. With the Bible out of the equation, the case against LGBT rights seems to be crumbling down. The younger generations of peaceful democracies now experience the church increasingly as a hostile promoter of inequality and discrimination. The message of compassion and the golden rule have gotten lost somewhere in the midst of slogans such as “God Hates Fags” and “Homo-sex is a threat to national security.” What is the church to do about it? Resistance to change is, after all, the trademark of religious authorities. Whether it pleases the religious leaders or not, even the present US Supreme Court and other national legislative authorities recognise that laws ought to be justified by something a bit more coherent than bigotry and habit. It is evident that the United States has changed when the infamous American TV-show host and political pundit Bill O’Reilly, known as the crusader of conservative morals, has admitted that the compelling argument is on the side of the proponents of marriage equality.

The question we ought to be asking is not whether nationwide marriage equality legislation in the US, Finland and other democracies will pass, but when will it pass. The religious institutions and their anti-gay proponents world-wide may carry on praying the gay away, but the legislative developments of 2013 and prior mark the beginning of the end for state-sponsored discrimination of LGBT individuals and families. Though the battles on either side of the Atlantic are not over, the war over LGBT rights is already won.

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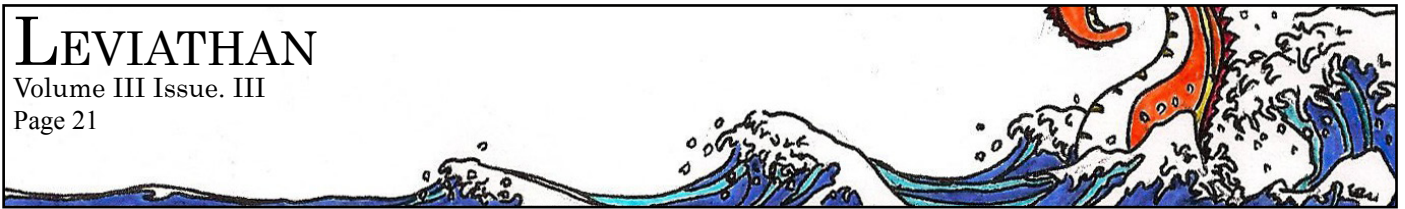
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Rio's new urban development: a

Emma Platais examines how Rio's short-term urban

Brazil's long history of unequal land and income distribution combined with extremely rapid urbanization has led to the unique urban phenomena known as the favelas.¹ In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's second largest city, 22 percent of its 6.3 million citizens live in favelas.² With the upcoming events of the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016, the government will have an unprecedented opportunity to incorporate the favelas and their residents into the plans for Rio's future. Yet despite the new projects and push for urban development in the city, the government continues to exclude the favela residents through evictions and demolitions of their communities, and risks aggravating an already detrimental social situation.

“In the last few years, attitudes to favelas have begun to change thanks to the expulsion of drugs and arms dealers.”

The favelas were never considered by the government to be official communi-

ties. They were “aberrations” and a danger to the health of their residents and the rest of the city.³ The government took serious measures in the 1940s when the City Hall moved favela residents to “proletariat parks” in which they instituted curfews and required residents to carry identity cards. During this period, there was growing resentment from the upper classes toward the fact that their taxes were paying for the poor's housing and living conditions.⁴ These feelings of disconnect remained, and failed to generate much support for future governmental attempts to improve living conditions, such as government programs Operação Mutirão in the 1960s and Favela-Bairro in the 1980s. Furthermore, the increasing severity of drug trafficking and arms dealing greatly increased people's reluctance towards the continued existence of the favelas.⁵ Only in the last few years have attitudes begun to change thanks to the expulsion of drug traffickers and arms dealers through measures such as the Pacifying Police Units (UPPs): consistent, targeted municipal police programs. With more than 19 UPPs installed in over 71 communities in Rio,

“If each community's unique history and traits are built upon, Rio would be one of the most creative cities on the planet.”

the elite have begun investing in property, thanks to the increased security and stability.⁶

In spite of the urban development, basic services such as professional training, daycares, medical assistance, educational support, and adequate drainage systems are still lacking within the majority of the favelas. In a recent interview in *The New York Times*, Theresa Williamson, founder of the Rio non-profit Catalytic Communities, pointed out that if these services are strengthened, there is incredible potential in an alternative vision for the future of the favelas. She acknowledged that favelas are unregulated and organically evolving areas, but also noted how each community has its own unique history and traits. If this is built upon, the diversity would make Rio one of the most culturally interesting and creative cities on the planet. At the same

time, investment in the favelas would be a way to highlight the importance of grassroots development and long-term sustainability.⁷

“It is estimated that 170,000 people will be displaced because of the mega-events.”

Yet, instead of investing, as is necessary, the government has decided to take a different route. In order to prepare for the World Cup and the Olympics, according to the *New York Times*, “it is estimated that 170,000 people will be displaced because of the mega-events”.⁸ In the last two years, Rio has already seen various forced evictions in the



sacrifice of equality and social rights

modernisation will exacerbate long-term social conflicts.



favelas of Metrô, Largo do Tanque, and Vila Autódromo in order to make room for various developments including the BRT Transcarioca, a new bus line to the Galeão International Airport. These favelas have survived for many years without the support of the government.

“If we were to speak amongst ourselves or seek legal advice, he would reduce our compensation offers.”

They have implemented their own infrastructure and have built a strong sense of community through hard work and dedication to helping one another. Most importantly, according to the Brazilian Constitution as well as the Municipal Law of Rio de Janeiro, residents have a right not be removed from their favela neighborhoods.⁹

Despite all of this, the government is paying little attention to the human and civil rights of the residents. In the case of evictions, residents are given minimal time to

evacuate, are not given proper time to negotiate with the authorities, and are forced to accept extremely low compensation prices as a result of stress and psychological bullying. One eviction victim, from the favela Largo do Tanque, recounted, “The City Hall supervisor, who was sent to help with the negotiations, told us not to speak amongst ourselves or seek legal advice; if we were to act otherwise, he would reduce our compensation offers.” The rights of the favela residents are being entirely ignored by the City Hall. The financial compensations of roughly R\$7,000 (US\$3,500) are not sufficient for residents to afford accommodation elsewhere in the city, forcing people to find housing in suburbs that are situated hours outside of Rio.¹⁰



The government is destroying historic communities, dispersing families, and distancing residents from their jobs, creating an economic and social crisis for people who are already among the most vulnerable in the city.

The plans for urban development in Rio are devastating local communities in a way that is ruinous for the future of the city. The projects that are preparing the city for the mega-events will occupy the attention of the politicians for the near future, yet the problems of the city’s residents will cause further crises later on. The government should take this opportunity to improve the lives of 22 percent of the city’s population, instead of forcefully and illegally disrupting these strong communities. On the one hand, Rio is experiencing vast urban development that is opening up access to the city for foreigners and investors like never before. On the other hand, this development is failing to unite Rio in a way that could strengthen it, and will only result in rapidly increasing inequality and social tensions.

A portion of the information contributing to this article is based on an interview with Theresa Williamson, founder and head of Catalytic Communities in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The photographs are courtesy of Liane Milton and RioOnWatch.org.

¹ Informal Communities not regulated by the government.

² Williamson, Theresa. 2012. “A Missed Opportunity in Rio”. The New York Times. (online) Available at: <<http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/04/02/are-the-olympics-more-trouble-than-theyre-worth/brazil-is-missing-an-opportunity-to-invest-in-the-favelas>> (Accessed March 20, 2013).

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Assumption of Responsibility

Robbie McKenzie assesses the role of the LDCs in climate change mitigation.

The endless cycle of summits, proposals, commitments, and treaties in the attempts of recent decades to implement sustainable development may appear inconsequential in light of the seemingly universal consumerism that has enveloped our planet.

Hitherto, international forums such as the Rio Earth Summits and G8 meetings have developed an inherent problem in overseeing the implementation of a comprehensive framework for sustainable development and climate change mitigation: disagreements over the proportionate division of responsibility between the developed and developing countries. Developing nations are adamant that the over-consumption and industrialisation in developed nations over the past century, compared to the extremely modest carbon emissions of developing



Sarah Werner

nations, make developed countries almost entirely accountable for climate change and thus responsible for its mitigation. Conversely, the majority of developed nations – whether in an honest effort to prevent the replication of their past developmental mistakes, or indeed in an attempt to protect their own interests and sustain blind economic growth – is urging the developing world to take charge in the practical mitigation of climate change.

In early April the UN group of the 49 least developed countries (LDC) committed to the reduction of domestic greenhouse gas emissions through National Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMAs).¹ Although binding decisions are yet to be agreed

upon, this move represents a major stride in international climate change mitigation.

The LDC group was established as the UN representative body of nations with an annual GDP per capita of less than \$900. These nations comprise 12% of the global population yet hold only 1% of global wealth.² Moreover, they are among the lowest per capita greenhouse gas emitters on the planet – compare the 0.17 tonnes CO₂e of the Democratic Republic of Congo with the global average of 6 tonnes CO₂e – and have low adaptive capacity to natural disasters exacerbated by climate change, mainly due to low levels of political development, technological infrastructure, and financial capital.³

Thus, the nations least responsible for, and most affected by, climate change are tackling its mitigation despite on-going struggles with issues of human welfare such as overpopulation, poor nutrition and sanitation, and lack of potable water, among other issues. This may be considered nonsensical in light of the reluctance of advanced developed nations such as the United States, Canada, and Japan to engage with the mechanisms of sustainable development outlined by the Kyoto Protocol in favour of sustaining economic growth.⁴ But LDCs are faced with a desperate dilemma: if they do not attempt set a precedent through the practical mitigation of climate change, it will be too late; and the consequences of this will be felt most harshly by the LDCs themselves – not by the comfortably advanced, developed nations of the West.

The dilemma of prioritising climate change mitigation versus poverty alleviation is not a new one, and widespread debate on the subject has surfaced in recent decades.⁵ However, Prakash Mathema, chairman of the LDC group, believes that “responses to climate change should not be seen as the problem, but part of the solution.”⁶

If climate change mitigation and development of adaptive strategies are delayed, the eventual consequences of climate change will only exacerbate poverty levels in LDCs; low agricultural outputs due to drought, salinity, and

flooding may limit livelihood options and increase vulnerability. At present LDCs are heavily reliant on foreign aid, largely through the Least Developed Country Fund and Special Climate Change Fund established in the aftermath of the initial Rio Earth Summit of 1992.⁷ Over-reliance on aid is not a sustainable mechanism of long-term development.

By investing in renewable energy technology as a means of climate change mitigation, LDCs have an opportunity to leapfrog the more environmentally-costly interim stages of carbon-intensive industries that the historic model of development so desperately required. Moreover, as this approach is increasingly supported by donors with the promise of ‘climate finance’, this could provide them with opportunities to access financial support for developing and implementing a stable internal economy,⁸ as well as a potential route out of aid-dependence.

The ‘follow us’ attitude of the LDC group is encouraging. But as greenhouse gas reduction potential in LDCs is limited by low initial emissions,⁹ the attempt is ultimately meaningless unless supported by change in consumption patterns and active policy-making in the Western world.

Perhaps the determination of the least prosperous among us can trigger the replacement of the empty rhetoric of past sustainable development forums with quantifiable change and the enhancement of both domestic and international policy, such as the degradation of inflated fossil fuel subsidies. The future development of the LDCs should be viewed as an opportunity to utilise the knowledge acquired from the past mistakes of developed nations.

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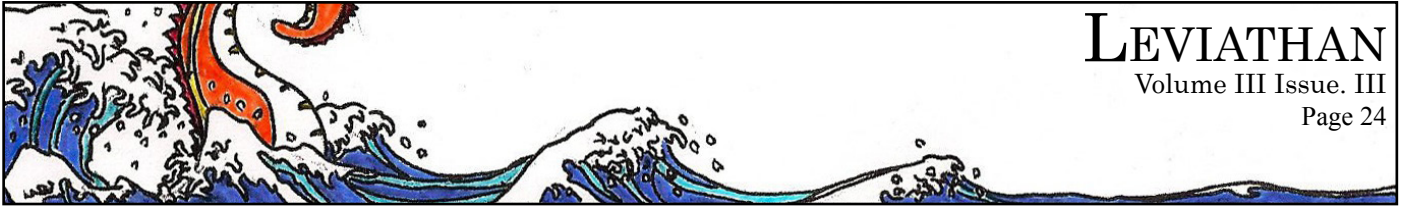
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The EU and Sustainable Goals

What does sustainable development mean in EU law? by Maksym Beznosiuk.

The Brundtland Report, published in 1987 by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, has had an enormous impact on international, domestic, and especially EU law.¹ The Earth Summits of 1992 and 2002, in Rio de Janeiro and Johannesburg, respectively, have also affected the trajectory of EU development policy. But it was only a decade after the Brundtland Report that the European Community incorporated sustainable development into law through the Treaty of Amsterdam's² principle of "balanced and sustainable development."

In 2000, the Lisbon European Council set a very important goal for the EU: "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion."³ In Gothenburg in 2001, the first EU sustainable development strategy (SDS) was launched by the Gothenburg European Council. It focused on policy measures and objectives aimed at tackling



Paris Ackrill

a broad range of unsustainable trends, and provided a new approach to policy-making which ensures that the EU's economic, social and environmental policies reinforce one another.^{4,5} This SDS added a third, environmental dimension to the Lisbon Strategy of economic and social renewal.⁶ The renewed 2006 EU SDS focused on the

main threats to sustainable development and suggested a range of steps that could help address these challenges with a view to ensuring environmental protection, prosperity, and social cohesion. The main body of the Strategy is concentrated on

"For the last ten years, most of the European Union's legislation has followed the 'business as usual' principle."

several key challenges: climate change and clean energy, sustainable transport, sustainable consumption and production, conservation and management of natural resources, public health, social inclusion, demography and migration, global poverty, and sustainable development challenges.⁷ Some experts argue, however, that most of the EU's legislation and policy since 2006 has been 'business as usual', and that the good ideas of the 2006 SDS have not been put into practice.

It is important to stress that a broad range of secondary legislation issued as Directives to Member States has also incorporated the principle of sustainable development. For instance, the Water Framework Directive incorporates the 'river basin approach' to environmental water management and attempts to integrate a multi-sided sustainable development approach in its structure.⁸

European Court of Justice (ECJ) commentary on sustainable development is vague. This might be because the exact meaning of sustainable development is uncertain and political.⁹ For example, in a case concerning the legal value of the fifth Environmental Action Programme (EPA) entitled 'Towards Sustainability', the ECJ merely asserted that the EPA was not legally binding, "failing to explain how the objective of a high level of environmental protection can contribute to operationalising sustainable development."¹⁰

In case C-371/98 concerning protection of nature, Advocate General Léger

underlined that sustainable development does not mean that environmental interests should prevail necessarily and systematically over other interests protected by other policies of the EU, but that it emphasises the necessary balance between various interests that sometimes clash, but which must be reconciled.^{11 12}

It is also necessary to note that "the ECJ has not shied from discussing sustainable development principles in its decisions."¹³ For instance, the principle of assuring a high level of environmental protection is the most integral to the implementation of sustainable development in the EU. This was clearly demonstrated in the Danish Bottles Case.¹⁴

Despite some achievements in implementing sustainable development strategies, unsustainable trends persist in the EU. The EU needs more integrated climate and energy policy, and an integrated approach to the sustainable management of natural resources. Member states should make every effort to implement EU goals that relate to the protection of biodiversity, ecosystem services, and sustainable production and consumption. The last three elements are among the main drivers for achieving objectives under both the SDS and the Lisbon strategy. Unfortunately, for the last 10 years, most of the European Union's legislation and policy followed the principle of "business as usual". Hence, It is high time not only to elaborate new strategies and regulations but also to effectively and efficiently implement them in practice.

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¹⁴ Luis A. Aviles, "Sustainable development and the legal protection of the environment in Europe", 12 *Sustainable Dev. L. & Pol'y* 29 2011, page 32

Making the Shoe Fit

Milena Aksentijevich on Kenya's long and hard path to realising democracy.

More than 11 million citizens turned up to cast their votes in Kenya's fourth democratic election, reportedly the greatest turnout the budding democracy has ever garnered.

Hold the applause: over 330,000, or 6 percent, of these ballots were rejected due to mechanical errors and technicalities. In addition to this, Kenya's Election Observers Group (ELOG) reported that in 15.2 percent of polling places, people who were not registered on the electoral roll were nonetheless allowed to vote, and in 17.6 percent, voter confidentiality was violated.¹ The remaining votes elected to the presidency Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta of the National Alliance Party by a slim majority of 50.07%.² His inaugural ceremony took place in Nairobi on 9 April in front of more than 60,000 eager Kenyans assembled from all across the country to support the new president and to celebrate the success of their democracy.

Indeed, Kenya has much to be proud of; it picked up on the 'liberal democracy' trend years before most other non-Western nations did. Already equipped with a constitution and a presidency, Kenya took its first steps towards becoming fully democratic in 1992 through the establishment of a multi-party system with a bicameral legislature, and regular elections. Structures and institutions essential to a representative state helped Kenya to develop politically at a faster rate than many of its neighbours. The country closely followed the Western manual in assembling the necessary institutional structures to support a democracy—but, like many developing countries eager to follow the footsteps laid out by the long-established democratic states of the West, it appears to lack the ideological and cultural foundation to ensure a stable and accountable government. Herein lies an example of political development held back by long-held ideological norms, formulated over centuries of national and regional history.

Changing the fundamental ideology of a society is made especially difficult in societies, like Kenya, that firmly retain their unique traditions and history. Tribalism remains deeply embedded in Kenyan culture and heavily influences political affairs. Mr

Kenyatta's victory was largely due to his success in cultivating tribal loyalty and alliances, or at least in having more alliances than Mr. Odinga was able to secure. Voters tend to align themselves according to tribal identities, rather than considering the political agendas of candidates. John Githongo, a leading anti-corruption campaigner, says the election failed as a nation-building event.³ In fact, the election might have even further segmented Kenya along tribal lines; post-election inter-tribal tension has erupted over many social media platforms with voters "spitting ethnic vitriol at each other".⁴ Though tribal aggression has remained verbal for the time being, Mr. Kenyatta's strategy in appointing cabinet members could potentially aggravate tribal grievances over land and politics. A cabinet organized to reflect



Open Democracy, Creative Commons

Kenya's ethnic diversity might provoke those loyal to Kenyatta while a cabinet designed to favor the president's tribe might incite resistance from competing tribes.

In the past twenty years, Kenya has endured intervals of corruption and violence that have undermined its potential as an internationally recognized democracy.

Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta will be the first president to stand trial at The Hague for crimes against humanity. While Kenyatta firmly denies the International Criminal Court's (ICC) accusations, he has agreed to comply with their orders.⁵ His indictment refers to the violence that erupted after opposition leader Raila Odinga accused incumbent President Mwai Kibaki, whom Kenyatta firmly supported, of meddling with election results. Kenyatta allegedly organized the killing of over 1,100 opposition supporters. The ensuing violence on

behalf of both politicians and citizens alike reveals a gaping hole in Kenya's democratic process. Ethnic and tribal alliances at the top tiers of government too often define and supersede political activity, stunting the social and political development that would foster more robust objectivity and fairness in Kenyan politics. The internalization of core democratic principles and values must precede democratic processes and structures. This is not to say that Kenya has a culture of violence. Rather, the lack of political accountability leaves citizens without a reliable and legitimate channel through which they know their voices will be heard and the issues arising from multi-party disagreement, resolved.

Despite this, Kenyans have shown great commitment to the political processes of their country and are eager to partake in political discourse and development. However, the deficiency of instruments in place to enable voter participation threatens to discourage their political fervor. Voters reported a variety of technical glitches: electronic biometric voter ID systems had failed, or the laptops running them had run out of power.⁶ Technical errors ensued after voting when polling officers set out to count ballots through a special mobile phone application that sent the preliminary results to the national tallying center. After resorting to tallying ballots by hand, results were released several days later, although voters had been promised preliminary results within 48 hours of polls closing.⁷

Kenya is "keen to redeem its image in the international community"⁸ as a legitimate and growing modern democracy. As in many other developing countries, the spirit of democracy is present. People are eager to voice their opinions, but the Western-inspired institutional framework installed to enable them to do so does not seem to fit.

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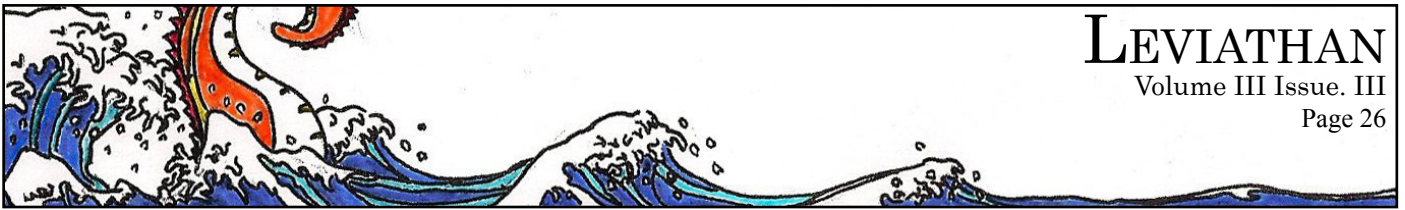
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Editor in Chief



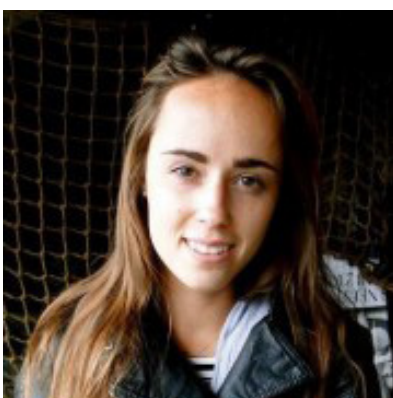
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FEMINISM AND GENDER

QUESTIONS

How can a feminist account of international relations inform postcolonial identity? In what ways does gendered language affect political development? How we interact in society governed by gender expectations? Different societies have radically different norms and attitudes towards gender; can we reconcile those norms? Should we? What role, if any, do human rights play in Feminist or Gender critiques?

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