International Institute of Social Studies

Best Student Essays of 2022-23

PERSPECTIVES IN DEVELOPMENT

An Exercise in Worldmaking

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

Acronyms

AFES – Agrarian, Food, and Environmental Studies
ECD – Economics of Development
GDP – Governance and Development Policy
GMD – Governance of Migration and Diversity
Mundus MAPP – Mundus Master in Public Policy
SJP – Social Justice Perspectives
SPD – Social Policy for Development

Preface

The ISS Editorial Board is delighted to share the newest edition of An Exercise in Worldmaking—showcasing a collection of the best essays from the 2022/23 batch of ISS students. We hope these essays provide a glimpse into the diverse expertise and experiences of the student body at ISS. Furthermore, we extend sincere thanks to the students who have graciously agreed to share their knowledge through this publication, as well as to the faculty and staff that have made this collection possible.

Essays included in this collection went through a rigorous selection process. At first, essays were nominated by ISS faculty and staff, across disciplines and specializations, based on their high quality, unique perspective on development studies, and strongly written analysis. From there, essays were anonymously reviewed by the Editorial Board who made recommendations for inclusion to a final committee of ISS faculty. Throughout the process, we aimed to recreate a snapshot of the diversity present at our institution, favoring essays that were thought-provoking and reflexive. The topics discussed in this collection range from a post-development analysis of counseling in Taiwan to a nuanced reflection on patriarchal structures in architecture in Ecuador. These topics are just two examples reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of the Development Studies program at ISS, and the unique perspectives that students have drawn from for their coursework and analysis.

As you read, we hope you begin to understand the complex questions we grappled with as students trying to unpack the concept of 'development', all while adjusting to a new environment in the Netherlands and life away from home and loved ones. At times, we witnessed contradictions between academia and our lived experiences, which we tried to voice and reconcile. Through it all, we learned and unlearned, and grew more into ourselves through our newfound connections with each other. We hope that in these pages, you find inspiration, insight, and hope—knowing that despite all the challenges our global community faces, there are students like us who care deeply and are actively engaged in *worldmaking*, to build the world we seek to live in. Thank you for reflecting and learning with us.

Sincerely, The Student Editors of the 2022/2023 Exercise in World Making for the ISS Masters Programme in Development Studies: Rupankar Dey, Linda Egbubine, Maya Krishnan, Chau Mai, Aaira Mitra, Julie Alexandra Alvarenga Rivera, Elliot Yang Yang

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Compiling this selection of essays to represent our academic endeavors was headed by Drs. Peter Bardoel. We are grateful to him for his time, insights, and organizational efforts in making this edition a reality. We are thankful to all the students in the editorial team for the efforts towards the final version, as well as Shravya Sharath for bringing an artistic touch with the cover page and layout. Our gratitude goes to everyone whose efforts have made this possible, and we hope to pass on the baton of An Exercise in World-Making from the last academic batch to the next.

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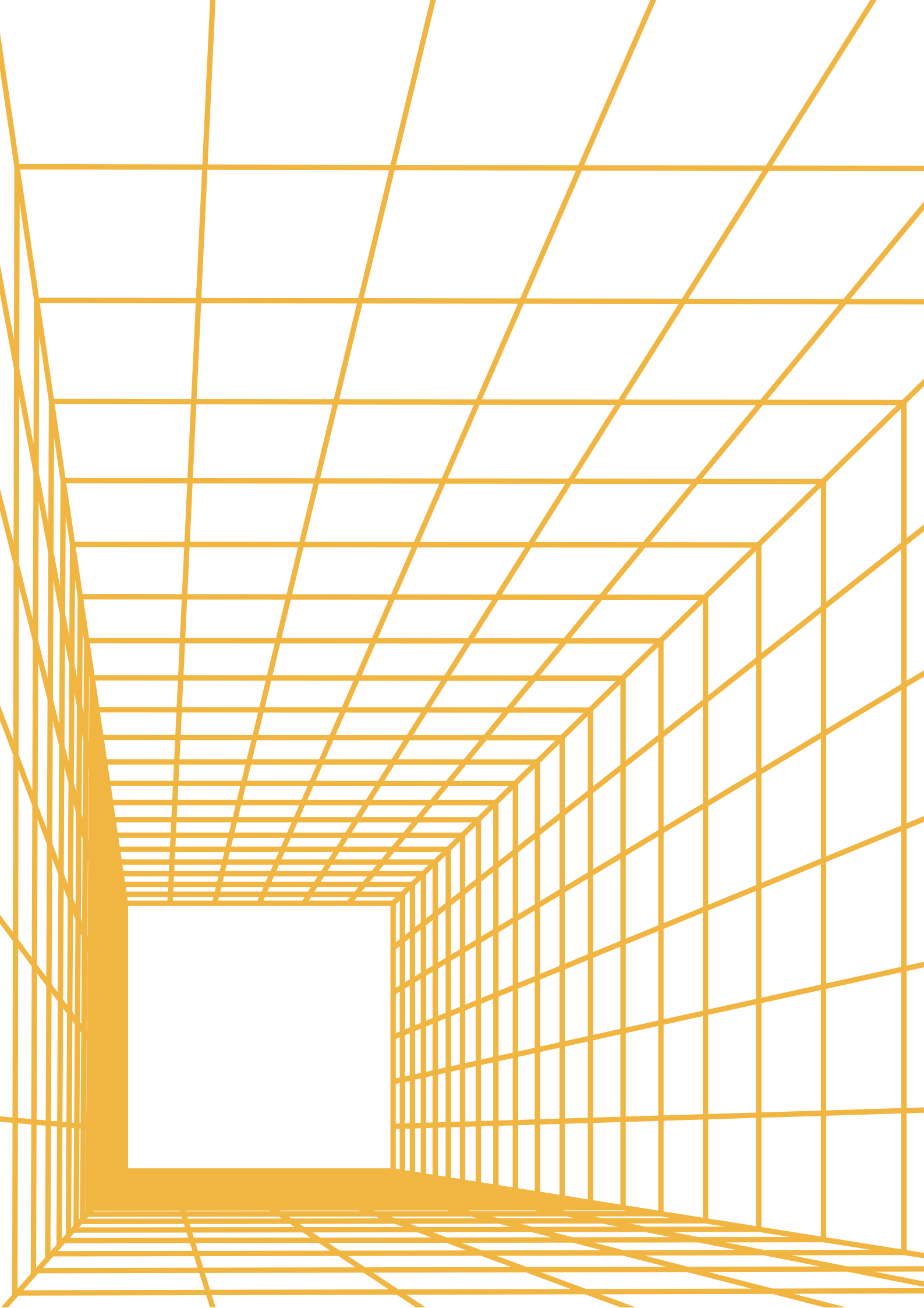

Reflecting on the Taiwanese counselling and psychology system with a post-development perspective

Hsin Lee. SJP. Taiwan

"The World Health Organization (WHO) defines mental health as 'a state of well-being in which an individual can realise his or her potential, cope with the normal stresses of life, work productively and make a contribution to the community.' This implies much more than the absence of a diagnosed mental health disorder – it is surprisingly similar to the concept of human development: the expansion of freedoms and capabilities so that everyone can reach his or her full potential" (Lengfelder, 2017).

Human mental health is an essential factor in human development. As a counselling psychologist, I advocate for improving people's mental health in Taiwan. For a long time, I have believed that counselling can help people live a life of well-being and contribute to their potential to make Taiwan develop and prosper. However, the reality is cruel. After working for a few years, I realise it is too naïve to hold the belief above. Real life is far more complicated than I thought. I felt unsatisfied with the concepts I learned during the training. Therefore, I started to question myself: What is the framework of counselling concepts I learned? Who is the knowledge producer? How do they define' problem'? Why cannot these theories be applied to people in my country completely? Since I could not find the answer from my practical experience, the dissatisfaction transformed into the motivation to start my journey of development research in the ISS. Now post-development perspective become my 'tentative answer'. Therefore, in this essay, I will use the view of post-development to reflect on the counselling situation in Taiwan and relocate my identity to the mental health promotion field.

The inapplicable counselling theory

In Taiwan's counselling and psychotherapy training system, professionals learn the theories organised by Gerald Corey and Richard S. Sharf. They are the only dominant discourse. The classical theories they introduced included the Psychoanalytic approach led by Sigmund Freud, the Person-Centered approach led by Carl Rogers, the Experiential approach led by Fritz Perls, Cognitive Behavioral therapy led by American psychologists, Existential therapy approach by European philosophers, Feminist therapy led by western feminists etc. (Corey,2017; Sharf, 2015). All the theories are based on Western perspectives and backgrounds. Besides, many professors in counselling and psychotherapy institutes got their academic degrees in Western countries. They tend to reinforce these frameworks.

Hence, trainees learn to conceptualise clients with these approaches and apply corresponding interventions. For instance, I specialise in the Person-Centered approach, the Experiential approach, and Feminist therapy, so I will help my clients explore their emotions and elevate their awareness of inner demands, pursuing self-realisation. Although Feminist therapy will help

clients to recognise cultural influences, the significant perspective is from hegemonic feminism. Hegemonic feminism refers to white, middle-class feminists who mainly focus on the gender context of United States history (Thompson, 2002). I only realised that learning the Western psychotherapy approach is problematic once beginning practical exercise.

During my first few years working as a psychological counsellor in elementary school, I found my conceptualisations and interventions couldn't help me to empathise with clients. Instead, they became the materials to blame clients. I assumed that: "The mom cared about the relationship too much. That is why she cannot divorce and give her kids a better life. Speak up for herself is not as difficult as she thought", "The parents should spend more quality time with their children and learn more parenting skills". Then, I put effort into convincing my clients to believe my assumption. I become the middleman who delivers Western intervention languages using my knowledge and power. Not just me but the whole counselling environment is stuck in this position. The market is flooded with Western parenting knowledge published by local psychologists. The experts rebuke traditional parenting and tout the Western one, assuming it's the better way to cultivate healthy humans (Chen,2020)—however, things developed differently than I expected. My clients resisted working with me or refused to join the parenting workshops. The resistance from clients reveals their discontent toward the Western counselling frame. Then, I started acknowledging that my way of working was costing me dearly. In short, the theory I learned did not become a bridge but an estrangement between clients and me.

Analyzing the dilemma from the perspective of post-development

I will apply the post-development perspective to analyse the dilemma in the workplace. Post-development critics believe that in development theory, the order of the world is according to whether developed or not; the Western countries play the dominant role in creating the ethnocentric form of discourse through professionalisation and institutionalisation, defining the non-western country as 'the third world' (Escobar, 2007). Under the logic of development theory, western countries become the powerful actors who produce and deliver knowledge of mental and societal development. On the contrary, the third world, namely Asia, Africa and Latin America are forced to use intrusive discourse. Psychologists internalise the Western counselling frame and apply it to analyse clients. The counselling frame gradually becomes invisible, and clients' voices are erased. Like Oyewumi's (1997, p.13) narrative, "When we are busy arguing about the questions that appear within a certain frame, the frame itself becomes invisible; we become enframed within it."

It is dangerous that I never questioned the legitimacy of the frame before. Indigenous scholars already underline that Asia's " self-concept " differs from the West's. Affected by Confucianism, self-concept is a social relational orientation and is situation-centered (Ho, 1995; Yang, 1995; Huang, 2000). In other words, talking about self-identity would be tangled with the social relation he/she is embedded in. Psychologists need to deal with relationship dynamics, too. Therefore, the analysis unit should be 'persons-in-relation' and 'person-in-relations' (Ho, 1998).

Additionally, some research indicates that psychologists should combine the philosophy of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism while counselling (Hung & Chen, 2005; Yeh, 2017; Hu,2021). For example, Asia psychologists should understand the cultural value of 'filial piety' and how it works on people rather than blaming their obedience and tolerance. Because of the philosophy of Confucianism and Buddhism, ‘filial piety’ is the way to repay parental nurturing. These papers create indigenous discourse to assist Taiwanese psychologists in understanding the local condition with historical context. It matches the spirit of post-development, "the need to multiply the centres and agents of knowledge production - in particular, to give salience to the forms of knowledge produced by those who are supposed to be the 'objects' of development so that they can become subjects of their right." (Escobar, 2007, p.21) To flip the powerless status, Taiwanese psychologists should give up being over-dependent on the Western framework and problematizing people in East-Asia society. Instead, psychologists could create local voices to retrieve the capability of being autonomous agencies.

Reconstructing Taiwanese counselling and psychology system via a post-Development perspective

The critique of the post-development perspective is that it’s too romantic (Escobar, 2007). I agree with this point of view. Because of coloniality, it’s an undeniable fact that even though Taiwanese counselling and psychology systems have local research, they are still marginalized by Western narratives. Yet, it's feasible to practice social justice consultation with a post-development perspective, and it’s our generation’s responsibility to make it applicable. Andreotti et al. (2018) provide four social cartographies to create engagement and conversation of global north and south, emphasizing the integration and intersection of different justice dimensions with a bottom-up approach. Inspired by post-development theory and the integration of global justice above, I assume the Taiwanese counselling and psychology system should develop indigenous counselling research and cultivate psychologists with critical thinking and multicultural awareness in the training system. In addition, engaging the clients' voices matter, especially the minorities, like aborigines, migrants, labourers, etc. Because of unequal power, psychologists must recognize their privilege and share power by no longer regarding themselves as only experts but giving clients a stage to tell their life stories. Psychologists aim to elevate clients' awareness of social norms and agency.

Furthermore, mobilizing them to recognize and redistribute their resources and strength rooted in culture. In this way, the Taiwanese counselling and psychology system can act as a subject by learning from Western theory but constructing a local counselling approach, getting the chance to transform global intervention into a global conversation. Even though it seems over-optimistic, it is the way to escape from being dominated and create a belief to fight for. As Escobar (2007, p.21) mentioned, "Reality can be redefined in ways other than those of development and that, consequently, people and social groups can act otherwise based on those different definitions." Reconstructing the Taiwanese counselling and psychology system via a post-development perspective is a process in which psychologists can help clients redefine their reality and exercise their agencies based on their reality.

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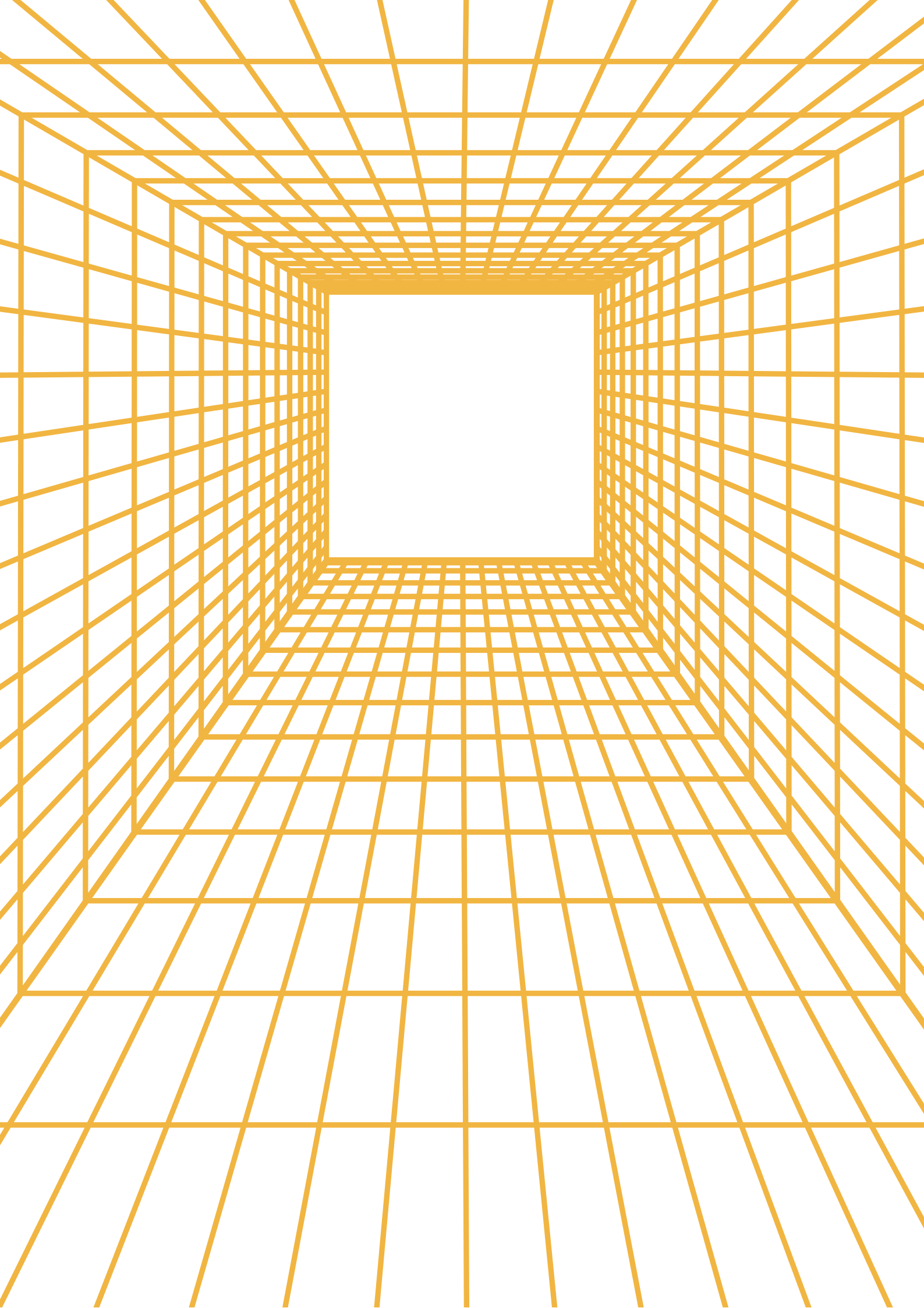

Credit/Debt from the lenses of New Institutional Economics and Marxist Political Economy

Aaira Mitra. AFES. India.

Introduction

In an increasingly financialised agrarian landscape, the dominant discourse (through voices like the World Bank, IFAD, etc.) has been advocating for stronger financial and credit solutions for farmers. This is proposed as a fundamental necessity in order to attain many goals – reducing poverty and hunger, improving livelihoods, increasing efficiency, and for the larger picture of development. As Khandker writes, "[a]ccess to financial services is critical for agricultural development" (2021, p. 529). Such discourse is also reflected in government documents, policy aims, and development interventions. However, this approach largely overlooks the other side of credit, i.e., debt and its consequences. According to Marxist political economy (MPE) scholars, credit/debt relations are significant in exploitation and social differentiation of the peasantry and therefore need to be given attention (Gerber, 2013). From this approach, credit/debt relations are therefore seen as equally crucial, but from an entirely different perspective. At the centre of these two competing approaches lies a very relevant problematic which is both historic but also contemporary – one of recurring rural indebtedness around the world.

Such indebtedness fundamentally shapes agrarian experiences and issues and is a vital aspect of everyday agrarian politics. This is reflected in the vast number of anti-debt movements recorded in the previous decades (Gerber et al., 2021) as well as the increasing suicides that are largely attributed to indebtedness (Dandekar & Bhattacharya, 2017; Merriot, 2017). Despite these negative associations to debt, it is then an interesting contradiction that credit-based solutions are given so much attention in the dominant development discourse. This raises several questions in how such organisations advocate for credit solutions – where are they seen as relevant, how are they justified, what are the expected benefits, and do they benefit different agrarian groups differently? Further, how does this differ from the MPE approach of credit/debt, and what would be the criticisms from this approach? The aim of this essay is to therefore explore the issue of rural credit/debt from both these competing approaches since they each uncover the two sides of the coin. In doing so, I aim to uncover points of frictions and critiques from the MPE approach on the NIE approach, which allows me to arrive at a clearer understanding of credit/debt relations as a whole.

To do this, the paper is structured to first explore the NIE approach, followed by the MPE approach. In the first section on NIE, I consider financial and credit programmes put down by organisations such as the World Bank and International Fund for Agricultural Development, since they represent dominant (agricultural) development discourse. After outlining what such programmes entail, I justify why I consider these to reflect an NIE approach, and further explore the theoretical formulations that the approach is based on. I lastly assess the programmes' effectiveness by its own standards of productivity and poverty reduction. After this section, I

move to the MPE approach and its criticisms on the former approach. In this second section, I use the critique as a way to structure the explanation of MPE's own theoretical proposals, and further support this with its empirical evidence. After looking at the various lines of critique, I conclude with a synthesis of both these approaches and the relevant questions that arise from the frictions which helps us better understand credit/debt relations.

I.Credit (from a New Institutional Approach)

Financial and Credit Programmes for Agricultural Development

The last few decades have witnessed the launch of several programmes, such as the Universal Financial Access Initiative (World Bank Group, 2021), Rural Credit Program (World Bank Group; hereafter WBG), Rural Finance Program (International Fund for Agricultural Development; hereafter IFAD), Agricultural Credit Program (IFAD). Together, they cover large regions, mostly the developing world, and are specifically also targeted to the 'rural poor'. To understand these programmes and the approach they come from, we need to understand what problems they intend to tackle, how the solutions are framed, and how they intend on attaining their objectives.

Before arriving at the centrality of credit solutions in such strategies, it is important to first identify the starting point of these programmes – the lack of development in rural regions of developing countries. This core problem has several important issues surrounding it, such as low agricultural productivity, high susceptibility to shocks and crop failure, high poverty, and low nutritional and educational status. Thus, the unproductive nature and widespread poverty needs to be tackled for development to take place. Consequently, the overarching ends or objectives of organisations in creating such programmes is increasing agrarian growth and productivity.

Referring to the model of Western agricultural development, the solution to these problems is moving from backwards subsistence farming to modernised, mechanised, technological farming (Wirakusuma & Irham, 2021). The logic is that such investments in technology and newer farming practices will allow for increased productivity, increased resilience (to shocks), and would therefore allow 'rural communities' to pull themselves out of poverty. Since the initial investment is necessary to tackle poverty in this approach, credit services provide the perfect solution to do so, since people can borrow money from financial institutions, make the investments necessary to increase production, and then repay the sum with interest from the gains in productivity. The aggregate outcome of this is to therefore increase agrarian growth at large.

While credit is central in such interventions and programmes, most of them focus quite broadly on increasing access to financial institutions and services in rural regions. Such services entail those necessary for saving, transferring money (and remittances), purchasing different forms of insurance, and borrowing money. By providing access to these services through institutions, these programmes attempt to increase financial inclusion (Khandker, 2021). There are various

kinds of (formal) institutions which are deemed important, such as commercial banks, microfinance institutions (MFIs), credit unions, and mobile financial services. The considered key indicators by which the programmes are assessed include the number or proportion of unbanked adults, number of new account holders, increase in financial institutions (such as bank branches) etc. (World Bank Group, 2021). By creating such programmes, organisations support these strategies as 'win-win' solutions since they aim to connect small, poor farmers to the larger markets that they can benefit from (Van Schalkwyk et al., 2007).

Why these reflect an NIE approach

Resembling a new-institutional economics (NIE) approach, organisations such as WBG and IFAD identify issues of poverty to be synonymous to underproductivity. Moreover, the solution to this is increasing market orientation and thereby increasing efficiency. While this emphasis of markets and efficiency echoes the goals neoclassical economics, the solutions to get there emphasises the need for institutions. In the case of credit programmes, the goal is to target individual agency and help them achieve the objective of efficiency with the help of institutions. This is evident in IFAD's statement, that "effective rural institutions and organisations can help poor rural people overcome these barriers by increasing their productivity and profitability by giving them direct access to critically needed resources, services and markets" and that these institutions are "needed to run a business" (Institutions and Organisations, n.d.). Here, smallholder farmers are explicitly considered to be people running businesses, and a strong market-orientation is clear.

From a theoretical perspective, such institutions are considered necessary for development, especially in developing countries. This can be seen in North's work from 1990, who argues that not only are Third World institutions ineffective, but they are actually efficient at increasing unproductiveness – something he refers to as 'antidevelopment frameworks' (Harris et al., 1995). The need for developing countries (and especially their rural regions) to take on financial institutions is therefore viewed as strongly necessary for agricultural development to take place, as is evident in Khandker's quote cited in the introductory paragraph, written three decades after North's work. To assess this substantial claim that credit is necessary for development, it is usually broken down into two more quantifiable measures – firstly, that credit programmes increase productivity, and secondly, that they decrease poverty.

To explore whether credit can improve overall development within an agrarian region, by increasing productivity and reducing poverty, we can briefly consult the case of Indonesia and compare it to broader meta-analyses on the same topics. According to Wirakusuma and Irham (2021), the provision of credit from government programmes has a significant positive effect on productivity, while credit from non-governmental programmes is positively correlated with productivity but is not a significant effect. The authors attribute this difference to the fact that governmental programmes, in addition to providing credit, also provide farm assistance and irrigation facilities. There is no further explanation of how much of the productivity increase can be explained by just these latter two factors. Further, there are no differences discussed between

the kind of credit offered by governmental versus non-governmental programmes, such as the conditions, duration, collateral, or interest on the credit. Based on these findings, the authors conclude that credit programmes increase productivity in farms, but should also be supported by farm assistance and irrigation facilities for them to be effective (Wirakusuma and Irham, 2021). Resembling similar results, other studies conducted in Pakistan, Nigeria, Rwanda and Ghana show positive correlations between credit programmes and agricultural productivity (Ali et al., 2014; Awotide et al. 2015; Owusu, 2017; Saleem & Jan, 2011). However, these studies mention that credit is only used by those that are not extremely poor. Moreover, we see from meta-analyses that the stronger correlation here is between agricultural technology and productivity (Ruzzante et al., 2021), which is what credit enables for selected groups.

When examining the role of credit on reducing poverty, Mariyono (2018) uses modelling to project that microcredit facilities will improve rural prosperity by providing directly resources but also indirectly after adopting agricultural technologies to increase productivity. This is also theorised, modelled, and projected elsewhere (Mohamed & Fauziyyah, 2020; Soemitra et al., 2022). However, there is no empirical evidence for this in Indonesia as of yet. When comparing these findings in Indonesia to systematic reviews and meta-analyses, the results seem similar. The link between microfinance and development seems complicated and not as straightforward, as is theorised from NIE approaches and organisations such as WBG and IFAD. From their systematic review in Sub-Saharan Africa, Rooyen et al. (2012) conclude that micro-credit has been shown to both increase or decrease income, but that it is not effective for the poorest populations. Additionally, systematic reviews indicate the high proportion of studies which use weak methodologies and low robustness (Duvendack et al., 2011), and accounting for these studies in a meta-analysis shows no significant effect of credit on rural incomes (Yang & Stanley, 2012).

Such findings indicate that the theorised relationship between credit solutions and development does not play out as well empirically, even though it is theorised quite strongly. This is because it does not lead to poverty reduction in a statistically significant way, and may only benefit those who are better off (such differentiation between groups is overlooked throughout programme information). This, in addition to the fact that it is agricultural technology adoption that can better improve productivity, puts to question whether credit is the best solution to attain these goals, even when assessed by NIE's own standards (Rooyen et al., 2012). However, this only focuses on one side of the coin, i.e., credit, and does not look at the other side of debt. This is considered in the next section from a Marxist Political Economy approach (MPE).

II. Debt (from a Marxist Political Economy Approach)

Critique on NIE approaches

An MPE approach considers the credit/debt problematic from the entirely opposite side than NIE does, i.e., it looks at the influence of debt. Firstly, MPE takes problem with the aggregation of 'rural people' to whom these programmes are targeted. When referring to the programmes

mentioned in the previous section, all of them refer to some form of 'rural communities', 'rural poor', or 'smallholder farmers', all of which are used interchangeably. However, such labels are problematised as this grossly overlooks the heterogenous groups and peoples that exist in rural regions. While this is alluded to in meta-analyses consulted in the previous section, showing that credit is effective is better off farmers, this is entirely overlooked in the way programmes are designed.

Further, an MPE approach especially emphasises the importance of class relations – in terms of who has what, who does what, and who gets what (Bernstein, 2011). Such distinctions would have a considerable impact on how a credit programme unfolds in terms of who it might benefit, and who might lose out. Hence, a MPE would raise questions such as: how does debt (resulting from credit programmes) affect different types of farmers differently, where do farm labour fall under such programmes, and how are existing material conditions shaped or influenced by the unfolding of such programmes? This largely constructs the various lines of arguments put down by an MPE approach (explored in the next sub-section).

Further, an MPE approach criticises the way in which NIE approach (and organisations that create credit programmes) theorise the need for market orientation to reduce poverty. Bernstein (2010) considers this to be the 'residual' explanation for poverty, which assumes that poverty is caused by an exclusion from markets. In this logic, solving poverty requires bringing poor people to the market and enabling them to benefit from everything the market offers. Credit programmes do this by bringing in financial institutions so that rural people can better participate in the market, earn more from it, and therefore, bring themselves out of poverty. On the opposite side of a 'residual' explanation is the 'relational' one, which focuses on how social relations and dynamics reproduce social inequalities and therefore poverty. By adhering to the latter 'relational' explanation, an MPE approach would therefore argue that the NIE proposal of credit solutions does not actually address the root dynamics that manifest as poverty, and is therefore not effective. Bernstein therefore criticises the 'win-win' solutions which are presented by organisations such as WBG and IFAD, and instead, emphasises class dynamics. This is evident in the way that debt is theorised within the MPE approach which is explored in the next sub-section.

How debt is theorised in MPE

While Marx himself did not theorise much on credit, he did identify interest as another form of surplus value creation, in addition to profit (Gerber, 2014). Hence, the claim here is that credit/debt relations affect class relations and dynamics. This is further elaborated on by Kautsky and Lenin, who theorised that debt influenced class dynamics because it influences exploitation and social differentiation (Gerber, 2014), which are each explored now.

When understanding the role of debt in exploitation, we can turn to work done by Banaji (2010). While Marx explains exploitation as the appropriation of surplus value created by labour in the process of production, Banaji elaborates on the similar process takes place in the borrowing

and lending of money. This is because of the interest which needs to be collected, which is paid by the borrower intensifying and thereby increasing production. Because of its resemblance with the way wage labour works, he refers to this as a 'concealed wage' (Banaji, 1977, p. 34). By charging interest rates on loans, credit relations can therefore be used to extract surplus value from small producers. Roseberry (1978) formulates this along similar lines, and identifies surplus value creation and exploitation in the same format of M-C-M' as Marx does in Capital. Here, he argues that merchants purchasing a set of commodities before their production (in the form of a loan), and then later selling them for a higher price, constitutes a similar M-C-C'-M'.

Exploitation in such ways is furthermore related to social differentiation, i.e., reconfigurations of agrarian classes. The role of debt here has been theorised by Bernstein (1977), where farmers are unable to meet the resources for reproduction and/or are affected by shocks, and therefore fall into a debt trap. This is termed as the 'simple reproduction squeeze' which results in medium farmers differentiating into poor farmers (Bernstein, 2010, p. 108). Moreover, it also increasingly creates landless labourers who must then sell their labour to larger land-holding farmers. In addition to this, MPE scholars identify two different types of debt, i.e., debt to invest and debt in distress. While the former is done by large capitalist farmers to increase productivity, the latter is done to meet reproduction needs (Gerber, 2014). This qualitative distinction leads to quantitative differences in how credit affects a household, since the former can benefit from credit but the latter can get stuck in debt cycles.

In this way, MPE scholars pay attention to the different groups and classes, and specifically focus on how debt can exaggerate these class differences. In contemporary terms, we see the recurrence of debt in contract farming, value-chain agriculture, and as a mechanism behind land dispossession. For instance, the initial purchase of crops in contract farming serves as a provision of credit, towards which producers then work to fulfil their contracts (Vicol et al., 2021). This is also explained by McMichael (2013), who brings attention to how smallholder farmers are inserted into agricultural value chains through the provision of credit and the resulting constraint by debt. He makes sense of current dominant discourse which proposes such contract farming as a development tool by identifying debt as a 'spatiotemporal fix', i.e., to expand on opportunities to accumulate beyond current limits.

McMichael further highlights the centrality of debt in 'fixing' smallholder farmers in such contracts: "[d]ebt is a key mechanism of this process, constituting the 'chain' through which such new contract farming is activated, reproduced and, in some cases, dispossessed" (2013, p. 672). This larger theme of dispossession is not limited to contract farming, but is also identified as one of the main consequences of indebtedness, albeit the process takes place in a very covert manner. Closely related to social differentiation, the dispossession of defaulting borrowers facilitates other strategic choices for larger industrialist farmers, such as plantation expansion as is seen in Indonesia (Gerber, 2013). The mechanism of debt is also important in value chains in Indonesia, where farmers "give up [their] land to establish the smallholdings, then [they] have to repay loans to get title to the land" (McMichael, 2013, p. 682). With this example, the author illustrates how debt in this case is closely linked to property relations. Additionally, displacing people from their

land has the dual benefit of also creating landless labourers who then provide cheap labour for such plantations to function as cheaply as possible.

From theorisation to empirical evidence

These MPE interpretations of credit/debt relations allows us to revisit the example of Indonesia as mentioned in the NIE section. Instead of seeing credit as an opportunity, these scholars view debt as a factor which exploits, displaces, and differentiates. This points in the direction of a larger shift to plantations in Indonesia, with various groups being affected in different ways, which is not considered by the NIE approach. Thus, by revisiting the case of Indonesia, we can see what Gerber (2013) notes: "[b]y using interest-bearing and collateral-based credit in order to subsist or to grow, some actors gain, some lose, some maintain themselves, and some are displaced."

This analysis of Indonesia from a MPE also resembles case studies done on other countries and regions. For instance, Green (2022) elaborates on the strikingly high rates of microfinance in Cambodia, which finances both agricultural production but also social reproduction. Here, he identifies debt as an important factor in agrarian change. Further, Ågren (1994) identifies a similar mechanism in Sweden between 1750 and 1850. Here, she finds that social differentiation within this period is not only because of land reforms in those years, but because of indebtedness within certain groups that allowed others to buy their land from them. In the process of changing property relations, this period saw a rise in landless labourers. This process of debt and displacement is therefore not specific to any one country or any one time period, but is a commonly used mechanism for the advancement of capital. When limits are reached with capital accumulation, these are overcome with the spatiotemporal fix, as is mentioned by McMichael (2013).

Based on this analysis, we can also see that an MPE approach would have different understandings of agency, institutions, and structure, which forms another line of criticism on the NIE approach. Since MPE focuses strongly on material analyses and class relations, it places larger emphasis on structure and not on agency. Hence, it criticises the overemphasis on agency and institutions as is done by NIE, since credit programmes do not simply allow 'rural communities' to escape poverty, but that debt actively influences the various groups differently. Moreover, it criticises the assumption that institutions can provide the solution to fix poverty, since MPE argues that all workers are inherently exploited, and as Banaji and Roseberry show, indebted small farmers are also exploited.

Conclusion

In exploring both the NIE and MPE approaches, this essay considers two competing lenses on the problematic of credit/debt. For the NIE approach, I analyse not only key NIE scholars and theories on credit solutions, but also refer to its practical manifestation into dominant discourse. This discourse is seen by hegemonic organisations such as the World Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development, FAO, etc., who not only describe the current state of affairs with

credit, but also largely prescribe how credit should be used for development trajectories in 'developing countries'.

This thread is visible from academia to these organisation reports – with North discussing development frameworks for the Third World and the WBG designing programmes to deliver such development frameworks to developing countries. From the NIE approach, credit is seen as a powerful solution to adopt Western trajectories of development, since it is the key factor which will enable farmers to move from subsistence 'backward' farming to more modernised and mechanised farming methods. The underlying logic here is that the agricultural shift to this latter farming method would allow farmers to produce more, and therefore, would earn them enough to bring themselves out of poverty. Hence, credit is seen as central to agricultural development, which can be broken down to both increasing production and reducing poverty. While using credit to adopt agricultural technology has been shown to increase productivity, the credit itself does not reduce poverty, and may even worsen it in some respects. Hence, the actual causal mechanism here is agricultural technology (which can be as simple as buying tractors and investing in irrigation facilities) which improves productivity.

An MPE approach gives us important insight to analyse this NIE approach, by asking questions about how it influences class dynamics. Based on theoretical work and empirical evidence collected by MPE scholars, we see that credit/debt relations can aggravate social differentiation. This therefore differentiates the effects of credit/debt and adds more nuance to NIE's approach to picturing a homogenous rural group who are all affected in the same way. Moreover, an MPE approach sheds light on important mechanisms that take place behind the simplified credit/debt relations, which is one of increased exploitation and land displacement, which again ties back to social differentiation. Thus, we are able to identify the multi-faceted consequences of debt, beyond simply productivity and a generalised conceptualisation of poverty. Instead, it allows us to ask: who owns what, who does what, who gets what, and what do they do with the surplus (Bernstein, 2010)? Further, some scholars shed light on how such exploitation may take place by likening it to Marx's theorisation of wage labour exploitation.

By viewing both approaches together, certain frictions and questions come to light. Firstly, if credit/debt relations have differentiated consequences on different groups, who actually benefit from them? The distinction between borrowing to invest and borrowing in distress highlights that the former is an enabler of capital accumulation for the borrower, while the latter leads to exploitation of the surplus value generated by the borrower. The groups that benefit from credit relations are therefore medium and large farmers (who borrow to invest), but also financial actors that receive interest on the loans they give out. Secondly, how does credit/debt shape agrarian dynamics? While this a far more complex question, we can identify certain elements within this paper. This includes the simultaneous land concentration because of displacement and the creation of wage labour to work these lands. By placing people into certain productive and social relations, credit/debt can therefore play an overlooked role in larger agrarian change. This therefore puts to question the broader consequences which come out from NIE approaches such as this, which claim to be apolitical, but in their material and political restructuring of agrarian dynamics indicate otherwise.

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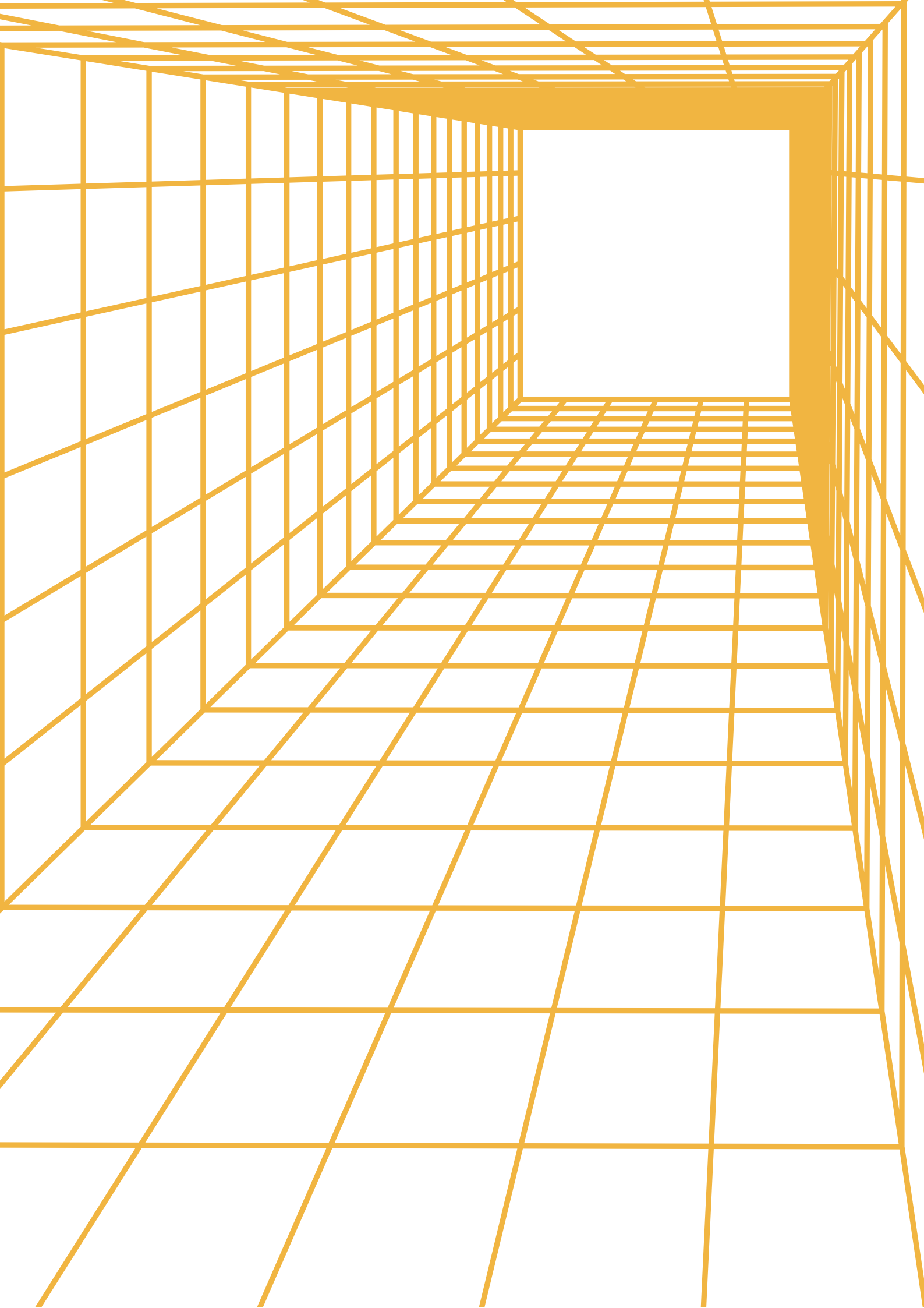

What Makes Political Ecology Global

Linda Egbubine. SJP. Nigeria

Introduction

The exploitation of natural resources, the implementation of emission standards, and the creation and dissemination of knowledge and awareness are all still plagued by the effects of colonial power. Exploiting natural resources for financial gain is one of colonialism's major repercussions. Quijano writes on domination by the Europeans: "The Europeans established a relation of direct, political, social and cultural domination over the conquered of all continents. This domination is known as a specific Eurocentered colonialism." (Quijano, 2007, p.168)

Even after the eradication of colonialism, “if we observe the main lines of exploitation and social domination on a global scale, the main lines of world power today, and the distribution of resources and work among the world population, it is very clear that the large majority of the exploited, the dominated, the discriminated against are precisely the members of races, ethnics or nations” (Ibid, 169). Thus, Several nations in the global South continue to endure resource loss and ecological degradation due to resource extraction. Therefore, the repercussions of these activities are still being felt today, “the model of power that is globally hegemonic today presupposes an element of coloniality” (Quijano, 2000, p.533). Coloniality can thus be regarded as “the most general form of domination in the world today, once colonialism as an explicit political order was destroyed.”(Quijano, 2007, p.170)

It is, therefore, essential for developing countries to decolonize and delink. “A delinking that leads to decolonial epistemic shift and brings to the foreground other epistemologies, other principles of knowledge and understanding and, consequently, other politics, other ethics" (Mignolo, 2007, p.453), which is critically examined in global political ecology. This essay discusses the meaning of global political ecology, analyzes how colonial power manifests, and proposes decoloniality as a way forward.

What Makes Political Ecology Global?

For Karl Zimmerer, “Political ecology seeks to contribute both to sound environmental management including nature conservation and to the empowerment of disadvantaged social group.” (Karl Zimmerer, 2000, p.357 Quoted in Paulson et al., 2003, p.211). Political ecology’s strength “lies in its capacity to direct attention towards many of the most important questions of our age: poverty, social justice, the politics of environmental degradation and conservation, the neoliberalisation of nature and ongoing rounds of accumulation, enclosure, and dispossession.” (Elmhirst, 2011, p.129). Thus, Studies of ecology and environmentalism have gained fresh insight thanks to the increased focus on the hardships and coping mechanisms of underprivileged, racialized, and female participants in disputes over ecological dangers and resources.

Studies of developing countries served as the foundation for political ecology, the field's

primary objective today. However, political ecology includes “the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of…access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods and explaining the environmental conflict, especially in terms of struggles over knowledge, power and practice and politics, justice and governance” (Watts, 2000, p.257 quoted in Elmhirist, 2011, p.129), “based on a complex view of ecocultural dynamics” (Escobar, 1998, p.70). However, for political ecology to be truly global “political ecology needs to consider the connections between the developing and developed countries and particularly between producers and consumers in the North and South.” (Eden, 2010, p.169)

Global political ecology seeks to comprehend the intricate connections that exist between sociological, economic, and political structures and the environment on a global scale. Global political ecology analyzes how global power dynamics influence ecological issues, such as how governments and companies put monetary gain before environmental preservation or how the effects of climate change adversely impact disadvantaged populations. For example, the case of the indigenous people of Ogoni, a minority ethnic group led by Ken Saro Wiwa against the Nigerian government and the multinational company shell. This is one of many African exploitation cases carried out by the global North. Thus, it is evident that Africa is one of the ‘main victims’ of exploitation by colonial rule. (Quijano, 2007, p.168).

Coloniality of Power

Coloniality of power refers to "colonial justification, with the colonization of a new model of power, race constituted the basis on which the European ontology and epistemology were constructed, what justified ethnic classification and consequently the economic division of the world, and the legal and political justifications for the extension of the new order” (Quijano, 2000 quoted in Acuna, 2015, p.89). Thus, the coloniality of power, at its essence, refers to how colonialism built persistent power systems that still influence our world today. The colonial rule undoubtedly established a worldwide system of power structures that placed Europe and the West in a higher position than other areas and populations. These power interactions still impact contemporary cultural, economic, and political institutions. Systems of racialization and gender inequality, as well as systems of financial exploitation and social dominance, are examples of these patterns.

According to Acuna, “coloniality of power spawned two global processes of accumulation and a global process of naming. European powers executed the former through control of colonized labour and products, which enriched the North at the expense of the South. The global naming process was deployed through control of the labelling process to determine race superiority and inferiority.” (Acuna, 2015, p.89). To execute control over other regions, “new identities allocated (Indians, blacks, mestizos, etc.) were represented as inferior to European identity” (Ibid, p.89). Furthermore, “with these themes of coloniality, racialization, and systems of representation that make race visible…Indians and blacks were/are considered the wretched of the earth.”(Mollet, 2016, p.417)

The European and the Western way became superior such that "the logical structure of colonial domination whereby colonial power naturalizes the European cultural imaginary as the only way of relating to nature" (Castro-Gomez, 2008, p.281 quoted in Mollett, 2016, p.418). This control can be seen in ways many African countries depend on resource exports and the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program.

One way the coloniality of power has manifested and is still manifesting today is through resource extraction due to capitalism, which "in its original form was an insufferably cruel thing" (Galbraith, 1997, p.5 Quoted in Ayelazuno, 2014, p.72). "But has been transformed through resistance to its more human variant, the Western welfare state. The neoliberal counterrevolution in the late 1970s against the welfare state restored capitalism to its original cruel nature by subjecting the life chances of subaltern classes to the discipline of the market." (Ayelazuno, 2014, p.72). This neoliberal policy was implemented through the Structural Adjustment Program, thereby integrating the Sub-Saharan Africa countries into "a fiercely profit-making capitalist world economy in which they are subordinate partners, with the production and export of raw materials being part of both the cause and consequences of this subordination."(Ayelazuno, 2014, p.67)

On the greed of capitalism, Brenner notes, "the thrust of the capitalist system of production is the dynamic of endless accumulation and the quest for accumulation for its own sake. This logic drives the extractive industries, especially oil, riddling with contradictions" (Brenner, 2006, p.80, quoted in Ayelazuno, 2014, p.70). This is evident in the way the Global North accumulates natural resources at the expense of the Global South, especially indigenous communities who are "the extraction frontiers for minerals and fossil fuels, and for biomass, are often in indigenous lands" (Martinez-Alier, 2014, p.241), which has led to environmental injustice on a global system. Ecological injustices are not just regional but also international. Thus, the concepts of ecological debt and uneven trade. For example, climate change is due to industrialization from the West, whereas the most vulnerable are in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Small Island states. Furthermore, "the exports of raw materials and other products from relatively poor countries are sold at unsustainable rates and at prices which do not include compensation for local or global externalities" (Martinez-Alier, 2014, p.241). It is, therefore, pertinent for the global South to move towards the 'otherwise.'

Decoloniality: Alternative Way Forward

In Quijano's words, "the alternative is clear: the destruction of the coloniality of world power" (Quijano, 2007, p.177). Quijano argues that the "decolonial shift starts from the decolonization of knowledge; epistemological decolonization, as decoloniality, is needed to clear the way for new intercultural communication, for an interchange of experiences and meanings, as the basis of another rationality" (Mignolo, 2007, p.452; Quijano, 2007, p.177). Thus, decolonial viewpoints can help us comprehend environmental concerns more deeply since they oppose Eurocentric worldviews and respect other ways of learning about and interacting with the environment. For example, the countries in the global South could decolonize from the

neoliberal policy of the structural adjustment program and the mainstream way of development or the modernization theory.

Decoloniality of power proposes a means of emancipation and liberation, "the liberation of intercultural relations from the prison of coloniality… freedom to choose between various cultural orientations, and, above all, the freedom to produce, criticize, change and exchange culture and society. This liberation is part of the process of social liberation from all power organized as inequality, discrimination, exploitation, and domination." (Quijano, 2007, p.178).

Conclusion

In conclusion, decoloniality aims to establish more equitable and sustainable social structures by challenging prevailing worldviews and power structures. We could strive toward a more just and sustainable future by appreciating many perspectives on understanding and connecting to the environment and acknowledging how global power and politics impact environmental challenges, a crucial aspect of Global Political Ecology.

Global political ecology proposes solutions that support social justice and sustainability as well as insights into the origins and effects of environmental issues. To create laws and procedures that guarantee a fair and healthy future for all, it is an important area of research.

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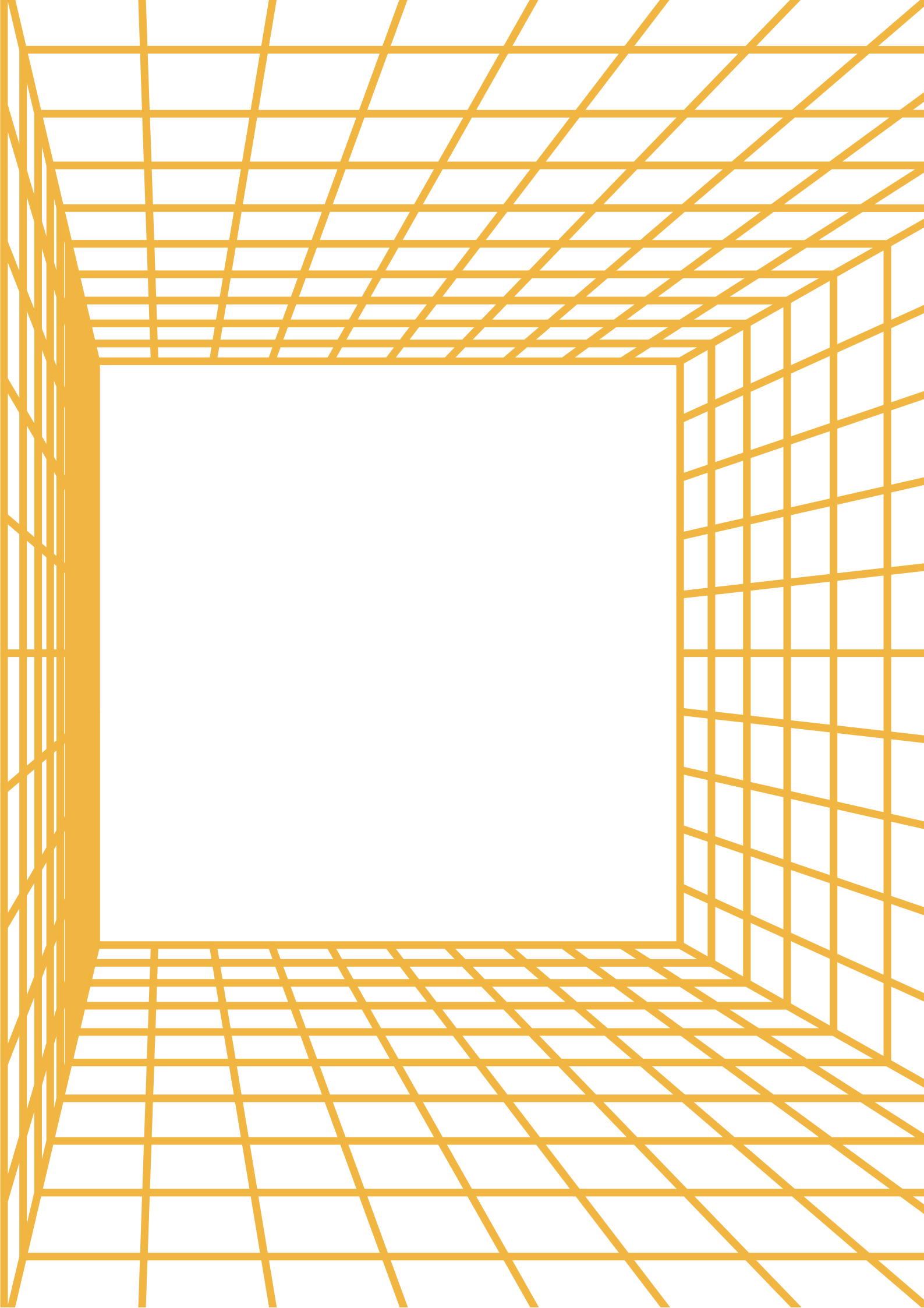

How Media Normalises War with Nature: Industrial Agriculture and Chemical Warfare

Roos Saat, AFES, The Netherlands.

Figure 1: Collage. Source: Author's work

War on Nature is a commentary on the way in which the media, mostly through advertisements, has normalised a narrative of the farmer in constant war with nature for better yields and larger profits. It engages with the way in which war (specifically during and after the First and Second World War and the Vietnam War) has created technical advancements which pushed the production of chemicals for pest crop control and fertiliser forward into the domain of industrial agriculture (Shattuck, 2011; Bertomeu-Sánchez, 2019). The research and manufacturing capacity created during periods of war for use on soldiers (and sometimes civilians), was repurposed afterwards for chemical warfare by agricultural companies against nature, through the hands (and bodies) of farmers (Johnson, 2016; Olson & Chihacek, 2022). Then, the knowledge acquired and experiments done in times of peace by chemical companies - which very often were both military and agricultural – formed the basis for yet more weapons and technologies used on the battleground, for example the development of nerve gas which originated from herbicides or the use of herbicides in the production of Agent Orange in Vietnam (Russel, 2001; Olson & Chihacek, 2022). 'Warfare creates technological imperatives; it is a prerogative of the victors to dictate how to make a plowshare of a sword and who will wield it' (Johnson, 2016). The goal of the piece is to question what we label as violence and war and how the type of imagery that we receive through the media has shaped our perception, specifically by focusing on a topic that is normally not associated with conflict or war/peace dynamics; that of industrial agriculture.

The piece is constructed through a series of layers and centralises three different themes: the way in which warfare is framed, the normalisation of war and violence through media coverage and advertisement, and the framing and erasure of both victims and perpetrators in violent contexts. The basis of the piece are two pesticide advertisements from the 1950's. Four different elements have been added to the piece to critically challenge the viewer; the blacking out of texts and faces of the figures, the addition of war imagery (soldiers, war planes, and victims), the yellow hazmat suits and gas masks, and butterflies.

Text: By blacking out any of the text related to agriculture, it highlights the war-infused language used. In addition, the blacking out of text creates a sense of secrecy and mystery, similar to that of military documents and hints at the (often unknown or purposefully hidden) effects of chemicals on the environment, including humans. It emphasises the normalisation of war-like language and tools when it comes to food production and the complete neglect of the impact that these chemicals have on both the environment and human beings which use or (indirectly) consume them. The construction of the discourse is not by mere accident: rather, due to the historical relations between the chemical companies and the war industry, similar language is used to construct an ideology that motivates and convinces soldiers to go out into battle to combat and annihilate humans.

Butterflies: The sharp contrast between a butterfly, something often perceived as peaceful and beautiful, and the chemicals which often kill them, attempts to question how we define a battleground and the enemy. The way in which media frames war depending on the motives, (geo)political relations or national interests differs greatly. I would argue that this also extends to the way in which chemical warfare is discussed when it comes to nature as a battleground. To what extent does the media shape our understanding of it? When do we see war as an act of violence or a necessary step in a process of food production? Then, can one speak of a war when there is no 'other' (real or constructed) to battle against? Because whereas other ads often use insects associated with pests such as cockroaches, flies, or wasps, a completely different effect is created when the butterfly is placed next to the ad on chemicals.

Through the incorporation of war images such as the now-famous Napalm girl, soldiers from WWI battling in clouds of mustard gas, and war planes dropping nitrate bombs, attention is brought to the way in which media has normalised our perceptions of violence. Without the presence of these images or the highlighting of words, the use of chemicals in agriculture is a mere fact of daily life rather than an active warzone. It raises the question when a war is labelled a war: in the case of chemical agriculture both nature and people suffer and die, chemical warfare is used, and environments are destroyed. However, rather than treating it as such, media serves as a mechanism to normalise or obscure these processes and their effects in agriculture.

The yellow hazmat suits, gas masks, and chemical sprays that are placed throughout the collage are, when taken out of context, closely resembling to hazardous and war-like uniforms and portray a sense of danger. By incorporating these in the collage, the piece comments on the way in which farmers become soldiers (both in the war they fare on nature and the outfits they

wear). It also makes one wonder who the victims are in this scenario. Is it the farmers who spray the chemicals? Or are they mere soldiers in a larger war, where they are both the victim (through diseases such as Parkinson and cancer often linked with agricultural chemicals) and the killer? The image of the soldier suffocating in the toxins coming out of the spray behind the tractor (upper left picture) attempts to symbolise this.

Lastly, the imagery and advertisements were purposefully sampled from a Global North context, apart from the Napalm girl photo – which shows the US war in Vietnam. The white, male farmers and black-and-white male soldiers reinforce a stereotypical image which most people have grown accustomed to through media discourse. In the case of the pesticide advertisement, it relays a very specific kind of imagery about who is perceived to be a US farmer (and therefore who isn't). This aids the creation of a single, unfirm image of who is considered to represent US agriculture. While not strongly present in this collage, agriculture as an industry was, especially post second world war when these advertisements were published, a valuable tool of the imperial agenda of the US. Through food 'aid' programs and the export of agricultural products the already increasingly industrialised, capitalist, and systemised agricultural system was exported abroad and utilised as a mechanism for the US government, military branch, and corporations to get a foot in the door within the economy – and indirectly governments – of Global South countries. Agriculture became an export product of the US through a very carefully selected image; mostly male, mostly white, mechanised and heavily dependent on (US-produced) inputs. Through this agricultural program, the economies of various Global South countries were heavily disrupted, import- dependent relations were created and local markets and livelihoods were destroyed (McMichael, 2009).

While my interpretation of this assignment has created more questions than answers, the process allowed me to apply some of the central themes discussed in class; the desensitisation to imagery and acts of violence because we have been so extensively exposed to violent imagery and narratives as well as a very clear framing when something is considered war and when not. It also made me aware of the way in which I created my own narrative by constructing a message and framework where I could bring across my critique and interpretation of the topic of conflict. I am very aware that I utilised visual tools and media framing to get my own message across. This piece has been heavily infused by my own positionality with my background as an activist and farmer and having grown up in an environment which was strongly opposed to chemical agriculture. This exercise allowed me to further explore this dimension of agriculture and linking it to the topic of conflict.

Throughout the research done for this assignment I have identified several limitations and aspects which I was not able to cover fully within the boundaries of the visual piece. While present, the topic of gender could have been explored more extensively. The way in which media has shaped our understanding of war as a masculine space and the way in which this is reinforced in agriculture, might make it worthwhile to explore how media establishes or reinforces a common understanding of (industrial) food production as a male dominated field – despite globally most food producers being female (Azima & Mundler, 2022). Secondly, the link

between the imperial agenda and the US agricultural system could have been explored more clearly in my collage, especially through the linkage between the military-industrial complex and the existence of food ‘aid’ programs. By deciding to focus on the central theme of warfare and its link with food production, this aspect was under highlighted in the end. The role of the media in establishing agriculture as an important and vital industry within the US, creating a strong connection between agriculture and the US identity and then normalising the export of this industry into the Global South as a form of ‘charity’ and development, has been significant (McMichael, 2009). Further exploration of the ways in which agriculture has aided the imperial agenda of the US (or the West at large) could have provided an additional dimension to the project. Thirdly, the focus of the piece was centred around advertisement and imagery of the twentieth century. The reason for doing so was twofold; the advertisements from this picture were best suited for the message behind the campaign and the chemical warfare was mostly employed during this period (from mustard gas in WWI to Agent Orange in Vietnam). Contemporary media coverage and advertisements on the other hand, contain less of the war-associated language and imagery. Instead, the narrative is shifted to global food security, and even the so-called sustainable use of these products. Perhaps the need to wage chemical warfare on 'weeds' and 'pests' has been normalised successfully.

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American Cyanamid Company. “Now It's Really ‘Good-Bye Weeds,’” 1950–1959. *Science History Institute.* Philadelphia. <https://digital.sciencehistory.org/works/nuaylhl>

Butterflies drawings retrieved from <https://www.pngwing.com/en/search?q=Insect+Swarm>

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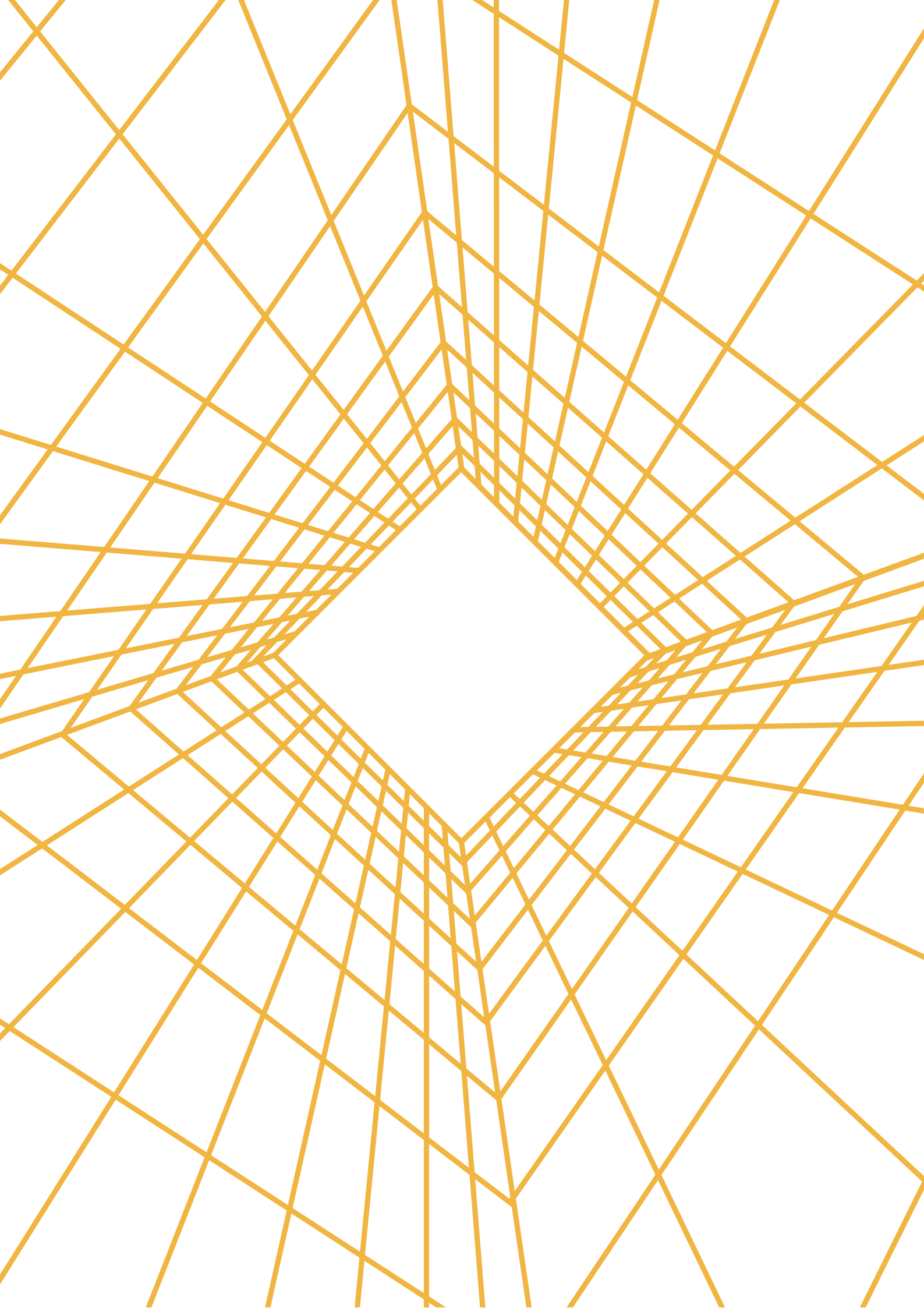
US Army soldier without a gasmask succumbs to a poison gas attack in a scene probably staged for training purposes, in 1918 or 1919. (Photo by Maj. Tracy Everts/US Army Signal Corps). <https://www.gettyimages.be/detail/nieuwsfoto%27s/army-soldier-without-a-gasmask-succumbs-to-a-poison-gas-nieuwsfotos/515180252>



Human rights – New driving factor to attract foreign direct investment?

Hang Nguyen. GDP. Vietnam

The "conventional wisdom" on the relationship between FDI and human rights posits that the two are inherently contradictory as repression is conducive to foreign investment. There are opposing claims, though, that upholding human rights reduces risk and promotes economic effectiveness and efficiency. Do nations with better human rights records draw more FDI? If so, how much of the effect is attributable to the positive correlation between human rights and FDI and how much is attributable to other country-level variables that have an impact on both FDI and human rights?

Impact of the human right to FDI

Among many scholars investing the relationship between FDI and human right, "Human rights and foreign direct investment: A two-stage analysis" by Shannon Lindsey Blanton and Robert G. Blanton (2006) convincingly invest this complex issue by choosing the two-stage (Heckman) model to analysis to capture all factors that could impact to FDI. By using a variety of statistical techniques to analyse 112 countries during 1980- 2003 and test their hypotheses, their conclusions become more robust and reliable.

The findings show that the "basics" of market potential, market orientation, and political institutions are the key determinants of FDI in the first stage, the initial decision to invest. FDI decisions in the developing world do not, however, take human rights conditions into serious consideration. The authors made the following argument in stage two, the subsequent decision of how much to invest:

- Human rights violations are significantly and negatively correlated with the level of FDI in a nation.
- Resource wealth only attracts additional FDI in countries.
- The amount of FDI that a country hosts is also positively correlated with economic growth and trade openness.
- Although nations with bigger markets are more likely to host FDI, they do not host a disproportionate amount of FDI compared to their smaller counterparts.

In another word, this theory is proven to reflect current practices where many companies consider not to pour more capital if the host country/company were "spotlighted" because of human right violation. Although the paper basically answers the question relationship between human right and FDI, the study primarily uses statistical methods to analyse the relationship between FDI and human rights, which may limit the scope of its findings. This approach does not allow for an in-depth exploration of the complex social and political factors that can influence the relationship between FDI and human rights. Furthermore, the authors do not explore the role of international institutions, or free trade agreements in promoting or hindering human rights through FDI. Given the significant influence that these institutions have on global economic policy, this is a notable omission that makes the paper lack the feasibility to propose practical and concrete policy implications.

International agreement, organisation, and media attention to FDI

Therefore, I further investigate and find that many recent scholars from Ana Carolina Garriga (2016) and Ullah et al. (2021) proved my concern about the role of international agreement and organisation by drawing on data collected from 135 developing countries between 1982 and 2011. They added to Blanton's findings pointing out that only nations that are not fully compliant with the network of international human rights conventions experience a decline in investment due to human rights violations. Ratifying human rights treaties also seems to lessen this impact. Figure 1 in particular illustrates the relationship between FDI inflows and Human Rights Commission and later Council (UNHRCC) public resolutions from 1977 to 2013, demonstrating that FDI inflows are higher when UNHRCC condemnations are lower. Since the middle of the 1990s, FDI inflows have dramatically increased as a whole, which can be attributed to the fall of the Soviet Union and the fact that most countries now welcome FDI inflows. In terms of UNHRCC condemnations, there was a rising trend of resolution adoption in the 1970s and 1980s, and the average number of public resolutions peaked in the early to mid-1990s.

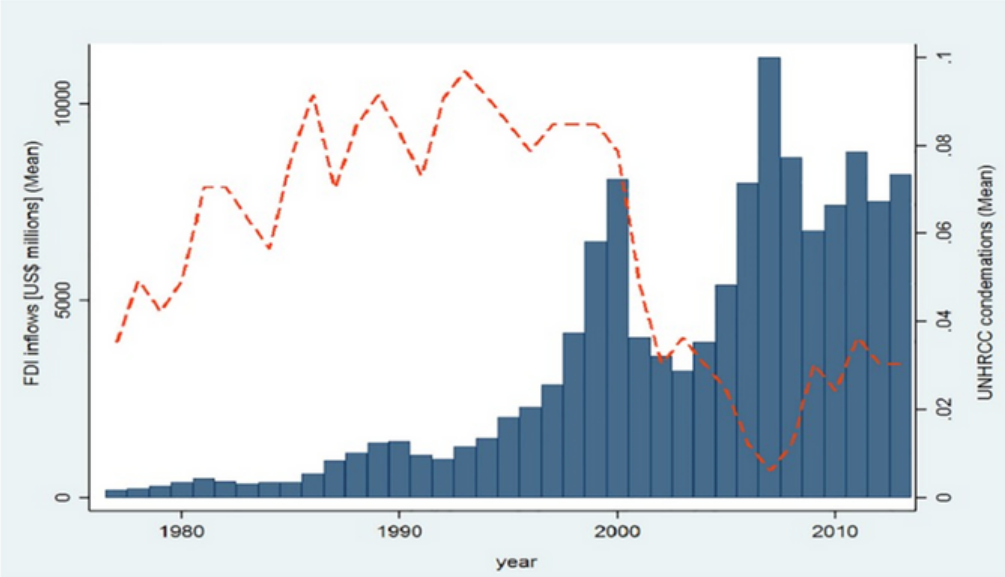


Figure 1: FDI inflows and UNHRCC condemnations during the 1977–2013 period. *Source: Vadlamannati, K. C., Janz, N. and Berntsen, Ø. I. (2018).*

Policy recommendation

To ensure that FDI benefits economic development and human rights, policymakers must place a high priority on the promotion of responsible investment and support for human rights protections. Particularly, for countries with the worst human rights practices but still want to attract more FDI, it is recommended that government should push for joining treaties as they provide some type of reputational cover for investors. The "spotlight" regime and CSR policies are examples that should be supported by the government. Pressure to uphold human rights may actually direct businesses toward more fruitful and possibly lucrative host countries rather than requiring them to act in a way that conflicts with their economic imperatives.

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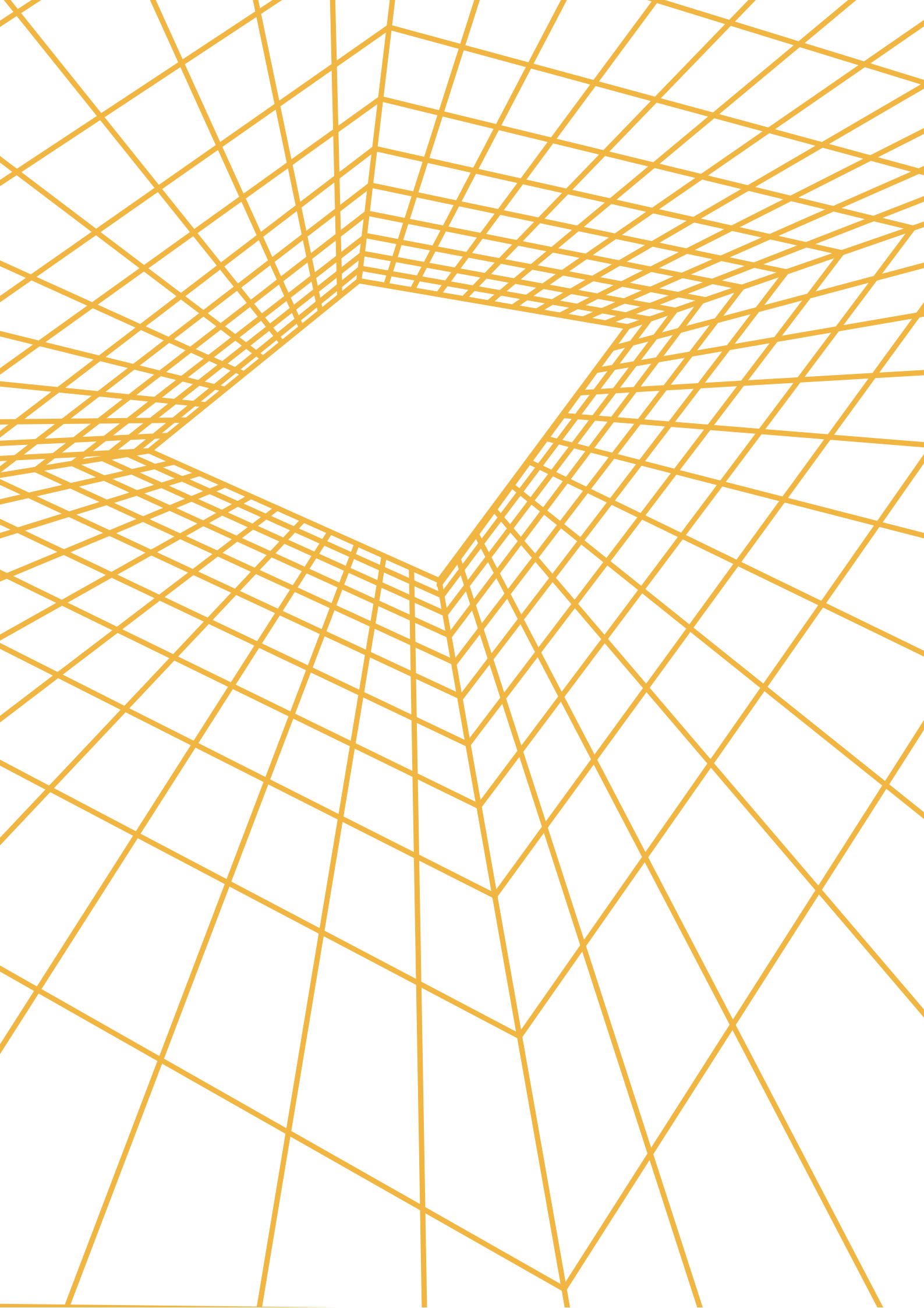

What Does Foucault Mean by "Where There Is Power There Is Resistance"?

María Fernanda Cossío Calderón. AFES. Bolivia.

Introduction

This essay seeks to review Foucault's ideas of power and resistance through the example of the Bolivian legislation on abortion, which makes it illegal unless the pregnancy is the result of rape, incest, statutory rape (when the victim is a minor) or if the pregnancy endangers the mother's life or health. This will be discussed through the specific case of an eleven-year-old girl who in 2021 got pregnant after being raped by her stepfather's father. This example illustrates the relevance of discourse as a means to exercise power as stated by Foucault in The History of Sexuality (1978) and how power is always accompanied by resistance. On the one hand, the Catholic Church made remarks saying that the girl should keep the baby, this mobilized a number of pro-life activists opposing the girl's intention to get an abortion. On the other, the Ombudsman's Office, pro-choice activists, and to some extent, the press, defended the girl's decision and right to end the pregnancy. After several deliberations, which should not have been needed, since she had the constitutional right to end the pregnancy, the girl was "allowed" to get an abortion (Página Siete, accessed 27 October 2022).

Power, Knowledge, and Discourse

For Foucault, knowledge and power are strongly related, since knowledge engenders power. This means, that by generating power, we can exercise "power over" subjugated groups or individuals (Mills, 2003, p.69). In addition, the creation of knowledge by the "powerful" creates a culture of silence among the oppressed (Gaventa and Cornwall, 2006, p.466), which often translates into impotence and resignation. In the case of the eleven-year-old girl, we can observe that her and her family's role is in the background even if she is the protagonist of the story. If we look at her polemic case, we will easily find the take on this of the Church, the Ombudsman's Office as well as the national and international press, almost as if those opinions and information counted more than what the girl or her family had to say. Even the fact that a crime had been committed (rape) was less talked about than the moral discourse of whether she should have or keep the baby. Here, we can go back to the idea that discourse transmits and produces power (Foucault, 1978, p.101). Therefore, power is executed by who makes knowledge and transmits it (in this case mostly the press) and who decides what and how a specific issue is talked about (the Church with a moralistic discourse versus the Ombudsman's Office and pro-choice activists).

Another aspect of power portrayed in this case is the exercise of power through language. Since discourse produces power, Foucault also highlights the fact that allowing or forbidding to say certain words can control people, their bodies and their sexualities (Foucault, 1978, p.21). Here, we see two confronting ways to talk about this case, while those against the girl's abortion referred to her as "the girl-mother", pro-choice groups referred to the saying "girls" (not mothers). Both sides try to exercise power through language, since as Foucault argues, power is

exercised and not possessed. However, by calling the victim a "girl's mother", the crime perpetuated is completely shadowed, as well as the perpetuator's responsibility towards it.

In addition, Foucault's concepts of biopower and biopolitics can also be linked to this argument. When pointing out the idea of "power over", Foucault mentioned two ways of putting this into practice, the first one relates to the notion of the body as a machine that can be disciplined. The second one is more mechanic since it views bodies as an apparatus serving biological processes: birth, death, level of health, and longevity (Foucault, 1978, p.139). Controlling people's bodies (biopower) serves as a regulation mechanism, thus we speak of the biopolitics of the population. Later, Foucault's theory was further developed and linked to the divide between women's and men's bodies and sexualities, where a man's body is seen as dominant and a woman's as docile and made for procreation (Sawicki, 1991, p.67). Following this idea, the Church was trying to impose power on the girl.

Power and Resistance

Because of our differing identities, backgrounds, and life experiences, human beings will always have confronting opinions. Antagonistic perspectives over the same issue lead to confrontations, hence resistance: "Where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault, 1978). Resistances mobilize individuals and groups (here pro-life and pro-choice groups). Furthermore, resistances are not homogenous, for instance, depending on one's position, resistances could be seen as an adversary, support, or target-led (Foucault, 1978, p.96). It is also important to contextualize the notions of resistance in the case of abortion in Bolivia, where it is illegal in most situations and even when abortion is backed up by the Constitution, it is still contested by many. Since power relations (and therefore resistance) only take place when there is conflict (Sawicki, 1991), it could be said that to a certain extent, both sides (pro-life and pro-choice) had some power. Actually, this is quite an interesting case, because both sides had influential representatives (the Ombudsman's Office and the Catholic Church). Therefore, depending on whose side we see this confrontation, one or the other could be seen as resistance. Nonetheless, let's not forget that without the activists and the Ombudsman's Office, the girl alone was completely powerless.

Another significant aspect of abortion in Bolivia is that since it is illegal in many cases and when it is not constitutionally illegal, it is not easy to get an abortion and many women cannot afford to pay for it. As a consequence, there are many clandestine abortion clinics where many women get an abortion, these clinics are not always run by professionals and these kinds of procedures put women in danger and sometimes cause their death. So, we could also consider these clinics as a form of resistance, here we see that resistance can also be embodied in a shady way.

Returning to the link between power and knowledge, Gaventa and Cornwall (2000, p.469) state that knowledge defines what is important, possible and for whom. They see knowledge as a tool to empower people, hence knowledge is also a form of resistance. The girl realized she was pregnant after feeling something moving in her stomach, which could make us consider that

these declarations highlighted the girl's lack of sexual education or lack of knowledge and power. Also, how many Bolivian women are aware of the fact that abortion is not always illegal? Probably, if more women knew, fewer would die due to these bad practices.

Conclusions

If we analyse the position of the girl who was pregnant, we could argue that her position in society played a big role in how this issue was handled. Firstly, because of her age, it is obvious that in order to protect her, it was better not to make her speak directly to the press, so, her lawyer was the one speaking on her behalf. Secondly, the girl comes from a small town, her mother and stepfather were away when she was raped, because they were temporarily living and working in a bigger city. This portrays her reality: a child from a low-income family, living in a secluded town, probably indigenous or of indigenous descent. This links back to Foucault (1978, p.163), since according to him, hierarchy/power through surveillance (here we can see surveillance by the fact that it was all so mediatic) is mainly and firstly exercised on the suppressed or powerless (Foucault, 1977, p.163). Probably not much would have been said about this event if the girl came from a wealthy family and lived in a bigger city: power also highlights the non-egalitarian relations in the play (Foucault, 1978, p.94). However, as argued by Foucault, power can always be transformed and resistance is the first step towards change.

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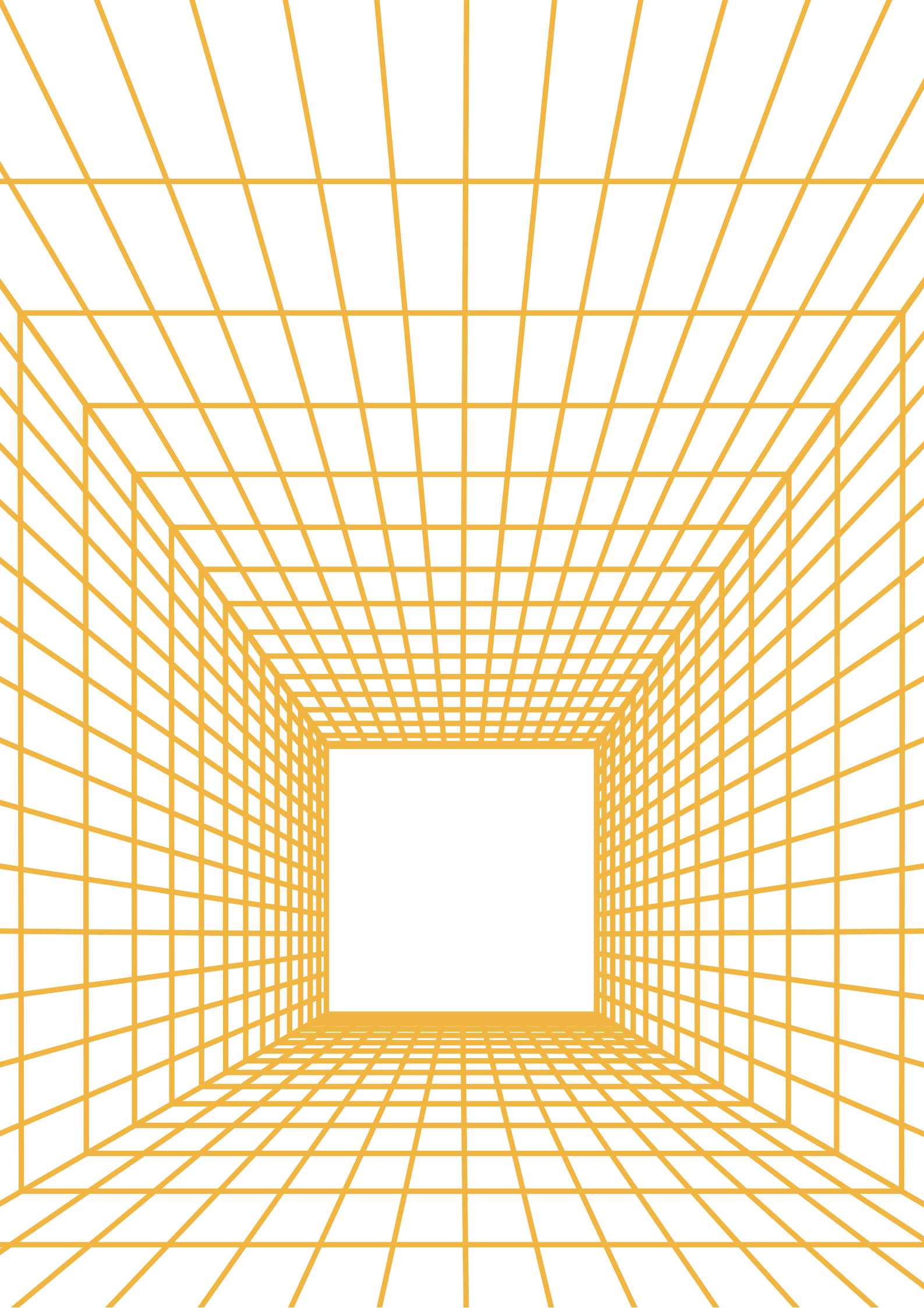


Tailoring Environmental Education to be More Socially Sensitive to Children and Youth

Yusnita Silsilia Warda. SPD. Indonesia.

Executive Summary

The Indonesian government has been integrating environmental education into the national curriculum. Its decision to allow teachers to customise climate literacy content to meet the needs of their students and align with local realities is a wise move.

However, it is crucial that we refine its content to be more socially sensitive to students as children and youth by considering their structural and intergenerational positions. One of the primary purposes is to prevent young people from potential discord with adults, which might stem from the excessive burden placed on young people to shoulder and deliver sustainability messages. This necessitates some efforts, including redesigning educational content and teachers' support for young people's participation in political action and decision-making processes related to environmental issues.

The Current Environmental Education in National Curriculum

The Indonesian government has begun incorporating environmental education into its most recent national curriculum, the *Kurikulum Merdeka*—often translated as 'Emancipated Curriculum' or 'Independent Learning'. This commitment is manifested in the project-based citizenship activities under the program known as *Pengembangan Proyek Profil Pelajar Pancasila* (P5). Moreover, the curriculum includes topics on climate change across various subjects. In an exciting move at the elementary level, natural and social science subjects have been merged, aiming to cultivate a rudimentary understanding of the potential impacts of human activities on nature.

The school subjects' P5 program and climate change themes are structured to foster climate crisis awareness and motivate students to be part of solutions. The new curriculum allows teachers to customise the program in a way that aligns with the needs of their students and the realities of their local environment. Regarding climate topics in school subjects, the government supplies free downloadable textbooks that can be purchased or printed using school allowances. These topics prominently focus on identifying the causes of environmental degradation and potential mitigation actions that students could undertake.

The government has made progress in nurturing awareness and agency in students to tackle the climate crisis. However, scholars underscore that ensuring the educational content is sensitive to the students' social contexts as young individuals within complex structural and intergenerational relations is crucial (Walker, 2017; Biswas, 2023). This could render the educational content on climate change more relevant, enhance the continuity of environmental governance, and contribute to achieving the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

Agenda. On the other hand, neglecting this approach could put children and youth at odds with adults in their living environment or inflate their self-expectations, potentially causing frustration when their efforts fall short.

Young People's Structural Position

The P5 program, implemented by several public schools such as a primary school in Bangkalan Regency, East Java, and an upper-secondary school in Batam City, Riau Islands province, encourages students to adopt a sustainable lifestyle, including minimising the use of electricity and water (SMKN 1 Batam; Anam, 2023). Research from India and England suggests that messages encouraging reduced consumption are less relevant to households with resource constraints (Walker, 2017, p. 77). In Laos, environmental education that lacks sensitivity to students from the lower class even resulted in the stigmatisation of their parents' occupations as environmentally harmful (Ansell et al., 2020, p. 30).

In the *Kurikulum Merdeka*, teachers can tailor environmental education programs or textbooks, yet they may ignore students' position in socio-economic structure. Due to the tuition-free policy, this deserves more significant concern when it comes to Indonesian public schools, which are often the choice for young people from less privileged backgrounds.

Moreover, a study found that in 2021, 49.5% of young Indonesians aged 0-17 experienced multidimensional poverty (Robasa & Made Arcana, 2022). In 2020, UNICEF provided estimates based on a national survey from 2016 that suggested 57% of Indonesian children lacked access to electricity and water (UNICEF, 2020, p. 8). The proportion of children living below the national poverty line has decreased over time, but it remains higher than the national poverty rate (Figure 1).

Although the child poverty index hovered around 12% from 2020 to 2022, the vulnerability index was above 30% (BKF and UNICEF, 2020, p. 6). When compared to other countries globally, the degree of child vulnerability in Indonesia is exceptionally high, contributing to the elevated level of the Children's Climate and Environment Risk Index (CCRI) (Figure 2).

Besides being insensitive to the class background, environmental education in Indonesian schools has not paid attention to young people's position within themore comprehensive political and economic system. The climate change topics currently covered in Indonesian school textbooks primarily emphasise individual action and the role of technology in mitigating environmental distress (Figures 3 & 4), mainly downplaying the political and economic factors that contribute to environmental degradation (Biswas 2023, p. 1005). Scholars have noted that 'shifts in values, lifestyles, and policy' will not yield sufficient change if the economic system keeps operating business-as-usual (Walker, 2017, p. 75).

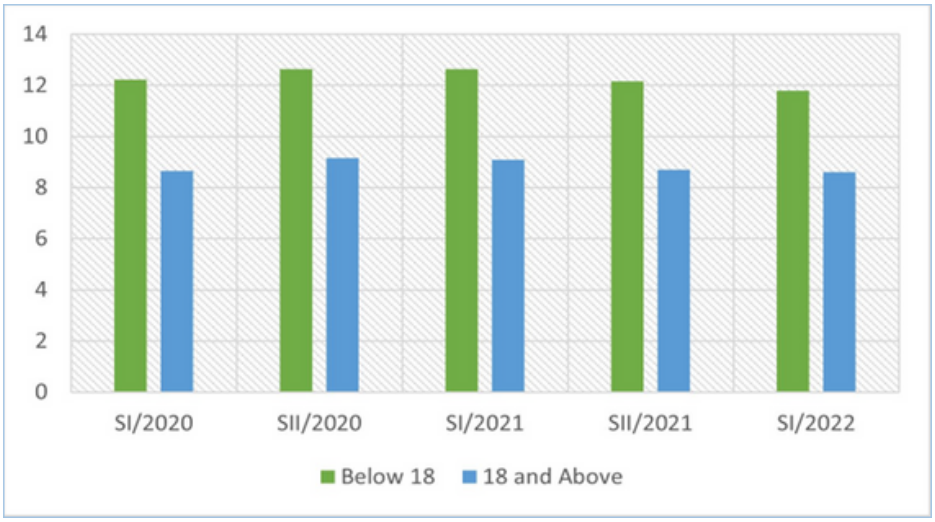
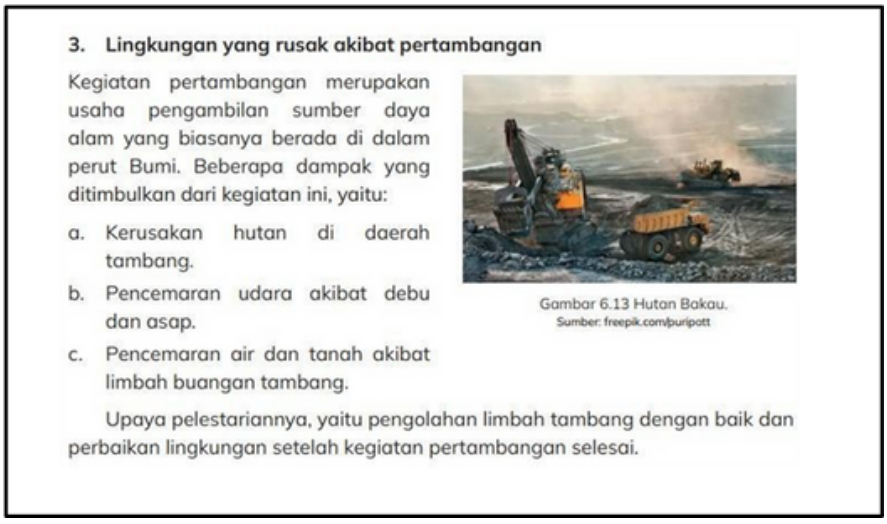


Figure 1. Biannual Distribution of Poverty Rate by Age Groups, Indonesia (From BPS, 2020)

Figure 2. The Children's Climate and Environmental Risk Index (CCRI) - Indonesia (From CCRI Interactive Atlas, UNICEF)



3. Lingkungan yang rusak akibat pertambangan

Kegiatan pertambangan merupakan usaha pengambilan sumber daya alam yang biasanya berada di dalam perut Bumi. Beberapa dampak yang ditimbulkan dari kegiatan ini, yaitu:

a. Kerusakan hutan di daerah tambang.
b. Pencemaran udara akibat debu dan asap.
c. Pencemaran air dan tanah akibat limbah buangan tambang.

Gambar 6.13 Hutan Bakau.
Sumber: freepik.com/puripott

Upaya pelestariannya, yaitu pengolahan limbah tambang dengan baik dan perbaikan lingkungan setelah kegiatan pertambangan selesai.

Figure 3. 'Environmental Damaged Caused by Mining' … Efforts for preservation, namely proper processing of mining waste and environmental rehabilitation after completion of mining activities. (From Natural and Social Science, Primary 5, Indonesia)

c. Usaha Mengatasi Pencemaran Udara

ada beberapa cara yang dapat kita lakukan untuk mengurangi pencemaran udara, di antaranya adalah:

1) Menggunakan bahan bakar yang ramah lingkungan untuk kendaraan bermotor
2) Mengurangi penggunaan kendaraan bermotor, gunakan sepeda atau berjalan kaki untuk perjalanan yang relatif dekat
3) Melakukan gerakan penanaman pohon untuk memperbanyak produksi oksigen
4) Mengolah asap pabrik, seperti yang dilakukan oleh PT Semen Padang mengubah asap pabrik menjadi listrik yang disebut Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Asap seperti yang terlihat pada gambar berikut!

Sampai di sini, Ananda telah selesai mempelajari materi pelajaran tentang sifat, penyebab, dampak dan usaha mengatasi pencemaran udara. Amatilah lingkungan di sekitarmu. Apakah telah terjadi pencemaran udara?

Gambar 8.12. Unit pengelolaan asap

Sumber : https://industri.kontan.co.id/news/pemerintah-usahakan-perbaikan-tata-kelola-pengembangan-pltsa-di-indonesia

Figure 4. Addressing Air Pollution: (1) UtilisingUtilising eco-friendly fuels for motor vehicles; (2) Reducing motor vehicle usage by biking or walking; (3) Implementing massive tree planting initiatives; (4) Converting factory smoke to electricity (From Natural Science, Secondary 7, Indonesia)

Young People within Intergenerational Relations

Environmental education in Indonesian schools is designed to inspire students to become 'agents of change' through proactive engagement to raise their environmental awareness and their parents (Nurita, 2021). This implies that students are expected to serve as messengers of sustainability to older generations. A school textbook even prompts students to critically examine environmentally harmful actions performed by an older person (Figure 5). Unfortunately, no clear guidance exists on how young people should effectively communicate sustainability messages.

Academics note the presence of a ‘cultural expectation’ where younger generations are expected to conform to the elders (Walker, 2017, p. 78). Deviating from this norm may create conflict with adults, while inaction could lead to feelings of unease or discontent. Therefore, the implied expectation that students should communicate sustainability messages or even alter adults' behaviour could burden young individuals, requiring them to negotiate their power with adults in their living environment. This is particularly difficult when the household or neighbourhood members' understanding of the climate crisis is limited."

Figure 5. Schoolchildren questioning the action of a grown-up littering the river (From Natural and Social Science, Primary 5, Indonesia)

Communicating sustainability messages or altering adults' behaviour could burden young individuals, requiring them to negotiate their power with adults in their living environment. This is particularly difficult when the household or neighbourhood members' understanding of the climate crisis is limited.

Moreover, tailoring environmental education without considering young people's position within intergenerational relations contradicts the principles of climate justice. Educating children and youth about the climate crisis, and even more so, addressing the crisis itself, is predominantly the responsibility of the older generations. Casting children and youth as the primary conveyors of sustainability messages is disheartening, primarily when they are least accountable for the climate crisis.

Towards A More Socially Sensitive Environmental Education

Considering the significance of acknowledging students as children and youth within their social relations, the government, school administrators, and teachers must give thoughtful consideration when tailoring environmental education. The socio-economic data of students can be instrumental to understand their position in society, thereby enabling the development of more relevant climate literacy content. However, this is not limited to the socio-economic structure but involves other kinds of marginalities in society. This approach could even allow for the customisation of the project for specific groups of students.

Situating young people within the political and economic structure can further refine the design of environmental education, making it more reflective. However, as individual action alone is insufficient, environmental education must support children and youth's political and social

participation. It is even more important to empower them to influence decision-making processes concerning environmental issues.

In Indonesia, teachers often hold unfavourable perceptions towards student participation in a movement. However, restricting young people's participation in political actions could impede the continuity of environmental governance, especially when considering that they are the future stewards of our planet. Moreover, inspiring them to advocate for sustainable policies can also contribute to meeting the 2030 SDGs target of achieving child inclusion. In Indonesia, the rate of participation of young individuals aged 7-17 in decision-making forums within their neighbourhoods is markedly low, reported at 3.62% in 2021, with a mere 0.75% of them contributing input in these forums (Kemen PPA, 2022, pp. 76–77).

In acknowledging the intergenerational dynamics, environmental education can guide how students effectively communicate sustainability messages. Furthermore, school officials and teachers can create a more accommodating educational environment by involving parents in projects alongside their children. This approach can streamline efforts to increase environmental awareness among older generations.

The government can also promote collaboration between schools, local communities, and organisations to facilitate interaction between young people and older generations. For instance, an intergenerational pilot project in the Netherlands has proven successful in fostering strong relationships between younger and older individuals by having them live side by side. This interaction could enhance the effective dissemination of sustainable messages across both generations. Therefore, while children can serve as agents of sustainability messages, education should not be exclusively focused on this method.

Recommendations:

1. The government, in cooperation with school officials and teachers, should redesign environmental education to better reflect students' socio-economic backgrounds and various other forms of marginalization.

2. Teachers should encourage and support students' participation in social and political actions related to environmental issues.

3. The government, through school textbooks, and teachers should guide communicating sustainability messages by reflecting students' position as a younger generation at homes and neighbourhoods.

4. The government should foster collaborations that enable interaction and joint learning of sustainability messages between young people and older generations.

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The Paradox Of Decoloniality: Shaping of A "Homohindunationalist" Neoliberal State

Rupankar Dey. SPD. India

"*Traditionally, our Indian (Hindu) society has always been kind and tolerant to us, but when the British arrived, they destroyed our progressive and tolerant ethos by imposing their regressive Victorian values.*"

That is what my friend Sushant said back in 2018 when the Supreme Court of India (The apex judiciary body) decriminalised homosexuality by repealing section 377 from the Indian Penal Code, which Britishers introduced to criminalise unnatural sexual activities. Sushant considers himself a Bisexual male. I also used to share the same opinion with him, and I got more convinced with his opinion after getting to know about Anibal Quijano's work on how the "coloniality of power" (Quijano, 2000) has shaped and articulated human relations and humanity based on fictitious biological terms from Maria Lugones piece (Lugones, 2008, p.2). I realised that we need to focus more on decolonising the knowledge space to understand a human more as a human rather than characterising them and separating them based on biological or social distinctions like sex and gender. Moreover, we need to promote more of our traditional Indian literature, which, according to Sushant, is tolerant and progressive.

This law's repeal has been welcomed by the Right-wing conservative Hindu nationalist party BJP (Bhartiya Janata Party) ruling in the government and its parent organisation Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh[1] (RSS), whose position regarding this section has historically been supportive. Several people from the top leadership of the BJP have passed homophobic statements repeatedly and talked in favour of keeping homosexuality criminalised, but suddenly after 2018, they turned progressive and tolerant. To whitewash their image, the party ruling the government wants to promote that it is the reflection of a new progressive, inclusive India, which is breaking the shackles of colonial legacy and re-achieving its past glory before colonialism (Tewari, 2018). I wonder how patriarchs of colonial traditions completely shifted as decolonial flagbearers.

Digging down deep, we could find out that the main idea behind the sudden change is to incorporate queer people within the idea of the neoliberal Hindu Nation. To increase the participation of queer people within the Hindu out fold through an influx of demographic numbers to support their agenda of forming a Hindu nation (Upadhyay, 2020). Thus, bringing back the Hindus, who have been historically converted into Christians and Muslims—projecting Hinduism as liberal and tolerant for promoting their agenda. For that, they are subjugating the other religions as barbaric and homophobic and Hindu washing the targeted group (Gupta 2018b, quoted in Upadhyay 2020).

The decolonisation movement is being metaphorised for creating "historical amnesia" (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p.16) through mythological fantasies from Hindu religious pieces of literature. It has been shown how Hindus are progressive and liberal enough to accept people from the

queer group as their gods and goddess. Thus, decoloniality is being used as fuel to promulgate the “indigenised consciousness of the settler” (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p.17) here, the nationalist group’s idea is to make the others which means the queers realise that they are part of the inside in the struggle against the western and others oppressive cultures instead differentiating them aside.

Besides social decolonisation, as per neoliberal logic, the real agenda is assimilating everybody, irrespective of their sexuality, into the workforce. As per Foucault, capitalism needs biopower (Foucault, 2008) to broaden the consumer chain, increase the demographic mass, and optimise its capabilities to increase production for more profit. The flexibility for heteronormativity is not just to accept a human without excluding them based on sexuality as a social being but to accept humans as “Homo-economicus” (Brown 2015, p.31) or a mere resource that can potentially participate in the state's economic welfare (Ludwig, 2016).

To be precise, the state is decolonising the idea of sexuality to recolonise the body of queer. As Upadhyay mentions, “Homohindunationalism” (Upadhyay, 2020) followed by Puar's idea of “Homo nationalism” (Puar, 2018) as a logic to incorporate queer people to promote their idea of nationalism. So, the question arises of decoloniality from whom to whom? And thus, "decoloniality is decolonial enough?" (Bustos, 2017)

Decoloniality speaks about epistemic justice. However, in this case, in the name of epistemic justice, the primary idea is to establish a nation reclaiming its “lost Hindu traditions”. They tried to promote that by saying that historically, they have all been subjugated and colonised by several foreign cultures under Muslim and British Christian rulers. Thus, in an ambiguous language, the queer group being colonised to appropriate and establish their agenda. Tuck & Yang has described this phenomenon as "Colonial equivocation” (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p.17). Furthermore, he has said, "A more nuanced move to innocence is the homogenising of various experiences of oppression as colonisation. Calling different groups 'colonised' without describing their relationship to settler colonialism is an equivocation", (Tuck & Yang, p.17). Hindu nationalists are cultivating fantasy narratives relying on knowledge based on mythical texts mentioning queer people to provide them with a sense of temporal sense of security through ontological justice and security.

Moreover, in this case, in the name of decolonial washing, the regressive ideas of Brahmanism[2] and Hindu nationalism subjugate other cultures and ideas by demonising and colonising India itself. As Sushant said, which I quoted previously, our traditional Indian literature is tolerant and progressive; that is precisely what the religious fanatic nationalist government wants to capture the narrative. Precisely, they promote that India always used to be tolerant, but due to the coming of alien cultures from foreign lands, it has become polluted. To achieve that lost glory, we must remove all the infiltrators and form a Hindu nation based on its core values; that is what India is. However, the fundamental idea of India was very different. We did not opt to be a religious state after our partition of the nation; we decided to form a synthesis of a nation out of several nations, a good example of a pluriverse (Escobar, 2018) where multiple

ideas will be embraced instead of creating any hierarchy or discrimination. The idea of India means plurality and synthesis by cohesion and assimilation of several ideas irrespective of caste, creed, religion sex. Secondly, the idea of India thus not only means a nation of the Hindus, as Sushant previously meant to say. India as a Hindu society is wrong; this is what coloniality is, which the prevailing right-wing Hindu nationalist-led government is trying to inject among their people to colonise and marginalise the other cultures into their subjects. As several decolonial scholars have mentioned coloniality shapes the idea of race, gender, and sexuality here, Brahmanical hegemony also creates its own set of hierarchies through its idea and colonising the idea of secular, pluralist India.

Decoloniality creates a void within the knowledge discourse which can lead to" the risk of existing within certain politics of appropriation and decontextualisation through which certain voices are audible, and others are not", as said by Tania Pérez-Bustos. Before embracing decoloniality, we must understand how heteronormative and pluralist discourse is being catered to establish epistemic Justice (Bustos, 2017). Here in the case study of India, which is not happening as a particular set of majoritarian and marginalising agendas is outrightly appropriating itself in the name of decoloniality.

Decoloniality should focus on something other than dissecting the knowledge space between the coloniser and colonised binary since the world itself is pluralistic. It has been a synthesis and amalgamation of several cultures, languages, and practices that cannot be divided into black and white; several other shades get unacknowledged while raveling the epistemic discourse. What is necessary and the goal should be is acknowledging the uniqueness of individual praxis for peaceful cohabitation and solidarity, maintaining the autonomy of the individual groups.

[1] Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS)- “The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), also known as the Sangh, is a right-wing Hindu nationalist, paramilitary, volunteer, and allegedly militant organisation in India” (Library of Congress, 2002).

[2] Brahmanism is considered the socio-political ideology for the proper running of a state and society revolving around the enlightened group of people considered as scholars coming from the upper rung or caste group of the social order known as the Brahmins (Bronkhorst, J. 2020, p.2).

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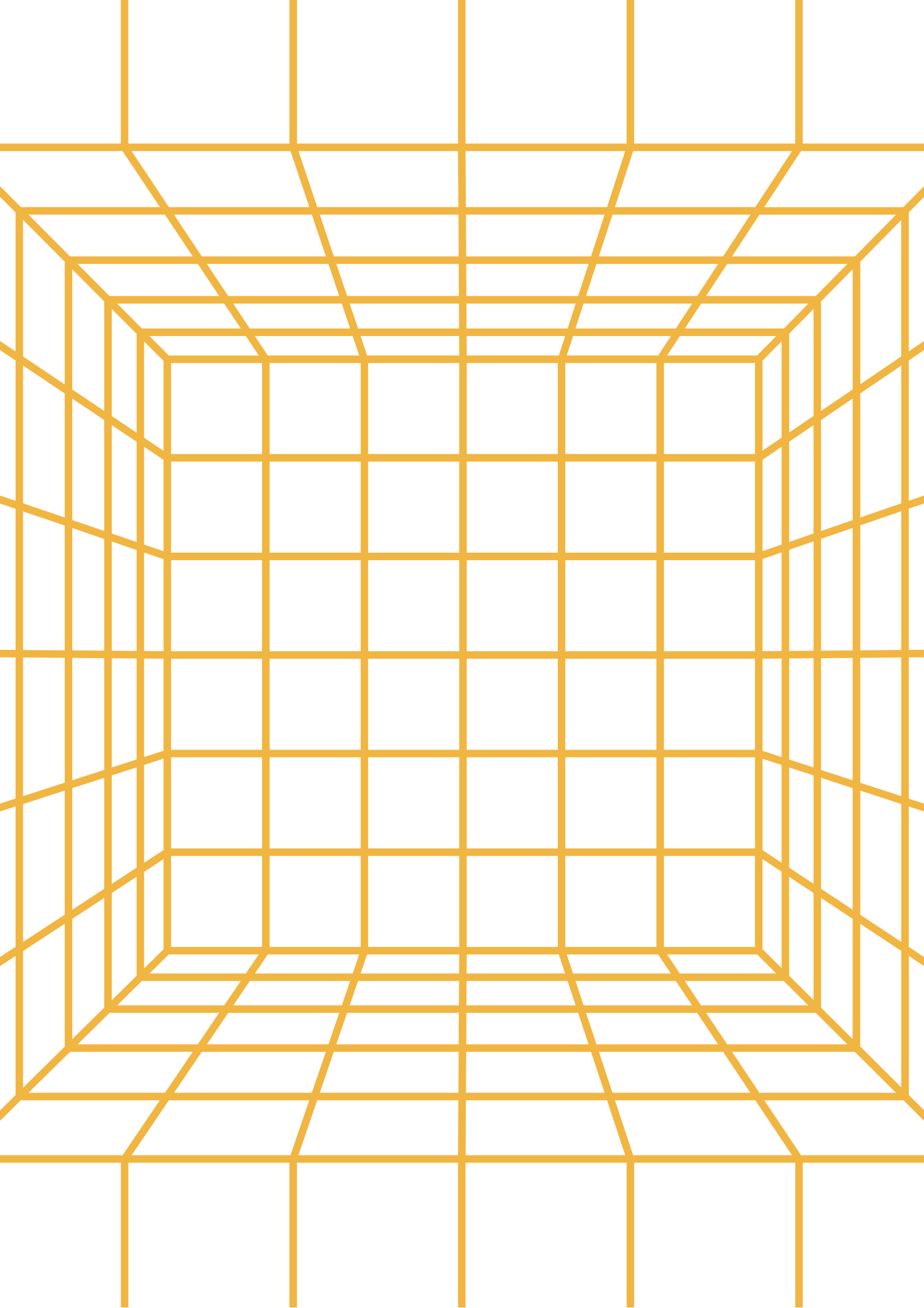

Boosting Coffee Production and Export in Tanzania

Tawfiq Mwijage. ECD. Tanzania.

Introduction

Tanzania is known for producing high-quality coffee beans that are sold globally. The country's coffee industry plays a vital role in the economy, contributing to employment, income generation, and foreign exchange earnings. However, the coffee sector faces several challenges, including low productivity, poor quality control, limited access to markets, limited access to finance, and inadequate infrastructure. This policy note aims to provide recommendations for boosting coffee production and export in Tanzania.

Current State of the Coffee Industry

Tanzania is the fourth-largest coffee producer in Africa, with a dominant presence of small-scale farmers cultivating coffee on less than two hectares of land. The country produces two types of coffee, Arabica, and Robusta, contributing an average of 60% and 40%, respectively. The Tanzanian Coffee Board (n.d.) reports that approximately 320,000 smallholder households are directly involved in coffee cultivation as their primary economic activity. In 2020, Tanzania produced 50,000 metric tons of coffee, generating revenue of $130 million through coffee exports (Monthly Coffee Market Report (2019/2020). The top importers of Tanzanian coffee in the 2020/2021 season were Japan, Italy, and Belgium, with imports of 368,506, 318,444, and 124,372 bags, respectively. Other notable importers included South Korea, Germany, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Despite Tanzania's status as a significant coffee producer, the country's coffee exports have exhibited fluctuations over time (Bank of Tanzania, n.d).

Potential for Trade and Investment

Tanzania's coffee industry has significant potential for trade and investment. The country's coffee beans are known for their high quality and unique flavor profile, making them a sought-after commodity in the global market. The government of Tanzania has been promoting the coffee industry through various initiatives, including improving the coffee value chain, establishing coffee auction canters, and providing training and technical assistance to farmers.

Moreover, the government has implemented various policies and regulations to enhance the quality of Tanzanian coffee, such as the coffee industry development strategy (2011-2021), which aimed to increase coffee production and exports by improving the quality of coffee and promoting coffee value addition.

Addressing the Challenges

Despite the potential for trade and investment in the coffee industry in Tanzania, several

challenges need to be addressed to ensure the industry's growth and competitiveness.

Fluctuation of the Export Volume

The fluctuation of the export volume is a significant challenge facing the coffee industry in Tanzania. According to the Tanzania Coffee Board (n.d), the country's coffee exports have been characterised by fluctuations in volume over the years. For instance, in the 2019/2020 season, Tanzania's coffee exports decreased by 9.2% compared to the previous season, resulting in revenue loss, as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

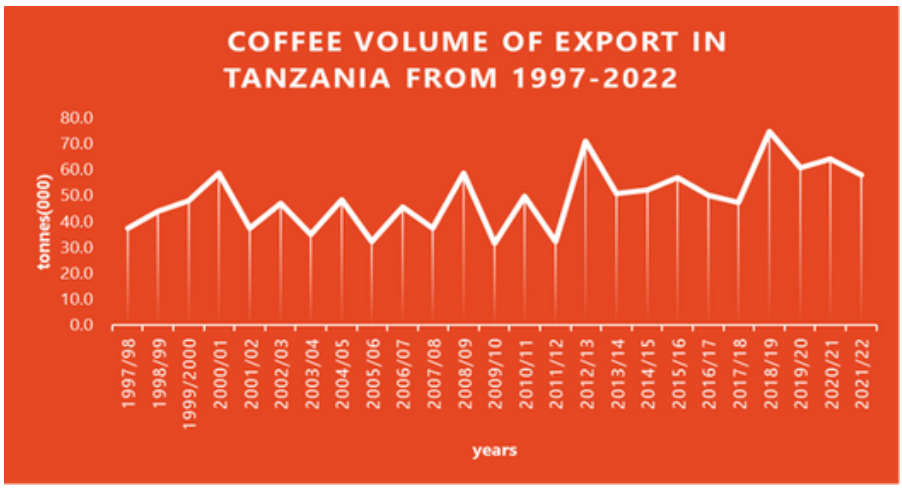

Figure 1. Coffee Volume of Export in Tanzania from 1997-2002

Source: Bank of Tanzania, retrieved from https://www.bot.go.tz/Publications/Economic%20Statistics/Fiscal%20Year/en/2022112416080442.xlsx, (Accessed: March 26, 2023).

The fluctuation of export volume was attributed to unfavourable weather conditions due to climate change and weather variability which affect the quality and quantity of coffee produced. Rising temperatures and unpredictable weather patterns have led to a decline in coffee productivity, affecting both the quality and quantity of coffee produced (Bilen et al., 2022).

Other factors contributing to the fluctuation in the export volume include pests and diseases, low investment in the coffee sector, and inadequate extension services to farmers. For example, coffee berry disease (CBD) and coffee wilt disease (CWD) have been significant threats to coffee production in Tanzania. These diseases have resulted in the decline of coffee trees, leading to a decrease in coffee production.

Fluctuation of the Value of Export

The value of Tanzania's coffee exports has also been characterised by fluctuations over the years. According to the TCB, the country's coffee exports generated $222.1 million in revenue in the 2020/21 season, representing a 22.5% increase compared to the previous season. However, this growth was mainly attributed to an increase in coffee prices in the international market and not an increase in the volume of coffee exported.

The fluctuation of the value of exports can be attributed to various factors, including low-quality coffee, insufficient value addition, and poor marketing strategies. Tanzania's coffee industry has been facing stiff competition from other coffee-producing countries, such as Brazil and Vietnam, which have been able to improve their coffee quality and add value to their products. The lack of value addition in Tanzania's coffee production has led to a decrease in the value of the country's coffee exports, shown in Figure 2 as follows:

Figure 2. Coffee Value of Export in Tanzania from 1997-2022

Source: Bank of Tanzania, retrieved from https://www.bot.go.tz/Publications/Economic%20Statistics/Fiscal%20Year/en/2022112416080442.xlsx, (Accessed: March 26, 2023).

Fluctuation of the Price of Export

The price of coffee in the international market is also a significant challenge facing the coffee industry in Tanzania. According to the International Coffee Organisation (ICO), the coffee prices in the international market have been volatile, resulting in revenue loss for coffee-producing countries such as Tanzania. For example, in 2018, coffee prices dropped by 24%, which affected the income of smallholder farmers in Tanzania.

Moreover, the price fluctuations of coffee can be attributed to several factors, including overproduction, climate change, and political instability in coffee-producing countries. Overproduction of coffee in some countries has led to a decrease in the price of coffee in the international market, affecting the income of smallholder farmers in Tanzania. Climate change has also affected coffee production in Tanzania, leading to a decrease in coffee quality and quantity, which has affected the price of coffee in the international market.

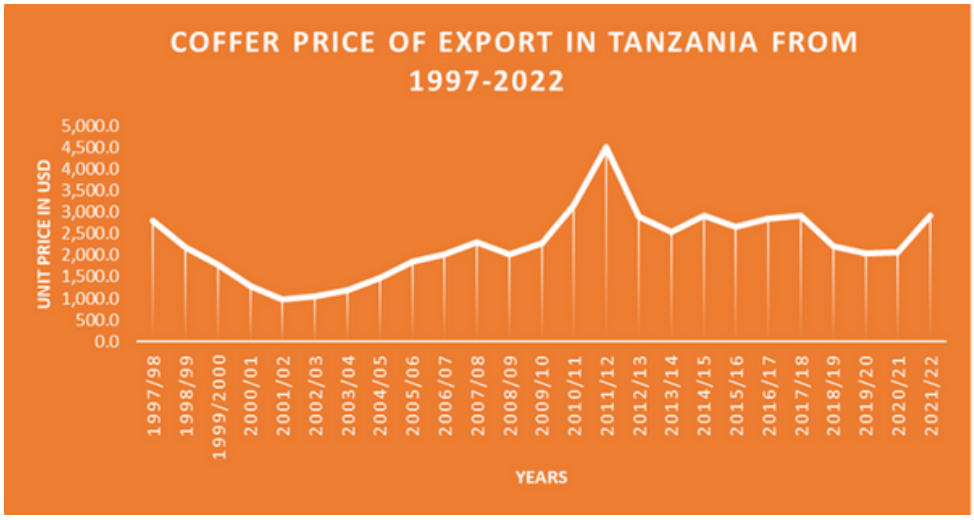

Figure 3. Coffee Price of Export in Tanzania from 1997-2022

Source: Bank of Tanzania, retrieved from https://www.bot.go.tz/Publications/Economic%20Statistics/Fiscal%20Year/en/2022112416080442.xlsx, (Accessed: March 26, 2023).

Policy Implications

Tanzania's coffee industry holds significant potential for trade and investment but faces numerous challenges that must be addressed to ensure growth and competitiveness. The government must implement policies aimed at increasing productivity, quality control, and fair-trade practices to maximise the benefits of the industry for economic growth. However, addressing the multifaceted challenges of the industry will require a comprehensive approach from both the government and industry stakeholders. Strategies such as increasing investment in the sector, providing extension services to farmers, promoting value addition, and improving marketing strategies can help mitigate the impact of fluctuating export volume, value, and price of coffee.

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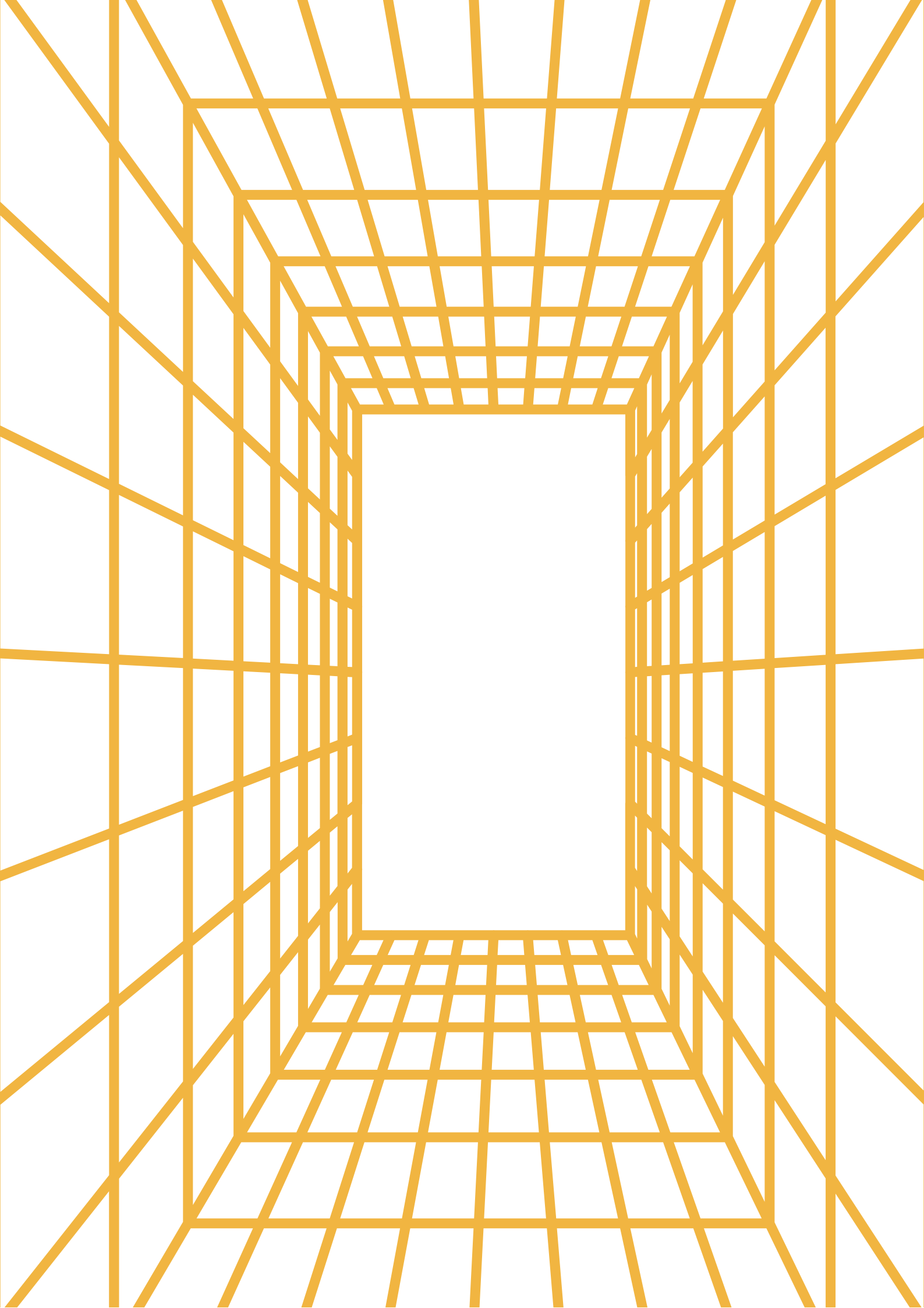

China's Global Development Initiative: A Challenge to Western-led Liberal International Order?

Natassha Kaur Serbgeth Singh. Mundus MAPP. Malaysia.

In this essay, I aim to explore how and why China's Global Initiatives are seemingly a challenge to Western-led Liberal International Order. I am centering the most recent of China's chosen pathways, the Global Development Initiative (hereinafter referred to as either the "GDI" or the "Initiative") (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (MoFA of the PRC), 2022), which forms one part of a trilogy of initiatives which include the Global Security Initiative (MoFA of the PRC, 2023) and the latest Global Civilisation Initiative (Yingwu, 2023), all launched in the last three (3) years. I aim to examine - through narratives and actions from China, their supporters (specifically in South East Asia), and also their opposition - the Initiative's potential to shake up or maybe even redraw world order.

The paper shall analyse the dynamics between China and the world order from the perspective of the neo-Gramscian international relations school to critically analyse the rise and significance of China post-2008 Asian Financial Crisis, and its implications on the existing world order. This paper will argue that while China is using soft power tactics – through GDI and other initiatives – to grow its power and legitimacy in global governance, there are no glaring changes to China's priorities. This paper will use a historical dialectical approach (Murphy, 1994) to explain how China is utilising its soft power through diplomacy to look beyond economic governance, and how the GDI is a tool based on China's prevailing ideology as a global elite to maintain and perhaps even expand their power and position in the international arena. This could be seen as a "threat" to the Western-led liberal international order, where a clash of ideas and interests may mean a change in the current hegemonic world order. Although I will focus on the Global Development Initiative (GDI), I will make links to China's movements within security-related matters – through the Global Security Initiative (GSI) and the Global Civilisation Initiative (GCI) on people-centredness (hereinafter collectively referred to as the "Initiatives"). The troika of concepts is being advanced as Beijing's alternative to the Western-dominated "rules-based international order".

An important period, the post-2008 Asian Financial Crisis, helped shape China's current strategy and position in the global governance structure. The crisis led to a power redistribution with more emerging powers like China where they emerged as a stronger partner in economic governance post-2008 Financial Crisis and have continued to grow from strength to strength. China became the world's biggest energy user in 2009 (Swartz and Oster, 2010) and replaced the USA as the largest manufacturing power in 2010 (Pew Research Center, 2011). China's GDP expanded from 74.6 trillion yuan in 2016 to 101.6 trillion yuan in 2020, ranking second across the globe and accounting for 30 percent of the global economic growth (Xue, 2022). With this rapid growth, China's position changed from a recipient to a donor or supporter in development increasing their legitimacy and leading China to a more proactive role in global governance. Is this what the Western-led order fears, a change in who holds economic power which could be followed by a change in who holds political power?

Translating China's World Order

In any world order, there has to be a set of rules to manage relations. The realist scholar, John Mearsheimer referred to international orders as "an organised group of international institutions," which "are effectively rules that the great powers devise and agree to follow" (Mearsheimer, 2019). If Western or U.S.-led liberal order emphasises "rules-based character" (Ikenberry, 2018), then how does China see "rules-based order"? China believes that the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, and peaceful coexistence should be the basis of international order (Tang, 2018). China also advocates for an international order that is inclusive, fair, and just (Tang, 2018). China firmly upholds the Westphalian order, prioritising the sovereignty of states which is reflected in China's approach to protecting its domestic politics from foreign interference and a rejection of foreign intervention in any nation's domestic politics (Tang, 2018). China seemingly continues to embrace economic liberalism while avoiding political liberalism (Tang, 2018). China does not necessarily see a need for a major transformation of the existing order and interestingly, Tang seems to allude that China seems satisfied with the current order which promotes globalisation despite contradictory rhetoric (Tang, 2018). So, is China showing more "counter-hegemonic" and "Westphalian" tendencies rather than multilateralism cooperation?

China saw an opportunity to address a leadership void that arose during the Trump administration in the United States, which resulted in a loss of popular support for the Western-led liberal order (Legarda and Fuchs, 2017). China seised this moment to enhance its global governance role and legitimacy through the Global Development Initiative (GDI). Prior to this, China often found itself overshadowed by Western powers, notably the United States. This also meant that China was continuously positioned as an antagonist, an outsider or a usurper of liberal world order. However, as changes in US foreign policy unfolded, it became glaringly obvious that the trust in the liberal world order and previously formed relationships, particularly with countries in the Global South, were under attack (Legarda and Fuchs, 2017). These developments signaled a departure from reinforcing the Western agenda and a chance for China to assert itself in global affairs through initiatives like the GDI. China is now geared towards shaping the rules and not disrupting world order, and the GDI is an example of this movement.

Based on the paper published by the MoFA of the PRC, the purpose of the GDI is to "pool efforts to tackle challenges, promote post-COVID recovery, and seize opportunities to achieve common sustainable development and build a global development community […] for stronger, greener, and healthier global development" (MoFA of the PRC, 2022). Beijing sees the GDI as an "international public good" that will fix all that is wrong in this world (Lei, 2022) and want to export this public good to support development.

Alternatively, the dominant (hegemonic) development approach – particularly from the West – has been targeting poverty reduction and related social and environmental development which can be traced back to the 1996 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report "Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-operation"

(OECD, 1996) which laid out the foundation for aid development, and has been replicated in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the succeeding Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These instruments focused on development assistance and interventions, whether led by high-income countries or owned by each country, based on human rights, justice and the rule of law and through horizontal and vertical partnerships (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015). This serves as part of the current liberal world order which begets the overarching additional question:

Is China transforming the existing international order? Is the GDI that different from these development frameworks (such as the SDGs)?

In its current form, the GDI seems to be a replica of the development policy agenda. It prioritises poverty alleviation, food security, climate change, and financing for development to name a few, and is synergistic with global and domestic economic agenda (MoFA of the PRC, 2022). There are no surprises in the Initiative document. The content of the GDI is very current and addresses pressing issues of our time. The GDI emphasises the need for cooperation and collaboration among nations to address global challenges and promote mutual interests. It reads as China's version of the SDGs i.e. a multilateral-focused translation and alignment of the 2030 Agenda, offers more palatable language ala SDGs however also has the same problems in terms of vagueness. So the way China has framed its responsibility as a provider of global public goods is similar to a lot of Western countries supporting development.

Through the lens of Cox's historical structures approach (Cox, 1983), Beijing's actions can be considered to be marketisation of commodification (Knio, 2022) where they are trying to assimilate and legitimise their "rules of the game". They have flexed their material capabilities – mostly through their productive powers such as their exponential economic progress and increasing significance and impact of their economy globally. For example, being the world's biggest energy user (Swartz and Oster, 2010) and manufacturing power (Pew Research Center, 2011) is attractive to developing countries as this may signal increased investment in raw materials and labour (that is found in the Global South). Then, through Xi Jinping's leadership, they have put forward the idea of global governance - where ideas provide meaning and meaning-making to China's rules-based order – through initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative and the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) (Stephen, Matthew and Skidmore, 2019) to promote regional development and integration. Further, narratives such as "common development", "community of common destiny", and "collective action" in the GDI and the troika of Initiatives, in Xi Jinping's speeches (Xi, 2015) and other rhetoric coming from Beijing, aid in concretising China's ideas and interests through embracing a China-led "common sense" (Cox, 1983). All this is combined in real life in institutions where China's rule-based order is translated by organic intellectuals in Beijing, including prominent scholars like Wang Lei (Lei, 2022). China is transforming itself into a rule-maker from a rule follower or breaker, increasing its legitimacy in global governance and matching it with material capacities and contributions to development (Stephen, Matthew D., 2020). As driven by the Western narrative of protagonist/ antagonist (and to be fair, China possibly uses the same

framing in their domestic narrative too where they are the protagonist), China is framed as the counter- or antagonist in development. How true is this?

China's Multilateralism

John Ruggie defines multilateralism as an institutional form that "coordinates relations among three or more states on the basis of "generalised" principles of conduct… without […] particularistic interests of the parties or the strategic exigencies that may exist in any specific occurrence" (Ruggie, 1992).

Since 2015, Xi Jinping has reinforced the narrative of multilateralism stating "Let us establish a new win-win partnership for all mankind. Let prosperity, fairness and justice spread across the world" (Xi, 2015). Additionally, China emphasises pursuing multilateralism through win-win cooperation, acting upon rules and order, upholding fairness and justice and acting to deliver real results (Yi, 2018).

Beijing as the agents (organic intellectuals) have synthesised China's "common sense" ala Gramsci – through structures and institutions such as the GDI (van Apeldoorn and Hager, 2010) (Murphy, 1994) though it seems like China's common sense is merely status quo in terms of world order. Sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs – prominent parts of China's Westphalian approach to rule-based order – are similar to the Western-led world order (and as it is increasingly becoming). To this end, GDI is another personification of a class project to accumulate and centralise power to ensure growth in capital through a set of rules, norms and institutions designed to ensure stable social relations (van Apeldoorn and Hager, 2010).

Based on Ruggie's definition, there seem to be three (3) key elements to multilateralism (Ruggie, 1992), which are indivisibility, equality and reciprocity. Firstly, that peace is not divisible, and all countries are equal participants in peace. In the GDI, everything is "collective" or "shared" which gives - on the surface - the perception of a balance of power, no hegemon in power/ taking control or having to meet Western requirements. However, China conducts multilateralism through a Westphalian "every state for itself" approach, as seen in the GDI. China's foreign policy approach emphasises a combination of multilateral cooperation and safeguarding its own national interests (and for other countries to do the same). Secondly, there is no discrimination between countries. Anthea Mulakala, in her analysis, points out that China's development cooperation approach is grounded in South-South cooperation, which encompasses more extensive dimensions beyond Official Development Assistance (ODA) (Mulakala, 2022) and the concept of equal footing is prominent in the Initiative. This approach includes investments, diplomacy, and other modalities, as exemplified by the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Mulakala highlights that the GDI is seen as running parallel to and complementing the BRI (Mulakala, 2022). Both initiatives aim to align China's financial, technological, and human resources (supply-driven) with the economic and developmental needs of recipient countries (demand-driven) (Morvaridi and Hughes, 2018). And lastly, since China considers itself a "developing country", Lei highlights that its development cooperation is

perceived as “a form of mutual assistance between developing countries under the South-South cooperation” rather than as a North-South donor-recipient relationship (Lei, 2022). BRICS partnership has set an example of South-South cooperation and of seeking strength through unity among emerging markets and developing countries (Morvaridi and Hughes, 2018).

As clearly presented in a speech at the United Nations General Assembly in 2018, the State Councillor and Foreign Minister of The People's Republic of China, H.E. Wang Yi (Yi, 2018) said: “China stands for a proper settlement based on rules and consensus through dialogue and consultation on an equal footing.” Furthermore, Yi asserted: “China will not be blackmailed or yield to pressure and has taken steps not just to defend its own legitimate rights and interests”. And lastly, regarding global trade “China is also acting to uphold the free trade system and international rules and order for the benefit of global recovery and the common interests of all countries.”

These statements can be analysed as Beijing – as would Western powers - wanting to steer the world order to the directions of their choosing, or the priorities that they have already shaped. While China supports multilateralism, its approach may also be driven by national interests and its own strategic goals. The GDI is a further means of accumulating power (van Apeldoorn and Hager, 2010). If the current hegemon (i.e. the West or more specifically the United States) sees that it is okay to ignore or rewrite the rules to their benefit, what is so different or “bad” about China? Is China really changing the rules of liberal world order or are they just getting better at playing by the rules of the game and the champions of the Western-led order – as the original developers of the rules of world order - are not happy about it. Is this just Western fear-mongering – the rise of new world power (taking its place) and a change in the distribution of material power? Is this a credible threat?

The Attraction of China and Multilateralism

China’s development focuses on supporting construction and infrastructure-based projects – which are considered the harder element of development – which makes China attractive, because not only is it a move away from social development projects on education and health, but also towards projects that do not typically receive aid funding. For the West, these types of projects are usually left to private investors who may not see these projects as “investment worthy” in terms of returns and shy away from investing in Global South construction projects. Hence, this development expansion by China is a welcome change for developing countries in the Global South, as these projects usually do not receive any investment. Moreover, on the surface, Global South countries would appreciate the GDI as it shows that they are not forgotten and that China is safeguarding sovereignty while supporting development, and not having to fit into the Western mould of world order. From an ideational standpoint, China is building a collective identity or is more likely to use/ manipulate the current identities of “family”, “developing country”, and “Asia” to gain regional support. China's self-identification as a “developing” country plays a role in how it is understood by Southeast Asian nations. This label leads to the belief that Beijing possesses a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by countries in the

region. This could be a way for a fragmented regime of power to be entangled through regionalisation, more intertwined relationships and more complexities which would be beneficial to the Global South such as ASEAN (Ha, 2023).

Clash of World Orders, Perhaps

Does "China's vision contrast strongly with that of the West" (Lemoine and Gaafar, 2022)? There seems to be some difference between the Western order and China's order – is this significant enough to completely overturn the current order? Lemoine and Gaafar argue that while the GDI's vision aligns with the international community, it differs on two significant themes, human rights and internet governance which they consider to be "two essential tools to build authoritarian capitalistic societies" (Lemoine and Gaafar, 2022). They fear that the Initiative's impact will be more negative, predicting a rise in repressive governments in developing countries, and potentially human rights will not be considered a priority in the governance of societies (Lemoine and Gaafar, 2022). There is truth to this argument, considering China's own human rights record. Amnesty International has raised concerns over China's treatment of ethnic minorities in Xinjiang province and Tibet, the pervasiveness of internet censorship, and the suppression of dissent especially of human rights defenders (Amnesty International, 2022). So this is where China's order seemingly diverges with the West. The growth of China's influence presents an opportunity for developing countries to make themselves in China's image, thinking it is acceptable to act like China, and regressing on human rights which would mark a regression in development. However as China rarely addresses these human rights allegations, there is much grey area in terms of values and norms around human rights which means Global South countries may be wary to tackle head-on (aside from other countries that already have what is considered difficult human rights records such as Myanmar.

However, Is Beijing Transforming the World Order?

According to De Graaff, ten Brink and Parmar, China has adapted to the rules of the game and liberal order-based institutions through either head-on challenging the order such as by participating in the WTO and the UN, or developing alternative paths such as the AIIB and Belt and Road Initiative (de Graaff, ten Brink and Parmar, 2020). Hence an alternative to China's increasing influence could be that multiple world orders will co-exist however whoever wields the power or sets the world order may change or the world order (China) will replace or overthrow the Western-led world order but many rules are the same so it is more likely variegation (de Graaff, ten Brink and Parmar, 2020).

Pulling on the threads of this argument, is China working towards a Regional Conception of Multilateralism in Asia? Analysing China's position through Murphy's historical dialectical approach and Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Murphy, 1994) (Cox, 1983), the Global Development Initiative (GDI) can be perceived as part of China's broader strategy to form a historical bloc, which may or may not be their plan. This approach could potentially mean a shift in the distribution of power in the world order. Additionally, China, in the eyes of the

Global South, specifically South East Asian countries, is viewed as an alternative to the rigid, Western-led approach to governance and order. The prevailing perception of Western-led order - as highly imperialist and hierarchical – is seen as values that do not align with or adequately consider the context and values of South East Asia, while the alternative is seen as more flexible and accommodating. This sentiment arises from experiences of exploitation and extraction that were initiated through colonialism, which have historically characterised the region's interactions with Western powers. As such, China's initiatives like the GDI resonate with Southeast Asian countries as a departure from the traditional Western-centric framework. Does this reckon a change in the distribution of power?

Regional multilateralism could be a focus of GDI while other Initiatives, such as the GSI has a more global reach. In reaction to this, in 2022, the Biden administration announced the Indo-Pacific Strategy (IPS), a potential response to the economic-focused and development-led GDI that is, seeking to limit China's influence and expansion strategy.

As mentioned earlier, the AIIB and the Belt and Road Initiatives are forms of multilateralism expressed through and focuses on, the economic and not so much political or ideological liberal orders. While these expressions are based on partnerships and mutual benefit, it is still embedded within sovereignty and non-interference (Wu, 2018). It is a multilateral arena built and maintained amidst the expansion of global capitalism vis-à-vis China's Westphalian, every state for itself, order. In these few words, China's vision of multilateralism seems contradictory to the true form of multilateralism that preaches collective action. How does China reconcile protecting state sovereignty with the need to take action domestically, to ensure development can happen with mutual benefit? Will China be able to address these as complementary or will there continue to be dissonance?

Conclusion

The troika of Initiatives is still shrouded in mystery. These Initiatives – in their current form - do not offer any clear pathways or solutions however are a great diplomacy tactic. For example, the GCI states "All civilisations are rooted in their unique cultural environment" (Yingwu, 2023), which may allude to sovereignty and non-interference, however, it is up to interpretation – it is saying a lot but also nothing at all.

If there is a change, is there something to "fear"? All crises are from "normal" development of social order (Murphy, 1994) so this is just a normal day of doing business. As I noted earlier, the Initiatives are still vague in nature, bare in content and actual actionable steps, so the question on my mind is how will this be delivered, who will deliver it, how will success be measured, and the age-old question, of whether this is a sustainable measure and actually shakes up the world order. While China's rise in power in the world order and international political economy is being observed, its true nature and form are yet to be unveiled.

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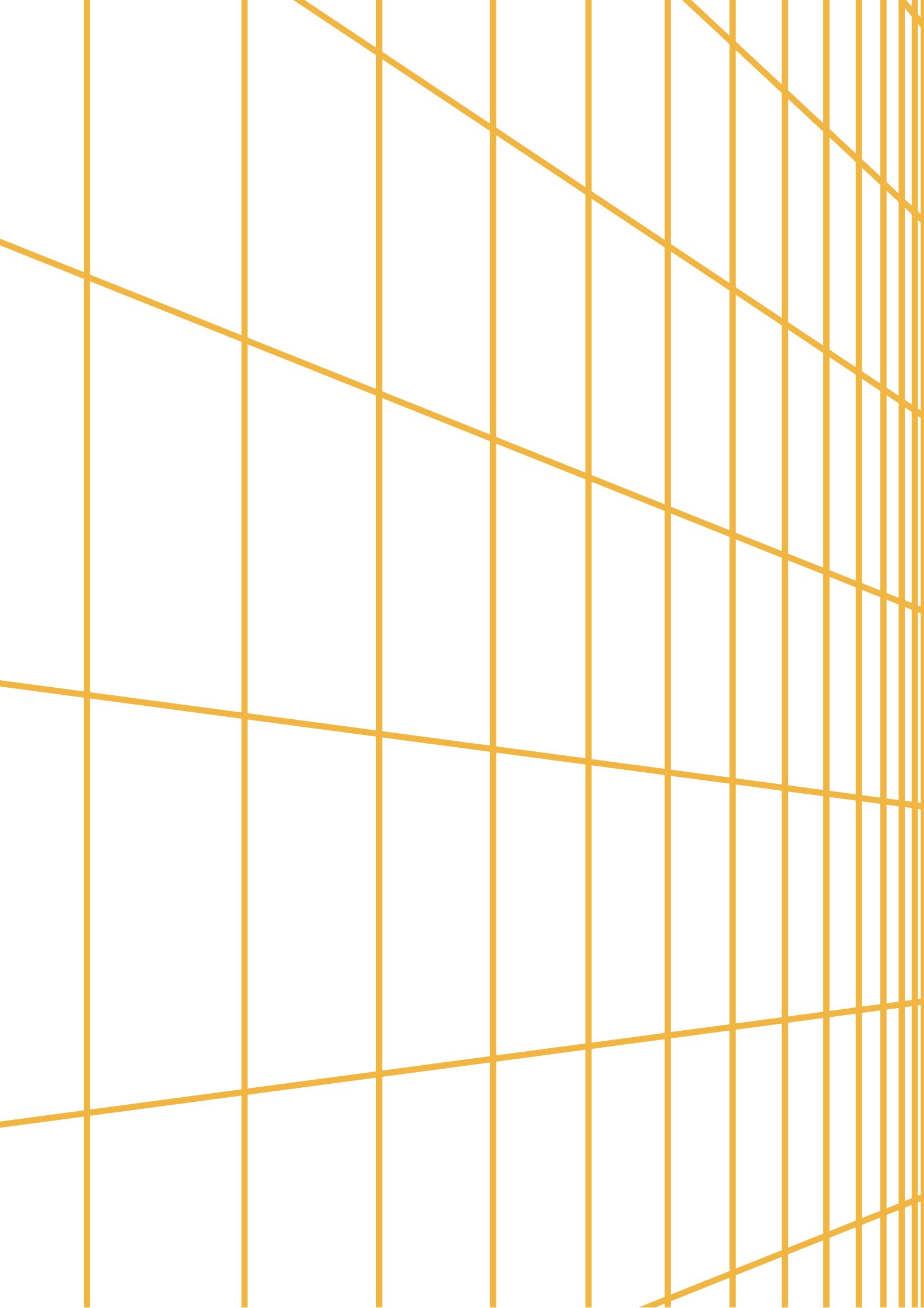

The Dilemma of Fitting In: A comparative study of the impact of migration on bodies and their experiences as immigrant sportsmen in European teams

Seraphine Batse. SJP. Ghana.

Figure 1: Digital sport

Different types of discrimination in sports and how to solve them | Sportaction.eu

Introduction: Migration and Sports in Post-Development

Migration is often a key driver of continuous development (Raghuram, 2009, p.1) and social change. As Sammadar (2020, p.4) asserts, migration can bring about an economic/labor market in receiving countries, which contributes to development as replacement level fertility declines and there is an increase in the aging population. This can facilitate the transfer of knowledge, skills, and ideas, which can lead to economic growth and development. This can be seen in the development of sports, particularly in football, where the movement of players between countries can lead to the transfer of knowledge, skills, and ideas, which can contribute to the development of football in both the origin and destination countries. The globalization of sports has led to the increased mobility of players, coaches, and other technical staff between countries, which has contributed to the emergence of a globalized football culture (Bairner, 2012). This has blurred the lines between "developed" and "developing" countries in sports, as smaller and less affluent nations have been able to produce and export talented players to wealthier countries.

Some scholars have argued that the global movement of players and coaches has contributed to a process of "post-development" in sports, whereby traditional notions of development are being challenged and transformed. However, the relationship between migration and development is complex and not always straightforward. As Raghuram (2009, p.3) points out, the type of migration and the context in which it occurs can affect its development outcomes.

Additionally, the destination country's policies and institutions may also play a role in determining the development impacts of migration as “it can raise high hopes and deep fears both in migrants and settler countries” Haas and Miller (2020, p.1). The globalization of sports has nonetheless led to the emergence of new forms of inequality and exploitation, as players and coaches from poorer countries may be exploited by wealthier clubs and leagues. Like many other sectors, the sports industry has been shaped by colonialism and continues to be marked by inequalities and power imbalances (Bairner & Kefalidou, 2017). Immigrant sportsmen may be positioned to challenge these dynamics and contribute to the decolonization of sports and society.

This paper attempts to elicit the experiences and challenges faced by immigrants, especially sportsmen in Europe, the dilemma of being valued and respected as an immigrant in the midst of discrimination, and how migration can be used as a tool for decoloniality through sports.

Navigating Belonging Beyond Borders

Many factors can drive people to migrate, including economic, social, political, and environmental factors (Kofman & Raghuram, 2009). For example, people may migrate for better economic opportunities, to reunite with family members, to escape conflict or persecution, or to access education or healthcare. In addition, developed countries also lure/entice immigrants from low-income countries or former colonies to fill labor shortages. This can both be good for the immigrant and the host. However, this is not always the case, as immigrants are exploited and discriminated against, which further perpetuates colonialism through imperialism, as in the case of France, which has a diverse soccer team made up of people of color but struggles to accept immigrants. (NPR, 2022).

The whole process of migration itself can have significant implications for identity formation and cultural integration (Sammadar 2020, p.3). For many immigrants, adapting to life in a new country involves negotiating and balancing multiple identities, such as their cultural and national identities, as well as their identities as immigrants or members of a minority group. This process can be shaped by a range of factors, including the policies and attitudes of the host society, the individual experiences of migrants, and the cultural and social context in which migration takes place. Some immigrants may choose to retain and celebrate their cultural identities, while others may seek to assimilate into the dominant culture of their host society. The way in which immigrants navigate and negotiate these identities can have significant implications for their sense of belonging and acceptance in their new communities (Garelli & Triandafyllidou, 2013). Integrating into a new society can be particularly challenging for sportsmen, who may face barriers such as language, cultural differences, and discrimination. These challenges can make it difficult for sportsmen to feel a sense of belonging and acceptance in their new communities, which has an impact on their mental health and can be a stressful and challenging experience. The process of adjusting to a new country and culture, as well as the challenges of integration and discrimination, can lead to feelings of anxiety, depression, and isolation. It is essential for sportsmen to have access to support and resources to help them manage these challenges and maintain their mental well-being. (Poteat et al., 2016).

Breaking Barriers beyond the Field

Immigrant sportsmen in Europe have often faced racial discrimination, both on and off the field. This problem is not unique to soccer but is prevalent across many different sports and countries. Discrimination in sports can take many forms, including race, gender, sexual orientation, and ability. Research has shown that athletes from marginalized groups are often subject to discrimination in hiring, promotion, and treatment by coaches, teammates, and supporters (Bryson, 2009). This discrimination can severely affect athletes' well-being and career development. One of the most well-known examples of racial discrimination in European soccer is the abuse of black players by fans. This can take the form of racial slurs and insults shouted from the stands or even physical violence. In 2013, a group of Chelsea fans were filmed pushing a black man off a train in Paris and chanting racist slogans. In 2019, several black players, including Romelu Lukaku of Inter Milan (Schaerlaeckens, 2019) and Moise Kean of Juventus, were subjected to racist abuse from fans during matches in Italy. Brown and black players who have migrated to play for European teams always have anxiety as praise can turn into discrimination and racism when they fail to score especially in high stake games. One must always work twice as much and perform exceptionally to their white counterparts. The French striker of

Algerian-origin Karim Benzema stated, “If I score, I’m French; if I don’t, I’m Arab.” Similarly, Mesut Ozil, a German football player of Turkish origin shared “I am German when we win, an immigrant when we lose”. His photo with the Turkish president raised criticism where he was even questioned for his loyalty to Germany (Mentesoglu, Z, (2017). A Twitter user jabbed Saka after playing for England to “Go back to Nigeria,” his country of origin; another user wrote, “Get out of my country.” (Beydoun, 2021).

Such incidents are not isolated, and they highlight the ongoing problem of racism in European soccer against immigrants. In addition to experiencing discrimination from fans, immigrant sportsmen may also face discrimination from coaches, teammates, and officials. This can create a hostile and unwelcoming environment for players, negatively impacting their performance, well-being, and emotions. Despite these challenges of how they perceive themselves as belonging and not belonging, immigrant sportsmen in Europe have made significant historic contributions to sport and have brought greater diversity and inclusivity to the beautiful game. Their presence on the field has helped to challenge and disrupt traditional power dynamics and created a more equitable environment for all players.

Sport as a Tool to Promote Decolonization: The Role of Migration in Shaping Cultural Identity and Community

Decoloniality involves acknowledging and challenging ongoing colonial power dynamics in order to promote more equitable and just migration patterns. This involves advocating for the rights of migrants and addressing the root causes of migration, such as poverty, conflict, and inequality. It also involves working to dismantle the systems and structures that perpetuate

colonial exploitation and oppression. Sports can facilitate the integration of migrant communities into their host societies by breaking down barriers and promoting social cohesion. This can be done by promoting diversity and inclusion within sports. This can involve encouraging the recruitment and promotion of athletes and coaches from diverse backgrounds and supporting initiatives that provide access and opportunities for underrepresented groups. (Hall, 2018). It can serve as a platform for migrants to assert their cultural identity and resist assimilation into dominant cultural norms to feel a sense of pride and empowerment as they are able to celebrate and share their cultural heritage through sport (Ahmed and Jones, 2019).
By supporting initiatives that promote social and economic development in local communities: Sports-based development programs can provide valuable resources and support to communities, and can help to create more stable and secure environments for people to live and work. This can reduce the need for migration and promote greater self-determination and independence for communities. (UNDP, 2016).

By advocating for more equitable and inclusive policies and practices within the sports industry, Immigrant sportsmen and other athletes can work to advocate for more equitable and inclusive policies and practices within the sports industry, such as fair wages, anti-racial policies, and better working conditions for all athletes. (Hall, 2018). In the face of criticism and controversies, Mario Balotelli used his platform as a high-profile athlete to speak out against racism and discrimination in soccer (Mario Balotelli, 2015).

Finally, it can promote intercultural dialogue and understanding between different countries. For example, "Football for Peace" uses soccer for conflict resolution and social integration in communities worldwide (Football for Peace).

Conclusion

In conclusion, migration and decoloniality are closely interconnected issues relevant to the sports industry. Colonialism has shaped the patterns of migration that have occurred around the world, and the sports industry has often been used as a means of perpetuating and reinforcing colonial power dynamics and racial hierarchies. Decoloniality involves acknowledging and challenging these ongoing colonial power dynamics to promote more equitable and just migration patterns and address discrimination in sports.

One important question from this essay is how individuals who migrate to participate in sports can feel a sense of belonging. This can be a complex and challenging issue, as migrants may face discrimination and other forms of marginalization that can make it difficult for them to fully participate in and feel a part of their new communities. To promote belonging and inclusivity, it is essential to address the root causes of migration and discrimination and to work to create more inclusive and welcoming environments for migrants in the sports industry and beyond. It is essential for programs to be implemented ethically and fairly to ensure that the rights and needs of the immigrants are protected and for host countries to have safeguards in place to prevent such abuse to promote the overall well-being of all parties involved.

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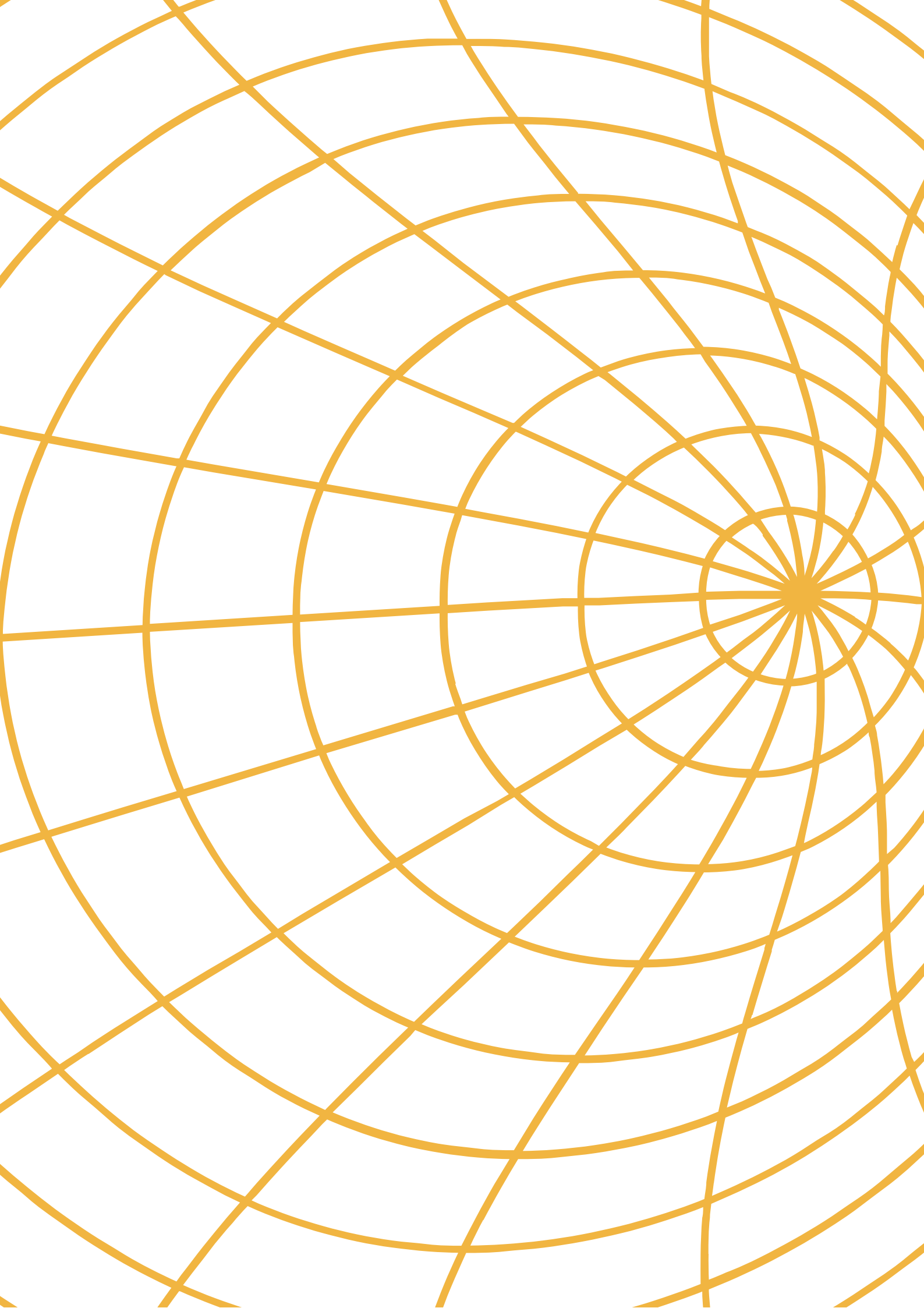

The Construction of Southern Subjectivity as Mapped by the White Paper Movement in Post-development

Elliot Yang Yang. SJP. China.

Introduction

Post-development theory as a discourse and practice' of development still confirms the hegemony of the existing 'development' discourse and the power context of capitalism and modernity behind it. It seeks to answer the question of how the agenda of the "international South" is limited by its aggregation through the lens of post-development theory in the context of the social movements that will erupt in "White paper movement" (Dale,2022) as a result of the three years of the "zero-covid policy" (Sobhan, 2022,). It also attempts to locate the challenges to the subjectivity of the 'Third World' and the specific subject matter to be considered in the assumptions of the new era that post-development theory seeks to open. In acknowledging the functional nature of the post-development practice, it seeks to ask how the different latitudes and options of post-development theory have coexisted with development theory and guided the development of social movements in China.

The limits of "discourse and practice."

Post-development theory's main purpose is to reinterpret the international South and recover its subjectivity, although it, like development, is a mix of "discourses and practices." On one hand, the theory's seductive imaginary cannot escape the insurmountable semantic gap behind it, namely that the power of naming remains in the hands of the "post-development discourse" and is rarely present in the regions where it wishes to develop its subjectivity, just as the post-structuralists themselves raise the "issue of the exclusion of the international South." This gap shows the dilemma of the post-development discourse, whose expectations are partly a manifestation of the fact that the discourse has plundered the subjectivities of the regions concerned and that the "assemblage of discourses and practises" that the "discourse" attempts to name is a polyphony of echoes that needs to be deployed more explicitly to deal with the semantic repetition that such reflections create.

Escobar (2007, pp.26-27) shows that a decisive intervention also influenced the empire's rise. The post-development theory is ambitious in its attempts to transcend the paradigm of modernity, calling up the shadow of "new forms of knowledge," but the question of whether empire has penetrated to such an extent that "post-development" practices can catch up and affect change is a constant reflection. Oppositional postmodernism's (Escobar, 2007, p29) cross-dimensional study on how to preserve unique agendas in the context of an expanding empire is unanswered. The rising transformation of "diced identities" (Escobar, 2007, p. 29) and "cultures of destruction" in the transnational South can also testify to the limited character of post-development practices, and the cost of change increases when "subjectivities" are already invaded and occupied by empires.

The fragmented, isolated, and class-led urban and class- led "white paper movement" created by a "divided identity" has not been called upon by "post-development" to immediately consider the appropriate means to achieve cooperation because it goes beyond the diverse demands of "opposition to patriarchy," "opposition to speech restrictions," "opposition to dictatorship," "ending racial persecution," and "democratic universal suffrage" that oppose the "goal of closure." On the other hand, the diaspora community has not been treated adequately in post-development theory since diasporas from the international South living in the international North are burdened with various consciousness and approach contradictions caused by different contexts of "migration." The White Paper Movement's solidarity actions abroad create, rather than reproduce, a simultaneous agenda for both 'development' and 'post-development', linking global resources and lending international influence with the discourse of 'development' on the one hand, and gradually building a more parallel agenda based on the migratory reflexivity of the diaspora's 'no longer here,' with multiple compromises attempted to be constructed from the outside but focused on the inside, reproducing a politics of resistance that transcends time and space but is at the same time "here and now."

The reconstruction of subjectivity?

How long? Has change begun? These two concerns leave the same answer to the "Third World" to restructure subjectivities and make the imagination of these movements more integral, both of which need to be explored and deepened concurrently. Post-development theory suggests new ways of thinking about "modernity," but the potential for chaos in an "unstable" and already unipolar world to be challenged by a more unstable and "decentralised" concept and practice of openness needs further study. Thus, "Asia, Africa, and Latin America came to be regarded as "under-developed" and so in need of development." (Escobar, 2007, p.19) Who makes assumptions and why is crucial. The post-development theory raises concerns about the international North and development theory's monopolisation of "development" outcomes, but those who are not "creating the discourse" must acknowledge and reflect on them. This is direct evidence of post-development theory's 'romanticising local traditions and social movements at the expense of the power relations embedded in them' (Escobar, 2007, p.21), and the results of the White Paper movement in China in 2022 seem to have been collated with an overly optimistic vision of 'political change'.

The campaign's basic forces of political reform, the "step down the Communist Party" and "step down Xi Jinping" (Gareth, 2022), did not materialise after the campaign. This is both a question of unmet expectations of "development as a discourse" in modernity and of how local power tensions have precluded the tangible utility of "post-development" practices. Both "development theory" and "post-development theory" tools need to overcome the need to properly understand the characterisation and development of movements rather than "exoticize" and "one-sided" local traditions and social movements and paying more attention to detail, especially by always analysing the local internal vision as the central object rather than just discourse.

Whose Words and Claims?

Development and post-development discourses should consider if theorists' deconstruction of "development" necessitates a "post-development period." Does "progress" now happen "under non-Western eyes" (Escobar, 2007, p.20)? Of course, post-development theory tries to present a more pluralistic agenda and form different evaluation systems across dimensions, but the question of "whose words are used to express whose claims" will always force post-developmenttheorists to acknowledge their limitations and answer the consequences. Thus, the post-developmental phase has neither "arrived nor is going to come" (Escobar, 2007, p.20). Today, as "modernity" opens up, there are still "anti-developmental" events happening around the world. It merely calls for decentralised post-developmental theoretical tools to produce and practise the continual benefits of constructing more plural subjectivities that need to be constantly fed, even in a rising and frightening China with its peculiar coexistence of digital dictatorship and capitalism. At this stage of its conclusion, the White Paper Movement cannot be judged too optimistically as a significant leap forward in the formality of "social movements," and the traditional discourse of "development" still has the potential to serve as a framework for action and redefine movement problems and solutions.

White Paper Campaigns and the Body Politic?

Post-development theory views the "white paper movement" as a distinct body politic, where metaphors and the "present" body are the major battlegrounds of protest. "The need to increase the number of centers and agents of knowledge production, and in particular the forms of knowledge production," led to China's largest protest march since 1989. The handful who spoke up caused a tremendous government crisis and compelled the administration to repudiate the "zero-covid policy" that had been a basic state policy for three years, but the campaign stopped there. Post-development theory's dissection of "growth" as a "machine of want" and "as an object of discourse" (Escobar, 2007, p. 25) is true, but the question of whether it can reconcile the "desire" for development and reality needs to be addressed.

Management differences are mostly distinct. How the fragmented, specific acts coming from the decentred notion of development continue to keep momentum and brew, a turnaround needs extra care. Foxconn workers' protests (Blankpower, 2023), which have been overlooked in this social movement, have been ongoing since 2022. Their "conventional" social movement protests have clashed with the administration and the police, proving that they are not clutching blank pieces of paper. This working-class revolution shows that China's social movements still need the workers' community. "Using the development machine to cultivate subjects of new advances and modernities?" These are fantastic ideas, but intersubjectivity's many degrees and dimensions need to be rigorously investigated.

Conclusion

The White Paper movement's "post-developmental theory" still suspects semantic recurrence and has to confirm its practical guiding role in imperialistic times. It has yet to bring in "non-modernity," and the "development" agenda can still reach the "post-development" perspective.
The discourse's creators must address "post-development theory macro-level "'s worries about "development." Social movements must continuously ask how post-development might be used to disengage at the micro level. However, establishing subjectivity in the South requires a significant number of events and the dispute of power between diverse subjects, prompting post-development theory to repeatedly analyse whether and how the "aspirations" of development and the reality of the gap can be accommodated. While accepting the constraints of "post-development" theory's practical size and continuity, its theoretical tools and practical recommendations provide a key instrument that is both far and near reality.

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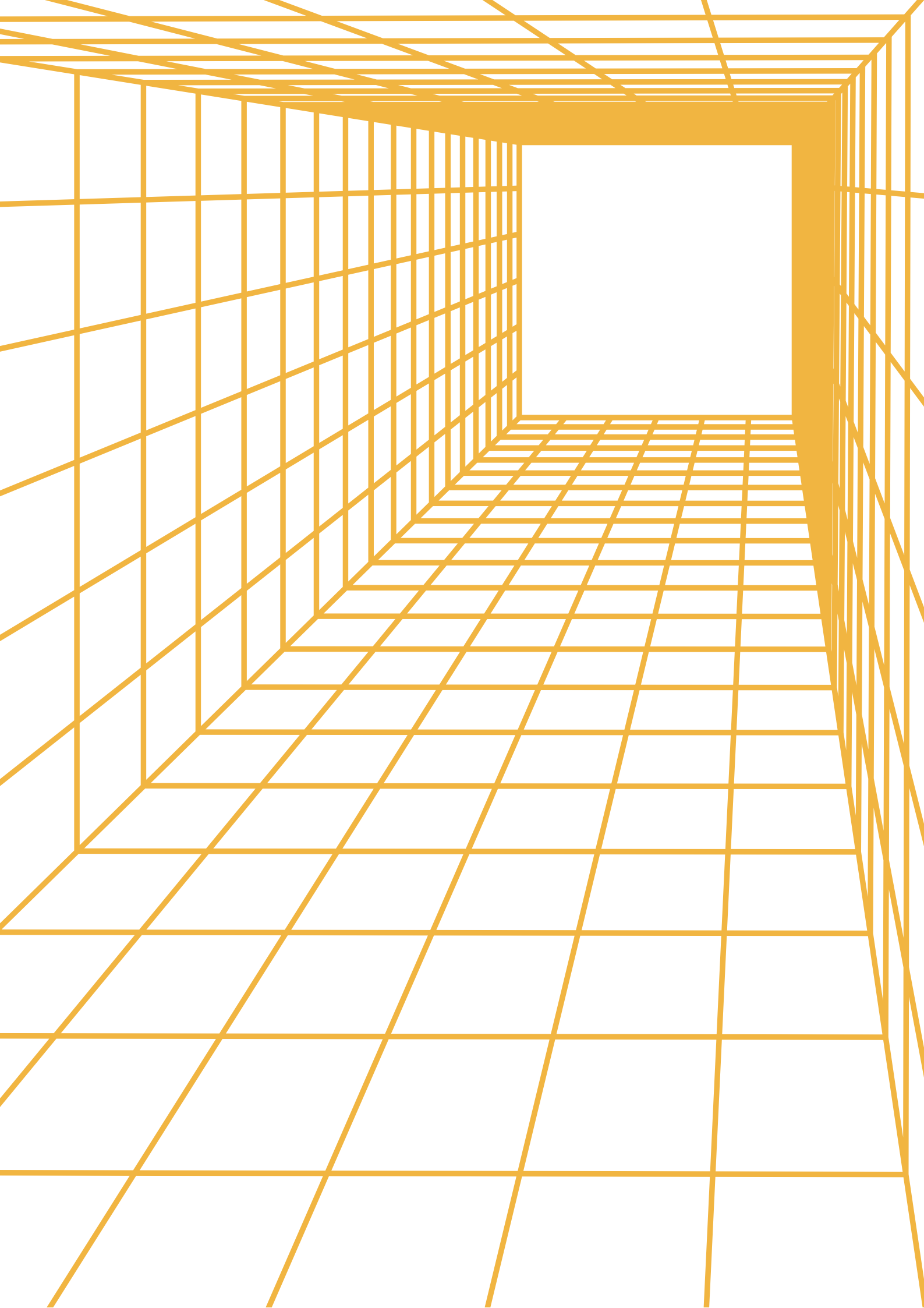

A Post-development Perspective as an Alternative Development Approach for Nigeria

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Introduction

In the past, the concept and practice of development within the context of Nigeria inspired numerous questions for me without sufficient and satisfactory answers to address them. For example, I have always wondered why many African countries, particularly Nigeria, are regarded as 'underdeveloped' and why, despite abundant human and natural resources, 'development' has not been achieved. Although I previously blamed it on poor governance, corruption, abuse of power, ineffective resource management, ethnic and tribal conflicts, etc. The MOD course exposed substantial external factors that jeopardize Nigeria's progress: the enduring effects of colonial history in the post-colonial era, the policies and practices of the Bretton Woods Institution (including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund), and current discourses that conflate development with economic expansion and underdevelopment with the absence of economic growth (Weisskopf, 1977, p.6). These factors have contributed to the perception that development is unattainable. Hence, as some scholars argue, "it is important to further problematize the notion of development, including what development is, in whose interest it is being pursued, and by who as well as how." (Gumede, 2019, p.51).

This essay, therefore, attempts to analyze the current perspective of development in Nigeria and proposes an alternative perspective and approach to development by discussing the concepts of post-development and decoloniality. Instead of market development or development dictated by the West, the essay argues that Nigeria requires a development that promotes gender equality, reevaluates indigenous culture, and places less emphasis on expert opinion. Instead, it advocates for individual endeavors to create sustainable worlds that are humane, culturally, and ecologically sound, with a particular focus on grassroots mobilization and social movement (Escobar, 2007, p.20).

The current state of development in Nigeria

Since Nigeria's independence in 1960 from the British government, the country has adopted and tried several economic reforms to engender a path to development. First, it adopted neoliberalism, a political and economic approach that favors free-market capitalism, deregulation, and reduction in government spending in order to attract foreign investors for industrialization. The strategy of import substitution, followed by indigenization policy, different eras of the National Economic Plan and Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) were embraced in a bid to reduce the country's dependence on importation, increase Nigeria's participation and management of the economy as well as improvement of the overall economy (Orluwene, 2014, p.393).

However, the long-ranging unemployment, poverty, food insecurity, and reliance on imported

goods in the country depict the failure of these strategies. These policies are predicated on the traditional concept of development, which is grounded in the modernization theory, which proposes that development can only be realized by adopting policies used by developed countries (Zapf, 2004, p.48). This theoretical framework presents developed countries and their path to development as role models for developing countries. The path to development for 'underdeveloped' countries like Nigeria seems to be skewed in a pattern defined by the West, in which a unilinear process is followed, and the concept of development is often understood in economic terms as the structural transformation of the national economy, infrastructure building, high-rate capitalism and industrialization (Gumede, 2018, p.58). Some scholars have criticized this notion of development as Eurocentric and called for a reimagined understanding of the concept.

Considering post-development as an alternative to Nigeria's development

Post-development theory holds that there is no universal development process and current indicators, measurements, classifications, and ideas of what constitutes 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' have all been constructed by experts in Western countries who have attempted to impose their beliefs on the rest of the world. As a result, it advocates that development be contextualized and based on concrete experiences of people and communities rather than those dictated by modern capitalist development (Harcourt, 2022, lecture note). Therefore, developing countries like Nigeria should be allowed to define development and make decisions based on their preferences, contextual nuances, and prevalent discourses. Consequently, inclusive, and people-centered development is promoted in post-development ideology.

Post-development advocates for the rejection of conventional development and its policies due to their inability to fulfill their intended objectives of alleviating poverty, promoting income equality, stimulating economic growth, and elevating the living standards of those for whom they are implemented (instead, these policies have resulted in environmental devastation, imperialism, cultural hegemony and westernization, technocratic governance, and more) (Mathews, 2004, p.377; Pieterse, 1998. p.360). It does not argue for 'development alternatives,' but for complete alternatives to development in which economic growth is no longer the primary goal of development, but rather people's overall well-being, and where indigenous cultures and knowledge are recognized, an eco-friendly environment is promoted, and an emphasis placed on social movement and grassroots mobilization (Escobar, 2007, p.20).

Within the Nigerian context, failures of the past mainstream development strategies, illustrated by Nigeria's experience, appear to affirm the relevance of post-development as an alternative approach to development. It concerns how Nigeria can improve and sustain its environment, talents, cultural heritage, resources, and occupations using indigenous processes and solutions. With this as an alternative approach, development centered on people's needs and what constitutes a 'good life' for them becomes pertinent. For example, the idea of a 'good life' for the Ogoni people of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria would mean viable land for farming and clean water for drinking as against the benefits of oil exploration on their lands by oil companies, which by the way has been variously described as exploitative rather than beneficial.

Taking a new approach entails (re)considering new ways to understand and build people's welfare, reforming policies and political ideologies in line with national reality, and recognizing ethnic, tribal, religious, and cultural diversities as fundamental principles for the country's development. It goes "beyond the metaphors, ideologies, premises of development in its analysis of development as a contested set of cultural, political, economic and historical processes and relations" (Harcourt, 2019, p.249). The goal is to prioritize human rights and values, cultural and religious values, equality, cohesion, inclusion, and ecological and environmental protection.

Decoloniality as an approach to post-development in Nigeria

Given that the main idea of post-development is unmaking and moving away from the practices and ideologies of development, one practical question that comes to mind is: how can Nigeria achieve post-development? The first step to reaching this alternative approach is through decoloniality. This liberatory thinking seeks to disentangle knowledge production from a primarily Western cultural ideology (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015, p.488). Delinking from developmental thinking seems to engender true development. According to Samir Amin, to experience true development, Global South countries must 'delink' from the global capitalist system by adopting new market strategies and values that differ from those of the so-called developed countries (Amin, 1990, p.67 cited in Gumede, 2019, p.59). Delinking from the practices and systems of the West and looking more inward at what works for the people embodies a pathway to solving Nigeria's problems, defying modern development remedies. For example, curriculums, teaching methodologies, and knowledge production tools used today in Nigerian schools are products of colonial history. As a result, decolonizing would entail introducing a new curriculum rooted in our histories and cultures, indigenous epistemologies, and knowledge systems and making visible misrepresented or erased stories and histories. Culture-loaded education frees people from ignorance, poverty, and disease (The Nation, 2019).

Lastly, Nigerian society is structurally patriarchal and oppressive of women. Decolonizing from all aspects of colonial history demands advocating for women's liberation and recognizing their leadership roles in all spheres, including national, regional, and international development processes, as well as ensuring equal opportunity for all (Nkenkena, 2018, p.42). For example, it is crucial to reform the problematic political, economic, and social structures deeply ingrained in the patriarchal-supremacist culture where men are seen as the head of most leadership positions in Nigerian society. This, however, goes beyond numerical representation and involves the pursuit of radical transformations aimed at destroying patriarchal systems and structures of exclusion, oppression, exploitation, and inequality inherent in the capitalist world system (Nkenkana, 2018, p.43). Gender equality ensures that women have a strong voice, are included, and are represented in political and societal decision-making processes. Nkenkana (2018) argues that gender equality, particularly women's rights, is essential in development discourses because it is enshrined in African ideals of futures and visions (ibid). In other words, the power structure that informs and sustains the current order must be transformed to foster inclusive development.

Conclusion

Development in Nigeria since its independence, as discussed in the essay, has followed a path determined by the West. Development is often solely understood economically as the structural transformation of the national economy, infrastructure building, high-rate capitalism, and industrialization. The essay has problematized this notion of development as a way to rethink the concept while proposing an alternative approach to Nigeria's development. Drawing inspiration from the post-development and decolonial perspectives, the essay suggests that Nigeria needs to (re)consider new ways to understand and build people's welfare, reforming policies, and political ideologies in line with national reality, and recognize ethnic, tribal, religious, and cultural diversities as fundamental principles for the country's development. This can be made possible by first delinking from Western development thinking and other forms of coloniality and looking inward for what works for the people and what constitutes a 'good life' for them. Therefore, inclusive and people-centered development is the core goal of this alternative approach.

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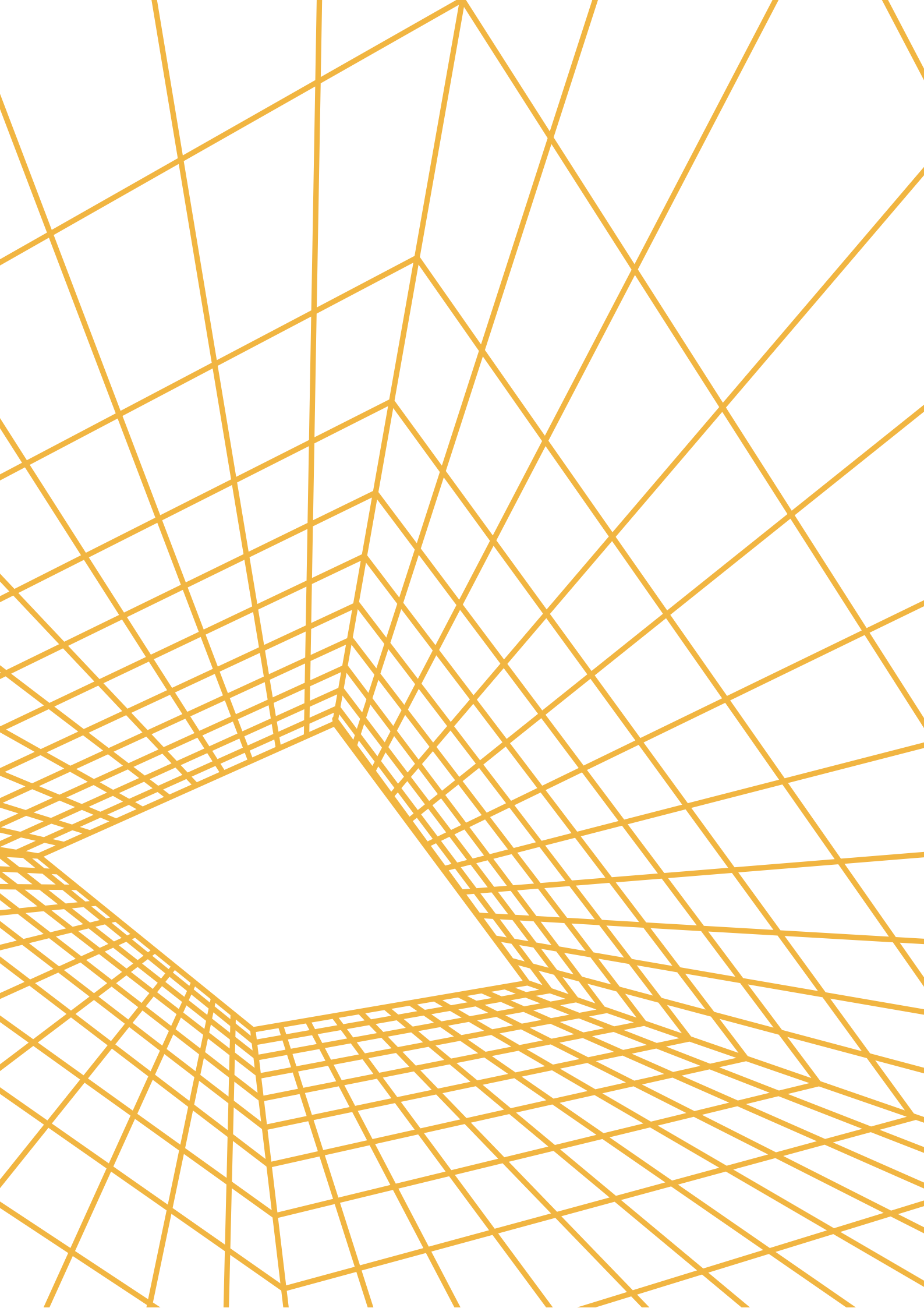

The *active subjectivity* of Nasa indigenous women in Cauca, Colombia against gender-based violence: considerations from a decolonial feminist perspective

Catalina Mora Baquero. SJP. Colombia.

To the memory of Cristina Bautista Taquinás, Nasa leader and founder of the "Movimiento de Mujeres Nasa Hilando Pensamiento" and to all women who have died fighting for their lives and the existence of their communities.

The fractures in our lifetimes can act as motors to activate our agency individually and collectively. This sentence exposes the central issue I will develop in this text. First, I want to understand the place of the plurality of feminisms in the construction of a decolonial perspective that contributes to the apprehension of feminist experiences in the Global South. Considering that reflection, I will analyze the case of Nasa Women's Movement Knitting Thought (Movimiento de Mujeres Nasa Hilando Pensamiento in Spanish and MMNHP onwards), an indigenous women's group in Cauca, the east–south of Colombia. This dissertation is based on the ideas of the Argentinian researcher María Lugones on the construction of decolonial feminism.

First, the idea of single feminism is to reject plurality. The sedimentation of thought in one singular and universal word implies the constitution of the hegemony of human beings and, in this case, the persistence of an urban, white, high/middle-class idea of women. The universality intention is based on Western rationality consolidated through modernity that "organizes the world ontologically in terms of atomic, homogeneous, separable categories" (Lugones, 2010, pp. 742) and establishes a hierarchical dichotomy that classifies individuals and societies (Lugones, 2010). The gender system consolidates that sexual distinction results from this modern colonial logic that Lugones (2008) calls the "coloniality of gender." This approach understands colonized people's experiences and their resistance connected to a decolonial perspective of "delinking from the globalized system of oppression based on control and domination" (Icaza 2022, 22:25). This definition recognizes the plurality of other feminisms in the Global South where are located the majority of colonized communities.

Consequently, I will analyze the experience of MMNHP, a Nasa indigenous women group I had the opportunity to share in 2018 through workshops to sensibilize women about gender-based violence. Then, I realized the different conceptions about time, land, and ways of being. The more impressive thing for me was the motivation to create an organization only for women as the best way to work against gender-based violence. It can be evident to me as a gender studies researcher, but I could notice that behind their reasons can be hidden different conceptions of women and men, which is the starting point of my analysis.

Aida Quilcue, a leader of MMNHP, states that being a woman is an idea transmitted by the community's authorities, the elderly. They spread the idea of women "as the strength of the land. Women are the life fabric and strengthen the collectivity through their spirituality and political training to work for diminishing social problems"[1] (Hilando, 2019). The most significant

cultural legacy of Nasa women is the labor of knitting that contributes to preserving their history and secure the community's future (Hilando Pensamiento, n,d). The creation of fabric products is the registration of the community's identity through designs that tell stories about collectivity but also subjectivities as women: "each tissue has the experience of wisdom, love, and strength of each woman" (Hilando Pensamiento, n.d) says Julieth Moreno, MMNHP's coordinator. She reinforces that "a woman is a giver of life; we are in direct connection with the motherland (...) our uterus is sacred because it is where life shapes." (Hilando Pensamiento, n.d).

Quilcue and Moreno's reflections about being a woman have two crucial points: the first one is the awareness of women as indigenous women. Their words capture a complex understanding of gender distinctions that subtly relates to an idea of reproduction based on women's anatomy, which is a concrete concept of biological sex. These positions support MMNHP's mission that seeks to strengthen the "Life Plan" of Nasas through "the principle of duality and complementarity between men and women" (Hilando Pensamiento, n.d). As a duality, both are part of the same unity that links life to the land. Is this approximation of men and women a legacy of colonial thinking?

These conceptions are possible within the framework of the gender system resulting from decades of impositions through practices of the coloniality of power (Nkenkana, 2015). The indigenous struggles against the imperialist desires for their extermination have been unable to avoid these entrenched structures that have disposed them to divide and classify the world, for example, in a heterosexual and patriarchal model where it seems impossible to live in different nuances. However, Akhona Nkenkana (2015) suggests that the gender analysis under this definition "shall not be narrowed down to just an oppression of one by other" (pp. 56), we must have a watery gaze to understand the efforts of "men and women at overcoming the global colonial structure that is subjectifying all sexes in different ways" (pp. 56). As I mentioned, the recognition of Quilcue and Moreno is not only as women but as indigenous, which opens the debate to an intersectional reading. They recognize their role as indigenous and their contribution to the community's life mission, which is the second point to analyze here.

The other element highlighted in Quilcue and Moreno's words is the public recognition of the assumption of collectivity over individuals. Being a woman has to go through the legitimacy of traditional authorities, but how is this position not an elimination of subjectivity and women's agency? The narrative of Quilcue gives us a possible answer. The harmony of the "Buen Vivir" which is the approach that gathers the interests of indigenous communities of the Abya Yala, is where no human being is affected. Quilcue (2019) said that women have been living with different types of violence and the only opportunity to achieve the "Buen Vivir" is to work to diminish it. "The risk of women is the risk of the community. Are we going to risk our existence as an indigenous peoples just because we do not want to attend the violence against women?" (Hilando Pensamiento, 2019, 03:00). In that order, the motivation for founding MMNHP was the high amount of gender-based violence cases in the community. The violence is a breakup in their experiences, the awareness that they are not like men, and that distinction acts as the agency's motor. The oppressions caused for being a woman activate their agency and the

identification that their female peers also live that violence calls for the power of action collectively. This action is what Lugones calls "active subjectivity" (2003, pp 757, 2010) as the principal element of the "agency of the resister to multiple oppressions" (2003, pp 757, quoted in 2010). In this scenario where women act as resisters is possible to read a result of a decolonizing process that is not a linear path; it is the encounter-discounter of a series of oppressions and reflections in front of an "other." It means a tension of two sides that Lugones manifests as the "oppressing-resisting process" (2010, pp. 748) that drives them to build new ways of being. Different moments of fracture motivate them to mobilize that wound. This collective agency as women is not easy in the traditional structure of their community: "they called us subversives and even treated us badly" (Orozco et al., 2013) says Yoli, a member of MMNHP, about the reaction of their male partners. The leadership of trained Nasa women was essential to encourage and organize the group, first, giving time and resources to training women politically and attending cases of gender-based violence that indigenous legislation does not deal with. In Cristina Bautista's words, one of the founders of MMNHP, "it is necessary to make a change and position the women's movement with autonomy, specific demands and not relegated to other lines of the community" (Rodríguez A, y Betancourt L, 2020). The assassination of Bautista and other community members in 2019 reaffirmed the fracture and the risk in which Nasa women leaders find themselves. This tragedy deepened the wound, the "fractured locus" (Lugones, 2010), resulting from the constant risk from the friction of forces that drive these women to resist.

The decolonial perspective helps to avoid the isolated reading where gender is the singular path to comprehending social structures. With the inclusion of an urgent intersectional gaze, the interpretations open the reflections about diversity with the consideration of class, ethnicity, and age, to mention some of them as elements that also define human lives. MMNHP shows how women create mobilization engines according to their context and how the awareness of being a woman and the violence they live act as motivation to resist and activate their agency. Feminisms allow women to identify their oppression and give them resources to build a new perspective of living their subjectivities and to resist collectively.

The MMNHP's experience can contribute theoretically to a decolonial feminism perspective. However, it opens questions that can appear as limitations and new opportunities to analyze: Is the decolonial perspective a strictly theoretical reading, making it challenging to understand the everyday experience of communities? We have much fabric to cut, as we say in Latin America, or much thread to weave, as the Nasa women would say.

[1] Translations of the indigenous women's interventions throughout this text are made by the author.

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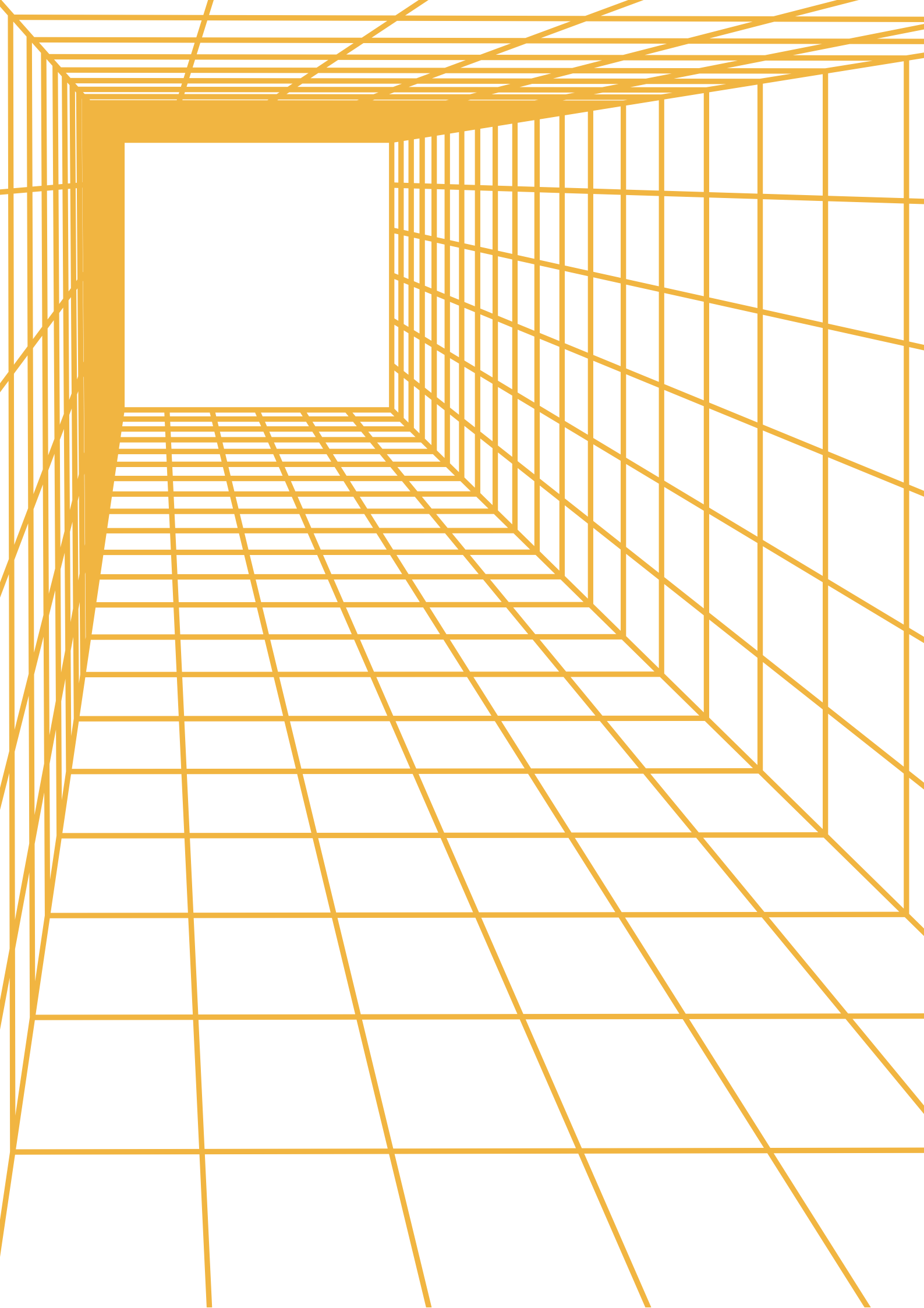

Caring Food Worlds? Exploring Gender and Care in Alternative Food Networks

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As a young white heterosexual woman from a German middle-class family, I encountered many privileges related to care and food throughout my life. Eating organic food, cooking in a safe space, learning how to compost in a garden that I could access. Being involved in food movements, I witness and learn about the disproportionate violence, injustices, and inequalities which people and earthothers experience in food worlds. When thinking about care, I embody those two dimensions. When writing about care, I try to make sense of these dimensions and the path to more just food worlds.

Alternative food networks (AFNs) emerged as a response to the industrial food system to redefine production-circulation-consumption-waste configurations. Most oXen centering values of trust, reciprocity, justice, and accountability, AFNs set out to counter at least some alienations caused by capitalist, growthist, colonial, and patriarchal logics. While being celebrated by many as counter-hegemonic, AFNs have attracted much skepticism and criticism amongst researchers, social movements, and their own participants. One lens to critically address AFNs is to assess to what extent they tackle or reproduce capitalist patriarchy – that is the binary, heteronormative and systematic marginalization of people, primarily women, who are not heterosexual men. Throughout the past decades, researchers have found that there is a strong presence of women farmers in AFNs and "alternative" agriculture in general, especially in comparison to the male-dominated, masculinity- associated, and heteronormative domain of industrial agriculture (e.g. Azima and Mundler, 2022; Trauger et al. 2010). Beyond production, women have a strong participation in proportion to men across distribution and consumption which is at times characterized as process of emancipation. Especially the AFN model community-supported agriculture (CSA) has gained attention to being a women's movement in which women practice politics and an ethics of care through community life (DeLind and Ferguson, 1999; Jarosz, 2011). Can we then celebrate AFNs as a feminist success in food worlds? Perhaps not quite. Much research shows that especially on the consumption side of AFNs, gendered labor remains divided to keep food provisioning as care work a woman's task (Som Castellano, 2015). Further, women farmers continue to encounter barriers in AFNs (Azima and Mundler, 2022) even though they seem to have found a place in care-oriented farming practices (Unay-Gailhard and Bojnec, 2021). Throughout this body of literature on women in AFNs, one central theme persistently appears – care as associated with women, the female, and the feminine. Indeed, many ecofeminists have emphasized the natural connection between women and nature due to care as a female trait. However, what are the implications for isolating care solely as a woman's natural and desired task, practice, and characteristic? Historically, women have suffered immensely from being constrained to undervalued, exploitative, and oppressive care work in differing roles, from enslaved nursemaids to housewives. Moreover, for decades if not centuries feminist scholars and activists have been pointing out and struggling against the contradictions and crises of care as social reproduction within changing regimes of capitalism. The urgency to rethink care seems clear and where to begin if not in those spaces which are, to

varying extents, counter-hegemonic? Thus follows the trajectory of this paper: How can we understand care beyond gender in alternative food networks?

Building on existing literature on AFNs and gender, this question guides the inquiry of care in alternative food worlds. To avoid complete generalization, the body of literature used in this paper focuses on Europe, US, and Canada. In the context of AFNs, those regions exhibit similarities in the food and agricultural sector as well as similar responses to the industrial model. However, there are significant differences like the impact of varrying degrees of welfare state principles, institutionalization and regulation of agriculture and food, and historical experience (e.g. liberal capitalism vs. communism within Europe, settler colonialism, etc.), and therefore also difference in social movement responses. For instance, drawing on the legacy of the civil rights movements, the food justice movement is much more present in the US in comparison to Europe, bringing an intersectional lens into alternative food worlds (Motta, 2021). Throughout this paper, I will not compare those different regions but rather pay attention to broader patterns while acknowledging the context. It is important to note that the argument I attempt to make is of theoretical nature.

My analysis will cover the three main dimensions of AFNs: production, distribution, and consumption. While there is extensive literature on women farmers in AFNs, thus covering the production dimension, the consumption and distribution dimensions remain under-researched more generally but in particular regarding gender. David Goodman has advocated much for recognizing consumers' roles in AFNs as active, relational, and political but also as key to understand class dynamics in those new food worlds (Goodman, 2004; DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Goodman et al., 2011). In relation to gender, Rebecca L. Som Castellano (2015; 2016) calls attention to gendered food provisioning among AFN consumers which is largely invisible in AFN literature so far. Castellano (2016) emphasizes the issue of additional work which might cause compromised well-being, especially for women with lower socioeconomic status. Literature on gender dynamics in the distribution dimension is particularly rare. Usually only mentioned as a biproduct of consumption and production, distribution activities are central to AFNs and require much time and effort. From staffing the market stand to volunteering for distribution shiXs in consumer cooperatives, the work involved in bringing the food from farmers to consumers is oXen overlooked and not seldomly unpaid/voluntary (Biewener and College, 2016).

In drawing on multiple feminisms, my analysis follows two steps. Firstly, I will situate care as a critical subject in capitalism because aXer all AFNs are embedded in a capitalist system. In this part, I discuss the pressing relevance of understanding care beyond gender given the systematic undervaluing of care in capitalism, the crisis of care as social reproduction in capitalism, and how gendered care is reproduced in AFNs. Secondly, I explore care beyond gender as a life-affirming practice. In this part, leaning on Silvia Frederici's idea of anti-capitalist and reproductive commons, I discuss how AFNs have the potential to be commons in which the crisis of care and care beyond gender could be addressed.

For the sake of this paper, I conceptualize care as all material, physical, emotional/mental activities which sustain human life and well-being. Many feminists have conceptualized care as social reproduction to express the misleading separation of value- producing (productive) and non-value producing (social reproductive) activities in capitalism (Frederici, 2019). To date, social reproductive activities are highly undervalued and oXentimes exploited and oppressed. In capitalism, value is created "when the product of labor is destined for sale on the market" so that social reproductive work like housework is only use-value for value (Ferguson, 2022, p. 123). In capitalist colonial patriarchy, social reproduction activities are taken up by, some forced onto, women and by extension racialized women (Ferguson, 2022).

In order to understand care as social reproduction in AFNs, it is essential to unpack the relation of AFNs as supposedly anti-capitalist spaces to the capitalist system. In regards to multiple aspects, AFNs have been pointed out as far from isolated to the conventional capitalist system. Studies have demonstrated factors of competitiveness amongst AFNs and between AFNs and the conventional food sector which undermine some of the core principles that AFNs try to embody as an alternative and in opposition to the capitalist economy (Sonnino and Marsden, 2006; Galt et al., 2015). Self-exploitation of farmers remains a pressing issue in alternative food initiatives (Galt, 2013). Social injustice along lines of class, race, and ethnicity persists when it comes to participation and access to fresh, healthy, fair, and local foods of AFNs, majorly fueled by gentrification and inaccessible prices (McClintock, 2014; Guthman, 2008). If these complex contradictions are transported into AFNs and corrupt their alterity how about care as undervalued social reproduction?

As mentioned above, the work put into consumption and distribution of food in forms of food provisioning like assembling, organizing, preparing food, and voluntary/compensated distribution shiXs is highly overlooked in academic literature. However, distribution and consumption in AFNs are perhaps the most precarious dimensions because they oXen fall under the category of social reproduction and not production as perhaps farming does. In AFNs it is mostly women who are responsible for food provisioning (Som Castellano 2015; 2016; Cairns et al. 2010; Little et al. 2009). Som Castellano (2016) also finds that women's care work of food provisioning even increases in local food networks in comparison to conventional food shopping putting increased pressure on them to balance productive work and care work. From my own experience of involvement in various AFNs in the Netherlands, much of the voluntary shiXs to distribute the food – that is to bring it from producers to consumers – is taken up by women. How is it then that we do not read much about all this care work in distributing and consuming in academic literature, and we do not take it seriously enough in social movements? Perhaps this is the case because as a capitalist society we do not value social reproductive work as much as productive work. Another indicator for this is that while attention to distribution and consumption is missing, the literature body on gender and food production as a value-creating activity in AFNs is extensive.

Justified by stereotypical ideas of masculinity (physical attributes necessary for farm labor and masculinized domination necessary to control nature), industrial agriculture is undoubtedly a

male-dominated sector in which women's contributions are oXentimes invisible and undervalued and women's access to the means of production is severely restricted (Little et al, 2009; Azima and Mundler, 2022). The trend of a feminization in alternative agriculture thus comes unsurprisingly. Scholars have highlighted the "emancipatory potential of non-traditional farming identities adopted by participating women and genderqueer farmers" (Azima and Mundler, 2022 referencing Leslie et al., 2019). In a recent study, Ilkay Unay-Gailhard and Stefan Bojnec (2021) present three dimensions to understand women farmers presence in alternative agriculture/AFNs. Firstly, women farmers are understood to exhibit abilities of care necessary for redefining producer-consumer relations. This does not imply that women are naturally caring but rather that women have been socialized into caring and historically restricted to care work which they now bring into their "productive" work as farmers (Jarosz, 2011). Secondly, women farmers find space in alternative models for empowerment as they can more easily develop skills and access the means of production in comparison to the industrial agriculture model. Thirdly, the very trend of women's participation in alternative agriculture has led to an internal mobilization and ideological change. This incentivized collective action and strategies to redefine values in food worlds as women farmers (Azima and Mundler, 2022 referencing Sachs et al., 2016).

The perspective of gender in the production side of AFNs reveals that on the one hand women have moved from social reproduction to production in farming which gives them greater visibility and on the other hand women leverage their caring skills attained through centuries of social reproductive work to participate in AFNs and contribute to shaping a new ideology of care. Before further exploring what these new ideologies of care could imply, I want to make an extra step to fully understand how care manifests in AFNs as still embedded in a capitalist patriarchal colonial system.

When considering the current configuration of patriarchal capitalism, we find that the crisis of care as social reproduction is impactful not only along gender lines but along intersecting lines of gender, class, race, and ethnicity. To unpack this, there is a need to understand the current trajectory of the crisis of care. In tracing the history of care in capitalism, Nancy Fraser (2016) sketches out the crises which social reproduction encountered in capitalism and how these are closely tied to feminist struggles, patriarchy, and the binary and heteronormative construction of care. In the current stage of neoliberal capitalism, care (especially in the Global North) encounters a crisis which is characterized by a care deficit. In a dual development of state and corporate disinvestment from social welfare and the emerging ideal of the "two-earner family", care work is externalized onto families and communities "while diminishing their capacity to perform it" (Fraser, 2016, p. 112). While neoliberal capitalism brings forth the dominant imaginary of gender-egalitarian individualism, care/reproduction is considered backward and an obstacle to liberation (p.114). The contradictions produced by the neoliberal care regime are as complex as severe. Despite the egalitarian effort, care remains gendered – associated with women, the female, the feminine. Being burdened with finding a balance between work and family, women now have to perform both in production and social reproduction. But the crisis expands. The care deficit resorts to cheaply paid wage labor, displacing care from richer to

poorer families and from Global North to Global South (p. 114). How does the crisis of care impact AFNs? Essentially, it determines who can/cannot/should not care and who has to care in which spaces, under which circumstances. As AFNs are entangled with rather than isolated from the capitalist system, care and carers run the danger to remain undervalued, exploited, invisible, and absent. In the consumption dimension of AFNs, the crisis of care has two main implications.

Firstly, it unloads much pressure on women to perform both in productive work and in reproductive work which is enhanced by the extra time and energy required for participating in alternative food initiatives. Som Castellano (2016) conceptualizes a "third shiX" to describe the work that women do in addition to work in the formal labor market and at home (the trend towards women's productive work on top of social reproductive work has been conceptualized as the "second shiX") which has been a source of concern over the physical and mental well-being of overworked women (Ahrens and Ryff, 2006). However, as Fraser (2016) highlights, the crisis of care is much more severe when expanded to the intersecting dimensions of gender, class, race, and ethnicity to reveal global divisions of care. As AFNs require more social reproductive labor that is oXen unpaid and voluntary, the question appears on who can afford to care? As Som Castellano (2016) points out, this question has not been explored in research so far.

In the production dimension, the crisis of care might have a variety of impacts. While women farmers encounter similar issues as female consumers when it comes to the "third shiX" they also integrate social reproductive activities of care in their productive activity. As AFN relations are built on reciprocity and trust, a lot of time and energy is invested in maintaining social relations and facilitating the space to care (e.g. in forms of farm visits, hosting volunteering workshops, etc.). Studies have highlighted how the diversified activities beyond actual food production among AFN farmers leads to self-exploitation (Galt, 2013). This self-exploitation stems from undervalued practices unfit for capitalist production but necessary for new food worlds which seek to care. Again, there is not much research on how self-exploitation as undervalued social reproduction impacts people differently along lines of gender, class, and race. While Azima and Mundler (2022) find that both male and female farmers in AFNs show interest in caring activities to maintain their AFNs, the question of who can afford to care remains amongst producers. If the care deficit externalizes care work onto lower classes which are oXen racialized, and if women remain care givers even if they are absorbed into the labor market, producers and consumers will have to deal with the consequences of undervalued social reproductive work – and this happens disproportionately along lines of class, gender, and race.

So far, I have established how gendered care manifests in AFNs in the production, distribution, consumption spheres. Through the lens of gendered and undervalued social reproduction in opposition to valued production and the lens of the crisis of reproduction in current neoliberal capitalism, I have investigated AFNs as still embedded within the contradictions. This brings forth the necessity to redefine care beyond gender to acknowledge the intersections of gender, class, and race. Understanding care beyond gender means to radically challenge care as a second class, worthless but essential activity in human life. Care beyond

gender, class, race, and global divisions addresses the gender-class-race configuration which lies at the core of the crisis of care as well as violence against carers (Frederici, 2019). As social reproductive activities become integral to AFNs' principles and structures, AFNs need to find ways to revalue social reproduction, especially at the current conjuncture of a crisis of care, so to avoid burdening and exploiting care givers exposed to multiple vulnerabilities.

After all this, is there hope for AFNs to facilitate care beyond gender even if still embedded in a capitalist system? This question is to big to answer in a single paper and probably even in multiple. It is a question whose answer unfolds as social movements shape and reshape through time and space. Yet, some inspiration can already be taken from Silvia Frederici's concept of the anti-capitalist, reproductive commons. Departing from the inequalities and injustices inherent to the social reproduction/production separations as well as the crisis of care in capitalism, Frederici advocates for "carving out collective spaces beyond capital's reach wherein people socially reproduce themselves and their communities" (Ferguson, 2022, p. 131). Together with George Caffentzis (2014), Frederici develops the concept of the commons to promote those collective spaces in which social relations can be redefined and maintained through social reproduction that is valued and production that can be equally accessed and self-determined. Caffentzis and Frederici highlight the central role of women in the commons. Due to women's, and especially racialized women's, precarious relation with production and social reproduction they are more interested and motivated in establishing the commons. This is very much reflected in women participation in AFNs. In her decolonial writings, Sara C. Motta expresses similar ideas and thoughts. Motta (2018) contends that racialized women's "silence", meaning the everyday, embodied acts of care and knowing-being, are actually a dual way of speaking their own forms of resistance and healing and listening to each others knowledge and care. In the commons, this "silence" could be practiced as an essential way of revaluing care and the carers who have been marginalized historically. Women who have been the historical carers can embody knowledge in the commons but as social reproduction is revalued, care can grow out of its gendered shell to become a principle, practice, and ethic. In gendering care we exclude the possibility of becoming other and centering care as a way of relating that does not rely on the feminine and female to care. Rather it opens a possibility of learning, knowing, and practicing care for humans, more-than-humans and earth. When we de-gender care as social reproduction it is necessary to carve out spaces for care as a valued activity and principle that is not "work" (Ferguson, 2022, p. 132). In the context of AFNs, care as "not work" is the joyful activity of relational life-affirming practices like cooking, eating, sharing, self-organizing, helping, cultivating, etc.

Some AFNs have made steps towards becoming commons and revaluing care. For instance, the Dutch consumer cooperative Lekker Nassuh implements a time-bank payment scheme through which participants can pay their vegetables with voluntary distribution shiXs. However, the road to the commons is a long and difficult one with many questions arising on the way. How to ensure farmers' care work is valued despite the global political economy of capitalism? How to ensure marginalized groups can participate in AFNs in spite of gentrification and price-barriers? How to cultivate collective spaces of self-organized care in countries in which care has

been largely institutionalized and a culture of self-organizing is absent? How to navigate the needs and motivations of very different participants – farmers, middle class consumers, vulnerable food seekers, young volunteers, activist participants, etc., to establish coherent commons?

Building on these questions, further research could address the following: From an empirical perspective, how is care de-gendered in AFNs? How do AFNs connect to social struggles beyond food like movements for basic income, healthcare, public care services, working conditions (shorter working week, parental leave, etc.), degrowth, and decoloniality (see Fraser, 2016, pp. 115-116) and how do this helps to revalue care and establish the reproductive commons? How do AFNs support unwaged care work in forms of volunteering for distribution, community kitchens, or gardening? How much space do AFNs even intentionally make for facilitating social reproduction beyond commodity exchange?

This essay has mapped out some ways to understand care beyond gender in AFNs. While there are many research gaps in AFN research in relation to gender, the consumption and distribution dimensions are particularly unexplored. Throughout my analysis, I showed how gendered care and undervalued social reproduction persists in AFNs even though they are able to counter some issues of the capitalist patriarchal colonial system. Although AFNs focus on food as a vehicle for change, I have shown how care and therefore all its current contradictions and crises matter. Understanding AFNs as commons lays the foundations of what these alternative food worlds could be – spaces which re-value care beyond gender.

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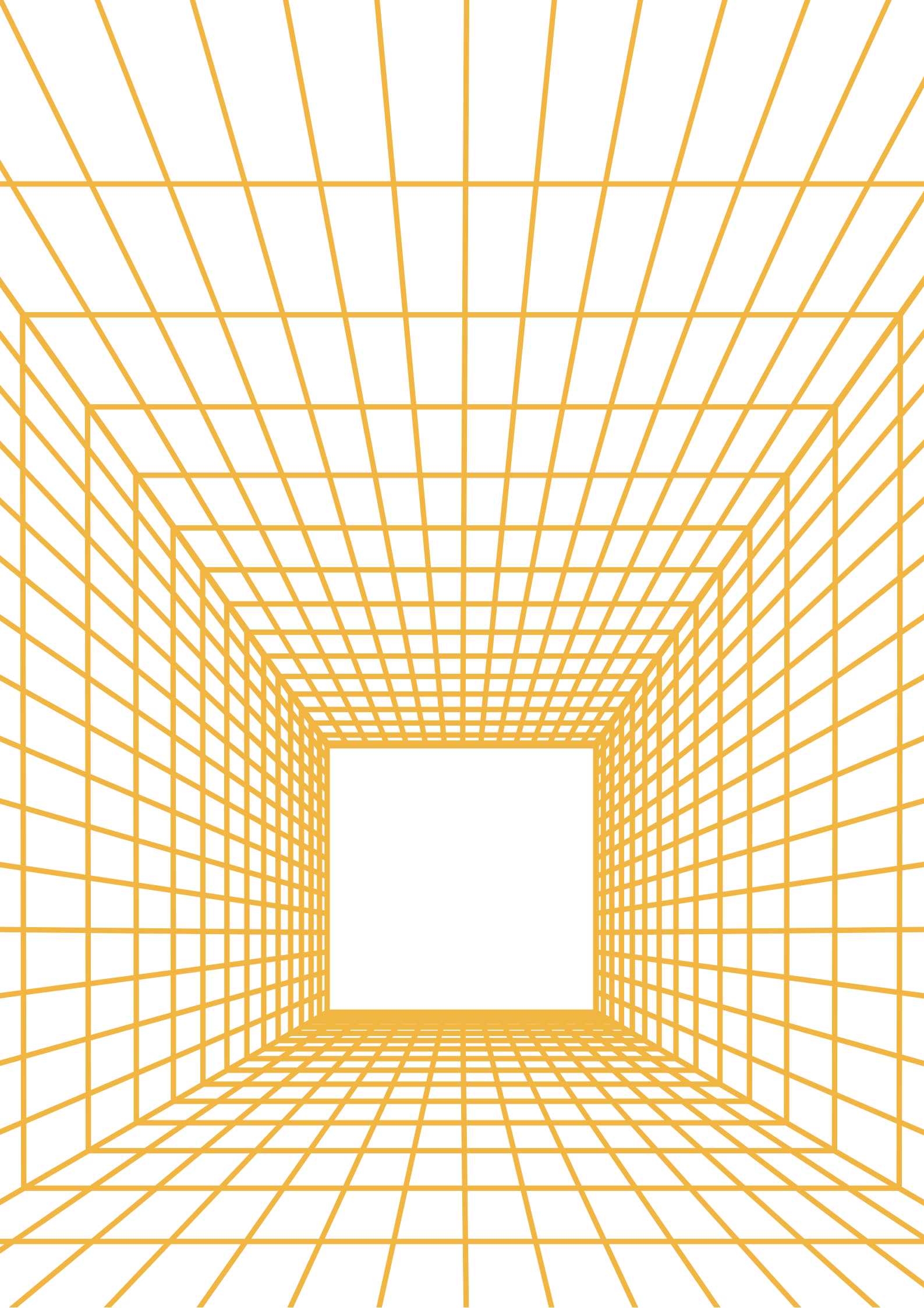

Epistemic Prison

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Introduction

There is no new information when we argue that the undervalued work of a woman is not only evidenced in her professional development but also in their knowledge production. This happens not just because there is a big gap between the number of women and men in the sector, but also because the women's intellectual contribution is underestimated. The field of architecture is not exempt from this problem, and that is not surprising. What is discouraging is that 'progressive' movements and scholarships contest mainstream architecture, claiming this profession should be social and environmental justice, systematically function and reproduce under power relations between genders. I find the repetition of this behavior in a space that wants to contest structural inequalities tremendously urgent to problematize.

Architecture organizes spaces for life. Designing models of habitats in different scales (houses or cities), it is a profession that has been in between arts and engineering sciences. One of the reasons for aligning myself with the social architecture paradigm is to find in the process of design a space to reflect about the future of human habitats with a decolonized, non binary, decarbonized lens. I find in reflection and material experimentation in architecture in the context of the global south potential solutions for future problems and imaginaries of what architecture could be. In the context of resource extraction, examples of less technology and minimum resources can be found in those practices. In that sense, I think about this topic with relevance for social science and development and that is the reason why I problematize this topic.

For exploring future imaginaries in social architecture, we must put in the center of the discussion the reiterative undervaluation of women's intellectual and manual work. Social architecture needs to be analyzed from this perspective, evidencing that 'creative' ideas are influenced by a culture that keeps supporting hegemonic views of innovation, that is not neutral, and its subjectivity is the main epistemic foundation of this profession. Like the so acclaimed Haraway's cite in her book Staying with the Trouble:

"It matters what matters we use to think other matters with; it matters what stories we tell to tell other stories with; it matters what knots knot knots, what thoughts think thoughts, what descriptions describe descriptions, what ties tie ties. It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories."

In this aim, I will unpack my personal experience with two study cases: a small private home in Ecuador where the owner wanted to explore passive strategies (low energy and carbon footprint). The other case is a Public Sustainable School in Chile where the communitary dynamics can be analyzed. I will describe my personal journey as means of situated knowledge, positioning myself as a subject that has an specific background in the field of social architecture, as an ecuadorian mestiza woman with the privilege of heading diversity of projects in the last

fourteen years and my backpack full of experiences from the challenges I faced in this position. I sympathize with Haraway's (1991, p. 111) reflection about this topic "Situated knowledges are particularly powerful tools to produce maps of consciousness for people who have been inscribed within the marked categories of race and sex that have been so exuberant produced in the histories of masculinist, racist, and colonialist dominations. Situated knowledges are always marked knowledges; they are re-markings, reorientatings, of the great maps that globalized the heterogeneous body of the world in the history of masculinist capitalism and colonialism."

For the analysis of the study cases I will remain active in the reflections from Bell Hooks (2015, p. 165) when she mentions "Our emphasis must be on cultural transformation: destroying dualism, eradicating systems of domination. Our struggle will be gradual and protracted." Been aware that in my own self-reflection I can find moments where I have contested or not these systems of domination. With this autoethnography, I framework my experiences with a sociological approach.

The Cultural Approach of Social Architecture

"The overwhelming majority of top office-holders are men because there is a gender configuring of recruitment and promotion, a gender configuring of the internal division of labor and systems of control, a gender configuring of policymaking, practical routines, and ways of mobilizing pleasure and consent." Connell (2005, p. 73)

This profession has been largely dominated by men. As been the ones that have had the privilege of studying and practicing, no matter which country, the hierarchical structures under them have organized ideas and labor are predominantly patriarchal and this situation has been inherited in the architecture that contests inequalities in general. Architects in the domain of social architecture have contested power relationships specially between architects and builders, as well as questioning for whom they work for. It has not entirely contested the gender inequalities, reproducing them in less visible ways, as Connell (2005, p. 76) states "Hegemonic masculinity' is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable."

In my case, during these fourteen years of practice I have moved from different positions in the same studio, trying to 'gain value' in the architectural patriarchal system with the sole purpose of allowing me to be part of the design process. This attitude of 'gaining value' can be also relate with the term 'male gaze' as Jiao (2021, p. 331) describes when she talks about "pointing to a patriarchal society, and women looking at themselves and other women through a male gaze that objectifies women, rendering them passive recipients of the active male" My male gaze saw myself without the proper skills and taught myself which ones I needed to learn in order to be 'one of them'. I tried to go up in the ladder of power, just like a man, trying to learn the language of the hegemonic power, even though I was (with them as a team) contesting the power structures of society in many ways, but not gender.

I have done everything from making coffees to leading complex construction teams (which is the most difficult task, but not the most recognized). I have been leading participatory design teams with communities, but specifically design with my ideas taking into account as the others, no. Designing with them, for me, is always a very unpleasant fight. The world of ideas is still under subjective hegemonic rules that are assumed to be objective under the names of logic and rationality, only genius can do it. A genius is someone born with a special characteristic, a concept that benefits what Connell (2005, p. 77) describes in this quote "Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women." The idea of the genius is very convenient to keep supporting a system of male domination with the idea that there is only one rationale. Nowadays, because of the feminist social sciences scholarship we can address that it is an imperative of a masculine rationale that it is legitimizing discourses of creativity and innovation even in the context of social architecture.

In the Public Sustainable School in Chile, I was the head of design, coordinating small cells of people but in total more than a hundred. By that time I had already ten years of experience, even though I had to prove myself (again my 'male gaze') and to others that I was the best option for that position, putting me in a very competitive mode, sacrificing a lot of things that I didn't even realize totally at that time. Before traveling to Chile, I spent more than the average working hours, coordinating design, trying to work in a participatory approach with my colleagues, three men. Being pointed as too bossy or having lack of confidence, I have found myself preparing an idea with many arguments for trying to be taken into account at least for debate. Since there are no other women in the group, if the three of them agree on something, they will think that is a fair logic and rational decision. Citing Connell (2005, p. 78) "Hegemony relates to cultural dominance in the society as a whole." In this specific case, the dominant ideas of a single hegemonic vision win over the 'weak' argument of one single person (me) from the opposite gender. Citing Haraway (1991, p. 74) "Power and authorship fabricate reality."

With the designs almost finished I traveled to Chile to meet the construction team. All men. I showed them the architectural plans, but they told me they couldn't build it because it is not the way they are used to build, this happened two weeks before starting the construction. The first thing I want to do is scream, tell my colleagues back in my country. I can not, I feel that if I tell them now I will lose credibility for future projects and the possibility of reaching my so loved 'spot as a designer'. First, I have to come up with a strategy for solving the problem, then I tell them. I remember here Haraway's (1991, p. 79) quote "Language generates reality in the inescapable context of power; it does not stand for or point to a knowable world hiding somewhere outside the ever-receding boundaries of particular social-historical enquiries." In a collective social and sustainable project I felt completely alone in this decision, it was so contradictory that I felt I was lying to myself.

My idea was negotiating between 'mine' and their designs in a way they feel they win and silently I also win, but they do not have to know that. It is a lot of work, no one is going to pay

me more for that. For sure I have more experience than them but that is not accountable. Besides being a woman I noticed that being from Ecuador is also a noticeable characteristic for them to underestimate me. I register that I have to explain my ideas at least three times before they agree. The first time I gave my idea they answered me back arguing something that I already know is not going to work. The second time I repeated it because they came up with an idea I already thought again and it is not working. Finally the third time they contemplate, with a bit of skepticism, my potential solution. I laugh at the fact that this is not the first time, I already knew how to 'speak their language'. I feel like I am an impostor, that I am not myself. Citing Jiao (2021, p. 332) "Apart from the omnipresent gaze of others, women also gazed upon themselves with a sense of shame, which was ultimately caused by their use of the male gaze". It is a confusing feeling, I ask myself what is my creative contribution here? I have one? Maybe not. I ask myself what would be to design without 'male gaze'. Since I have been taught that in order to attain innovative knowledge, subjectivity needs to be put aside. Trojer (2014, p. 169) For many years a part of me thought I was being irrational. My other part was not entirely convinced and kept looking. One of the treasures I found was standpoint theory and feminist epistemologies, those feminist scholarships gifted me with a feeling of epistemic emancipation and peace for the first time.

The cultural bias that supports power dynamics in society extends to social architecture. Even when the same people in the group talk about neutrality and use the tool of logic and rationality to represent this neutral and non-gendered agreement, precisely in this 'logic and rational' is where the power dynamics are expressed. This quote of Haraway (1991, p. 44) evidenced it "It is not an accident of nature that our social and evolutionary knowledge of animals, hominids, and ourselves has been developed in functionalist and capitalist economic terms. Feminists must not expect even arguments that answer clear sexist bias within the sciences to produce adequate final theories of production and reproduction as well."

Nowadays, mainstream and social architecture reads female architects' knowledge production as not rational, non logical and unproductive, reproducing the same patterns along culture and history have influenced society. Legitimizing a hierarchy of male rationale as neutral and objective. I see this behavior as problematic because there is a mutilation of 'other creativities' that cannot be boxed in the masculine rationale, losing plenty of ideas for future social and environmental justice imaginaries. If women cannot be part of the creative process, their vision will not be part of the future, they will continue to be spectators of a largely male-dominated story of innovation, future cities, quoting Jiao (2021, p. 324) "The thread running through these studies is the theme of women exercising their agency in constrained social environments."

What a difference would be if we could approach knowledge production with the lenses of erotics as power as Audre Lorde states "erotic enables a deep connection between individuals." Architecture and design process would be facilitated with pleasure, enjoying the process, highlighting connections between humans, no matter their gender, without a place for the genius character.

Feminization of My knowledge Production

"Our world is one in which carelessness reign." (The Care Collective, 2020)

But, is it still women's responsibility to address issues of care in social architecture?

Being part of the project of a house for a male biologist, who wants to experience nature as his home with all the consequences, sounded amazing. But after the first meeting, I decided to step out. In this case, I identified that it was going to be four people from the same gender 'against' me. The client became also the designer, he was bringing new inputs, all his knowledge from his biology studies. Me, what was my contribution there? Again, me analyzing myself with a 'male gaze'. I noticed that all the information related to cleaning and care of the house is missing. I pointed out. The answer was that the house was for him. I got angry and questioned my contributions as a designer, my knowledge production. I do not want to hold the burden of advising about care because of my gender. These people need to do it by themselves, it's absurd that in a place we question every single other inequality we do not pay attention to this matter, we need more, citing Hooks (2015, p. 166) "This means that the world we have most intimately known, the world in which we feel "safe" (even if such feelings are based on illusions), must be radically changed."

"Violence is part of a system of domination, but is at the same time a measure of its imperfection. A thoroughly legitimate hierarchy would have less need to intimidate." says Connell (2005, p. 84). The process of design was again not a pleasant experience, it felt as a competition, bringing up what Halberstam (1998, p. 14) mentions "that masculinity is multiple and that far from just being about men, the idea of masculinity engages, inflects, and shapes everyone." The environmental challenge feeds these new shapes of masculinity, where design is seen as an intellectual competition, as a means of power, even in social architecture. Activities such as care still are underestimated and thought to be a 'women's problem'. Gonick (2014, p.325) explains it when she "argues that femininity has been reconstructed to ideally integrate and embody both conventionally feminine and masculine aspirations". In this case, the feminine in social architecture remains in a secondary position, adapting one more time to a masculine aspiration.

In the field of urban studies, there is scholarship reflecting on Cities of Care, very relevant, but it is female researchers that bring these concepts. Because of that, I ask myself if my creative contribution is constrained to care just because historically that has been the role of the gender I belong to? Why do men keep having the symbolic power of creating innovative designs beyond care?

Feminization of Failure, Masculinization of Success

Continuing with the House case, after I quit, my colleagues told me they were going to use a living tree column system for building, retaking an old vernacular construction technique from

Ecuador. It was a risky experiment, the client agreed and it was going to be put to test on the exteriors of the house. Now, those trees are the most impressive of the house, being photographed and published many times.

When I was in the middle of my architecture bachelor I had a similar idea with bamboo that I never told anyone. It was for a school design on a beach. I didn't want to cut them, so I proposed planting them as natural walls for creating shade and wind currents for the classrooms. My teacher didn't like the idea, we had an intellectual battle and I passed the course with a low grade, lower than the 'lazy students' of the class. This situation was not isolated, it happened several times. I questioned myself if I was good enough to be a designer or should I change my career. The teacher was a man. I submitted a complaint about my grade, they did not change it. Every time I saw him, he showed me he was very uncomfortable with my presence. "The 'implicit relationship between genders becomes a taken-for-granted feature of interpersonal relationships, culture and social structure. That is, gender difference is institutionalized … but, importantly, so is gender relationality' (2007: 91)." Burdeon (2014, p. 232) By challenging him I was also challenging the institution, not only the university but the symbolic power he, as an old man, had. When my colleagues told me about the trees I remember thinking how different is the response of a creative idea based on your gender. I felt jealous that for them it has been pleasant and for me traumatic.

Many years later, in 2018, I was giving a lecture at Lund University in Sweden. It surprised me that a feminist collective had been formed in the faculty of architecture and one of the demands was that teachers should encourage creative ideas from female students as they do with their male students. I found this issue mainly important, it reminded me of my personal experience but also taught me that my case was not an isolated one.

Architecture faculties are creating a bias in education, reinforcing the knowledge production gap between women and men. Making female architects go for traditional ideas and men for experimental ones, reinforcing hegemonic discourses, keeping women away from being included in the field of innovation.

These students were courageously fighting against a systematic and legitimate form of gender inequality. They were fighting against what Budgeon (2014, p. 325) describes as "femininities that are able to assimilate masculine attributes without upsetting hegemonic masculinity can be explained by the ideological function these femininities serve."

Haraway (1991, p. 109) says in relation to knowledge production, that "Just as nature is one of culture's most startling and non-innocent products, so is experiencing one of the least innocent, least self-evident aspects of historical, embodied movement." Similar things happened in other fields of innovation such as social architecture and design.

The problem besides gender inequalities, is to block experiences that could potentially propose different interactions beyond technology and sustainability which are topics of relevance in the

urgent context of the climate crisis. In that way, it is interesting for the scholarship to analyze, when teachers reject potential creative ideas from female students, which type of ideas are they rejecting, besides the fact that most of them are women. Quoting Haraway (1991, p. 77) again "The critique of bad science leads directly to an analysis of the material conditions of the production of knowledge and to a personal identification of the objective voice behind the 'pure, unadulterated facts'."

Is Community Hostile for Female creative experience?

Going back to the Public Sustainable School case, after the extra non-paid work, the extra time and the unpleasant negotiations, I wonder if community is the most optimal space for experimentation and creativity for females in social architecture or is it a barrier. We cannot forget that social architecture is fighting against a capitalist system based on the premise of self-improvement and individual growth, but also a system that for many people has been a source of emancipation, questioning the past dependance and burden from community to women. I have questioned myself several times during these years if holding to the group is more a career failure than a success. Like Budgeon (2014, p. 326) explains in these quote, "The multiple forms of femininity evidently being enacted in relation to new femininities are ordered hierarchically by applying a measure of individuation repeatedly constructed as a personal failure to overcome 'pathetic', dependent traditional femininity and assert personal choice." Communitary projects are contesting this mainstream discourse, but if these projects are not open to really build epistemic pluralism and share tasks such as care responsibilities, it will just be another way in which women end up with more unpaid and unrecognized work. We need, as Trojer (2014, p. 169) explains "One fundamental condition for the necessary transformation is to open up for and foster epistemological pluralism" Which means combining situated knowledges from different subjects and incorporate them as a collective knowledge production, in an atmosphere where knowledge from either women, men, not binary, etc. have equal validation, only shaking these foundations, collaborative efforts from a community will build emancipatory realities for women and not at their expense.

Conclusions

It is problematic that social architecture critics are focused on decolonizing and decarbonizing its creative and innovative design processes but it does not have the same rigorosity when addressing gender inequality.

The fact that architecture has been close to the arts and engineering but not to the social sciences means that the processes of current social architecture are stumbling blocks, avoiding discussions that have long been taken into account in the social sciences, such as gender equality in the workplace and in the production of knowledge.

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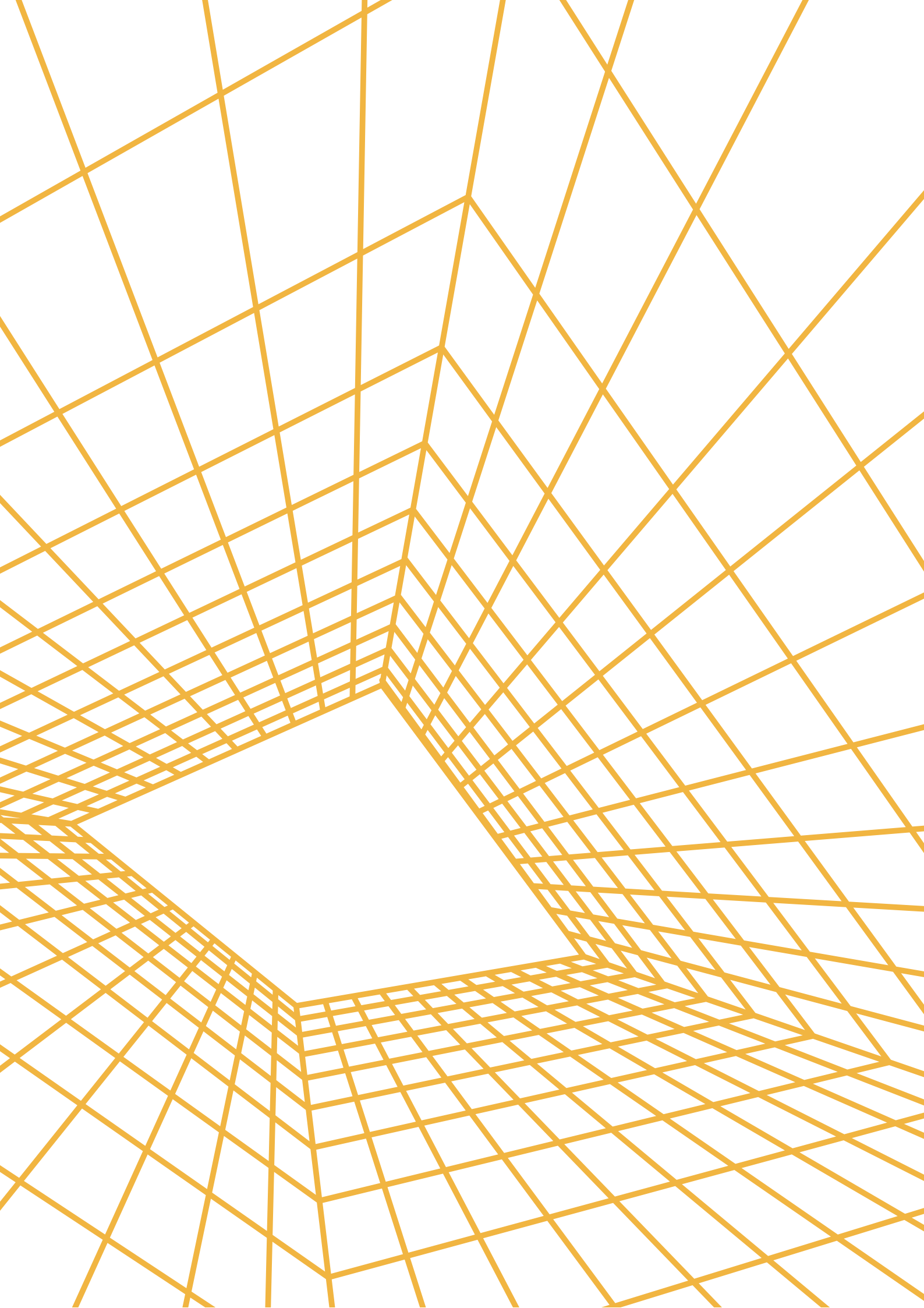

The Expansion of The Meat Industry: Marxist Political Economy and Feminist Political Ecology Insights

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Introduction

Bernstein borrows from the Journal of Agrarian Change the definition of agrarian political economy, stating it "investigates 'the social relations and dynamics of production and reproduction, property and power in agrarian formations and their processes of change, both historical and contemporary.'" (2010a, p. 1). This essay will try to expand this definition's boundaries to encompass nonhuman animals. In particular, the goal is to stretch the understanding of these 'social relations and dynamics of production and reproduction, property and power' to include both human and nonhuman subjects. To begin with, in the first section I will present the case-study, namely the expansion of the meat industry[1]. On one hand, I will briefly trace the contours of this trend and will retrace its historical origins, on the other, I will depict some of its implications. The second section is dedicated analyse the meat industry through a Marxist political economy (henceforth MPE) approach. Particularly, I will firstly draw some contributions to debates on the development of productive forces and efficiency while secondly engaging with the Marxist labor theory. I will try to expand the latter beyond its anthropocentrism by tapping into some of the literature on animal labour. Finally, through a feminist political ecology (henceforth FPE) lens, I will address some criticisms to the MPE approach, highlighting some of its shortcomings.

Painting a bleak picture: current state of expansion of the animal industrial complex

Before delving into the analytical sections of this essay, it is necessary to stylize a picture of the current state of the expansion of the animal industrial complex and of its subsequent meatification of diets. To begin with, who are 'the livestock'? Mostly, it is formed by pigs, poultry, and cattle (Weis, 2010, p. 139). Moreover, around 70 billion land animals are slaughtered annually for food consumption (Ojeda et al., 2022, p. 156). Turning to the relation between livestock and agriculture, livestock products shockingly "comprise almost two-fifths of gross agricultural production on a world scale". Moreover, because of feedstuffs, livestock production "requires at least two-thirds of the world's arable land" and huge amounts of water (Weis, 2010, p. 140). While hunger is increasing globally and is constraining the lives of 828 million humans (World Health Organization, 2022, no page), "more than one-third of the world's cereal harvest is consumed by livestock", and increasing (Weis, 2010, p. 140).

Adding to the figures above, and with the intention to better grasp their meaning and origin, I will briefly illustrate how a food regimes analysis helps to tease out some features and drivers behind the global expansion of the meat industry. This historical analysis traces the acceleration of the global expansion of meat back to the aftermath of the second world war, within the second food regime (1950s-1970s) as delineated by McMichael (2009, p. 141). According to Friedmann (1993), after the second world war the United States started dumping their grain

surpluses firstly in European markets, then in developing countries'. In the first period, through the Marshall aid package, the US would supply Europe with huge amounts of feedstuffs and fertilizers at very low prices, pushing for an agricultural restructuring based on increased meat and derivatives products. Slowly, the European agriculture started getting on its feet and applying import substitution policies, managing to swing from "being a net importer to a net exporter of wheat" by 1975 and supporting domestic oilseed production, both necessary for expanding the meat industry. This exchange and integration strategy was quickly replicated in the rest of the world's food markets. The US "sought other outlets for its surpluses" and the developing countries were the perfect candidates. The dumping was imposed by the double-faced 'food aid' (Friedmann, 1993, pp. 35-37). Among the many dramatic consequences, this process has produced, for the purposes of this essay, I will attain only the push toward a global dietary change. In Tony Weis' words, the world started undergoing a long and enduring 'meatification of diets', in which "animal flesh and derivatives [move] from the periphery toward the center of human food consumption" (2010, p. 141). This structural reconfiguration of the world food markets and diets was facilitated by modernization and development narratives. In fact, meat consumption was, and to a certain extent still is, classified as an "indicator of development", "reflect[ing] old associations of increased meat consumption with superior diets" (ibid., p. 142).

Furthermore, it is useful to delineate the scalar and class dimensions of meat consumption. When we talk about an increase in meat consumption, we need not portray this increase as a universal trend, one that does not respond to class, gender, ethnicity, and other social differences. When applying an MPE lens, the class dynamic behind meat consumption becomes immediately visible. The question is bifurcated and strictly tied to affluence. On the one hand, "[w]hile relative increases in per capita meat consumption have occurred almost everywhere, they have been highly uneven in an absolute sense", "with stark North-South differences" (Weis, 2010, p. 141). The global North has historically consumed more meat and animal products, with the US in the lead (Lundström, 2019, p. 97). Today, albeit the situation is slowly changing, this unevenness is revealed by the fact that "[t]he 20% of the world's population living in the industrialized world consumes about 40% of all meat" (Weis, 2010, p. 141). As depicted in the food regime analysis, in the global South, the meatification of diets, prompted by the second food regime and the development discourse, has taken off gradually and is still occurring. Not surprisingly, some fast-industrializing countries have already reached high levels of consumption. One major example is China, which passed from being a country in which "the majority of the population ate meat once or twice a year" to currently consuming half of the world's pork (Schneider, 2017, p.90). On the other hand, it is essential to note that within (mainly developing) countries, animal product consumption is skewed. Taking once more China as an example, it is the "[e]merging elite and middle classes" that stage "at the forefront of contemporary change" in animal products consumption (Weis, 2010, p. 141), with relevant "variation within urban and rural spaces" (Schneider, 2017, p. 90).

I will now turn to the consequences of expanding the animal industrial complex. When looking at these, it is difficult to separate between the 'environmental,' the 'human,' and the 'animal. As I will better explain in the last section, these dimensions are intimately correlated and intermeshed. Thus, the below division responds to an effort to formalize some of the

consequences. Firstly, regarding the 'humans,' "World Health Organization data show a significant increase in the intake of dietary fat from animal sources leading to increased obesity" (Emel et al., 2010, p. 38). Moreover, using antibiotics in animal production risks contaminating food and can "become a human health hazard" (Foster & Magdoff, 1998, no page). Finally, working conditions in animal farms are extenuating both psychologically and physically, inflicting systemic violence imposed on animals also on human workers (Weis, 2010, p. 147). As for its environmental effects, the meat industry is a "major source of greenhouse gases" (Ojeda et al., 2020, p. 154), "contributing an estimated 18-51% of total anthropogenic GHG emissions, and nearly 80% of all agriculture-related missions" (Emel et al., 2010, p. 38). Even when taking the most optimist findings, 18% of total anthropogenic GHG emissions weigh abundantly on meat's reputation. Moreover, the "mechanization and large-scale monocultures [necessary for feed production] have greatly magnified problems of erosion, weeds, and disease," adding to the "increasing separation and farm animals in landscapes, and the decline of rotational pasturing" (Weis, 2010, p. 137). As Weis hints, this increasing separation is indeed problematic. Drawing from Marx, Foster, and Magdoff reveal a 'second metabolic rift,' one that is based on the "separation of agricultural animals from the cropland that produces their feed," stemming from farms' specialization in either crop or livestock production and the spatial concentration of animal farms (Weis, 1998) They briefly describe various environmental consequences of this "second break in the cycling of nutrients" (ibid., no page). Among these, the increased need for fertilizers, as substitutes for manure, leads to increased land degradation and mining and extractivist operations. In addition, water pollution is another huge problem originating from this metabolic rift, insofar as pollutant fertilizers dissolve in waters while also "the high concentrations of livestock produce more nutrients than the surrounding soils can safely absorb", contaminating fresh waters (Foster & Magdoff, 1998). According to Schneider, "animal waste from the livestock industry is, in fact, the main source of water pollution" (Schneider, 2017, p.96). With regards to the Chinese context, she further elaborates, "[t]he industrial meat regime not only wastes manure …, it also wastes the rural by challenging rural social reproduction". This "water pollution of industrial agriculture – and the way it wastes the rural – expresses a metabolic rift in human-nature relations under capitalism." (ibid., p.96).

Unfortunately, future projections paint an even bleaker picture. The figures are that "meat consumption is projected to grow a further 70% by 2050", mostly happening through the expansion of industrial factory farms (Weis, 2010, pp.142-143).

A Marxist Political Economy analysis of the meat industry: development of productive forces and labour in conversation with animal industrial complex

Although engaging with a more descriptive study of the expansion of the meat industry, the first section has already been using some MPE tools to investigate the animal industry. In particular, a class perspective was applied to meat consumption, showcasing that the increase in the latter is dominated by the middle and upper classes. In addition, following Marx's 'metabolic rift', Foster and Magdoff (1998) have argued for a 'second break' caused by the animal industrial complex's reconfiguration, highlighting capital's drive towards ecological crises. In this respect,

the "expanding [agricultural] footprint" is heavily tied to livestock production and "is inescapably rooted in the biophysical contradictions of industrial capitalist" (Weis, 2010, p. 137). Thus, it is urgent that we turn our attention to livestock-capitalism contradictions. In the following section, I will engage in a more analytical study of the expansion of the meat industry, with the help of some MPE tools.

There is a risk of confusing the expansion and industrialization of animal production with an instance of the development of productive forces. In this paragraph, I set out to confute this association, establishing that on the contrary, the meat industry is inefficient and hinders the development of productive forces. Firstly, I will introduce the concept of the development of productive forces. Secondly, I will apply it to the animal industrial complex.

In the orthodox Marxist tradition, industrialization is viewed as a fundamental step towards progress, leading the way to a socialist revolution at the hands of industrial workers. The development of productive forces is, among others, the keystone of agricultural industrialization. It "is registered, above all, in significant increases in the productivity of labour and … the latter are premised on increases in economies of scale" (Bernstein, 2010b, p. 302). Technological change works in this direction, particularly through labour mechanization and the increase and concentration of large-scale industrial farms (ibid., p. 302), since "small-scale farming … [is considered] not capable of developing the forces of production" (Akram-Lodhi, 2021, p. 688). For orthodox Marxists, the development of productive forces ultimately contributes to increasing living standards. By producing more output by using less raw materials and labour inputs, the growing surpluses are the material basis to enhance (human) living standards. While this conceptualization is still dominant in MPE perspective, Bernstein (2010b) has keenly listened and engaged with some challenges posed by Political Ecology scholars. Particularly, he acknowledges "the biophysical/environmental costs of the productive forces in today's most 'advanced' capitalist agriculture", as well as "their social costs" (ibid., 2010b, p. 304). Keeping this in mind, I will now turn to the expansion of the meat industry. It appears to challenge the development of productive forces conceptualization, since it opens to an ambivalent set of considerations. On the one hand, the mechanization of labour in some industrial animal farms completely strips the production process of human labour. For instance, in chicken farms, the "automated chicken 'harvesting' machines" have been rapidly supplanting human labour (Wadiwel, 2018, p. 527). In this sense, the productive forces could be said to be enhanced. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that this 'enhancement' comes with an array of costs and inefficiencies. We already had a glimpse at the enormous ecological and health-related costs in the previous section. Similarly, Bernstein argues that "we may want to calculate the implicit costs of the use of non-renewable resources" when considering productivity gains (2010a, p. 15). Moreover, productivist narratives are raging in mainstream agricultural development discourse, celebrating CAFOs
, "the technical arm of the industrial meat regime", as "rationalized systems that free land and labour for capitalist agriculture" and "as the most efficient way to produce increasing amounts of meat for an increasingly affluent society". This discourse celebrates the "shorter production cycles for converting feed into meat", "economies of scale", and the "freeing [of] land and labor in the countryside for capitalist production" (Schneider,

2017, p. 91). Of course, "productivist narratives and logics of efficiency … obscure massive inefficiencies in resource use and environmental degradation" (ibid., p. 91). In fact, it should be noted that "productivity also depends … on the fertility of soils" and "the supply of water and its effective management" (Bernstein, 2010a, p. 16). In this respect, an intensification of industrial meat farming may enhance labour productivity, but simultaneously hinders land productivity, through land degradation and water pollution. Finally, through the concepts of 'ecological hoofprint' and 'reverse protein factories', Weis demonstrates the inefficiency of the production of meat and derivatives. The former is "a way of conceptualizing the large, growing, and uneven biophysical budget of global livestock production" (2010, p. 138), while the latter addresses the issue of the "high percentages of usable plant protein" that "are lost in the process of cycling increasing volumes of feed grains and oilseeds through animals". Moreover, Weis stresses the enormity of non-renewable energy wasted in producing feed grains and oilseeds (ibid., p. 144). Assessing "the biophysical option space for feeding the world in 2050 in a hypothetical zero-deforestation world", Erb et al. (2016) demonstrate that, among the many feasible options, the vegan scenarios are always the most sustainable. Conversely, the 'rich' diets (i.e. North American diet) are less feasible and correlated to high yield levels and an intensive use of land (Erb et al., 2016, pp.2-6). They admit that "high yields or livestock systems … do not necessarily reduce cropland demand" while "[a] vegan or vegetarian diets is associated with only half the cropland demand" (ibid., p. 5). Interestingly, they underline how, if maintaining the zero-deforestation scenario, "low-yielding agriculture such as organic farming is a feasible option if paired with a vegetarian or vegan diet" while is unlikely with meat-based diets (ibid., p.6). These results suggest that, for the meat industry to continue booming, an enhancement of productive forces is mandatory, especially in terms of land productivity (yields). Yet, again, the ecological costs associated with this productivity increase are extremely problematic and utterly inefficient.

In this following section, I will turn to the question of labour, using Marx's labour theory as a theoretical framework while simultaneously broadening it to encompass animals as laborers, challenging Marx's anthropocentrism. In doing so, I will draw from Brass' (2011) deproletarianization theory and Wadiwel's (2018, 2020) animal labour theory. When looking at the 'social relations of production', which include the technical conditions of production (Bernstein, 2010a, p.16), I believe it is necessary to broaden the 'social' to include animals. Firstly, I will show investigate the meaning, characteristics, and drivers of 'unfree labour' under capitalism; secondly, I will analyse animals' unfree labour.

With regards to the debate around the compatibility of unfree labor with mature capitalism, Brass argues that not only is this compatibility positive, being currently exemplified by various 'advanced' capitalist societies, but also that unfree labour can become the preferred capitalist mode of employment under certain conditions. This capitalist reconfiguration towards unfree labour relations is what Brass (2011) names 'deproletarianization'. He stresses the point that unfree labour is compatible with advanced productive forces, countering the assumption that "unfree labour inhibits the development of the productive forces" (ibid., pp.32-33). This reconfiguration of capital-labour relations rests on class struggle dynamics (ibid., pp.4-12).

Among these, Brass underlies how "unfree labour-power is generally easier to control than its free counterpart", thus "is cheaper to employ." (ibid., p.5). "As long as unfree labour yields profit", he sustains, "its reproduction by capital is guaranteed" (ibid., p. 9). Conceding that nonhuman animals have labour-power, it is easy to conclude that they are in fact "the largest, and most exploited, group of workers" in the world (Blattner et al., 2019, p.2). Admittingly, in the meat industry, their labour is completely unfree. Especially if adopting Marx's understanding of unfree labour, it becomes self-evident that animals participate in this kind of relation. Being labour-power "a specific kind of property, one that in a capitalist system is owned and personally commodified by a worker, who can and does sell it to an employer", then unfree labour is defined by the incapacity of the worker to own and commodify their labour-power (Brass, 2011, p. 48-9). Animal labour fits in the two enabling conditions of unfree production relations (ibid., p. 27-31). Firstly, capital requires no skill from animals other than simply existing, their body being the commodity. Secondly, this lack of requirement of skills is combined with the fact that in industrial farms, animals can be infinitely reproduced. (The only limiting factors, if any, are the inputs, i.e., feed, human labour when still needed, machinery, energy, antibiotics, and the like.) In other words, the capitalist industry directly controls the number of nonhuman animal laborers at their disposition, thus the question of the reserve army takes another, aggravated, virtual form. In Wadiwel's words, "production and reproduction of animals within animal agriculture conforms to a biopolitical form of violence, insofar as it involves the scrupulous and infinite management of life." (2018, p. 537). Moreover, with regard to the costs of unfree labour, the peculiar nature of farm animal labour counters the Weberian prediction that, due to the costs of maintaining the workers, unfree labour is too costly (Brass, 2011, p.38). Here, the reproduction costs of animals are nothing else but the production costs.

Of course, the above analysis is trying to stretch, often forcibly, the Marxist labour theory to subjects – farm animals – not initially included in the formulation, overflowing the scope of the theory. This is shown by the clumsiness of the adaptation. Nevertheless, Marx's anthropocentric view held that "labour is exclusively performed by humans" (Blattner et al., 2019, p. 2-3), and this belief has been passed on in the MPE tradition. It is urgent, therefore, to confront Marxist theory with non-anthropocentric perspectives, without discarding some of its valuable contributions. One prominent example of this is Wadiwel's reinterpretation of Marx's labour theory (2018, 2020). His starting point is that animal labour has use value to capitalism (Wadiwel, 2018, p. 529). Subsequently, he sets out to define "what is distinctive about animal labor" when compared to human labour. Contrasting Marx's distinction between variable and constant capital, Wadiwel exposes the hybrid character of animal labor. "[F]ood animals are deployed", he argues, "as both a raw material that will be 'finished' as a product by the production process and simultaneously labor that must work on itself through a 'metabolic' self-regenerative production" (Wadiwel, 2018, p. 535). The peculiarity of animal labour rests on the fact that "the object of production is their own body" (ibid., p. 530). Here, "the processes of the biological body" are the "sources for 'a self-regenerative surplus value'" (Cooper, quoted in Wadiwel, 2018, p. 531), conceptualized as 'metabolic labour' (ibid., p. 532).

Drawing from the 'The Working Day' (Chapter 10, Capital Vol. 1) by Marx, Wadiwel turns

the spotlight on the working-day "as a site of antagonism under capitalism" (2020, p. 182). For food animals, he unveils, the struggle between time spent in exploitation and maintaining life resolves in the absence of limits to exploitation, as opposed to human labour which is premised on physical and social limits (ibid., p. 190-192). To increase absolute surplus value, capitalist farms "increasingly dominate all time, such that the working day has not actual limits". Thus, for the same logic as the above equation between reproduction and production costs, "the whole day becomes a day of labor" and "the whole of life becomes the time of production". Consequently, to increase relative surplus value, the time of production – the life – is increasingly reduced (ibid., p. 195-6). This dynamic is "realiz[ing] a particular fantasy of capital", one in which capital gains the struggle in the arena of time, winning over the whole of the working day (ibid., p. 196).

In contrast with Brass' assumption that reconfigurations of capital-labour relations rest on class struggle dynamics (2011, p. 4-12), Wadiwel frames capitalist responses to nonhuman animal resistance as a motor towards efficiency gains (2018, p. 532-3), which in turn modify human labour relations. This idea grasps how human-nonhuman social relations are driving reconfigurations in production relations. Moreover, the development of productive forces takes a different shape when confronted with the interspecies perspective of animal labour. In fact, the introduction of chicken harvesting machines demonstrates that "the replacement of human labor with machines" coincides with "the expansion of the mass of animal labor" (ibid., p. 538), revealing how technical 'improvements' "reallocat[e] labor time between species" (ibid., p. 529). Thus, normative considerations related to the associations between the development of productive forces and growing living standards need to be revised in light of interspecies social relations.

Feminist Political Ecology at the rescue: exposing MPE anthropocentrism

Finally, I will now open a discussion between MPE and FPE. As I hope to show in the following paragraph, FPE offers manifold tools to enrich the previous analysis. Its feminist and more-than-human orientation, combined with some post-structuralist insights, helps embed the question of the meat industry in ecological relations, which also include human-nonhuman ones, thus critically addressing MPE's anthropocentrism. I will give a brief overview of what FPE does and its world-understanding. Then, I will engage in connection with the meat industry and unveil some MPE shortcomings.

Firstly, political ecology "examines environment-society [and power] relations and struggles over access to natural resources" (Sultana, 2021, p. 156). FPE challenged political ecology by adding an intersectional, decolonial and more-than-human focus (ibid., p. 158). Moreover, central to FPE is challenging the dualistic thinking which informs Western culture. Confronting the human/nature divide, FPE understands the more-than-human, which includes animals, as sentient beings, uncovering "animals' social lives" (Blattner et al., 2019, p. 6). This implies that animals have agency, thus questioning MPE that admits only human class agency. Understanding animals as active 'expressive agents' (Rose, 2013, p. 102) is pivotal for the

following critique. Approaching the meat industry through a FPE lens, the questions shift from: is the meat industry developing the productive forces? What is the specific use value of animals under capitalism? To questions such as: What are the ecological consequences of the meat industry? Who is marginalized in the process, how does this marginalization intermesh with and reproduce intersecting human social differences? What are the implications for more-than-human beings?

As mentioned, a FPE lens reveals the dualistic thinking of MPE. Plumwood argues that animal abuses "are enabled and justified by a dominant human-centred ideology of mastery over an inferior sphere of animals and nature" (2012, p. 77). In fact, the 'human/nature dualism' detaches and hierarchizes the two and associates them with separate 'orders': the human attains the "order of reason, mind, or consciousness", while more-than-human inhabits the "lower order" related to the 'mindless body' (ibid., p. 79). Thus, Plumwood argues for dismantling this "historical dualism by re-situating humans in ecological terms at the same time as it re-situates non-humans in ethical and cultural terms" (ibid., p. 78). This dualistic ideology saturates Western thinking and MPE was not spared. This is evident when looking at the exclusions the theory produces. For instance, by not recognizing animals as sentient beings, MPE excludes them from its definition of 'social relations'. Thus, the struggle between capital and labour is solely human, labour being considered a human prerogative. Moreover, the emancipatory side of MPE, which fights for a more equal world and aims at establishing a socialist society, narrowly focuses only on human living standards. Counter-intuitively, this blindness towards other beings and the environment does not play in favour of humans. This is demonstrated clearly by the negligence to confront ecological issues of, for examples, the development of productive forces. Presently, climate change is awakening various anthropocentric theories to the realities of overlooking human embeddedness in ecological world(s). Nonetheless, this last-minute awakening should be considered a massive signal of the disastrous consequences that the human/nature dualistic thinking entails. In my opinion, it is no coincidence that nonhuman animal suffering, land degradation, water pollution, human health problems, and other unfair issues, stem from the meat industry. Similarly, it is no coincidence that land, animal and human thriving stem from organic polycultures, human-nonhuman labour cooperation (as prospected by Porcher, in Blattner et al., 2019).

Conclusion

This essay first addresses the current state of the meat industry, describing the expansion and increasing dominance of this nonhuman animal farming. Secondly, it has situated this conjuncture in the second food regime, tracing the expansion back to the second world war aftermath and exposing the US as the major actant. Moreover, the meat industry's dramatic ecological and (human) health consequences were unveiled. The second section has instead introduced an MPE analysis of the development of productive forces, on the one hand, and of animal labour, on the other. While questioning if the meat industry can or cannot be considered as an enhancement of the productive forces, the essay finds that, if accounting for its massive inefficiencies, the meat industry is a contradictory example of this process. Labour productivity

is indeed enhanced through technical innovations. Nevertheless, land productivity is hindered by the use of fertilizers and monocropping, which are produced as feedstuffs. This ambivalent finding is complemented by the ecological implications of the meat industry, which have further, and perhaps still unexplored, effects on the development of productive forces. Furthermore, this section has engaged with the question of labour, challenging Marx's anthropocentric understanding of labour as a human prerogative while using his theory to shed light on animals' social relations in meat production. Finally, the last section has confronted MPE's analysis of the meat industry with a FPE approach. By revaluating interspecies relations and exposing the human/nature dualism, FPE exposed MPE's Western anthropocentrism, which urgently needs to be addressed if MPE wants to maintain its role of emancipatory theory towards more equal (ecological) futures. With regards to the meat industry, its capitalist expansion threatens biophysical and ethical limits. If we are to overthrow capitalism, patriarchy, and the multiple intersecting axes of oppression, we need to decide upon and set these limits. The open question remains: who are the 'we'? Will we be able to recognize other beings' agency and 'listen' to them (Rose, 2013), towards a more collaborative future? Or will we stubbornly remain convinced of (certain) humans' superiority and right to decide over all the rest? To conclude, Marx affirmed that "[a]ll progress in capitalist agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the worker, but of robbing the soil" (quoted in Foster & Magdoff, 1998, no page). After the above reflection, maybe it's time we add 'and robbing the animal' while starting to conceptualize emancipatory theories and ecologies (Ojeda et al., 2022), which aim at interspecies justice.

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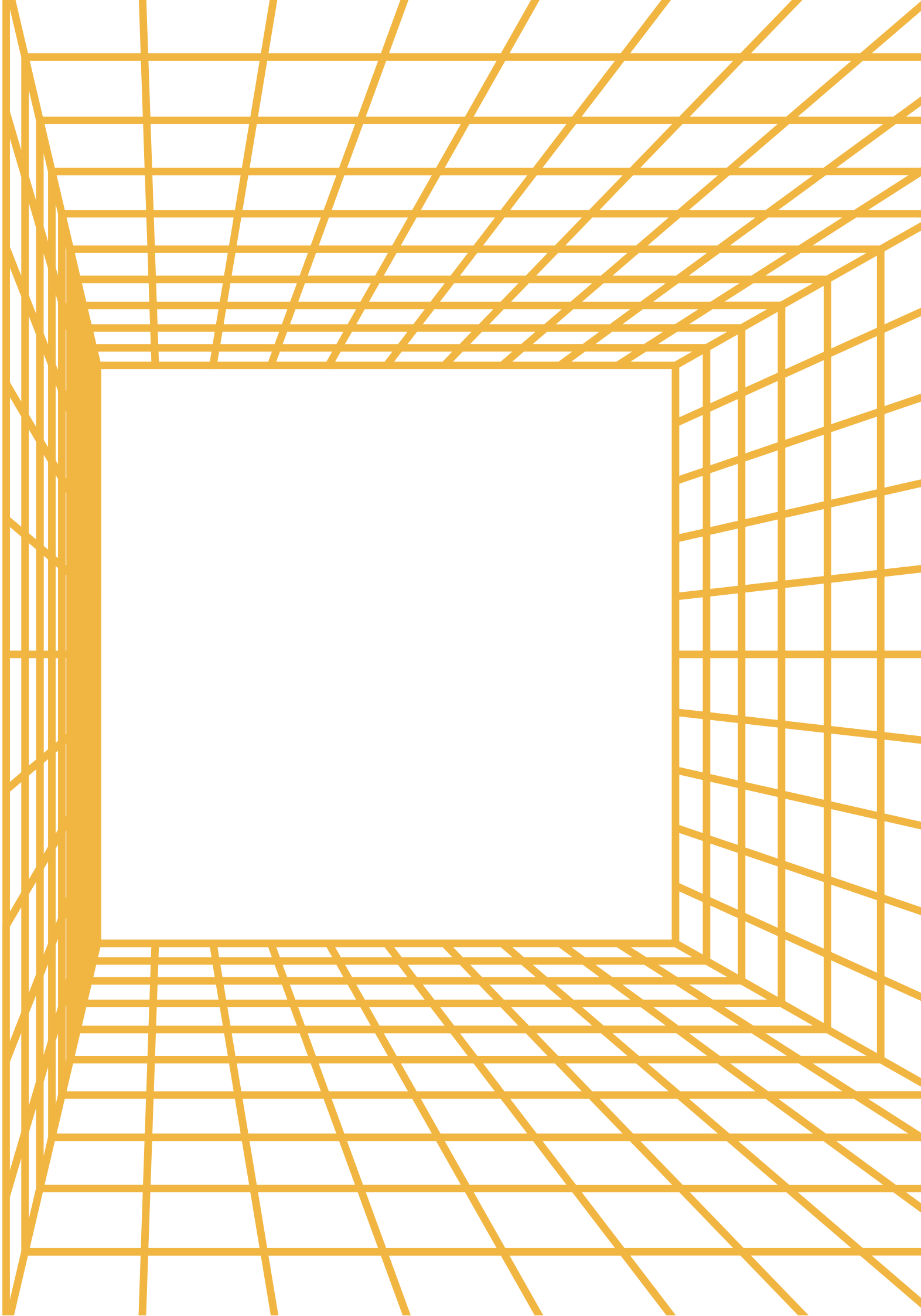
[1] In this essay, meat industry and animal industrial complex are used interchangeably. Also, the meat industry comprises both meat and derivatives production.
[2] Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations



The Fight for Access to Water in the Ouistreham (Calvados) Informal Exiles Camp

Pauline Gossieaux, SJP. France.

Since the dismantling of the Calais jungle in 2016, the city of Ouistreham has been a transit point for many Sudanese refugees, most of whom want to reach England via the ferry to Portsmouth (Ormain, 2023). Established at the Southern end of Ouistreham (Calvados), the Quai Charcot runs alongside the Caen Canal (Yang, 2022). At the end of the lane, a towpath runs alongside the waterway opposite a wooded plot; behind the trees is the home to one of thirty Sudanese migrants (Yang,2022). For years, these people have constantly feared expulsion and precarious conditions, particularly access to water and sanitary conditions (AARPI ANDOTTE AVOCATS, 2023). In recent years, increased attention from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) has been given to their alarming living conditions. Arguably, the lack of action is the consequence of the reluctance of local authorities, namely the municipality of Ouistreham, the urban community of Caen en Mer, and the Prefecture of Calvados; however, because of increased involvement of the civic society on May 29 2023, six exiles, namely, six exiles, MM. A C, Ada Abdullah Hassan, Muhammad Abdallah, Migo Gage, Omar Mustafa, and Sheno Mohatassen backed by five French non-government organisations (NGO), namely Vents Contraires, Solidarités International, CIMADE, CitoyeNEs en Lutte Outstream and the Collectif d'aide aux migrants de Ouitstreham represented by lawyer Lionel Crusoé provoked their luck and seized the emergency judge administrative court of Caen using the legal mechanism of a référé-liberté (Service-Public, 2021). This mobilisation aimed to respect the exiles' right to water to be respected and to urge an emergency procedure to ensure that a secure water point was set up in the Ouistreham camp (AARPI ANDOTTE AVOCATS, 2023). Two days later, the judge ruled the violation of the right to water of people living in Ouistreham and local public authorities to comply with French law by giving migrants the means to access.

Water. This case of strategic litigation is illustrative of the potential of legal mobilisation. Legal mobilisation has an outnumbered range of definitions and interpretations. In the latter, legal mobilisation is perceived as "instances when social movements explicitly employ right strategies and tactics in their interactions with the state and other opponents" (Madlingozi, 2014). Strategic litigation is a means of legal mobilisation, a synonym of political lawyering (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023). This essay aims to understand how the NGO coalition brought about change by legally advocating for exiles' rights. To analyse the phenomenon, the first part will analyse how the NGO's capacity and resources mobilised in the process permitted to reach this outcome. Later, the emphasis will be put on how the mobilisation of French legislation and invocation of legal values came into play for the case's outcomes.

First and foremost, as in any strategic litigation, diverse actors are involved. Nonetheless, this essay will emphasise the central role of NGOs. Indeed, the case was brought up by a coalition of five different migration aid associations, namely Vents Contraires, Solidarités International, CIMADE, association CitoyenNES en Lutte and le Collectif d'aide aux Migrants of Ouistreham AARPI ANDOTTE AVOCATS (2023).

First and foremost, these NGOs have, since the arrival of Sudanese exiles, complementary support systems by providing them with basic needs and necessary goods. For instance, concerning access to water in the area, the NGO Vents Contraires has been using an emergency faucet daily, allowing exiles access to safe water (Solidarités International, 2023). From that perspective, it can be argued that NGOs have been forming a local mobilisation movement against local public powers, reluctant to the presence of these people in the city as shown by the multiple efforts to expulse them from their parcel of land since 2017 (Yang, 2022). Thus, it also shows how the movement gradually scaled up from local mobilization.

Litigation, in turn, also demonstrates that strategic litigation only appeared independently from another kind of legal mobilisation tool (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023). More than material support, since 2017, NGOs have also collectively been advocating for this community's rights. This is shown, for instance, by the last mobilisation organised by NGOs CIMADE, Vents Contraires and Solidarités International in February 2023 on the 20th anniversary of the Treaty of Le Touquet in Ouistreham to denounce the murderous feature of border policies and advocate from a more human immigration policy and safe legal passage routes (Ouest-France, 2023). As such, the choice for strategic litigation is described by Solidarités Internationales as the last resort solution to bring about change (Solidarités International, 2023). Further, the litigation is a result of numerous attempts of discussion and meditation with public authorities, intended to push them to provide access to water, showers and toilets (Solidarités International, 2023). Beyond, relevant authorities deny their responsibilities and obstruct some of the association's activities, as shown by the suppression in 2022 of the faucets used by Vents Contraires serving daily to provide safe water to exiles (Solidarités International, 2023).

There is an increasing debate as to whether NGO's actions in the context of strategic litigation should be regarded as part of a social movement. In Ouistreham's case, the coalition of NGOs advocating for exiles' access to water is. NGO actions are understood through the following understanding of social movement as "made up of collectives marginalised actors who develop a collective identity, who put forward change-oriented goals, who possess some degree or organisation and who engage in sustained albeit episodic, extra-institutional collective action" (Madlingozi, 2014). NGOs are not marginalised actors per se; however, they function in the margin of the institutional and political sphere as being part of civil society (Madlingozi, 2014). Nonetheless, they formed a social movement by engaging in the struggles of exiles in Ouistreham.

With the same shared goals and visions, they also created a shared identity as exiles' defenders and advocates by joining forces to represent exiles' interests collectively in court. Indeed, their aim for them is not to undermine another's power but instead to gain power for themselves. In this case, they act as counterpower on behalf of exiles, whose legal situation and lack of legal recognition can be summarised by Tarrow's definition of social movements: "people as people lacking regular access to representative institutions" (Madlingozi, 2014). Exiles in Ouistreham do not have access nor the capacity to produce legal change. The restrictiveness of citizens' inclusion justifies this limited capacity (Mora and Handmaker, 2014). Indeed, citizenship is to be regarded

as much as a mark of belonging as of one of exclusion. With regards to Sudanese migrants, their status constitutes them as "the other" concerning the category of citizen (Mora and Handmaker, 2014). As a non-citizen, by extension, they lack membership in the political community and thus restrain their access to social rights and entitlements. This last element highlights the hold of the nation-state on the political system, with citizenship narrowing down the parameters of inclusion (Mora and Handmaker, 2014). Sudanese migrants are to be regarded as migrants who flew to their country seeking better chances in life. As such, they are subject to increasing constraints of movement, and while relevant, their membership in a political and economic community is still being determined (Mora and Handmaker, 2014). In Ouistreham, this community's practical claims revolve around getting access to water and sanitary hygiene.

Despite the exiles' involvement in the case, NGOs were needed to make their claims powerful and impactful, as they have the capacity and resources to mobilise and legally frame their claims as legitimate political ones. NGOs, in this specific case, are the critical agents in the representation of migrant's interests and in the promotion of measures that advance the recognition of migrants through advocacy for the most vulnerable, legal change and education on immigration rights. In general, NGOs can promote and, in limited circumstances, impose state, individual, and corporate accountability towards national and international legal obligations through legal mobilisation.

Technical resources and people (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023). Indeed, as emphasised by (Handmaker et al. 2023), the mobilisation of people, also referred to as the "power of numbers", is central to the success of legal mobilisation; the more people, the more visibility and thus, the more potential for impact (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023). It is argued that the latter primarily applies to forms of mobilisation such as boycotts and protests; nonetheless, as proven by the case, this power of numbers benefits NGOs in strategic legal mobilisation. Doubtlessly, the coalition of several associations served their legitimacy in addressing Ouistreham municipality and more, enabling them to secure the opportunity to act through the French legal system against the government actors held accountable for the right violation. Thus, this first element establishes the role of NGOs as counterpower to the state's policies (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023).

Further, the enabling of these organisations to convey their message lies in the nature and functioning of NGOs per se. Regarding technical resources, the NGOs possess two main components in tension, enabling the process of opting for strategic litigation. On the one hand, they possess the material resources which enabled Solidarités Internationals to draw up a study demonstrating how sanitary facilities and showers could be installed in the area to counter local authorities' narrative, according to which it is technically impossible to bring machinery into the area and to carry out emptying operations (Ormain, 2023). On the other hand, NGOs have access to legal teams as advocators and, thus, to specific knowledge of institutional structures and substantive use of the law (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023). The latter is primordial to use and mobilise the law as law is a mainstream, powerful part of the cultural tool kit through which subjects make sense of the world. The reason behind the capacity to mobilise is the knowledge of

the so-called “structural bias” of the law (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023). The structural bias of the law consists of understanding how, at the national level, for this case, elite sections of society are regarded as “repeat players who make frequent use of the legal system to shape the law" to secure their interests (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023). To this extent, understanding the law allows civic-society actors to act and counterpower institutions and government representatives. Being enabled with both a legal representative, lawyer Lionel Crusoé, and the knowledge of the law permitted NGOs to find a point of access to the French legal system by using a référé-liberté (freedom summary proceeding). The administrative French Code defines the mechanism functioning of a référé-liberté in Article L.521-2 as follows: “On receipt of a request to this effect justified by the urgency of the matter, the interim relief judge may order any measures necessary to safeguard fundamental freedom which has been seriously and manifestly illegally infringed by a legal person governed by public law or by a body governed by private law entrusted with the management of public service, in the exercise of one of its powers (Service-Public, 2021). The interim relief judge shall give a ruling within forty-eight hours.” (Service-Public, 2021). In this case, the référé-liberté was the infringement of access to safe water and hygiene for these exiles.

Before arguing further, NGOs as central actors were crucial in the case’s outcomes. However, it must be considered that the case's context and strategic choice of French legislation used to support the claim equally come into play in a right-based case outcome.

Firstly, Sudanese exiles have been living on this parcel of land for years since the dismantling of the camp. More precisely, lawyer Lionel Crusoé has declared that this illegal camp has existed for at least five years (Ormain, 2023). The struggles of these communities to get access to safe water at the Franco-British borders have been recognised by the United Nations since 2010 (Ormain, 2023). Additionally, both NGOs also argued to inhabitants of the area and exiles themselves that, despite the oldness of the place, there is no proper sanitation infrastructure (Ormain, 2023). Indeed, there is no direct access to safe water, no showers, and more, the closest public toilets are located 1.6 km away and closed at night from 9 p.m. to 4 a.m. (AARPI ANDOTTE AVOCATS, 2023) Thus, contextual elements allowed to frame the case as both a human matter as exiles remains in a distress situation and an issue of public health.

Secondly, the strategic litigation was rendered possible by the knowledge of French legislation regarding access to water and hygiene, but not only. Indeed, the case was supported by both local, national, and international levels, providing a solid basis for the right-based claim. Indeed, claims relying on human rights are not tied to a territory but located to individuals, which arguably complicated the denying of rights to considered non-citizens by advocating for the recognition of universal norms, specifically the right to access safe water and hygiene (AARPI ANDOTTE AVOCATS, 2023). According to a special decree published in December 2022 regarding access to water for exiles in France, everyone is entitled to safe water in their homes or, if not possible, the closest to their living space as possible (AARPI ANDOTTE AVOCATS, 2023). More, the right to access safe water is framed as fundamental freedom and the right to emergency accommodation within the meaning of article L.521-2 of the Code of Administrative

Justice. Lastly, Article L.2224-7-3 of the French General Code for Local Authorities requires communes and their public establishments for inter-communal cooperation to identify and assess the possibilities for improving access to water for people who have no or insufficient access to this resource (AARPI ANDOTTE AVOCATS, 2023). However, as stated previously, the right to access safe water also falls under European Union legislation and was used in the case, thus giving the claim even more legitimacy. As stated in the Ordinance of December 22, 2022, on access to and quality of water intended for human consumption, which transposed the European Parliament and Council Directive of December 16, 2020, on the quality of water intended for human consumption (AARPI ANDOTTE AVOCATS, 2023).

As stated earlier, the strategic litigation was facilitated by the knowledge of the legislation with regards to the right to access safe water but as an obligation from local French. Authorities to abide by local legislation. Based on this knowledge, the NGO coalition put their right-based claim forward for the exiled community living in the area. The latter allowed for the direct request through the form of the référé-libérté to request from local authorities the creation opening of sanitary infrastructures and showers (Mohand, 2023). NGOs invoked legal values by denouncing the infringement of the right to safe water and hygiene. Legal values are a particularly appealing and valuable tool, framing the infringement in the broader value of access to justice and equality before the law concerning international human rights a regime has infringed (Handmaker and Taekema, 2023). More, equality arguments can be regarded as strengthening the legal claim as opening discussion of political definitions of equality and enabling the linking of law to politics by implying that the community is being discriminated against before the law. Practically, NGOs often denounced numerous times that the Sudanese community was treated beyond human beings by accountable local authorities and, thus, treated unequally before the law (Touchais, 2023). Thus, it appeared evident that the background objective was to reach equality of rights regarding access to water for the Sudanese exile community.

The outcomes of this strategic litigation put into perspective the potential of legal mobilisation as a strategic means to counterbalance deeply rooted institutions and regimes. On the one hand, the strategic litigation allowed for temporary relief. On June 2 2023, the judge rendered its verdict, urging and obligating local authorities, the municipality of Ouistreham, the urban community of Caen en Mer, and the Prefecture of Calvados to create and implement safe water points in the area as well as toilets and showers on the camp (Mohand, 2023). Thanks to the nature of the referé-liberté, buildings of such infrastructures have already started, giving hope to the Sudanese community for at least a temporary improvement of their living conditions. In that regard, the litigation can be regarded as a successful cross-alliance between a marginalised group and a coalition of aid NGOs (Madlingozi, 2014). Further, it can be argued that the outcome of the case led to at least a temporary deflection of the scarce movement.

Resources and the elite domination of the region (Madlingozi, 2014). More specifically, by winning the case, exiles and aid associations can regard the verdict as a milestone moment in the acceptance of the community in the area by reluctant local authorities, who previously asked for

the closure of the illegal camp and have pursued a legal fight for years to the expulsion of exiles from their town (Yang, 2022). More, the litigation may be regarded as successful to the extent that NGO involvement and mobilisation helped reactivate oppressed and previously dispirited people, the Sudanese exiles, by helping them to frame a collective identity directed at achieving a common goal, getting access to their rights to safe water and hygiene. On the other hand, the case's outcome can be regarded as contrasted. Indeed, despite the immediate acceptance of local authorities to enhance exiles living conditions and the rapid beginning of infrastructures buildings, Mayor Romain Bail announced his attention to appeal against the Caen Administrative Court summary decision on June 6 (Touchais, 2023). In the case of a référé-liberté the appeal is not suspensive; thus, buildings will not be interrupted and will continue until the verdict of the appeal in one to two months. The city's narrative is the cost of the infrastructure building, estimated at 100.000 euros, and the inappropriateness of paying such an amount of money for people regarded as foreigners (Héroult, 2023). This latter part of the outcome highlights two main limitations of strategic litigation. First, the appeal shows that despite numerous efforts from NGOs to include exiles in the town, the exclusionary narrative remains. This last element illustrates not only the possible pitfalls of using law as a means for change with regard to the nature of a référé-liberté but also that the verdict is only of a temporary legal nature (Vie Publique, 2023). Indeed, despite the temporary legal victory proposed by the outcome, it shows the limited nature of legal mobilisation and strategic litigation by showing the prominent impact of anti-immigration mentalities and racism (Beaman, 2018). As demonstrated throughout the essay, local authorities, regarded as Adversaries are against the staying of the community in the area; therefore, they will keep challenging and intent to prevent, as shown by the appeal, any positive outcome favouring their stay. The latter goes beyond institutional functioning and puts in perspective the potential to change actors' deeply rooted mentalities and systemic racism in France.

To conclude, this case highlighted the potential and limits of legal mobilisation. Firstly, it demonstrated the complexity and tension existing between the different actors. In this specific case, exiles need to be regarded as the central claimers of the case, whose legitimacy depends on the capacity of Ouistreham's NGOs to mobilise and represent them. Further, this case illustrated the importance of resources to counter an adversary legally. On the one hand, it demonstrated the central place of material resources, thus allowing legal mobilisation in exile's interests with a legal team. The mobilisation of French legislation, per se, is not the most crucial part of the process. Legal mobilisation is rendered possible because of the French legal system and structural bias of the legal French law. As such, it allows for NGOs to use the strategic legal tool, namely référé-liberté. Later, this essay demonstrated how the claim's right-based nature eased local authorities' condemnation by mobilising both national and international legislation, rooted in international human rights law, knowledgeable, and hard to contest. Together with the right-based nature of the claim, the mobilisation of legal values, specifically equality of rights before the law, constituted a powerful pivot to convince the judge to render a verdict in favour of exiles. Finally, outcomes of the case of access to safe water and hygiene in Ouistreham against French local authorities demonstrated the limitations of legal mobilisation by highlighting the limited diversity and function of possible legal means at the disposal of NGOs to make right-

based claims. Moreover, the appeal of local authorities to the verdict demonstrated the prevalence of adversaries' anti-immigration discourses and racism-excusatory narrative- in accessing fundamental rights. The latter puts in perspective France's respect and incorporation of human international rights treaties into its national legal regime, thus highlighting the conservative feature of legal culture in France.

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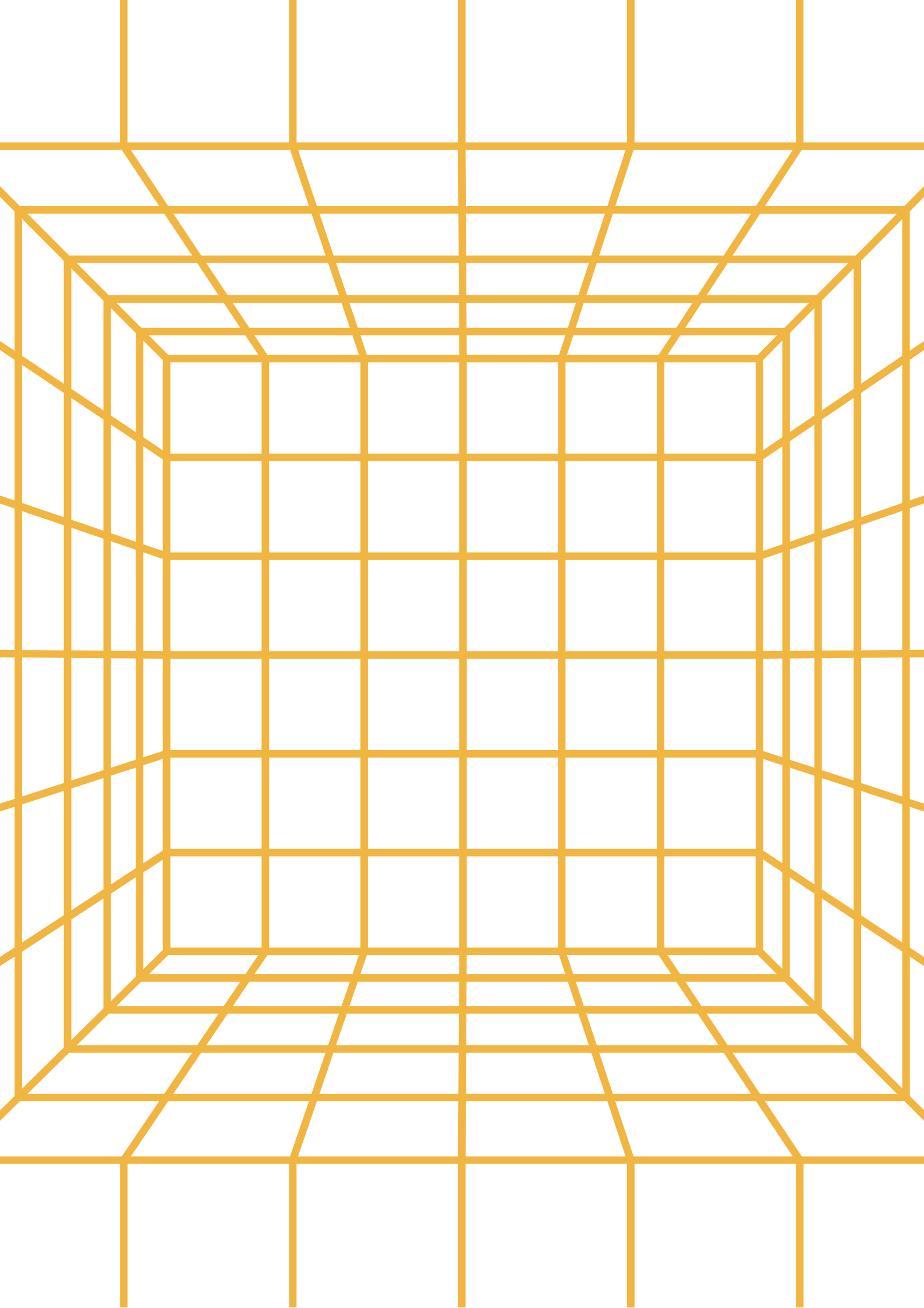

"Knocking on Famine's Door" – WFP's Pathway to the Nobel Peace Prize

Maya Krishnan. SPD. United States of America

Introduction

The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) is the largest humanitarian organisation addressing hunger worldwide. On September 17, 2020, David Beasley—then Executive Director of WFP—gave a follow-up speech to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) regarding the serious impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on an already precarious global hunger situation. Just one month later, WFP was awarded the 2020 Nobel Peace Prize for "its efforts to combat hunger, for its contribution to bettering conditions for peace in conflict-affected areas and for acting as a driving force in efforts to prevent the use of hunger as a weapon of war and conflict" (The Nobel Prize, 2020).

In the following essay, I will analyse the discursive choices Beasley made to frame WFP in his UNSC speech—as seen during his tenure as Executive Director—and discuss the subtle ways that language could have influenced and bolstered WFP's connection to food security and peace, leading to its win of the Nobel Peace Prize. I further aim to demonstrate the importance of this framing for WFP's image and global recognition—and ultimately, its ability to fundraise. To do this, I will utilise both metaphor and rhetoric analysis.

Positionality

It is important to note that I write about WFP as a former employee who worked at the organisation at the time of this speech, and witnessed firsthand both the progression to and impacts of winning the prize. My role at the organisation was centred around building partnerships with governments and corporate entities, and as such I have an intimate and personal knowledge of WFP's fundraising objectives, and its evolution under Beasley's leadership. Furthermore, my professional background in partnerships has made me particularly curious about funding ecosystems, the messaging that encourages collaborations for the sustainable development goals, and the unintended consequences of those messages—which is a lens I utilise in the analysis of this speech.

Context

Who is David Beasley?

To start, I must introduce David Beasley, the central character in this story. Beasley is a former US politician, last serving as the Governor of South Carolina (Welsh 2023). After losing re-election in a contentious race, he was nominated by then-President Donald Trump to lead WFP, where he served for an unusually long period of 6 years—following a term extension by President Biden due to concerns over the trickle-down impacts of a leadership change during a global pandemic and hunger crisis (Welsh 2023). His nomination for the role was viewed favourably on both sides of the political spectrum in the US, an identity he leans into, stating in

his biography that he “has worked across political, religious and ethnic lines to champion… humanitarian assistance” (WFP Governance and Leadership, 2023).

In 2022, WFP raised USD $14.2 billion to fund its work, of which half [USD $7.2 billion] came from the US, and a sizable and increasing amount [USD $540 million] from private donors (Contributions to WFP in 2022). In fact, WFP’s overall fundraising has made a remarkable surge in recent years, particularly under Beasley’s leadership—more than doubling since he took office in 2017 (Welsh 2023). One of the key changes Beasley instituted during his tenure was in the way WFP talked about itself—guided by the example and talking points he set as Executive Director. A recent interview he conducted with Devex shines a light on this:

“Beasley has sought to simplify the message about what WFP does and why it is important, he said, instead of using ‘a vernacular that people don’t understand.’ “I caught some hell about this my first year — ‘You shouldn’t say it like this.’ And I’m like ‘Well, if I say it your way, we’re not getting more money,’” Beasley said, noting that the U.N. “does some really good things” but often fails to package the message properly.” (Welsh 2023)

Linguistic choices are equally as important as the rhetorical delivery—and Beasley is known for his public speaking style, which has been equated to "[testifying] with the cadence of a preacher” (Welsh 2023). Beyond style and substance, Beasley is also known for creating an emotional connection with his audience in his speeches and public appearances (Welsh 2023). In addition to giving insight into who Beasley is, this context further explains my choices to use metaphor and rhetoric analysis in this essay.

WFP’s Reflexive Voice

Prior to Beasley’s leadership, WFP spoke about its own work in highly technical—borderline clinical—ways (see Annex IV, Figures 1.1-1.4). Though references were made to the intersection between food and conflict [particularly using the terms ‘food insecurity’ and ‘crisis’], these themes were by far deprioritised in favour of other more programmatic concepts [‘capacity development’, ‘technical assistance’, ‘country strategic planning’] (The Internet Archive: Wayback Machine, 2023). In the years following his directorship, including in the lead up to the Nobel Prize win, the language used by Beasley when speaking about WFP—and echoed and reinforced through WFP publications—visibly evolved.

WFP’s reflexive voice has also evolved in parallel to the broader discourses on humanitarian/development policy, and the ethical implications implicit within them. Hansen (2006) notes that “the humanitarian responsibility for combating hunger…that is implied by the development discourse of the twentieth century, and the discursive rise of 'human rights' and 'human security' after the end of the Cold War all point to the explicit invocation of ethical identities in foreign policy discourse” (Hansen, 2006, p. 50).

Addressing the UNSC

One additional point of context is that this speech is a follow-up to another address made by Beasley to the UNSC in April 2020, directly following lockdowns. In this first speech, Beasley outlines the global threat of famine facing millions of people, enhanced by the pandemic. The backdrop of the pandemic is an important part of the exigence for this speech (Gill & Whedbee, 1996, p. 162). Beasley's tone and language choices are echoed and built upon in his subsequent speech: particularly the metaphoric themes of war/conflict and natural disaster ["on the brink of starvation", the "spectre of famine", "facing the perfect storm"] (WFP News Releases, April 2020). Furthermore, Beasley's presence at a number of security-related events—including speaking to the UNSC and participation in the Munich Security Conference—are notable departures from previous Executive Directors.

It is also valuable to understand the context of Resolution 2417, referenced in the speech. This was a resolution passed by the UNSC in 2018 which "[links]…armed conflict and conflict-induced food insecurity [to] the threat of famine" (United Nations, 2018). It was an important international statement condemning the use of starvation as an instrument of war (United Nations, 2018). Beasley also spoke in front of the UNSC in March 2018, among other instances, in an effort to lobby for this resolution, so it would appear that building the connection between food security and peace/conflict was a years-long agenda (UN News, 2018).
Methodology

As mentioned earlier, the methods of analysis I will utilise for this speech are rhetoric and metaphor analysis. These discursive methods stood out to me given linguistic patterns I observed, and wished to further unpack, in Beasley's speeches. O'Brien (2021) states that "metaphors represent a figure of speech, whereby one thing is used to mean another." In this way, metaphors are meaning-making; a tool that we can use to better process and connect ideas through creative usage of language (O'Brien, 2021, pp. 95-96). Some metaphors have become so established and unquestioned that they have created new realities and subconsciously influenced our ways of thinking (O'Brien, 2021). It is this potential shift in thinking that I am most curious about.

In particular, I am interested in analysing the connections between the two discursive styles: for example, how metaphor usage can enhance pathos or build credibility through logos. Rhetorical analysis provides a foundation through which to analyse not only these classic elements of logos, pathos, and ethos, but also provides flexibility to unpack framing, and how a persuasive argument can be made without an audience even realizing it (Gill & Whedbee, 1996).
While the scope of this essay is not sufficient for a full analysis about language evolution over time, I have endeavoured to show one example of temporal difference in language usage from six years ago compared to present day as an illustration of change.

"Knocking on Famine's Door" - Unpacking Metaphors

David Beasley's speech to the UN Security Council is filled with metaphors and metaphoric

language—it is so noticeable that one cannot help but question the choice. In the following section, I will unpack the metaphors used in the speech, and analyse the impacts of this metaphoric language.

Kovecses (2002) argues that "metaphorical linguistic expressions cluster together to form systems that we called conceptual metaphors", which are organised using the structure of a "source" and "target" domain (Kovecses, 2002, pp. 15 & 121). He further states that, "conceptual metaphors can serve the purpose of understanding intangible, and hence difficult-to-understand, concepts" given their "unidirectional" flow from "abstract to concrete" domains (Kovecses, 2002, p. 25). This can be seen in the case of Beasley's speech, where conceptual metaphors serve multiple purposes: building emotional connection with the audience, conveying a sense of urgency and momentum, personifying 'famine', and linguistically reinforcing the connection between conflict and hunger. The conceptual metaphors within the speech aren't isolated—they are connected, and their interpretation is enhanced through this coherent grouping as "metaphor systems" (Kovecses, 2002, p. 123). The three overlapping metaphor systems identified in the speech are: war/conflict, forces (natural disasters), and the (hurt) body (see Annex II, Table 1).

War/Conflict

Not only does Beasley make direct references to peace, conflict, and food security in his speeches, but the metaphoric language he uses also evokes war/conflict–which subtly influences how people see the impacts of hunger, and WFP's mandate as an organisation (see Annex II, Table 1). Examples of this include "marching towards hunger", "brink of starvation", "forced to cut rations" (WFP News Releases, September 2020). This metaphoric language enhances the sense of violence, war, and being on the edge of the battlefield. Towards the end of his speech, Beasley also references hanging up "white flags" in the context of surrender—and yet, a white flag is also a universal symbol of peace (WFP News Releases, September 2020).

Beasley's metaphors are further established through the rhetorical device of repetition. Repetition builds validity: the repetition of metaphors like "marching towards starvation", "brink of starvation", "knocking on famine's door", "sound the alarm", "we're not out of the woods" bring the three metaphor systems together—painting a new picture for the audience where an imminent threat of food security-driven conflict is looming, and WFP is alerting the world to this danger (Gill & Whedbee, 1996, p. 175; WFP News Releases, September 2020).
These repeated metaphors appear in other speeches, and even on the current version of the WFP website homepage (see Annex IV, Figures 2.1, 2.4, 2.6). This demonstrates how these metaphors have evolved beyond linguistic devices in Beasley's speeches, and now appear further institutionalised as organisation-wide talking points.

Forces/Natural Disaster

The second metaphor system in this speech works in tandem with the war/conflict metaphors by conveying a sense of momentum, inevitability, and scale proportional to the depth of impact of a

natural disaster (see Annex II, Table 1). There are metaphors like "marching towards starvation" which signal a sense of inertia, beyond evoking war (WFP News Releases, September 2020). There are also metaphors like "millions pushed further into hunger" and "a wave of hunger and famine threatens to sweep across the globe" which convey both scale and inevitability. Ultimately, the language of 'force' can be interpreted with a dual meaning: both referencing the physics of movement, and also conveying the feelings of violence.

The (Hurt) Body

The last metaphor system is the most subtle of the three, with metaphoric language used in ways so natural that it is not always noticeable (see Annex II, Table 1). For example, the phrasing of "face severe food insecurity at the height of the lean season" elicits feelings of immediacy through connection to the body, as there are few things as universally shared by people as a fear for our health (WFP News Releases, September 2020; Kovecses, 2002, p. 16). Of course, other metaphors, like "weakened by years of conflict and instability", "scarred by violence", and "grave danger" are more obvious, and clearly connect the dots between conflict and its potential outcome to our physical self: violence, injury, and even death (Kovecses, 2002). Curiously, many of the metaphors relating to the body are in relation to the economy, such as "economies have collapsed" and "crippling food prices"—and are some of the only references to economic impacts in the speech, despite "economic impacts of COVID-19" being in the title (WFP News Releases, September 2020). This shows how economic impacts are included in the speech as a conduit to demonstrate the broader message: WFP's role in the conflict being prevented.

Metaphors as a Storytelling Device

Ultimately, this speech as a standalone—as well as embedded in the reoccurring patterns of language Beasley uses—tells an intentional story. As O'Brien (2021) notes, "the stories we tell influence the reality that we perceive and experience, often unconsciously, since metaphors and stories do not exist only in our minds." Stories have characters, and the metaphors in this particular story help to build and construct those characters. The protagonist in this case would be WFP—embodied in real life by David Beasley. This construction can be seen through the use of metaphors, active voice, and rhetorical commentary in the speech ["I warned", "once more, I am here with my colleagues to sound the alarm", "I urge you"] (WFP News Releases, September 2020). The antagonist in the story is a personified 'famine'—made real, almost literally when Beasley states in his opening paragraph that "famine was real" (WFP News Releases, September 2020). We can further see a personified 'famine' through metaphors such as "knocking on famine's door", "famine is looming", and "before famine takes hold", positioning 'famine' as an active character in this story.

From a technical standpoint, it is important to understand that 'famine' means something very specific in the humanitarian context—but "is often used loosely to describe a situation of extreme and widespread hunger" (Ireland, 2022). Though a declaration of 'famine' "doesn't place any formal obligations on the UN or its member states…it does help to focus the world's attention on the problem – and thus generate emergency funding" (Ireland, 2022). Invoking

'famine' when technical food insecurity definitions would not classify it as such, is commonly used to catalyse action to prevent situations from reaching a more devastating level. Officially declaring a famine often requires complex political and social negotiations—in the last decade, a famine has only been declared twice (Ireland, 2022). Beasley's metaphoric construction of 'famine'—as a threatening figure, looming ever closer—creates a character that inspires fear. In this way, 'famine' is positioned as a character in opposition to WFP and David Beasley, who are at the frontlines of combatting this ever-present threat. This not only tells a story, but also presents a persuasive argument: food insecurity (famine) is deeply connected to conflict—both linguistically and literally; therefore, WFP's work is intrinsically focused on addressing conflict. This is an important connection—further solidified through repetition—representing a shift in how WFP constructed its public image to heighten its proximity to food security—and ultimately, peace.

Logos, Ethos, and Pathos – Framing WFP

Famously expanded upon by Aristotle in his work "The Art of Rhetoric", logos, ethos, and pathos are three rhetorical elements that describe the logic of an argument, the moral credibility of characters/narrators, and the emotional appeal that can be used persuasively in a text (Al-Momani, 2014, pp. 714-718).

Logos

Despite Beasley's ability to create emotional connection, there are many rhetorical devices in the speech which demonstrate an attempt to build credibility through the use of logic or facts [for example, "analysis shows measures imposed to contain the virus reduced incomes in 80 percent of households"] (WFP News Releases, September 2020). However, rhetorical strategies can also have an overlapping function [see Annex III]—in some cases the use of numbers evokes logos when in the context of assistance statistics, but also conveys pathos when used to convey the scale of disaster or death, given the emotional connection (Al-Momani, 2014, pp. 718-719). In the example of the "displacement of tens of thousands of civilians, a large number of abducted women and children, and widespread loss of livestock and livelihoods", the references to numbers—though vague—elicit pathos, not logos, by showing the magnitude of the problem (Al-Momani, 2014). Interestingly, "million" is the second most common word in the text, demonstrating that numbers have value in the construction of the story as they convey legitimacy, scale, and evidence-based claims.

Ethos

As mentioned earlier, constructions of Beasley and WFP as the protagonists are critical to the framing and narrative in this speech. There are many rhetorical and stylistic devices that build credibility for both, for example the use of "I" ["I warned"], and the promotion of the organisation ["WFP is doing what we do best", "we're working with the presidents, the prime ministers, the ministers of government"] (WFP News Releases, September 2020). These comments subtly, and sometimes directly, position WFP and Beasley in positions of authority

and expertise, with unique access to the most powerful decision-makers. This construction specifically builds validity for WFP as an organisation that plays an important and incomparable role in maintaining peace.

Pathos

Pathos is the most common rhetorical device in this speech [see Annex III], complementing its metaphoric elements. In fact, almost all metaphors identified in Annex II, Table I can be considered pathos, each eliciting different emotions from the audience. Barron Segar, the head of WFP's US public charity, commented that "Beasley has created an emotional connection with the American audience" (Welsh 2023). Creating this emotional connection is important because it not only builds public sympathy for WFP's life-saving image, but it can also be a lever pushing people to act—or donate. In this case, there are two audiences being convinced of WFP's moral authority, and role in peace and security: the UNSC, but perhaps more importantly, the broader public.

Style and Persuasion

While I analysed the text of Beasley's speech, it is important to remember it was verbally delivered. Watching the video of Beasley speaking—virtually, via Zoom—reveals further details not visible in written form (WFP 2020). He delivers the speech charismatically and with intention; as Leach (2000) states "politicians perform 'acts of rhetoric'…they organise discourse to be persuasive" (Leach, 2000, p. 208). Ultimately, this speech was intended to persuade, and the style of delivery, content, linguistic choices, and use of pathos, logos, and ethos all contribute to its persuasiveness (Fahnestock & Secor, 1995, 108-109; from Heumann, 2023).

Conclusion

Through discourse analysis, we see patterns emerging in WFP's reflexive description: mirroring and echoing the linguistic choices made by David Beasley in the many speeches made during his tenure as Executive Director. This evolution matters because language has the power to influence the broader public perception of WFP's work—linking it more closely to preventing food insecurity and conflict, a shift which has interestingly corresponded with its win of the Nobel Peace Prize. Even when dissecting the Nobel Peace Prize announcement for WFP, the same metaphor systems present in Beasley's speeches are mirrored there (see Annex II, Table II). UN entities are entirely dependent on framing, positioning, and public perception in order to construct the moral authority necessary to carry out their work, and to attract the money needed to fund it. Increased visibility, made possible through careful linguistic framing, has the same effect as a positive feedback loop: as WFP receives more public attention, its brand awareness increases, which in turn increases donations—which loops back to further public attention and donations for the organisation. At the end of his speech to the UNSC, Beasley specifically calls billionaires to action—including this detail, despite his direct audience being the UNSC, suggests Beasley understood his words would reach a broader audience than the members of the council. This third audience is critical for WFP—both as potential donors to the organisation, but also as

public adjudicators, judging the merit of WFP to be an emissary of peace and a Nobel Laureate.

In closing, it would be remiss not to include a word of caution, not just for WFP, but more broadly for all humanitarian and development organisations: the language we use matters and has the power to shape public perception. Funding is important, but shifting the narrative of an organisation in order to attract more donations can have hidden costs. Not only can messaging backfire by failing to inspire a call-to-action, it can also reinforce stereotypes and conceptions of "us" versus "them" (Hansen, 2006). For organisations like WFP working in the humanitarian/development ecosystem, language should be chosen carefully and responsibly—keeping in mind that while fundraising is always possible, it is often much harder to reverse the unintended consequences of introducing new patterns of thinking into the world.

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*The present paper contains three Appendices, which have not been included in this publication for the sake of
brevity. For more information on the Appendices, please contact the author at: 641227mk@eur.nl.

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