

Key Challenges in Geography
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TEXTBOOK

Gerry O'Reilly

Aligning Geopolitics, Humanitarian Action and Geography in Times of Conflict



 Springer

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EUROGEO Book Series

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Aligning Geopolitics, Humanitarian Action and Geography in Times of Conflict



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Evil comes from a failure to think. It defies thought for as soon as thought tries to engage itself with evil and examine the premises and principles from which it originates, it is frustrated because it finds nothing there. That is the banality of evil.

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963)

All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing.

Edmund Burke, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* 82–83 (1770)

Preface

Aligning Geopolitics, Humanitarian Action and Geography in Times of Conflict poses a major challenge for individuals, practitioners, organizations, institutions, policy-makers, the public and electorates alike, but above all, those people directly affected by crises and disasters. If there were simple answers, solutions and tool kits to fix this, then there would be far fewer disasters including war and famine. Like donor fatigue in many instances, people may get tired of the humanitarian challenges facing ‘the others’ and their suffering being somewhat banalized by the constant media flow of images. Nonetheless, other people including NGOs and humanitarian practitioner continue the struggle to create a better world for everyone. As one aid worker put it: ‘When you start out, you’re enthusiastic and have hope and many answers. However, anger creeps in at the way things are done, institutional sclerosis and inaction and the politics and all that. Over the years in the sector and especially in the field in places like Syria, Sudan, Yemen, and with the Rohingya, mostly what kept me going was the direct “contact” with the people on the ground’.

This book aims to offer insights into the interrelationships between geopolitics, geography and humanitarian action. Concepts regarding conflict and power are interpreted, as are the roles of the state, and international community in mitigating and preventing violence and war. Here the material, as well as the non-material—existential or imagined—reasons for conflict are deconstructed, ranging from land and resource grab to Utopian ideals that can degenerate into dystopias as with Daesh’s so-called Calafat in Syria and Iraq (2014–). A range of conflict issues and locations are geographically scaled from local to wider national and global levels, as are resolution mechanisms.

As the impact of any humanitarian disaster is proportional to the level of development of the area affected, concepts and categories of humanitarian action are explored along with basic development issues at the core. Broadly, humanitarian disasters fall into natural, human-made, technological or complex categories. Here emphasis is laid on the human-made crises. Attempts at greater regulation, and national and international organization to prevent violent conflict and enhance responses to humanitarian emergencies need to be reinforced. Besides the

humanitarian imperative regarding people caught up in the disaster, such events often spiral impacting on people beyond the specific geographical region in which the emergency takes place as witnessed during the Syrian War (2011–).

Key ideas presented explore the nexus between geography, humanitarian action, development, geopolitics and political economy. The issues appraised are largely based on frequently asked questions (FAQs) and discussions that I have had over many years with students taking courses and researching humanitarian action and geopolitics, geography and allied subjects, but also from practitioners in the field ranging from European and African countries to Iraq, Iran, India, Bhutan, Korea, Japan, Burma, Australia, Colombia, Venezuela, Canada and the USA.

Firstly, questions were categorized into thematic and subgroups, with the aim of brainstorming the reader, building on his or her existing active and latent knowledge of humanitarian issues and accompanying the reader to make linkages between concepts and themes. Answers to questions are sometimes short, but with related websites and references given, where the reader can go deeper into issues, getting access to information, data, maps and updates, as with the United Nations Development Program, Human Development Index, and similarly with OCHA—UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs for the constantly updated maps and infographs.¹ Besides themes and recommended reading, websites and YouTube material, independent and autonomous research is suggested at the end of the book. The challenge here is to encourage reflection on humanitarian challenges and responses, contributing to a holistic overview.

Part I focuses on concepts of *Conflict and Power*, and in Part II emphasis is placed on humanitarian action, development, vulnerability and geopolitics. Part III stresses the role of international organizations, globalizations and quest for regulation to attenuate the effects of violence and to support populations in crises and disaster along with the evolving norms of the UN Responsibility to Protect (R2P). This is followed by looking at peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery. Following on, there is a section on autonomous learning encouraging the reader to reflect on ideas and themes. As with the book itself, the reader can dip in and out of the different activities suggested.

Dublin, Ireland

Gerry O'Reilly

¹OCHA—UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Maps and Infographs. <https://www.unocha.org/media-centre/maps-infographics>.

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This book is dedicated to all those who work in development, emergency and humanitarian-related activities and environments.

I would particularly like to thank past and present students and colleagues who have debated and given insights from many perspectives on humanitarian action issues, including those people working in the field, and NGO and GO staff who have been generous with their time and camaraderie. Here must be mentioned ECHO (European Commission Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations) that funds several graduate education and training initiatives through the NOHA (Network on Humanitarian Action)—the association of 12 European and global partner universities, and NGOs including the International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC) and Oxfam, with over 3500 graduates working worldwide.² A special word of thanks to Sam Taylor, Director MSF—Ireland (Médecins Sans Frontières), and Dónal Gorman, Communications Manager; and also Amnesty International—Ireland, as well as Irish Aid, Department of Foreign Affairs, who have been generous with time and in providing workshops for students.

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My wife Valérie, daughters Aisling and Alannah, and son Shane survived the research and writing up process, supplying me with much appreciated good humour and coffee.

²NOHA—Network on Humanitarian Action. <https://www.nohanet.org/>.

³EUROGEO—European Association of Geographers. <http://www.eurogeography.eu/>.
Council of Europe, INGO Conference. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/tirana/ingos-conference>.

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Chapter 1

Introduction



Abstract Due to live news and social media, people are constantly called to witness evolving power struggles alongside minor and major conflict, in all sorts of places worldwide. Conflict is often multi-dimensional and people ask what are the consequences and whose responsible for what. While it is a truism that the first casualty of war is often truth, now Internet, Facebook, Twitter or WhatsApp can be used to reach local and global audiences and hence the dangers posed by fake news. Getting checks and balances between freedom of speech, and abuses of that democratic principle, ranging from perverse lies, to incitement to hatred, denialism, interference of outside agencies and individuals in domestic politics and electoral processes pose dangers, and of course the dark web offers a platform for extremism as illustrated by Jihadi groups like Daesh. Nonetheless, in this context, communications and media remain central to all aspects of analyses of geopolitics and humanitarian emergencies.

Keywords Information · Fake-news · Social media · Power · Conflict · Geographical scales

In an era of live and continuous **news** updates without borders, through mass and social media, iPhones, apps and so forth, people around the world are constantly called to **witness evolving power struggles and conflict**, both non-violent and violent, in all sorts of places and at various **geographical scales**, local to national and international. Defining what the **conflict is can be multi-dimensional**, as is its evolution and varying intensity of struggle or clash between opposing forces—opposition between ideas and ideals, contested interests and disagreement or controversy. Often the word conflict is used, a euphemism like ‘troubles’, so as to avoid using the term war, which became restricted by legal usage after 1945. Conflict is a more general term and can be used to describe a struggle between **actors of equal or unequal power, including state or non-state players** at any territorial or geographical scale; it does not necessarily refer to open warfare with military action and leaves greater room for negotiation.

When information is received via the internet, mass or social media, or is broadcast or in print, regarding a conflict or emergency, the individual reaction is often to ask: What, where, who, when, how, why?—Who are the victims, or who are villains and the good guys. What can be done to fix the problem, or to help if necessary!—Whose responsible? Does this affect me, my family, my community, my budget! Of course, the distance factor between the place of the emergency or conflict, and person who receives the information is important in shaping reactions, but if the conflict, or emergency may cause regional or global repercussions, this heightens the reactions of the news consumers and consequently media outlets.

While it is often quoted as a truism that the first casualty of war is truth, now Internet, Facebook, Twitter or WhatsApp can be used to reach local and global audiences with information about the conflict. Despite the many advantages of the Internet, foremost dangers for ordinary people are fake news, and also its use by governments for citizen-surveillance purposes, and for cyber-warfare reasons.¹ Fake news is essentially lies and usually sensationalistic information created to gain attention, mislead, deceive or damage a reputation or the truth about events and people. Hence, independent thinking and analyses becomes an even greater challenge. Getting checks and balances between freedom of speech, and abuses of that democratic principle, ranging from perverse lies, to incitement to hatred, denialism, interference of outside agencies and individuals in domestic politics and electoral processes of other states, and of course the dark-web offering a platform for extremism as illustrated by Jihadi groups and foremost Daesh (Islamic State).²

According to Pew Research (2016), it was found that 64% of US adults believed completely made-up news had caused “a great deal of confusion” about the basic facts of current events, while 24% claimed it had caused “some confusion” and 11% said it had caused “not much or no confusion”. While 23% of those polled admitted they had personally shared fake news, whether knowingly or not.³

Efforts to reduce effects of fake and ‘dangerous news’ are being made by fact-checking websites, which have posted guides to spotting and avoiding fake news websites.⁴ Social media sites and search engines, such as Facebook and Google have received criticism for facilitating the spread of fake news. In reaction to this, both corporations have stated that they have taken measures to prevent the spread of fake-news, but critics believe more action is needed. In 2017, Facebook targeted 30,000 accounts related to the spread of misinformation regarding the French presidential elections. In 2018, a 37-page indictment was issued by Robert Mueller,

¹Mike Wendling. BBC Trending. The (almost) complete history of ‘fake news’. 22 Jan. 2018. <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-42724320>.

Fake News. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fake_news.

²Counter Extremism Project—CEP’s Eye on Extremism <https://www.counterextremism.com/>.

³Barthel, Michael; Mitchell, Amy; Holcomb, Jesse (2016-12-15). “Many Americans Believe Fake News Is Sowing Confusion”. *Pew Research Centre’s Journalism Project*. Retrieved 2017-04-20.

⁴LaCapria, Kim (2 March 2017). “Snopes’ Field Guide to Fake News Sites and Hoax Purveyors”. www.Snopes.com.

Kiely, Eugene; Robertson, Lori (18 November 2016). “How To Spot Fake News”. www.FactCheck.org.

Special Counsel for the US Department of Justice, against Russia's Internet Research Agency providing detail on Russian information warfare targeting the American public during the 2016 US electoral campaign. The Facebook–Cambridge Analytica data scandal connected to the 2015–16 US election campaigns, and the 2016 Brexit referendum has caused much concern for the integrity of electoral processes in the so-called mature democracies. The Cambridge Analytica data scandal has incited much public discussion on ethical standards for social media companies, political consulting organizations and politicians. Consumer advocates and politicians have called for greater protection in online media and right to privacy as well as curbs on misinformation and propaganda.⁵ Hence the threat to truth and democratic processes. The ignorant, extremists, spinners, propagandists and those wanting to make easy money can hit global audiences with so called 'alternative facts' offering counter truths, solace, over-simplified unconventional narratives, or substitute imagined 'we' communities and a whole range of existentialist or imaginary substitutes in the face of perceived elite and establishment narratives.

Regarding social media platforms and the net, arguments promoting free speech, democratic usage and tech-company self-regulation, bolstered by the creation of profits are being seriously challenged by the realities of its misuse, as witnessed by Daesh activities. The technology giants are being called to account by governments. While Google, Twitter and Facebook have taken steps to expunge Daesh propaganda and other terrorist content from their platforms, it could be argued that the approach has been more reactive than proactive. **Have such tech companies become lost in their Faustian game and who exactly is profiting financially, now that it is proving ever more difficult to bring Frankenstein back under control.**

Governments in authoritarian and hybrid political regime countries have tried to tackle the problem with direct censorship, in as far as this is possible, while many governments in the flawed and full democracies are grappling with the state-regulation versus self-regulation legislation dilemma. In 2018, the European Union was preparing new legislation threatening internet platforms, big and small, with fines if they fail to take down terrorist material. Europol stated that cooperation with big internet platforms on taking down terror content that they flag is "excellent." The agency works with over 70 internet and media companies and on average they remove over 90% of the content that's flagged to them within two to three hours. Twitter says it has suspended over one million accounts, with 74% of accounts suspended before their first tweet. Such arguments pale into insignificance for the victims and families of terrorist attacks and conflict, where the terrorists have used the net as a major support in their activities. Critics argue the big internet giants need to do more. **The non-profit organization Counter Extremism Project** that aims to combat the threat of extremist ideologies, states that gaps remained in Facebook and other companies' approaches to combating extremism. They contend that Facebook

⁵ABC News (2017).

Cambridge Analytica, the political consultancy at the centre of the Facebook data-sharing scandal, is shutting down. 2 May 2018 <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-43983958>.

Molly McKew. Did Russia affect the 2016 election? It's now undeniable. Wired. <https://www.wired.com/story/did-russia-affect-the-2016-election-its-now-undeniable/>.

has only emphasized the removal of Islamic State and al-Qaeda content and has provided insufficient transparency about its progress in removing content from other extremist groups.⁶ Nonetheless, in this context, communications and media remain central to all aspects of humanitarian emergencies and geopolitics.

Reference

ABC News (2017) <http://abcnews.go.com/Technology/wireStory/facebook-targets-30000-fake-france-accounts-election-46793944>

⁶Tech Giants Face New Terror Law in EU Crackdown on Internet Hate. 30 July 2018. <https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/#inbox/164eb4df7a619bf8>.

Part I

Conflict and Power

Part I of this book explores concepts of **conflict and frameworks for understanding geopolitics** regarding the earth, territory and power. These ideas are deconstructed in time, place and space settings with a focus on **physical and human geographies, and the geopolitical aspects found in humanitarian crises and disasters. Among these are territoriality, identity, ethnicity, nation and the state.** Despite immense changes brought about by globalisation, technological and digital revolutions especially since the 1990s, the state remains the basic territorial unit of internal and international organisation. **The state is continuously struggling to create equilibria so as to avoid self-destruction, violent conflict and war. The challenge here for the state and international community remains to establish a dynamic equilibrium.** This essentially entails continuously balancing the evolving centripetal forces that draw people together, so as to counteract the centrifugal forces that are pulling people, societies and states apart. By its very nature, these forces are never, and will never be completely stable. However, **when centrifugal forces outbalance the established norm, this leads to conflict that may be resolved by democratic means, or degenerate into violence and war at national and international scales.** Top-down and interstate responses and actions are being persistently challenged to provide answers and policies, and most of all delivering on 'better and more' regarding citizens demands for an improved life embedded in bottom-up power.

State construction, its territorial-base and political economy, is interpreted here alongside concepts of the nation, nation state and nationalism. Like territoriality, nationalism has many iterations and syncretic interconnections with other ideologies, as well as contested interpretations ranging from the ethnic, civic and expansionist to the romantic, liberation, post-colonial, socialist, liberal, national conservative and anarchist. The God concept is sometimes closely interwoven with organised religion and narratives of the nation or state; therefore, the idea of religious nationalism must be included here. Similarly, the more abstract, but very real concepts of pan-nationalism and diaspora nationalism are reviewed.

While there are myriad causes of conflict, here they are interpreted as essentially falling into two categories with the material, tangible or quantifiable including territory, resources, energy, power and control alongside geostrategic competition and zones of hard and soft influence. The second category is more abstract and harder to elucidate; this entails **the non-material or existential**. Here the human condition struggling for answers to life—both the philosophical and material come into play here, with imagination, emotions, Utopian ideals and social constructs, while hopes, anger and grievance have to be encompassed also. While few observers would disagree that genuine spirituality, values and meanings form part of the human condition, the socially constructed organised manifestation of this in religion is often contested. Although many religions have contributed much to civilizational projects with the force and power that religion engenders and this is physically manifest in the vestiges of golden eras, unfortunately the centrifugal aspects have left history replete with examples of wars of religion, clashing god-constructs and genocide projects—separating ‘the others from us’. These range from narratives of paradise, hell and apocalypses to that of reincarnation, and especially how society and the world should be organised. **The concept of secular democracy and law**, especially since the eighteenth century, has endeavoured to promote the ideal of the separation of organised religion and state powers, guaranteeing freedom of religious beliefs or none, for all citizens in civil society.

The democracy ideal can be interpreted as part of the Utopian quest for the construction of a better life for all and in a secure functioning society; an ideal which is a constant work in progress and is fragile. This is closely linked to tangible ideals of development and hence political economy. It is premised on such concepts as empowerment, entitlements and human rights. This is facilitated or not, depending on action, context, structures and especially power in society and humanitarian spaces that are intrinsically linked to transparency, security and good governance. Hence, the challenge for sustaining credible democracy models remains as witnessed currently in the USA and EU, being closely observed by the regimes in the so-called flawed and hybrid regime system countries, but especially in states with authoritarian governments. Observing political events and processes within the mature democracies, and more especially from outside, many regimes and citizens alike in Asia, Africa and Latin America are seriously questioning whether the Western-style democracy model can be all things to all people. This is reinforced with media coverage of events in the USA and UK particularly since 2016.

Whatever the official **ideology** or combinations thereof within countries, these are buttressed by **state pillars and organs—bureaucracies, military, law and judiciary, educational system, and sometimes or not religion**. Ideological competition in the largest sense of the word whether explicit or covert targets power, including control of ‘hearts and minds’ as is overtly evident with religious fundamentalisms and right-wing extremism in many societies, challenging democratic ideals and hence how this is being managed in North America and EU in contrast to many MENA and central Asian countries for instance. A major dilemma exists for states attempting moves towards democracy such as Kenya and Uganda,

and such shifts have been greatly supported by the international community. However, when the electorate votes parties and government into power that have highly questionable democratic agenda, as witnessed in Algeria, Egypt and Turkey over the past two decades, this challenges the Western democracy mantra. While democratic countries have cooperated in military actions or war against other countries, they do not engage in war between themselves, but resolve dispute through diplomatic and multilateral institutions.

Nevertheless, regarding regional nationalisms within democratic and non-democratic countries alike, states have pursued a myriad of integration policies including military force to prevent them breaking away. **The multiple causes for regional conflicts can become radicalised** into regionalist and nationalist campaigns within and outside the mature democracies. In this context, **regional planning is all important in line with good governance and good citizenship principles, and so the significance of interconnecting them in a sustainable manner linking central and local governments.**

Chapter 2

Geopolitics



Abstract This chapter assesses the geography and politics nexus as embodied in geopolitics and appraises conflict and its resolution, war and peace. The place, space and time geopolitical frameworks for analyses, geographical scales and places and their interconnections are reviewed. Geopolitical approaches spanning the range from traditional schools of thought to critical geopolitics are referenced. Territory disputed can range from a few square meters regarding areas on Jerusalem’s Temple Mount, to thousands of square kilometres as with power standoffs in the South China Sea. Borders, boundaries and polity are expressed in multi-faceted ways as exemplified by walls, public squares and symbolic places. Analyses of interactions between territory and people in place and time contexts is imperative for sustainable planning and positive action to take place. Territoriality and territorialisation are fundamental concepts linked to location—indicated by natural, human and political geographical coordinates. The plotting of maps, GIS and Big Data are vital for the humanitarian community, as is awareness of the sources, selection of data types, and intended images.

Keywords Geopolitics · War · Conflict resolution · Time · Space · Territory

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores frameworks for researching geopolitics and conflict, and its resolution, regarding territory and power, and the core concepts of time, place and space. An understanding of the physical and human geographies of any conflict area is central in developing policies and solutions, and mitigating or preventing further conflict, or situations degenerating into human-made crises and disasters. The key concepts of territoriality and identity are explored as are issues regarding concepts of the state and nation, political-economy and nationalisms. Figure 2.1 helps to illustrate the world without the human construct of political boundaries.

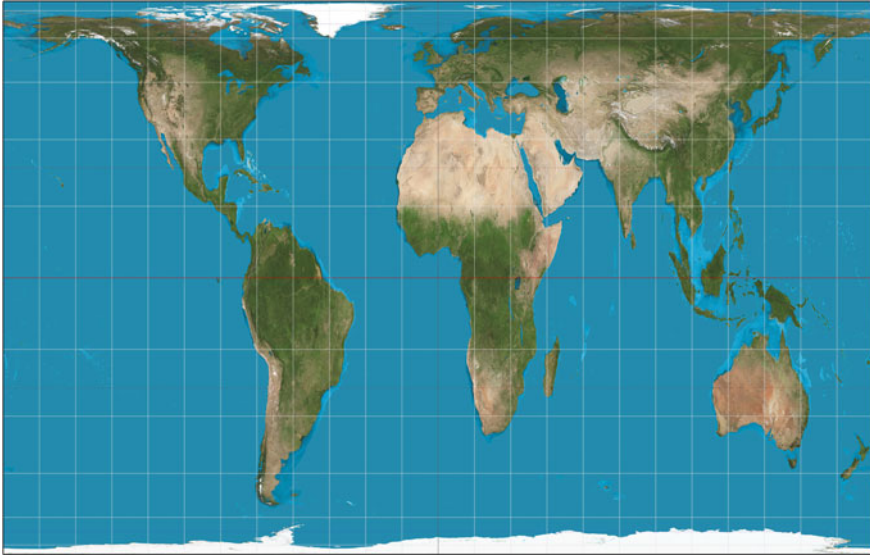


Fig. 2.1 Gall- Peters projection: an equal area map projection of the world. Image by user: Strebe—Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, Wikimedia Commons, version 15-Aug-2011. 15° graticule. Imagery is a derivative of NASA's Blue Marble summer month composite with oceans lightened to enhance legibility and contrast. Image created with the Geocart map projection software

2.2 Frameworks for Understanding Geopolitics and Conflict

2.2.1 *Geopolitics: Earth, Territory and Power*

Geopolitics, with geo—meaning earth or territory, and politics signifying power—can be defined as the study of inter-relationships between physical and human geography and political-economy, and its impact on people, organization within states and between them, and how this impacts on international politics and transnational relations. Like nuclear and medical research that can be used to improve the quality of life for humanity, as with radioisotopes and radiation that have many applications in medicine, agriculture and industry, rather than the negative use of such science regarding nuclear weapons and chemical warfare, geopolitical research can be used to create peace, security and development in contrast to destruction and war.¹ Similarly, with AI (Artificial Intelligence) and Biotech that can bring great advantages to humanity when used with ethical consideration, as opposed to the unethical drive for power, control and profit that can disempower or enslave people, and the dangers of creating a Frankenstein-syndrome.

¹Spencer (1988).

While geopolitics deals with analyses of **relationships between territory and people in time contexts**, there are no exact one-to-one relationships of cause and effect due to the unique combination of factors for each specific place. These geographical variables acquire political meaning through the perceptions to which they are linked. Geopolitics gives insight into conflicts, and the use of power and ideological objectives to disguise territorial and resource ambitions, and acts as a tool for finding solutions such as the terms of negotiations, ceasefire and armistice, boundary delimitation, creation of peace process, and so forth.

Regarding **natural geographical coordinates**, these can be applied to the location of specific mountains, river sources, elevation or land height area above sea level, whereabouts of types of soil and climate, or at larger scales to continents and vast maritime spaces as with territory and oceans which all gave rise to related theories and geo-strategies as in **traditional geopolitics** with Continental and Maritime Power rivalries, and the World Island and Heartland, and Heartland-Rimland theories and their influence on competition, colonialism and the World Wars, and Cold War in the 20th century.²

The **human coordinates** can be applied to mapping the spread or distribution of populations, language usage, religion, culture, economics and so forth, underlying theories relating to world economy as with Wallerstein's economic core-periphery and semi-periphery regions and their interconnectedness with geopolitics.³ **Political coordinates** reference especially boundaries and also electoral divisions.

The **plotting** of maps by the cartographer creates text, narrative and discourse. Any map is only as good as the quality of the data entered. The **GIS—a geographic information system** is designed to capture, store and manipulate data so facilitating analysis and management, leading to the image visualisation of all types of geographical data ranging from regions of desertification and flooding, to areas of functioning mature democracies or areas of high human rights abuses as with Amnesty International and Freedom House maps. Further examples of maps include areas with UN operations, or nuclear weapons zones. In short, the overlaying of thematic GIS images helps give greater insights for interpretation.⁴

²Encyclopaedia Britannica. Geopolitics. By: Daniel H. Deudney. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/geopolitics>.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. Halford Mackinder. By: Gerald Roe Crone <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Halford-Mackinder#ref96519>.

³Colin Steip. Core and Periphery: The Countries of the World Can Be Divided into a Core and a Periphery. 15 August 2018. <https://www.thoughtco.com/core-and-periphery-1435410>.

Wallerstein Immanuel. The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis. Volume 16, Issue 4, September 1974, pp. 387–415. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/comparative-studies-in-society-and-history/article/the-rise-and-future-demise-of-the-world-capitalist-system-concepts-for-comparative-analysis/257F648FAD279D1351FE8870CEB3E1E9>.

Core and Periphery: Economic Model of the World. Slide Show. <https://slideplayer.com/slide/7459982/>.

⁴Automated Analysis of Satellite Imagery to provide Information Products for Humanitarian Relief Operations in Refugee Camps—from Scientific Development towards Operational Services. Authors:

The revolution in GIS over the past three decades has once again illustrated the centrality of **geopolitics** in the complex layering of variables in conflict situations, with geopolitics focusing on **political power with respect to geographical space**. From historical perspectives, this polity can be viewed on two geographical scales, **internal and external**: (i) With negotiation, construction and enforcement of power relations within a defined, or a viable or defensible territory such a kingdom or a state. This is based on **material** elements including territory and resources, and can be reinforced with **Utopian**, imagined or existential elements for instance culture, or religion, and forms the basis of internal statecraft in governance as witnessed in the development of the **nation-state model** in Europe. (ii) That **political-economy entity** can establish different levels of **power relations with neighbouring geographical areas and beyond**. **Critical geopolitics** maintains that intellectuals and shapers of **statecraft** construct ideas about places and associated people. These ideas influence and reinforce their political behaviours and policy choices. Such ideas affect how we, the people, process our own ideas of places, standpoints and politics.⁵

Major periods in the history of geopolitics—internal and external geopolitics:

A salient figure in the history of Western statecraft is Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), Italian diplomat, politician, historian, philosopher, humanist and writer of the Renaissance period, whose most well-known work—*The Prince* (1513), is a political treatise on governance. Following the Reformation (1517–1648), the **Peace of Westphalia** (1648)—a series of treaties largely ended the wars of religion between Catholic and Protestant power-brokers in Europe. Essentially, it was agreed that the ‘people’ would follow the religion of their monarch. But more significantly, the Westphalia treaties mark the beginning of the modern international system, based on the concept of **sovereignty**. This facilitated greater **internal consolidation of state sovereignty** in several European countries such as England, France and the Netherlands that engaged in intensive nation-state building processes. It laid the foundation in the German states for their unification in 1871, under Bismarck (1815–1898). But the **Eurocentric Westphalian model** also established more enhanced legal norms for diplomatic relations and balances of power between powerful states within Europe, and also their competing geo-strategies abroad as witnessed with the Berlin Conference (1884) and imperial territorial grab in Africa. Spurred on by the demands of the industrial revolution (1760 on) and transition to new manufacturing processes, the quest for resources increased at home as with German and French rivalry for the iron resources in Alsace, Lorraine and Ruhr; German and Russian resource rivalry in

Tiede, Dirk; Füreder, Petra; Lang, Stefan; Hölbling, Daniel; Zeil, Peter. <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/schweiz/pfg/2013/00002013/00000003/art00006>.

Think Where (GIS). <http://www.thinkwhere.com/about-us/latest-news/thinkwhere-powers-humanitarian-disaster-response-openstreetmap-tool/>.

UN Geospatial Information Section. <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/english/htmain.htm>.

⁵Council on Foreign Relations, USA. Global Conflict Tracker. <https://www.cfr.org/interactives/global-conflict-tracker#!/global-conflict-tracker>.

Central and Eastern Europe, but also European competition in the far-abroad areas in Africa and Asia.

In the 19th century, Charles Darwin's **theories of evolution, territoriality** and process of **natural selection, in territorial and maritime environments influenced many political thinkers**. Included here is **Rudolf Kjellén** (1864–1922), a Swedish political scientist and politician who coined the term 'geopolitics' regarding organic state theory. His work was influenced by **Friedrich Ratzel**, a German geographer and ethnographer, notable for first using the term **Lebensraum** (living space) in the sense that the National Socialists (NAZIs) and Geographer Karl Haushofer would later use in planning for the Third Reich. Concepts and trends in geopolitical thinking and approaches have a long tradition and lasting legacies.⁶

Overall, building on the **state-construction achievements within their home countries** whether in France, Spain, Germany or Russia, geopolitical thinkers continued to **look further afield for power over territories, people, resources and economies** during the so-called European Ages of Discovery, Exploration and Imperialism. Some sought to establish **land empires** as with Russia, and others sought **overseas empires** as with Spain, Portugal, Britain, the Netherlands and France. Extensive investigation emerged as a powerful factor ushering in the **beginning of globalization and widespread European colonialism and mercantilism, and neo-colonialism in national policies**. The lines become blurred between **state-craft and geo-strategies**—for self-defence and expansion—and it could be argued that geopolitical thinkers, influenced and drove state elite decision-making agenda. Well-known theoreticians include Halford Mackinder (1861–1947), the English British geographer and Alfred Mahan (1840–1914), US naval officer and historian—whose **theories on land-power and sea-power** actors at global scales greatly impacted on world geopolitics throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Adaptations and shifts on these perspectives came with the use of airpower especially during WWII, the Nuclear Era as of 1946, the Cold War (1947–91) and the Superpower race for outer space that was epitomized with the first man in space in 1961, and first man on the moon in 1969. A myriad of schools of geopolitical thought has developed ever since.

With the ending of **WWII**, state **multilateralism** and greater collaboration embedded in the rule of law as opposed to unbridled **unilateral** geopolitical competition, became embedded in the **Charter of the United Nations Organization** (1945) and hope for the creation of a better new world order. Decolonization, and especially

⁶YouTube: Material available:

What is GEOPOLITICS? (Audiopedia). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMIrz6sUJPI>.

Geopolitics: A Brief Introduction. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dg7d0TPoLgw>.

Geopolitics for Dummies (American Patriot53). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ea-Q7-3gV-U>.

Leading contemporary researchers in Geopolitics include:

Vladimir Kolosov: see <http://www.igras.ru/en/staff/67>.

John O'Loughlin: see <https://www.colorado.edu/ibs/intdev/johno/pubs.html>.

Gerard Toal (Gearóid Ó Tuathail): see <https://www.toal.org/>.

Books: Toal and Dahlman (2011), Tuathail et al. (2006), Agnew et al. (2004), Dalby and Tuathail (1998), Tuathail et al. (1998), O'Loughlin et al. (2011), Kolossov and O'Loughlin (2011), Kolossov and Zotova (2011), Kolossov (2011).

the Cold War (1946–1991) practices debilitated many of these aspirations. In geopolitical narratives up to the latter decades of the 20th century, the state remained the central actor in power relations, political-economy, peace and war, with the associated political, military, economic and research institutions. Radical thinkers and approaches to understanding and re-framing geopolitics since the 1970s, have challenged the state geopolitical meta-narratives with post-modernist, deconstructionist and post-structuralist approaches. Here **critical geopolitics** has played a key role and how the world is perceived.⁷

Geographical space and maps are being constantly re-created going from those produced by Multinational Companies (MNCs) in the production, refining, transportation and sales of oil and gas at regional and global scales, to the communications and satellites industries competing for a place in outer space, to the struggle between shantytown dwellers and municipal authorities as with the largest slums in the world: Neza-Chalco-Itza (4 million people) regarding Mexico City (19.5 million people); Orangi Town, in Karachi (21 million people), Pakistan, and the Dharavi slum in Mumbai (17 million people), India. Near Cairo (18 million people), the poorest live in the City of the Dead shantytown, and Manshiyat Naser, which is also known as Garbage City as many residents scavenge the city dump there to ‘earn’ a living.⁸

Conflicts can be equally acrimonious regarding regional and urban planning in more mature democracies when it comes to **locating** places for waste disposal, nuclear energy plants or other issues regarding environment, social housing and centres for asylum seekers and refugees; gypsy, Roma and the travelling communities; detox and rehabilitation centres and so on—the NIMBY (Not in my back yard) factor can come into play at any geographical scale or socio-economic, ethnic, religious or cultural layer.

⁷Some notable thinkers in critical geopolitics, especially in the English-speaking world include: John A. Agnew (UCLA), Simon Dalby (BSIA, Ontario), Derek Gregory (University of British Columbia, Vancouver), Klaus Dodds (Royal Holloway, University of London), John O’Loughlin (University of Colorado, Boulder, USA), Gearóid Ó’Tuathail (Gerry Toal) (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, USA), and Vladimir Kolosov (Russian Academy of Science, Institute of Geography).

See Classical Geopolitics: A summary of key thinkers and theories from the classical period of geopolitics. <http://www.energeopolitics.com/about/classical-geopolitics-a-summary-of-key-thinkers-and-theories-from-the-classical-period-of-geopolitics/>.

Geoffrey Sloan. Geopolitics. Foreign Affairs. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2009-03-12/what-read-geopolitics>.

Geopolitical Approach Number Two—Critical Geopolitics. The International Relations and Security Network. 30 November 2011. <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Articles/Special-Feature/Detail/?lng=en&id=134546&contextid774=134546&contextid775=134545&tabid=1451529700>.

⁸Inside The World’s Biggest Slums (Documentary) | Kibera, Neza, Dharavi and More https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=svVCgv_Zi-Q.

UN Habitat. Slums of the World. <http://mirror.unhabitat.org/pmss/listItemDetails.aspx?publicationID=1124&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1>.

Habitat for Humanity. 7 February 2017. The World’s Largest Slums: Dharavi, Kibera, Khayelitsha and Neza. <https://www.habitatforhumanity.org.uk/news/blog/17/2/7/worlds-largest-slums>.

2.3 Time, Place and Space

The concept of territorial **space** can be defined as a continuous expanse and is abstract, whereas an **area** within it is measurable; **place** has specific geographical coordinates that people attach significances to it for multiple reasons. Each conflict and emergency is **located** in a specific **place** (land and sea area) and **time**—ranging from the **mega-long-time calendar of geology** spanning approximately 4.5 billion years, and geomorphology giving rise to location of resources, minerals, energy sources, water, river catchment area and systems, mountains, volcanoes and so forth to shorter-time periods of **human history** with homo-sapiens making their arrival approximately 200,000 years ago. So humans have been around for a mere 0.004% of the Earth's history.⁹

Within the human history span, **long-term historical approaches** give priority to slowly evolving historical and political structures of community and society, while the **short-term time-scale** is perceived to be the domain of such information creators as journalists, and those social and political scientists analysing the immediate contemporary issues; citizen-journalists may now fall into this category. For instance, in the mega-long-time calendar of geology, geographers are cognoscente of the locations and distribution of water, soil types, minerals, oil and gas in areas such as Kurdistan. In its human geographies, who lived in these specific places in Kurdistan, and with long-term historical approaches, including structures and imprints of the Persian, Arab, and Ottoman periods over the centuries on the people of Kurdistan. This can be juxtaposed with the impacts of the civil and proxy wars in Syria (2011–2019) on the populations of Kurdistan, right down to the local scales of the Kurdish Yezidi communities being targeted by Daesh.¹⁰

2.3.1 *A Few Square Meters, or Thousands of Square Kilometres*

All contestation and conflict has a **location** and **territorialisation** aspect whether it concerns a few square meters, or thousands of square kilometres. For instance, a small area of the Wailing Wall, on Temple Mount in Jerusalem and its position regarding the Al-Aqsa Mosque, located in an area sacred to Jews and Muslims. Dozens of square kilometres as with boundary disputes between Cameroon and Nigeria in the Lake Chad region. Hundreds of square kilometres regarding the Russian and Japanese disputes over the Kuril Islands and associated nautical or maritime space. China's geostrategic maritime policy in the East and South China Seas raising tensions with

⁹History of the Earth. http://www.bbc.co.uk/nature/history_of_the_earth.

¹⁰Daesh's Gender-Based Crimes against Yazidi Women and Girls Include Genocide in Global Justice Centre: Human Rights Through Rule of Law. <http://globaljusticecenter.net/files/CounterTerrorismTalkingPoints.4.7.2016.pdf>.

its neighbours Japan, Vietnam and the Philippines.¹¹ Similarly competition exists between the Indian and Chinese navies in the Indian Ocean, and the advantageous location of Sri Lanka in their respective geostrategies. Thousands of square kilometres disputed between Senegal and the Casamance region, south of the Gambia including the Casamance River. This conflict is an ongoing low-level dispute that has been waged between the Government of Senegal and the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance since 1982.¹² Hence while size of the area is important, the seriousness of the conflict is more dependent on what the 'place' represents directly or indirectly for the actors as with the salient examples of Crimea (27,000 km²), Donbass (Ukraine), Catalonia (32,108 km²—population-7.5 million), Kosovo (10,908 km²), and Palestinian—West Bank (5628 km²) and Gaza (365 km²), or East and West Jerusalem.¹³ **So besides location, size of area (territorial and maritime), duration of the conflict, and its complexity, the regional and global contexts have to be factored in.**

The following examples help illustrate the centrality of space, place, time and associated usage and perceptions. The **US occupation of the Green Zone (10 km²) in Baghdad in 2003**, physically and symbolically left strong footprints for geopolitics in the region, using it as US-allied HQ and centre for international communications, in many buildings and areas that were once core to the prestige and infamous activities of the previous Baathist party and Saddam Hussein regime. Outside the Green Zone, the area was classified as the Red Zone—dangerous—depending on perspectives.¹⁴

Similarly, **Kandahar (273.4 km²) in Afghanistan is the spiritual home of the Taliban** and is considered strategically important because of its international airport, agricultural and industrial output and position as one of the country's main trading hubs. In response to the 9/11 attacks on the USA, and role of the Taliban in facilitating Al Qaida jihadists, the US and allies invaded Afghanistan in 2001. Since then, pro and anti-Taliban forces have struggled to control Kandahar right down to the smallest areas within it.¹⁵

The concept of **bounded space** is usually presented in terms of **boundaries and borders**.

A **boundary** is a real or imaginary line separating two territories, areas or regions, and there are numerous types. A **frontier** or **borderlands** is the geographical and political area near, or beyond a boundary. **Borders** are political **geographic bound-**

¹¹ Global Conflict Tracker. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/interactives/global-conflict-tracker#!/conflict/territorial-disputes-in-the-south-china-sea>.

¹² William Zartman (2016).

Casamance Conflict. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ICy2kWYhWXs>.

¹³ El Instituto de Estadística de Catalunya (Idescat). 2018. <https://www.idescat.cat/?lang=es>.

CIA World Factbook. Kosovo. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kv.html>.

¹⁴ BBC News. Iraq has declared Baghdad's heavily fortified Green Zone open to the public for the first time in 12 years. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34439899>.

¹⁵ SW Institute for the Study of War. ISAF Regional Command South. 2010 POLITICS AND POWER IN KANDAHAR. <http://www.understandingwar.org/report/politics-and-power-kandahar>. NATO and Afghanistan. 16 July 2018. https://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/topics_8189.htm.

ary lines of political or legal jurisdictions between states such as that between Turkey and Syria, or Nicaragua and Honduras. Internal political boundaries can exist within states regarding provinces, cities, regions, and local government and planning areas. They are established through agreement between political entities that control those areas. The creation of these agreements and implementation is based on **boundary delimitation**, for to implement law, defence and so avoid conflict.¹⁶

Sometimes, political boundaries follow **physical** phenomena such as the midline or thalweg of rivers, or the crest or peak line of mountains. Examples of **rivers** acting as international boundaries between states include: Chobe (Namibia and Botswana), Orange (Namibia and South Africa), Yobe (Nigeria and Niger), Saint Lawrence River (Canada and USA), Rio Grande (Mexico and USA), Paz (Guatemala and El Salvador), Catatumbo (Colombia and Venezuela), Bug River (Ukraine and Poland), Tweed (England and Scotland), Amur (China and Russia), Ganges (India and Bangladesh), Kaladan (India and Myanmar), Yalu (North Korea and China), Aras (Armenia and Turkey), Khabur (tributary of Tigris; Turkey and Iraq), Jordan (Israel and Jordan), and Shatt al-Arab (Iraq and Iran). The classic example of state boundaries in **mountainous regions** include the Pyrenees between France and Spain; others include state borders in the Alps, Himalayas and Andes. Territorial disputes associated with **lakes** and boundaries include: Lake Victoria (Kenya and Uganda), Lake Nyasa (Tanzania and Malawi), Lubicon Lake (Canada/ Alberta, Indian Nation (Cree)). Essentially, boundary disputes associated with lakes fall under international maritime law as with UNCLOS—UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982). The International Court of Justice is the final arbitrary in territorial and maritime boundary disputes.¹⁷

Other political boundaries are created by **human or cultural** geographic phenomena including language or religion. Examples include the partition of India in 1947 and creation of Pakistan as a new Muslim state. Similarly, Israel's declaration of independence (1948) as a state for Jewish people, and ready to receive Jewish emigrants from anywhere in the world. **In 2018, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government passed a controversial new—'nation-state law'—that sparking both celebration and fierce debate over the very nature of Israel itself.** The law provides for three major areas: stating that “the right to exercise national self-determination” in Israel is “unique to the Jewish people.” It establishes Hebrew as Israel's official language, and downgrades Arabic—a language widely spoken by

¹⁶Michel Foucher.

Le retour des frontières. Paris: CNRS Editions, 2016

L'Obsession des frontières. Paris: Tempus Perrin, 2012.

L'Europe entre géopolitiques et géographies. Paris: Armand Colin, CNED, SEDES, 2009

See: IBRU (International Boundaries Research Unit). University of Durham. Publications and Newsletter—Borderlines.

See: Hérodote: Revue de géographie et de géopolitique. Paris: La Découverte. A journal of geography and geopolitics that focuses on the analysis of power rivalries in specific territories (a country or regional geographical area) that give rise to conflict and contradictory representations of various protagonists. <https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-herodote.htm>. Website: <http://www.herodote.org/>.

¹⁷For a list of current territorial and maritime disputes see: ICJ (International Court of Justice). <https://www.icj-cij.org/en/list-of-all-cases>.

Arab Israelis—to a “special status.” It establishes “Jewish settlement as a national value” and mandates that the state “will labor to encourage and promote its establishment and development.” Israeli Arab citizens make up 20% of Israel’s 9 million population.¹⁸

In Sudan since 1956, the northern-based Khartoum political-military regime has attempted to impose Arabic and Islam on all ethnic and racial groups in the country, negatively impacting especially on the southern populations mostly of the Christian and animist traditions, and has been a major influence in the wars and humanitarian disasters that have taken place there over the past sixty years. Despite the creation of the Republic of South Sudan (2011), conflict and wars have continued.

Political boundaries **change over time** through wars, treaties, and trade. Borders can be open, or partly or fully controlled including **legal checkpoints**. While **relic boundaries** refer to separation lines that once existed physically or in perceptions like the Great Wall of China, East—West German border (1949–90), Berlin Wall and iconic Checkpoint Charlie (1961–89), Christian and Muslim boundaries within and between the Balkan countries, Israel’s biblical boundaries and so forth.

A **buffer zone** is generally an area lying between two or more other areas, regions or territories such as states or countries. It may be created to segregate them, or to conjoin them. Categories include **demilitarized zones (DMZ)** like that between North and South Korea; or in border zones with restricted access to the public. While a **buffer state** is a country located between two rival, or potentially hostile greater powers whose ‘locational role’ can be perceived to prevent conflict between those powers. Agreement on this buffer state status can be by mutual consent, and the buffer state is required not to host the military forces of either power. The invasion of a buffer state by one of the powers usually results in war, having major consequences for the buffer state.

Classic examples of this include **Afghanistan** wedged between the British and Russian empires in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and in the post-colonial context with the US—Soviet superpower rivalry and proxy wars. Russian (USSR) invaded Afghanistan in 1979 but withdrew in 1989 suffering heavy losses. Afghanistan further degenerated into multiple-cause wars and has been struggling to establish a peaceful sustainable state with the aid of the international community ever since.

The Himalayan nations of **Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim** were buffer states between the British Empire and China, and later between China and India. In post-colonial contexts, India and China went to war in 1962 in areas where the two regional powers bordered each other. The devastating **Nepalese Civil War** (1996–2006) was fought between the Maoist Communist Party of Nepal and the government forces of Nepal. The Maoists aimed at overthrowing the monarch and establishing a People’s Republic. Peace Accords were signed in 2006. Other salient examples include **Mongolia** that acted as a buffer state between the USSR and China until 1991; it now serves as a buffer between Russia and China. It could be argued that if Russia cannot control

¹⁸Israel’s hugely controversial “nation-state” law, explained. By Miriam Berger July 31, 2018. <https://www.vox.com/world/2018/7/31/17623978/israel-jewish-nation-state-law-bill-explained-apartheid-netanyahu-democracy>.

Ukraine as a puppet state, that officially gained its independence in 1991 following close alignment with Russia until the Orange Revolution in 2004, then its geostrategy is to weaken and dismember part of the state territory as with the occupation of Crimea in 2014, and support for Russian-speaking breakaway groups in eastern Ukraine calling for union with Russia. Ultimately, Russia most likely would accept Ukraine as a buffer state in its geopolitics, between itself and the NATO and EU countries.

2.3.2 *Walls and Boundaries*

Walls are the physical manifestation of boundaries. The Great Wall of China (approx. 21,200 km. long) began with fortifications built by various states in the 8th century BC, and warring states (3–5th century BC). They were connected by the first emperor of China, to protect his newly founded Qin dynasty (221–206 BC) against incursions. Hadrian's Wall (135 km) built in 122 AD separating Scotland from England, on the north-west frontier of the Roman empire in Britain lasted for nearly 300 years. If you were 'inside or outside the Pale' referred to the 'security' fenced region of eastern Ireland that was under the control of the English government in the late Middle Ages with the walled city of Dublin at its core. The Berlin Wall (concrete segment length—106 km) constructed by the Russians and allied East German regime, lasted from 1961 to 1989; ostensibly to keep the 'imperialist capitalists' out. However, it is most remembered in history for trying to keep east German citizens from escaping out to the West. From 1948 to the early 1990s, the South African regime, tried to institutionalize racial segregation with homelands or Bantustans—bounded apart-hide areas—with partially self-governing geographical spaces, set aside for a particular indigenous African people, to keep them in 'their place' as decided by the state. Here the attempt at wall building was more psychological and 'legal' than physical. The symbolism, perceptions and interpretations of historic City Walls are core to contested identity politics as is evident in Diyarbakır, the main city in Turkish Kurdistan, and Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland.

The Moroccan Western Sahara Wall (2700 km) is a sand berm running through the Western Sahara and the south-western portion of Morocco, separating the Moroccan-occupied territories on the west from the Polisario controlled areas of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic to the east. In contrast, the Israeli West Bank Barrier as of 2002, is a separation wall partly built along the 1949 Armistice or Green Line. It nearly encircles some Palestinian towns, about 20% follows the armistice line, and a projected 77,000 ha., or 13.5%, of the West Bank area (including East-Jerusalem) is on the Westside of the wall. Significantly, in 2018, the US Trump administration recognised Jerusalem as the official capital of Israel, unlike the majority of world countries. Also among Donald Trump's election promises in 2016, was the building

a secured 3201 km fence between the USA and Mexico, which has caused much speculation.¹⁹

The above examples of the **use of walls throughout history helps illustrate the multifaceted aspects of state power territorialisation processes** attempting to defend the country against real and perceived dangers, but from who and what exactly has to be clearly defined. Yes, real dangers exist from those individuals, organizations or other countries that want to directly undermine or attack the state and endanger its citizens. However, state manipulation of citizens' fear and use of hyperbole in so doing, undermines the credibility of the state long-term, and its capacity not to fall into simplistic 'us and them' syndrome based on racial, ethnic, or cultural features or other concepts or ideologies. One is reminded that despite the Iron Curtain (6800 km) stretching from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic from 1946 to 1992, the Soviet empire imploded, rather than collapsing due to a major war. Today this relic iron Curtain corridor boundary is being developed as a greenbelt conservation, activities and tourist trail.²⁰

2.3.3 *Symbolic Spaces*

Symbolic spaces and places ranging from a few meters to dozens of kilometres have to be kept in mind regarding boundaries and memory, as well as religious or spiritual areas. Symbolic spaces in Kosovo include the 'Field of the Blackbirds' significant in the Serbian foundation national narrative, where a battle between the Serbian led Christian forces and Turkish Ottoman Muslim armies took place for control of the region in 1389 A.D.²¹ With the wars and breakup of Yugoslavia (1991–2001), and Kosovo's declaration of independence in 2008, Serbia tenaciously tried to keep Kosovo within the state.

Many micro-spaces in Jerusalem and throughout Israel and Palestine are places of memory or sacred spaces for people of Jewish, Christian or Muslim traditions. Karbala and its associated symbolic spaces in Iraq is the holiest city of Shia Muslims after Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia, and also the sanctuary in Jerusalem, and has been attacked by anti-Shia extremist groups numerous times throughout history.

Symbolic spaces and places can be official or not officially recognized, or sometimes banned and illegal. However, they can be organic or grass-roots in their development, or manufactured by state or vested interest groups. Hence there can be the empathy factor, the creation, interpretation and re-interpretation of such places often depending on identity politics.

¹⁹BBC News. 6 Feb. 2017. Donald Trump's Mexico wall: Who is going to pay for it? <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-37243269>.

²⁰The European Green Belt That Follows the Corridor of the Former Iron Curtain May 4, 2016. <https://brilliantmaps.com/european-green-belt/>.

²¹David T. Zabecki. Hallowed Ground: Field of the Blackbirds, Kosovo. Military History Magazine. <http://www.historynet.com/hallowed-ground-field-blackbirds-kosovo.htm>.

Public Squares have played a cardinal role in the development of Greco-Roman civilization, citizenship, civil society and democracy. In ancient Greece, the **Agora** was a public open space used for assemblies and markets, while in Roman civilization, the **Forum** constituted the meeting place where ideas and views on a particular issue could be exchanged. The agora and forum played prominent roles in the historical development of free speech and democracy. In this historical tradition, the populace and state continue to use public **squares** to commemorate past events, but also to protest, as with the historic Place de la Republique in Paris, especially in 2015–16 regarding the collective stand being taken against jihadi attacks there. Similarly, during the Arab Spring protests (as of 2010), the use made of Bourguiba Avenue and associated squares in Tunis, and Tahrir Square in Cairo, and Pearl Square in Bahrain. Historically used for state celebration and sometimes protest, Taksim Square in Istanbul took on extra dimensions in 2013, when the city municipality attempted to demolish Taksim Gezi Park, a small green area, in order to construct further commercial shopping venues; violent conflict ensued between protesters and security forces, and a stalemate followed, but the square and park remain under heavy state surveillance.²²

In China, the highly symbolic Tiananmen Square (440,500 m²–880 × 500 m) separates the Forbidden City from Beijing city proper, and contains the iconic Monument to the People’s Heroes, Great Hall of the People, and Mausoleum of Mao Zedong founding father of the PRC in 1949. Besides its historical value for world culture, the square became known on a global scale due to the armed suppression of a pro-democracy movement there in 1989; known in China as the June Fourth Incident, and in the West as the Tiananmen Square Massacre. The number of civilian deaths has been estimated variously from 180 to 10,454. The nearby Forbidden City palace complex consists of 980 buildings and covers 72 hectares. It housed the Chinese imperial palace (1420–1912), the political centre of government and ceremony and now hosts the Palace Museum. However, the former imperial garden area serves as the headquarters for the Communist Party and central government, with the office of the CPC General Secretary and Premier.²³

2.3.4 *Historical Time Scales*

Each conflict has to be researched firstly in relation to its **current situation and context**, and then investigated in **longer historical time scales**, for instance, the drawing of colonial boundaries by European powers and disputes today as in Kurdistan, the Western Sahara, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq. Old and latent disputes often

²²Beyond the riot zone: Why Taksim Square matters to Turks. By Susannah Cullinane, CNN updated 7:27 AM EDT, Fri June 7, 2013. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/06/07/world/europe/turkey-taksim-square-symbol/index.html>.

²³Tiananmen Square Fast Facts. CNN Library. Updated 1645 GMT (0045 HKT) May 27, 2018. <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/15/world/asia/tiananmen-square-fast-facts/index.html>.

resurface like seismic **cultural faultlines** in times of current conflict as illustrated during the Iraq-Kuwait War (1990), and associated conflict in the Kurdish and Marsh Arab areas at that time. Likewise, this is evident with the implosion of Syria which came to the attention of the international public in 2011 regarding histories and locations of its respective citizens—Sunnis, Shi'a, Arab Christians and Kurds, and their real or perceived cultural connections to communities outside the Syrian state. An understanding of **geographical and time parameters** remains central to analyses leading to sustainable strategies for management, peace and development; otherwise the conflict resurfaces leading to future struggle and emergencies.²⁴

What started as civil rights protests demanding greater democracy in Syria in 2011 at local scales rapidly turned into civil war throughout the country, taking on regional and ethno-cultural dimensions within the state and in neighbouring countries threatening the fragile political stability in Lebanon, Jordan and Kurdish areas in Syria, Iraq and Turkey. Taking advantage of the deteriorating geopolitical situation, extremist Jihadi factions supporting the so called Daesh or ISIS Islamic State group further plunged the country into a humanitarian disaster situation sending shock waves not only throughout adjoining regions in Iraq, Lebanon and Turkey but also as far away as Libya and Egypt, and attacks on Paris, Manchester and London in 2015–17. Turning the Syrian emergency in this **geopolitical Shatterbelt zone**, into their respective **proxy war** strategies, Russia, Iran and Hezbollah, with the latter operating from Lebanon and supported by the Shia Islamic Republic of Iran, supported the authoritarian Assad regime in power since 1971, while Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and other Sunni Arab states along with the US, UK and France supported opposition groups. It is highly notable that Saudi Arabia, Qatar and other Gulf Arab states have not been ostensibly active in helping to provide humanitarian assistance nor host refugees from Syria in any significant number. In 2014–15, people fleeing Syria constituted the greatest number of arrivals in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey. The number of people seeking political asylum and refugee status in the EU and especially Germany in 2015 reached over one million people.²⁵ UN peace keeping forces in the Israeli occupied Golan region of Syria and also in southern Lebanon closely monitor unfolding events in Syria. The Israeli authorities closely monitor the activities of Iran and Hezbollah in neighbouring Syria and Lebanon.²⁶ In the Islamic State quagmire, Daesh is recognized by the UN as the perpetrator of a genocide of Yazidis in Iraq.

It is possible to analyse **geographical patterns of local conflicts escalating into attempted genocide, and then destabilizing neighbouring countries leading to cycles of wars**. Similar patterns developed with the Rwandan genocide (1994) destabilizing other states in the Great Lakes region with conflicts and war that have continued

²⁴Mapping Every Disputed Territory In The World. <http://metrocosm.com/mapping-every-disputed-territory-in-the-world/>.

²⁵International Office for Migration: Regional Office for the European Economic Area, the EU and NATO <http://eea.iom.int/>.

²⁶International Crisis Group. Syria. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria>.

in this geopolitical shatter-belt zone under different guises ever since as in the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo).

Attempts at **international regulation in order to avoid or limit disputes, conflict and war** regarding states and ‘territorialisation’ is embodied in the United Nations Charter (1945), and also treaties including UNCLOS—United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982), this is also pertinent to air space. Regarding the Arctic, all land and territorial waters are legally under the jurisdiction of one of the five riparian states as is ratified in UNCLOS, but due to global warming and resultant melting of ice, **there is a scramble to extend individual state claims for the respective 200 nautical mile EEZs (Exclusive Economic Zones)** while the international community, and especially China, is planning future shipping transit routes through the region.²⁷ The Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) regulates Earth’s only continent without a native human population and came into force in 1961; in 2015 it had 53 parties. The UN Outer Space Treaty (1967) is the foundation treaty for international exploration and developments.²⁸

2.4 Physical and Human Geographies

Geography—physical and human—constitutes salient factors in any conflict, crisis or disaster situation. Physical geography includes **location** (e.g. longitude and latitude) with **access**, or not to the world ocean systems; is the country distant from the oceans, and the physical and climatic implications of this on the state. Is a country **land-locked** by other friendly, or unfriendly states and dependent on them for access to the seas as with Ethiopia regarding Eritrea, and Zambia in relation to Angola, and of course the political and economic repercussions of this. **Configuration or shapes** of the area of the country are important, such as size and outline. For instance, elongated or prorupted states such as Thailand; or being completely surrounding, or enclaved by the territory of another state, as with Lesotho regarding the Republic of South Africa. The concept of fragmented applies where parts of the state are separated from each other by oceans, lakes, or mountains, making it more difficult to govern as in Indonesia. Archipelagic or multiple island states include Japan, Maldives and the Philippines. Elongated shaped states exist where the country is long and narrow, they are usually difficult to defend and makes for difficult governance of the peripheral areas, as with north and south Chile. Exclave, where—a territory is part of a state that is, or almost completely separated from the main part of the state as with Hawaii and

²⁷Arctic Sovereignty in Foreign Policy. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/05/07/arctic-sovereignty-a-short-history/>.

Territorial Sovereignty in the Arctic: Encyclopedia Arctica 11: Territorial Sovereignty and History. www.collections.dartmouth.edu/arctica-beta/html/EA11-03.html.

Reuters. Jan. 26, 2018 BUSINESS NEWS. China unveils vision for ‘Polar Silk Road’ across Arctic. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-arctic/china-unveils-vision-for-polar-silk-road-across-arctic-idUSKBN1FF0J8>.

²⁸UN Treaties. <https://treaties.un.org/>.

Alaska regarding the USA, and Northern Ireland as part of the UK regarding Britain. The Spanish exclave of Llívia is an enclave in France, while Ceuta and Melilla under international law are an integral part of the Spanish state, but located on the Moroccan coast. Under international law, Kaliningrad is part of Russia but is surrounded by Lithuania and Poland, and borders the Baltic Sea. Overall, the location and types of mountains, rivers, lakes and deserts may be significant in any conflict or emergency; as are the specific environment and ecology, as with the extreme examples found in the Sahara and Sahel regions. This list is not exhaustive—the purpose here being to illustrate the importance of scrutinizing different maps of a region or country carefully, before analyses of conflict involved.

Studies in Geography entail **observation, descriptions, data gathering, analyses and interpretation and mapping of the interconnections** between physical and human variables of all areas of the earth which are central to geography and its sub-fields including geomorphology, economic, political, agricultural, rural, urban, social and cultural geographies. When geography and differences between areas—**areal differentiation**—is interpreted in conjunction with **political discourses and actions** it forms the essence of **geopolitics**. Political interrelationships make reference to **power between people, groups, or organizations** in a particular territory, and area of life such as trade, especially insofar as they involve influence, competition or conflict. From a historical perspective geopolitics has often been associated with either formal or informal proto-state, state and, or empire building aimed at direct or indirect influence, power or control of a territory with its physical and human resources.

Geopolitics and humanitarian action are increasingly interlinked. Changing geopolitics and international relations shape the **world order**, and influence the **type, occurrence and location of humanitarian crises**. Through analysis of **geopolitical factors**—geography, ethnicity, territoriality and so forth, at best this can attenuate or help prevent the probability of future conflict and disasters as feeding into early warning systems; or help in the delivery of appropriate humanitarian assistance.

Geopolitical phenomena in humanitarian crises and disasters

- ✓ The use and interpretation of physical Geography such as mountains, climate, water, and resources.
- ✓ How physical geography is used, and territoriality and territorialisation processes.
- ✓ The stakeholders and actors involved.
- ✓ Political parameters and discourses at local, regional, state, and extra-state and international levels, e.g. the Middle East and West Africa shatter-belt zones.
- ✓ Top-down (GOs—Governmental Organisations) such as the EU Council of Ministers, ASEAN, UN, UNHCR; and Bottom-up or grass-roots organisations (NGOs/Non-Governmental Organisations, also known as Non-Profit Organizations) including residents' associations, Trócaire and Save the Children; and BIN-GOS (Big International Non-Governmental Organisations such as AAH (Action Against Hunger), Amnesty International and Greenpeace.

2.5 Conclusions

The **geography and politics nexus as embodied in geopolitics** gives insights into conflict and its resolution, early warning and humanitarian action preparedness, war and peace, and post-conflict and sustainable peace-building. In the place, space and time geopolitical frameworks for analyses, geographical scales and how places and spaces interconnect can be viewed from a few square meters, to thousands of square kilometres. Hence analyses of the relationships between territory and people in place and time contexts is all important for planning and positive action to take place.

Territoriality and territorialisation are key concepts linked to location—the natural, human and political geographical coordinates. **Plotting of data and GIS**—a geographic information system also using satellite data imagery have revolutionized access to the layering and manipulation of information in targeting holistic images and understanding of all areas of the world, from the very small to vast continental scales. Central to geopolitical understandings of this and its constructs, is power and politics with respect to the geographical space from local to the global vis-à-vis the earth, territory and power. This has to be understood in the context of physical and human geographies relating to place, space and time scales, juxtaposed with the geopolitical phenomena in conflict and humanitarian crises.

The place and country- **internal and external geographical scales are inter-linked** now more than ever in a **globalizing** word. Historically, the **nation-state model** developed in Europe, based on the Westphalia treaties in the mid-17th century marking the beginning of the modern international state system, based on the concept of sovereignty. This facilitated greater **internal consolidation of state power and sovereignty**, facilitating the **regulation of relations with other polities and states**. From the 15th–19th centuries, with the European great voyages of discovery and exploration of overseas territories, and associated trade, resources and peoples throughout the world, the industrial revolutions (18th–19th centuries) and imperialism and colonisation (1450–1950), and post-colonialism, variations of the territorialisation strategies of the major European powers, joined by the USA especially after 1945, laid the networks for intensive globalization processes that were epitomized by the rise of the transnational and multinational corporations particularly evident as of the 1970s.

Historically, the lines become blurred between **state-craft and geo-strategies**—for self-defence, and expansion in the evolution of the model nation state in Europe prompting the drive of state elite decision-making agenda in the imperial countries. This is well illustrated by theoreticians such as Halford Mackinder (1861–1947) in Britain whose **theories on land-power and sea-power** actors at global scales greatly impacted on world geopolitics throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. With the ending of **WWII**, state **multilateralism** and greater collaboration embedded in the rule of law as opposed to unbridled **unilateral** geopolitical competition, became embedded in the **Charter of the United Nations Organization** (1945) and hope for the creation of a better new world order. Decolonization

processes, and especially the Cold War (1946–1991) expansionist strategies of the Super Powers debilitated many of these aspirations.

Hence geographical **spaces and maps are being constantly re-created** going from those produced by states and inter-state organizations to those economic territorialisation policies of Multinational and Transnational Corporations (MNCs) ranging from the oil companies such as Shell-Mex and BP Ltd, a British joint marketing venture between petroleum giants Royal Dutch Shell (Shell) and British Petroleum (BP) with their colonial era origins, to the digital leaders Amazon Web Services, Google, IBM, Microsoft and Oracle Corporation.

The concept of bounded space is usually presented in terms of boundaries and borders. Political boundaries **change over time** through wars, treaties, and trade. Borders can be open, or partly or fully controlled including **legal checkpoints**. **Buffer zones and demilitarized zones (DMZ)** like that between North and South Korea remain important for balance of power and peace. The use of **boundaries and walls** throughout **history helps illustrate the multifaceted aspects of power territorialisation processes**. **Symbolic spaces** must not be underestimated in the **geopolitics of memory and emotions**, and hence power as illustrated by **public square for communicating messages ranging from commemoration, rituals and pageantry, to the politics of protest**.

Like **relic boundaries** such as Hadrian's Wall between Roman-governed England and independent Scotland, or that between East and West Germany, North and South Vietnam, and North and South Yemen, or the creation of an emerging seamless boundary between Ireland and Northern Ireland after 1998, **old shadow boundaries can remain and be reactivated in different contemporary guises**. **Cultural fault-lines** can exist in times of conflict as illustrated during with the Syrian Civil War and the Daesh dystopian caliphate, all illustrating that an understanding of **geographical and time parameters** is critical in analyses. **State law attempts to legislate and regulate within its polity and sovereign boundaries and so reduce conflict**, while **international regulation attempts to avoid or limit disputes escalating into conflict and war** regarding states and 'territorialisation' as embodied in the United Nations Charter (1945), and associated treaties.

State and international law can be challenged to cater for all the specificities of the physical and human geographies on the ground, including access to the oceans, for land-locked countries. The various access strategies, and historical, economic and political geographies of the following states help illustrate the divergent experiences of Ethiopia, Lesotho, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, South Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe in Africa; and Paraguay and Bolivia in Latin America. While in Europe—Armenia, Austria, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Moldova, Serbia, Slovakia, and Switzerland are land-locked. Similarly, in Asia—Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bhutan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia and Nepal are also land-locked. While configuration or shape of the country, and the number of neighbouring states must also be taken into account in assessing the geopolitical variables.

Studies in Geography entail **observation, descriptions, data gathering, analyses, mapping and interpreting the interconnections** between physical and human variables of all areas of the earth. When geography and differences between areas—**areal differentiation**—is interpreted in conjunction with **political discourses and actions** it forms the quintessence of **geopolitics. Geopolitics and humanitarian action are increasingly interlinked due to the increasing number of state and non-state actors or stake-holders, due to increasing globalization.** Changing geopolitics and international relations shape the **world order or disorder**, and influence the **type, occurrence and location of humanitarian crises.**

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Chapter 3

Territoriality: Identity, State and Nation Revisited



Abstract This chapter evaluates geopolitical inter-relationships between physical and human geography and political-economy, its impact on organization within and between states, and how this effects international politics, law, trade and transnational relations. Each conflict is located in a specific place with its unique geographical characteristics, and in time—including the long-time calendar of geology determining location of resources such as water and minerals, to the long-time periods of social history that imprint on the territory. This is juxtaposed with recent histories and current events. Territoriality relates to a sense of ownership or sovereignty entailing a mosaic of polities and sovereignty with associated visible and invisible boundaries. It seeks control over resources, people and defence of identity and culture. Territorialisation denotes a strategy for direct or indirect territorial control and sometimes enlargement of that space. In this context concepts of ethnicity and culture, the state, nation and nationalism are appraised.

Keywords Territoriality · Identity · State · Nation · Nation-state

3.1 Introduction

Human **territoriality** refers to people living in particular **places** over long time periods assuring their basic livelihood needs and developing a sense of ownership (**sovereignty** especially regarding states) over that **area**. A mosaic of political units or **polities** results with the associated borders and boundary lines to avoid conflict and negotiate peace and stability between competing powers over territorial **space**, and by association maritime and air space. Territoriality seeks control of **resources** in an area ranging from water and fertile land to oil and diamonds, **protection** of the territory's resources and people, and also **defence** of **identity**. **Territorialisation** denotes an active **strategy** for direct or indirect territorial control and sometimes enlargement of that political space, as illustrated in Fig. 3.1, and in Fig. 3.2 states like China and territorialisation claims over maritime space.



Fig. 3.1 State boundaries. Image by user: Wiz9999 [GFDL] or CC-BY-SA-3.0 license, via Wikimedia Commons

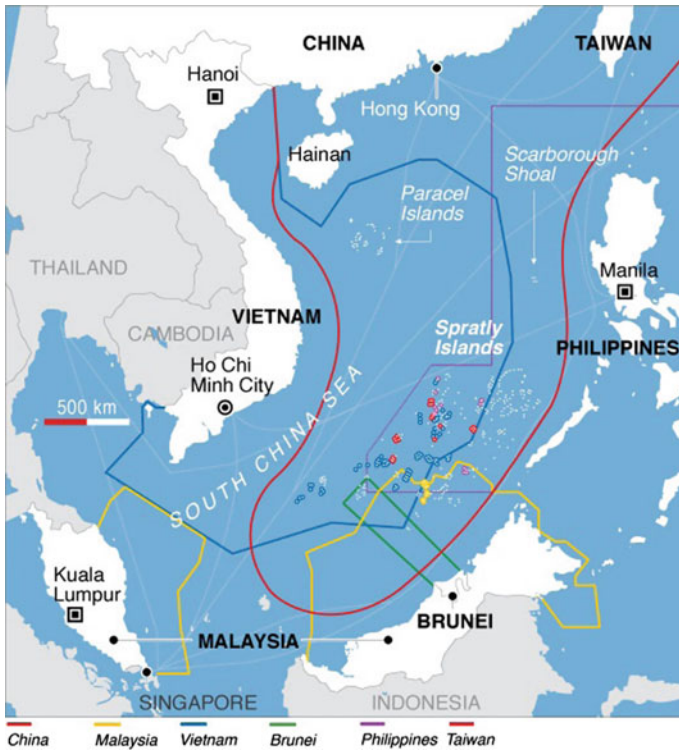


Fig. 3.2 Territorial claims in the South China Sea. Image by Voice of America [Public domain US, user: Daduxing/Wikimedia Commons], version 3-Jul-2017

In the 19th century much academic debate was influenced by Charles Darwin's work on **evolution and competition within nature**, and impacted on emerging political and social sciences including disciplines like Geography, geopolitics and anthropology. Due to the European colonial adventures, all places in the world became more accessible for Europeans to 'discover' and compare differences. Some research emphasized biological or genetic arguments of **environmental determinism**, or variations with human adaptive responses to various environments. Others stressed the vast **possibilities** for human development and achievement. Strong interlinkages existed between Physical and Human Geography development and Europe's colonization and settlement of territories in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Geographers became active stakeholders in the colonial adventures becoming a dynamic resource for physical geographic data, cartography, and political and economic intelligence for colonial governments and financial elites, with the classic examples including the British East India company, and the Dutch East Indies Company approximately corresponding to the modern state of Indonesia. Cartography became a science dedicated toward improving colonial planning, conquest, and administration.

Less Darwinian perspectives emphasized human **socio-political constructs** stressing aspects of specific cultures, their historical experiences, security, opportunity or political strategy relating to concepts of territoriality, and geographical scales of identity ranging from small micro levels to larger macro scales as with states and empires.

By the early 20th century, observers highlighted the vast changes that had taken place with industrialization and scientific inventions in different areas of the world ushering in modernity, but also the vast complex differences in socio-economic organization revealed to Westerners within Europe and America, and on the global stage, as with the major transitions that had taken place in Japan from the mid-19th century rising from an island state to an empire by the 1930s. Researchers, intellectuals and science fiction writers emphasized the **possibilities** offered by the **environment and human ingenuity**.

Possibilism in cultural geography challenged environmental determinism approaches highlighting that culture is developed in specific social conditions, contexts and constructs. By the 1980s, this perspective included Utopian or 'imagined or socially constructed' and post-modernist approaches in placing people at the centre in creating and framing cultural and geopolitical environments. For instance, despite areas of the world having similar Mediterranean type climates and physical environments, including soil type and plants—in regions of Spain, France, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Israel, Tunisia, Morocco, California, south-western Oregon, Western and Southern Australia, south-western South Africa, areas of Central Asia and central Chile—their economic, social and political historical experiences and levels of development are significantly different.

3.2 Constructing the State

In international law, the historical-geographical evolution of state construction is based on the **Westphalian system**; a doctrine named after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) which ended the Thirty Years' War between the major European states—the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, France, Sweden and Dutch Republic—agreed to respect each other's territorial integrity. The territorial integrity principle remains at the heart of the concept of **sovereignty and international law** as embodied in the UN Charter. Today for locational, geopolitical and political economy reasons, the international community discourages the creation of microstates, however historically several have continued to exist, including the smallest microstates in the world—Vatican City with an area of 0.44 km² and population of 800 people; and Monaco, area 2.02 km² and population of 30,500 people.¹

From the 19th century on in Europe, there have been various territorialisation strategies of state elites including the cultivation of **state macro-identities** with economic-political-military elites forging the **nation-state ideal** through (re)created and (re)invented **meta-narratives** or big stories of 'our people'—the nation and its territorial state. Despite globalisations, territory remains a key conflict issue, and the international system continues to be premised on state sovereignty. In many instances the state is still attempting to set the parameters of 'national'—individual and social choice in order to maintain its power. Where state sovereignty is based on the willingness of the majority of citizens to accept it, this helps avoid open conflict, socio-political collapse, anarchy and predator groups or states taking over direct or indirect control. So called **failed states** as with Somalia from the late 1980s on have occasioned massive human rights abuses and humanitarian disasters destabilizing neighbouring countries and regions, and the international community right up to pirate operations being launched from Somalia on international shipping in the Indian Ocean.²

The world political map consists of state units re-drawn over the centuries via **centripetal-centrifugal** processes. **Centripetal** factors such as economics, language, religion or a strong will to share culture and live together that help people "to connect" drawing them together—as opposed to **centrifugal** factors that push people apart which may also include different religion, language, or historical grievances that can impact on a sense of humiliation, fear or hatred, as in a geopolitics of emotions. **Getting a balance between centripetal and centrifugal dynamics is crucial in avoiding 'normal' conflict turning into violence, war, terrorism and societal collapse as witnessed in Somalia, Sudan and the DRC over recent decades. Democracy aims at providing institutions that facilitate balances and checks.** Inter-governmental and trans-state institutions and organisations as with the UN attempt to act as global regulators that encourage avoidance of conflict, while liaising with national and international NGOs.

¹CIA World Factbook (2017).

²Agnew (2017a, b).

In traditional top-down geopolitics, defence of the state was the central issue. Since the 1990s modern geopolitics also emphasizes the bottom-up dimensions with the centrality of the citizen especially where Non-Governmental Organizations condemn, lobby or collaborate with Government Organizations. Historically, state economic imperative encouraged imperialisms; territory and control have witnessed shifts in the forms of power especially through capital creation and flows.

In short, **multilevel governance** is now the international norm referring to the idea that the sovereign nation state today must actively collaborate with political entities operating at much larger scales—supranational organizations—and at smaller scales with local and regional authorities. In contrast to this geopolitical norm, North Korea ranks as the most isolated country in the world and most disconnected with supranational organizations, followed by Somalia.

However since 2016, the **multilateral governance norm and global geopolitical architecture** has been seriously challenged necessitating reassessment due to the more unilateralist aspirations of President Trump's administration in the USA, where his electoral supporters are seeking greater economic independence for themselves and their country from an American-centric perspective, but not catering for the counter challenges of globalization including imports from the NAFTA countries—Mexico and Canada, and also the EU and China, as this is perceived to be penalizing American workers and their jobs and so appeals to some strains of populism. From the same standpoint, of legal versus illegal immigration, discourses have become entwined with the socio-economic malaise, and attitudes to foreigners, feeding into the war on terror psycho-social constructs. In geopolitical terms the economic unilateralist discourses have caused strains among the US and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) allies, particularly regarding funding of the organization and military purchases. Controversial stances have been taken concerning US withdrawal from the international nuclear deal signed in 2015 between Iran and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.³

In 2017, the US cut off its funding for UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and in 2018, serious stresses were witnessed with the withdrawal of US funding for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)—a relief and human development agency that supports over 5 million registered Palestinian refugees, and their patrilineal descendants in the Occupied Territories, and refugee camps in Jordan and Lebanon, who fled or were expelled from Israel since 1948. Most of the funding goes to education and health. Among the reasons for this were that in 2012, the UN General Assembly voted, by a majority of 138 to 9 votes, to upgrade Palestine's status from an 'observer entity' at the UN to a 'non-member observer state'.⁴

Also in 2017, US President Trump announced that the USA would be withdrawing from the Paris Agreement (2015), negotiated within the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) starting in 2020. It was negotiated by 196 state parties in 2015 and adopted by consensus. By 2018, 195 members had signed the agreement,

³Diamond (2018).

⁴Graham-Harrison and Holmes (2018).

and 180 had become party to it. Among President Trump's arguments were that US application of the UNFCCC would endanger the US economy.⁵

Use of the above examples in recent US policy, is to illustrate the challenges faced by electorates living in their home areas with their everyday lives and realities within a mature democratic system, but now embedded within multilevel governance—local, state, federal, UN and international systems—and the ever-increasing **demands of glocalization and globalization**. Refrains in the above examples are: 'Who exactly funds what and why, and why continue to do so'; 'Are many of these international structures sclerotic, self-perpetuating, box-ticking and not delivering as was they were intended to do when they were first set up—in past historical and economic contexts'—some politicians and commentators may say yes to the above questions, while others lobby for genuine reforms, but advocate not to throw out the achievements gained in multilevel and multilateral governance since 1946, that could plunge the world into greater chaos due to unbridled unilateralism and economic self-protectionism, leading to greater conflict.

Somewhat similarly, Russian president Vladimir Putin has received much electoral support in his quest to regain Russia's superpower status at home and abroad, with his nationalist and unilateralist actions as epitomized with the annexation of Crimea in 2014, actions in eastern Ukraine and in the Syrian civil war (2015–18). The latter examples of US and Russian geopolitics have sent multiple messages not supporting multilateralism, consensus and peace-building, and the role of force which will not buttress good governance, democracy building and development in many parts of the world.

3.3 Territory and the State

The state is the product of spatial processes of how territory and people are organised and controlled. Historically, **Statehood** and its territory necessitated: (**bounded**) land, and air and maritime space; a permanent resident population; Government without which there can be no state; sovereignty with recognition by a significant number of other states; and state cultivated nationalism personalised the state political units.

The **functions** of the state are to defend territory and people against external and internal threats, not only armed dangers but also other menaces ranging from disease to illiteracy, and are supported by the UN and its organs such as the World Health Organization and UNESCO. The state remains pervasive and interventionist to varying degrees depending on the type of political regime in power. People and especially groups give up power to the state in return for protection and favours; there is a type of social contract—citizenship with rights and duties—based on custom at the lower end of the spectrum and on constitution at the higher level. The Post-colonial view highlights the inherent violence of the state; that especially witnessed

⁵Zhang et al. (2017).

by colonial and imperial regime processes, and often reproduced after independence in the Newly Independent Countries (NICs) by the new governing elites.

However, the state can only exist if people continue to accept its authority. In this context, it's interesting to note that totalitarianism—the centralized control by an autocratic authority whereby the citizen is expected to be totally subject to that absolute state authority—imploded in the Soviet Union and satellite communist states in 1991 being overwhelmingly brought down by its own citizens. In contrast, the totalitarian Nazi regime in Germany was militarily defeated by the USA, UK, Russia and allies, in Germany, Austria, Italy and other areas of Europe in 1945. Nonetheless, fascist regimes continued to rule in Spain and Portugal until the transition to democracy in the 1970s.⁶

State power can be central as in the centralized unitary system such as found in Norway, Ireland, France, Egypt, Iran, South Africa, Senegal, Madagascar, Colombia, Honduras, China and Japan; or federal as in Austria, Germany, USA, Argentina, Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Venezuela; or confederal in Canada, Switzerland, Belgium - systems with devolved powers. Variations of these systems exist throughout the world. **Local government, especially in the Western countries is rolling back direct state control in many aspects of life.** While the above perspectives largely reflect Western historical paradigms, in many post-colonial countries or NICs, embedded customary and historical systems exist at local and regional scales, often not formally written into law or constitution but continue to function in negotiating conflict.

Whatever its drawbacks, and while the state system is constantly undergoing changes with some observers claiming that it is endangered, the state system continues to proliferate. In 1945, the UN had 51 sovereign state members, 76 in 1955, 144 in 1975, 191 in 2005, coming to 193 in 2011 when the newly independent state of the Republic of South Sudan gained UN membership.

3.3.1 The State, Political Economy and Geopolitics

Max Weber (1864–1920) describes the state as an unavoidable political organization with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a certain territory. General categories of state institutions include administrative bureaucracies, tax collection, legal systems, and military, or religious organizations. **The Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States (1933)** defined a state as a space that possess the following: a permanent population, a defined territory and a government that is capable of maintaining effective control over the corresponding territory and of conducting international relations with other states. The global system of international law on organisation is premised on the concept of the state as codified in the United Nations Charter (1945).⁷

⁶Bailey (2007).

⁷Boczek (2005), Stearns (2008).

Various **political theories of the state**, and its characteristics include the **pluralist**—liberal democracies whereby, the state is a neutral arbiter guaranteeing individual rights; attempts to reconcile liberal positions of non-interference by the state, and guarantees individual freedom, with ideals of popular democracy. Ideological control is bolstered by the state bureaucracies via systems of education, welfare and so on. The state elites deflect opposition to the system and when those controlling states are under threat there are invocations of state nationalism - citizens are asked to support and defend ‘our’ territory.

Characteristics of the **elite** theories are premised on the existence of the ruling, and the ruled classes. Due to elite(s) the people may have limited choice between various elite strains of power producing democratic elitism. The characteristics of the **Marxist** theory emphasize the **instrumentalist** approach of class composition of state controllers with a **functionalist** attitude to the state serving the needs of capital as with the so-called corporate state or crony capitalism. The **Marxist-Leninist approach** endorses a centrally planned economy, strict regulation and the centrality of the workers—producers over individualism and the individual in society. The **Welfare State** undertakes to protect the health and wellbeing of its citizens ‘from cradle to grave’ including those in financial or social need, by means of ‘free access’ to medical care, grants, education, pensions and other benefits as developed in the UK, Germany, France and Western liberal democracies from the 1940s on.

In **political systems analysis**, the principal themes include design of the minimalist state, concepts of legitimacy, public accountability in democracy, and potentially the repressive nature of state bureaucratization. Analyses explores: **form** or how a specific state structure is constituted, and evolves within a given social formation, for example, a neoliberal capitalist society produces a capitalist state. **Function** pertains to what the state actually does. **Structure** isolates the links between the state elite and the ruling class. Central to all this is **citizenship** as the State is a territorially based apparatus of power, and people over whom it exercises power; members of the state are citizens and so the relationship between the state and citizen is crucial. In the 21st century ever-greater emphasis is being placed on good governance and a people-centred politics where citizens’ rights include civil, political, social and environmental agenda.⁸

The political orientation of the state is entwined with economics, and hence the centrality of **political economy**. In summary, the main schools of theory are:

- (1) **Capitalism** and iterations of it such as **Neoliberalism**—which constantly re-adapts to economic opportunities for the accumulation of wealth and is based on concepts relating to: Free market economics; Law of supply and demand; Limited regulation by the state, or self-regulation of producers and Imminent development i.e. change comes about in a ‘natural spontaneous’ or ‘unplanned’ manner. Individualism and entrepreneurship are highly valued. Profits created must be made for the investor, and also to be re-invested in order to create more innovation to generate further production, and this is advanced by advertising

⁸Storey (2001).

and consumption, thus creating a virtuous cycle. Historically this is associated with the USA and Western Europe.

- (2) **Structuralism** is associated with socialist and communist systems as in Cuba and Vietnam and in its extreme form in the Republic of North Korea, and is based on a centrally-planned economy, premised on intentional or strictly planned development regarding production, consumption and all aspects of life as promoted by the theorists Karl Marx (1818–1883), Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), and Mao Zedong (1893–1973) among others. Essentially, here the wealth created is managed by the state, within a one party system that uses the wealth to run the state and its organs, and reinvest in the citizens' welfare. The key principle is that collectivism rather than individualism and entrepreneurship must be directed by the state. The People's Republic of China with its one party system, and Communist party in power since 1949, officially claims to be communist in order to legitimate the state structure and existing power, but has adapted many aspects of capitalism regarding production, and the creation of wealth including massive exportation strategies as with its trading links with the USA and EU.
- (3) **Interventionism**: Essentially this pertains to a capitalist standpoint, but with greater state intervention and regulation and is sometimes called the Third Way. In many Western states and especially the EU since the 1990s, the old paradigm of Right and Left, Capitalist versus Socialist has produced very similar political economy policies adapting to economic globalization, but also struggling to maintain their political power.⁹
- (4) The so-called **people-centred** approach: Here there is a rejection of the grand theories and ideological perspectives associated with the above big political-economy narratives. They often promote sustainable—ecological, economic, cultural and political development at small areal scales that is community centred, as with the Local Participatory Approach promoted by such theorists as Richard Chambers, and Amartya Sen, but also within the lived realities of global contexts. Exemplars of this include Green and ecological movements and NGOs, many of whom dispute the willingness or capacity of states and current economic systems to deliver better conditions for citizens.¹⁰

Key terms and concepts

UN HDI (Human Development Index) measures the human progress and quality of life; that is the comparative measure of poverty, literacy and education, and life expectancy. That includes social and economic aspects giving a wider view of development.

GNP: Economics is central to development and the most traditional measure of this has been the Gross National Product per capita (GNP). The GNP refers to the sum of goods and services bought for private consumption, plus government

⁹Baylis et al. (2011).

¹⁰Allen and Thomas (2000).

spending, plus net exports (exports minus imports), plus business investment. GNP per capita measures the amount of GNP in a country divided by the number of people in that country.

GDP: The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is similar to the GNP but does not take imports and exports into account. However, GNP tells us nothing about the real distribution of wealth amongst people in an economy and it does not include wealth generated in the informal sector. Hence, GNP per capita gives a real measure of economic development at state territorial level, but little information at the individual level. Likewise, social, political and cultural indices are excluded. To counteract this, the Overseas Development Council of the US Government introduced the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) in 1977. The PQLI measures life expectancy, infant mortality rates and literacy levels on a scale from 0 to 100, with 0 being the worst performance in each category in 1950 and 100 referring to the best performance that was expected for the year 2000. The indices are then averaged. UNICEF advocated the use of the death rate of children under 5 years old (per 1000 live births—U5MR) as a key measure of development illustrating the trend relating to child welfare. The focus has been on comparisons between countries, rather than within them (Regan 1996).

Gini index—income distribution index: is a catalogue of income distribution in an economy, expressed as a fraction that indicates the level of inequality between incomes. The higher the fraction then the greater the inequality of incomes is. The Gini Index gives the broadest view of development levels, combining both social and economic aspects.

Many development experts agree that the Gini index indicators give the broadest view of development levels, combining both social and economic aspects. Building on such work, endowment-entitlement mapping tools have made great contributions to studies in development.

Source: Various

Having looked at concepts of territory and states we now focus on the **Nation-State** which can be defined as an idealised form of state where the boundaries of the nation and the state correspond or are coterminous. Theorists postulate that they are the creation of **centripetal-centrifugal** balances, namely the forces that unite people, juxtaposed with forces that pull them apart which may include religion, language, history, myths or historical and foundation narratives. Where centrifugal forces outweigh centripetal factors, this may lead to conflict and in some cases secession with people and associated territory withdrawing or breaking away from the existing state as with the Republic of South Sudan from Sudan in 2011 and greater calls for independence in Catalonia and Scotland over the past decade.

3.4 Nations, States and Nationalisms

As states are agencies with power over citizens, **nations** have been defined as social collectivities attached to a specific territory where ‘the people’ and political state are closely interconnected. **Nationalism pertains to the need for a particular type of economic organisation, in a specific territory, and a sense of national or collective identity cultivated by historical tradition or by state organs such as the educational system or defence forces.** All ethnic or cultural groupings do not necessarily wish to form a separate state as witnessed in multi-ethnic states including South Africa. Nonetheless, the association between system of states and ethnic groups—‘nations’ and ‘national communities’ is never static but continuously evolving. By the mid-1980s, there were three times as many ethnic groups as states identified in the world and the number of groups claiming ‘ethnic status’ has continued to increase. The malaise of the territorially based empires especially in Europe from the mid-19th century on led to issues of minorities contemporaneous with the creation of the European nation-states and its borders and boundaries. Simultaneously, the European powers were superimposing their empires on Africa, Asia and Latin America—while inadvertently laying the foundations for state nationalism in the liberation struggles of the colonized peoples, but within the territorial units and boundaries that the colonizers had carved out for their own respective economic and geopolitical agenda as is particularly evident in the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa), and in West Africa due to British and French geopolitics.¹¹

Nationalism can be seen as a territorial ideology related to people’s attachment to a specific space or place and seeking political independence. From this perspective the territories of the nation and state should have contiguous boundaries. Hence, the nation cannot exist without the state and vice versa. The territorial link to nationalism is a crucial hinge in the power of the nation-state. Until the 1990s following the collapse of the USSR-Russia and ending of the Cold War, many observers postulated that nationalism and ethnic nationalism were spent forces due to modernity, and economic and political globalization. This standpoint has been seriously challenged since the 1990s as witnessed in the ‘nationalist’ Balkan wars (1991–99), conflicts in the former Soviet Republics and ethno-nationalist conflicts and wars in West Africa and Great Lake regions over the past two decades, with the latter being fuelled by bad governance, warlord networks, illicit commerce and unethical international trading. Similarly, in the mature democracies, nationalist narratives have come to the fore in Scotland regarding its place in the UK, and in 2016 with the UK Brexit campaign to leave the EU, while in the US republican party presidential election campaigns and victory of Donald Trump in 2016, there is strong nationalist rhetoric.

Seminal work on the **postmodern intellectual trajectory regarding nationalism** was produced by the Irish-British historian, political scientist, and polyglot Benedict Anderson as in his thought-provoking research with: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983, 1991, and 2006).¹² Essentially

¹¹ Storey (2001).

¹² Anderson (1983, 1991, 2006).

his ‘imagined’ concept attempted to capture the idea of the Utopian process—the conception, creation and development of a ‘better’ harmonious life in a geographical location due to socio-political organization. Sometimes, Anderson’s core ‘imagined’ thesis, has been over compressed, equating the ‘imagined’ with pure fantasy, self or group delusion. However, more to the point he illustrated the role of elitist—political, economic, bureaucratic, military or religious—to develop the nation-state project. Other salient thinkers include Ernest André Gellner, the British-Czech philosopher and social anthropologist with *Nations and Nationalism* (1983); *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion* (1992); *Liberalism in Modern Times: Essays in Honour of José G. Merquior* (1996) and *Nationalism* (1997). Likewise, the historian Eric Hobsbawm, who was educated in Austria, Germany and England, juxtaposed orthodoxies and the ‘invention of tradition’ with prominent works being *On History* (1997) and *Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism* (2007).¹³

Though much contested, and at times with dogmatic critiques of his work and methodology, the major value of Samuel P. Huntington’s *Clash of Civilizations* (1993) is that it provoked much debate.¹⁴

Essentially Huntington’s hypothesis is that people’s cultural and religious identities would be the prime source of conflict in the post-Cold War (1991) world. Among his many detractors was Edward Said’s response in his 2001 article: *The Clash of Ignorance*¹⁵ arguing that Huntington’s categorization of the worlds fixed ‘civilizations’ omits the dynamic interdependency and interaction of culture and that the clash thesis is an example of “the purest invidious racism, a sort of parody of Hitlerian science directed today against Arabs and Muslims”. Noam Chomsky criticized the concept as just being a new justification for the USA ‘for any atrocities that they wanted to carry out’. **But despite Huntington’s perceived over schematic framing of arguments, supposed cultural determinism viewpoints and over-labelling, his attempts to discuss the continuing presence, iterations and lasting imprint of root-cultural, nationalist and foundation myths and metanarrative emotions and values cannot be lightly dismissed without running the risk of overarching binary interpretation frameworks and narratives—Right versus Left, conservative versus liberal, structuralist versus post-modernist, politically correct versus non-correct and so forth, as witnessed over two decades later in the extremely aggressive politics, social discontent and violence seen in the USA and Europe.**

Categorizing or trying to place and frame the ‘others’ is an integral part of cultural dynamics within any community as is ‘framing self’ and ‘framing us-ourselves’ and hence nationalism. Social and political scientific works including those of Noam Chomsky (2002, 2015), Edward Said (1978), Michel Foucault (1966, 2009), Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) and Derek Gregory (2004) have researched this from various perspectives—**power narratives and the attempted ‘manufacture of consent’**. This helped to deconstruct geographical, cultural and political orthodoxies—the authorized or generally accepted theories, doctrine, or practices. However, it could

¹³Gellner (1983, 1992, 1996, 1997), Hobsbawm (1997, 2007).

¹⁴Huntington (1993, 1996).

¹⁵Said (2001, 2004).

be argued that such a postmodernist approach has created research frameworks and associated concepts and lexicon or vocabulary including, PC—political correctness, that have become the new or counter dogma, and orthodoxies targeting to establish the ‘new norm’. Nonetheless, this has contributed greatly to diverse understandings of crucial conflict issues like nationalism within and between societies, and time, historical and human rights challenges and issues whose narratives were once the preserve of ‘public’ funded state institutions or media.

3.4.1 *Patriotism*

On 11th November 2018, during the WWI Armistice Day centennial commemorations, addressing over 70 heads of state and the public, French President, Emmanuel Macron argued that true patriotism, real love for one’s country and society did not espouse any form of aggressive nationalism nor promotion of populisms. Such leads to social discord, conflict, destruction and war. In order to counteract this, inclusive democracy is imperative, and multilateral collaboration between states in international and global affairs.¹⁶

So how can patriotism be defined; a love of, and for, one’s own country along with support, allegiance and loyalty to that country. It could also be argued than an often overlooked iteration of this may be an existential love for the actual landscapes, icons and landmarks of that country. Until recent decades, this was seen as something quite natural and a positive quality in individuals. However, exaggerated or aggressive patriotism may lead to political **chauvinism**. In its very extreme form, it can be interpreted as a sense of superiority over other countries and their associated populations, and is sometimes used in everyday language as a synonym for extreme nationalism, often linked with **xenophobia** or fear or hatred of real or imagined foreigners. This is in contrast to **xenophilia** or an attraction, openness or love of other people, cultures and countries that are different to one’s own which entails a high level of empathy. **Chauvinism and xenophobia** can be exploited by **demagogues** or political leaders who seek power by appealing to popular desires and prejudices rather than by using rational argument: appeals may be made to the region, ‘race’, ethnic group or nation, gods and iterations of these. ‘You (us) are wonderful because you (we) are X, Y or Z’ but why do you (us) have problems? It’s the fault of ‘them’ others—**othering** frames those that you perceive as different to you within your country and beyond your place and space. **Jingoism** enhances extreme patriotism, especially in the form of aggressive or warlike language and foreign policy.

Due to the excesses witnessed in wars and genocides, especially WWII and the holocaust, or Shoah—the term preferred by many Jewish commentators, and again

¹⁶Le Monde. 11 Nov. 2018. COMMÉMORATIONS DU 11-NOVEMBRE. Document: le discours d’Emmanuel Macron à l’Arc de Triomphe. Verbatim du discours tenu par le président français dimanche pour le centenaire de l’Armistice de 1918 devant plus de 70 chefs d’Etat et de gouvernement. https://www.lemonde.fr/centenaire-14-18/article/2018/11/11/document-le-discours-d-emmanuel-macron_5382063_3448834.html.

in the Balkan wars of the 1990s, or during the colonial and liberation wars, the term patriotism, like nationalism, became almost pejorative for many people. Once again in the ‘othering’ processes, some individuals and groups, labelled anyone who displayed a love of their country and culture as possibly dangerous, or too ‘right-wing’ or prone to extremes of xenophobia and so forth. In short, displaying any form of patriotism or nationalism was interpreted in many circles as being non-politically correct. It could be argued that this in itself may have prompted frustration and anger in individuals and groups helping to fuel the rise of extremist parties such as UKIP (UK Independence Party) and NF (National Front) in the UK, AfD (Alternative for Germany) in Germany, and NF (National Front) in France, and in 2011, the murderous actions and hate literature and websites offered by Anders Behring Breivik causing mass murder in Norway.¹⁷

Regarding the latter example, Breivik faced trial for multiple counts of murder, following his gun and bomb attacks resulting in mass killing of adults and children. He admitted planning and carrying out the killings, and is on record as saying that they were necessary to start a revolution aimed at preventing Norway from accepting further numbers of foreign immigrants, and especially Muslims. In 2012, in a unanimous decision, the Oslo District Court convicted Breivik of the murder of 77 people in the streets of central Oslo and on the island of Utoya in July 2011. His legal team argued that his actions were due to psychiatric problems; he insisted that he was sane and stood by his ideological stance.¹⁸ There was no evidence of self-hatred or shame, salient factors in some mental disorders, especially conditions that involve a perceived defect of oneself (e.g. body dysmorphic disorder). Self-hatred is also a symptom of many personality disorders, including borderline personality disorder, as well as depression. However, Breivik’s actions could not be explained away in the usual conventional terms.

Such acts carried out by citizens at home in the mature democracies are increasing, as in 2017 in the USA, where a man was charged with murder after a car rammed into a group of people peacefully protesting against a white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, killing one person and injuring 19 others.¹⁹ In the latter examples, the boundaries between imagined racial, ethnic, or nationalist ideologies, and **nihilism** is not evident, except in so far as the perpetrators didn’t commit suicide as is more common in the Jihadi attacks carried out by people in their home places and abroad causing indiscriminate murder and mayhem ranging from Syria and Iraq to Afghanistan, Indonesia, Somalia, Nigeria and Mali to France, UK and USA.

¹⁷The Independent. Anders Breivik: Norway did not violate mass killer’s human rights, rules appeal court. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/anders-breivik-latest-norway-human-rights-mass-killer-utoya-island-appeals-court-ruling-a7605331.html>. Retrieved 11 Sept 2017.

¹⁸Anders Breivik is guilty: the fine line between bad and mad. In The Conversation. August 25, 2012. <http://theconversation.com/anders-breivik-is-guilty-the-fine-line-between-bad-and-mad-9068>.

¹⁹Man charged with murder after driving into anti-far-right protesters in Charlottesville. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/aug/12/virginia-unite-the-right-rally-protest-violence>.

But where is the place of the individual in society in all this? In historical and legal terms, **treason** is construed as the opposite to patriotism, and is the crime of betraying one's country or state, especially by attempting to kill or overthrow the sovereign government, or intentionally damaging the state, for instance, vis-à-vis other states. While a very valid concept, it has been much abused throughout history by individual rulers, governments and corrupt regimes to implement actions and laws protecting their own vested interests as exemplified during the colonial period and the Apart-hide era in South Africa.

3.4.2 *Patriotism and Nationalism*

Patriotism and nationalism are often perceived, and framed as something bad in the 'others', yet it is approved and applauded in various iterations by many people as in Olympic sports competitions, Eurovision Song Contests, international 'Beauty' competitions, and poignantly in rugby and soccer matches with politicians, presidents and monarchs attending, and the playing of national anthems and flag waving. However, the enjoyment, fun and banter aspects of such events, can be marred by viciousness and even death when there is an excess of emotions and hatred as demonstrated with football 'hooliganism' and especially, that within Britain between football teams associated with specific cities or regions, and also abroad with international matches between the 1970s and 1990s. While the violence of some groups of fans and supporters is denounced by the respective club managers, media and politicians, the excesses are often blamed on 'small groups of trouble makers' or in the international press on 'skinheads' or 'neo-Nazis'; such an explanation must be seen as an oversimplification. In recent years, sporting organizations at national and international levels have tried to challenge racism and gay-bashing or homophobia, both on the field and among supporters also. This phenomenon is not unique to any single country, as witnessed in Turkey, and in Prague in 2017.²⁰

In certain ways some cultural, or especially sports competitions, such as football can be seen as symbolic or substitute battles or conflicts with a designated territoriality in the football pitch, and with sets of rules and regulations to avoid overt bloodshed. Some positive emotions for sharing empathy, solidarity and identity-building and

²⁰Football hooliganism in the UK. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Football_hooliganism_in_the_United_Kingdom.

Violence is killing Turkish football and no one is doing anything about it. <https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2015/may/13/violence-killing-turkish-football-fenerbahce-besiktas-galatasaray>.

2000 UEFA Cup semi-final violence. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_UEFA_Cup_semi-final_violence.

Germany coach, players slam fans upon Nazi chants scandal in Czech Republic match. <https://www.dailysabah.com/football/2017/09/03/germany-coach-players-slam-fans-upon-nazi-chants-scandal-in-czech-republic-match>.

Football fans' Nazi chants a 'shame on Germany' says Loew. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sport/soccer/2017-09-03-football-fans-nazi-chants-a-shame-on-germany-says-loew/>.

promoting peace have also been exemplified by sports as illustrated in the John Carlin's book *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game That Made a Nation*, about the events in South Africa before and during the 1995 Rugby World Cup, and presented in the 2009 movie, *Invictus*.²¹ In international rugby, the Ireland national rugby union team represents the island of Ireland—both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland—in Rugby Union, and the team competes annually in the Six Nations Championship, which they have won twelve times outright and shared eight times. The team also competes every four years in the Rugby World Cup.²² In matches outside the Republic, “Ireland’s Call” is the only anthem used in recognition of the need for a unifying anthem, and so avoid the playing of either the Irish or British anthems. The latter two examples are closely observed by policy makers and international organizations regarding conflict areas and strategies for creating peace, not only at ‘national’ scales, but also regarding socio-economic disadvantaged areas and hotspots in several areas of the world including countries in Latin America, Africa and MENA.²³ Here must be noted the role of sports in détente or easing of hostility and strained relations between the Republics of North and South Korea, with joint teams participating in international sports events such as the Olympics.²⁴

In conclusion, despite the multifaceted aspects of emotions, psychology, patriotism and nationalism, and sometimes ambivalent attitudes of ruling elites to displays of nationalism, such is reinforced and normalized in the armed forces of the state, as with the USA, UK, France and many other countries. Their military and police are honoured by the state, with medals for their actions, bravery, or death, and ‘sacrifice for their country’ in campaigns such as those in Iraq or Afghanistan. While the gamut of patriotism and nationalism is large and nebulous, just simply negatively framing and labelling it all as bad, runs the risk of alienating larger numbers of citizens who want to identify with their country, and are not extremist; over-labelling such emotional displays may eventually cause a violent backlash. Suffice to say, that all people who voted for Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential US elections, or all those who voted for the UK exit from the EU for a myriad of reasons cannot be simply labelled negatively, and many displayed what they believed to be positive patriotism and nationalism as opposed to the extremists in the respective electorates. Hence the importance and professional responsibility of the media in presenting a balanced viewpoint.

²¹ *Invictus* (Film). [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Invictus_\(film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Invictus_(film)).

²² Ireland national rugby team. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ireland_national_rugby_union_team.

²³ Changing Lives Through Football. <https://www.changemakers.com/football/entries/team-soccer-drama-peace>.

Search for Common Ground. <http://www.sfcg.org/programmes/cgp/the-team2.html>.

Rojo-Labaien (2014).

²⁴ IOC News. Factsheet. <https://www.olympic.org/news/factsheet-on-the-north-and-south-korean-olympic-participation-meeting>.

3.5 Defining Nationalisms

Due to the complex nature of nationalism and its long history and specific geographical contexts, there are various approaches to defining it.

The Association of American Geographers (AAG) Centre for Global Geography Education offers an online module that: “examines the geographic characteristics of national identity and the interplay of culture, politics, and place. The conceptual framework introduces some of the theories and ideas used by geographers to analyse national identity, emphasizing concepts such as nationalism, landscape, and public space. Each case study explores a geographic question about migration in the context of a particular region or country. The module’s collaborative projects offer opportunities for students to discuss the case studies and engage in geographic learning with students in different countries”.²⁵

Attempted classifications of nationalism include²⁶:

Ethnic nationalism: this is based on beliefs in ethnicity, descent, ancestors, heredity, culture, homeland and iterations thereof (Johann Gottfried Herder, 1774–1803) and concepts of the Volk, as propounded by Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) and is often associated with German nationalism and its extreme forms especially between 1870 and 1945, and more recently with the AfD (Alternative for Germany) party. Here the nation is associated with what’s called ‘jus sanguinis’, or right of blood or genetic heritage, and in the evolution of the concept of citizenship being linked to nationality. Both terms nationality and citizenship are often used interchangeably, hence the ‘right to nationality (citizenship)’ through one’s ancestors, for instance having at least one grandparent that was born in Poland, Germany, Italy, Ireland or India entitles an individual to the nationality or citizenship of that particular state, even if the individual and parents were born and raised outside that state.

In contrast to ‘jus sanguinis’—the concept of ‘Jus soli’ or “right of the soil”, i.e. birth-right citizenship, is the right of anyone born in a territory of a state to obtain that nationality, and was historically, the predominant rule in France and in the Americas from the late 18th century on. Currently approximately 30 of the world’s 194 countries grant citizenship at birth to the children of ‘foreigners’ and also undocumented foreign residents. In the development of international law especially from the late 18th century on, the birth-right citizenship or ‘right of soil’ was promoted by the ideals expressed in the US (1776) and French (1789) revolutions.

Different combinations of the historic concepts of the right of blood and right of soil concepts exist today in ‘national’ and international law regarding nationality or citizenship. Some states do accept dual or multiple citizenship, not requiring that the individual renounce their existing nationality in order to gain another citizenship. Naturalization can be based on request including those from refugees, with terms and conditions, length of residency requirements, through marriage and other means depending on circumstances.

²⁵Solem et al. (2010).

²⁶For further reading see: Types of nationalism: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Types_of_nationalism.

Civic nationalism: here the state derives political legitimacy from active participation of its citizenry, representing the “will of the people” and is often associated with Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s social consensus theories articulated in *The Social Contract* (1762) with reciprocal rights and duties between the individual, society and the state, based on the traditions of rationalism and liberalism. Membership of the civic nation is considered voluntary; this greatly influenced the development of representative democracy in states such as the United States, Australia, France and the EU countries.

Expansionist nationalism: is a radical form of imperialism incorporating patriotic sentiments with a belief in expansionism. It is closely associated with ideologies including National Socialism (Fascism and Nazism) and has commonalities with the American Manifest Destiny concepts and Neo-conservatism. Observers indicate this type of expansionist nationalism regarding the cultural Sinification of regions of China and strategic use of the Han ethnic group, especially regarding Tibet since 1959. Iterations of such policies can also be witnessed in the Western Sahara, which Morocco annexed in 1975 following the withdrawal of the former colonial power Spain from the territory. Historically, the Kurds in Turkey and Syria faced routine harassment and discrimination from their respective states regarding their citizenship, and similarly for the Rohingya of Rakhine state in Myanmar.

Romantic nationalism: is closely allied with ethnic nationalism, and emphasizes historical ethnic culture, including legends, folklore, music, art and symbolic landscapes appealing to the emotions and individualism as well as glorification of the past and nature. This was a major force in Poland, the Czech territories and many European countries including Ireland from the mid-19th century on. Closely related to this is **cultural nationalism** that defines the nation as having a shared culture—a broad range of phenomena that are transmitted through social learning. This concept has often been used regarding Catalonia, Flanders and Quebec. From the 1880s on in Ireland, the so called Literary Revival played a significant role in the nationalist movement, and continued in different iterations during the independence struggle, and afterwards, in helping to define post-colonial Ireland.

Liberation nationalism: this is associated with the struggle of colonized people for self-determination and independence from foreign control and imperial rule. This was especially witnessed in Europe from 1848 on within the old land empires such as Austro-Hungary, Russia, Germany and UK, leading to the creation of many new states after WWI ranging from Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Albania to Ireland. Similar liberation nationalism processes became particularly evident after WWII with the shared experiences of the independence struggles in Asia and Africa, and were seminal in the creation of India, Pakistan, Indonesia and breakup of the so called French Indo-China with the bloodiest experience being that in the creation of Vietnam. Almost all of the African countries experienced traumatic liberation struggles with that of Kenya and Algeria being among the bloodiest, and both winning independence in the early 1960s, while the demise of Portuguese rule in its African colonies with Angola and Mozambique, and subsequent liberation wars continued into the 1970s.

Post-colonial nationalism: this is especially associated with the so called ‘Third World’ countries or NICs (Newly Independent States), and their experience of struggle against imperialism. Resistance forms part of their nationalism as in the wave of conflict and decolonization after WWII in Africa and the Muslim world. Besides the geographical specificities of the NICs, ‘pan’ Africa, Pan-Arab, Pan-Indian, Pan-Chinese nationalisms developed. In the Latin American countries, the anti-colonial ideals of Simón Bolívar, the 19th-century Venezuelan liberator from Spanish rule throughout much of South America left a lasting legacy with Bolivarianism relating to pan-American, socialist, and democratic ideals focussed on dismantling the injustices of imperialism, inequality, and corruption. This is particularly evident in recent decades in the ideology of Venezuelan Presidents Hugo Chavez who died in 2013, and continued with his successor Nicolás Maduro.

Socialist or Left-wing nationalism: refers to a combination of socialist ideologies—drawing on the ideas of Marx, Lenin and others including Mao, and Che Guevara, and other types of nationalism, as witnessed in Cuba since 1959 under the Castro regime; and also espoused by political parties such as Sinn Féin in Northern Ireland, and Labour Zionism in Israel, and the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa.

Liberal nationalism: promotes the ideals of liberal democracy and liberal economics, and individualism, that is non-racist and non-xenophobic, arguing that there must be nationalist ideals in order for society and the state to function at its best.

National conservatism: this is associated with social conservatism, and is mostly linked with European political parties, promoting the traditional family and social stability, being anti-immigration, and with a ‘We first’ approach as with UKIP in Britain during the 2016 Brexit campaign and other Eurosceptic parties in the EU including the AfD in Germany, the Vlaams Belang in Belgium, Sweden Democrats, Jobbik in Hungary, Freedom Party in Austria, Golden Dawn in Greece and the People’s Party—Our Slovakia (LSNS). Iterations of this have come to the fore in the USA under the Trump administration (2016) and certain groups that support him, and his refrain ‘America First’ and ‘Make America Great Again’.

Schools of anarchism that acknowledge nationalism, argue that the nation is first and foremost the people, and that the state is parasitic on the people. They promote a radical political system based on local control, free federation, and mutual aid.

Religious nationalism: pertains to the linking of the nation to a particular religion or affiliation, with religion and politics blended creating a sense of identity and unity, where state laws can be passed to reinforce religious observance. Iterations of this are found in **Israel and Iran**, and also in **Ireland and Spain** up until the 1970s, as well as **Poland** at different periods in its history, and at least eight nationalist Hindu parties in India.

With the Russian Revolution (1917) and subsequent creation of the USSR, the **communists legislated for state-led atheism to replace religion**, and especially to break the power of the **Russian Orthodox Church** that had been so integral to the absolutist monarchist regime. From a Marxian stance, **religion was seen as the opium of the people**, dispensed by the ruling elites to control the masses and so to maintain their own power and privilege. Significantly, since the demise of the

USSR (1991), the Russian Orthodox Church with the **Moscow Patriarchate at its core, has remerged as a powerful actor** allied to the new Russian nationalism and ruling regime. Significantly, since the 17th century the Moscow Patriarchate held power over the Orthodox Church and clergy in **Ukraine**, but this is being seriously challenged by the rising independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church under the Kiev Patriarchate, especially since 2014 and the ongoing conflict with Russia. Many of the twelve other Christian Orthodox Patriarchates support the Ukrainian stance, and Kiev became independent of Moscow in January 2019.

The Russian Orthodox Church claims 150 million followers, approximately 50% of the estimated 300 million Orthodox worldwide. There are 12,000 parishes in Ukraine constituting about a third of all parishes in the Russian Orthodox Church. An independent church there would radically shrink the Russian church and undermine its longstanding claim to lead all of Orthodoxy due to its size, despite the fact that the head patriarch is located in Constantinople (Istanbul) since the great schism in Christianity in the 11th century. Also it would lose influence over many symbolic spaces in Ukraine, including the locational paradox that Ukraine's capital, Kiev is seen as the historical birth place of the Russian Orthodox Church.²⁷

The **Muslim Brotherhood** was founded by **Hassan al-Banna** (1906–49), an Egyptian schoolteacher and imam, and architect of one of the largest and most **influential Islamic revivalist organizations** ever seen that continues to have much political force within and outside the Muslim world. For al-Banna, **all those who follow Islam are part of the nation or Ummah**. His work greatly influenced the writings of Syed **Abul A'la Maududi** (1903–79) brought up in Hyderabad state, India. **Both thinkers rejected all forms of secularism**, including the concept that the people, state, government or constitution could be based on human-made laws that were not subject to God's religious law as embodied in Sharia—Islamic law. Such a concept of the 'nation of god' was common in Europe until the Age of Enlightenment (16th–18th centuries) and the demise of the Christian—Holy Roman Empire.

Pan-nationalism: is associated with ethnic and cultural nationalism, and affects groups beyond their specific state boundaries, as with Pan-Slavic and Pan-German nationalism, and Pan-Arab nationalism as promoted by Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt especially between 1952 and 1970, and by Muammar Gaddafi in Libya between 1969 and 2011.

Diaspora nationalism: refers to the dispersal, spread or scattering of any people from their original homeland, but who feel some sense of connection or identity throughout the generations with 'the old home country' as with many Jews throughout the world in relation to Israel, and Irish in the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Latin America and UK. Included here are also the Lebanese in Africa and USA; Armenians in Europe and North America; Nigerians in Europe and North America; Indians and Pakistanis in Europe, USA and Canada, Australia, Eastern and Southern African countries; and Chinese on all continents.

²⁷MacFarquhar (2018).

Top-down and bottom-up theories of nationalism include that: it is a mobilizing tool for states to achieve their aims, hegemony and legitimacy; with proto-nationalism the state preceded the nation, and the nation preceded nationalism; while separation-nationalism, like liberation-nationalism, often associated with the Newly Independent States refers to disintegration of existing political systems including empires and is often bottom-up driven. Regarding nationalism, place and nation-building, analysts suggest that nationalism is to support territorial claims; that the crisis in the nation reflects that of the state and vice versa; the nation is a social entity attached to the state; and the nation is politically necessary to anchor the existing multi-state system upon the principle of popular sovereignty—“We the People”—echoing the 18th century ideals in the Preamble to the United States Constitution and “Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité” as in the French Constitution.

The nation state system is under stress from both bottom-up and top-down forces. The main bottom-up factors include internal divisions within states often along cultural fault-lines—conflicting national identities, identity politics, religion, culture, socio-economic and spatial inequalities, and sub-state nationalism associated with secessionist movements. State and people boundary mismatches are also found as in Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Mauritania. Similarly, economic core-periphery differences found within and between states where people in the peripheries view the state core regions as over-profiting from their resources and reinforcing their underdevelopment as in Sudan with Khartoum’s dominance regarding the rest of the country, and also the Tripoli region regarding the rest of Libya. The same core-periphery frameworks can also be applied to the industrialized states, as with Catalonia in Spain and Lombardy in Italy.

Major **top-down impacts on the state and its citizens** comes from economic globalisation as with the effects of Transnational Corporations on many aspects of life including employment, and intensification of flows of capital, finance, FDI (Foreign Direct Investment), trade, resources, products, environmental factors and immigration-labour and refugees, between states. Many citizens feel that the scales of government and International Governmental Organizations are too distant and removed from their everyday existence and livelihoods, including the UN, WTO (World Trade Organization), World Bank, International Monetary Fund, EU, OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), Arab League, OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference), ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), OAS (Organization of American States) and so forth. The increasing concentration of wealth and economic-power in fewer hands within, and between countries is undermining citizen’s belief in the state and the political elites or traditional parties to protect them. This combined with terrorist attacks targeting civilians, and not just state forces and symbols, has led to a malaise being exploited by populist politicians and parties, even in the mature democracies as was witnessed especially since 2016 including the defeat of the proposition to change the ‘Italian Constitutional’ referendum. Similar populisms are evident in countries ranging from Venezuela, to Hungary, Poland and Sweden.

The NGO, Oxfam stated that analysing current trends suggests that by 2016, 1% of the world's population owned more wealth than the other 99%.²⁸ People throughout the world now can see the resultant images of this, and also get information about such due to the digital revolution in communications technology, and are putting increasing pressure on their respective states to change their socio-political situation as witnessed especially with the Arab Spring revolutions which started in 2010 in Tunisia. While media images of the Arab Spring revolutions show young disaffected citizens in the respective states, in the mature Western liberal democracies and elsewhere, the recession starting in 2007 occasioned by the subprime financial collapse in the USA causing negative ripple effects throughout the world, has shown a culture of corruption and white collar crime that is endemic in many core democracies, and the limits of the neoliberal stance on 'self-regulation' of financial and associated institutions.²⁹ Over the past decade strong protest groups at the annual Davos—World Economic Forum—and associated meetings elsewhere, have sent strong anti-establishment messages, and prompted robust state security responses funded by the tax payers. The Occupy Wall Street protests started in 2011, and similarly, the anti-austerity movement mobilized street protests and grassroots campaigns across many countries, and especially in Europe ranging from Greece to Ireland. The issues involved in these protests have to be vigorously addressed by government, in order to renew belief in democracy and associated political systems.

Besides scandals in the political and economic elites and business class, in popular culture, shockwaves were sent out by sporting organisations such as the FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) corruption scandals in 2015, and in 2016 with reference to the Olympics held in Brazil. Comparable questionable practices and scandals in certain NGOs has undermined citizen confidence in countries ranging from Ireland, UK and France to Uganda and Haiti. In February 2018, media brought the alleged sex scandals of some Oxfam workers in Haiti to international attention; the Haitian President stated that the story may be but the tip of the iceberg regarding NGO workers.³⁰

Transparency, along with greater regulation and its application, with justice being seen to have been done at all levels is imperative, in order to avoid pent-up grievance, social rancour, injustice and conflict turning into violence and armed conflict.

²⁸Richest 1% will own more than all the rest by 2016. 19 January 2015. <https://www.oxfam.org/en/pressroom/pressreleases/2015-01-19/richest-1-will-own-more-all-rest-2016>.

²⁹Denning (2011).

³⁰Transparency International. <https://www.transparency.org/>.

Sheldrick (2018).

Top 10 Biggest Corporate Scandals. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_QepKsfmfSo.

3.6 Continuing Territorialisation and Outer Space

Due to state leadership and intense competition between the USA and USSR, exploration of outer space from the 1950s on became priority and especially after 1957, when the USSR successfully launched Sputnik 1, the world's first artificial satellite in space, followed in 1969 when an American walked on the moon and symbolically planted the US flag. In order to avoid a 'space or planet grab', conflict and war, and unilateral sovereignty claims, as historically witnessed in many parts of planet Earth, the UN and global community developed the Outer Space Treaty in 1967, and subsequent other treaty regulations, establishing international rules which essentially prohibit states from issuing unilateral claims to sovereignty on other planets. Nonetheless, the Superpower Space Race—especially 1955–72, and competition for missile development was intense, occasioning much fear for the possible use of outer space and other planets for war. Culturally this impacted on the production of fiction as with the release of the first Star Wars movie in 1977. Since then, with state-led exploration of resources on other planets including the Moon and Mars, and private commercial sector investment, and even space tourism developing, science fiction writers have been suggesting various scenarios. To date, in space exploration, other forms of human life have not been discovered; however, as found in colonization science fiction, the colonies in space whether human or android usually established their independence from the rulers on Earth, and develop their own geopolitics.³¹

Jules Verne's novel—*From the Earth to the Moon* (1865) was applauded by **science fiction** enthusiasts, but sniggered at by many detractors, yet just over a hundred years later, Neil Armstrong walked on the moon in 1969 and some 369 satellites were launched into outer space in 2017. In **2018**, according to the Index of Objects Launched into Outer Space maintained by the **UN Office for Outer Space Affairs (UNOOSA)**, there are **4857 satellites** orbiting the planet, and this number increases year on year.³² If these were removed, it's hard to imagine a world without GPS, mobile phones, the internet and the rest; surely the narrative of such a scenario would become dystopian science fiction itself. Space technology and especially satellites have offered humanity incredible opportunities in such fields as communications and time-space compression, scientific research, earth observation for weather forecasting and early warning systems, monitoring pollution and the environment, and battle against the Narco-cartels—illegal drug production areas, transportation routes and hub distribution networks, jihadist terrorism and so forth. While the potential beneficial resources on other planets are dreamed of.

³¹Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. <http://www.unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/spacelaw/treaties/introouterspacetreaty.html>.

Londin (2012).

Colonization Science Fiction. <http://bestsciencefictionbooks.com/colonization-science-fiction.php>.

Jackson and Anders (2011).

³²UN Office for Outer Space Affairs (UNOOSA). <http://www.unoosa.org/>.

The **power of a state** is greater when this power is **projected in outer space**. It is literally ‘over other countries’—to know exactly what’s below with a myriad of data gathering, along with listening capabilities, for analysis of situations, in order to direct and act with satellite precision. Managing operations is facilitated by space satellites.

While the territorialisation, polity or sovereignty aspect of outer space has been catered for by international treaty, **indirect territorialisation of outer space is expressed in various forms**. Historically, the main outer space powers or actors were states such as the USA and Russia, followed to a certain extent by the European Space Agency, however **China is now emerging as the third space power in the so called New Space**. Significantly, the number of private sector actors has increased in the past decade.³³

In 2017, the governments of Luxembourg and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) agreed to cooperate on space activities. Within its economic development SpaceResources.lu initiative, Luxembourg offers **commercial companies an overall framework for space resource exploration and usage-related activities—or type of permits, including but not limited to a legal regime**. Luxembourg is the first European country to offer a legal and regulatory framework addressing the capability of ownership of space resources and laying down the regulations for authorization and supervision of such space missions. Focussing on exploration of resources, the cooperation agreement covers the exchange of information and expertise between Luxembourg and UAE space sectors in areas of science and technology, human capital development and space policy, law and regulation. Both countries consult on questions of international governance of space and aspire to reach common positions in relevant international fora such as the UN.³⁴

Playing catch-up with the USA and Russia, **in 2003 the world witnessed China’s first crewed mission in space**, in orbit for 21 h, making it the third country to launch a human into orbit. In **2008, the first Chinese astronauts spent 15 min on the moon**, and symbolically waved the PRC flag. Chinese outer space travel and related-activities have been achieved in record time and at less financial cost than the other major outer space actors. Currently, the **China Space Program has 200,000 space scientists**, and the state also subsidises the rapidly emerging private sector development in space science. China has **planned for the creation of a space station operational by 2022**, on its future travel trajectory to **Mars by 2040**. The current International Space Station (ISS) based on international cooperation since 2000, will remain operational up to 2024, after which its funding will run out. US policy forbids outer space collaboration of NASA with China, most likely due to fear of the militarization of space. The level of space science cooperation between China and Russia remains unclear.³⁵

³³RTS. Géopolitis, 02.09.2018. Guerre des étoiles. <https://www.rts.ch/play/tv/geopolitis/video/guerre-des-etoiles?id=9807454&station=a9e7621504c6959e35c3ecbe7f6bed0446cdf8da>.

³⁴Luxembourg and the United Arab Emirates sign mou on space resources. 10/10/2017. <https://spaceresources.public.lu/en/actualites/2017/MoU-UAE.html#>.

³⁵Goswami (2018), Harrison et al. (2018).

Outer space including the moon is not militarized in the sense of hosting arms, despite the history and possibility of usage of intercontinental ballistic missiles. However, usage of **satellites for information gathering is directly linked to many aspects of weaponry and logistics** on earth as with satellite imagery and precision bombing missions. The nexus between the outer space and cyber industries, and military-tech and intelligence sectors has led to much speculation about future **cyberwars**, or targeting in a battle or war context of computers, networks and control systems, involving both offensive and defensive operations regarding threats of cyberattacks, espionage and sabotage.

With the history of missiles in mind, one can imagine future killer satellites that may be created to kill other satellites. A satellite is capable of travelling alongside another satellites to observe, monitor or spy, and that may lead to kamikaze satellites in the future. Updated international treaty agreement is needed now more than ever to monitor any attempts at militarization of outer space. Without presenting much clarification, in August 2018, the US Trump administration announced plans to create a Space Force by 2020, a new branch of the US military dedicated to fighting wars in space.³⁶

New outer space actors have emerged from the private, fantasy, dream and business sectors, as with entrepreneurial multi-billionaires. Jeff Bezos is promoting and financing moon tourism as is Richard Branson of Virgin fame. Elon Musk sent his iconic car into space for advertising purposes, and was also responsible for the technology that his Falcon rocket can return to earth and stand on land intact rendering the rocket reusable. Musk has also provided travel for transporting supplies to the International Space Station (ISS). His rockets are less expensive than others, and in 2017 his space budget was double that of NASA and triple that of the ESA, and he is working on a project to colonize Mars. **Private companies within China are battling it out for the space market and commercial satellites.** Following historical trends in other areas of technological innovation such as the airline industry, the private sector will push for a reduction in production and operational costs in the outer space industry. Nonetheless, while the private sector is rapidly developing, it is often supported by the state in various ways as with Musk and transport of provisions to ISS.³⁷

3.7 Conclusions

Key concepts in understanding conflict include **geopolitics**, space, place and time. As geopolitics deals with the study of inter-relationships between physical and human geography and political-economy, its impact on people and organization within and between states, this effects international politics and law, trade and transnational relations. Each conflict and emergency is located in a specific place with its unique

³⁶Durkin (2018), Bachman (2018).

³⁷Fernholz (2018).

geographical characteristics, and time of course—including the long-time calendar of geology and geomorphology determining location of essential resources such as water, and minerals, oil and gas; to the long-time periods of human and social history that imprint on the territory, environment and organization; this is juxtaposed with very recent histories and the current situation.

Human **territoriality** relates to people living in specific **places** assuring their basic livelihood needs and developing a sense of ownership or **sovereignty** over the **area** where a mosaic of political units or **polities** results with the associated visible and invisible boundaries to avoid conflict and negotiate stability. Territoriality seeks control over **resources** ranging from water and food to oil and minerals, **protection** of these resources and people is central, as is often the **defence** of identity and culture. **Territorialisation** denotes a strategy for direct or indirect territorial control and sometimes enlargement of that space.

The state provides a powerful examples of territoriality, and is the product of historical spatial processes of how territory and people are organised and controlled. **Statehood** and associated territory necessitates: bordered land, and air and maritime space; a permanent resident population; with **Government**, without which there can be no state; **sovereignty** with recognition by a significant number of other states; and state cultivated **nationalism** that personalises the state political unit.

Politics and economics are intrinsically entwined at every scale, and especially in a globalized world, hence **political economy** is at the core area of geopolitical understanding and analyses, which is key to **development**. While almost all experts including the UN, and essentially most people, agree that human and social development is necessary at all scales, and that this needs to be financed, with the creation of profit from industry, in the largest sense of the word, what they don't agree on is how the wealth generated by industry should be redistributed. There are various schools of thought on this as witnessed over the centuries. Broadly these can be categorized into: **Capitalism** and variations including **Neoliberalism** that emphasizes free market economics and limited regulation by the state along with **individualism** and **entrepreneurship**. Profits created must be re-invested in order to create further innovation, production and consumption. Capitalism has adapted itself to the changing opportunities offered by technology over the centuries.

Structuralism is associated with socialist and communist systems as in Cuba and Vietnam and is based on a **centrally-planned economy**, premised on intentional development relating to production, consumption and all aspects of life. The **wealth created is managed by the state**, within a **one party political system** promoting **collectivism**.

Interventionism blends capitalist perspectives, but with greater state intervention and regulation and is sometimes called the Third Way. In many Western states since the 1990s, the old paradigm of Right and Left, Capitalist versus Socialist politics has produced very similar political economy policies adapting to economic globalization, but also struggling to maintain their political power, and satisfy their electorates. Noteworthy here is the People's Republic of China that claims to be communist in order to legitimate the state structure and power, but has adapted many aspects of capitalism especially regarding production, creation of wealth and consumerism.

The **people-centred** approach advocates a rejection of the big ideological perspectives associated with the above political-economy theories and prioritizes **sustainable development** at small areal scales that are **community centred**, but also linked in with ‘ordinary people’ globally, as with the Green and ecological movements, and anti-austerity groups and **NGOs** that dispute the willingness or capacity of states and current economic systems to deliver better conditions for citizens.

Just as there are many iterations on the politics of identity with its **centripetal** or binding forces that unite people of common interests and intent, this also engenders **centrifugal** forces that push people away as with ‘othering’. Similarly, there are variations on **nationalism** that can be viewed from a range of standpoints. In the EU, this became particularly evident with Spain’s Catalan independence crisis 2017–18, and also with the jingoism and murder of a member of the UK parliament leading up to the Brexit referendum in 2016, while in many EU countries ranging from France and the Netherlands to Germany, Sweden, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia there has been a sharp rise in extremist rhetoric and politics in recent years and such extremism has marred the political landscape of the USA since 2016.³⁸ Russian nationalism is reasserting itself at home, regionally and globally looking to regain its super power status that was lost with the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991). The root reasons for such conflict challenges are further compounded in the former colonies or Newly Independent States due to **poverty and underdevelopment, weak state structures and often bad governance**.

In order to mitigate the negative effects of conflict, there has developed a system of multi-level governance globally especially since 1945, and this is premised on the nation state model as laid down in the UN Charter and international law. Nevertheless, this state system is seriously challenged to balance citizens’ rights and economic entitlements with the increasing power of economic globalization, and transnational companies and multinational corporations, and the democracy ideals blended with the American-consumer dream. Many socio-economic groups and cultures trying to cope with internal divisions within states, sometimes along old cultural faultlines such as conflicting identities, religious beliefs (including re-found or re-invented iterations of the religion), or sub-state nationalisms are borrowing from cultural discourses and older or re-invented ideologies. In the following chapter the major reasons for conflict are discussed, namely those of a material nature, and those regarding the non-material—existential or imagined.

³⁸BBC News, October 2017. Catalonia profile—Timeline. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-20345073>.

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Chapter 4

The Causes of Conflict



Abstract While there is a myriad of causes for conflict, here two broad categories are used: (i) **Material**—essentially economic resources consisting of territory, fertile land, water, oil and gas, and all types of natural and human assets. In short, they are tangible in contrast to ideas—constructs of the mind or spirit. (ii) **Existential** reasons relate to affirming one’s existence, feeling a sense of one’s own time and space—philosophical concepts and social constructions that attempt to give life a purpose or meaning that has been a major motor in the development of societies and civilizations, but often causing conflict. Utopian ideals have contributed to religions and nationalisms, but when pushed to extremes have fostered totalitarianism and dystopias, and when they clash major conflicts can ensue as witnessed in the Syrian Civil War. Democracy itself is a Utopian ideal, a work in progress as witnessed on global scales with UN agencies, and at much smaller levels with regional and local planning within and between states.

Keywords Competition · Resources · Ideas · Utopia · Dystopia · Social constructs · Projects

4.1 Introduction

While there is a myriad of causes for **conflict**, in trying to classify them, two broad categories are used here: (i) **Material**: essentially economic resources consisting of territory, fertile land for food production, water, oil and gas, and all types of natural and human assets; in short, they are tangible in contrast to ideas—constructs of the mind or spirit. (ii) **Existential** reasons pertain to affirming one’s existence, or having and positioning self, or feeling a sense of one’s own time and space—philosophical ideas and social constructions that indicate existence and attempt to find a reason or to give life a purpose or meaning. The latter category has been a major motor in the development of societies and civilizations, impacting on their culture or way of life, personal and world views. **Some commentators in analysing the development of nationalism have included the concept of ‘imagined communities’ or utopias**—but have emphasized a more top-down elitist project perspective in har-

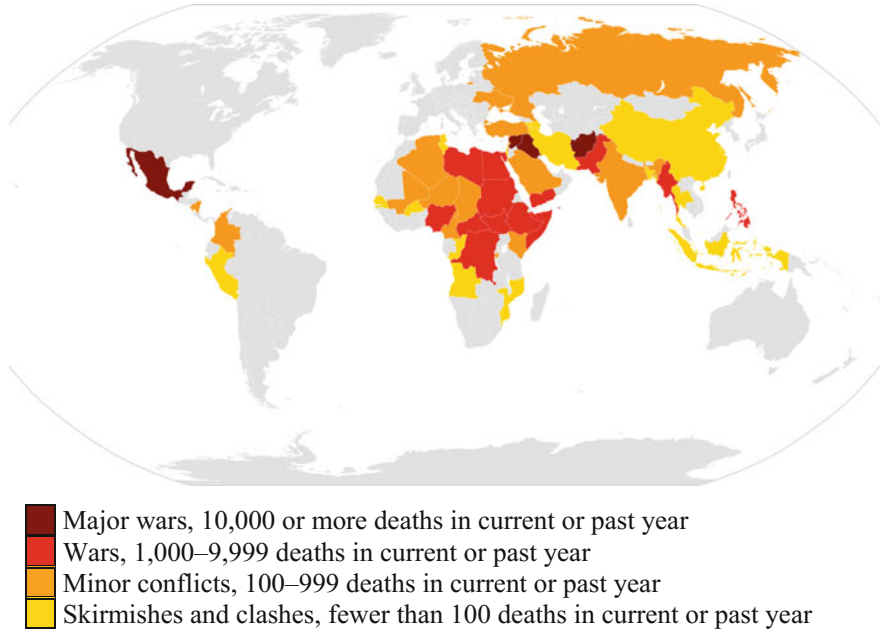


Fig. 4.1 Ongoing armed conflicts in 2018. Image by user: Futuretrillionaire [GFDL or CC BY-SA 3.0], version 19-Jul-2018

nessing specific cultural variables like myth and language in the drive to construct the nation state ideal. Obviously, many variables in the existential category are more nebulous than those in the material range.

As illustrated in Fig. 4.1, the number of ongoing conflicts and associated deaths, not to mention the destruction and injured, internally displaced persons and refugees remains a stark reality, especially for many people in the Global South. The juxtaposition of Fig. 4.1 with Fig. 4.2, the median age of life expectancy in years helps illustrate the overlap between development levels, poverty, conflict and war.

4.2 Material: Economic and Power Factors

4.2.1 *Energy and Mineral Resources*

Natural resources including **water, oil, gas and coal, and also rare minerals** used in the high-tech and digital sectors such as coltan found in the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo), and others as with diamonds These are unequally **geographically distributed throughout the world, with deposits heavily concentrated in specific areas** as with oil and gas in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa)

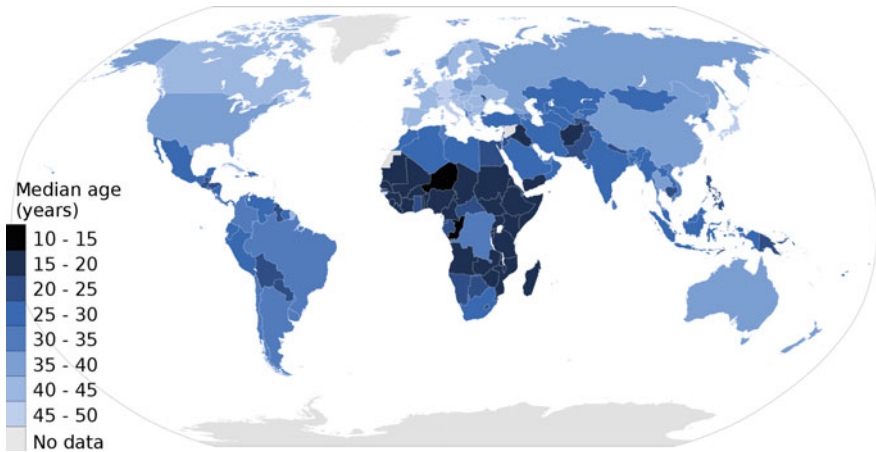


Fig. 4.2 Median age of life expectancy in years. Image by user: Ms Sarah Welch [CC BY-SA 4.0] from Wikimedia Commons with data compiled by United Nations ESA (2017)

and also Sudan with advantageous technical ground depths for extraction and consequent financial extraction advantages. The **unequal distribution of wealth gained from these resources by citizens** in these areas and competition for control of such resources by factions, elites and sectoral interests within and between states can lead to several types of **conflict including rebellion, civil war, secessionist movements and paramilitary and criminal gang violence** as witnessed in Syria and Libya (2015–18) and South Sudan (2013–18).

Direct or indirect intervention from neighbouring states supporting rebel factions has been witnessed in the resource-rich Western and Central African countries especially from the 1990s on. Certain **industrialized states** including the USA, UK and France, and by association Western countries have been accused of **imperialism and neo-colonialism**, fuelling conflict in resource-rich regions due to supporting competing local and regional elites and factions, as well as oil and mining companies. Whether in the production of oil or minerals, or uranium and diamonds, **intricate political-economic networks** exist from investment in the industry, to production sites, refining and transformation, distribution and sales at local, regional and global scales as illustrated in the past 20 years with oil production in Iraq and Syria, and also the Niger River Delta Region and its negative impact on the Ogoni population there. Similar conflict patterns can be traced for **uranium production** in Niger and **diamond production in at least seven African countries that endured brutal civil conflicts** fuelled by the blood diamond trade in the past 30 years: Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola, the Republic of Congo, Côte d’Ivoire, the Central African Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The direct and indirect support of the Chinese government for regimes, such as those in Sudan and Myanmar, and its trade in arms for natural resources has increased in the past two decades; on several occasions China like Russia has also used its veto powers at UN Security Council

level to block concerted UN action regarding the war in Syria as of 2011. Concerning intricate business networks, the **Daesh—Islamic State terrorist group managed to partly finance its activities from sales of oil on the black market.**¹ At different times, the Turkish regime has been accused of alleged complicity, or turning a blind eye to the Daesh oil trafficking.

4.2.2 *Competition for Fertile Land*

Territories and their histories are replete with examples of **competition and conflict for land and water** ranging from complex relationships between pastoralist and arable farmers, and nomads as in the North African and Sahel regions, to colonial land confiscations in Latin America and Africa; persisting unjust landlord-tenant relationships in many MENA states, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh as well as many Latin American countries, and disputed **post-independence land redistribution policies in countries like Zimbabwe.** Depending on the geographical regions, **some areas were, and are, less densely populated than others,** hence the **population explosion** in certain countries as in West Africa and the MENA has caused not only a huge increase in rural to urban migration within and between states, adding to the **burgeoning shantytowns,** but also **peasants moving into less densely populated agricultural lands in neighbouring states** as with movements from Burkina Faso into Ivory Coast from the 1960s on. Now decades later, this is causing conflict and raising tensions in Ivory Coast. Due to population pressures; at local levels enmity for arable land exacerbated tensions between Hutu and Tutsis and was a major factor in the 1994 Rwandan genocide, as was the rivalry that was exploited by the government regime in Sudan between sedentary farmers, pastoralists and historically nomadic people in the Darfur wars (2003 on).

Competition for fertile land for production in comparatively less populated areas of the world has become more significant since the start of the 21st century due to population growth globally and increased demand for food and biofuel crops. China consumes approximately 20% of the world's food, reasonably expected for its 1.3 billion people; but only has nine percent of the world's farmland.² In 2009, 15–20 million hectares of land was rented or acquired abroad in states including Ukraine, Turkey, Egypt and sub-Saharan Africa by approximately 12 states that lack cultivatable land but are financially rich enough to invest in such abroad including Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Japan, China and South Korea with the latter

¹The Guardian. 19 November 2014. Inside Islamic State's oil empire: how captured oilfields fuel ISIS insurgency. To read more: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/19/sp-islamic-state-oil-empire-iraq-isis> and The Guardian. 10 April 2015. Does ISIS really smuggle "\$3 M worth of oil" into Turkey EVERY DAY? <http://off-guardian.org/2015/04/10/does-isis-really-smuggle-3m-worth-of-oil-into-turkey-every-day/>.

²National Geographic. Why China Wants (and Needs) Foreign Farm Land. September 25, 2013. Read more: <http://voices.nationalgeographic.com/2013/09/25/countries-like-china-want-foreign-farm-land/>.

buying huge tracts of land in Sudan. Evidently, fertile land needs water supplies, and hence competition for water rights with local populations also. When this is driven by external corporations, **the local populations and their food production systems and distribution of water rights is threatened**. Between 2000 and 2013, over 1200 so called **land grabbing deals** took place, transferring over 8 million hectares of land; 62% of these were in Africa. About 66% of the total was in countries with high hunger rates. Land grab surged particularly from 2005 to 2009 in response to international markets and a consequent food price crisis.³

4.2.3 *Geostrategic Competition*

Certain territories such as **straits** areas, especially with **choke-points**, may be the source of rivalry and conflict between two or more states and be embedded in local, regional and global geopolitics due to their **strategic position** in the regional and global flow of trade, including oil and gas transit, arms transport and movement of naval fleets such as those of the USA, Russia, UK, France and China. Depending on the classifications used, the three globally most **geostrategic straits** are: Gibraltar, Hormuz and Malacca.

The **Strait of Gibraltar** is the only natural point of ingress and egress between the Mediterranean and Black Seas systems, giving access to the Atlantic and world oceans in an east-west direction, while in a north-south direction, at its narrowest there is only a distance of 7.6 nautical miles between Spain and Morocco linking Europe to Africa, and the MENA region. Issues related to decolonization and disputes exist here between the riparian states Spain and Morocco concerning the Spanish Territories of Ceuta, Melilla and three minor plazas located in Morocco; and also Spain and the UK due to the British Overseas Territory of Gibraltar located on the northern shore.

At such **choke-points** security is crucial for the riparian states and international community, especially because of threats from terrorist and Jihadi groups wishing to interrupt international trade. In these narrow strait areas, issues can arise between the riparian states and between them and the international community regarding jurisdiction over land, legal maritime territorial seas and zones, and air space.⁴

In order to avoid conflict regarding maritime areas, the **1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)** was negotiated and is the most comprehensive attempt at creating a unified regime for governance of the rights and duties of states with respect to the world's oceans. The Convention has been ratified by 167 parties, including 166 states (163 member states of the UN, plus the UN

³Environmental Health News. 2013. Corporations, investors 'grabbing' land and water overseas. Read more: <http://www.environmentalhealthnews.org/ehs/news/2013/land-grabbing>.

⁴O'Reilly, Gerry. Gibraltar: Sovereignty Disputes and Territorial Waters. IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin, Spring 1999. Read more: http://ersilia.net/ET2050_library/docs/med/gibraltar.pdf and Barford V. BBC News Magazine. 12 August 2013. What are the competing claims over Gibraltar? <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-23617910>.

Observer state Palestine, the Cook Islands and Niue, and the EU).⁵ Nonetheless, there are many outstanding specific maritime issues between states that have not been agreed and hold potential for conflict and violence like territorial waters and rights regarding Israel and the Palestinian Gaza Strip.

Hormuz Strait links the Persian-Arab Gulf and its oil producing states Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq to the Indian Ocean; bordering the Strait are the riparian states of Iran, UAE and Oman, and through which 40% of the world trade in oil passes. The US Sixth Fleet is based in the area, while the UK navy also maintains a presence.⁶ In this context **Bab-el-Mandeb** Strait is located between Yemen on the Arabian Peninsula, and Djibouti and Eritrea in the Horn of Africa. It connects the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden, and is vital for traffic including oil tankers using the Suez Canal.

The **Strait of Malacca** with its riparian states Indonesia, Malaysia and close to Singapore is a vital artery and choke-point in the Asian and global economy linking trade and oil transportation for India, China, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea among others.

4.2.4 *Zones of Influence*

Conflicts regarding territorial conquest must be distinguished from those where the root cause is related to extending, or preserving a zone of influence, even if locally on the ground the consequences of death and destruction are often similar.

Soft Power: Financing of targeted political, social, religious and cultural groups, in order for them to have an impact at different socio-political levels, and possible future governance regimes, is a strategy often used in extending zones of influence not only by state actors such as the USA, Russia, China, UK, France, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Qatar, but also other groups such as religious organizations competing for converts especially in Africa and Latin America. The Saudi regimes use of **oil wealth in promoting Wahhabism**—a very conservative form of Sunni Islam and its socio-political culture throughout the Muslim world and beyond in Africa provides a salient example. Similarly, with **Iran promoting Shi'ism** regionally and internationally and contesting Saudi control of Islam's sacred spaces including Mecca and Medina. Saudi and Iranian involvement in the ongoing wars and humanitarian disasters in Syria and Yemen have been well documented. **China's economic geo-strategy in Africa** targeting South Africa, Angola, Sudan and Nigeria among others, and in the Asian states including Myanmar and Sri Lanka,

⁵See: <http://www.un.org/Depts/los/>.

⁶Strait of Hormuz. Robert. S. Strauss Centre for International Security and Law. University of Texas at Austin. Read more: <https://www.strausscenter.org/hormuz/straitofhormuz.html>.

emphasizing its perceived non-imperialist and non-colonial history, and financing of infrastructural works and projects helps facilitate Chinese access to control of land, energy and mineral resources deemed essential to its own economic development.⁷

4.3 Non-material—Existential: Imagination and Utopia

Understanding how **respective actors or stakeholders** in any conflict perceive and represent the territory and its way of life at the core of the dispute is important. This is central in the breakout, intensity and length of a conflict as enough importance must be attributed to the place or territory in order for it to become the object or location of dispute or conflict. Rational arguments may be put forward such as location of resources, competition for agricultural land and water, access to the seas and global ocean systems, or the will to liberate an annexed, conquered territory, or irredentist aspirations. Less evident arguments may appear irrational to certain analyses, but when the protagonists reference specific place and territory they want to control and can **mobilize support**, then they cannot be indefinitely dismissed. The increase in the number of states created after WWI and WWII and since 1991 illustrates the complexities evident in rational as well as less obvious arguments in the territorialisation processes.

4.3.1 *Utopias, Ideals and Re-Imagined Golden Ages*

It could be posited that positive ideals for a more bountiful and better life and society form part of the **human condition** and are vital to the progress of material and cultural innovation and **civilization**, looking forward to, and building a better future. Utopia is an imagined place or state of things in which everything is perfect, essentially—nowhere land. Juxtaposed with this is also the concept of real or imagined **paradises, golden ages and other idealized places and times** when everything was better than now, or perceived to have been, or could be in the future—a type of yearning, desire or **hope** or **nostalgia** or sentimental longing or wistful affection for a period in the past, and a model for a possible future; paradise lost and trying to regain paradise so to speak. While, nostalgia often includes memory, but without the pain.

Nostalgia can be interpreted as either a coping mechanism including daydreaming, or perhaps an inability or refusal to accept and work with the realities of the present as with escapism. This nostalgia era may exist in religions and mythology as in the major monotheistic traditions with the perfect place in the **Garden of Eden**

⁷To read more: John L. Thornton. China Center and Africa Growth Initiative. 2014 Africa in China's Foreign Policy http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2014/04/africa-china-policy-sun/africa-in-china-web_cmg7.pdf.

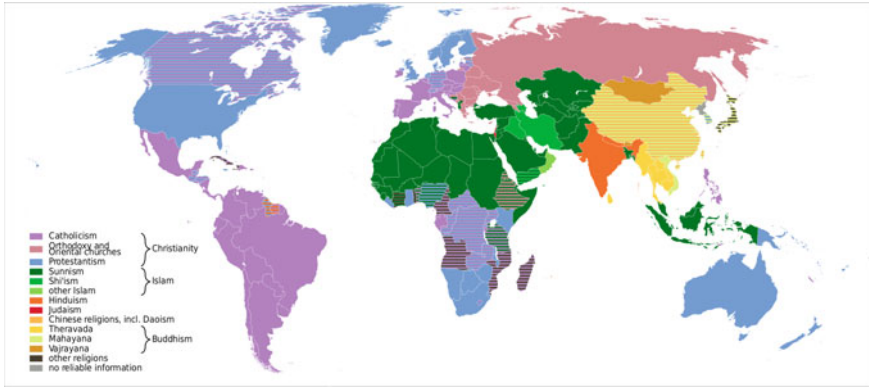


Fig. 4.3 Major Religion Affiliations. Image by users: Tetromino et al. derivative work:—Obsuser [CC BY 3.0 or GFDL, via Wikimedia Commons], version 2-Jun-2017

or Paradise, and the socio-political lifestyle and order often associated with a past community of believers.

4.3.2 *Paradise and the God-Contract*

Broadly, **theism** can be defined as the belief in the existence of a **Supreme Being, deities, or gods**. While **atheists** disbelieve in such, and **agnostics** hold that little is known or can be proven of the existence or nature of god, due to human limitations. Besides **genuine individual spirituality and beliefs attempting to understand or give life a meaning**, reflecting on: ‘where do we come from’, and ‘what happens after death’; in social terms, theism has often been used as a **blueprint for explanation**, social ritual and organisation and laws. A myriad of psychological and material **abuses of this have been challenged** throughout history, as with the salient example of Martin Luther (1483–1546) protesting against the Pope’s regime in the Roman Catholic church at that epoch. Figure 4.3 displays a map of major religion affiliations.

Many of **the positive attributes of religious standpoints** such as a prohibition on murder and theft found in Mosaic law provided a moral and ethical compass for society and were codified in Judaism. Such was adapted into other religions including Christianity and Islam, and later into **secular law** that is based on the principle of separation of the state from religious institutions as found in most liberal democracies. Many people of faith, agnostics and scientists while accepting that abuses of religion have occurred throughout history at different periods, are also cognizant that religious institutions significantly facilitated scientific research in the quest for truth as with Islamic institutions and revolutions in science, especially in Baghdad between the 8th–14th centuries. Sometimes in the Western world, it is forgotten that, the oldest existing, continually operating educational institution in the world is the University of

Karueein, founded in the 9th century in Fez, Morocco. Ranking among the greatest universities in the world today, La Sapienza University of Rome was founded in 1303 following a papal directive. Many universities throughout the world, including Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Yale and Princeton were historically founded as Bible-proclaiming Schools. In order to respect the theist, atheist, agnostic and scientific standpoints on the eternal questions concerning God and to avoid fundamentalist destructive conflictual extremisms, liberal democracy has tried to provide a social-political platform to accommodate different perspectives and people ‘living together’, neither imposing nor denying religious beliefs. Basically, the majority of religions proclaim that they were founded to establish peace.

For the purpose of this analysis, the focus is on the **monotheistic** traditions, but many of the concepts and ideas can be applied to other **religious constructs** and major world philosophies including Buddhism.

In the **prophetic revealed root-monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam**, followers believe that God spoke directly to them through the words in their **sacred books**. There is the one God narrative, he that created the heavens and earth and then the subsequent histories and peoples long ago. In the holy books, God handed down the **Torah** directly to Moses, who recorded it word for word—it is the Written Word, while the **Talmud** is the Oral Word of God—handed down at the same time and repeated over the generations. These contain narratives associated with specific and symbolic places such as the Temple in Jerusalem, River Jordan and Judea, and also what is taken to be the word of God speaking through the prophets. For Christians the **Bible** is constituted of the Jewish Books (or Tenka)—and is their **Old Testament**—this testimony being in a book that serves as a sign or evidence of a specified fact, event, or quality; while the **New Testament** narrates the story of Jesus Christ, seen as the saviour for all humanity. In the Islamic tradition, the **Koran** (Qurʾān) is the word of God for all humanity as handed down to the Prophet Mohammed, with similar narratives to the Talmud and Old Testament, but the Koran also recognises the birth of the Jesus Christ in the long prophet tradition of Abraham. This is particularly evident in the earlier Koranic verses concerning creation or genesis with the Garden of Eden—Paradise, Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and so forth. In Islam, the **hadith** meaning news or story, is a record of the traditions or sayings of the Prophet Mohammed, revered as a major source of religious law and moral guidance, second only to the Koran. The Koran and hadith serve as a major source of Koranic law in such states as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Iran.

In all three monotheistic traditions, the story of Eve taking the apple forbidden by God and giving it to Adam to eat, led to an end of the age of human innocence. People became sinful—committing immoral acts considered to be a transgression of divine law—and so in turn, the loss of a golden idyllic age for human beings. Some researchers interpret this as a **metaphor** that can be understood in several different ways: punishment for disobeying God, justification for patriarchal control and associated ideas and their subsequent impacts on cultural traditions regarding women. **Fundamentalists** in all religions, take a literalist perspective on what is said in the sacred books, including the creation or genesis narrative that the world was created in six days and that God rested on the seventh. Similarly, with life after death

and that when believers die, depending on their actions during their lives, that they will go to the bliss of paradise or the horrors of hell.

These perspectives in the Abrahamic traditions are in sharp contrast to the perception of what happens people after their death, as with reincarnation in the traditions of Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism. Similarly, the status of ‘the female’ in these social religious constructs, is in contrast to the monotheistic traditions as with Hinduism and female gods such as Devi, Parvati, Lakshmi and others.⁸

The **contract or covenant** between God, Adam and Eve was broken in the Garden of Eden in the monotheistic narrative, due to ‘sin of disobedience’. From an anthropological perspective on religion, other understandings or **agreements** had to be established as with the concept of blood sacrifice so vivid in the story of the prophet Abraham’s dilemma in being called to sacrifice his son Isaac, and the merciful God accepting the sacrifice of a ram instead, but with a condition that the boy be circumcised, ritualizing the eternal contract between God and humans. In Judaism, the covenant of circumcision remains part of the culture. This covenant narrative also forms part of the Koranic tradition, and is an integral part of the Eid al-Adha (sheep sacrifice feast) celebrated annually; but also male circumcision is obligatory for Muslims. The circumcision ritual was replaced by the concept of the covenant of baptism by water in Christianity, while the crucified Jesus Christ become the ‘sacrificial lamb’ as commemorated in mass reinforcing the contract between God and humanity. Interpretations and applications of such blood contract rituals and identity cultural constructions have often led to fanatical zealotry, and internecine as well as inter-religion disputes and conflicts over the millennia as with issues surrounding interpretations of transubstantiation among Christian denominations. Such rituals have often created negative myths and hate-perceptions among groups not practising them; but also negative attitudes among believers to ‘them—others’ not part of the contract group. It should be noted here, that there is no theological evidence from the holy books for FMG (female genital mutilation), sometimes called female circumcision among some families and groups that claim it to be God’s law, rather than just a cultural practice. In 2016, UNESCO estimated that 200 million women living in 30 countries—27 African and also Indonesia, Iraqi Kurdistan and Yemen—have undergone the FMG procedures. In 2017, it was estimated that 180,000 females are at risk of FMG in the EU each year.⁹

⁸Gods and Goddesses of Ancient India <http://www.crystalinks.com/indiadieties.html>.

List of Hindu deities https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Hindu_deities.

⁹Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: A statistical overview and exploration of the dynamics of change. http://data.unicef.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/FGMC_Lo_res_Final_26.pdf.

Is female genital mutilation a problem for the EU? 27 Sep. 2017. <https://eige.europa.eu/news-and-events/news/female-genital-mutilation-problem-eu>.

4.3.3 *Golden Ages*

A perceived **golden age** may have existed for a period when the ideologue or prophet showed the early believers the ‘truth’ that was shared and implemented by the early community of believers. In some narratives, as with nationalism and especially **liberation-nationalism** as found in many post-colonial cultures, a golden age existed before the territory was invaded by foreigners with their different religion and culture.

Here the role of **Utopia** is central—an imagined place, community or state of things in which everything is perfect, or could be made faultless, and is often imagined to have once existed, unspoiled in comparison to now. This place and society may have been lost and can possibly be regained or recreated in this life, or even in an abstract place in some future ‘next life in heaven or paradise’, as depicted in some religions. The term Utopia was coined in the early 16th century by Thomas Moore regarding his dream of creating the perfect society in an ideal territory. Many variations on this theme existed beforehand contributing to modern world civilization ranging from Socrates and his pupil Plato, to the seminal philosophers Confucius and Buddha, and actors from the prophetic traditions as with Moses who delivered the **Ten Commandments in the Covenant**, a moral compass, with guidelines for personal and social responsibility regarding such wrongs and problem areas as murder and theft, while journeying from enslavement in Egypt to the Promised Land of Israel.

The American foundation narrative emphasizes that fleeing discrimination in Europe, and drawing on ideals, the Pilgrim Fathers established the original colonies of the future USA, laying the ground for the Founding Fathers in the 18th century, creating a milestone on the trajectory to ‘bountiful plenty’, democracy, development and modernity, and of course the American dream, an ideal by which equality of opportunity should be available to any American, allowing the highest aspirations and goals to be achieved. Naturally, many Native and African Americans have seriously questioned the details to the American Dream and the associated democracy narrative.

When Utopian ideals, experiences or socio-political experiments are pushed to extremes in an extravagant fundamental manner, this can lead to a totalitarian situation resulting in **Dystopia**, conflict and societal implosion or explosion. When competing Utopian ideals collide at increasing geographical scales this can result in blending or syncretic ideologies or religions, or in contestation, conflict and war. **Fear** as experienced or lived, or fear as imagined, can occasion Utopian ideals for a better existence full of certainties and absolutes with no doubts or grey areas. Construction of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Utopian ideal in Russia and associated territories from the 1920s to the 1980s, despite many economic successes, ultimately created a Dystopia which can be defined as an imagined place or state in which everything is unpleasant or bad, typically run on totalitarian lines or an environmentally degraded one; it pertains to a society characterized by human misery, squalor, paranoia, oppression and ill health or disease. To varying degrees, this dystopian vision can be applied to the situation in North Korea today created by its own dictatorial regime; similarly,

also to Pol Pot's imagined new world devoid of urban living, professional classes and modernity in Cambodia (1976-79) which led to the mass murder of approximately 25% of the population. Similarly, the Nazis' Third Reich in Europe attempted the **normalization of the abnormal**, including invasion and war, and construction of mechanized death factories—concentration camps—for those people considered to be racially inferior, or others deemed not worthy to be part of the new perfect future society.

The real or perceived **enemy** (human or other) poses a threat and causes terror, with the ultimate **fear of death and devastation—Apocalypse**, the complete final obliteration of the world, as described in the biblical Book of Revelations, leading to an event involving destruction or damage on a catastrophic scale.

Currently the interplay of conflicts between utopian and dystopian imaginings, but also involving real life disputed resources, are being experienced by populations in territories under the control of Daesh in areas of the MENA, or Al-Shabab in Somalia or Boko Haram in Nigeria, Cameroon and Niger. Some terrorist groups such as Al-Shabab, Boko Haram and Daesh try to justify their bloody actions by usurping and distorting concepts from religion and history as with **Jahiliyyah**—an Islamic concept referring to individual and social ignorance of divine guidance for a perfect lifestyle, and the allegedly barbaric immoral condition in which people lived before the birth of Islam in 7th century Arabia. Some radical thinkers in Islamic culture have tried to reapply this historical concept to political regimes and societies in the Muslim world today, that they deem to be immoral and non-Islamic, and also to territories and political regimes outside the Islamic countries, claiming that it is their moral duty to change the current immoral situation by force.

Imagination and fact can be blended in fiction regarding utopias and dystopias; such dystopian visions are depicted in novels, cinema, comics, cartoons and videogames. Examples include: *The Hunger Games* (Suzanne Collins 2008), 1984 by George Orwell (1949), and *Brave New World* (1932) by Aldus Huxley that depict political dystopias, while *The Wind UP Girl* (Paolo Bacigalupi 2009) illustrates a series of environmental catastrophes, and Cormac McCarthy's *The Road* (2006) shows a post-apocalypse America. The Batman tales have been reimagined and reinterpreted many times since first created in comics in 1939. In the Batman narratives, the Ideal City of modernity is constantly juxtaposed with the urban dystopian areas and darkness, especially at night time.

4.3.4 *Anger and Grievance*

Anger can be linked to present **real circumstances, and, or a perceived sense of historical grievance** on the part of individuals, communities or groups as with peoples who were once colonized. For instance, Armenia in relation to the Ottoman occupation and genocide that was perpetrated there in 1915–17, or people in Ukraine or Chechnya regarding Russian policies there over the past three hundred years. Similarly, the sense of grievance that existed among people in Ireland and Northern

Ireland regarding Britain, or Catalonia and the Basque Country in Spain; or among many Hutus regarding Tutsi in Rwanda and bitter colonial legacies, where the Hutus alleged that the Tutsi had received a more privileged status than them under the Belgian administration, and that these privileges continued to exist after independence from Belgium. Iterations of this can be found in Sri Lanka regarding the perceptions of the Sinhala majority population concerning the Tamils and their ‘special relationship’ with the British colonial administration. In the above examples, governance by the colonial powers, followed by national independence often witnessed state-building strategies using variations on the former colonists ‘**divide and rule**’ tactics, and were sometimes vengeful with their citizens, to the disadvantage of targeted ethnic, proto-national, regional, secessionist or other groups, playing off one against the other in order to sustain their government power. This can lead to seriously contested histories within the nation-state, and transboundary also with other states. This sense of anger and grievance may be exacerbated within countries, by real poverty and also the socio-economic state structures and experiences of different groups leading to disappointment with the ruling elites in the NICs and the promises at independence.

Grievance may include lost ‘**imagined golden ages**’ or historical eras, which came to the fore with the Serbian State’s **Greater Serbia** geopolitics in the 1990s, a major factor contributing to the Balkan Wars (1991–2002). Similarly, the Moroccan State’s **Greater Morocco** geopolitics including the War of the Sand with Algeria in 1963, and occupation of the disputed Western Sahara territory since 1975. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, the new Syrian state propounded the **Greater Syria** project, claiming nearly all the territory of the entire Levant and especially that including Lebanon, in 1920 based on memories and dreams of the glory of the medieval Arab Muslim kingdom that once existed; a caliphate or Islamic state, led by a caliph—both political and religious leader, believed to be the successor to the prophet Mohammed who can rule with absolute power.

Iterations of a utopian epoch in the 7th century and the Golden Age are found in the geopolitics of Daesh or so called Islamic State organization founded in 1999 dedicated to creating a territorial Caliphate in the Middle East and bringing down the current MENA states and punishing the Western countries for their roles in the colonial processes and current political-economy, negative aspects of modernity and cultural globalization. However, before Daesh, the Syrian state and especially the Assad family and Baath party regime since 1970, proclaiming itself Pan-Arab, republican and secular, maintained a covert and often an overt geopolitics to control the ‘lost territory’ of Lebanon. Syrian interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon since the foundation of the state in 1943 played a major part in the **Lebanese Civil War (1975–90)**, resulting in an estimated 120,000 fatalities and 76,000 people that remain displaced there, with tens of thousands emigrating. The Syrian regime continued its destabilizing activities in Lebanon during the first decade of the 21st century.

Israel’s policies have often been challenged for using arguments for territorial acquisition based on boundaries referred to, that were changing over diverse long historical periods, not mapped, but referred to in the Jewish holy books. Critics point out that these were written over a period of 1400 years by some 40 different writers, when **Biblical Israel’s boundaries** were created, shifted and disappeared and

sometimes re-appeared in different locations as is common in the history of states, and that Israel didn't exist as a state for almost 2000 years from 73 AD to 1948. This criticism is particularly acerbic among Palestinians regarding their situation in the refugee camps in surrounding countries and in the Gaza Strip and West Bank territories.

Concerning utopias and religion from a historical perspective, in **North America**, the Quaker vision was seminal in founding the state of Pennsylvania in 1778, while that of the Mormons impacted greatly on the creation of the state of Utah. The attempted Christian Spanish pushback and eventual *Reconquista* from the 8th century until 1492 of territories taken by Muslim rulers in Iberia led their defensive **Crusade** or holy war into North Africa in the 15th–16th centuries, including the taking of the Ceuta and Melilla territories on the Moroccan coast which remain an integral part of the Spanish state today that are disputed by Morocco. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Spain implemented a geo-strategy in **South America** to gather native populations into 'Indian *reduction*' settlements in order to Christianize them, as well as to govern and tax them and this was facilitated by the Jesuit Order whose interpretation of this strategy was implemented principally in an area corresponding to modern-day Paraguay. Later *reductions* were extended into areas now part of Argentina, Brazil and Bolivia. Since the 19th century various American-based **Christian Evangelical churches** have been active establishing territorial and social networks in **Latin America** and especially since the 1990s in Brazil.

Intricate relationships between **commercial companies and the home countries** have offered a bountiful financial utopian vision for the companies and corporations as with the oil industry in the MENA, Indonesia and Nigeria involving Western companies. In contrast to Norway's control and use of oil wealth in investing in its own population, many people in the MENA states resent the levels of underdevelopment and limited democracy that exist there, feeling a strong sense of grievance towards their governments, Western and especially US oil companies perceived as supporting or fuelling instability and conflict as in Iraq since 2003 with the US-UK led invasion to topple the dictatorial Baathist regime of Saddam Hussein. The special relationship between the USA supporting the Saud royal family regime in Saudi Arabia in return for US company access to hydrocarbons provides another noticeable example. Similarly, UK and US oil company affairs with the monarchy and government of Iran until 1978 were a major factor contributing to the Islamic Revolution there whose geopolitical ramifications continue to impact on struggles throughout the region and proxy wars including those in Syria, and with Shia and Hezbollah activities in Lebanon and Gaza. Iranian and Saudi Arabian involvement in Yemen's civil war (2015 on) has fuelled a major humanitarian disaster there.

Iterations of these political-economic empires are found in the **commercial company narratives** relating to the diamond mining industry in Sierra Leone and neighbouring West African countries that led to conflict and war especially between 1991 and 2002. Similarly, mineral mining in African countries in the Great Lakes region since the 1990s. The soaring demand for minerals used in electronic devices such as smartphones and laptops has left a legacy of social conflict and human rights

violations in the Democratic Republic of Congo and across Africa, Asia and Latin America according to analysts.¹⁰

Political and social scientists indicate **patterns and processes witnessed in other eras** as with the **British East India Company** and consequent British rule of the Indian subcontinent with trading penetration by the said Company (1612–1757). The Company was in control there (1757–1858) leading to the British Raj (1858–1947) in India, and rule in Burma (1824–1948) and Sri Lanka (1802–1948). The British parliament attempted to control the Company by extending its charter for only twenty years at a time and eventually whittled away its commercial rights and trading monopolies, when it was deemed to be challenging government power, and in some instances acting as if it were a state. Likewise, the **Dutch East Indies Company** territories eventually became a colony and later the Newly Independent State of Indonesia following WWII. It was formed from the nationalized colonies of the Company which came under administration of the Dutch government in 1800. The **American United Fruit Company** created in 1899 had an inordinate influence on the lives, economies and politics of several Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Honduras and Guatemala throughout the 20th century, and into the 21st century, leading to the term **Banana Republic** referring to a state that is politically unstable with bad governance, as a result of the domination of its economy by a single export such coffee or minerals controlled by foreign capital, and being manipulated by transnational and multinational corporations, and associated business and political interests. The current situation and geohistories and geopolitics of the oil, food and textile industries have been well documented and are also available on YouTube.¹¹ Similarly, there are interesting geographies for many tech companies.

The **five biggest tech companies in the world** today, based on market value, are Apple AAPL, Amazon AMZN, Microsoft MSFT, Alphabet GOOG, and Facebook FB, and in sixth place is China's Alibaba BABA followed by Tencent TCEHY. The tech companies operate at physical and virtual global scales challenging state governments and inter-governmental agencies to create adequate and enforceable regulation, and make these companies accountable.¹²

¹⁰The Guardian. Soaring demand for minerals used in electronic devices such as smartphones and laptops has left a legacy of social conflict and human rights violations across Africa, Asia and Latin America and Africa. <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/aug/15/developing-countries-high-price-global-mineral-boom>.

¹¹YouTube: History Channel Documentary-How Big Oil Conquered the World. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v%E2%80%89=gOs8Cbo_KYk

YouTube: The Secret of the Seven Sisters 1 of 4, Desert Storms. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v%E2%80%89=_TXG70xAnSU.

YouTube: Big Oil, Bribery, Corrupt Politicians and a Silent Media—Climate Change Part 2/3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v%E2%80%89=L9SOImLIEFQ>.

YouTube: Counting the Cost—Bangladesh: The cost of fashion. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v%E2%80%89=vj9AWjJb4R8>.

YouTube: Monsanto: The Company that Owns the World's Food Supply. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KAZmHiiN8VI>.

¹²Which Are the World's Largest Technology Companies? <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/which-are-the-world-s-largest-technology-companies.html>.

Many questions remain to be answered regarding the **dangers posed to democracy** by the misuse of technology, as investigations continue in the USA surrounding the 2016 presidential elections, and the Cambridge Analytica scandals.¹³ According to the Forbes Global 2000, in 2018, the USA and China were evenly split regarding the top ten publicly-traded companies. However, China is home to 291 Global 2000 companies while the US is on top with 560.¹⁴

NGOs supporting Fairtrade and the (ETI) Ethical Trading Initiative have developed campaigns, including consumer information to redress exploitation feeding into poverty, worker and human rights abuses, and sources of grievance and conflict. According to the NGO—The Ethical Consumer (2014), the top ten least ethical companies were: Nestle, Monsanto, Amazon, Shell, Tesco, Barclays, Exxon, Wall Mart, Coca Cola and Primark.¹⁵ Each purchase can directly fund activities throughout the supply chain and beyond that, and may include animal testing, unfair trade in developing countries, human rights abuses, or investment in weapons and fossil fuels. For lists of the most and least ethical brands, a perusal of The Good Shopping Guide regarding the least ethical category, includes many well-known brands such as Argus, Boots, British Gas, Cadbury's, Clinique, Habitat, Whiskas, and Nike.¹⁶ By 2018, the list of consumer boycotts included names ranging from Ben and Jerry's to BP, FedEx, Motorola, Nokia Siemens, Shell, Starbucks and Wendy's.¹⁷

Insights: Stanford Business Graduate School. What Is the Relationship Between Technology and Democracy? Condoleezza Rice and Google's Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen discuss communication technologies, foreign policy, and geopolitics.

March 26, 2014 by Michael Freedman <https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/insights/what-relationship-between-technology-democracy>.

YouTube: Top 10 Most Valuable Tech Companies in The World. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OhS3rkt01fM>

¹³The New York Times. Russian Hacking and Influence in the U.S. Election. <https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/russian-election-hacking>.

Financial Times. 4 April 2018. Facebook says up to 87m users hit by data scandal. <https://www.ft.com/content/c4554e30-380e-11e8-8eee-e06bde01c544>.

¹⁴Forbes Global 2000. 6 June 2018. GLOBAL 2000: THE WORLD'S LARGEST PUBLIC COMPANIES. <https://www.forbes.com/global2000/#51e4bc50335d>.

¹⁵YouTube: Fair Trade Chocolate. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=%E2%80%89=mk9b3jbJroM>.

25 years of Ethical Consumer: Our readers vote for the most and least ethical companies <http://www.ethicalconsumer.org/aboutus/ethicalconsumerat25/thebestandworstofthelast25%20years.aspx>.

Ethical Consumer's Review of 2017. <http://www.ethicalconsumer.org/aboutus/reviewof2017.aspx>.

¹⁶Most and Least Ethical Brands—2017 Edition. The Good Shopping Guide. <http://www.thegoodshoppingguide.com/least-ethical-companies-2017-edition/>.

¹⁷List of Consumer Boycotts. January 2018. <http://www.ethicalconsumer.org/boycotts/boycottlist.aspx>.

4.4 The Genocide Project: Getting Rid of the Others

By **interplaying utopian and dystopian narratives**, small groups of individuals seeking **power** can create the **genocide** project, which can be defined as the “targeted actions aimed at the destruction of particular groups of people” and particularly a nation or ethnic group, including people ‘perceived’ to be of that targeted group.¹⁸ Infamous examples include the deliberate targeting of the Herero, Nama and San people undertaken by the German Empire in South West Africa (now Namibia) (1904–07); Armenians by the Ottoman government (1915–22); people in Libya and especially the population of Cyrenaica by the occupying fascist Italian forces (1923–32); Ukrainians by Soviet forces (1932–33); Chinese population of Nanking by Japanese imperial militaries (1937–38); the Jews, Gypsies and Roma populations by the NAZIs (1939–45); massacres of Maya population by the Guatemalan military forces (1960–96); the population of east Cambodia by the Pol Pot regime (1975–79); East Timor’s population by the Indonesian authorities (1975–99); Bosnia (Former state of the Federal Yugoslavia) and especially its population of Muslim culture (1992–95) by Serbian-led regimes, but also with Croat input; Kurds in Iraq by the Baathist regime (1986–89); Yazidis and Kurds, and Shia Muslims in Syria and Iraq targeted by Daesh during the so called Islamic Caliphate regime (2015–17); and atrocities being carried out against the Rohingya population by the regime in Myanmar (2017–18). While each genocide is unique, there are many characteristics in common.¹⁹

Factors common to genocide include: small groups of people **wanting power**, or to consolidate what power they already have, to develop the **genocide project**. Often they graft this onto an **ideology** with a ‘we’ narrative ranging from ethnicity, to identity, national, religion and so forth, but with an amalgam of **utopian better futures** in contrast to the challenging present. They seek collaborators and supporters with **promises of greater material and, or existential happiness**. People who challenge this, including those in the ‘we’ categories, need to be bought off, silenced by intimidation or incarceration, or else culturally or **physically eliminated**. **Full control of information and media and censorship**, is key to this in order to silence by fear, or to **eliminate opposing voices**, and to ‘designate them’—all those people responsible for the problems such as the racial, national, religious, cultural or ethnic

¹⁸UN Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect. <http://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.html>.

¹⁹YouTube:

- 8 Stages of Genocide. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IakTrPPMpzQ>.
- 20 Years After the Rwandan Genocide! Journal Reporters. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y5Bsz8LANVg>.
- “Genocides: A World History” featuring Norman Naimark. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v%E2%80%89=BXL9VG6GoLU>.
- US Holocaust Memorial Museum: Why We Remember the Holocaust. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vK9nDadFdSY>.

‘enemy’. When a ruling political regime or government, or sections within it, comes under pressure of diminishing power or losing control, the **hate-speak and incitement to be hostile towards ‘them’, our ‘enemy’ is increased by propaganda, fake news, and misuse of social media and the dark web. For this power strategy to have most effect and to work, sections of the population must be predisposed on some level** to accepting the messages being given to them due to various reasons including existentialist explanations, including fear, and perceived material benefits as well as opportunism.

4.5 Democracy

One could ask the question is democracy a Utopian project. It is a work constantly in progress, with a very long history and foundation narratives, drawing on cultures from various parts of the world. Nonetheless, modern democracy usually traces its roots to the Enlightenment in Europe, and especially in the French *Siècle des Lumières*, an intellectual movement of the 17th–18th centuries in which ideas concerning God, reason, logic, nature, and humanity and political organization were synthesized into a worldview advanced in the American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1789) that eventually gained wide assent in the West and then diffused outwards. The end of history concept is a political and philosophical idea that argues that a specific political, economic, or social system may develop that would constitute the end-point of humanity’s socio-cultural evolution and the final form of human government. A variety of authors have argued that a particular system is the “end of history” including Thomas More (1478–1535), and Karl Marx (1818–1883), and of course, Francis Fukuyama (born 1952) in his 1992 book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, in which Fukuyama interprets the collapse of the Soviet communist system as the logical triumph of Western-style liberal economics and democracy.

John Locke (1632–1704) the English philosopher posited that since governments exist by the consent of the people in order to protect the rights of the people and promote the public good, governments that fail to do so can be resisted and replaced with new governments. Locke is thus important for his defence of the right of revolution.²⁰ Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) the German philosopher argued that: (i) Perpetual Peace will be secured through universal democracy and international cooperation; the eventual outcome of universal history; although this is not rationally planned. Hence, republican government and international organization will lead to legal constitution i.e. ‘peace through law’. (ii) As Space and time are integral to all human experience, this entails concepts of cause and effect, but not historical determinism as there is human free will. Kant argues that: “...democracy is ... necessarily a despotism, because it establishes an executive power in which ‘all’ decide for, or even

²⁰Encyclopaedia Britannica. John Locke: English Philosopher. written BY: Graham A.J. Rogers. 22/11/17. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Locke>.

against one who does not agree; that is, ‘all,’ who are not quite all, decide, and this is a contradiction of the general will with itself and with freedom (Kant 1775, Perpetual Peace). Kant distinguished three forms of government—democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy—with mixed government as being the most ideal form. This is often given as being at the origin concept of having two Parliamentary Chambers—Upper and Lower, as in the USA, Ireland, Netherlands, France, UK, Spain, and Germany, and the majority of former colonies.²¹

4.5.1 *Misinformation and Fake News*

Propaganda refers to information of a biased or misleading nature that is used to endorse a political cause or viewpoint. Whereas, **disinformation** usually refers to false material intended to mislead, especially issued by a government organization to a rival power or the media. However, due to the internet, governments as well as other powerful or emerging power-seeking groups may engage more easily in disinformation such as sectoral, rebel or ideological groups.

Essentially **fake news is linked to disinformation which has a long history and was much used by the protagonists during the Cold War era.** The **disinformation strategy seeks out cracks in the targeted society** such as socio-economic divisions, ethnic, religious or racial splits, historical, individual and group grievances. In short, any way of exploiting the ‘othering’ and ‘us and them’ syndrome in the society under attack. People loose trust in each other and their system of governance. This weakens the bonding or centripetal forces within society as a whole, and with belief in their own political system, pushing it to implode and making it more vulnerable to attack, power and control from outside forces.

The **fake information or lies have to be big, bold, egregious or sensational** in order to catch popular attention. For this to work, there should be an **element of truth**, like a hook, in order to catch people’s attention and get it accepted. The **creator of the fake news has to conceal their own identity making it seem that the information originates from somewhere else. But there must be constant repetition of the fake story so as to hook people in.** At the initial stages, **the main target is usually the less politically literate or non-analytical people, and they can become the vectors in the fake news spread and cycles.** Though it may become obvious to many people that the story is a lie, and where the source of it may be, the creator of fake news when confronted follows the old stratagem of **deny, deny, deny.** But once the misinformation is out there, it will continue to spread in whatever form or iteration almost like a game of Chinese whispers, but ‘mud sticks’. This is a **long-term game strategy**, that will eventually have an impact, like water dripping on a rock.

²¹Encyclopaedia Britannica. Immanuel Kant—German Philosopher. Written by: Brian Duignan and Otto Allen Bird. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Immanuel-Kant>.

However, in the time-geographical space **diffusion context**, the world moved on from the local and national newspapers and fax machines into the digital media era, especially as of the 1990s, and **the internet became a major game changer in misinformation, instantaneously diffusing news and information of every sort throughout all continents. It became a tool in shifting the balances of power within and between societies.**

It could be argued that the creators of the Digital Revolution such as Mark Zuckerberg initially **only foresaw positive uses of it such as helping people to connect and also to choose what they thought they wanted, but also giving them a greater voice socially and by extension politically embedded in taken-for-granted democratic ideals and of course in liberal economics, with profits being the objective of the shareholders. However, the myriad of clients includes those on the dark web and those seeking to bring down democracy itself from within or outside it.**

While external enemies engage in warfare, they can reduce their own casualties and expenses by subversion of the target society or country where the population uses its energy in self-destruction having lost the moral fibre, eventually leading to violent conflict. **Hence robust regulation of the internet and digital sector is imperative with strong, ethical and informed leaders in the corporate and especially political sectors.** In reality, transnational digital corporations follow consumer demands and profits, while political leaders even in democracies may be prone to creating their own spin and disinformation packages within their own societies in order to maintain power and control and get re-elected. Variations of this scenario are being witnessed currently in the USA, Philippines and Venezuela. **Many electorates know exactly what their daily problems are. Fake news creators connect with the emotions involved here, but like many politicians do not offer viable solutions. A divisionary tactic here is to blame the 'other'.** It is noticeable that a majority of those people in government and especially with power at the higher echelons are of a generation that grew up without the internet and before Twitter and WhatsApp were invented, and yet they are expected to legislate and regulate for the digital age. Regulation has to be invested in and not be confused with the principle of free speech. The battle between disinformation and truth, regulation and abuse of free speech principles will remain ongoing.²²

4.5.2 Democracy: A Continuous Process Based on Ideals

Democracy may be defined as a **continuous process based on ideals.** By its very nature this causes power struggles and conflict within and between societies and states

²²New York Times Co. 2018. Beyond Fake News. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2018/beyond-fake-news#heading-the-beyond-fake-news-season>.

BBC launches huge new international anti-disinformation initiative. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2018/beyond-fake-news>.

but with the aim of avoiding violence and war. The transition in South Africa from Apartheid to democracy in the 1994 general election may be cited as an example of success in this process, and to an extent also the democratic transition witnessed in the 2014 elections in Tunisia. The international community is closely observing Myanmar's partial transition to democracy following the 2015 general elections with the National League for Democracy winning an absolute majority at the expense of the military junta. However, the genocidal and population expulsion atrocities carried out by the Myanmar state against its Rohingya population in 2017 has drawn much condemnation from the international community, and questions regarding Nobel Peace Prize laureate (1991) Aung San Suu Kyi for her non-violent struggle for democracy and human rights during the years of rule by the authoritarian military junta, but now State Counsellor of Myanmar since 2016.²³

Democracy, necessitating free, transparent, and open elections, and is supported by the UN and international observers, but is constantly challenging as in the above examples, and especially where election results are violently disputed as witnessed in Kenya where a multi-party democratic system was adapted in 1992. The country has held six presidential elections since, but in only one (2002) has the losing side accepted the vote count. In 2007, the opposition coalition disputed electoral results after the incumbent candidate was declared the winner, sparking ethnic killings that left over 1200 people dead and 600,000 displaced from their homes. In the 2017 elections, Kenya and the international community feared a repetition of the violence that occurred in 2007.²⁴

In **Scotland** a referendum was held on independence from the UK in 2014 in which citizens answered with "Yes" or "No", "Should Scotland be an independent country?" The "No" side won, with 55.3% voting against independence but more significantly with 44.7% voting in favour. Turnout of 84.6% was the highest recorded for an election or referendum in the UK since the introduction of universal suffrage there in 1918. Over three centuries earlier in 1707 with the Act of Union, the Kingdoms of England and Scotland were merged into a new state; the Kingdom of Great Britain, was further enhanced with the creation of the new state of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801, but with the withdrawal of 83.5% of the territory of the island of Ireland and its population in 1922 becoming a free state and officially declared a republic in 1949. In 1973 both the Republic of Ireland and the UK including Northern Ireland, joined the EU and with the 1998 Good Friday Belfast Agreement and ensuing peace process all visible signs of border control were removed between the Republic and Northern Ireland, and large scale integration of the economies north and south accomplished, greatly facilitated by EU institutions and law. In the 2016

²³BBC News Myanmar Country Profile. 11 January 2018. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-12990563>.

Amnesty International. Myanmar 2016/17. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>.

International Crisis Group. Myanmar. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/myanmar>.

²⁴Aljazeera. Hamza Mohamed. 10 Aug 2017. Why are Kenya's elections so bitterly contested? <http://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/africa/2017/08/kenya-elections-bitterly-contested-170810154141394.html>.

Brexit referendum, England voted to leave the EU by 53.4% to 46.6%, as did Wales, with the Leave supporters in the UK getting an overall 52.5% of the vote, and the Remain camp 47.5%. Scotland and Northern Ireland both backed remaining in the EU. Scotland voted Remain by 62% to 38%, while 55.8% in Northern Ireland voted to stay and 44.2% Leave.²⁵ Since then, the Scottish National Party has again promoted its independence platforms from the UK as a core issue. With the planned exit of the UK from the EU, this leaves the UK with only one land—500 km boundary with the EU as in the Republic of Ireland, a firm supporter of the EU. A major challenge for the UK including Northern Ireland, is what type of border to implement between the UK and the Republic of Ireland, and the possible negative repercussions of this not only economically for the whole island, but a possible return of political instability and violence in Northern Ireland.²⁶

Regarding the English and UK narrative and place of Wales within it, in contrast to the geo-histories of Ireland and Scotland, the integration of Wales is significantly different. Wales was annexed by the English crown and incorporated within the English legal system in the 16th century. Distinctive Welsh politics developed in the 19th century along with liberalism, exemplified in the early 20th century, but was displaced by the growth of socialism and the Labour Party. The Welsh national party Plaid Cymru was formed in 1925 and the Welsh Language Society in 1962. The National Assembly for Wales holds responsibility for a range of devolved policy matters from London, as established under the Government of Wales Act 1998.

Similar but different challenges face the Spanish state regarding the Basque and Catalanian quest for independence by their respective strategies, and the 2017 Catalan referendum and subsequent elections, where results supporting the independence of Catalonia were deemed illegal by the Spanish state authorities in Madrid. According to the Constitution of Spain (1978), Spain is a democratic state, and Catalonia is an Autonomous Community within the Kingdom of Spain, with the status of historical region. In 2005, the Parliament of Catalonia approved the definition of Catalonia as a ‘nation’ in the preamble of the new Statute of Autonomy (autonomous basic law). In 2015 separatist parties won the regional elections in Catalonia, and Catalonia’s parliament adopted a resolution supporting independence. Spain’s constitutional court revoked Catalonia’s bid to begin the process of secession from the rest of Spain. Nonetheless, on 1st October 2017 a planned independence referendum went ahead, but was disrupted by Spanish police and hundreds of people were injured. On 2nd October 2017, The Catalan government claimed that 90% of voters backed independence and a turnout of 42.3%, with parties opposed boycotting the vote. On 7th October 2017, there was a March for Dialogue, and tens of thousands of people, demonstrated in several Spanish cities, as well as the Basque Country, demanding dialogue to resolve the crisis. On 8th October, there was a unity protest

²⁵Alex Hunt and Brian Wheeler, BBC News, 24 November 2016. Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>.

²⁶YouTube—How Brexit could create a crisis at the Irish border <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e0xGHf8o-9k>.

Joe Brennan. Brexit: 50 things Ireland needs to know. The Irish Times. <https://www.irishtimes.com/business/economy/brexit-50-things-ireland-needs-to-know-1.3030493>.

held in Barcelona, and over 350,000 people attended. People marched in Barcelona to defend a united Spain and organisers put turnout at between 930,000 and 950,000. On 10th October 2017, the Catalan president put his signature to a document that declared the region's independence from Spain, but then said the move would not be implemented for several weeks. The text, proclaiming the constitution of a "Catalan republic as an independent and sovereign state", was signed by 72 members of Catalonia's parliament. The move, a significant but largely symbolic act was to try to pressurize the Spanish government to negotiate Catalan independence, and came shortly after a speech by the Catalan President in which he stopped short of a unilateral declaration of independence not supported by Madrid nor the EU. At the end of October 2017, the Catalan President 'moved' to the EU capital Brussels, calling for further dialogue with the central Spanish government authorities, they threatened him with charges of rebellion and imprisonment, and announced regional elections for 21 December 2017.²⁷ In these elections, the three pro-Catalan independence parties won a slim majority of parliamentary seats, claiming 70 out of 135, but fell short of a majority in the popular vote by securing 47.5% of the share. By late 2018, the democracy and governance imbroglio regarding Catalonia still had not been resolved.²⁸

Iterations of this can be found among the Kurdish people split between state jurisdiction in Turkey, and especially in Iraq and Syria in the post post-Daesh environment; while significant Kurdish communities also live in Iran, Azerbaijan, Lebanon and Armenia. In September 2017, a non-binding referendum for Iraqi Kurdistan was held, with results showing 93% in favour of independence. The semi-autonomous Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) characterised it as binding; the referendum's legality was rejected by the federal government of Iraq. While the governments of Turkey, Syria and Iran reject any such move towards an independent Kurdistan in Iraq, fearing greater calls for independence by the Kurds in their own respective states.²⁹ No state in the world officially endorsed the Kurdish referendum with the exception of Israel.³⁰

In the above examples of conflict, the challenges for the theories of democracy ranging from elections and referenda, and the majority—minority results, to the international system based on the nation-state model become evident. Taking into account their respective geo-historical experiences, ethnic and cultural specificities, it must also be noted that people in Catalonia and Kurdistan feel a strong sense of

²⁷BBC News, October 2017. Catalonia profile—Timeline. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-20345073>.

²⁸Catalonia. Politico. 22/1/18. <https://www.politico.eu/country/catalonia/>.

²⁹Bethan McKernan. 27 September 2017. Kurdistan referendum results: 93% of Iraqi Kurds vote for independence, say reports. The Independent. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/kurdistan-referendum-results-vote-yes-iraqi-kurds-independence-iran-syria-a7970241.html>.

Aljazeera 25 Sep. 2017 Iraqi Kurds count referendum votes. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/09/iraqi-kurds-count-independence-referendum-170925174221276.html>.

³⁰Jeffrey Heller. Sep. 13, 2017. Israel endorses independent Kurdish State. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-kurds-israel/israel-endorses-independent-kurdish-state-idUSKCN1BO0QZ>.

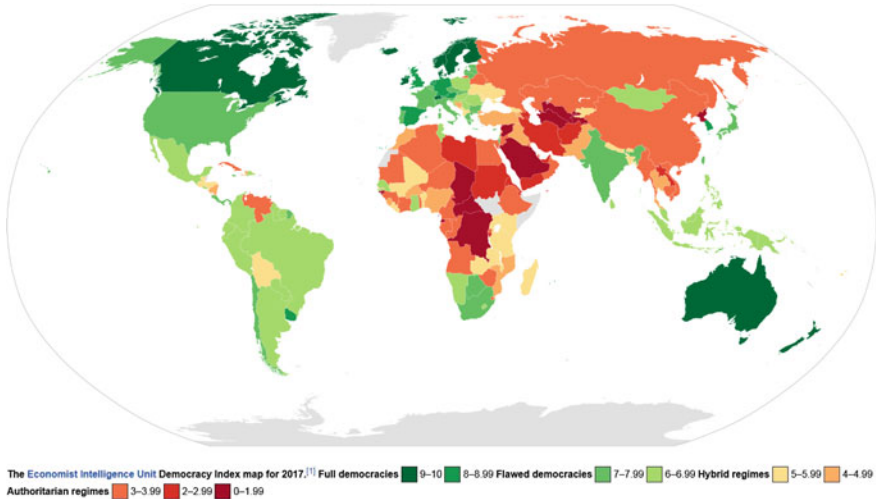


Fig. 4.4 Illustrates a global map of the Democracy Index

historical and present day grievance regarding their financial contributions to the central state governments, taking into consideration their strong economies relative to other regions within Spain and Iraq, and their natural and human resources. Similar economic arguments are advanced in Belgium and Italy by those secessionist ‘nationalists’ wishing ‘independence’ for Flanders, and Lombardy and Venice (Fig. 4.4).

4.6 Development and Political Economy

Regarding development, humanitarian action and political economy; democracy, citizenship and good governance became embedded in the discourses of many Western and other political and financial stakeholders, particularly from the 1990s on and preparations for the UN Millennium Development Goals. In this context, a very brief overview of the main characteristics of democracy are presented here:

- A system of government by the whole population (polity) or all the eligible members of a state or society, typically through elected representatives—‘Government for the people, by the people’—votes for all citizens aged 18 years or older. Of course, the dilemma here can be who is regarded as a citizen in the state, and who is not. In 22 countries voting is legally mandatory for all eligible citizens including Brazil and eight other Latin American and Caribbean countries; Belgium, Luxembourg and Greece in the EU; Egypt and Lebanon in the MENA; Singapore and Australia.

- More than one political party and more than one candidate in any election—a multi-party system.
- A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free, fair, transparent and open elections at regular time intervals, for instance, every four years in some countries.
- The active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life; freedom of association or to form groups, trade unions, associations and NGOs.
- Protection of human rights of all citizens, including the rights of children and the disabled.
- A rule of law, in which the laws and procedures of a state apply equally to all citizens and not just specific groups of people.
- Characteristics: Historically, free speech is a major barometer in viewing the level of democracy for all citizens. However, for example, judges and lawyers, trade union leaders, journalists, teachers and university teaching staff—due to the very nature of their work have the right of free speech. This doesn't mean simply having an opinion; the view or analysis must be a well-informed opinion based on facts and reflection. Abuses of the principle of free speech include revisionists denying scientifically proven historical facts such as atrocities related to the NAZI Holocaust, and similarly denials regarding colonialism, slavery or racism; sexists or sexist regimes or groups (male or female) vilifying people of the opposite sex due to their own prejudices, ignorance or political agenda. Since the 2016 coup d'état attempt in Turkey against the government of president Erdoğan, carried out by a faction within the Turkish Armed Forces, there has been a massive crackdown on free speech in the media, trade unions, educational and academic community, that many commentators contend is disproportionate, and undermines democracy there.³¹
- Historically in the development of democracy, rights also carried implicit duties for the citizens such as: pay your legitimate share of taxes, vote in elections, educate your children, get the necessary vaccinations against diseases for yourself and your children, and so forth.

4.6.1 *The Democracy Index*

The Democracy Index (EIU compiled) is published by the UK-based Economist Intelligence Unit, and is an **assessment of countries' ranking in democracy**. They are rated to be either: Full Democracies, Flawed Democracies, Hybrid Regimes, or Authoritarian Regimes. Full democracies, flawed democracies, and hybrid regimes are considered to be democracies, and the authoritarian states are considered to be dictatorial. The index is based on 60 indicators grouped in five different categories measuring pluralism, civil liberties, and political culture. In 2017, Norway, Iceland

³¹Human Rights Watch. World Report 2017—Turkey. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/turkey>.

and Sweden ranked in the top three, with Chad, Syria and North Korea in the bottom three (for further information, including infographics, see EIU).³²

4.6.2 *Democracy and Development*

Political concepts and rankings regarding democracy include: **transparency, endowment-entitlement, and action, context, structure**, as well as **power** including **empowerment and disempowerment**.

4.6.3 *Transparency*

The **Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)** is compiled by Transparency International and **ranks countries** and territories based on **how corrupt their public (state) sector is perceived** to be. The CPI generally defines corruption as the **misuse of public power for private benefit**. The CPI currently ranks on a scale from 100 (very clean) to 0 (highly corrupt). It serves as a reminder that abuse of power, secret dealings and bribery inhibit development reinforcing inequalities, and the negative effects of bad governance and lack of transparency. Renewed efforts are needed to crack down on money laundering (including dirty and blood money), clean up political finance, pursue the return of stolen assets and build more transparent public institutions. In 2017, of 176 countries placed, New Zealand, Denmark and Finland ranked in the top three, while South Sudan, Somalia and North Korea in the bottom three, with Austria, USA, Ireland, Japan and Uruguay ranking in positions 17–21 (for further information, including infographics, see CPI).³³

4.6.4 *Endowment and Entitlement Mapping*

Sen (1981) developed the concept of **endowment-entitlement mapping** in his studies on famine, poverty and deprivation in various regions of the world. Such a map can be interpreted as an input-output relationship with feedback and feed-forward

³²See: EIU Infographics. <https://infographics.economist.com/2018/DemocracyIndex/>.
EIU Democracy Index 2017. <https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>.

Additional reading on the Democracy Index. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index.

³³See: Transparency International https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017; <https://www.transparency.org> and Bribe Payers Index <http://www.transparency.org/research/bpi/overview> and Country profiles: <http://www.transparency.org/country>.

channels in complex structures. There is scope for applying such mapping in various facets of development economics.³⁴

Endowment can be defined as natural abilities or qualities, talent, or capability of an individual. In other words, what you have: skills, talent, labour, trade, education, goods, property. While **entitlement** (literally meaning to be entitled to) refers to what you have a right to. But what if you are blocked from using these endowments and getting your entitlements due to poverty or discrimination—unofficial or official—within the family, community or state **structures** because of tradition, practices or laws due to gender, ethnicity, race or something else! Obvious examples include the Apartheid racial laws that existed in South Africa until 1994. The Apartheid regime had the political, judicial, administrative, police and military structures in place in the RSA to implement their system of governance and discrimination, and to apply inequitable **actions**. In India, despite government legislation and actions, and changing structures, it has not fully succeeded in changing negative traditions whereby over 160 million people are considered “Untouchable”—people tainted by their birth into a caste system that considers them impure and less than human, so causing discrimination against them in all socio-economic spheres. Human rights abuses against these people, known as Dalits, are common. Though legally abolished in the Constitution of India (1950) and aided by actions of positive discrimination in areas such education and public services, it continues today and especially in rural areas. Likewise, due to traditions and customs, sexism remains an obstacle to realizing their endowments and entitlements for many women today, not only in the poorer countries, but also in wealthy states such as Saudi Arabia.³⁵

4.6.5 *Action, Context, Structure, and Power in Humanitarian Spaces*

Any response to humanitarian crises at local community, NGO, or governmental and inter-governmental levels must be cognisant of action, structure and power in order to effectively respond in positive ways. Existing levels of economic and human development of the affected area and population are central to the response, and humanitarian action constitutes only a phase in the development process of the community, area or state affected by the crisis. Hence the humanitarian response must include the follow-up sustainable strategy for the affected population not to fall back into vulnerability.

³⁴To read more: Sen (1981).

Devereux (2001) @ <http://www.ieham.org/html/docs/FamineMortality.pdf>.

³⁵To read more: <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~dludden/FamineMortality.pdf>.

http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:6AuzeNDF-rMJ:www.ifad.org/hfs/thematic/rural/rural_5.htm+define+endowment+entitlement+mapping&cd=7&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ie.

<http://www.humanosphere.org/human-rights/2015/02/laws-discriminating-women-persist-globally/>.

Action or to do something refers to activities or responses in particular situations and environments, ranging from the individual, family and community levels to the broader national and international scales. However, actions take place within ‘socially constructed’ **structures** such as the family or community, and hence these actions are within parameters that are influenced by a broad range of criteria ranging from culture as with the role and status of women, to economic organisation or how the family or community earn a livelihood. At a broader scale, actions take place within state structures with explicit laws and implicit norms and rules, but also international—governmental and non-governmental—**contexts** and **structures**.

The **power** and economic structures within the family and community, for instance patriarchy, elite-based, landlord-tenant or day labourer, have to be juxtaposed with the power at national scale ranging from democratic to elitist and quangos-type systems, to international levels. One must ask what is the real power of the individual working in a textile factory in China, Indonesia, Mexico or the EU regarding earning a wage and making a living in the respective states. This has to be juxtaposed with the nexus of power of Multinational Corporations, state legislation, trade unions and the ILO (International Labour Organisation). A similar question may be asked regarding farming families in Uganda, Brazil, Thailand, India, Lithuania, Poland, Algeria, Lebanon or Scotland when it comes to the impact of social, economic and especially political structures concerning food, agricultural or market policies impacted by such institutions as the World Bank, IMF (International Monetary Fund), FAO (UN Food and Agricultural Organisation) and EU Common Agricultural Policy.

When using the term power, we must be cognisant of where that **power comes from**, for example, gender, wealth, education, belonging to a specific cultural or ethnic group or elite, and the **power to** do something such as making decisions or freedom to take actions. Action may target **empowering** oneself or others such as mastering the skill of growing food crops, learning to read and write, drive a car, use a computer or mobile phone, make and manage resources and money, owning property. People or groups with power, usually do not want to lose it, and sharing it may be perceived as a threat by them, so they may take actions or foster structures to prevent the empowerment of others, for instance, creating an educational system under Apart-heid so as to prevent certain groups of people from gaining an education in South Africa. However, (dis)empowerment leaves individuals, communities and groups vulnerable. This may be due to direct action such as that of the Taliban in Afghanistan banning the education of females; or the political-economy structures in India, the largest democracy in the world, where a landlord elite with strong linkage to the political parties, hold vast sections of the rural population in poverty in a tenant-landlord quasi-feudal relationship.

Social and cultural attitudes that **(dis)empower** people may be even more insidious. For negative attitudes such as sexism, racism or bigotry may be part of the ‘norm’ and ‘taken for granted’ by the vast majority of the population, and hence the abnormal becomes the normalized and permeates all aspects and structures within society. Of course, the levels of corruption, whether at top-down or bottom-up scales,

Table 4.1 Freedom in the World Country Ratings

Freedom in the world	Total countries	Free countries: No. and %	Partly free countries: No. and %	Not free countries: No. and %
2015	195	89: 46%	55: 28%	51: 26%
2000	192	86: 45%	58: 30%	48: 25%
1985	167	57: 34%	57: 34%	53: 32%

Source Freedom House 2015. <https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/Global%20Country%20Status%20Overview%2C%201973-2015.pdf>

and lack of transparency at local, national and international scales come into play debilitating development.³⁶

4.7 Human Rights and Democratisation

In an ideal democracy, all humans should have equal rights, and especially before the law. In practice, civil and human rights vary from state to state. Western democracy evolved and developed alongside territorial states in Europe, while the Newly Independent States (NIS) often continued to use the structures, organisation and culture of force inherited from the colonial masters. State-nationalist and Cold War (1945–1991) discourses took precedence over basic human rights within the former colonies, while structural and development challenges were inherited in the decolonization process. Since the demise of communism in the USSR (1991), UN bodies and especially international financial institutions including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have taken a more serious approach in promoting human rights and democracy in their financial programs. Democracy is an ideal based on continuous social processes.

Organisations such as the Economist Intelligence Unit compiles the annual **Democracy Index**, as does the NGO Freedom House which monitors **progress in democracy building**, and its annual Global Democracy Ranking uses the following conceptual formula: (i) quality of democracy (i.e. freedom and other characteristics of the political system) and (ii) performance of non-political dimensions (i.e. gender, economy, knowledge, health and environment).³⁷ Between 1985 and 2015, the total number of countries increased from 167 to 195, with an increase from 34% to 28% in Free countries, a decrease from 34% to 28% in Partly Free Countries, and drop from 32% to 26% in Not Free Countries (Table 4.1).

³⁶To read more: www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/.../ptdv1000.pdf.

http://content.undp.org/go/cms-service/stream/asset/:jsessionid=aPAVJQnZldve?asset_id=2524504.

³⁷Freedom House. http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/?page_id=497.

4.8 Conclusion

There are multiple causes for conflict due to competition for resources, power, social constructs and competing ideas. Essentially, these causes can be broadly categorized into the material including economic and power factors such as energy and mineral resources, land, geostrategic locations. **The nexus between needs, wants, fear of being ‘without’ as well as avarice also comes into play here.** The non-material or existential variables are largely based on collective imagination and Utopian ideals.

Historically, **Utopian** ideals have provided **major motors for civilization** in the human struggle for a better life but often also to give life itself a meaning both individually and collectively due to the gregarious nature of humans, and the quest to understand what may come or not, after death. Due to **real life challenges**, there can often be a sense of nostalgia, or grievance, or anger, or quest for retribution, **seeking changes in the current situation in contrast to a past golden age real or imagined, and so make it great again.** In the quest to re-find a flawless past and a better future, there needs to be **social organization** in order to avoid conflict, due to **good leadership and governance with a moral compass.** This quest for a past and future Utopia or paradise on earth, or even beyond life, is expressed in the **covenant or contract** that can be codified in the holy books, rituals and traditions distinguishing ‘us’ from the ‘others’, or in the human-made socio-political contract embodied in such ideologies as **democracy and constitutions.** However, **one person or groups paradise-construct, or democracy-blueprint may be lived, or perceived as dystopian and hellish for others.**

The horrors of the Genocide Project entails the most extreme example in the **breakdown and failure of the abuse of power, and balances and checks** in social relations, organization and territorialities. **Democracy** with the associated human and civil rights is a multifaceted ideal entwined with development ideals and consequently political economy. **In concrete terms,** the setting up of the **United Nations after WWII,** tried to combine the **ethics of humanism** with a **real politik** but remaining cognizant of power and the diverse human cultures, religions, geographies, histories and geopolitics attempting to regulate by inter-governmental consensus in order to reduce conflict and war. **Tools and instruments** fostered by the UN and its various agencies saw the further development of international law for conflict and **war crimes and crimes against humanity,** but also the **UN Human Development Plan and associated indexes and projects.** Collaboration between inter-government agencies and non-state actors and NGOs gave further rise to the **demand for greater education and tools** as with the Democracy Index and associated transparency measures in order to enhance the **Democracy Project,** including Freedom in the World Country Ratings. But in **constructing a better future, policies** need to include awareness for **endowment and entitlement** linked to positive **action,** geographical and socio-political **context,** local and national political **structure,** and **power constructs.** Central to this is **human rights and democratisation** in the broadest sense of the word, and not just a Western-centric worldview and project.

Among populations in the industrialized world and in the NICs today, there is **less trust in formal political ideologies and establishments** especially since the 1990s, and the global recession that hit in 2007. People seriously question does the state and inter-state organizations really represent the interests of the citizens or simply capital emanating from state territory and international economics. This came particularly to the fore in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Italy with the negative effects of the recession as of 2007, and the USA during Donald Trump's electoral campaign in 2016.

The misalignment of cultural and political boundaries, especially in former colonies, does not facilitate **credible state ideologies** in many cases. In numerous NICs and other states—including those of the former Soviet Union—where political rights do not necessarily confer economic rights and sustainable development. States produced from civilizations with strong root ideologies, strengthened with military and economic strategies such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, continue to be impacted by their **cultural and ideological shadows**, and heritages which influence them greatly. This can cause friction with the democratic ideal, causing conflict within their own societies and in their international relations.

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- Sen A (1981) *Poverty and Famine: an essay on entitlement and deprivation*. Oxford University Press, Oxford

Chapter 5

Can Democracy Be All Things to All People?



Abstract Many observers postulated that we were in a post-ideological age especially from the 1970s on. This may be true in the context of doctrinaire Marxism or Christianity. However, ordinary people are viewing ideology on different levels, albeit without using the term, and looking for credible dynamic leaders to bring change as witnessed especially with the rise in populisms. Diversity of contested ideas, conflicts and geographical scales makes analysis additionally complex. Whether due to local and regional planning in mature democracies, or that regarding the MENA countries, Kosovo, Venezuela, South Sudan or Myanmar, the common factor is power relationships, and balances of fear and influence in specific places. Hence the solution is habitually the least unjust response. If hostilities are put down by force, then the long-term reasons for conflict remain and will eventually resurface. All conflict does not necessarily lead to violence as proven by democratic consensus reached in many jurisdictions, including traditional conflict resolution methods as found throughout Africa and Asia in contrast to the highly adversarial and litigious culture often associated with America. Disputes exist within and between democratic states, war does not.

Keywords Ideology · ‘isms’ · Governance · Democracy · Citizenship · Competition · Fundamentalism

5.1 Introduction

In trying to comprehend the sources, root-causes and categories of conflicts, we often find ‘isms’ denoting a distinctive practice, system or philosophy frequently based on **dogma**—a set of principles laid down by an authority as irrefutably true—or typically a political ideology such as nationalism, republicanism, liberal-capitalism, socialism and so forth. **Ideology is a system of ideas that is usually codified** and an ideologue may be viewed as a revolutionary thinker; and, or as a person who articulates and narrates his or her own space, time and society as with President Hugo Chavez and Bolivarianism (died 2013) in Venezuela.

While some observers postulate that we are in a post-ideological age especially since the 1970s, this may be true in the context of **doctrinaire Marxism or Christianity**, or the evolving social reservations in capitalism regarding unbridled consumerism and non-sustainable environmental destruction, but many **ordinary people** are viewing ideology on another level, albeit without seeing or using the term ideology, and they are **looking for dynamic leaders to bring change**.

In the human quest of individuals **to give their own lives a meaning and purpose** and socially to avoid anomy, and empathize or connect with other people, in a **post-modern globalizing world**, many are highly suspicious of explicit ideologies with a certain ‘we have seen it all before’ attitude. Others are drawn towards **syncretic cultural and ideological beliefs**, or a credence in drawing on **fundamental ideas from culture or religion in a revivalist manner**. The internet has offered virtual spaces for all types of ‘we’ groups, both ethical and unethical, both legal and illegal. Some people manipulate aspects of ideologies **searching for a meaning for themselves and to promote it** through sects, associations or the ballot box in the respective societies. Others may use **extreme methods to impose ‘their truth’** often in order to try and reassure themselves, leading to violent conflict. **Romanization** of violence for those searching for a cause, especially in cyberspace and dark web, can have a strong pull effect on recruiting delusional or self-perceived heroes, and that cultivates the extremes of the ‘us and them’ syndrome that nurtures **cultures of hatred**.

5.1.1 The Pillars and Organs of Ideology

The characteristics of the **pillars and organs of ideology** can include top-down factors as with an **establishment ideology of the state**, associated **bureaucracies, military, law and judiciary, educational system, and sometimes religion**. Regarding **bottom-up ideologies**, they may be a reaction to, or rejection of the current lived situation, and attempt at offering what it perceives to be solutions. Viewing ideology in this spectrum of doctrine, myth, or belief that guides an individual, a way of life, a mentality and a personality, it could be argued that there are **root ideologies** based on cultural and social constructs. This does not necessarily suggest one ideological vision or deterministic cultural world-view. Often individuals interpret ideologies, and select aspects of them, and numerous syncretic types of ideology evolve differently and diffuse over space and time and are influenced by other ideologies and cultures. With this in mind, Albert Einstein is reputed to have said that: ‘it is harder to crack a prejudice than an atom’. However, in the Socratic tradition, we are reminded about wisdom and that: “I do not think I know what I do not know”; while Victor Hugo says that: “No army can stop an idea whose time has come” and “There shall be no slavery of the mind”.

Regarding **ideology and religion**, during the Christian Reformation in 16th century Europe, following the 15th century Renaissance or rebirth of interest in Greco-Roman civilization, several emerging states established **national churches** in the

process of **nation-state building** including England and many German-speaking states, Denmark and the Scandinavian countries, breaking with religious rule from the Roman Catholic Church under the authority of the Pope in the Vatican state. In contrast, Roman Catholicism continued to play key roles in the nationalisms of Spain, Austria, Poland, Portugal and Ireland well into the late 20th century. In Eastern Europe and the Balkans, many countries developing proto nation-states such as Serbia, Russia, Romania and Greece that established their own Christian Orthodox churches with their own autonomous religious patriarchs having special links with the Pope in Rome, but closely connected to their respective 'nations' from the 9th century on. This was consolidated in the 11th century East-West schism. Interestingly these old power and cultural fault-lines had shadows of the splitting of the Roman Empire in the third century into two spheres, with one based on Rome and the other on Byzantium, later to become Constantinople and eventually Istanbul in 1553. With the demise of communism in the Soviet Union, the **Russian Orthodox Church has re-emerged as a strong political force in the Russian Federation with resilient links to the political elite**, while in Ukraine the Orthodox Church has been re-asserting its independence from the Moscow Patriarchate over the past decade.

From the 7th century on, Islam influenced legislation in all territories with Muslim majorities and the Caliph, chief Muslim civil and religious ruler, regarded as the successor of the prophet Mohammad, ruled in Baghdad until 1258 and then in Egypt until the Ottoman conquest of 1517. The title was then held by the Ottoman sultans until the sultanate and caliphate were abolished in 1924 by Kemal Atatürk, president of the new modernizing Turkish republic who promoted **separation of religion and politics** within the state following the historic precedents set in the revolutions and constitutions of secular France and the USA. In the Arabian Peninsula, Sunni Muslim revivalist puritanical **Wahhabism** was born in the 18th century, where its preacher made an alliance with the leading Bin Saud family, consolidating religious and political alliances, which has endured over the centuries, making Wahhabism the state religion in Saudi Arabia today. With the **Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, the new Shia government there proclaimed the first official theocracy in modern history**.

In the above examples from Europe and the MENA, it could be argued that **religious fundamentalisms and nationalisms became part of root-ideologies**. Nonetheless, many Islamic fundamentalists believe that state sponsored nationalism is essentially in contradiction of Islam's Koranic prescription to convert all humankind to Islam and not just a specific ethnic or national group; essentially a similar philosophy found in the Christian missionary universalizing tradition.

Of course this close **alliance of concepts was challenged by free thinkers in many societies**, and especially in Europe from the 18th century on with the **Age of Enlightenment**, an intellectual and scientific movement characterized by a scientific approach to religious, political, social and economic issues which influenced the **Revolutions** in America (1776) and France (1789) with the American Constitution promoting the individual citizen and Bill of Rights which influenced the France Constitution and Declarations of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. In essence

both constitutions forbade formal links between religious authorities and institutions, and the state, guaranteeing citizens freedom of individual beliefs. The above two examples are seen as watersheds in the construction of Western democracy and human rights.

Ideology has been, and is used by all states and imperial powers in an attempt to sustain power and control. However, it should be noted that many images of the state still carry **symbols** of root-ideologies, as with religious symbolism. A third of the 196 country flags in the world have religious imagery: 31 Christianity, 21 Islam, 3 Hinduism/Buddhism (Cambodia, India, and Nepal), 2 Buddhism (Sri Lanka and Bhutan), with one for Judaism (Israel), and 6 other religions (Argentina, Japan, Mexico, Mongolia, South Korea and Uruguay). Christian crosses are found on the flags of the UK, Switzerland, Slovakia, Serbia, Georgia, and the Scandinavian states. Muslim stars and, or sickle moon images exist on the flags of Algeria, Libya, Jordan, Turkey, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and the distinctive flag of Saudi Arabia with the Muslim creed written on it. The Star of David is prominent on the Israeli flag.¹

According to Samuel Huntington's **Clash of Civilizations** (1993) thesis, he identified eight (re)emerging civilizations: Western, Latin American, Islamic, Sinic, Hindu, Orthodox, Buddhist, and Japanese, and a possible ninth, African. For Huntington, the hegemony of the Christian West would be most threatened by the Sinic Civilization—spurred on by Chinese economic growth, Islam—fuelled by a youthful population bulge and age structure, and Latin American civilizations, with Mexican and other migrants transforming the culture of cities like Los Angeles and Austin. According to Huntington, global politics today is structured around a Clash of Civilizations in which religions are playing a crucial role—as both harbingers of conflict and advocates of peace. But this thesis has been heavily criticized and many argue that it fails to capture the complexity of the tensions, cultural faultlines, conflicts and wars which are at work in the world. In short, Huntington's—*The Clash of Civilizations* (1993) postulated that sources of conflict post-1991 would not be primarily purely ideological or economic, but cultural.²

Edward Said's (1935–2003) rebuffal to the so called *Clash of Civilizations*, argues that we have a **Clash of Ignorance** (2001): “These are tense times, but it is better to think in terms of powerful and powerless communities, the secular politics of reason and ignorance, and universal principles of justice and injustice, than to wander off in search of vast abstractions that may give momentary satisfaction but little self-knowledge or informed analysis. ‘The Clash of Civilizations’ thesis is a gimmick like ‘The War of the Worlds’ better for reinforcing defensive self-pride than for critical understanding of the bewildering interdependence of our time”.³

Dominique Moïsi in *The Geopolitics of Emotion* (2010) argues that: “... mapping of emotions ... is as legitimate and compulsory ... as ... mapping of geographical

¹Religious symbols on national flags. http://www.pewresearch.org/files/2014/11/FT_14.11.25_religionFlags_640px1.png.

²Huntington (1993) and Fukuyama (1989).

³Edward Said: The Clash of Ignorance The Nation, October 2001.

realities...; the post-9/11 world has become divided by more than cultural faultlines between nations and civilizations... **geopolitics of today is characterized by a “clash of emotions...; cultures of fear, humiliation, and hope are reshaping the world.”** The West, is dominated and divided by fear. For Muslims and Arabs, a culture of humiliation is quickly devolving into a culture of hatred. To understand our changing world, we need to confront emotion. “Self-preservation means change—the status quo is untenable”. Moisi also argues that the two major globalization hubs are: (i) the USA regarding the evolving world ‘culture’ and (ii) Asia, with China and India as cores, for economy; with the West trying to re-adjust.⁴

5.1.2 *Ideological Competition*

From 1945 to 1990 the most obvious ideological conflict lay between the communist and capitalist political-economy ideologies as led by the superpowers Russia and the USA, and their respective allies.⁵ While hostilities existed the superpowers did not confront each other directly in open warfare but rather indirectly through propaganda and proxy wars supporting different regimes and factions in countries ranging from Vietnam, Indonesia and Korean to Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Cuba, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Chile. The **Cold War** (1947–91) protagonists followed the so called policy of **Deterrence**, a theory which holds that nuclear weapons are intended to frighten other states from attacking with their nuclear weapons, through the promise of retaliation and possibly mutually assured destruction (MAD), and hence the balance of fear was maintained. Whatever the discourses concerning the Cold War, it must be remembered that the vast majority of ordinary people, and especially those in the NICs, were more concerned with basic issues regarding their daily livelihoods and especially poverty, food and work.

With the ‘physical’ ending of the Cold War (1990–91), there was much hope for a more stable world with less conflict and war, and greater collaboration in the international community, that would have a positive knock-on effect on development. This was short lived due to the wars in the Balkans, former Soviet republics in Asia, and in Africa, and the 9/11 terrorist attacks on America.

Following the US-UK debacle in invading Iraq in 2003, the main justification offered was that Saddam Hussein’s regime held WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction), but none were ever found. Some pundits insightfully defined WMD as words of mass destruction. In the mutual destruction and fear games, Iraq as part of this geopolitical Shatterbelt zone degenerated into a multifaceted civil war zone contributing to regional instability, and increasing rise of the fundamentalist Jihadi phenomenon

⁴Moisi (2016).

⁵Communism Versus Capitalism. http://www.sjUSD.org/leland/teachers/sgillis/geog/asia/Communism_Capitalism_pro_con.pdf and Defining Capitalism and Communism. http://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/engl_258/lecture%20notes/capitalism%20etc%20defined.htm.

in Iraq and especially neighbouring Syria. The nuclear balance of fear came to the fore once more regarding Iran and Western policy.

5.1.3 *Religion and Fundamentalism*

Clashes of every type now form part of globalizing internet news. They can range from social, moral and ethical matters, to so called political correctness extremism in Western and other cultures surrounding various interpretations of feminism, LGBT issues, same sex marriage, abortion and human cloning, to Daesh terrorist operations in Syria and Libya, or nationalistic Hindu groups seeking supremacy in India, or Buddhist attempts to dominate political life in Sri Lanka. Overuse of the term **fundamentalism** by the media and public alike has made the word **fundamentalist** almost synonymous with conflict and terrorism. Nonetheless, fundamentalism can be defined as **a strict adherence to some belief or ideology**, especially in a moral or religious context, whereby the **holy books or perceived words of God are taken literally**. For instance, in the Abrahamic prophetic monotheistic tradition of Judaism, from which Christianity and Islam developed, and the associated sacred books, it is stated that God created the world and everything in it including the first people Adam and Eve in seven days. Hence extreme fundamentalists adhering to the above religions take these words literally leaving little room for interpretation including metaphor and paradox, and refute the scientific theories of the so called Big Bang and evolution. This is just one example among many.

Religious fundamentalism is not unique to sections of believers in the Abrahamic religions and is found in others in different contexts including Hinduism and Buddhism.⁶ **Religious fundamentalists often try to establish a blueprint for social and political organization based on very selective readings, offering guidelines from the holy books and traditions, as with the Christian Mennonite Amish communities found mostly in Pennsylvania and Ohio.** However religious fundamentalists can become militant and violent when such groups try imposing their vision by force or terrorism—the unofficial or unauthorized use of force—fear, terror, intimidation and violence—in the pursuit of political aims targeting their own social community and place, or country, neighbouring states and their populations. In certain instances, complex collaborative arrangements and relationships may exist informally or formally between governments and fundamentalist terrorist organizations within or outside their own states, using such terrorist groups to strike outside that state. Such accusations have been made against Iran and Saudi Arabia among other countries.

Militant fundamentalism depending on specific geographical contexts can be the product of over-simplified ‘us and them’ classifications, and pseudo racial, ethnic or cultural profiling. It may be a response to fear, real or imagined failures of moder-

⁶Read more: Hindu Fundamentalism: Does it exist? <https://tamaraalom.wordpress.com/hindu-fundamentalism-does-it-exist/>.

nity whether in the richer or poorer societies, globalization, development processes and poverty, bad governance and political inertia, and shortcomings in democracy as experienced by populations in many post-colonial societies where neither communism, socialism nor market-led liberalism are perceived to have delivered a better way of life for many people as in Iraq, Sudan, Somalia, Algeria and northern Nigeria. But this fundamentalist phenomenon is not exclusive to the former colonies, and has been witnessed in the USA among so called right-wing groups. The phenomenon has also been seen with terrorism in the name of religious fundamentalism carried out by American citizens within the USA, and similarly in European countries and Russia, including series of attacks in France, Britain, Germany and Russia especially since 2014.

Usually fundamentalism engenders centrifugal force impacts for states and the international community. In Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* (1993) and the *Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996), he posited that people's cultural and religious identities would be the main source of conflict in the post-Cold War world; his theory was in response to Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man* (1996) in which he speculated that: we are witnessing the endpoint of mankind's ideological evolution and so the universalization of **Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government**.⁷

By the 1970s, many social scientists believed that **modernity**—including **science and technology, education and higher living standards**—would replace religion as a major force in society and identity politics, and especially in geopolitics. This perspective was seriously **challenged by the Iranian Fundamentalist Revolution in 1979** and declaration of a theocracy or system of government in which clerics rule in the name of God. Nonetheless, in Latin America, sections of the Roman Catholic clergy and congregations were becoming influenced by **Liberation Theology** seeking to redress problems of poverty, social injustice and human rights as well as spiritual matters despite objections from conservative Vatican leaders. Though not part of the Liberation Theology clerical circles, in 1980 Archbishop Óscar Romero of El Salvador, who spoke out against poverty, social injustice, assassinations and torture was killed by right-wing paramilitaries during a religious service. The Vatican remained ominously quiet on the issue, but in 2018 he was elevated to the status of sainthood.

Missionary work of various American-based **Christian Evangelical churches** targeted **Latin America**—promoting the sole authority of the Bible—based on fundamentalist literalism—in order to gain salvation through regeneration or rebirth, and a spiritually transformed personal life. Such religious activities in Latin America must also be seen in the context of the Cold War being fought out in the USA's 'back yard'. This wave of **Christian fundamentalism** became especially visible in the US during the presidential administrations of Ronald Regan (1981–89), George Bush (1989–93) and George W. Bush (2001–2009).

Issues of **identity**, religion and its use and misuse remain a real factor **in internal and international conflict**. In this context it should be remembered that **religion**

⁷See Footnote 2.

can be defined as a set of beliefs related to the cause, nature and purpose of the universe and human life, particularly when viewed as the creation of a super-human agency or agencies, usually involving rituals, sacred places, and moral codes governing individual and social conduct. In an era of hyper-globalization and media interconnectedness, people are looking for answers not only about a possible afterlife, but coping with **fear for their current everyday needs**, and are alarmed by the cultural changes taking place around them, and its manifestation with increasing immigration.

Historically, overtly or covertly, consciously or subconsciously, **religion has usually been closely linked to other social and political ideological systems** of ideals such as monarchy, nationalism and resistance movements. Over the past half century, examples of this became evident in conflicts in Israel—Palestine, Northern Ireland, Serbia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, Kashmir, Sudan and Myanmar with its Buddhist majority population witnessing discrimination against the Rohingya Muslim minority.

5.1.4 Democracies and Conflict

Democracy or a system of government by the whole population, or all eligible members of a state, typically through voting for elected representatives does not necessarily mean an **absence of conflict neither in democratic states, nor within the context of foreign interventions** as witnessed in US-led allied interventions in Afghanistan (2001) and especially Iraq (2003). However, democracy facilitates citizens in contesting government decisions affecting them at home, and also abroad in their name, but too often taken by the political authorities without fully taking into account local opposition. Nonetheless, democratic culture and process within states permits debate surrounding the root causes of conflict, and search for resolution, decision-making and planning, promoting appropriate policy within the states and internationally; especially choices concerning intervention in an armed conflict situation not within the state's own territory.

5.1.5 Inherent Contradictions

Democracy is an ideal that can be abused by political regimes as witnessed by African-American citizens in the southern US states under the Jim Crow laws supporting **racial segregation** that was in operation there until 1965, with iterations of **apart-heid** politics. Similarly, with **gerrymandering** of electoral district boundaries practised in the USA and Northern Ireland in the past, so as to give one political group or party a permanent majority in many districts, while concentrating the voting strength of the other party into as few districts as possible. In the emerging attempts

at democratic political systems in the so called post-conflict situations in Afghanistan and Iraq, this has posed major challenges.

Political democratic changes ushered in by Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership in the USSR and satellite countries (1990–91) led to the almost bloodless implosion of the Soviet empire, but occasioned major **conflict in the Caucasus region**, with a resurgence of historical grievances. Old cultural and ethnic fault-lines erupted, leading to conflicts and territorial demands, ranging from the Nagorno-Karabakh area disputed by Armenia and Azerbaijan, to the horrific destruction of the Chechnya wars in 1994–96 and 1999–2009, where the population had never fully accepted foreign rule under tsarist, communist nor the new post-communist Russia.

Along with internal and cross boundary ethnic conflicts and power struggles, **the old imperial power Russia continues to cast its shadow over its former colonies and Soviet Republics** including independent states such as Belorussia and Ukraine. Since 1991 conflict has been witnessed in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Dagestan, Ingushetia, South Ossetia, Georgia, and Abkhazia. Russia's geopolitical territorial strategy came to the fore in 2014 with the annexation of the geostrategic Crimean Peninsula from Ukraine, giving access to the Black Sea and consequently Mediterranean via the Turkish Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, along with Russia supporting separatist demands of ethnic Russian-speaking 'Ukrainians' for independence in the Donbass area targeting eventual territorial integration into the Russian Federation. The Russian state is struggling to redefine itself and its self-image—once imperial, soviet and superpower histories. In this process has to be re-defined Russian nationalism, and its relationship with states in the Russian Federation, as well as neighbouring states including Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, now part of the EU and NATO. Russia's role on the regional and global stage is being re-defined in such areas as Syria especially since 2015 and its salient military and political activities there in the war. Juxtaposed with the above factors, **the democratic aspirations of Russian citizens have to be met** as they are ever more aware that the introduction of liberal capitalism in the 1990s did not guarantee in-depth democratic freedom for them.

5.1.6 States Attempting Moves Towards Democracy

During the Cold War (1947–1991) and in the following years, **Western regimes encouraged other states to adapt liberal economic policies, democratic systems and improvements in human rights based on universal suffrage**. However, serious **contradictions and paradoxes** in the democracy agenda were often encountered leading to conflict as in Algeria and Egypt, when elections were won by parties not acceptable to the ruling regimes, nor Western interests.

In 1991, the military supported by the FLN (National Liberation Front) one-party government that had ruled **Algeria** since independence in 1962, took control aimed at negating the victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) party in the national parliamentary elections and a civil war ensued. Election results sent shock waves

throughout Algeria, but also neighbouring MENA states, and Western capitals especially in France, the EU and USA. Many commentators saw the Islamist electoral victory largely as a popular protest vote against the National Liberation Front party and government, rather than a conscious decision to create an Islamist state. However, conflict intensified with jihadist violence by 1994–95 when it seemed that the government might not withstand the Islamist onslaught. Nevertheless, by 1996 violence and predication of the Islamists had lost much popular support, but jihadi attacks continued for years at different intensities and scales, especially in rural areas, and isolated desert and mountainous regions.

In 1997, massacres of entire neighbourhoods and villages peaked, with populations blaming both Islamists and government forces. With negotiations and the 1999 amnesty law many combatants laid down arms. However, small splinter Islamist groups continued their campaigns with the extreme Salafist Group (GSPC) announcing its support for Al-Qaeda in 2003. The GSPC played a pivotal role in establishing the terrorist organization al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb targeting the overthrow of the Algerian state and neighbouring regimes, and attacks on Western states including Spain, France and the USA. Total fatalities in Algeria have been estimated at between 44,000 and 200,000 people.⁸

Certain similarities can be identified with attempts at **democratization in Egypt** following the populist Arab Spring Revolution in 2011, resigning of President Hosni Mubarak and assumption of executive power by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces which dissolved parliament and suspended the constitution. In the 2012 general elections, leader of the Islamist party Mohamed Morsi won, but was deposed by the army in 2014 with General Abdel el-Sisi being then elected as Egypt's president.

In Egypt and Algeria close historical linkages exist between the military, civil government, dominant political parties and control of state resources including oil and gas especially in Algeria, and industry, particularly in Egypt, while Islamist parties and extremist groups gain support from electorates disempowered by poverty and underdevelopment.

In contrast to Egypt and Algeria, the **democratization process in Turkey**, has witnessed the military apparatus which traces its roots to the foundation of the state (1923) and political reformer Kemal Atatürk promoting secularism, nationalism and modernization, step back somewhat. The military accepted the electoral majority victories in 2002, 2007 and 2011 of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) allowing it to exercise power. The party which developed from the political Islamism tradition promotes 'conservative democracy' and held a majority of seats in parliament for 13 years. After 2002, it reinforced strong linkages with the USA and NATO. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (AKP) became President in 2014 and survived an attempted coup d'état in 2016, leading to massive crackdowns on large sections of the defence and police forces, civil servants, people working in education, media and press, and

⁸Roman Hagelstein. Explaining the Violence Pattern of the Algerian Civil War. H I C N—Households in Conflict Network. The Institute of Development Studies. University of Sussex—Falmer—Brighton—BN1 9RE www.hicn.org. Paper 43. Read more: <http://www.hicn.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/wp43.pdf>.

across Turkish society in general, undermining many principles and achievements of the democracy project in Turkey that had been gained over the decades since 1923. Many observers fear that Erdoğan's policies at home and abroad will lead to greater conflict.⁹

In 2017, a very contested constitutional referendum was held in Turkey on whether to approve 18 proposed amendments to the constitution that were brought forward by Erdoğan's governing—Justice and Development Party (AKP). Results indicated a 51–49% lead for the “Yes” vote, with the office of the Prime Minister to be abolished and the existing parliamentary system of government to be replaced with an executive presidency and a presidential system, with the president being given more control over appointments to the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors. Opposition parties, international media and organizations ranging from the OSCE, Council of Europe and the EU questioned the fairness and legalities of the referendum campaigns and procedures. The referendum was held under a state of emergency legislation that was declared following the failed military coup attempt (2016), for which many questions remain to be answered. Political events in Turkey have cast shadows on its application for EU membership. Turkey signed a Customs Union agreement with the EU in 1995 and was officially recognised as a candidate for full membership in 1999. Due to Erdoğan's policies and actions, diplomatic relations with the EU, USA and other states have been under much strain since 2016.

5.2 War Between Democracies

Occurrence of war between states with high levels of democracy ranking (EIU Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index)¹⁰ is much less likely as proven since the foundation of the UN in 1945 and the ECSC/EEC/EU—European Construction Project in 1951.

Concerning **involvement of democratic states in international conflicts**, the UN has had to face serious challenges especially since the end of the Cold War (1991). UN approval of the multilateral liberation of **Kuwait (1991)** following the **Iraqi invasion and annexation** was supported by the vast majority of democracies. In order to carry out the associated military action of Resolution 678, the UN Security Council had to vote, and it was adopted by 12 votes to 2 against (Cuba and Yemen) and one abstention from China, but by abstaining rather than using its veto power, China helped make the action possible.

Since the 1990s especially, legal issues concerning **'rights' and 'duties' of states**, and interventions in internal conflicts and humanitarian emergencies in other countries has been replaced with the evolving UN norm of the **Responsibility to Protect**

⁹Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/get-involved/take-action/tell-erdogan-free-amnesty-turkey-idil-eser-and-nine-others/>, International Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey>.

¹⁰EIU Democracy Index (2017).

(R2P). Sovereignty no longer exclusively protects States from foreign interference. The R2P entails a restatement of the responsibility, that holds States accountable for the welfare of their citizens. (i) A state has a responsibility to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and massive human rights abuses. (ii) The international community has a responsibility to assist the state fulfil its primary responsibility. (iii) If the state manifestly fails, or refuses to protect its citizens from the above mentioned mass atrocities and peaceful measures have failed, the international community has the responsibility to intervene through coercive measures such as economic sanctions. (iv) Military intervention is considered the last resort and must be approved by the UN Security Council.

Hence **prevention requires apportioning responsibility to, and promoting collaboration between concerned States and the international community.** The responsibility to prevent and halt genocide and mass atrocities lies first and foremost with the relevant State, but the international community has a role that cannot be blocked by the invocation of state sovereignty. This principle is enshrined in Article 1 of the **UN Genocide Convention** and embodied in the principle of “sovereignty as responsibility” and in the concept of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).¹¹

Foreign states intervening in other countries without UN mandate regarding humanitarian emergencies, or abuse, or perceived abuse, of the R2P in the regional and global geopolitical theatres has proven problematic. In the majority of instances, Russia and China have used their UN Security Council veto powers to thwart concerted action regarding use of the R2P in Sudan’s Darfur wars as of 2003, and in Syria (2015–18).

Much legal debate and political criticism surrounds the US-UK led invasion of Iraq in 2003, without UN approval, ostensibly to topple the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein accused by the latter two states of hosting WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction), which were subsequently never found, and then arguing human rights abuses as a reason, suggesting the UN Responsibility to Protect principle. Military action was used in **Bosnia** in 1992 to halt the massacres of the Muslim population there by Serbian forces which caused revulsion in EU democracies. Similarly, the **massacres of Kurds by Saddam Hussein in Iraq in 1992** shocked global TV audiences and electorates. With the **2011 civil war in Libya** and massive government repression, the UN invoked the R2P. From the beginning of the intervention, the initial coalition of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, Qatar, Spain, UK and USA expanded to 19 states. The major military intervention was led by France and UK, with command shared with the US and NATO.

Regarding the UN approved intervention in **Libya**, adopting UN Resolution 1973 (2011), the Security Council by a vote of 10 in favour to none against, with 5 abstentions (Brazil, China, Germany, India, Russian Federation), the UN Security Council authorized Member States, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, to take all necessary measures to protect civilians under threat

¹¹Read more: <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml>.

of attack in Libya, including Benghazi, while excluding a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory—requesting them to immediately inform the Secretary-General of such measures.¹²

However, while the Kaddafi regime was ousted in 2011, instability, power struggles and armed conflict have continued. Among the major factors which have impeded peace and democracy building and development since the demise of the Kaddafi regime is the strong sense of **regionalism** that exists in Libya as with Tripolitania and its capital Tripoli, and Cyrenaica with its main city Benghazi. Also the geographical location and quest for control of the massive hydrocarbon resources mustn't be underestimated.¹³

It should be noted that challenges in democracy building and management are not always as extreme as in the above examples of Libya or Iraq, as has been witnessed in Tunisia. Development within states and associated rivalries may be managed relatively peacefully and with democratic debate as witnessed in South Africa's electoral history since the end of the Apartheid regime in 1994. Interest in the civic aspects of the geography of conflict is central to understanding processes that support **non-violent resolution of conflict**.

Usually, an amicable exchange of territory between states does not occur, and is very rare. The following examples concern **territorial exchange and border adjustments between well-established democracies**. Presqu'île de l'Isal (15 hectares) is a small wooded peninsula that juts into the Meuse River just south of the Dutch city of Maastricht and has been officially Belgian territory since the border between the two countries was established in 1843, despite the fact that it lies on the Dutch side of the river. Due to problems of physical access for the Belgian authorities, they were challenged to counteract the anti-social and criminal activities that developed there over the decades. **In 2015 both states agreed that the Netherlands would take control of the territory in 2016, in exchange for two other small outcroppings farther down the river.**

Due to the **melting of glaciers** in the Alps and consequent impacts on the rivers and topography this has impacted on the inter-state boundaries of Switzerland, Italy and France. To reflect this changing topography, the governments of Switzerland and Italy, and Switzerland and France entered into bilateral agreements to redefine affected portions of their borders. In 2005–2006, a joint effort between Switzerland and Italy redefined the border based on photogrammetry. In 2009 the Italian government adopted legislation recognizing the border as movable and subject to change. Switzerland adopted the change without legislation. The peaceful exchanges of territory like this do happen occasionally.

¹²Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya, Authorizing 'All Necessary Measures' to Protect Civilians, by Vote of 10 in Favour with 5 Abstentions. 17 March 2011. <http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10200.doc.htm>.

¹³Read more: Regional, ethnicity and tribes in the trial of Libya's democratic transition. CAI 20 October 2011. http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=872:regionalism-ethnicity-and-tribes-in-the-trial-of-libyas-democratic-transition-&catid=60:conflict-terrorism-discussion-papers&Itemid=265.

Despite the challenges faced by India and Pakistan, and especially regarding the disputed Cashmere region, in 2015, they agreed to swap over 160 pockets of land in each other's territory left over from the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947.¹⁴

5.2.1 *Regional Nationalisms*

There is a wide geographical spectrum of **regional nationalisms** and in the **geo-historical experience** of states, the vast majority of regimes have tried not to give up territory in a non-conflictual process, and have limited regionalism and regional **languages and cultures** in the quest to develop the nation-state model and variations thereof, including federalism. **State policy has circumscribed regional movements** lying claim to nationhood as is well documented in the older European states regarding Spain with Catalonia, the Basque region and Galicia; France concerning Brittany and Corsica; the UK especially regarding Ireland, and after 1922 concerning Northern Ireland, and more recently Scotland; Belgium with reference to Flanders and the more recent radicalization of some Flemish parties; and Italy regarding the Northern League. Other striking examples include the policies of the Turkish state concerning the Kurdish regions and population, and Serbia's vis-à-vis Kosovo.

At the core of **EU Regional Policy** is development and greater economic integration of regions lagging behind other wealthier areas in the EU based on the principle of **subsidiarity**. The EU has greatly encouraged the distinctive regional cultures of Europe stating that their rich heritage and history play an important role in enhancing the attractiveness of places and strengthening the unique identity of specific locations. **Culture and creativity can be important drivers and enablers of innovation** as well as a significant source for entrepreneurship and is especially important in cultural tourism and promoting social inclusion.¹⁵

In Europe, many regional and nationalist groups have attempted political strategies circumventing governments of the respective states in which they are located, trying to deal directly with EU institutions and organs, as with the Flemish and Catalan delegations. However, significantly the official EU institutions gave little support to Scottish nationalists in their quest for independence from the UK culminating in the 2014 referendum, and adapted arguments very similar to those used by the 'No to Independence' campaign led by the UK Prime Minister and conservative party. One can only speculate, what if the 'Yes to independence' vote had won, what would have been the impact of this on the Brexit referendum in 2016 for the UK to leave the EU, and with an independent Scotland wishing to remain in the EU. Throughout the Catalan crisis (2017–18) and its attempted unilateral declaration of independence from Spain in 2017, the EU continued to reiterate its official position that this was an internal matter for the Spanish state, and that the **EU was constituted only on treaties signed between independent member states**.

¹⁴Keating (2015) and Studts (2010).

¹⁵EU Regional Policy. http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/themes/culture/.

In more conflictual regions and areas such as Northern Ireland, the Basque Country and Corsica, the EU has supported the respective state policies and offered much financial assistance for development and dialogue as witnessed in Northern Ireland and the Good Friday Belfast Agreement and Peace Process (1998), and the Basque militant group ETA declaring a ceasefire in 2011, disarming in 2017 and the dissolution of its structures in 2018.

This is in contrast to the majority of conflicts in the Newly Independent States of the Global South, with weak national unity following independence that often led to conflict and has impeded democracy and sustainable development as in Nigeria, Algeria and of course the Kurdish regions in Turkey, Iraq and Syria.

5.2.2 Multiple Causes for Regional Conflicts

Regional nationalist militants often have a strong sense of historical and contemporary **grievance** against central government and seek reparation. In the **European context**, bearing in mind the histories of regionalism and nationalism, conflict and wars, and creation of the modern states, the inception and construction of the EU whereby states voluntarily joined and ceded many attributes of their sovereignty must be viewed as possibly the greatest experiment in territorial and citizen democracy in world history. It could be posited that in Europe, conflictual regionalism may be viewed more in the sense of grievance rather than being purely ideologically based. Hence conflict resolution has been nurtured, promoting consensual dialogue within democratic structures and fostering economic prosperity.

Nonetheless, **conflicts exist with regionalists seeking regional economic autonomy** especially on financial and tax issues, for instance, feeling that they are subsidizing the 'others' in other regions within the respective states as with resentment in Belgian Flanders, Spanish Catalonia and Italy's Northern League, leading to acerbic criticism of central government and the less developed regions. It is significant that similar populist arguments were made by British Brexit campaigners in 2016 to leave the EU by UKIP and many conservative party members regarding the EU itself, but without credible economic data to support the rhetoric and slogans.

Identity politics remains strong and often expressed in relation to language issues as with seeking **official language status** for 'our language' in the administration, education, media and legal systems, for example in Catalonia and in Northern Ireland in the nationalist community. This becomes more acute when **survival of the language** is involved as with Basque, Corsican and Irish in Northern Ireland. In the latter, the status of the Irish language, although covered in the Good Friday Belfast Peace Agreement (1998), has remained problematic as proven by a bitter impasse on the issue, undermining government in 2017, and running the possibility of direct rule from London being reintroduced as catered for in the Peace Agreement, in the

case that the Northern Ireland Assembly fails to agree on issues that make good governance possible.¹⁶

5.2.3 *Radicalization: Regionalist and Nationalist Campaigns*

Following years of regionalist—nationalist campaigns including terrorist attacks in Corsica led by the FLNC (Front de Liberation Nationale Corse), the Corsican **language** became ‘legal’ in schools from 1989 on. This agenda was driven by one nationalist party. The **language project** has had relatively little success, and it could be argued that a majority of the Corsican population have not actively engaged with it. Of course, the Corsican economy is embedded in that of France in a core-periphery relationship, and there is a long history of migration from Corsica to continental France for employment.

Sometimes a large percentage of citizens feeling a strong **sense of identity and idealised feeling of attachment to a root language** such as Corsican, Catalan, Welsh or Irish argue that ‘their’ language was attacked by a centralizing state in a historical colonizing or state-territorializing process, and especially through the legal, education and medical systems, state administration, civil service and media. However, when the original language gains ‘official status’ a majority of citizens may no longer use it as their everyday or **vernacular language**, nor be adequately proficient in it, so debilitating their entry and employment in the civil service or bureaucracy or educational systems for instance. Hence the **ambivalence of attitudes** often found. In short, many people with varying degrees of nationalist aspirations or identity politics may support the ideal of ‘their’ language but do not invest in mastering it themselves, but expect ‘their children to learn it’ at school.

Paradoxically, the **language nationalists** who gain power or recognition of ‘their’ language as an official language may find themselves perceived by sections of the same cultural population as now imposing a language, whereby the ‘victim’ group leaders become the oppressor. These **language politics** have been played out in the Republic of Ireland since independence in 1921. Irish (Gaeilge) was the language (i.e. language in linguistic terms, and not a dialect) of the vast majority of people in Ireland until the mid-19th century, and today is still spoken as a first language by a minority, and as a second for a larger group having been displaced by the English language. Irish enjoys constitutional status as the national language and first official language of the Republic, and is only an officially recognized minority language in Northern Ireland as of the Peace Process Treaty in 1998. It also ranks among the official languages of the EU. It is obligatory as a subject in the primary and secondary school system, and for matriculation to most third level education institutions, and employment entrance to certain sections of the civil service and primary education system. The ‘imposed’ nature of the language by the Irish state has occasioned a very

¹⁶Ciaran Dunbar. Northern Ireland Assembly divided by Irish language. BBC News NI. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-38601181>, O’Leary (2017).

ambiguous attitude on the part of the vast majority of the population with negative attitudes towards their ‘language learning experience’ at school and yet an emotional attachment to the language for subliminal nationalist reasons. In contrast to Israel’s language policy and Hebrew, the narrative of the ‘revival’ of Irish could not be deemed to have been success story.

In Northern Ireland, the issue of the Irish language must be interpreted in a different context to that of the Republic. Since 1922, the Northern Ireland—UK administration refused any formal official recognition of Irish and hence the nationalist community experienced this as part of the continuing discriminatory colonial policy further exacerbating the sense of grievance and alienation from the state.

In some of the former Yugoslav republics, where Serbo-Croatian was mutually comprehensible in Serbia and Croatia, since their respective independence in the 1990s, state elites have been encouraging the ‘nationalization’ of the respective ‘official state languages’ in an effort to distinguish themselves identity-wise from their neighbouring states, as in Croatia.

Peaceful conflicts may exist in democracies where strong regional nationalisms can be shared by a majority of the population and **not degenerate into violent conflict**. In Belgium, while strong popular opinions exist regarding the ‘territorialisation’ and use of either French or Dutch and other **centrifugal factors, impeding greater national unity, a modus vivendi developed within Belgium going from a unitary to a federal state, that is now confederal**. Doubtlessly, many Scots and Welsh are observing the political experience in Belgium, as are the Catalans. With Turkish aspirations of becoming a member state of the EU, its policy on the Kurdish language will have to be earnestly reassessed.

In contrast to regional planning and language policy conflicts in the mature democracies discussed above, countries such as Algeria have experienced language processes with contextual variations, with standard international Arabic being introduced as the official language after independence (1962) from France in a state where dialectical Arabic, French, and Berber languages, especially Kabyle were the norm. It was only in 2001 that Kabyle became an officially recognized national language in Algeria after a long struggle, both constitutional and conflictual. Similarly, in 2011, Berber became a constitutionally official language of Morocco, after centuries of state policies ignoring or undermining it.

Figure 5.1 illustrates the great historical diversity and constant evolutions in the development of languages and their centrality in political developments.

5.2.4 *Regional Planning*

Concerning planning disputes, they are usually non-violent in the higher ranking democracies regarding **territorial and regional planning** and range from the location of industrial zones, airports, housing estates, dams and bridges to pollution control and heritage preservation. **Key stakeholders challenge state policy and planning**, especially concerning environmental issues. These actors usually involve

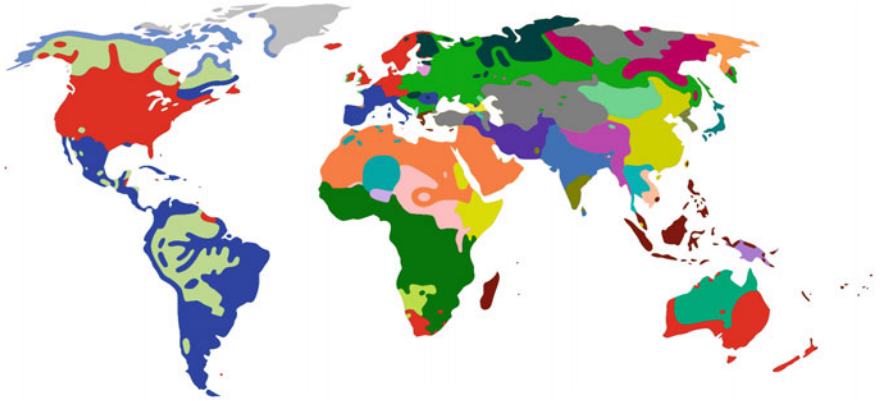


Fig. 5.1 Linguistic groups in the world. Image by user: Eric Gaba (Sting) [GFDL or CC BY-SA 3.0 or CC BY-SA 2.5], via Wikimedia Commons

residents associations and groups, but also local, regional and international support groups and NGOs such as Greenpeace may become involved.¹⁷ In the post-communist states, especially in Europe, there has been a burgeoning of local and national **NGOs networking with international NGOs regarding state planning and collaborations with transnational corporations**. The experiences of local opposition groups to the activities of oil companies operating off the West coast of Ireland is significant here, in contrast to that of the coastal populations in Nigeria. The growth of NGOs has been less evident in China, but is gaining momentum in the NICs especially in Latin America and Africa. In 2017, local residents, and NGOs including Greenpeace and media brought to world attention the controversial proposals in Brazil's conservative Congress, where a powerful agribusiness lobby wields substantial influence, including liberalising strict environmental licensing regulations. The government also wanted to lower the legal protection for much of a 1.3 million hectare Amazon forest reserve.¹⁸

5.2.5 Good Governance, Good Citizenship and Competing Voices

Regarding regional **planning and infrastructure**—airports, motorways, high speed trains, industrial sites, waste recycling, the dirty or polluting industries, nuclear energy plants and nuclear waste—are now being **legally challenged by citizens**. **Public consultation** is necessary in development strategies to resolve conflictual

¹⁷To read more: Forty-Three Years of Inspiring Action. <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/about/victories/>.

¹⁸The Guardian (2017) and Clarke and Cowie (2017).

situations. The **effects on projects and their promoters include costly delays, cancelling projects, and rise in costs due to changes demanded by local populations.** This growth in democracy especially in the industrial countries is due to rising living standards and education especially since the 1970s, but also live local, national and international media, and crucially Internet, cover such issues and the actions of NGOs. **Citizens are speaking out on questions that were once the almost exclusive prerogative of company directors and managers, engineers, technicians and political managerial elites or civil servants.** Voters are more informed and this impacts on voting patterns. These events at whatever scales or in whatever place can now be viewed, or followed anywhere in the world due to digital media.

Examples facilitating **competing voices and platforms** include Uplift: People Powered Change, Euronews blogs, World Bank blogs, and the Anna Lindh Foundation. According to the Uplift: People Powered Change website: MyUplift is an online tool that allows people to start, run and deliver a campaign on the issue they care about including regional and urban planning, environmental and socio-economic issues. The campaign can be big, small, revolutionary or everyday type. It can be as diverse as saving your local park from development, to saving a piece of history in your community to fighting for a clean energy. Uplift is an independent community working for a more progressive Ireland through people powered action. While Uplift created this platform for anyone to use, campaigns are not run or endorsed by Uplift. Petitions and campaign results are delivered to politicians and government attention, and commercial and business interests, and the public.¹⁹

5.2.6 *Interconnecting Central and Local Government*

Dealing with **public conflict is part of the politicians remit** and this is interwoven with lobbying, media and influential networks and depends on the **geographical scaling of the conflict.** The main conflict categories regarding territorial planning and development—local, regional, and state cross-border include:

- (a) **Threat:** to livelihood such as closing of industries or public services.
- (b) **Sought-after:** without due regard for the rights of others and engaging in territorial competition not only within the state, but at an international scale due to globalization processes. This leads to rivalry between actors on the same territory and creates a conflict of interests.
- (c) **Rejection:** When there is outright refusal to accept, as with environmental matters—smells, noise, garbage dumps, chemical risks, and atmospheric pollution, and transportation routes and locations related to nuclear waste treatment—and

¹⁹Uplift: People Powered Change. <https://my.uplift.ie/>, Anna Lindh Foundation. <http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/home>, Euronews Brussels Blogs. <http://www.euronews.com/tag/euronews-brussels-blog>, End Poverty in South Asia: Promoting Dialogue on Development in South Asia—Is Urban Planning Necessary? This blog is maintained by the South Asia Region of the World Bank Group. <http://blogs.worldbank.org/endpovertyinsouthasia/>.

also citizens defence of the NIMBY principle. This can be applied to the national or local government planned location and placement of asylum seekers and refugees, travellers and gypsies, and hostility to the ‘less well off’ and poor, centres and accommodation for socially excluded people including the homeless, drug addicts and so forth, and the real or imagined fear impact that this may have on the local people’s quality of life and especially on the value of their property or perception of the area. Due to the major role of the construction industry and associated entrepreneurs, this impacts on the value of land and housing and the crucial issue of affordability; governmental authorities are challenged to counteract spatial or territorial socio-economic ‘apart-hide’ leading to such phenomena as residential gated communities or walled estates with strictly controlled entrances, and in some cases security guards and CCT camera, juxtaposed with the rest.

As in all conflict situations, the main issue has to be defined, but it is very rare that the ‘specific issue’ is not part of a larger source of grievance and socio-territorial political contexts. The issue has to be translated into its spatial context including the area, size, physical environment, culture and sociology. It is the specific details in the territory that impact on the project and hence the risk. **The social makeup of the population is fundamental as is their experience or not of democracy:** are the resident’s permanent dwellers or not, secondary home owners or not, new comers, socio-professional categories, and are they ready to defend their homes and status, and by what means. **Levels of educated and empowerment in order to use the possibilities offered by democratic processes within the state to defend the citizen’s rights is highly significant.** Of course this is **dependent on the level of good governance and transparency that already exists.**

Depending on the economic situation and especially during recession periods, and regions and areas with little employment, citizens are more willing to accept certain activities that may be the source of the problem they fear. If there exist precedents or a history of protest as with environmental disputes associated residents’ groups and NGOs, then citizens may be ready to reactivate their power and challenge. Whatever the local culture that exists based on its historical experience, this will have an impact. If there is a long history of pollution as in the old mining regions of England, Germany, Slovakia, Poland, Russia, South Africa, Brazil, Chile or China, then people may have a higher tolerance level in being prepared to accept new threats in return for employment or wealth generated.

Various combinations of the above discussed concepts arise in new ways and help to explain the occurrence of specific conflicts and its force or not. Hence the importance of local case study analysis and not becoming over reliant on technocratic blueprints and models.

5.3 Conclusions

There is a wide range in diversity of contested ideas and issues, and conflicts and this makes their geographical analysis complex. Whether it is a conflict due to local or regional planning in Europe or North America, or that regarding the MENA countries, Kosovo, Ukraine, Syria, Venezuela, South Sudan, or Myanmar, the common factor in all of them is the power relationships that exist, and the balances of fear and power in specific places and territories. Hence the solution has to be the least unjust response, because the territory is laden with values: economic, symbolic and ideological. If hostilities are put down by force—as with the winner takes all approach, or peace enforcement by state or international authorities, then the long-term reasons for conflict remain and will resurface in other forms at a later date. All conflict does not necessarily lead to violence as proven by democratic consensus reached in many jurisdictions, including traditional and cultural conflict resolution methods as found throughout Africa and Asia in contrast to the highly adversarial and litigious culture often associated with America.

The material economic and power factors of conflict include energy and mineral resources, competition for fertile land and water, geostrategic competition within and between states, stakeholders and actors, and their zones of influence. Regarding the **existential factors of conflict, these have been broadly categorized into imagination and Utopia**, based on ideals of an imagined or socially-engineered better life and world in contrast to the present situation. This can be fuelled by idealism, or grievance, or nostalgia of imagined better historical times and Golden Ages. The dreams and ideals of **democracy** have developed over hundreds of years with various iterations in different cultures and economic systems. **Democracy** can be interpreted as a work in progress, with people and political groups always striving for greater human rights and democratisation as witnessed in the European Construction Project and the EU. But what is the ideal democracy and ideology regarding human and civil rights, and sustainability—balancing ecological, economic and socio-cultural variables. Many people and systems throughout the world strive to reach this ideal via various means and methods, and hence the resultant power struggles and ideological competition, including religious beliefs and fundamentalism.

By its very nature there are inherent contradictions in the concept of democracy such as the over **application of the majority versus minority frameworks**—can the minority group be discounted or marginalized, and what are the long term consequences of this. There is no perfect democracy or country, and democratization is a long term process over generations as witnessed in the histories of mature democracies such as the USA and in Western Europe, in contrast to the newer democracies created with the demise of the Soviet Union and its empire. In many countries, and especially the former colonies or NICs, attempts at moves towards democracy have been thwarted from within, and from outside, due to economic, power and ideological factors as witnessed in countries ranging from the Republic of South Sudan, Sudan, CAR (Central African Republic), Haiti, Colombia, Venezuela and Myanmar, and events during and after the Arab Spring protests throughout the MENA coun-

tries. Nonetheless, much progress in democratization has been achieved in countries ranging from Tunisia, to South Africa and Timor Leste.

While **disputes exist within and between democratic states, war does not.** Nevertheless, democratic countries have waged covert and overt war on other countries under different guises and sometimes in the name of democracy as with the 2003 US-UK led coalition invasion of Iraq, and attempted post justification of the action claiming the R2P—Responsibility to Protect the citizens of Iraq from the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein. In the aftermath, Iraq disintegrated into civil war often articulated through regional, ethnic and religious nationalisms. In contrast, in the mature democracies such as Canada regarding Quebec, and also the EU, regionalist nationalisms have been facilitated and embedded within the structures of the Union. But there are multiple causes for regional conflicts ranging from economics to historical grievances, which can lead to radicalization of regionalist and nationalist campaigns as witnessed in Northern Ireland, especially between 1968 and 1998. Similarly, ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) founded in 1959, was the main group in the Basque National Liberation Movement, carrying out political and military campaigns in the Basque country and Spain until 2018, when it stated that it had dissolved its structures and ended its political initiatives.

Regional planning within, and between EU states based on the principle of subsidiarity has been of great importance in the **peaceful integration of Europe**, and to a certain degree between the EU and neighbouring countries. Citizens in democracies, and outside, are putting greater pressure on local and regional authorities regarding planning, urbanization, location of industry, dangers of pollution, and the actions of companies and corporations within states and transnationally. In democracies, **good governance and good citizenship** attempt to facilitate the competing voices in the structures and processes developed to avoid violent conflict, and especially concerning information flows between central and local government, and this is reinforced by voluntary associations and NGOs. Since the 1990s, the activities of voluntary associations and NGOs have been steadily increasing in the former communist states, and NICs. A major challenge for many countries in the Global South remains good governance, and the creation of credible political-economic systems for all their citizens, ensuring basic human security, and alleviation of poverty.

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Part II

Humanitarian Action: Development Concepts

In Part II of this book, the evolution of **humanitarian action is viewed from time perspectives**, underlining **geopolitical and legal contexts with humanitarian action** taking places within specific geographical scales and in their levels of development. Historically, the humanitarian imperative progressed from the **human empathy and charity standpoints**, to the codified principles of **humanitarianism, impartiality, neutrality and independence**, as advocated initially by the Red Cross organization regarding war and its victims. This humanitarian perspective was advanced further to cater for the **different categories of humanitarian disasters—natural, human-made, technological and complex**. Fundamental to these categories are an understanding of **hazards, vulnerability and risk**. The **levels of poverty** are kernel in assessing vulnerability and appropriate responses to crises and disasters. The mapping of actors or **stakeholders** in a crisis situation is vital in order to assess **power relations**, respective responsibilities and roles, for the work to be carried out successfully. Regarding vulnerability, in crises and famine, this becomes very evident.¹

Crises contribute to cycles of underdevelopment; therefore, humanitarian action must become a support to sustainable development policies and practices in order to break negative downward cycles regarding power, food and hunger. Examination of the **Sustainable Development Framework** and its variables concerning past and contemporary famines give insights into current food shortage and famine situations. Patterns of global malnourishment highlight the inequalities of access to food embedded in national and global political economy. **Key variables exist linking human vulnerability and risk of humanitarian disaster in many post-colonial countries**. The legacies of imperialism and colonialism continue to impact in nefarious ways.

All progress in development is based on ideals, and the discourses whether heart-felt or not, professionalized, ideological, political or economic can fall into elitist or ‘our’ jargon, whether intended or not. Associated with this are collocations

¹Mapping Risk in 2018. <https://www.controlrisks.com/riskmap-2018/maps>.

with the habitual juxtaposition of specific words with another word or concept with a frequency greater than chance that can often detract from the fundamental basics of the problems being addressed. Hence here, there is an attempt to deconstruct the ideas and jargon, and be more cognizant of the basics, juxtaposing these fundamentals with different methodologies and discourses such as the human rights approach to development. Transitivity of concepts between **top-down and bottom-up stakeholders** is explored as with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), G20, and essential issues of global governance and empowerment.

By juxtaposing UNDP human development index maps (Fig. II.1), with political and security risk maps below (Figs. II.2 and II.3), the linkages between poverty, underdevelopment and risk become explicit.

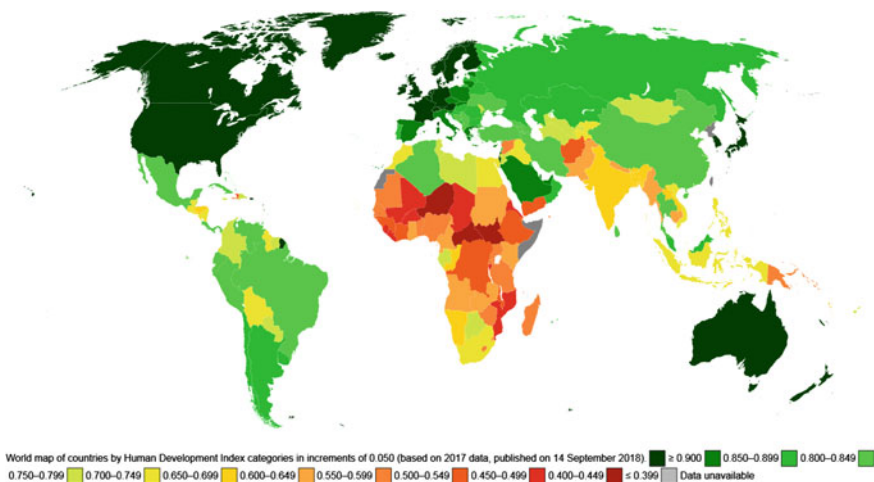


Fig. II.1 UNDP human development index map. The map is based on data from 2017. Image by user: Maketrad (CC BY-SA 4.0), from Wikimedia Commons

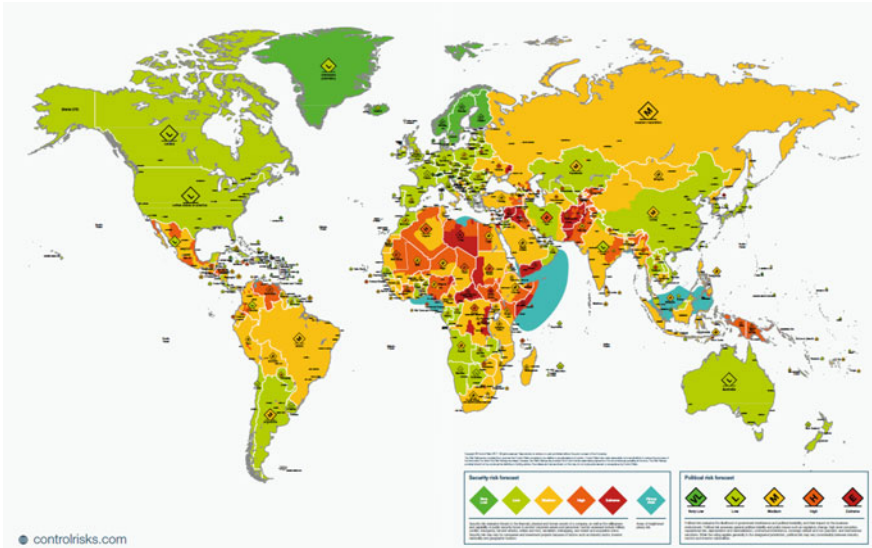


Fig. II.2 World risk map: The forecast of political and security risk for every country in the world. © Control Risks 2017. All rights reserved

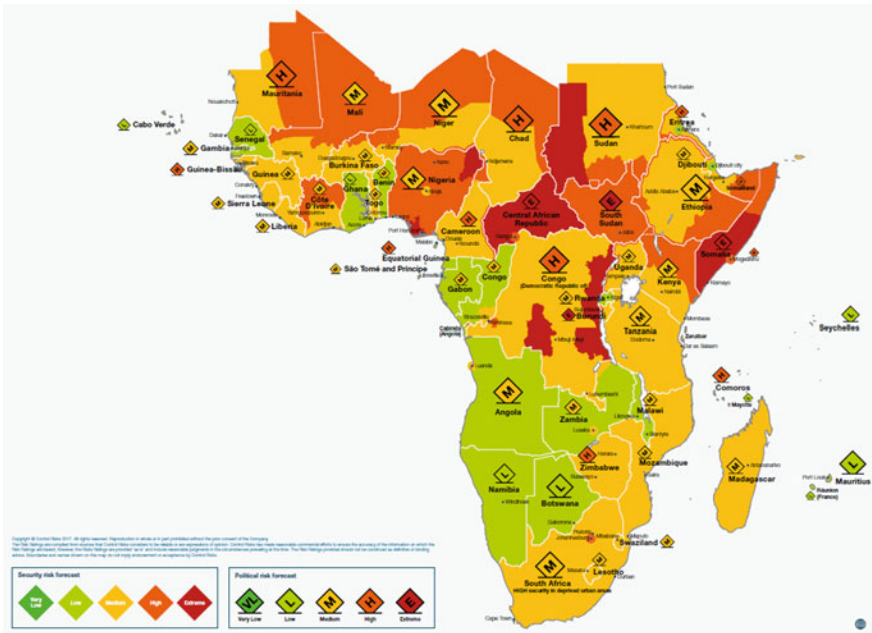


Fig. II.3 Risk map Africa: The forecast of political and security risk for sub-Saharan Africa. © Control Risks 2017. All rights reserved

Chapter 6

Aligning Humanitarian Actions and Development



Abstract Humanitarian action is reviewed including creation of the League of Nations and United Nations Organisation following the World Wars and ensuing geopolitical world orders. Between 1945 and 91, humanitarian action and law remained circumscribed by the geopolitical parameters of the Cold War. With implosion of the Soviet system (1991–2003), there was greater hope for people-centred humanitarian mechanisms, as in the UN Responsibility to Protect Principle (R2P) promoting a citizen, people-centred sovereignty and establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The 2001, 9/11 attacks on the USA and War on Terror critically impacted on the humanitarian landscape. Hyper-globalization created greater tensions between UN inter-state actions within the UN, and attempted misuse of the R2P. The perceived corporatization of humanitarian aid, along with mission creep and role confusion, were compounded by the War on Terror. This created defies for the humanitarian community, with workers on the ground being targeted by beligerents. The limited success of pacification and democracy-building in Afghanistan (2001 on) and Iraq (2003 on) contributed to further destabilization, and increase in jihadism. The 2007 economic crash, and global institutional mantra of Western-style democracy, neo-liberal economics, and austerity left many people vulnerable and disaffected. Nonetheless, the imperative of humanitarianism, impartiality, neutrality and independence remains central to humanitarian organizations where the Hippocratic standpoint of ‘do not harm’ is embedded. That has to be juxtaposed with the nexus of hazard, vulnerability and risk, depending on interplay of geographies and geopolitics in natural, human-made, technological and complex emergency situations.

Keywords Humanitarianism · Development · Underdevelopment · Poverty · Hazards · Vulnerability · Risk · Stakeholders

6.1 Introduction

Here, humanitarian action is explored, from the 19th century to the establishment of the League of Nations (1920), followed by the creation of the **UN (1945)**. Between **1945 and 91**, humanitarian law and action remained largely circumscribed by the

geopolitical parameters of the Cold War. With the implosion of Russian—Soviet system (1991–2003), geopolitical changes reshaped the humanitarian roadmap leading to greater hope for people-centred humanitarian action mechanisms, embodied in the **UN Responsibility to Protect Principle (R2P)** promoting citizen, people-centred sovereignty in contrast to the historical state-centric international system of law. A momentous achievement in progressing humanitarian law came in 2002, with the established of the **International Criminal Court (ICC)**, sending a strong message that individuals could no longer hide behind traditional concepts of state sovereignty and immunity. But the **2001, 9/11** attacks on the USA and **War on Terror** impacted critically on the humanitarian landscape.¹

From **2003 on, hyper-globalization** created greater **tensions between UN multilateral—collective inter-state action principles within the UN**, and attempted misuse of the **Responsibility to Protect (R2P)** principle by some states. The real, or perceived **corporatization of humanitarian aid** and many **NGOs**, along with **mission creep** and **role confusion**, was compounded by the experiences of the **War on Terror**. This created further defies for the humanitarian community, and also **IFRC** (commonly called the Red Cross) and other **humanitarian organizations being targeted by belligerents**. The limited success of pacification and democracy building in Afghanistan (2001 on) and Iraq (2003 on) contributed to destabilization of the Arab Muslim world, and rise of the jihadism. The economic crash in 2007, along with the global institutional mantra of Western-style democracy, neo-liberal economics, and austerity left many people vulnerable and politically disaffected.

Nonetheless, the imperative of humanitarianism, impartiality, neutrality and independence remains central to humanitarian organizations. The Hippocratic standpoint of ‘do not harm’ is embedded in their work, that has to be juxtaposed with the nexus of hazard, vulnerability and risk, depending on the interplay of geographies and geopolitics.²

According to **Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA)** reports, poverty and vulnerability to crises are essentially linked as international assistance continues to go predominantly to long-term recipients.³ The **UN Human Development Index (HDI)** provides a key starting point in assessing population vulnerability.⁴

Geographers contribute to **vulnerability mapping**.⁵ A vulnerability map gives the precise location of areas and sites where people, the natural environment and property are at risk due to a potential catastrophic event that could result in death, injury, pollution or destruction. **Such maps are made in conjunction with data about different types of risks.** The **UN’s Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (VAM)** Unit is an internal structure within the **World Food Program (WFP)** that

¹Davey et al. (2013).

²Hazard, vulnerability and risk analysis. University of Twente, NL. <https://www.itc.nl/ilwis/applications-guide/application-1/>.

³Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report 2018. <http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/GHA-Report-2018.pdf>.

⁴UN Human Development Index (HDI). <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI>.

⁵We Adapt. <https://www.weadapt.org/knowledge-base/vulnerability/mapping-vulnerability>.

provides temporary and long-term technical assistance in food security analysis to decision-makers at the WFP Headquarters in Rome and in WFP Regional and Country Offices.⁶ The **Sendai Framework** for Disaster Risk Reduction (2015–2030) was the first main agreement of the post-2015 **Millennium Development Goals (MDG)** development agenda, with seven targets and four priorities for action, and was endorsed by the UN General Assembly—2015 Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (WCDRR).⁷

6.1.1 *Defining Humanitarianism*

Humanitarian action targets saving human life, alleviating suffering, respecting the dignity of people affected by natural and human made catastrophes, and variations of these. Often delivered in **emergency situations**, humanitarian action aims at implementing prevention strategies such as avoiding food shortages from turning into famine, or local conflicts becoming wide scale war, or combinations of both of the latter as witnessed in the Horn of Africa over the past 30 years and currently in Yemen. Hence **humanitarian activities intersect with other structural actions and organization directly linked to development challenges**. Humanitarian action responds to needs in situations of conflict or natural disasters and supports displaced populations in crises, along with risk reduction and preparedness, early recovery, livelihood provision, conflict resolution and peace-building.

Due to **accelerated internationalization and globalization especially since the 1990s**, efforts of humanitarian stakeholders have become interlinked in various combinations of **states**, IGOs (Intergovernmental Organizations), **non-governmental organisations (NGOs, and non-profit organizations)**, international agencies such as the Red Cross—Red Crescent Movement (IFRC)—into a system. This is interconnected to the level of finances, operations, personnel and values in the interest of human security. **Multiplication of humanitarian stakeholders, organizations, donors and agenda since the early 1990s** has created challenges for many NGOs, and for those people in crisis situations receiving the aid. Central to all this are the principles of **humanitarianism: (i) impartiality or treating all people equally, (ii) neutrality—not politically supporting or helping protagonists in a conflict, and (iii) independence of decision and action which may become confused in the public perception of both recipients and donors alike**.⁸

⁶UN GIS AN OVERVIEW OF VULNERABILITY ANALYSIS AND MAPPING (VAM). http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/ungis/meeting/march00/documentation/wfp_recalde2.pdf, UNDP Mapping Climate Change: Vulnerability and Impact Assessment Scenarios. https://www.adaptationcommunity.net/?wpfb_dl=58.

⁷The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M9m6mb-blYM>, UNISDR (2015, 2017).

⁸Barnett (2011).

Professor Elie Wiesel (1928–2016), Nobel Laureate and Nazi concentration camp survivor tells us that: “Wherever men and women are persecuted because of their race, religion or political views, that place must—at that moment—become the centre of the universe”.⁹ While philosopher George Santayana (1863–1952) states that: “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it” and Edmund Burke (1729–1797) posits that: “People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors”.¹⁰ In the context of the above standpoints a brief historical perspective will support a greater understanding of current humanitarian action, contexts, organization and law.

6.1.2 *Humanitarian Action: Past and Present*

From **historical and cultural anthropological standpoints, assistance—including alms and charity—given to human beings in need has a long tradition in many cultures and its interpretation is often contested.** Basic questions vis-à-vis spontaneous or innate human empathy between people often become subsumed into debates which are over-focused on ideological, cultural or religious frameworks, interpretations and discourses. The central question in looking at such problematic narratives, **is the cultural, or ideological, or religious obligation to give assistance confined to one’s own kin, or to people of the same cultural or religious tradition, or else is it universal for all humanity.**

In the historical **Christian tradition**, assistance is for all humanity; albeit part of Christianity’s universalizing philosophy and evangelizing practices. Similarly, *Zakat* (charity) is one of the **Pillars of Islam**, historically supporting social institutions such as hospitals and schools, and offering hospitality, food and accommodation to the traveller, and stranger, and those in distress including refugees regardless of religious persuasion. Like Christianity, Islam is a universalizing system that believes its message and principles are for all human beings and so it has missionary and diffusion mechanisms also.¹¹

Christian religious orders played a critical role in working with the poor and in the development of schools, hospices and hospitals throughout Europe, and from the 18th and 19th centuries on in other areas of the world including the Americas, Africa and Asia. With the **Age of Enlightenment (1650–1800), philosophical discourses somewhat changed focus from a Christian charity or duty perspective to a standpoint that people should be aided firstly due to being human beings, without a religious interpretation, and that social or humanitarian actions should form part of the social contract in human power relations.** This standpoint was

⁹Elie Wiesel’s Acceptance Speech, on the occasion of the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, December 10, 1986. https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1986/wiesel-acceptance_en.html.

¹⁰Santayana (1905) and Burke (1790).

¹¹Krafess (2005).

enhanced with the growth of **socialist ideologies** within European states in the 19th and 20th centuries, and by association in many **anti-colonial policies and liberation movements, and the Non-Alignment Movement** of countries in the emerging Newly Independent Countries in the 20th century.

Major periods in the modern history of humanitarian action include:

- (i) **19th century until the end of the WWI (1918):** European cultural and legal conceptions were created due to increased inter-state competition and contact that drove the need for humanitarian action. A watershed event was the foundation of the Red Cross in 1863, spearheaded by Henri Dunant, which heralded the modern era of humanitarian action and law.
- (ii) **Formation of the League of Nations (1920)—WWII (1939–46):** Having witnessed the destruction of WWI and gaining insights into the mechanization of conflict, international government was born with the League, being seen as an absolute necessity in order to attenuate and avoid future conflict. But despite its many successes, the horrors of WWII were witnessed. Nonetheless, international government reasserted itself again with the creation of the United Nations in 1945.
- (iii) **Cold War period (1947–91):** Bipolar US-Soviet Union competition set the geopolitical landscape for conflict, while the majority of former colonies or NICs became politically sovereign. Humanitarian actors turned more towards the non-Western world and the development paradigm was created, encouraged by US President Harry Truman’s inaugural UN address in 1949 stating that: **“we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas”**.¹² Nigeria’s Biafra War (1967–70) and associated famine was a prominent event that many analysts reference as a landmark period in history witnessing the state hiding behind the sovereignty principle to the detriment of its own Biafran citizens, and the consequent politicisation of the international public and NGOs regarding civil war, human-made famine and the role of the state system in this. This gave rise to the establishment of many NGOs in the following decade, and their taking more political stances especially in lobbying and other pro-active roles.
- (iv) **Post-Cold War period (1991–2003):** with the implosion of the Russian Soviet system, geopolitical changes reshaped the humanitarian roadmap leading to much hope for more positive humanitarian action mechanisms, and also witnessed the genesis of **the UN Responsibility to Protect Principle (R2P) emphasizing a more people-centred sovereignty than a state-centric international law system**. In 2002, the International Criminal Court (ICC) was established with its international tribunal that has jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for the international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, sending strong signals that individuals could no longer hide behind traditional concepts of state sovereignty and immunity. This was

¹²US President Harry Truman. Inaugural Address at the UN 1949. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13282>.

especially welcomed by the humanitarian community. However in 2001, the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the USA and subsequent events including the War on Terror impacted greatly on the humanitarian landscape.¹³

- (v) **Hyper-globalization period** (2003 on): Here we witness further tensions between UN multilateral or collective state security action principles within the UN General Assembly and Security Council, along with political abstruseness, and attempted misuse of the evolving R2P principle by some states to justify their own military actions in the name of humanitarianism. Also the real or imagined corporatization of humanitarian aid and many big NGOs (BINGOS), along with mission creep and role confusion. This compounded the experiences of the War on Terrorism leading to imbroglios especially in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Yemen, and destabilization wrought by jihadists, ranging from the MENA countries, to West Africa with Boko Haram, and attacks on Russia, EU and USA. This all posed challenges for the aid community's core mandate, along with humanitarian organizations and personnel being targeted. With this, the global recession starting in 2007, and rise in identity politics, and institutional mantra of Western-style democracy, neo-liberal economic models, and austerity left many citizens disaffected.

With the ever-increasing media and live coverage of humanitarian narratives, many citizens may experience empathy or horror, or donor fatigue, and just switch off. Seizing on this, terrorist groups operating at local and international scales and virtually, have seriously challenged the positive work being done by humanitarian actors including using armed attacks on them and kidnappings for propaganda and financial purposes. The Russian annexation of Crimea (2014), and the USA's ambiguous and sometimes anti-multilateralism approaches to international institutions and issues since 2016 has sent double-edged hawkish messages to state and non-state actors worldwide, that force and violence are legitimate and can offer solutions.

National and international solidarity

Expressions of national and **international solidarity** became more common regarding humanitarian emergencies from the **1970s on**. This was facilitated by vast changes in **media** as illustrated with Michael Buerk's BBC landmark moment on crisis reporting in **Ethiopia in 1984** alerting the world to major **famine**.¹⁴ In 1985, pop stars Bob Geldof and James "Midge" Ure initiated the dual located London and Philadelphia Live Aid concerts to raise money and awareness for the Ethiopian famine that inspired similar and smaller events in other countries ranging from Australia to Ireland. It was one of the largest-scale satellite link-ups and television broadcasts of all time. An estimated global audience of 1.9 billion, across 150 countries watched it.¹⁵ With

¹³See Footnote 1.

¹⁴To read more: Ethiopian famine: how landmark BBC report influenced modern coverage: Thirty years on, Michael Buerk's broadcast remains a watershed moment in crisis reporting, but what is its lasting legacy? <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/oct/22/ethiopian-famine-report-influence-modern-coverage>.

¹⁵Live Aid: The show that rocked the world. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/702700.stm.

hindsight, several critics posited that the political regime in Ethiopia manipulated aspects of the emergency aid to gain tactical advantage in their geopolitical territorial strategies for ethnic-population clearance and transfers.

The combination of **revolutions in mass and social media technologies and popular culture have played critical roles in bringing humanitarian action issues to ever greater global audiences and electorates in democracies, and non-democratic countries alike putting more pressure on governments to take action.** This is exemplified by the lobbying of pop stars such as U2's Bono regarding the UN development programs and implementation of the **MDGs** (Millennium Development Goals) and their follow-up policies (**SDGs**—Sustainable Development Goals) after 2015. Along with this, the engagement of celebrities from many areas including sports and cinema personalities has greatly raised awareness about humanitarian issues and justice as with Angelina Jolie's work with refugees and the UNHCR, and direction of the movie *First They Killed My Father* (2017) dealing with the Cambodian genocide (1975–79).¹⁶

Ordinary people were **exposed to popular movies such as *Blood Diamonds*** (2006, Edward Zwick) and ***Hotel Rwanda*** (2004, Terry George) demonstrating that humanitarian disasters don't just happen, but that they are often human-made in socio-economic constructs. Equally, in 2012 within four days of the launch of campaign on social media by an NGO targeting **Joseph Kony**, leader of the infamous Lord's Resistance Army, for crimes against humanity and war crimes in Uganda, South Sudan, Central African Republic and Democratic Republic of Congo, it had generated more than 44.7 million views and over 170 related video clips, and twitter users mentioned Kony over 950,000 times.¹⁷ Worldwide, children and especially adolescents were empathizing with the plight of the kids under the control of the Lord's Resistance Army and engaging not only virtually, but in the iconic graffiti and emblem campaigns, demanding justice.

However, revolutions in media were not only impacting on populations in the industrialized economies and democracies, as witnessed with the use of the Internet, Facebook, iPhone and so forth in the diffusion of information and impact on actions of young people during the **Arab Spring revolutions** starting in 2010 in Tunisia and diffusing to Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, Palestinian Territories, Syria and other countries with massive street protests, and conflict with state authorities, but also bringing about relatively non-violent changes as in Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and

¹⁶Irish Times. 21/9/2015. Bono lays down challenge to world business leaders. <http://www.irishtimes.com/business/economy/bono-lays-down-challenge-to-world-business-leaders-1.1667078>, Angelina Jolie's humanitarian work. <https://www.cbsnews.com/pictures/angelina-jolies-humanitarian-work/>.

First they killed my father. Trailer Tease (2017) Angelina Jolie https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x17ztl_QsZI.

Holocaust Museum Huston. Genocide in Cambodia (1975–1979). https://www.hmh.org/ed_Genocide_Cambodia.shtml.

¹⁷Wall Street Journal. 8/3/2012. How Social Media Made Joseph Kony the Web's Most Hated Man. <http://blogs.wsj.com/speakeasy/2012/03/08/viral-video-puts-spotlight-on-uganda-rebel-kony/>.

Saudi Arabia.¹⁸ Similarly, analysts will certainly see the crisis in Europe starting in 2014, with the inflow of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees from Syria, neighbouring states, and other countries such as Eritrea being fuelled by social media, and their outcomes as a landmark period in the history of humanitarian action and evolving policies. Data regarding the impact of live and social media on populations fleeing from conflict and war zone countries such as Syria, Eritrea, Afghanistan and elsewhere to Europe has yet to be measured, as well as the impact of similar media on European states and their populations, through which the migrants are travelling or being hosted there.¹⁹

During the 1990s, due to the end of the Cold War (1947–91) which had impeded many of the founding aspirations of the UN for better conditions for humanity, the geopolitical map of the world and balance of fears and powers changed, giving greater space for humanitarian actors and ideals. However, the restricted success of development programs and projects was often challenged by a huge **increase in identity politics and conflicts** ranging from the Yugoslav Wars (1991–2001) to the Rwandan genocide (1994), and wars in Chechnya (1994–2003), West African countries and Africa's Great Lakes region from the 1990s on. Many of the neo-liberal political-economic programs and structural reforms of the global financial institutions, led by the World Bank and IMF (International Monetary Fund) were out of kilter with the daily realities of ordinary citizens on the ground as witnessed with the unequal impacts of the global financial crash in 2007, leading to an increase in poverty within and between countries, and the Western concept of global security, largely steered humanitarian action, like development aid funding into the discourse of rapid action in favour of peace and security.

Major challenges for humanitarian action NGOs include: maintaining their unique position working in humanitarian emergency situations, but having greater foundation training in areas ranging from humanitarian law to public health, geopolitics, geography and anthropology, languages and communications, and food sciences, and being connected to holistic sustainable development perspectives. This is essential as humanitarian **emergencies cause an interruption in the development process** but cannot be seen as an end point, having to start the development process from zero again. Humanitarian organizations and workers remain compelled to liaise with other professionals whether state or non-state actors.²⁰ While there are several categories of humanitarian disasters including natural, here emphasis is placed on human-made emergencies due especially to violent conflict.

¹⁸New Internationalist. World Development book case study: the role of social networking in the Arab Spring. <http://newint.org/books/reference/world-development/case-studies/social-networking-in-the-arab-spring/>.

¹⁹Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatam House (8 September 2015): Why Aren't Gulf Countries Taking in Syrian Refugees?—See more at: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/why-aren-t-gulf-countries-taking-syrian-refugees?gclid=CNjZkNygisgCFaFz2wodWDgO-A#sthash.L1XggTZs.dpuf>.

²⁰World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction 14 March 2015. <http://www.undp.org/wcdrr>.

6.1.3 *Geographical Contexts and Development Levels*

The **negative impact of any humanitarian crisis or disaster is directly proportionate to the levels of vulnerability of the populations affected.** Exposure of human beings to danger and susceptibility to losses is compounded by the level of individual, family, community and national poverty and constraints on coping capacities at micro, mezzo and macro levels of development. **Poverty levels directly impact on the ability of individuals, families, and groups to survive and also state authorities to cope with crises.** This exists not only between countries as with the differing impact of storms, flooding and conflict in the USA and neighbouring Caribbean and Gulf countries; and China, Bangladesh and the Philippines in recent decades. It also exists within countries, regions and socio-economic classes. This became particularly evident with the impacts of Hurricane Katrina on New Orleans, Florida, USA in 2005 and on the short and long term affects it had on individuals and families and communities. In this example, there is a correlation between socio-economic classes and ethnicity related to specific low-lying less expensive housing areas with majority African-American and Hispanic populations.²¹ While such measures and rankings as the **UNDP HDI** (Human Development Index) and **EIU Democracy Index** (Economist Intelligence Unit) are important for cross country comparisons regarding development levels and capacities, the specific physical and human geographies and geographical scales of place, area and population at risk is vital in dealing with crises, and especially in enhancing Early Warning Systems, vulnerability mapping and targeted policies.

Each emergency has its **physical and human geographies**, and is located in a specific place (land and sea areas) and time—the **mega-time calendars** of geology to **the human historical long and short time periods**, and how, and who used, or who left their culture-print on those specific places as with Hutu, Tutsi and Belgians in 19th–20th century Rwanda, and the 100 days of the genocide in 1994. Regarding geographical space and time analyses, other salient humanitarian disaster examples in recent history include Haiti over the past three decades, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (1997–2003). Hence the specific **location and territorialisation aspects** of individual emergencies that also entails geopolitics and **power relations** between people. The geopolitics of humanitarian emergencies and disasters is related to the inter-relationships between geography and political-economy, and its impact on organization within states and between them, and how this impacts on international reactions and politics.

Humanitarianism, Impartiality, Neutrality and Independence

Here the following concepts are assessed:

- Humanitarian action: humanitarianism, impartiality, neutrality and independence
- The spectrum, and worst humanitarian crises

²¹Masozera et al. (2007).

- The main categories of humanitarian crises and disasters: natural, human-made, technological and complex
- Hazard, vulnerability and risk: Vulnerability + Risk => Disaster
- The interplay of physical and human geographical phenomena.

Humanitarianism can be defined as a belief in the duty to help other human beings. It is a philosophical doctrine holding that it is a human being's duty to improve the lives of other people. A humanitarian crisis is an event or series of events, which represents a critical threat to the health, safety, security, or wellbeing of a community or other large group of people, usually over a wide geographical area. Armed conflict, epidemics, famine, and natural and technological disasters, and other major emergencies may all involve or lead to a crisis.²²

Humanitarian assistance is action taken by governments, agencies or citizens aimed at saving lives, alleviating suffering and maintaining human dignity of people in need. This is driven by the principles of **humanitarianism: impartiality (treating all people equally), neutrality (not supporting, or helping either side in a conflict) and independence (of decision and action) as promoted by the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC)**. Note that increasingly, many NGOs find the neutrality principle particularly challenging and have become more outspoken on political issues in the public arena; a significant example being Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF—Doctors without Borders), while Freedom House and Amnesty International are at the forefront in denouncing parties to conflicts whether state actors or other groups, as witnessed in Sudan, Somalia, Iraq and Syria over the past 25 years. The independence principle may also be challenging for NGOs due to the sourcing of their finances, not only from the public but especially from state donors including ministries of foreign affairs and similar top-down institutions. **Humanitarianism covers both humanitarian action and assistance**, the former being the protection of civilians and provision of vital services by aid agencies during and after disasters, while the latter pertains to the provision of funding or in-kind services, including logistics or transport, in response to humanitarian crises usually through humanitarian agencies or government of the affected country.

6.2 The Major Categories of Humanitarian Disasters

While there are various classification systems, there is no single definitive categorization system for humanitarian crises. Different communities and agencies tend to have definitions regarding the existing situations they face. The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) uses categories which include different types: (i) **natural disasters** such as tsunamis; (ii) **human-made** disasters, regarding civil strife and conflict, civil and international war; (iii) **technological disasters** such as hazardous material spills, nuclear accidents, and chemical explosions.

²²Kopinak (2013).

The humanitarian response sector distinguishes between natural disasters such as earthquakes, and (iv) **complex emergencies**, where the effects of natural disasters may be compounded by conflict and war, or technological dangers.²³

Well known humanitarian crises include the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and consequent tsunami which hit Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Thailand, the Maldives and Somalia. Also the Kashmir (2005) and Haiti (2010) earthquakes; the Rwanda (1994) and Rohingya (2017) genocides, Sri Lankan rebellion and civil war (1983–2009), Darfur Conflict (2003–), Wars in Iraq (2003–18) and Syria (2011–19).²⁴

According to the NGO, World Vision, among the top 10 worst humanitarian crises in 2015 were²⁵:

- Nepal earthquake
- Syrian refugee crisis
- Iraq displacement
- West Africa Ebola outbreak
- South Sudan conflict
- Somalia drought
- Central American drought
- Central African Republic violence.

While migrant and refugee movement to EU states via the Mediterranean, Turkey, Balkans, and Central and Eastern Europe created major long term implications.²⁶

In summary, the main categories of humanitarian disasters include:

- (a) **Natural disasters**²⁷ that encompass earthquakes—especially in the Pacific Rim and Himalaya regions, Haiti, Japan, Indonesia; droughts as seen in the semi-arid African Sahel countries located between the Sahara desert to the North and Savannah grasslands to the South, including extending regions from Mauritania and Senegal through Mali, Northern Burkina Faso, Niger, Northern Nigeria and Chad to Sudan and Eritrea. Flooding as in India, Bangladesh, China, Vietnam, Myanmar, Egypt, Nigeria, DRC, Angola, and Brazil. Also earthquakes and tsunami as with Japan in 2011 and Chile in 2015. Here must be noted typhoons or tropical storms, endangering the Philippines, Taiwan, Japan, India, USA and others. Changing weather patterns due especially to global warming, and also the effects of El Nino impacting on ecology, and consequently human populations is

²³OCHRA—United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Emergencies. <https://www.unocha.org/country/where-we-work/emergencies>.

²⁴To read more: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_ongoing_armed_conflicts and <http://www.ifrc.org/en/publications-and-reports/world-disasters-report/world-disasters-report/> and <http://www.crisisgroup.org/>.

²⁵To read more: <http://www.worldvision.org/news-stories-videos/top-humanitarian-crises-2015>.

²⁶To read more: <http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2015/05/economist-explains-6>.

²⁷To read more: Science and Technology (2013).

of major importance.²⁸ Disease includes Ebola as experienced in Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia (2013–14), as well as epidemics and pandemics including influenza, malaria, Zika fever and so forth.²⁹

- (b) **Human-made disasters:** these are due to political activities and include conflict and war, such as civil strife within a country and, or inter-state war—as experienced in Syria, Afghanistan and West Africa in recent decades. Dangers include use of nuclear weapons as with threats from North Korea and Iran, and also biological and chemical weapon usage as witnessed in the Halabja Massacre of Kurdish people by the Iraqi armed forces in 1988. Use of chemical weapons in the Syrian Civil War (starting in 2011) was confirmed by the United Nations as early as 2013 with the Ghouta attack in the suburbs of Damascus and the Khan al-Assal attack in the suburbs of Aleppo.

Massive human rights abuses are perpetrated, or condoned by dictatorial or corrupt regimes as in Myanmar with military rule from 1962 to 2015, and again in 2017, or terrorist group activities such as the Boko Haram Jihadi in Nigeria and neighbouring countries, or Daesh operations in Syria, Iraq, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Turkey and other regional states, and also targeting people and places in Europe, USA, Indonesia and so forth.³⁰

- (c) **Technological**³¹: This category includes nuclear accidents, such as the Chernobyl Power Plant accident in Ukraine (1986) and toxic chemical explosions as with the Bhopal disaster (1984) in India. Regarding Bhopal, the Union Carbide India Limited (with the US based transnational Union Carbide Corporation holding a 50.9% share in UCIL)—pesticide factory explosion resulted in over 500,000 people being exposed to methyl isocyanate (MIC) gas and other chemicals that made their way into the shanty towns located near the plant causing a humanitarian disaster with long term repercussions on the people of the area. Also included in this category is toxic waste as with the classic example of the Love Canal scandal that took place in the Niagara Falls area New York state

²⁸To read more: EcoLogic. Climate Change: The earth's climate is changing, and people and nature are already dealing with the consequences. <http://www.ecologic.org/actions-issues/challenges/climate-change/?gclid=CPfika3y2c4CFW6-7Qod190KGQ>; and El Nino: <https://www.reference.com/science/el-nino-occur-b1db236ce61a5552?qo=cdpArticles>

²⁹To read more: World Health Organization. Available at: <http://www.who.int/csr/disease/en/> Also see YouTube: EBOLA! Inside the Deadly Outbreak [FULL DOCUMENTARY]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sp0OmXs0tYo> and People's Century Part 17 1954 Living Longer. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=92Xh8wT2I9U&list=PL3H6z037pboE8FQXnLau99iQL-MK8L_tO&index=16.

³⁰To read more: Global Terrorism Database. Available at: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>. Peter Apps Reuters. 5 April 2017. Syria chemical weapon attack shows Bashar al-Assad free to act with impunity. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/3359363/syria-chemical-weapons-assad/>.

³¹To read more: Natural and Man Made Disasters. 10 Worst Man Made Disasters of All Time. Available at: <http://www.disasterium.com/10-worst-man-made-disasters-of-all-time/>.

in the USA in 1970s. All of the above examples had detrimental effects on the ecosystem and long-term effects on the human populations there.³²

- (d) **Complex emergencies and disasters:** this includes any combination of the above listed categories—(a)–(c). For example, a combination of natural and human-made disasters was witnessed in the long running separatist Aceh province rebellion in Indonesia combined with the effects of the 2004 tsunami. Other examples include the Tamil guerrilla war in Sri Lanka (1983–2009) combined with the effects of the horrific 2004 tsunami. Political conflict, massive human rights abuses, bad governance, war, rape and HIV/AIDS have been witnessed in conflicts in the DR Congo and Liberia and neighbouring states in recent decades. The effects of global warming, drought, famine and war have been witnessed in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Sudan and Republic of South Sudan from the 1980s on. Combinations of military dictatorship, massive human rights abuse and flooding caused by tropical cyclone Nargis were witnessed in Myanmar in 2008. Similarly, dictatorship, human rights abuses and starvation were witnessed in North Korea, especially during the 1994–98 famine. Here must be noted the mixture of natural and technological crises, with earthquakes in the Pacific Ocean causing a tsunami and triggering a nuclear accident at the Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant, Japan in 2011. Regarding complex emergencies, humanitarian workers and organizations are supported with data and lobbying from NGOs on the ground, but also internationally from Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, as well as the International Crisis Group (ICG), and governmental institutions such as those of the UN.

Fear of, and planning for, a major complex humanitarian disaster including combinations of factors from categories (a) + (b) + (c) listed above form part of the humanitarian remit; as with the unfolding geopolitical narratives in North Korea, Syria and Iran. In order to attenuate the possible impact of humanitarian disasters on any area or region, intelligence and early warning systems are necessary that must take into account the hazard, vulnerability and risk.³³ Geographical data, competencies and skills including GIS and vulnerability mapping play major roles here.³⁴

³²To read more: US NRC 2014. Backgrounder on Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant Accident—<http://www.nrc.gov/reading-rm/doc-collections/fact-sheets/chernobyl-bg.html>, Taylor (2014) and Anderson (2013).

³³To read more: World Disaster Report. Available at: <https://www.ifrc.org/Global/Documents/Secretariat/201410/WDR%202014.pdf> and also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lists_of_disasters
<http://list25.com/25-worst-natural-disasters-recorded/5/>
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_and_anthropogenic_disasters_by_death_toll
<http://www.liststack.com/world/10-worst-man-made-disasters>.

³⁴Tomaszewski (2014).

6.3 Defining Hazards, Vulnerability and Risk

Hazards: They represent a potential threat to human beings and their welfare such as living in an earthquake zone including the Pacific Rim countries; climate change causing rising sea levels and especially the implications of this for low lying territories such as the Republic of Maldives, and populations in Bangladesh and Bengal Bay region. Political hazards include the possibility of conflict spreading from its local or regional level to national and international scales as with bad governance and human rights abuses as witnessed by the crises in Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan and Syria over the past decades.

Vulnerability: This relates to exposure of human beings to danger, and susceptibility to losses, and is compounded by the level of individual, family, community and national poverty and restraints on coping capacities at micro, mezzo and macro levels of development. The level of poverty has a direct impact on the ability of individuals, families, and groups to survive. Some analysts argue that concepts of poverty and of wellbeing are highly intertwined. Generally, the highest levels of hazards and vulnerabilities are found in the Global South, in the Newly Independent Countries.³⁵

Risk: This refers to the probability of the occurrence of the event—natural, human-made, technological or complex. Vulnerability added to risk leads to disaster—or the realisation of the risk.³⁶

Disasters are seen as the consequence of inappropriately managed risk. These risks are the product of hazards and vulnerability. Hazards that strike in areas with low vulnerability are not usually considered a disaster. NICs suffer the greatest costs when a disaster hits—more than 95 percent of all deaths caused by disasters occur in developing countries, and losses due to natural disasters are 20 times greater (as a percentage of GDP) in developing countries, than in industrialized states. Essentially a humanitarian disaster is an event that has severe impacts on the functioning of a particular community or society causing widespread human, material, social and economic, and environmental losses and stress which exceed the ability of the people affected to cope using their own resources.

It must be stressed that the human input in action or lack of it, decision making and planning is core to any humanitarian crisis and its resulting magnitude as with the number of deaths, and level of destruction. However, it should be noted, that in crisis locations, most humanitarian action and aid is delivered by family networks and local communities themselves despite the images and impressions of ‘helpless victims’ often projected by the media. A humanitarian crisis cannot be separated from the above factors and it is impossible to address the risk posed by a hazard

³⁵IFRC. <http://www.ifrc.org/en/what-we-do/disaster-management/about-disasters/what-is-a-disaster/what-is-vulnerability/>.

³⁶To read more: Chap. 11, At Risk: Society and Natural Hazards in Boyle (2014).

escalating into a full blown disaster without first addressing the root causes, such as levels of development and conditions of vulnerability.³⁷

This nexus becomes particularly clear in the context of armed conflict and war. For instance, the way one armed conflict will escalate into a humanitarian crisis, and another will not, can only be answered in view of levels of development and vulnerability of the particular community or society in question. Additionally, armed conflict has been identified as one of the key factors influencing societal underdevelopment. This has been recognized in numerous UN and international declarations and conventions. **Armed conflict leads to a vicious cycle in which levels of underdevelopment contribute to the overall vulnerability of particular people.** The history of humanitarian crises and disasters in Sudan since 1956, and the new Republic of South Sudan created in 2011, as well as Haiti, provide striking examples of cycles of conflict, underdevelopment and disaster.

6.4 Poverty, Vulnerability and Humanitarian Crises

According to Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) reports, they show that poverty and vulnerability to crises are intrinsically linked and that international humanitarian assistance continues to go predominantly to long-term recipients. This emphasises the need to build resilience, address the **underlying causes of crisis and meet the long-term needs of people affected by crises.** Two thirds (66%) of international humanitarian assistance continues to go to long-term recipients such as Syria, Somalia and Pakistan, as crises are protracted or disasters recur in the same places year on year. An estimated 93% of people living in extreme poverty (defined as less than US\$1.25 a day) are in countries that are either fragile or environmentally vulnerable or both, emphasising the need to address the underlying causes of crises. However, domestic response and capacities play an important role in best meeting needs and reducing the necessity for international finance, as case studies of Turkey and Mexico show.³⁸

In order to gain greater understanding of a country's level of development, the **UN Human Development Index (HDI)** provides a key starting point. It gives a composite or amalgamated statistics for key indicators, in short, life expectancy, education, and income per capita, which are used to rank countries into four tiers of human development ranging from low to high. In order to assess the levels of vulnerability, statistics for individual states help illustrate the diversity of problems and also the comparative or ranking aspects of development levels. These HDI scores range from a maximum of 1 (most developed) to a minimum of 0 (least developed). Countries are

³⁷GHA—Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2014 and 2015. <http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/GHA-Report-2014-interactive.pdf>.

³⁸GHA—Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2015. <http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/GHA-Report-2014-interactive.pdf>.

normally aggregated into one of four quartiles: Very High Development Score; High Development Score; Medium Development Score; and Low Development Score. For instance, regarding the UNDP HDI Report (2017), of the 192 countries presented, in the Very High category: Norway ranked 1, Australia 2, Switzerland 3, Ireland 8, USA 10, UK 16, France 21, and Kuwait 51. In the High Development Score, Belarus ranked 52, Cuba 68, Iran 69, China 90, and Uzbekistan 105. In the Medium Development Score: Moldova ranked 107, Republic of South Africa 119, and Pakistan 147. In the Low Development Score category, Syria ranked 149, Haiti and Uganda each ranked 163, Mali 175, and Niger 187 and CAR (Central African Republic) 188.³⁹ The annual UN Human Development Report gives sharp insights into the whole development debate.⁴⁰

BOX: UNDP Human Development Reports

While there are many websites and reports, the **UNDP Human Development Reports**, for global, regional, national and specific theme papers offer quality research insights, see <http://hdr.undp.org/en/global-reports>. Concerning regional development, the UNDP Regional Human Development Reports serve as an advocacy tool to advance development of a common approach to the national and regional dimensions of governance and highlights common governance issues, as well as opportunities, challenges and threats to regional co-operation and integration. For National and Regional Human Development Reports, see <http://hdr.undp.org/en/country-reports>. This UN website offers a toolkit that has been written for anyone involved in writing a national or regional human development report. It offers a concise, step by step overview of the whole reporting process, from theme selection, through report preparation and project oversight, to a communication strategy.

BOX: UN and Development Data

The UNDP Human Development Report 2017 presents the **Human Development Index (HDI)** values and ranks for some 187 countries and UN-recognized territories, along with the Inequality-adjusted HDI for 132 countries, the Gender Inequality Index for 148 countries, and the Multidimensional Poverty Index on average for 104 countries. Country rankings and values in the annual Human Development Index (HDI) are kept under strict embargo until the global launch and worldwide electronic release of the Human Development Report.⁴¹

³⁹UN HDI Report 2017. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/2013-report>.

⁴⁰International Human Development Indicators <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries>.

⁴¹UNDP HDI Index 2018. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/2018-update>.

Such reports by their very nature, based on research, variables, aggregates and rankings, encourage both academic and practitioner critiques, many of which have led to qualitative changes and emphases in the methodology and presentation of results, since the UNDP HDI was first devised in 1990, with the explicit purpose to shift the focus of development economics from national income accounting to people-centered policies. Criticisms are made regarding the aggregate nature of the variable categories for masking important factors within countries that could lead to erroneous interpretations, while issues and variables of power and politics within societies are not adequately included. It could be argued that despite UN HDI results, there is lack of a clear mandate for inter-governmental agencies to name and shame countries, or to support and strengthen them, especially regarding capacity building.⁴²

6.5 Responses to Humanitarian Disasters

Humanitarian action strives to protect people's livelihoods and help affected communities and countries cope with refugees and displaced people. Responding effectively requires expert analysis of the situation, and ability to work with all necessary partners—local, national and international—to ensure aid is delivered to those most in need.

The **Sphere Project** was launched in 1997 by a group of humanitarian NGOs and the IFRC (International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement). Sphere is based on two core beliefs: that all possible steps should be taken to alleviate human suffering arising out of calamity and conflict, and that those affected by disaster have a right to life with dignity and therefore a right to assistance.⁴³ Regarding disaster management, the IFRC remains the major model.⁴⁴

The EU-based **INFORM** is the open-source risk assessment tool for humanitarian crises. INFORM (Index for Risk Management) is to support decisions about prevention, preparedness and response, helping humanitarian actors to align their actions in order to reduce crisis and disaster risk and to build resilience. It is the result of joint efforts of a partnership of international organisations and governments. Other important resources include **UNISDR Prevention Web**—UN Office for Dis-

⁴²YouTube: Animated video—Human Development Report 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4KI0YPyCJMo>.

YouTube: History of the Human Development index, and its major strengths and weaknesses. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z5WlqmFG0k4>.

YouTube: Human Development Index (HDI). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wm6mn0K2d2A>.

YouTube: Human Development Report 2016 'Human Development for Everyone'. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I3HITknKZBk>.

YouTube: Human Development Index. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BF9Mn85O1YI>.

⁴³To read more: http://www.sphereproject.org/component/option,com_frontpage/Itemid,200/lang,english/.

⁴⁴To read more: <http://www.ifrc.org/what/disasters/index.asp>.

aster Risk Reduction (UNISDR); the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE **Relief Web**, and **US—National Institute of Health**.⁴⁵

The stakeholders in a humanitarian disaster include:

- The **local people** directly involved—those affected and those ‘locals’ helping.
- The affected population’s **neighbour communities**, and, or their **host communities** in the case of internal displacement within the state—**IDPs**—Internally Displaced Persons. **Refugees** fleeing to adjacent neighbouring countries in close proximity to their own but **crossing an international boundary** as with people who often have close ethnic linkages or cultures, or intermarriage bonds such as people fleeing from Darfur in Sudan to Chad (2003-04), and flows of Hutu and Tutsi populations between Rwanda, Burundi, DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) and all neighbouring countries during crises over the past 30 years. And of course **asylum seekers** and refugees who flee farther afield as with Syrian, Iraqi, Eritrean and Afghani citizens seeking refuge in Germany, Sweden, Belgium and all EU states.
- **State actors** in the country where the disaster occurs including regional and national government.
- **Neighbouring states**, as with Bangladesh receiving Rohingya people in flight from Myanmar during the 2017–18 crisis.
- **International and inter-state organisations**, this includes State and non-state actors. Examples of **top-down** organizations include the UNHCR (UN High Commission for Refugees), WHO (UN World Health Organization), EU-ECHO (EU European Communities Humanitarian Office Officials), UN Blue Beret missions, and AU (African Union) forces. Examples of **bottom-up** organisations, and especially NGOs include (a) local e.g. charitable organisations and development groups, (b) national—as with the Red Cross, or Centre for Advancement of Democracy, Social Justice, Conflict Resolution and Human Welfare in Nigeria, and (c) international NGOs, INGOs, and BINGOs such as MSF (Doctors Without Borders), Save the Children, Oxfam and Trócaire, AmeriCares, Gates Foundation, Relief International, Engineers without Borders and so forth.⁴⁶
- **Foreign actors**, with vested geo-strategic, political and economic interests which may be overt or covert in their activities in the affected country. These can be at

⁴⁵See: Prevention Web—UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR). Tools and methods for estimating populations at risk from natural disasters and complex humanitarian crises. <https://www.preventionweb.net/publications/view/1501>.

OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe). Relief Web. <https://reliefweb.int/>. OSCE Secretariat Transnational Threats Department Borders Unit. 2013. SELF-ASSESSMENT TOOL FOR NATIONS TO INCREASE PREPAREDNESS FOR CROSS-BORDER IMPLICATIONS OF CRISES. <https://www.osce.org/borders/104490?download=true>.

USA—National Institute of Health. Disaster Metrics: A Proposed Quantitative Assessment Tool in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies—The Public Health Impact Severity Scale (PHISS). <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3441152/>.

⁴⁶Raptim. Focus on NGOs: 34 Disaster Relief Organizations. <https://www.raptim.org/focus-on-ngos-34-disaster-relief-organizations/>.

the level of **foreign states** such as Indian or Pakistani interests in neighbouring countries, or the USA and UK in relation to their security, and oil and gas energy supply policies in Iraq and Syria and the MENA (Middle East and North African) countries in general, or Turkish and Russian interests in Syria and especially the Kurdish region. Similarly, **multinational companies or TNCs** (transnational corporations) with targeted economic interests whether oil in Iraq, or coltan in the DRC or Mozambique. Coltan is much sought after, being highly valuable as a metallic mineral which is a combination of columbite and tantalite and which is refined to produce tantalum, and is used in cell phones, laptops, pagers and other electronic devices.

- **Local, national or international—warlords, criminal cartels, gangs, traffickers** and so forth, as witnessed over the past decades in Somalia, Afghanistan, Sudan, Republic of South Sudan, Mexico, Colombia, Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador.
- The **media** and **witnesses**: professional journalists and reporters from local to international scales, but more and more the non-professional individual on the ground in the form of citizen journalists, due to use of social media and mobile phones.
- The **public**, especially **electorates** at national and international scales, who can influence foreign policy decisions, especially in the mature democracies such as the USA, Canada and EU.

6.6 Conclusions

The **humanitarian tradition in many cultures, civilizations and religions** has a long disputed history, with the kernel question being is it based on emotion and empathy for all humankind, or is it exclusive to people of the same culture, or is it a religious obligation. Here arise issues of fundamental attitudes: is a major cause of human vulnerability like poverty, and disaster ‘an act of God’ to be accepted as such and where is the role of human agency, power and socio-political structures in all this. Though rarely articulated, sometimes iterations of Darwinism cannot be completely ignored regarding levels of response to the emergency.

The suffering and death of combatants witnessed by the lawyer Henri Dunant, after the Battle of Solferino (1859) is often given as a landmark factor stimulating **creation of the Red Cross and development of humanitarian law with the Geneva Convention (1864)**, the first codified international treaty that covered the sick and wounded soldiers on the battlefield. This was followed by other Conventions regarding neutrality and so forth. The debacle of WWI, necessitated stronger international law and subsequent creation of the **League of Nations (1920), the first major attempt at global government**. Following WWII and creation of the **UN (1945)**, there was hope for greater inter-state cooperation, development and elimination of conflict. However, this was restricted by the **geopolitical parameters of the Cold War (1945–91)**. Following the implosion of Soviet system (1991–2003),

geopolitical changes reshaped the humanitarian map leading to hope for people-centred humanitarian action mechanisms, embodied in the **UN Responsibility to Protect Principle (R2P)** and establishment of the **International Criminal Court (ICC)** (2002). The **2001, 9/11** attacks on the USA and consequent **War on Terror** impacted critically on the humanitarian landscape.⁴⁷

Simultaneously was witnessed hyper-globalization and tensions within the UN multilateral—collective inter-state action principles, and attempted abuses of the evolving Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle. Corporatization of humanitarian aid and many NGOs, along with mission creep and role confusion, added greater challenges for the **humanitarian actors, including workers being targeted by belligerents**. The **global economic crash** (2007), along with the institutional **mantra of Western-style democracy, neo-liberal economics, and austerity** left many people vulnerable and disaffected. Nonetheless, the **humanitarian imperative: impartiality, neutrality and independence** remains central to humanitarian organizations in the nexus of hazard, vulnerability and risk, and interplay of geographies and geopolitics.⁴⁸

Humanitarian assistance continues to go primarily to the same long-term recipients, due to poverty and vulnerability as illustrated in the **UN Human Development Index (HDI)** and by **vulnerability mapping**.⁴⁹ The UN's **Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (VAM)** Unit, of the **World Food Program (WFP)** provides major food security analyses to decision-makers.⁵⁰ The **Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction** (2015–2030) was the first main agreement of the post-2015 **Millennium Development Goals (MDG)** agenda being endorsed by the UN General Assembly—2015 **Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (WCDRR)**.⁵¹

Expressions of national and **international solidarity** became more common regarding emergencies from the **1970s on** being facilitated by revolutions in **media and popular culture**, especially witnessed during the **Ethiopian Famine (1984–85)**.⁵² **Popular culture has played a critical role in bringing humanitarian issues to greater global audiences and electorates forcing governments to take**

⁴⁷See Footnote 1.

⁴⁸Hazard, vulnerability and risk analysis. University of Twente, NL. <https://www.itc.nl/ilwis/applications-guide/application-1/>.

⁴⁹Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report 2018. <http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/GHA-Report-2018.pdf>.

UN Human Development Index (HDI). <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI>.

We Adapt. <https://www.weadapt.org/knowledge-base/vulnerability/mapping-vulnerability>.

⁵⁰UN GIS AN OVERVIEW OF VULNERABILITY ANALYSIS AND MAPPING (VAM). http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/ungis/meeting/march00/documentation/wfp_recalde2.pdf, UNDP Mapping Climate Change: Vulnerability and Impact Assessment Scenarios. https://www.adaptationcommunity.net/?wpfb_dl=58.

⁵¹See Footnote 7.

⁵²To read more: Ethiopian famine: how landmark BBC report influenced modern coverage: Thirty years on, Michael Buerk's broadcast remains a watershed moment in crisis reporting, but what is its lasting legacy? <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/oct/22/ethiopian-famine-report-influence-modern-coverage>.

action in emergencies and from longer term perspectives as with the **MDGs** (Millennium Development Goals) and **SDGs**—Sustainable Development Goals. Here there is greater popular and official recognition that development levels and specific geographical contexts must be catered for in policy, not alone from the purely humanitarian viewpoint, but also from the standpoint of security for all countries and peoples, as the **negative impact of any humanitarian disaster is directly proportionate to the levels of vulnerability of the populations affected.** This **trajectory from crises to disasters and their ripple effects** is evident in the narratives of Syria, Yemen and the DRC. Exposure of human beings to danger and susceptibility to losses is compounded by the level of individual, family, community and national poverty and constraints on coping capacities at family, kinship, community and national levels of development, whether due to natural, human-made, technological or complex emergencies.

Responses to humanitarian crises effectively requires expert analysis of the situation, and ability to work with all stakeholders—local, national and international—to ensure aid is delivered to those most in need. Examples include, the **Sphere Project** launched by NGOs and IFRC that is based on core beliefs: that all steps should be taken to alleviate human suffering arising out of conflict, and that those affected by disaster have **a right to life with dignity and therefore a right to assistance.**⁵³ The Red cross (IFRC) continues to provide a major model for disaster management.⁵⁴

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⁵³To read more: http://www.sphereproject.org/component/option,com_frontpage/Itemid,200/lang,english/.

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Chapter 7

Sustainable Development: Vulnerability and Crises



Abstract Humanitarian crises contribute to underdevelopment, while conflict has a devastating impact on societies in terms of suffering, death and economic damage. This is evident particularly in social institutions that are required to play roles in sustainable development. Conflict leads to greater underdevelopment contributing further to vulnerability and risk, and recurring negative cycles. Humanitarian action is mandated to support the sustainable development. Regarding power and vulnerability, the food-weapon is assessed. Local and national capacity building and empowerment is reviewed during and after crises in order to consolidate the development process. In the overall vision for a sustainable world, and nexus between food, power and hunger, the Global Hunger Index (GHI) remains vital in tracking hunger at different scales throughout the world. The UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) has long raised awareness of the link between conflict and hunger, and the food weapon. They and the EU and partners, provides updates on food security to the UN Security Council and annually publishes the Global Report on Food Crises, a crucial source for the humanitarian community. Adverse physical geographical and ecological conditions challenge the development momentum, and the struggle with credible nation-state building continues, especially in the Global South due to lack of good governance and democracy in many cases.

Keywords Sustainable development · Vulnerability · Crises · Food · UN FAO · Power · Hunger · Political-economy · Modernity

7.1 Introduction

Humanitarian crises contribute to underdevelopment, and violent conflict can have a devastating impact on particular societies not only in terms of human suffering, death and economic damage but it disrupts societal functioning, particularly in social institutions which play key roles in development. Furthermore, **it can destroy the levels of development achieved by previous generations**. This leads to greater underdevelopment contributing to further vulnerability and risk, and the cycle starts once again. Striking examples of such include Haiti and the DRC.

Humanitarian action must act in support of sustainable development. In an emergency location and situation, **humanitarian workers prioritize the actions needed to bring relief at that particular time, but this must be interpreted in the wider context of the development process prior to the disaster and continuation of the development process after the crisis event.** For instance, hospitals and schools may be (re)built, but to sustain them, structural maintenance and upkeep must be ensured, and staff have to be trained and paid regularly. Similarly, **food** may be distributed, but local food production must be resumed and enhanced for self-sufficiency and sustainability, in order to decrease the levels of dependence and vulnerability. Here the histories of countries in the Sahel region provide poignant patterns. Similarly, local and national capacity building and empowerment must be fostered during and after the crisis in order to consolidate the development process.

In the overall vision for a **sustainable world**, and **nexus between food, power and hunger**, the Global Hunger Index (**GHI**) tracks hunger globally, by country and region. The UN Food and Agricultural Organization (**FAO**) has long raised awareness of the link between **conflict and hunger**, and **the food weapon**. The FAO, with the World Food Program, EU and partners, provides updates on food security to the UN Security Council and annually publishes the **Global Report on Food Crises**. There exists a wealth of expert data on malnutrition, food security and famine, yet the lessons of the past regarding famine, non-sustainable systems and geopolitics are not always heeded by the international public, until there is ‘breaking news’ of disaster as witnessed in Yemen once again with the civil war (2015 on) there becoming enmeshed in regional power struggles, and by association input from their global power allies. While over 50,000 children in Yemen died from starvation in 2017, and in October 2018, the UN warned that 13 million people face starvation there in what could be the worst famine in the world in 100 years. As elsewhere, **children remain the most visible victims of under-nutrition and famine**, while **it’s women that continue to play the prominent role in food production in the NICs**.

The relationships between **political-economy, poverty, modernity and development** were articulated in US President Truman’s address to the UN as early as 1949. Nevertheless, the ideological struggles of the Cold War protagonists debilitated sustainable development in many NICs, where human vulnerability and risk of disaster remained prominent in the post-colonial countries. **Adverse physical geographical and ecological conditions** slowed the development momentum, while the struggle with **nation-state building** and consolidation continued, but was encumbered by lack of **good governance and democracy** in many cases. The old storylines of foreign imperialism and colonialism condemned by the new ruling regimes and their own national liberation narratives, often ring somewhat hollow to younger generations in the NICs, searching for a better life and paid work. The **regional specialisations** that were created to service economic policies of the colonizing countries, and the **(New) International Division of Labour** continued to impact. In this overall context, many NICs feel a sense of grievance that in the overall global climate debate and elaboration of UN protocols, that it is the former imperial and industrial countries, and their legacies that have been the main source of global warming and associated

problems. Now many NICs feel that their chances for industrialization as a means for eradication of poverty and development could be constrained by the wealthiest states in the world.

Countries in Fig. 7.1 are shaded according to their ecological footprint in 2007 (Global Footprint Network, 2010). The map creators state that it is measured by the amount of global hectares that are affected by humans per capita of the country. Lighter shades denote countries with a lower ecological footprint per capita and darker shaded for countries with a higher ecological footprint per capita. There is a different colour for countries under 2.1 gha, the estimated limit of sustainability. The total ecological footprint (global hectares affected by humans) is measured as a total of six factors: cropland footprint, grazing footprint, forest footprint, fishing ground footprint, carbon footprint and built-up land.

7.2 Sustainable Development

Sustainable development refers to **long lasting, durable positive change**—using the **environment** in such a way as to fulfil **economic and social needs** without destroying the **resources** upon which we, and **future generations** depend. Divergent viewpoints on sustainable development are dependent on what you believe to be the core causes of environmental degradation and poverty, and also distinguishing between societal and cultural attitudes to the different concepts of **‘needs’** and **‘wants’**. Sustainable development theory aims at getting a balance between the **ecological** interconnected web of life, **economic** (earning a livelihood) and **socio-cultural** lifestyle needs, where none of these domains suffer **irreversible damage** via such phenomena as

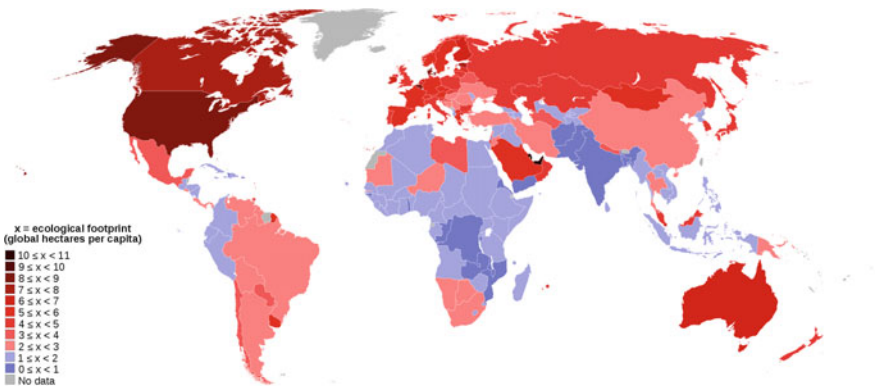


Fig. 7.1 World map of countries by their raw ecological footprint in 2007 (global average biocapacity: 2.1 gha per capita). Image version 30-Mar-2018 created by [user:JollyJanner/Wikimedia Commons](#), with the Geocart map projection software, based on data (13-Oct-2010) from [Global Footprint Network](#), [Public Domain]

pollution, **destruction of resources** including soil and water, mass unemployment, heritage sites, or too rapid cultural change leading to social collapse. **Resources** may be defined as anything which society places a value on, but a resource can be **renewable or non-renewable**. If it is non-renewable, it becomes exhausted or destroyed, and then it is gone forever.

Development or positive change is linked to **innovation** and **diffusion** processes often associated with **technology**—ranging from domestication methods of animals and food cultivation, and stone tools of the Neolithic Revolution (10,000 BC) to the industrial revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, and onto the software, Microchip and Fourth Industrial Revolution in recent decades. **A society cut off from or blocked, or refusing to integrate innovative processes lags behind** others, and often becomes further underdeveloped. However, the types, and scale and use of technological innovation have to be **mediated by institutions** and **democratic** inclusive processes in order to avoid **environmental and economic or social breakdown**. In the **good governance** framework, governmental organizations (GOs) or state funded **top-down institutions** such as the Ministry of Environment, Agriculture, Education, EU commissions, UN organs, World Bank and International Monetary Fund - must interact and plan policy in harmony with **bottom-up** or grass-roots people and organizations on the ground in order to avoid open conflict, and non-sustainable authoritarianism, as witnessed in the former Soviet countries before the implosion of the system; or anarchy as seen in Libya, Somalia, South Sudan, Central African Republic and Democratic Republic of Congo in recent decades.

When it is often perceived ‘on the ground’ that there is too much top-down input, or that policy is not benefiting all sections of the community, nor connecting with peoples’ lived realities, or that the relationship between political and economic elites and transnational corporations is putting **too much stress on people and environment, and their livelihood or cultures, causing injustice and risk, then there is conflict**. Nigeria provides a significant example of this regarding oil production in the Niger Delta region and the local populations.¹ Hence the **importance of Bottom-up organizations**, those which are not directly financed nor controlled by the state including NGOs, unions, local development groups, farmers and residents associations, Greenpeace, Freedom House and so forth. However, real people in actual places, with local knowledge of needs and solutions often **feel cut off from decision making** not only in countries low on the democracy index, but also in mature democracies as witnessed during the 2016 UK referendum on Brexit and decision to leave the EU, and throughout the very divisive electoral campaigns in the USA, Netherlands, France, Germany, and Austria especially since 2016. It is here that **top-down must interact with bottom-up regarding new policy, technology, economic, social and environmental change**, and inclusive development for all sections of the population. Sustainability like **democracy** is an ideal, involving **long-term processes**.

In this, geographical local and regional scales must be viewed within the **global framework ‘acting locally and thinking globally’**. In order to implement sustainable strategies, certain experts advocate extreme neoliberal policies largely based on

¹Dijkema (2009), Hallmark (2017).

econometrics with market-led solutions, while others support reducing imbalances in use and access to resources between areas, regions, countries and peoples, along with **local participatory approaches to resource control and power, and better governance, and development of global management policies** as with the environment via international treaties such as UN Agenda 21, or the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs, 2016), or the UN Paris Agreement on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 2016) dealing with greenhouse gas emissions mitigation, adaptation and finance starting in the year 2020. Imbalances and breakdowns between the environmental, economic and socio-cultural factors lead to conflict at various levels, and possible crises and disasters.²

7.2.1 Food, Power and Hunger

The **Global Hunger Index (GHI)** (Fig. 7.2) is designed to measure and track hunger globally, and by country and region. It is calculated annually by the International Food Policy Research Institute (**IFPRI**). The GHI highlights successes and failures in hunger reduction and provides insights into the drivers of hunger. By raising awareness and understanding of regional and country differences in hunger, the GHI aims to trigger actions to reduce hunger. In the 2016 GHI ranking, the top ten countries were: Central African Republic, Chad, Zambia, Haiti, Madagascar, Yemen, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, Timor Leste, and Niger.³ In IFPRI reports there are recurring patterns, with conflict, violence and war being the major causes of widespread poverty and food insecurity in most of countries with high GHI scores.

Another common pattern is lack of general freedom in terms of political rights and civil liberties, as borne out in the **Freedom House Index** regarding non-free or partly free countries.⁴ Issues regarding **food as a weapon** in coercing, controlling, or attacking people, and also **trends in famine** over the decades are regularly updated by the **World Peace Foundation**. It states that **civil conflict is the driving factor in nine of the ten worst humanitarian crises, underscoring clear linkages between conflict and hunger. Post-conflict countries with high food insecurity are 40% more likely to relapse into conflict within a 10-year timespan.**⁵

The **UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO)** has long raised awareness on the link between conflict and hunger. The FAO, with the World Food Programme, EU and other partners, provides regular updates on food security to the UN Security

²Documentary: People's Century Part 19. 1959 Endangered Planet. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wBd2GM3TZII&index=19&list=PLuL26fXZ8eTNLLnugg2BTyOZQ7HT-QZk4>.

³2016 Global Hunger Index. <http://ghi.ifpri.org/>.

⁴Freedom House. Freedom in the World in 2017. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2017>.

⁵Famine Trends. World Peace Foundation. <https://sites.tufts.edu/wpff/famine-trends/>.

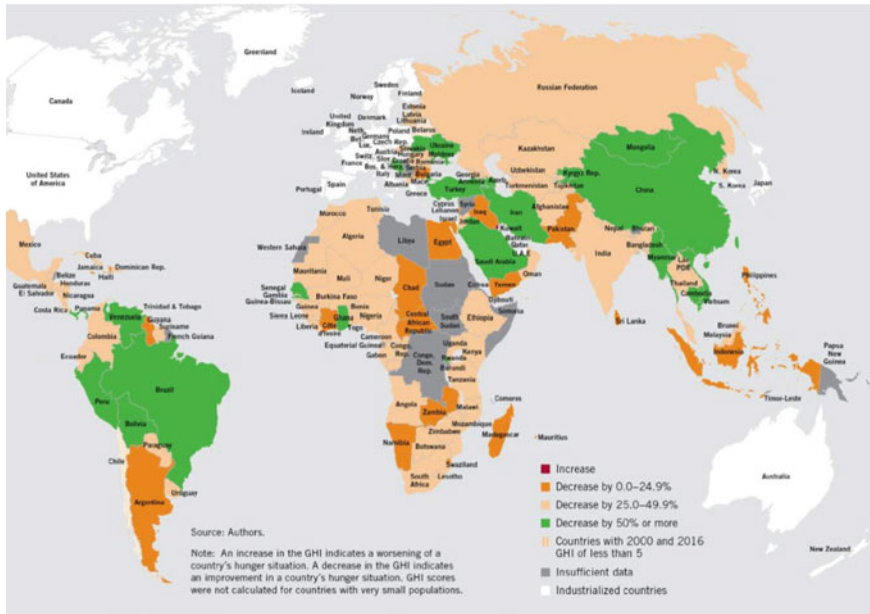


Fig. 7.2 Global Hunger. Image by International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) [CC0], via [Wikimedia Commons](#)

Council and publishes the annual **Global Report on Food Crises**.⁶ The concept of **food power** refers to when a government, company, leader, country or faction takes food security away from others in order to coerce or get something in return. **Overtly or covertly food supply can be used as a weapon**. Countries can exploit their food power to threaten another country's food security, just as imperial, or coercive, or authoritarian regimes, or other cliques can do within their own state.⁷

Following humanitarian catastrophes, of course analyses is important in **attempting to prevent a reoccurrence**, or in planning how to react to future disasters; however, a frequent political cliché has become 'what lessons can be learned' - unfortunately very similar human-made disaster processes reoccur. From an historical perspective, contested narratives and memorials remain around famines in the learning process, and this can sustain political grievance, especially when denial exists. Here examples include those experienced in Ireland (1845–48), and the Holodomor (to kill by starvation), known also as the Terror-Famine and Famine-Genocide in

⁶FAO. FAO Welcomes UN Security Council Recognition of Conflict-Famine Link. <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/1029956/icode/>.

⁷Lester, R. Brown on the Emerging New Geopolitics of Food. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ovnPdnw_VTc.

Brown (2012).

Food Power. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Food_power.

Daly et al. (2016).

Ukraine (1932–33).⁸ Other strong grievance narratives regarding the concept of the food weapon, power and famine exist ranging from the separatist Biafran war and famine in Nigeria (1967–70), to those in Ethiopia (1983–85), and more recently in the Yemen Civil Wars.

7.2.2 Sustainable Development: Famine and Learning from the Past

While **each famine context is unique**, comparing and contrasting specific cases such as the famines of the 19th century in India and Ireland, and those of the Sahel states as with Ethiopia in the latter 20th century and those of the Horn of Africa with Somalia, Sudan and Republic of South Sudan, using the following criteria, many similar characteristics and patterns emerge regarding the (non)sustainable development framework. This takes into account getting a balance between the following geographical pillars: (i) Ecological and Physical, (ii) Economic and Political, and (iii) Society and Culture. Resource and technology levels are core here, and especially political and social institutions, and how bottom-up grass-roots people interact with top-down authorities, within the context of governance. This underlies effective planning, or not, and responses to problems.

7.3 Case Study: The Great Irish Famine/an Gorta Mór (1845–49)⁹

By its very name, An Gorta Mór—The Great Famine, this implies that it was the big one, as opposed to the smaller famines and food shortages that had occurred before 1845 in Ireland. There were early warnings from the previous four decades of what was occurring, but the socio-economic systems, or political will, were not there to prevent, or attenuate the Great Famine. The population of Ireland was approximately 8 million in 1845, and fell to 6 million by 1850, with circa one million deaths and one million fleeing to Britain, USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina and elsewhere. The trend in emigration continued, with accentuated political agitation for land reform laws and distribution, and eventually armed revolution. With Independence in 1921, the population stood at 3 million, and the country was partitioned between the Free

⁸Applebaum (2017), Kennedy (1999), Coogan (2012).

⁹YouTube for an analysis of famines in India and Ireland: Simon Sharma. A History of Britain. Part 14 the Empire of Good Intentions. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MzFNyW9i18>. The Irish Famine Population Data Atlas 1841–2002 and the Atlas of Irish Famine Data 1841–1851 <http://ncg.nuim.ie/redirect.php?action=projects/famine/explore>; Scoilnet Review of the Irish Famine. https://www.scoilnet.ie/sow_irish_potato_famine.shtm.

State of Ireland, and Northern Ireland within the UK. By 2017, the population in the Republic was 4.7 million and 1.8 million in Northern Ireland.¹⁰

By applying the Sustainable Development Framework concepts to the Great Famine, we can see how the system was not sustainable. The same Framework can be applied to other parts of the world today regarding food security or not. **Famine is rare, geographically localised and temporary, whereas malnutrition is common and covers vast geographical areas** especially most of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Middle East and Asia. Malnutrition results from nutritional imbalances in the diet of people and essentials include protein (amino-acids), carbohydrates, fats, minerals, vitamins and water.

Ecology: disease hit the potato crop with blight which was the main component in the diet for a large percentage of the population and especially the rural poor rent-paying tenant and sub-tenant peasants. Labour, and other crops and livestock went to pay rent to the landlord elites, their agents and middle-men. Regarding potato production in specific areas such as the western counties and along the Atlantic seaboard, the population density was high, and the ecological carrying capacity was under much stress, especially in marginal lands. Vestiges of this can still be witnessed with the relic lazy beds—potato drills—visible in the landscape on very low production higher mountain slopes and marginal lands.

Today, from an ecological standpoint, the **UN FAO tracks plant pests and diseases** listing locusts, armyworm, fruit flies, banana diseases, cassava diseases and wheat rusts amongst the most destructive, and they are spread in three principal ways: (i) environmental forces—weather and windborne, (ii) trade or other human-migrated movement, and (iii) insect or other vector-borne—pathogens. For instance, Ug99 a new strain of black stem rust that is destructive to wheat is spreading across Africa and into Asia.¹¹

Other ecological and physical geographical factors threatening food security include global warming and rising sea levels, as in the Bay of Bengal area and impact on impoverished communities there, and similarly drought prone areas with vulnerable populations in Mali, Niger, northern Nigeria, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan.

Economy: Due to poverty and economic vulnerability of a majority of the Irish population, for the tenant farmers whose staple potato crop was no longer available, basic food prices rose. They did not have the money nor possessions to buy or barter for food. Whatever financial resources they had went to pay rent, while exportation of non-potato foodstuff to Britain continued in order to create wealth for the landlords in the prevailing economic system, to feed the rapidly increasing populations of the burgeoning Industrial Revolution cities such as Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. Due to the very limited industrialization in 19th century Ireland, with the exception of the Belfast region, and Dublin and Cork to a lesser extent, the destitute

¹⁰Central Statistics Office (CSO). Population. <http://www.cso.ie/en/statistics/population/>.

¹¹To read more: UN FAO Plants and Pests. <http://www.fao.org/emergencies/emergency-types/plant-pests-and-diseases/en/>.

The Guardian (2007).

and excess rural population could not find factory employment in urban areas as was well underway in Britain, France, Belgium, Germany and other countries.

In short, the wealthy minority controlled the assets—with approximately 90% of land ownership being held by 10% of the population—and systems of production and distribution, in contrast to the poor majority, the gap between them was too large for the political-economic system to be sustainable.

Here as in other colonies, the central contentious issue was that of the self-regulation of those with financial power, as opposed to the politics of state-intervention, due to the prevailing standpoint on political economy as witnessed also in French Algeria, Portuguese Angola, German Namibia and elsewhere. In the UK context, the two major political parties held opposing stances on famine issues in Ireland, and other areas of empire as with India. The Conservatives held that free market economics, based on the ‘law of supply and demand’ driven by entrepreneurs, or individuals and companies competing, with only a limited role for the state to regulate these processes, was primordial and that individuals and markets would solve famine and ‘excess population’ issues by natural or Darwinian means. The Liberals favoured some state intervention in regulating market and food supply. Regarding India, fourteen major famines occurred under British rule with an estimated death toll of 55.1 million people that may have died—17% of the entire population. Significantly no famines have occurred there since independence in 1948.¹²

Today, poor economically vulnerable populations exist within the stranglehold of unjust landlord-tenant and sharecropping relationships as in many Latin American states, but also India, Pakistan, Uganda (Buganda region), and areas of Ghana and Zimbabwe.

Society and Culture: In Ireland, economic disparities between rich and poor, and especially ownership of land and resources was reinforced by the ethno-religious divide created by colonial processes as with land confiscation by the imperial power, with a substantive percentage of the native Irish-speaking and Roman Catholic population being dispossessed, and the incoming planter population and power elite from Britain being Protestant, and largely English-speaking.

Throughout the colonized world, such ‘othering’ and ‘divide and rule’ power strategies exploited existing and imagined racial and cultural differences, and sometimes already existing tensions within the colonized countries due to the tenure and land use systems and control. Language, religion, ethnicity or race often came into play, and were used by the colonial powers in Africa, between Black and White in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and South Africa; ethnicity in Rwanda (Hutu, Tutsi and European), Sri Lanka (Sinhala, Tamil and British), and Algeria (Berber, Arab and European). In Ireland, the ruling protestant and English-speaking elites were more integrated into the lifestyles and culture of Britain, than the majority population, especially in rural areas. This had a long-lasting impact on Ireland with the parti-

¹²YouTube for analysis of famines in India and Ireland: Simon Sharma. A History of Britain. Part 14 The Empire of Good Intentions. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MzFNyW9i18>. Bhatia (1991).

tion of the island in 1921 into two states, and civil, political and armed conflict in Northern Ireland (1968–98).

Today many people in the ruling economic and political elites in numerous NICs ranging from Nigeria to Uganda, and Pakistan, El Salvador and Haiti may have more vested interests in common with elites in the core economies in the USA and Europe than with populations in their home countries in the economic globalization processes.

Technology: In 19th century Ireland, there was a major technological lag behind economic core industrial and innovative regions in Britain. This technological lag in Ireland also manifested itself in agricultural techniques, production and organization as was evidenced during the Famine. The minimal State institutional structures were too weak to collaborate with the wealthier entrepreneurial elite and foster the innovation and technological changes necessary, while lack of democracy excluded a majority of the population from decision making processes. Such technology lags and gaps within countries and between countries constitute the differentiation patterns between the developed and underdeveloped places and countries, closely linked to core-periphery economic disparities.

Top-down and bottom-up: The gap between these voices in 19th century Ireland led to agitation, violence and eventual revolution in the decades following the Famine. Similar patterns of bad and unjust governance and processes can be observed today throughout many states in the Arab world, Sudan, Madagascar, Mali, Myanmar, Peru, and rural areas of India spurring on the Naxalite revolutionaries.¹³

7.3.1 *Patterns of Global Malnourishment*

The most frequently cited data for food and ‘under-nutrition’ is that of the **UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)**.¹⁴ Some 795 million people continue to suffer from hunger according to **The State of Food Insecurity in the World** (FAO, IFAD and WFP, 2015), and almost one billion people live in extreme poverty (World Bank, 2015). Most of these people live in rural areas in the global south and rely on agriculture for much of their incomes. The FAO produces annual reports and much critical material, including executive summaries.¹⁵

Children are the most visible victims of under-nutrition. Children who are poorly nourished suffer up to 160 days of illness each year. Poor nutrition plays a role in at least half of the 10.9 million child deaths annually, i.e. five million deaths. **Under-nutrition magnifies the effect of every disease**, including measles and malaria. The estimated proportions of deaths in which under-nutrition is an underlying cause are roughly similar for diarrhoea (61%), malaria (57%), pneumonia (52%), and measles

¹³How did Naxalite (Maoist) movement start in India? <https://www.quora.com/How-did-Naxalite-maoist-movement-start-in-India>.

¹⁴See: UN FAO. <http://www.fao.org/statistics/en/>.

¹⁵UN FAO (2015).

(45%). Malnutrition can also be caused by illnesses, such as the diseases that cause diarrhoea, by reducing the body's ability to convert food into usable nutrients.

Malnutrition, as measured by stunting, affects 32.5% of children in developing countries. Geographically, over 70% of malnourished children live in Asia, 26% in Africa and 4% in Latin America and Caribbean countries. In many cases, their plight began even before birth with a malnourished mother. Under-nutrition among pregnant women in developing countries leads to 1 out of 6 infants born with low birth weight. This is not only a risk factor for neonatal deaths, but causes learning disabilities, psychological and retardation issues, poor health, blindness and premature death.¹⁶

7.3.2 Women Play a Major Role in Food Production in the NICs

Besides the **tenure** of farms, and **farming systems** being in the **control** of small elites in many NICs such as India, Bangladesh, Guatemala, Peru, Uganda and Burundi—ownership, inheritance and, or contractual rights are essentially under **male control**. In many societies, **males** do other types of work besides producing food on the farm, as casual labourers often living far from home, or as seasonal and migrant workers abroad. Also in conflict areas, males constitute the majority of combatants, so food production is handled by female labour.

Hence **women's farm labour in the NICs is crucial for food supply**. Over half of all the world's farmers are women, who **cultivate approximately 75% of all food grown**. It is estimated that if women were to receive the same education as men, farm yields could rise by as much as 22% (FAO, 2008). Women often do not own the land they work, instead this land is owned by male community leaders, or relatives of a deceased husband. This results in the fact that rural women are amongst the poorest and most dis-empowered groups in the world.¹⁷

7.3.3 Political-Economy and Poverty

Capitalism in various forms was the predominant political economic force in Europe and North America from the 17th century on, and was fuelled by the **European scramble for colonies** with their **resources and markets**. This was heightened by the **industrial revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries**. From the mid-19th century on, the idealized nation-state model became the territorial blueprint for European states, which they inadvertently exported to their colonies along with iterations of

¹⁶See: Hunger Notes. <http://www.worldhunger.org/articles/Learn/world%20hunger%20facts%202002.htm>.

¹⁷See: http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/docs/expert_paper/How_to_Feed_the_World_in_2050.pdf and <http://www.womenaid.org/press/info/food/food4.html>.

capitalism. While the vast majority of observers interested in development agree that **industrialization is necessary to produce and create wealth, what they disagree on is how the profits of industrialization should be distributed and spent.**

Following the **Russian Revolution (1917)** and creation of the USSR (1922), the Communist theories of Karl Marx, adapted by Vladimir Lenin, were introduced to counteract the negative aspects of capitalism and especially poverty in society. These socialist communist concepts were based on the theory of a state centrally-planned economy, supported by collectivist principles and intentional or calculated development planning. This was in contrast to liberal economic theory as fostered in the colonial countries. Democracy became further entwined with this especially in North America and Europe. After **WWI**, the ruling elites in such countries as the UK and France, had to make concessions to ordinary men and women, in order to avoid greater social agitation and possible revolution, and especially among the so called **working classes**, in such areas as voting rights to elect members to parliament. This was intended to ensure socio-political stability. After **WWII**, citizens of many European countries demanded greater rights as with the creation of the **social welfare** state in the UK, France, the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium. Between 1945 and 1991, led by the **USA and USSR Superpowers** and their allies, Western capitalism and the communist states competed for ideological, territorial and economic control of the **former colonies or Newly Independent States (NICs).**

Rather than confronting each other in open or hot nuclear warfare, the Superpowers maintained a balance of nuclear fear of mutual destruction, and fought their battles by proxy, indirectly through their 'partners' and client states, and factions within states in the NICs. The Superpower allies often exploited the **internal development problems and political power struggled within the NICs** in order to advance their respective geopolitical capitalist, or socialist, or communist agenda as witnessed in proxy conflicts: Chinese Civil War (1944–49), Greek Civil War (1944–49), Indochina War (1946–54), Vietnam War (1953–75), Korea (1950–53), Paraguay (1947), Malayan Emergency (1948–60), Myanmar (1948–present), Baluchistan (1948–present), Arab-Israel conflict (1948–present), Kenya and the Mau-Mau (1952–60), Indonesia (1960s), Cuba (1953–59), Algeria (1954–62), Sudan (1955–72), Tibet (1959–62), Nicaragua (1979–90), Chile coup d'état (1973), Congo Crisis (1960–65), Portuguese colonial wars and opposing liberation movements especially in Africa (1960–74), Iraqi-Kurdish War (1961–70), Eritrean War (1974–91), North Yemen Civil War (1962–70), Sarawak Insurgency (1962–90), Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) Bush War (1964–79), Dominican Civil War (1965), Chad (1965–79), Thailand (1965–83), South Africa (1966–90), and Naxalite uprising in India (1967 on).

Operation Condor (1968–89) in **Latin America** was to eradicate any real or perceived communist and socialist influence: key collaborating members were governments in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Brazil, supported by the US administration providing technical support and military aid. Other proxy wars continued in the Philippines (1969–present), Angola (1974–2002), Ethiopia (1974–91), Lebanon (1975–90), Western Sahara (1975–91), Indonesian Occupation of East Timor—former Portuguese colony (1975–99), Cabinda war

(an exclave and province of Angola: 1975–present), Laos (1975–present), Mozambique (1977–92), Chad-Libya (1978–87), South Yemen (1979), Soviet-led war in Afghanistan (1978–89) with civil wars (1989–92), and US War on Terror there (2001 on).

Enduring legacy proxy conflicts continued in Peru (1980–present), Georgia-Ossetia (1989–present), Georgia (1991–93), Yugoslav Wars (1991–2001), Tajikistan civil war (1992–97), Congo (1996–97 and 1997–99), Nepal Civil War (1996–2006), Guinea-Bissau (1998–99), Ivory Coast (2000–07), Darfur—Sudan (2003–present), Paraguay insurgency (2005–present), Ukraine (2013–present), Iraq (2011–14) and the strategies of the USA and Russia and their respective allies regarding the civil war in Syria (2011–present). Nonetheless, the USA and Russia promoted development in word, and in deed in the NICs since WWII, but unfortunately a lot of **human and physical resources of the NICs have been squandered in conflict fuelled by the Cold War protagonists.**

In **1949**, US President Harry **Truman** delivered his **landmark vision of development and a new world order** in his four-point speech at the **UN** stating that the **USA** will:

1. “Continue to give unfaltering **support to the UN** and related agencies and we will continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness.”
2. “Continue our programs for **world economic recovery.**”
3. “Strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression.”
4. “Embark on a bold **new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.**”¹⁸

Truman’s speech marks a milestone in attempting to further global peace and prosperity through **multilateral state cooperation**, promote **liberal economics and democracy**, and diffuse the achievements and potential of **science, technology and industry to the poorer or underdeveloped areas** of the world.

However, from ethical and philosophical perspectives, distinguishing the boundaries between one’s own needs including water, food and a place to live, along with collective necessities including space, territory, infrastructure and protection, and individual and social wants has always been challenging for society, leading to competition, negotiation, or conflict. It has been argued that conflict have been exacerbated by **mass consumerism** as **enmeshed in specific cultures**, and has become the driving force in political-economic **globalization**. Analysts agree that industrialization is key to eradication of poverty and creation of development, but the **distribution of the profits of industrialization remains the core contentious point** in society and development discourses.

With **economic and media globalization**, it is increasing difficult for any state political elite to implement a purely political-economic ideological approach. In the past decade especially, inequality **has increased within and between countries.**

¹⁸Reference: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/50yr_archive/inagural20jan1949.htm.

According to a Credit Suisse Report (2015), **half the world's wealth is now in the hands of just 1% of the population** with extreme inequality out of control; the **top 1% own half the wealth and the poorest half own just 1%**.¹⁹

7.3.4 *Human Vulnerability and Risk of Disaster in Post-colonial Countries*

The majority of **post-colonial states** are located in the **Southern hemisphere** which has the highest level of: (a) **adverse physical geographical conditions** ranging from earthquakes to tsunamis, and droughts to flooding, and (b) **difficult ecological situations** such as the occurrence of malaria and Ebola, and are part of the so-called Less Developed Countries. The NICs are struggling with the **political processes** of (c) **nation-state building** and (d) **development**, not only in economic and social terms, but also regarding (e) **good governance and democracy**.

In the context of an adverse physical geography, challenging ecological situations, state-building and development, the colonial experiences has left enduring legacies enmeshed in the post-colonial architecture and international order, with the nation-state model and its boundaries and development challenges.

7.3.5 *Imperialism and Colonialism*

Colonialism may be defined as the practice of acquiring full or partial political-economic control over another country, often occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it. This is based on **imperialism** which is a strategy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means such as **economic penetration** via loans to merchant and ruling elites, in order to exploit the native people, their territory and resources. **Neo-colonialism** is the use of economic, political, cultural, or other pressures to control or influence other countries, especially former colonies such as the NICs. **Post-colonialism** studies analyse, explain, and respond to the cultural and economic legacies of colonialism and imperialism.²⁰

¹⁹Credit Suisse (2015).

²⁰An Introduction to Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D4b6JXd8YhA>.

People's Century Part 13 1947 Freedom Now. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fie7H9ETHUQ>.

Noam Chomsky on Colonialism. www.youtube.com/results?search_query=youtube+chomsky+colonialism.

Milton Friedman on Slavery and Colonization. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4xeebU8VhmY>.

Colonialism and Imperialism intro. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7TCbf4E_Njo.

500 Years of European Colonialism. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrNqDfK0uw4>.

In brief, from the 17th century on local and regional economies were transformed into colonial ones by the European powers specializing in the production of primary produce for their home needs, and also foreign markets. This was organized through: (i) Tribute from territorial control (16–17th centuries); (b) enclaves and slave plantations, (18th century); and (c) capital domination as epitomized with the 19th century European scramble for Africa.

Regional specialisations were created to service economic policies and trade of the colonizing countries such as sugar in the Caribbean, cotton in the USA, India and Egypt, and from the 19th century on, bananas in Central America, rubber in Malaya and tea in East Africa and Sri Lanka. This shaped physical, economic and trading networks and structures that usually continued after the formal political independence of the colonies in the 20th century, Great Britain was at the epicentre of this multilateral-system of trade, of world economy, from the late 19th century till the mid-1950s, and closely followed by other imperial countries such as France and the Netherlands.

Here it must be remembered that often in analyses of imperialism and colonialism, emphasis is usually placed on **European powers and their overseas empires, but other imperial countries were implementing similar processes with their land-based empires as with Russian geo-strategy** expanding eastwards towards the Pacific Ocean, Central Asia and Baltic Sea; **German and Austrian expansion** in Central, Eastern and Balkan Europe; **Ottoman enlargement** in the Balkans and MENA; and **Han Chinese strategy** moving north, west and south in Asia. The **Japanese empire** existed from 1868 to 1947 in Asia, with the acquisition of islands and colonies at different periods, and bloody rule especially in Manchuria in China (1931–45), Korea (1910–45) and the Philippines (1942–45).

The main maritime European colonizing countries since the 17th century were Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands. Transport and communications systems such as ports, rail, canal e.g. Suez and Panama, and cable systems were created in order to facilitate this imperial economic system. Urban centres were created, or added to existing ones, for exploitation of the hinterlands. A European ‘state system of boundaries’ was introduced as the geographical unit for economics, without deference to existing territorial polity systems based on clans, tribes, ethnic groups and nations. Western values were imposed regarding law, land tenure, work and wage systems, and private property ownership. By 1945, the USA had much control over the political economies of many Latin American countries much linked to the rise of US transnational firms.

Colonialism in 10 min: The Scramble for Africa. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pw12KGSj53k>.

Imperialism: Crash Course World History #35. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=alJaltUmrGo>.

Debate of Britain’s Colonial legacy and the impact on society today. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O-VK2sDZCQw>.

Americas: 1492–2015 (Every Year). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZJJUleg3JYQ>.

Latin American Revolutions: Crash Course World History #31. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZBw35Ze3bg8>.

Regarding **decolonization**, with the formal independence of many colonies between 1955 and 1975, the new states often attempted industrialisation targeting import substitution. Transnational corporations set up branches in the former colonies. However, some Newly Independent Countries such as India started exporting their own produce. Nonetheless, the majority of NICs were dependent on export of primary commodities with low prices and volatile markets. The majority of the NICs remained heavily dependent on importation of finished products from the industrialized world of the former colonial powers and the USA that had gained the major advantages of the Industrial Revolution since the 19th century. Hence the rise of the industrialized countries, in contrast to the non-industrialized countries, or NICs. Cartels of the NICs have not been able to stabilise prices except for OPEC—Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, for a while in the 1970s.²¹

For many NICs, the **Superpower Cold War (1947–91)** had negative effects directly and, or indirectly as they were used as proxies. The debt crises of the 1980s and early 21st century sent the NICs into a **spiral of debt** where integration of production in the world economy did not matched their consumption. New modes of development have tried to challenge the neo-liberalism of the industrialized countries, but with little success. The **BRIC** (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries adapted the neo-liberal economic system to their cultural and political contexts.²²

Significantly, the **Non-Aligned Movement**—officially neither pro-Western nor pro-Soviet—was founded in 1956 by the governments of Yugoslavia, India, Indonesia, Egypt and Ghana and attempted to counteract the dominance of the Superpowers, and establish a politico-military independent voice for the former colonies, but with varying degrees of success; today it numbers 120 countries.²³

7.4 Conclusions

Factors linking human **vulnerability and risk** of disaster in many **post-colonial countries**, indicate that former colonies are struggling with the process of development and nation-state construction, not only in territorial, and economic and social terms, but also regarding **good governance and democracy**. Low levels of development lead to a decreased capacity to cope with negative unfolding events such as cyclones or armed conflict. For instance, death rates due to cyclones are higher in Honduras than in Cuba, as Cuba has a highly developed EWS (Early Warning System) whereas Honduras does not. Where bad governance and large scale human rights abuses exist as in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Myanmar, Haiti and Zimbabwe, this has led to conflict, seriously contributing to poverty for the majority of citizens and underdevelopment which exacerbates the impact of crises and disasters.

²¹The UN and Decolonization. <http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/maps.shtml>.

²²Knox et al. (2014).

²³The non-Aligned Movement. <http://namiran.org/>.

The greater the **poverty** levels, then the more **fragile the coping mechanisms** and safety nets are. The debilitating effect that **disease** can have on society is manifestly obvious as with the HIV/AIDS epidemic at household, local, national and wider scales in Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, and South Africa to name but a few. The loss of entire generations of a healthy workforce and those who care for families has had devastating effects, retarding development processes. States including Sierra Leone, Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Rwanda and Haiti have all experienced humanitarian crises in the past two decades and also register very high levels of HIV/AIDS. Both poverty and health are high on the priorities of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Regarding **access to, and allocations of resources**, many humanitarian crises take place in predominantly agricultural societies where the demand on land resources is high as witnessed in Darfur, Republic of South Sudan and Niger. If land is scarce, and there is a dependent population, then economic development is hampered. Nonetheless, some humanitarian crises are taking place in countries with ample resources such as Zimbabwe, Sudan, Mali and the DR Congo. Here a core issue is the **unjust allocation of resources**. For instance, with the distribution and management of water, interest groups—farmer, tourism, and environmentalist—often compete for them. Comprehensive and effective mechanisms to deal with demands and challenges need to be in place. Other resources including minerals, diamonds, oil and wood are also abundant in countries that have experienced, or will probably experience human-made disasters in the future as with Myanmar, Sudan and Indonesia. This is due to bad governance at national levels, and often the collusion of international actors with vested interests or other states such as China in relation to oil in Sudan.

Good and effective governance in the face of hazard is crucial in decreasing a populations vulnerability. Such governance can prevent lack of rainfall from escalating into a famine situation, and once again an EWS (Early Warning System) is crucial.²⁴ It must be noted that famine has not occurred in India since independence in 1947 and that India is the largest democracy in the world and has a free press.

Hence there is a nexus between low levels of development, vulnerability and risk that can fall into a negative cycle. **Intervention to break this cycle** is crucial, but may seem like a ‘which came first story’—the chicken or the egg. However, without addressing the levels of underdevelopment—micro (individual, household), and mezzo (group) to macro (region and state) scales, it will not be possible to address vulnerability and decrease the risk of humanitarian disasters. In the quest for a **sustainable world, the nexus between food, power and hunger exists**. The FAO has long raised awareness of this along with **conflict, hunger, and the food weapon**. Some 50,000 children in Yemen died from starvation in 2017. As elsewhere, **chil-**

²⁴YouTube: TEDxKC—Patrick Meier—Changing The World, One Map at A Time. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pVCC2CB281M>.

Patrick Meier at TEDxSendai (English). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iwyO9hw6A6M>. Harvard Humanitarian. <https://www.youtube.com/user/HarvardHumanitarian>.

Real-Time Surveillance in Emergencies Using the Early Warning Alert and Response Network. In *Emerging Infectious Diseases*. 2017 Dec; 23(Supplement 1): S131–S137. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5711309/>.

dren remain the most visible victims of under-nutrition and famine, while it's **women that continue to play the salient role in food production in the NICs**. Relationships between **political-economy, poverty, modernity and development** are well known, yet geopolitical struggles continue to debilitate sustainable development in many NICs, with human vulnerability and risk of disaster in too many post-colonial countries. **Adverse physical geographical and ecological conditions** challenge the development momentum, and the struggle with **nation-state building and consolidation** continues, with lack of **good governance and democracy** in many cases. The discourse of government and international agencies often sound hollow to younger generations in the NICs, frustrated by marginalization and lack of democracy.

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Chapter 8

Development: Ideal and Basics



Abstract The nexus between political-economy, development and discourses, bottom-up people's needs and power of institutions such as the World Bank and IMF all comes into play here in the geopolitical analyses. Based on historical experiences and Utopian ideals, concepts regarding development are codified in the UN Sustainable Development Goals. The quest of assuring human needs entails elimination of hunger and poverty, and guaranteeing good health services and well-being, along with quality education and gender equality, clean water and sanitation, affordable clean energy, decent work and economic growth, with industry, innovation and infrastructure, and reducing inequalities, as well as creation of sustainable cities and communities. Along with this is the issue of responsible consumption and production, with action taken on climate change, policies and use of water and land environments. Central to this is peace, justice and strong institutions, with durable partnerships to implement sustainability. Basically, it can be argued that any action that does not alleviate poverty in some way cannot be called development but defining poverty has to be addressed in specific contexts. Conflicts remain the biggest threat to development and hence a human rights approach is imperative. Key development ideas must be linked to wider conceptual frameworks of globalisation and glocalization, and democratisation processes. Economic institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, WTO and economic governance all form part of the development interconnection.

Keywords Development · Discourses · MDGs · SDGs · Empowerment · Human rights · Basic concepts · Economic institutions

8.1 Introduction

Based on historical experiences and research, the major concepts regarding development are codified in the **UN SDGs—Sustainable Development Goals, in Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development** with a set of 17 “Global Goals” and 169 targets within them. This is headed by the UN through

a deliberative process involving its 193 Member States, and global civil society.¹ Essentially development is the ideal of creating a better life for people by assuring **human needs with the elimination of hunger and poverty, and guaranteeing good health services and wellbeing, along with quality education and gender equality, clean water and sanitation, affordable clean energy, decent work and economic growth, with industry, innovation and infrastructure, and reducing inequalities, as well as the creation of sustainable cities and communities.** Along with this, there must be responsible consumption and production, with action taken on **climate change**. This necessitates **sustainable policies** and **use** of the planet's water and land environments, peace, justice and strong institutions, with durable partnerships to implement sustainability.

Essentially, it could be argued that any action that does not **alleviate poverty** in some way cannot be called **development**. The whole question of what is poverty has to be addressed in specific contexts. Certain analysts are increasingly introducing the concept of **wellbeing**, a term referring to the state of being comfortable, healthy or happy; the opposite to stress. The **World Happiness Reports** provide yearly updates on the global status of subjective wellbeing. The 2018 Report, ranked 156 countries by their happiness levels, and 117 by the happiness of their immigrants.²

If the solutions to **underdevelopment** were simple, then we would not have so much conflict, vulnerability and poverty in the world. **The concept of 80:20 refers to the fact that over 80% of the worldwide population lives in what used to be called the Third World**, as opposed to the **First World** referring to the West or capitalist democratic states, and the **Second World** denoting the Communist countries, and with the **Third World**, now labelled the **Global South or Newly Independent Countries (NICs)** having unequal access to the world's resources. Statistical projections show that this proportion of population is increasing, and by 2025 will represent over 84% of worldwide population.

¹The goals are found in paragraph 54 UN Resolution A/RES/70/1 of 25 September 2015. http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_70_1_E.pdf

To read more see: Sumner and Tribe (2008), Willis (2005), Chari and Corbridge (2008a), Kothari (2005), Kothari and Minogue (2002), Payne (2005), Rapley (1996), Schuurman (1996).

Chari and Corbridge (2008b). The Development Reader brings together fifty-four key readings on development history, theory and policy: Adam Smith and Karl Marx meet, among others, Robert Wade, Amartya Sen and Jeffrey Sachs. It shows how debates around development have been structured by different readings of the roles played by markets, empire, nature and difference in the organization of world affairs.

²World Happiness Report. <http://worldhappiness.report>.

See Mariano Rojas FLACSO-México and UPAEP. POVERTY AND PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING. http://econ.biu.ac.il/files/economics/seminars/2014_poverty_and_peoples_well-being_-_final.pdf.

8.1 World population: region, number and percentage

Region	Number	Percentage (%)
Asia	4,307,107,875	60.3
Africa	1,037,524,058	14.5
Europe	816,426,346	11.4
North America	544,620,340	7.6
South America	400,067,694	5.6
Oceania	35,426,995	0.5
Antarctica	1169	0.00002
Total	7,141,174,477	100.0

Source World Food Program (UN WFP) 2016^a

^aWorld Food Program (UN WFP) 2016 http://www.wfp.org/hunger/stats?gclid=CJGsna_gc8CFSKw2wodJc4DsQ

8.2 The Struggle for Development

As indicated in the UN SDGs, development must be analysed from a **holistic perspective as the causes of underdevelopment are enmeshed**: geographical-ecological, political-economic, socio-cultural, and political-institutional, along with the changing technological innovations. This is evidenced in the range of topics and themes found in the literature on development. According to the **UN Global Assessment Report on Disaster Risk Reduction (GAR, 2015)**, it is a resource for understanding and analysing global disaster risk today and in the future. The report explores the large potential losses from disasters currently faced by many countries—especially those which can least afford to invest in future resilience and the cost and benefits of disaster risk management (**DRM**). It emphasizes the close link between disaster risk and sustainable development exploring prospective, corrective and compensatory **risk management approaches** as a way **to integrate it into development activities**, in order to avoid risk generation and accumulation. The report aims to promote the integration of Disaster Risk Management into development by raising awareness that **managing risks costs less than managing disasters**³ (Table 8.1 and Fig 8.1).

The **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)**, also known as the Global Goals, and **Agenda 2030**, are an inter-governmentally agreed set of targets concerning international development. Building on the **UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs 2000–2015)**, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs 2015–2030), agreed by 193 world leaders in 2015, are a 17-point plan to end poverty, combat climate change and fight injustice and inequality. Here is the ‘to-do-list’.

³2015 UN Global Assessment Report on Disaster Risk Reduction (GAR) <http://www.unisdr.org/we/inform/publications/42809>.

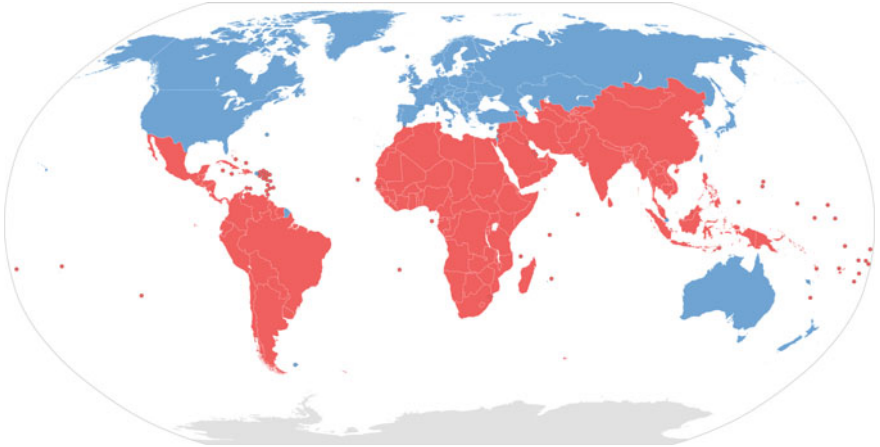


Fig. 8.1 World map showing the modern definition of the North-South divide (Global North: blue, Global South: red). Image by user: Kingj123 [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons, version 10-Dec-2011

- SDG 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere
- SDG 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
- SDG 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages
- SDG 4: Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning
- SDG 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
- SDG 6: Ensure access to water and sanitation for all
- SDG 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
- SDG 8: Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all
- SDG 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation
- SDG 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries
- SDG 11: Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
- SDG 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
- SDG 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
- SDG 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources
- SDG 15: Sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, halt and reverse land degradation, halt biodiversity loss
- SDG 16: Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies
- SDG 17: Revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development.

The **SDGs are a to-do-list** for the planet that can be achieved if everyone plays their part. What is clear from the statistics in low-income countries; one out of every 10 children dies before the age of five, whereas in wealthier countries, this number

is only one out of 143, and the lifetime risk of dying in pregnancy and childbirth is one in 22 in Africa, one in 120 in Asia, and one in 3,800 for a fifteen-year-old girl in developed countries.⁴

8.3 The MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) and SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals)

The MDGs were eight goals to have been achieved by 2015 that respond to the world's main development challenges. They were drawn from the actions and targets contained in the Millennium Declaration that was adopted by 189 countries and signed by 147 heads of state and governments during the UN Millennium Summit in 2000. The eight MDGs break down into 21 quantifiable targets that are measured by 60 indicators.

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality

Goal 5: Improve maternal health

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development.⁵

Unprecedented efforts were made and have resulted in **achievements** despite the many criticisms of the MDG results by 2015, **according to the UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015.**⁶

8.3.1 *Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger*

Extreme poverty declined significantly. In 1990, 50% of the population in the NICs lived on less than \$1.25 a day and that proportion dropped to 14% in 2015. Globally, the number of people living in extreme poverty declined by over 50%, falling from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015. The number of people in the working middle class—living on more than \$4 a day tripled between 1991 and 2015. This

⁴UN SDGs 2015. <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>.

⁵To read more: <http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml>.

<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/reports.shtml>.

<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/newsletter/2011/january/trends.shtml>.

<http://search.worldbank.org/all?qterm=MDGs>.

⁶UN The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. [http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20\(July%201\).pdf](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20(July%201).pdf).

group now makes up half the workforce in the developing regions, up from 18% in 1991. The proportion of undernourished people in the developing regions fell by almost half since 1990, from 23.3% in 1990–1992 to 12.9% in 2014–2016. The extreme poverty rate in developing countries: 1990—47% was 14% by 2015.

In short, the global number of extreme poor was 1926 million in 1990, 1,751 million in 1999 and in 2015 some 836 million.⁷

8.3.2 *Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education*

The primary school net enrolment rate in the NICs reached 91% in 2015, up from 83% in 2000. The number of out-of-school children of primary school age worldwide fell by almost half, to an estimated 57 million in 2015, down from 100 million in 2000. Sub-Saharan Africa had the best record of improvement in primary education of any region with a 20% increase in the net enrolment rate from 2000 to 2015, compared to a gain of 8% between 1990 and 2000. The literacy rate for youth aged 15–24 years increased globally from 83% to 91% between 1990 and 2015. The gap between women and men has narrowed. Global out-of-school children of primary school age in 2000 was 100 million and in 2015 was 57 million. **The primary school net enrolment rate in sub-Saharan Africa was 52% in 1990, 60% in 2000 and 80% in 2015.**

Building on MDG Goal 2 and the UN Declaration of Human Rights assertion that all of the world's citizens have the right to education, UNESCO made a six-point plan targeting to achieve universal primary education and to eliminate gender disparity in education.⁸

8.3.2.1 **Humanitarian Action and Rapid Education Responses in Complex Emergencies**

In emergency situations, for survival it is crucial that those affected are not further traumatized by becoming disconnected in time and place, socially and culturally, nor framed as victim objects to be managed by well-meaning aid workers. Now where possible **foreign aid workers liaise with local groups and NGOs where they exist**, and include the people affected in the selection, preparation and cooking of food, and its distribution. Similarly, maintaining some form of education is crucial for children and young people. Concerning education and the special needs of children and young

⁷UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20Summary%20web_english.pdf

World Food and Hunger—<https://www.globalpolicy.org/world-hunger.html>.

⁸UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20Summary%20web_english.pdf.

For education and human development, see Paulo Freire, <http://infed.org/mobi/paulo-freire-dialogue-praxis-and-education/>.

people in complex humanitarian crisis situations, **ongoing political and economic instability impedes access to education**. However, many groups and organizations make attempts to ensure at least minimum teaching standards are delivered. There are policy instruments promoting education as a child's right, and numerous examples of work in the field exist throughout the different **phases of emergency response, interventions, and displacement, refugee and returnee situations**. The basic core of non-formal education can also be expanded to include threats facing children and adults daily in such crisis environments.

UNESCO and UNICEF in collaboration with host states, and local and international NGOs are to the forefront in protecting the right to education for IDPs and refugees. The Jusoor Refugee Program started working with Syrian refugees in Lebanon in 2013. Its refugee education program seeks to ensure Syrian refugees in Lebanon have a holistic, rounded primary school education through integration into formal schooling whenever possible, introducing contextual and relevant curricula and teaching methods to deliver informal education, and providing a strong **psycho-social support within the framework of community engagement and rehabilitation**.⁹

8.3.3 Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women

More girls are now in school compared to the year 2000. According to the UN MDGs Report (2015), the developing regions as a whole achieved the target to eliminate gender disparity in primary, secondary and tertiary education. In Southern Asia, only 74 girls were enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys in 1990. By 2015, 103 girls were enrolled for every 100 boys. Women now make up 41% of paid workers outside the agricultural sector, an increase from 35% in 1990. Between 1991 and 2015, the proportion of women in vulnerable employment as a share of total female employment declined 13%. In contrast, vulnerable employment among men fell by 9%. **Women gained ground in parliamentary representation in nearly 90% of the 174 countries with data between 2000 and 2015. The average proportion of women in parliament nearly doubled in the same period; yet only one in five members are women.**

⁹See: Rapid education responses in complex humanitarian emergencies. <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED431675>.

UNICEF, https://www.unicef.org/rosa/Rosa-Education_in_Emergencies_ToolKit.pdf.

Protecting the right to education for refugees; Working papers on education policy; Vol.: 4; 2017. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002510/251076E.pdf>.

Jusoor Refugee Program. <https://jusoorsyria.com/programs/refugee-education-program/>.

Euronews—Learning World: <http://www.euronews.com/2015/06/25/learning-to-cope-the-impact-of-syria-s-war-on-lost-generation/>.

8.3.4 Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality

The **global under-five mortality rate declined by over 50%**, dropping from 90 to 43 deaths per 1000 live births between 1990 and 2015. Despite population growth in the developing regions, the number of deaths of children under five declined from 12.7 million in 1990 to almost 6 million in 2015 globally. **Since the early 1990s, the rate of reduction of under-five mortality more than tripled globally.** In sub-Saharan Africa, the annual rate in the reduction of under-five child mortality was over five times faster during the period 2005–2013 than it was from 1990–1995. Measles vaccination helped prevent nearly 15.6 million deaths between 2000 and 2013. The number of globally reported measles cases declined by 67% for the same period. About 84% of children worldwide received at least one dose of measles-containing vaccine in 2013, up from 73% in 2000. **The global number of deaths of children under five in 1990 was 12.7 million decreasing to 6 million by 2015. Global measles vaccine coverage in 2000 was 73% and in 2013 was 84%.¹⁰**

8.3.5 Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health

Since 1990, the maternal mortality ratio declined by 45% worldwide, and most of the reduction occurred between 2000 and 2015. In Southern Asia, the maternal mortality ratio declined by 64% between 1990 and 2013, and in sub-Saharan Africa it fell by 49%. Over 71% of births were assisted by skilled health personnel globally in 2014, an increase from 59% in 1990. In Northern Africa, the proportion of pregnant women who received four or more antenatal visits increased from 50 to 89% between 1990 and 2014. Contraceptive prevalence among women aged 15–49, married or in a union, increased from 55% in 1990 worldwide to 64% in 2015.

**Hence the global maternal mortality ratio (deaths per 100,000 live births):
1990 = 380. 2000 = 330. 2013 = 210.**

**Global births attended by skilled health personnel:
1990 = 59% and 2014 = 71%.¹¹**

¹⁰UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20Summary%20web_english.pdf.

¹¹UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20Summary%20web_english.pdf.

8.3.6 Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases

New HIV infections fell by 40% between 2000 and 2013, from an estimated 3.5 million cases to 2.1 million. By 2014, 13.6 million people living with HIV were receiving antiretroviral therapy (ART) globally, an increase from just 800,000 in 2003. ART averted 7.6 million deaths from AIDS between 1995 and 2013. Over 6.2 million malaria deaths were averted between 2000 and 2015, primarily of children under five years of age in sub-Saharan Africa. The global malaria incidence rate fell by 37% and the mortality rate by 58%. Over 900 million insecticide-treated mosquito nets were delivered to malaria-endemic countries in sub-Saharan Africa 2004–2014. From 2000 to 2013, tuberculosis prevention, diagnosis and treatment interventions saved an estimated 37 million lives. The tuberculosis mortality rate fell by 45% and the prevalence rate by 41% from 1990 to 2013. **Global antiretroviral therapy treatment in 2003 was equal to 0.8 million and in 2014 equalled 13.6 million. The number of insecticide treated mosquito nets delivered in sub-Saharan Africa, 2004–2014 was 90 million.**¹²

8.3.7 Goal 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability

Ozone-depleting substances have been virtually eliminated since 1990, and the ozone layer may recover by the middle of this century. Terrestrial and marine protected areas in many regions increased substantially since 1990. In Latin America and Caribbean, coverage of terrestrial protected areas rose from 8.8 to 23.4% from 1990 to 2014. In 2015, 91% of the global population were using an improved drinking water source, compared to 76% in 1990. Of the 2.6 billion people who have gained access to improved drinking water since 1990, 1.9 billion gained access to piped drinking water on premises. Over half of the global population (58%) now enjoys this higher level of service. Globally, 147 countries met the drinking water target, 95 countries met the sanitation target and 77 countries met both by 2015. Worldwide, 2.1 billion people gained access to improved sanitation. The proportion of people practicing open defecation fell almost 50% between 1990 and 2015. The proportion of urban population living in slums in the developing regions fell from 39.4% in 2000 to 29.7% in 2014. Over 1.9 billion people gained access to piped drinking water since 1990. Some 98% of ozone-depleting substances were eliminated 1990–2015. **Almost 1.9 billion people gained access to piped drinking water between 1990 and 2015. While 98% of ozone-depleting substances were eliminated.**¹³

¹²UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20Summary%20web_english.pdf.

¹³UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20Summary%20web_english.pdf.

8.3.8 Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development

Official development assistance from developed countries increased by 66% in real terms between 2000 and 2014, reaching \$135.2 billion. In 2014, 79% of imports from developing to developed countries were admitted duty free, up from 65% in 2000. The proportion of external debt service to export revenue in developing countries fell from 12% in 2000 to 3% in 2013. In 2015, 95% of the world's population was covered by a mobile-cellular signal. The number of mobile-cellular subscriptions grew tenfold between 2000 and 2015, from 738 million in 2000 to over 7 billion in 2015. Internet penetration grew from 6% of the world's population in 2000 to 43% in 2015. As a result, 3.2 billion people were linked to a global network of content and applications. **Official development assistance in 2000 equalled \$81 billion and in 2014 was \$135 billion. Global Internet penetration in 2000 was 6% and by 2015 equalled 43%.**¹⁴

However, despite many successes, the poorest and most vulnerable people are often being left behind. Conflicts remain the biggest threat to human development. By 2015, conflicts had forced almost 60 million people to abandon their homes—the highest level recorded since WWII. If these people were a nation, they would make up the twenty fourth largest country in the world. Children accounted for over half of the global refugee population under the responsibility of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in 2017. In countries affected by conflict, the proportion of out-of-school children continues to increase. Fragile and conflict-affected countries typically have the highest poverty rates.¹⁵

Although significant achievements were made on many of the **MDG targets worldwide, progress was uneven across regions and countries, leaving significant gaps.** Millions of people were left behind, especially the poorest and those disadvantaged because of their gender, age, disability, ethnicity or geographic location. Further targeted efforts were included in the SDGs (2015–30) to reach the most vulnerable people.¹⁶

The **major criticism of the MDGs** raised by many development NGOs, and especially the anti-globalisation campaigners argued that the social goals proclaimed by the MDGs did not constitute the essential aims of the development agenda, but rather that economic liberalism (neo-liberalism) and privatisation were the true goals, and that this was borne out by the dominant ethos as cultivated by the World Bank

¹⁴UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20Summary%20web_english.pdf.

¹⁵For further reading on refugees and children and education see: UNESCO. Missing out: Refugee Education in Crisis. http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/missing-out-refugee-education-in-crisis_unhcr_2016-en.pdf. Also <https://en.unesco.org/news/refugee-children-are-five-times-more-likely-be-out-school-others> <http://www.unhcr.org/afri/news/press/2016/9/57d7d6f34/unhcr-reports-crisis-refugee-education.html>.

¹⁶See: The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015, for executive summary, see pages 5–9. [http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20\(July%201\).pdf](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20(July%201).pdf).

(WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), the ‘Washington Consensus’, and other UN institutions.¹⁷

Certain critics explore the constructions of poverty and development within and across the MDGs (2001) and follow-up SDGs (2015) documents, focusing on the influence of overriding **Keynesianism and neoliberalism economic discourses** in the development paradigm. They assess the failures of the MDGs, as articulated by radical liberal feminists and World Social Forum critics, who embody competing values, representations and problem-solution frames that **challenge the dominant economic discourses**, that permeate the SDGs.¹⁸

According to Hickel (2016) the MDGs used targeted statistical manipulation to make it seem as though the poverty and hunger trends have been improving when in fact they have worsened. The MDGs “use definitions of poverty and hunger that underestimate the scale likely of these problems. In reality, around four billion people remain in poverty today, and around two billion remain hungry—more than ever before in history, and between two and four times what the UN would have us believe. The implications of this reality are profound. **Worsening poverty and hunger trends indicate that our present model of development is not working and needs to be fundamentally rethought.**”¹⁹

8.4 Human Rights Approach to Development

Human rights are **basic rights and freedoms that every individual is entitled to** by virtue of being a human being **regardless of nationality, sex, national or ethnic origin, race, religion, language, or other status**. Human rights include **civil and political rights**, such as the **right to life, liberty and freedom of expression; and social, cultural and economic rights including the right to participate in culture, the right to food, and the right to work and receive an education**. Human rights are protected and upheld by international and national laws and treaties. The UN incorporates three adjectives when describing human rights; it believes them to be: **Universal, Indivisible and Inalienable, as declared in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948**.

¹⁷George Alleyne, Robert Beaglehole, Ruth Bonita Quantifying targets for the SDG health goal. *The Lancet*. Volume 385, No. 9964, pp. 208–209, 17 January 2015. [http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(14\)61655-X/abstract](http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(14)61655-X/abstract).

Martin Sandbu 15 September 2015. UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015. http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20Summary%20web_english.pdf.

¹⁸Briant Carant (2017).

¹⁹Hickel (2016).

8.4.1 *Rights Guaranteed to All Human Beings Under International Treaties*

Among the rights guaranteed to all human beings under international treaties without discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status are²⁰:

- The right to life, liberty and security of person
- Freedom of association, expression, assembly and movement
- The right to the highest attainable standard of health
- Freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention
- The right to a fair trial
- The right to just and favourable working conditions
- The right to adequate food, housing and social security
- The right to education
- The right to equal protection of the law
- Freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence
- Freedom from torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment
- Freedom from slavery
- The right to a nationality.

A ‘Human rights approach’ to development means:

- ✓ **A tool for analysis which focuses attention on the underlying inequalities and discrimination** faced by people living in poverty and social isolation that impede their development and deny them the opportunity to raise themselves out of poverty.
- ✓ Foundation for a **people-centred approach** to development, based on a coherent framework of binding legal norms and accountability.
- ✓ **Process which is holistic, participatory, inclusive and multi-sectoral.**
- ✓ **Outcome**—the **empowerment** of individuals to achieve their full potential, and the freedom to take up opportunities.²¹

8.5 Development Discourses: Basic Concepts Revisited

In the **discourses**, it is crucial to define underdevelopment due to the overuse of the concept. Basic to this are **food and health, work and money, overpopulation and environment, and research on development itself**. Hence development key

²⁰See: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/> and <http://www.amnestyusa.org/research/human-rights-basics>.

²¹See: <http://www.unifem.org.in/PDF/RBA%20Primer%20.pdf> and http://www.righttowater.info/code/HR_approach.asp and <http://www.undg.org/?P=221>.

ideas must be linked to the wider conceptual framework of **globalisation** and **glocalization**—interlinkages between **local and worldwide scales**, and **democratisation** processes. While it would be rare to find anyone arguing against the basic benefits of development, contentions arise as to **how development is to be achieved and how the benefits of it are to be distributed**. Essentially what are the costs, in every sense of the word. What follows here is an attempt to define basic concepts regarding development and also a summary of the **competing discourses as to how development is to be achieved**. Firstly, the concepts of what constitutes underdevelopment are presented and perspectives follow this on food and health, work and money, overpopulation and environment before re-examining the much overused term—development.²²

8.5.1 Key Concepts in the Development Discourse

“The greatest of evils and the worst of crimes is poverty”; “Such poverty as we have today in all our great cities degrades the poor, and infects with its degradation the whole neighbourhood in which they live. And whatever can degrade a neighbourhood can degrade a country and a continent and finally the whole civilized world, which is only a large neighbourhood”. (from Major Barbara (1905) by George Bernard Shaw, 1856–1950)

8.5.2 Under-Development

Development can be defined as **positive change**; the ability of people to fulfil their lives in a rounded holistic manner. **Poverty is a barrier** to that change, and so development can be analysed from **different perspectives: an income-based view, the multi-dimensional aspects of the lived experience of poverty, and, or as being relative to other groups in society, leading to social exclusion. Poverty is the opposite of wellbeing**. Poverty affects all societies to different extents, with local, regional, national and global characteristics. Just as the terms ‘South’, ‘developing’, ‘non-industrialized’ or ‘Less Developed Countries’ (LDCs) are useful in distinguishing countries with specific problems i.e. poorer countries disadvantaged in contrast to richer more powerful states, the term disadvantaged is often used regarding areas, regions, and groups of people within industrialized and non-industrialized states alike for contrastive purposes.²³

Development is a process associated with progress and has often been viewed as an **historical continuum** or displaying the characteristics associated with the Indus-

²²What is Development Geography? What does Development Geography mean? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YkP6ByVnNKo>.

²³What is poverty? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U5qig9HIJ7k>.

Why some countries are rich and others poor. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9-4V3HR696k>.

trial Revolutions of the 18th century and then following chronological development experiences of states such as the UK, Germany and USA. However, the **historical and global clocks can never be turned back for each country or region to ‘start a historical linear development ladder’** so to speak. This would be akin to continuously reinventing the wheel, or a blast furnace, or 19th century cotton mill machine in different parts of the world in order to provide for current demands and markets anywhere in a 21st century global context. No society can just turn the clock back or try to re-produce the historical industrial development ladder. Spontaneous innovation may occur within a specific environment such as the steam engine in 1776 in England, to power factories and pump out deeper mines, and then geographically diffuse and be incorporated by other societies throughout Europe and North America in the following decades, with variations of it diffusing to other parts of the world by the 21st century.

The idea of integrating electronic circuits into one device was developed in Germany with the transistor amplifier in 1949, and further developed by a British radio engineer in 1952. In 1958 this was additionally developed by US companies. Engineers and scientists in the USA and core economies further refined the R&D and the American, Kirby was awarded the Nobel Prize in 2000 for his part in the invention of the integrated circuit. By the 1990s, and especially in the early 21st century, the Microchip revolution had diffused to areas far from the cores in which they were invented and created in terms of usage, research and development of products, and indeed integrated into many cultures and ways of life.

Simultaneously development is taking place locally at the level of the farm, village, city, region and state, and at the global scale, but each place has its own specificities. Hence development can be seen as imminent or spontaneous occurrences, fuelled on by market forces and the law of supply and demand; or as a planned or intentional action or policy implemented for a specific purpose such as industrialization or education and health care, and this is associated with the development list objectives. While most commentators agree that industrialization and the wealth generated from it is the key to development, those engaged in the development experience, whether the actual people in the locality, the development workers, or the theorists **contest the concepts of development, how it is implemented, its results and how benefits are distributed.**²⁴

Neoliberal and neoconservative perspectives argue that development is best achieved through self-regulating free market economics, with individuals and companies competing, and with a limited role for the state in the process. At the core of this standpoint is the concept of **commodification** whereby a monetary value can be put on everything including nature, pollution, land, plant and labour, all constituting capital. It is argued that as wealth or capital is created and re-invested in the production of more wealth, that it will eventually trickle down to all levels of society and eventually ‘all boats will rise’. Critics ask the question does everyone have a boat to start with in the first place, and if so then what size is it.

²⁴Francis Fukuyama, What is Development? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iG3G56YdFeE>.

At the other end of the economic development spectrum, the structuralism standpoint sees the state as having a major role to play in regulation and law-making, to control markets with command and supply strategies, and reduce unequal structures within society, or how it is organized and who controls what, giving people a greater chance to improve their lives. In its extreme application, structuralism is associated with a centrally-planned economy as witnessed by Marxism, communism, socialism and iterations thereof. Between these two theoretical extremities, the interventionist perspective uses aspects of both neoliberal and structuralism approaches believing that well-functioning markets combined with state action are imperative for development to occur.²⁵

In 1989, **Francis Fukuyama** argued: “What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War... but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.”²⁶ Essentially, Fukuyama was arguing that a **historical progression has existed leading towards secular free-market democracy**. Such ideas have been **challenged by anti-globalisation and Green activists, but also by militant religious fundamentalisms**, and proponents of **culture clash theories** such as Samuel Huntington (1993, 1996). The **global financial crash** starting in 2007 showed the major weaknesses of the liberal economic model allied to the western-style democratic system that had been used as the exemplary blueprint for the rest of the world. These clashes came to the fore in the NICs, especially during the **Arab Spring Revolutions** starting in 2010, and also in the mature democracies during the presidential election campaigns in the USA with the election of Donald Trump in 2016. The rise in **right-wing and left-wing populisms** was also felt in Europe ranging from France, to the Netherlands, Austria, Hungary, Czechia and Poland. In historical shadow relic states, such as Catalonia and Scotland, they have witnessed strong calls for independence, as also witnessed with regional nationalisms. In short, populations lost trust and confidence in the political and economic institutions and elites and their development rhetoric.

An influential voice in the development debate is the American economist **Joseph Stigler** (born 1943) who promotes **georgism also called geoism** and single tax holding that, while people should own the value they produce themselves, economic value resulting from land (including natural resources and opportunities) should belong correspondingly to all members of society. The **georgist model** seeks solutions to social and ecological problems, based on ethics of land rights and public finance that attempt to integrate **economic efficiency with social fairness**.²⁷ Here we find echoes of Thomas Spence (1750–1814) and his Utopian arguments regarding the

²⁵What’s the difference between Neoliberalism and Liberalism? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aIucLlXR6Y>.

²⁶Fukuyama, F. 1989. *The End of History?*

²⁷The Concise Encyclopaedia of Economics. Joseph E. Stigler. <http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/bios/Stiglitz.html>.

Hudson, Michael; Feder, Kris; and Miller, George James (1994). *A Philosophy for a Fair Society*. Shephard-Walwyn, London.

Commons—with land ownership vested in the political ‘parish’ working for the good of all.²⁸

In contrast to more dogmatic neoliberal and structuralism standpoints, the so-called people-centred approach is critical of these strategies for development, having instead the fulfilment of the needs of poorer people and their wellbeing as central to its approach. Whatever arguments are made, and whatever ways that development is conceptualised, is of little significance, if it does not help alleviate poverty, then it is not development.²⁹

8.5.3 Food and Health

Access to food varies greatly between developed and lesser developed countries, and even within richer countries social access patterns are not equal. In many areas of the world, women are in a more vulnerable position to food security than men for cultural and embedded structural reasons. This insecurity is heightened where women do not have paid employment outside the home, and little autonomy. In this context, it is interesting to note Malthusian and Neo-Malthusian perspectives.³⁰

Taking into consideration the classical perspective of the 19th century demographer, **Thomas Malthus**, and his *Principle of Population* (1798), this was based on the idea that **nature held checks and balances regarding population growth due to the fact that population if unchecked increases at a geometric rate** (i.e. 2, 4, 6, etc.) whereas the **food supply grows at an arithmetic rate** (i.e. 1, 2, 3, 4, etc.). Hence imbalances redress themselves naturally, with echoes of Darwin’s theories and survival of the fittest, whereby nature with drought, floods, famine, cholera and so forth, and conflict such as war, and indeed cultural practices such as infanticide and celibacy, must provide checks and balances in population growth.

The **Neo-Malthusian view argues that food supply regarding global food production cannot keep pace with the population explosion** in the Global South especially, and that the Green Revolutions initiated in the 1970s, despite much success in Asia, cannot keep abreast of population increases. However, counterarguments contend that human organisation with better use of science and technology can provide for all people’s needs. This brings into focus the concepts of the **ecological carrying capacity**, within specific spatial areas, and also the **ecological footprint**.³¹

²⁸Thomas Spence. British pamphleteer. written by: the editors of encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Spence>.

²⁹Chambers (1997, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2010), Narayan et al. (1999), Allen and Thomas (2000).

³⁰YouTube: World Hunger Documentary, UWFH Stenden. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=veF5bJO3RLO>.

³¹YouTube: T. Robert Malthus: The Principle of Population Explained. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4wLK3OobspM>.

YouTube: Population, Sustainability, and Malthus: Crash Course World History 215. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QAKW_i0bDpQ.

Obstacles to access to food may be caused by exclusion from it, due to the individual's lack of **endowments**—assets owned, and personal capacities of an individual or household, or that the person's endowments cannot be turned into **entitlements** due to processes and institutions that exclude them from participation. For instance, the historical cultural legacies within societies often based on their respective biases and class systems. Other examples include the caste system in India which penalizes groups such as the so called untouchables; or the Rohingya in Myanmar, or the Roma and Gypsies in Europe. **Entitlement** is defined as relationships established by trade, direct production or sale of labour by which an individual or household gains access to food. The present approach to reduce food insecurity seeks to increase local capacities to grow more food, and a greater variety of it, and to integrate community activities into the wider economy.³²

Famine is rare, localised and temporary, whereas malnutrition is common covering vast geographical areas especially most of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, MENA and Asia. Malnutrition results from nutritional imbalances in the diet of people. Lack of this nutritional balance stops or limits human growth, renders people vulnerable to illness and disease, and manifests itself most strikingly in high levels of infant and child mortality as verifiable in the (UN HDI reports). Famine results from complete lack of food, as in parts of South Sudan, Ethiopia and Angola in recent decades. Famine weakens populations, making them vulnerable to infections and diseases, resulting in a higher percentage of deaths in particular areas and specific socio-economic population categories and groups.³³

Health, including physical, mental and social **wellbeing** is often too narrowly defined as an absence of disease in broad statistical analyses especially outside the more developed countries. While the highest incidence of disease is found in the Global South, there are wide variations between and within countries and regions. Disease clusters and patterns within states vary according to levels of education, gender, poverty and other variables. Broad based health strategies combine **preventative** measures with **curative** services. Besides the **financial aspects** of health policy, **cultural attitudes** come into play in many societies—whether the attitude is one of prevention or one of cure. However, due to **budgetary policy, largely based on political choice**, this is often narrowed to targeted biomedical interventions such as attacking measles. This produces limited long-term results as **susceptibility to disease is based on poverty-induced conditions** including under-nutrition. Hence a broader approach to health care is necessary, not alone for the sake of individuals but their communities and countries in terms of long-term development, and indeed other countries due to the negative effects of health problems such as tuberculosis and HIV-Aids crossing boundaries in a globalizing world. Illness cannot be easily contained within human-made state boundaries as was witnessed during the Zika virus epidemic in the Americas in 2015–16, and the Ebola virus epidemic (2013–16)

³²YouTube: Ideas of Entitlements as proposed by Amartya Sen. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y7xqMP9WUFU>.

Sen (1981), Allen and Thomas (2000).

³³See: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/world-hunger.html>.

in West Africa. Nonetheless, NICs like Sri Lanka or Cuba have been very effective in fighting disease due to their specific policy combinations and genuine state commitments to public health, in contrast to many other states.³⁴

8.5.4 *Money and Work*

Many classifications of how people **make a living or earn money** exist, ranging from the **classical primary activities** such as subsistence farming, fishing and logging, and the extractive and mining industries to the **secondary**, transformation or manufacturing sector, where greater value is added in such areas as food processing. Moving on to the **services**, and **information categories**, these include wholesaling, transportation, the professions and so forth. However, on a global scale there is a basic distinction between working for **remuneration such as cash wages or being paid in kind, and for no financial remuneration** such as domestic work or ‘helping’ on the farm in return for food. Because of the stigma attached to poverty, it is often not admitted that women and children have to work whether on the land or in sweatshops. This **invisible work** is often not recorded in official statistics. Likewise, despite lack of official statistical records many people make a living in the informal and black economy including seasonal labour in agriculture and tourism, and the unregulated labour-intensive small-scale enterprises, manufacturing ‘ethnic’ carpets, or clothing and footwear for national and international markets.

For people familiar with poorer areas and poorer sections of society in the North, and more especially the South, the idea of regulated trade and work markets, workers’ rights and associated statistics may seem farcical at best, or bureaucratic nonsense at worst. People may have different jobs at different seasons or periods of the year, or a ‘job on the side’ if already in the formal sector. The traditional labelling of socio-economic groups as with the middle class, or the working class, or the Marxian proletariat-bourgeois classifications is no longer really adequate. In the new neo-liberal order, vast numbers of working people find themselves in precarious situations financially and work-wise, as exemplified with the casualization of labour and zero-hour contract culture—creating a ‘precariat’ culture.³⁵

Work is characterized by a social, educational and technical **division of labour** within societies, and since the 1970s by the so called new international division of labour via economic globalization processes. This has been spearheaded by transnational corporations (TNCs) continuously seeking **competitive and comparative advantages** in cheaper production areas, low-wage economies regarding the price of labour, advantageous state—company tax laws, labour and pollution legislation when it exists and if it is applied. Labour intensive and polluting industries move to

³⁴Documentary: People’s Century Part 17 1954 Living Longer. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=92Xh8wT2I9U&list=PLuL26fXZ8eTNLLnugg2BTyOZQ7HT-QZk4&index=17>.

³⁵YouTube: Overview of theories of development | Individuals and Society | MCAT | Khan Academy. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WMv8A9qg6jY>.

the poorer regions, peripheries and the NICs. Such a quest for the continuous production of capital and profit for the shareholders renders the TNC footloose operating at a global scale and consequently offers labour insecurity to workers and communities in specific areas, and so called zero-hour contracts in the NICs and the industrialized countries where **casualization of labour** has become the norm in many areas and professions. While the historical division of labour between **male and female** often has cultural origins in many societies, with economic globalization and the new international division of labour, there is a **gender division of labour** as in the classic case of females being paid less than males for the same work, and a predominance of women being employed in the textile trade as in Bangladesh and India, and males in the shipbuilding industries of Asia.³⁶

The drive to transform ‘nature’ and people also, into ‘product’ has financial, social and spatial effects on society. Like raw materials and machinery, labour has to be replaced or reproduced in order to ‘sustain’ the system. In liberal economic thinking, little economic value has been put on women’s roles in human reproduction, family creation and home making and management. How often have we heard such statements as: “She doesn’t work” when what is meant is that “She doesn’t work outside the home with paid employment”. Since the 1970s, there has evolved cognizance of the place of **women in the development** process—poverty discourse through policy oriented research regarding Women in Development (**WID**), Women and Development (**WAD**) and eventually Gender and Development (**GAD**) approaches.³⁷

People’s circumstances for making a living are linked to the local, national and international **economies interconnected and functioning simultaneously**. Policies regarding free trade, open-market economics, debt and repayments, and World Bank and IMF programs are at the core of the individuals’ level of existence or standard of living and so are central to the development debate. According to the IMF World Economic Outlook Database (2018), the USA has retained its place as the world’s largest economy since 1871, followed by China, Japan, Germany, UK, India, France, Brazil, Italy, Canada, South Korea and with Russia in twelfth place.³⁸ This reflects the geographical spread and range of political-economic systems represented among the twelve largest economies in the world. The great socio-economic malaise among electorates and poor worldwide, and mistrust in national and international institutions especially since 2007 is being exacerbated by ambiguous political-economy narratives coming from the US Trump administration since 2016, promoting extreme neoliberalism and the associated free trade, but along with jingoistic nationalism,

³⁶YouTube: The Division of Labour. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=row3qYD7jL4>.

³⁷Gender and Development. Wiki gender. <http://www.wikigender.org/wiki/gender-and-development/>.

Rethinking development in the 21st century—Vandana Shiva at the Governance Innovation Week 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vtuoi8Btkqk>.

Allen and Thomas (2000).

³⁸IMF (2018).

and starting a tit for tat trade war with China and the EU.³⁹ The same type of double-speak is being heard from the UK government since 2016 regarding its future trade relationship with the EU post-Brexit as of 2019.

8.5.5 *The Overpopulation Debate*

Neo-Malthusians argue that global population is increasing too rapidly regarding the earth's physical and **ecological capacity** to carry more people and sustain itself. They promote family planning policies, and greater investment by parents in fewer children. This argument is challenged by the social viewpoint, which states that such population increase is a symptom and not a cause of development problems. For instance, in poor societies and states with underdeveloped social-economic structures, people have large families in order to ensure more 'working hands' for economic survival of the family and specially to help support parents during their old age, where there is rarely a state social security net.⁴⁰

Another standpoint is the **female autonomy view**, promoting material and social **equality** for women, and especially greater control over their own lives, bodies and reproduction. In this debate, the issue of uneven population distribution, with the greatest increases being found in the South is a core issue. Here high fertility combined with declining death rates and associated revolutions in medical science and technology, especially since the 1960s is characteristic as with child inoculations.

Migration, rural to urban, and poorer countries to richer states, as well as **forced migration** due to conflict, humanitarian disasters and development induced displacement—such as the construction of large dams, often creates **hotspots and socio-political tensions**. In 2014–15, the heightened flow of refugees, from several countries including Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, the Sahel countries, Libya and Tunisia, with asylum seekers and economic migrants to the EU across the Mediterranean Sea and via Turkey through Bulgaria and the Balkans, and also through Eastern Europe, especially Hungary reached epic proportions with Greece, Italy and Hungary at the frontline of this humanitarian emergency. Malthusians argue that the Japanese socio-economic development experience, with limited physical and ecological resources and a high population, plus manufacturing and technological sophistication developed especially after WWII, is most unlikely to be reproduced

³⁹The Economist, 20 Sep. 2018. America and China are in a proper trade war. Donald Trump announces another wave of tariffs. China retaliates. <https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2018/09/20/america-and-china-are-in-a-proper-trade-war>.

Reuters. Business News. Sep. 18, 2018 Susan Heavey, Yawen Chen. China to penalize \$60 billion of U.S. imports in tit-for-tat move. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china-response/china-to-penalize-60-billion-of-us-imports-in-tit-for-tat-move-idUSKCN1LY22V>.

⁴⁰YouTube: Overpopulated—BBC Documentary. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UbmG8gtBPM>.

in other countries, hence the issues of food shortage and economic collapse. High levels of illiteracy and child mortality often correlate with high population growth rates, and this is frequently linked to the position of women in society.⁴¹

8.6 Environment

As with the population debate, the core question remains: is the problem one of **environmental depletion and degradation of resources, or is it the unequal distribution of resources** that leads to environmental breakdown. The high income North has the lowest population numbers, and greatest share of global consumption in contrast to the low income South. In the North the main fears are environmental degradation and depletion of global resources including not only energy such as oil and gas, but also the atmosphere and oceans. **Emphasis is different in low-income states** striving for greater access to resources and the goods derived from them and ‘fair trade’ export markets, especially for primary commodities such as coffee, sugar and bananas. Their struggle to alleviate poverty, and to develop in the short-term, in an indebted context, leads to over-exploitation of their own resources. When Northern voices condemn, or try to circumscribe such activities, **Southern governments often point to the historical experience of the industrialized countries** and their laissez-faire attitudes to the environment at national and global scales until recently; the development histories of India, China, Indonesia and Brazil are highly significant in this context.

Carrying capacity refers to the number of people, animals, or crops which a region can support without environmental degradation. Regarding humans, the carrying capacity denotes the number of individuals that a particular environment with a specific geographical scale can support without significant negative impacts on them and their environment. While the **Ecological Footprint** measures the amount of biologically productive land and water area an individual, a city, a country, a region, or all of humanity uses to produce the resources it consumes and to absorb the waste it generates with today’s technology and resource management practices.⁴² The concept of the ecological footprint can be used to illustrate the amount of land and area a human population would hypothetically require to provide the resources needed to support itself and to absorb its wastes, given the prevailing technology. Ecological foot printing is widely used as an indicator of environmental sustainability and can be used to measure and manage the use of resources throughout the economy. It is widely used to explore the sustainability of individual lifestyles, goods and services, organizations, industry sectors, neighbourhoods, cities, regions and nations. It should be noted, that although greenhouse gases do occur naturally, human activity

⁴¹ Allen and Thomas (2000).

YouTube: Tracking World Migration | The Economist. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hcoENLfpUI>.

⁴² Wackernagel, Mathis and Rees, William (1996) “Our Ecological Footprint” (New Society Press). Rees (1992), Wackernagel (1994).

Earth Day Network. <https://www.earthday.org/about/>.

contributes a great deal to greenhouse gas emissions. Your carbon footprint, or your impact on the environment, measures the greenhouse gases that the individual is responsible for creating.

Regarding the interrelationships between **global warming and climate change**, and their ecological and environmental impacts, along with development and humanitarian challenges posed by this, the majority of scientific experts and UN member states and global top-down institutions and bottom-up organizations agree that action has to be taken. The Paris Agreement, or Paris Climate Accord, within the **UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)** dealing with greenhouse gas emissions mitigation, adaptation and finance starting in 2020 was adopted by consensus in 2015. It was negotiated by representatives of 196 parties and by 2017, 195 UNFCCC members had signed the agreement, 166 of which have ratified it. However, in May 2017, US President Trump announced that the USA would be withdrawing from the agreement, while the greatest percentage CO₂ emissions by country index shows the USA in second place, only preceded by China, and followed by the EU, India, Russia, and Japan.⁴³

Global warming and climate change remain core issues regarding long-lasting survival, alleviation of poverty and positive change in society, sustainable development concepts strive to link economic development to all aspects of environment, ensuring provision for current needs, and those of future generations. Different viewpoints on sustainable development are dependent on what you believe to be the core causes of environmental degradation, and also distinguishing attitudes between the concepts of people's 'needs' and 'wants' where the latter may be driven by personal, cultural or business advertising incentives.

In the **good governance framework**, governmental organisations or state funded institutions must interact and plan policy in harmony with bottom-up needs, premised on good citizenship, in order to avoid overt conflict, and non-sustainable activities. However, real people in actual places, with local knowledge of needs and possible solutions often feel cut off from decision-making and hence the so-called democratic deficit; or people may be actively blocked in their attempts at development by such actors as state elites with vested interests as in many Amer-Indian communities in Latin America, or Nigerian citizens in the oil-rich Niger delta area. It is here that top-down must meet bottom-up stakeholders regarding technology, rate of change and development. In order to achieve some form of sustainable development process, a balance must be struck between the physical and ecological, economic and socio-cultural attributes at a myriad of local and regional geographical scales within the global framework 'acting locally and thinking globally'.⁴⁴

Here the issue of geographical development scale is crucial, as positive changes in one area must not create **negative externalities** for other communities and regions. These negative externalities may be ecological, economic or socio-cultural or combinations of these. For instance, pollution may be transported intentionally, by accident,

⁴³CO₂ Emissions. <https://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/energy-economics/statistical-review-of-world-energy/co2-emissions.html>.

⁴⁴See: <https://www.transparency.org/cpi2013/results>.

or inadvertently in the ecological web of life to the next community or country. With conflict and war, and the resultant lack of cooperation, the effects of pollution are exacerbated.⁴⁵ Economic dumping may occur due to intricate systems of production and export subsidies, resulting in goods produced in one state being dumped onto the market in another country, and sold off at prices lower than what it took to produce them in real terms. This can undermine and cause collapse of similar industries in the importing society with all the socio-economic consequences for sectors including farmers and small to medium enterprises (SMEs). The large movement of people into specific areas such as uninvited economic migrants, or internally displaced people, or refugees may cause stress and undermine the sustainability of the host society as with the movement of people from Sudan to Chad, Myanmar to Bangladesh, Syria to Greece and Italy.⁴⁶ In emergency situations, demand and prices rise in the area affected, but the incoming of emergency personnel and aid has to be closely monitored, especially not to undermine local food production, labour, services and costs in the area.⁴⁷

In order to implement a sustainable development strategy, some observers advocate policies based on market solutions, reducing imbalances in use and access to resources between countries and peoples, local participatory approaches and empowerment of people leading to resource control, and development of global management policies for the environment via international treaties such as UN Agenda 21 (1991), MDGs (2000), SDGs (2015), and Paris Climate Agreement (2016).

8.7 The Big Economic Institutions

8.7.1 *The IMF (International Monetary Fund)*

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an international organization headquartered in Washington, DC, of 188 countries working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world and was founded in 1945. Its stated objectives are: to promote international economic cooperation, international trade, employment, and exchange-rate stability, as well as

⁴⁵See: Takshead et al. (2010).

⁴⁶European Parliament News. 30-6-17. Europe's Migration Crisis. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/priorities/20150831TST91035/20170629STO78631/europe-s-migration-crisis>.

Daniel Howden. A tale of two crises in Greece—coping with economic depression and refugees. The Guardian. Thursday 3 December 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/03/greece-islands-economic-depression-migration-kos>.

⁴⁷UN FAO (2002).

UN Human Security Unit. HUMAN SECURITY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf.

making financial resources available to member countries to meet balance of trade needs.⁴⁸

8.7.2 *The World Bank*

The World Bank is an international organization dedicated to providing financing, advice and research to developing countries to aid their economic advancement. It was founded in 1944, and was successful in providing financing for those countries devastated during WWII. Today, the Bank functions as an international organization that attempts to fight poverty by offering developmental assistance to middle and poor-income countries. Its stated objectives are giving loans and offering advice and training in both private and public sectors, the World Bank aims to eliminate poverty by helping people help themselves.

The basic difference between the World Bank and IMF is that the Bank is primarily a development institution, while the IMF is a cooperative institution that seeks to maintain an orderly system of payments and receipts between states. Each has a different purpose, a distinct structure, receives its funding from different sources, assists different categories of members, and strives to achieve distinct goals. The USA holds a preponderant position in both the World Bank and IMF since they were founded.⁴⁹ Critics argue that there has been mission creep between these institutions, and that their historical linkages with the imperial powers and rich northern countries leaves many NICs distrustful of them. Once again grass-roots populations on the ground are distrustful, seeing them as a type of international monolithic quango, and this feeds into populist perceptions.

8.7.3 *The WTO*

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between states and has 161 member countries. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading countries and ratified in their parliaments. The goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business. It also promotes free trade. Its functions comprise: administering WTO trade agreements; acting as a forum for trade negotiations; handling trade disputes; monitoring national trade

⁴⁸See: <http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm>.

⁴⁹What's the difference between the IMF and the World Bank? | CNBC Explains. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IN3qrFA4jXc>.

See: <http://www.worldbank.org/> and <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/w/worldbank.asp#ixzz3j4HumxSI>.

policies; giving technical assistance and training for developing countries; and cooperation with other international organizations.⁵⁰

8.7.4 The G20

The number of states participating in this Group has varied over time for various reasons, but the G8 and G20 are coalitions of states which address significant international political-economy issues, that is essentially a governmental forum of the leading advanced economies in the world. The predecessor of both was the G7, founded in 1975. The G20, a greater coalition formed in 1999 includes Brazil, China, Saudi Arabia, Republic of Korea, France, Australia, China, Canada, Germany, Indonesia, Argentina, Turkey, India, Russia, South Africa, Mexico, Japan, UK, USA, and EU. Currently, the G20's aims focus on alleviating the effects of present and future economic crises.⁵¹ Many of the above G20 countries work with the **World Economic Forum** which is an international institution committed to improving the state of the world through public-private cooperation and they hold regular meetings at Davos in Switzerland, that have become highly contested by anti-capitalist and Green movements, with grass-roots populations worldwide getting sensationalist news flashes and sound bites.

8.8 Economic Governance

In attempting good **global governance**, as with the foundation of the UN, other so called Bretton Woods institutions were created by the allied victors after WWII and included the **World Bank (WB)** and **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**. Both have approximately 185-member state members acting as shareholders, and operating on the basis of each dollar contributed, equals one vote. Hence the overwhelming voting and decision power lies with the wealthiest states such as the USA and some EU countries. The brief of the World Bank is to aid development, through poverty reduction, by developing environments for investment, jobs and sustainable growth, promoting economic growth and investment in, and empowerment of the poor. The mission statement of the IMF is to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty. However, there has been mission creep between both institutions.⁵²

⁵⁰To read more: https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/whatis_e.htm.

⁵¹To read more: Difference Between G8 and G20 | Difference Between | G8 vs G20 <http://www.differencebetween.net/miscellaneous/politics/differences-between-g8-and-g20/#ixzz3j4mqFUKZ>.

⁵²What is GLOBAL GOVERNANCE? What does GLOBAL GOVERNANCE mean? GLOBAL GOVERNANCE meaning. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tNOwEwgv5kQ>.

Structural adjustment policies came from the IMF and World Bank, that had been attaching conditionality to their loans since the early 1950s. Overall, **conditionality** can be defined as terms and conditions attached to the provision of benefits such as a loan, debt relief or bilateral aid. The WB and IMF encouraged free-market economics to counter socialist ideology, and to foster foreign direct investment (FDI) promoting the access of foreign companies. Western companies wanted access to the extraction of raw materials, such as minerals and agricultural products, and greater control of the associated infrastructural projects. By 1978, the enormous capital flows to the USA had the effect of reducing the availability of capital to the NICs. The neoliberal **Washington Consensus** advocated that many NICs accept structural adjustment measures that ultimately facilitated the redirection of capital flows. During the 1980s the IMF and WB created loan packages for the majority of Sub-Saharan Africa countries that were in economic crises, leading to cycles of indebtedness. These SAPs largely originated due to a series of global economic disasters in the 1970s including the oil crisis, debt crisis, economic depressions and stagflation. In 2002, SAPs underwent another transition, with the introduction of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). Eventually, SAPs emphasized poverty reduction and attempted to further align themselves with the UN MDGs and SDGs. Nonetheless, while the main focus of SAPs has continued to be the balancing of external debts and trade deficits, the reasons for those debts have undergone a transition. Today, WB and IMF SAPs have increased their influence by providing relief to countries experiencing economic problems due to natural disasters or economic mismanagement. SAPs have been adopted by a number of other international financial institutions.⁵³

Concerning **social exclusion**, especially in the Global South, but in the industrialized world also, World Bank and IMF policies witnessed increases in exclusion from **public and social services** under SAPs, especially in the 1980–90s, but **conditionality** remained a core principle in promoting free trade and privatisation or denationalisation of state-run industries, and also key areas including water and electricity supply. This led to the poorest countries and sections of society being dis-empowered especially in areas such as health, education and employment security and rights, as witnessed in Argentina in the 1990s, where many in the middle classes became the **new poor**, further polarizing society between a rich minority and poorer majority. These neoliberal policies continued into the 21st century, and greatly set trends for employer—employee relations, through promotion of the private sector and the weakening of state regulation. Such socio-economic inequalities were a major factor in fuelling the Arab Spring revolutions as of 2010. Within the EU, iterations of this became particularly evident in Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Italy and Spain as seen with the financial crash (2007).

The World Bank became more aware of **social exclusion theories** and attempted to bring about economic inclusion regarding rights and resources of poor people from the mid-1990s on. It promoted the building of social capital, such as networks, to reduce exclusion, create social safety nets for the poorest, and include health and edu-

⁵³What is STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT? What does STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT mean?
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGOBGBA-eHE>.

cation programs, and micro-finance; all targeting the poor and not just ‘government to government’ transactions. From 2000 on, the WB has promoted ‘**opportunity, security and empowerment**’ and assets distribution including land reform in Latin America and India. But the measures for social inclusion did not comprehensively meet the needs for redistribution and changing social relations between rich and poor. **WB policy statements started including gender-related issues**, along with power and empowerment concerns. Policies targeting the restructuring of loan and debt relations were attempted. But how effective were such policies on the ground remains to be seen, when and if they are implemented.

According to the **WB World Development Report (2017)**, it assumes that all countries share a set of development objectives including: **minimizing the threat of violence (security), promoting prosperity (growth), and ensuring that prosperity is shared (equity), while also protecting the sustainability of the development process for future generations**. But policies do not always translate into these development outcomes in the expected ways. According to the **WB Report (2017)**, **three traditional approach principles for governance for development must be rethought and reinvigorated**: (i) Continue to invest in designing the right **form** of institutions, but place more emphasis on their **functions**. (ii) Continue to build the **capacity** of institutions to **implement policies**, but with greater emphasis on **capacity building**, however here the **power asymmetries and imbalances** have to be redressed. (iii) Continue to focus on **strengthening the rule of law** to ensure that those policies and rules are applied impersonally, thinking not only regarding the rule of law, but also concerning the kernel **role of law**.⁵⁴

8.9 Conclusions

Perspectives on how positive change—sustainable development should occur are impacted on by values, beliefs, theories, politics, policies and geopolitics. With the historical experience of European imperialism on a global scale, the industrial revolutions, and modernization in the West and Soviet-style industrial development, the two foremost views on development since the early 20th century have been variations on structuralism such as Marxism, socialism in the USSR, Cuba, PR China, and economic liberalism as with the USA and EU. Neoliberal standpoints advocate leaving economic change and development to be conditioned by the law of supply and demand in commodities, labour and services, with minimum state intervention and regulation. It is argued that from this, proceeds imminent or ‘at hand’ development. In contrast, structuralist perspectives purport that economic development and consequently social wellbeing can be created when the state plays the key role in

⁵⁴World Bank World Development Report. 2017. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2017>.

Constitutional Principles: The Rule of Law. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q0MTEm2a7PA>.

central planning and regulation, redistributing the wealth created among all members of society. **Interventionism advocates market economy principles and government regulation in so far as is deemed necessary by the ruling elites.** Often, some basic aspects of Keynesian economic policies are retained regarding state provision of certain public services such as health and education, and other aspects of state social welfare systems. However, **the degree of interventionism is all-important** here. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a rise in this so-called third way, a centrist approach to political economy, especially in EU states. People-centred standpoints largely reject the neoliberal and structuralist ideologies and question their achievements. However, since the late 1980s, there has been a growing consensus among experts in development that both markets and states have a critical role to play in meeting human needs in development strategies. **The main issue now is the amount and form of state intervention.**

Regarding **empowerment**, many development actors stress the need for it—the power of people to achieve positive change. However, **this concept is wide and open to different interpretations. It can be applied in the sense of providing people with tools and knowledge, competencies and skills, or in the way of educating them to analyse and challenge the fundamental reasons for their underdevelopment including lack of civil and human rights.** Participation of the poor and disadvantaged, and marginalized people in planning and implementation of development policy is crucial in articulating their own needs and their existing knowledge base. Issues of poverty and non-sustainability are part of all societies, and whether an individual is interested or not, it is in the individual's self-interest to be aware and act in order to avoid the personal dangers created by social tensions, conflict and environments, made dangerous to their health as witnessed in recent years with contaminated water and food products within and outside Europe. Development is a complex process, occurring over a wide range of local to global geographical scales, and with a host of stakeholders and agents in a hyperactive and changing world due to globalization and information technology revolutions.⁵⁵

The nexus between political-economy and geopolitics, basic development concepts and discourses, bottom-up people's needs and power of economic institutions such as the World Bank and IMF all comes into play in the MDGs and SDGs. Despite major achievements and many failures, attempts at development remain a cornerstone of national and international systems premised on the standpoint that this will help to abolish or at least attenuate poverty and its associated negative knock-on effects on humanity and conflict. Development efforts may help to curtail the aggressive and destructive behaviour of unbridled liberal economic strategies within and between countries, and social classes, and top-down and corporate policies that may try to hide behind the much-abused concepts inherent in the fluidity of capital-driven development.

⁵⁵The Development of Underdevelopment in the UK, Colin Leys, SOAS University of London. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3esvnsxdTUY>.

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Part III

Geopolitics and Global Governance

In order to counteract the negative effects of violence, destruction, war and human misery, many civilizations developed organizational structures and regulations, and supported the need for international rules of law in order to attenuate or avoid conflict. Due to globalization and internationalization, there has been increasing flows of trade, finance, people, ideas, culture and ideologies over ever-increasing geographical areas from the fifteenth to twenty-first century spearheaded by the European powers and rise of the Industrial Revolutions in Europe and America from the mid-eighteenth century on. The crucial role that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can play in supporting international humanitarian law and action was witnessed with the activities of the Red Cross Federation during World War I that had been founded in 1863. After 1918, decolonization of many countries within Europe and national 'self-determination' principles became the norm promoted by the USA.

Largely due to the experiences of World War II, there was the creation and multiplication of regulatory institutions such as the United Nations Organization (1945) and World Bank (1944). This facilitated the second major wave of decolonization between 1945 and 1999. In 1949, US President Truman made his landmark address to the UN: to assist people around the world struggling for freedom and human rights; to continue programmes for world economic recovery; to strengthen international organizations; to draw on the expertise of the USA to help people across the world help themselves in the struggle against ignorance, illness and despair. There followed growth of NGOs at national and international scales especially from the 1970s on. The Newly Independent States and Global South began to make their voices heard at the UN and international economic fora.

Of course, there was the attendant geopolitics with states, and land and sea empires, old imperial powers readjusting, emerging regional powers and the superpowers competing and searching for balances of fear and power. The hawk versus dove geopolitical discourses of the Cold War (1947–99) era abated for a short time period with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Between 1991 and 2001,

there was a move from state-centric to people-centric humanitarian law epitomized by the UN Responsibility to Protect principle. Since then, the reconfigurations of power at national, regional and global scales have been playing out, with the UN trying to play catch-up. The limitations of existing international humanitarian law have been witnessed with the imbroglios in Syria since 2011, Yemen since 2015 and intermittent wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo over the past two decades. US President Trump's ambiguous and sometimes openly unilateralist approaches have served as a role model for those groups and regimes not supporting the rule of international humanitarian law.

Chapter 9

Geopolitics and International Organization



Abstract The rise and impact of international organizations is appraised here. Following WWII, there was demand for international collaboration, regulation and rule of law, creation of inter-governmental organizations such as the UN, and inter-regional organizations like the EEC/EU. Instruments including the Geneva Conventions and protocols were further elaborated. Responding to demands, there was a burgeoning in NGOs. From the 1990s on there has been much support for the UN Responsibility to Protect (R2P), but also challenges faced by citizens whose governments cannot, or will not, or refuse to protect them. Nonetheless, there are many criticisms of the R2P. According to the UNHCR, there were over 68.5 million people—refugees, asylum seekers or internally displaced across the globe in 2017. Economic gaps within and between countries have increased. Distances between IGOs responsible for global regulation and national governments, and people on the ground have increased, fuelling conflict over material resources, but existentialist crises also. Challenges continue for peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery, creation of sustainable peace processes, and truth and reconciliation work in former conflict territories. There is no turning back the clock on the digital revolution and globalization, which by its nature entails migration and refugees. Conflictual perspectives on this have been witnessed by electorates in the EU and USA, and in territories where actors are trying to manage humanitarian crises.

Keywords International law · Regulation · Geopolitics · Number of states · Governmental and non-governmental organizations · R2P

9.1 Introduction: Historical Perspectives

Keeping **historical experiences** in mind and the development of states and land and sea empires, and associated growth in the sciences in the 19th century especially in Europe including geography and geopolitics, along with colonial competition culminating in the scramble for Africa (1881–1914), respective spheres of influence and balance of control strategies of the major powers—it was recognized that **greater**

organization and regulation were necessary at an international level in the form of law—a system of rules regulating actions with penalties, in order to avoid conflict and war.

The number of military and civilian casualties in **World War I**, was approximately 40 million, with 20 million deaths and 21 million wounded. **Civilian deaths numbered some 10 million people.** The world had never witnessed carnage on this scale before, and similarly the massive displacement of civilians and refugees. The **League of Nations** was founded in 1920 in response to the destruction of WWI and consequent **re-drawing of the political map of Europe with the Treaty of Versailles** (1919–21), the continuing turmoil in the old Russian Empire, and dismantling of the Austrian-Hungarian and Ottoman empires. The League's mission was to resolve international disputes by negotiation and arbitration and **to prevent inter-state wars, by collective security and disarmament.** In its **Covenant** and related treaties other briefs included: labour conditions, just treatment of native inhabitants, human and drug trafficking, arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, and protection of minorities in Europe.

The League **lacked its own independent armed force and was depended on the WWI victors. France, UK, Italy and Japan were the permanent members of the executive Council**—to enforce its resolutions, keep to its economic sanctions, or provide armed forces when needed. While the League was largely developed and championed by the work of US President Woodrow Wilson, **America never officially joined the League** being blocked from doing so by the US Senate. Among the reasons were the reactions of the electorate and politicians to the number of American casualties during WWI in faraway lands, and wanting to keep America out of European affairs, taking an **isolationist approach.** In 1934, it reached its greatest number of states with **85 members.** The League drew and built on international law as it had evolved and tried to regulate international affairs for the 20th century. **The successes achieved by the League were overshadowed by the rise of fascism and outbreak of WWII.**¹

The world had been shocked by the number and percentage rise in civilian deaths—10 million people—in WWI, in contrast to that of the combatants, breaking with the historic patterns that the majority of war casualties were usually in the military services. This was the harbinger for the increasing percentage of civilian fatalities, injured, displaced people and refugees in future modern mechanized wars. **World War II fatality statistics vary greatly with total deaths ranging from 50–80 million people.** The higher figure of over 80 million includes deaths from war-related disease and famine. **Civilians killed totalled 50–55 million, including**

¹Documentary: People's Century Part 4 1919: Lost Peace (Interwar Period/League of Nations). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JvI8sx6JK-0>.

Documentary: People's Century Part 11 1945 Fallout. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UBr3fWdtzPY&list=PLuL26fXZ8eTNLLnugg2BTyOZQ7HT-QZk4&index=11>.

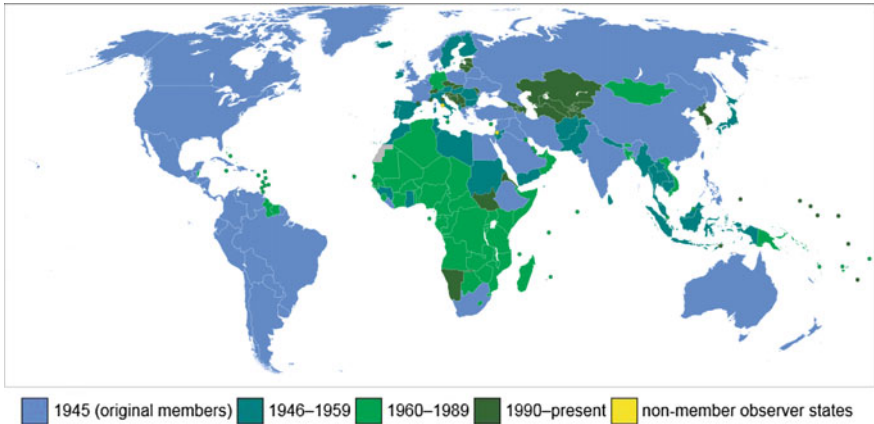


Fig. 9.1 Current UN member states by their dates of admission. Image by user: Pueblo United and Chanheigeorge [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

19–28 million from war-related disease and famine.² After the war in 1945, there were 7–11 million displaced people, or refugees, still living in Germany, Austria and Italy alone, not to mention the rest of Europe and Asia.

Before the end of WWII (1939–45), the allied powers led by the USA, UK, USSR, France and China, and international community generally were further convinced that international governance was imperative in order to create a more stable world and founded the **United Nations Organization (UN) with 51 original member states in 1945** (Fig. 9.1). While Britain and France tried to regain their former colonies, the people there were not now prepared to return to the pre-WWII status quo and demanded independence. By 1960 the number of UN member states had reached 99, and by 1975 some 144, and **193 by 2017**. From 1945 on, the new world power the USA, as well as the UN promoted the independence of the colonies, supporting western-style democracy and economic liberalism, while the USSR also supported their independence, it promoted socialism and communism. Hence the two superpowers and their respective allies competed for client states among the Newly Independent Countries.

In 1949 US President Truman delivered his famous four-point speech to assist people around the world struggling for freedom and human rights; to continue programs for world economic recovery; to strengthen international organizations; and

²World War II Deaths. https://www.google.ie/imgres?imgurl=https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/d1/World_War_II_Casualties.svg/2000px-World_War_II_Casualties.svg.png&imgrefurl=https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:World_War_II_Casualties.svg&h=1301&w=2000&tbnid=EIXNWA2IWceIkM:&q=number+of+casualties+in+ww2&tbnh=130&tbnw=200&usq=AI4_-kTOAhUJv9f3yXVouIkMRVAcBK0xcQ&vet=12ahUKEwiln5H117_eAhVIJVAKHxJBsIQ_B0wHnoECAMQBg..i&docid=nD6zoQVI7SHG9M&itg=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiln5H117_eAhVIJVAKHxJBsIQ_B0wHnoECAMQBg.

to draw on the expertise of the USA to help people across the world help themselves in the struggle against ignorance, illness and despair. This defining speech laid the vision not only for humanity and US geopolitics, but especially a development path for those peoples and countries that were not independent from colonial rule yet, or living under non-democratic systems. The key to development was now being defined within political-economic policy, theoretically being chosen by the respective states.

The **nation-state model remained the geopolitical blueprint in the new global order after 1945**. Usage of the terms ‘country, nation and state’ remained interchangeable in everyday language. The state referring to a territory with borders and boundaries, and political, economic and social systems that has independent sovereign government, and that is recognized by a **significant number of sovereign states** and the UN in the international system.³ However, this ‘**significant number**’ has never been clearly defined, meaning that powerful states, and especially one of the five permanent member countries—USA, Russia, UK, France, China—of the UN Security Council, can delay or veto the official UN recognition of statehood. This has been witnessed many times, as with the tardy independence of Timor Leste in 2002 regarding the Indonesian occupation (1975–99) that caused massive human rights abuses and humanitarian disaster, and the imbroglios concerning the Palestinians, Sahrawi’s (West Saharans), Tibetans and Chechens among others.

9.2 The Quest for Regulation: International Organizations

It is estimated that there are approximately 5000 IGOs (**International Governmental Organizations**) participating in multilateralism, such as the UN, and about 25,000 INGOs (**International Non-Governmental Organizations**).

The World Bank defines a **non-governmental organization (NGO)** as “private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development”.⁴ An **international non-governmental organization (INGO)** has the same mission as an NGO, but it is international in scale and has stations around the world to deal with specific issues in numerous countries. Examples of INGOs dealing with development and emergencies include Concern, SOS Méditerranée, CARE, Islamic Relief Worldwide, Refugees International, World Jewish Relief, Oxfam, Trócaire and Save the Children. Many of these NGOs work in the area of humanitarian disaster relief including the Red Cross. The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies reaches approximately 160 million people each year through its 189-member National Societies. Other high profile

³To read more: <http://geography.about.com/cs/politicalgeog/a/statenation.htm>; <http://www.infoplease.com/world/statistics/state-country-nation.html>; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereign_state; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State>; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereign_state; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation>; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation_state.

⁴World Bank. <http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/wb-ngo-directive.html>.

humanitarian action NGOs includes Médecins Sans Frontières—Doctors Without Borders (MSF), Americares (Emergency Response and Recovery), DARA, INTER-SOS and Goal.⁵

9.2.1 *The United Nations Organization*

The United Nations is an **inter-state organization** founded in 1945 in order to establish a new world order and promote **good codes of conduct for international affairs**. The **UN Charter** established six main organs of the UNO, including the Security Council. It gives primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security to the Security Council, which may meet whenever peace is threatened.

According to the Charter, the UN has four purposes:

- to maintain international peace and security;
- to develop friendly relations among nations;
- to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights; and
- to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.

The **five UN agencies with humanitarian mandates** include the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (**UNHCR**), the World Food Programme (**WFP**), UN Children’s Fund (**UNICEF**), UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (**UNRWA**) and World Health Organization (**WHO**). In 2018, the USA withdrew from UNRWA.

The UN is currently made up of **193 Member States**, and each is a member of the **General Assembly**. States are admitted to membership in the UN by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The main organs of the UN are the **General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and UN Secretariat**. The UN system is made up of the UN itself and many affiliated programs, funds, and specialized agencies, all with their own membership, leadership, and budget. The programs and funds are financed through voluntary rather than assessed contributions. The Specialized Agencies are independent international organizations funded by both voluntary and assessed (state donations) contributions. The **UN Security Council** has primary responsibility for the **maintenance of international peace and security**. It has **15 Members**, and each Member has one vote; however, **five states—the USA, UK, France, Russia and China hold permanent seats on the UNSC while the other ten are rotated between the different countries**. By 2019, more than 60 UN Member States had never been elected to the

⁵To read more http://library.duke.edu/research/subject/guides/ngo_guide/igo_ngo_coop/ngo_wb.htm and <http://www.uia.org/archive/role-ngos-unesco> and <http://www.uia.org/yearbook>. Also see: Living in Emergency Stories of Doctors Without Borders Documentary FilmHD 2008 @ <https://vimeo.com/29121376> and Our Stories—Our People: MSF @ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mFq3lxdFZZ8>.

Security Council. Under the UN Charter, **all Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions.**

The UN promotes **multilateralism** or collective agreement and action as opposed to unilateralism or individual state action, especially in military-related affairs. Since the 1990s there have been many calls for restructuring of the UN, and especially the **distribution of power** in the SC concerning the **veto powers of the Permanent Five**. It has been argued that the geopolitical structure and organization of the UN, as with the Permanent Five being the victors in WWII, reflects that of 1946, despite the major changes that have taken place in the world since then with the multiplication of Newly Independent States and the rehabilitation of such states as Germany and Japan on the international stage.

Nonetheless, major advances in development have been achieved by the UN Development Program which is the UN global development network whose goals are to: transform development, strengthen governance and peace-building, and prevent crisis and help recovery. In 1990, the UNGA granted the **International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) observer status** for its assembly sessions and sub-committee meetings, the first observer status given to a non-governmental organization. ICRC has delegations and missions in over 80 countries around the world. For instance, the Irish Red Cross has over 100 branches throughout the country with volunteers working abroad; the American Red Cross has a nationwide network of over 650 branches, and the Indian IRCS has over 700 branches throughout India; the Saudi Red Crescent has approximately 450 First Aid centres and 1300 ambulances.⁶

9.3 Regional Inter-governmental Organization

Regional organizations were established to foster cooperation and political and economic integration or dialogue amongst states in particular geographical and geopolitical regions. They reflect common patterns of development and history that have been fostered since WWII. However, fragmentation patterns and creeping missions have evolved due to globalization processes. Most regional organizations tend to work alongside well-established multilateral organizations such as the UN. Below samples of major regional organizations are presented.

9.3.1 *The Council of Europe*

The **Council of Europe (CoE)** consisting of **47 states** (2017) was founded in 1949 to support **dialogue, peace, human rights and democracy** within and between European countries. A major pillar in the Council's organisation is education ranging

⁶See: IFRC <http://www.ifrc.org/>; UN <http://www.un.org/en/sc/>; UN <http://www.undp.org/>; Ireland <https://www.redcross.ie/about-us/your-local-branches/>.

from language and culture policies to sustainable development and schooling for democratic citizenship and human rights. The Council of Europe also aims to prevent conflict and war by **promoting democracy**.⁷

9.3.2 *European Union*

The **EU traces its origins to 1951** when Europe lay in ruins after WWII, and there was impending conflict between the USA and Russian superpowers. Pragmatically, Robert Schumann and Claude Monet promoted integration of the European Coal and Steel Community (**ECSC**: France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg and West Germany) as a starting point for the future **merging of their national economies** in the belief that citizens would resist ‘destroying’ their mutual work and economic progress. From the initial six ESCE partners in 1951, the EEC evolved. By 1967, the governing bodies of the ECSC, EEC and Euratom were merged. **Through the Single European Act (1987), EEC members committed themselves to remove all remaining barriers to a common market by 1992, and in 1993 the EU was created with the Treaty of Maastricht.** The **EU** consisted of 28 democracies by 2018, closely linked to European Economic Area (**EEA**) states Iceland (also a full EU candidate state), Norway and Switzerland, and five EU candidate applicant countries including FYR Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. Denmark, Ireland and the UK joined the founding member states of the EEC/EU in 1973, but following a referendum in 2016 on continued membership of the EU, the UK stated its intention to leave the Union.

The EU’s stated objectives are to: promote peaceful **cooperation** and stability; foster **economic** growth through open markets; **develop** poorer regions within the Union; act within **sustainable** development frameworks; and develop a **common security and foreign policy** allowing the EU to be a force for stability within Europe and the world.⁸

Regarding relations with the NICs, the **EU’s aim** is to effectively use their **trade and development instruments** to the benefit of developing countries, with particular attention paid to LDCs and other countries most in need. The EU Commission dealing with **Trade and Development Aid** promotes collaboration with over 150 countries.⁹ The **African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP)**, commonly called the ACP countries is comprised of 79 states signatories to the Cotonou Agreement—the **ACP-EC Partnership Agreement** linking them to the EU. There are 48 countries from Sub-Saharan Africa, 16 from the Caribbean, and 15 from the Pacific region.¹⁰

ECHO: The European Commission’s Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection department (ECHO) aims to prevent and alleviate human suffering and safeguard

⁷Council of Europe. 2017. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/cm/home?desktop=true>.

⁸EU https://europa.eu/european-union/index_en.

⁹To read more: <https://europa.eu/eyd2015/en/content/eu-development-aid>.

¹⁰ACP Group of States. <http://www.acp.int/node>.

the integrity and dignity of populations affected by natural disasters and man-made crises. EU assistance is enshrined in the Treaty of Lisbon (2007) supported by EU citizens as an expression of European solidarity with people in need, according to ECHO.¹¹ The EU as a whole is the world's biggest donor; member states and institutions provide over 50% of official global humanitarian aid. ECHO was founded in 1992, and in 2010 the first dedicated EU Commissioner for international cooperation, humanitarian aid and crisis response was appointed.

ECHO's main remit is to provide finances and information for international organizations including NGOs and UN agencies dealing with humanitarian crises and emergencies worldwide to **over 200 partners** that implement relief actions. Examples include relief in major crisis zones such as Syria, South Sudan, Yemen and Ukraine, and the associated refugee crises. EU humanitarian aid covers intervention areas such as: food and nutrition, shelter, health, water and sanitation and education in emergencies and is grounded on a **needs-based approach**. **A large network of the Commission's humanitarian experts in over 40 countries worldwide enables close monitoring of crisis situations and relief operations.**¹² ECHO supports NOHA (Network on Humanitarian Action) work in the field, and in training, education, research and publishing.¹³ Regarding European citizen's attitudes and knowledge of humanitarian aid from Europe (both state and NGO sectors), the EU produces reports as with the Special Eurobarometer 453 on Humanitarian Aid.¹⁴

9.3.3 The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

The OECD was founded in 1961, but has its origins dating back to 1948. It offers a unique forum where the governments of 34 democracies with market economies work with each other, as well as with more than 70 non-member economies to promote economic growth, prosperity, and sustainable development.¹⁵

¹¹To read more: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/who/about-echo_en.

¹²ECHO. http://ec.europa.eu/echo/funding-evaluations/funding-humanitarian-aid_en and INFORM. <http://www.inform-index.org/>.

¹³Journal of International Humanitarian Action. Springer Open. <https://jhumanitarianaction.springeropen.com/>.

Heintze et al. (2018).

¹⁴Special Eurobarometer 453: Humanitarian aid. https://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2121_86_3_453_ENG/resource/2f3c51dc-71de-433e-9180-039df5e5f3ce.

¹⁵To read more: <http://www.oecd.org/>; also development issues by topic, country, statistics and so forth, the OECD website offers a wide range of information and analysis with linkages to other sites.

9.3.4 *The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)*

NAFTA was created in 1994 between Canada, Mexico, and the USA, creating a trilateral rules-based trade bloc in North America, but unlike the EU does not target political and social integration. Since the election of US President Trump in 2016, and his populist ‘Put America First’ campaign, his administration has been challenging many aspects of the fundamentals of the NAFTA leading to dispute with Canada and Mexico, and possible US withdrawal from the agreement.¹⁶

9.3.5 *Other Major Regional Organizations*

The Organization of American States (OAS) consists of 35 members and is a significant political, juridical, and social governmental forum in the Americas, including the South American states and USA. The OAS was granted permanent observer status to 69 other states, and the EU.¹⁷ The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) closely monitors the activities of the OAS.¹⁸ Greater activities are developing between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).¹⁹

The **African Union (AU)** is a **political, military and economic alliance** of all states in Africa dedicated to eradicating poverty, war and hunger from the continent consisting of **54 countries** and was created in 2002 replacing the old OAU (Organization of African Union) that had been developed in the decades following decolonization and was no longer fit for purpose. It has been active in **cooperation in humanitarian crises and UN approved peace keeping missions in conflict areas such as Sudan and DRC**²⁰ (Fig. 9.2).

The **Arab League (AL)** has 22 member states, including Palestine, and was founded in 1945. It is an association of countries whose peoples are mainly **Arabic speaking** or where **Arabic is an official language**. Its stated aims are to strengthen ties among member states, coordinate their policies and direct them towards a common good. Five countries have official observer status that entitles them to express their opinion and give advice but do not have voting rights. These include Eritrea, where Arabic is one of the official languages; Brazil and Venezuela that have large influential Arab communities; India, which has a sizable population of people claiming Arab descent; and Armenia was granted observer status in 2004. The League’s opposition to the creation and continued existence of **Israel** has been one of its major standpoints. Despite the great **potential** of the Arab League regarding the advancement of human, social, economic and political development among all its member

¹⁶To read more: NAFTA: <http://www.naftanow.org/>.

¹⁷To read more: OAS: http://www.oas.org/en/about/who_we_are.asp.

¹⁸To read more: CARICOM: <https://www.caricom.org/>.

¹⁹To read more: ASEAN: <https://asean.org/>; SAARC: <http://www.saarc-sec.org/>.

²⁰To read more: AU: <http://www.au.int/>.

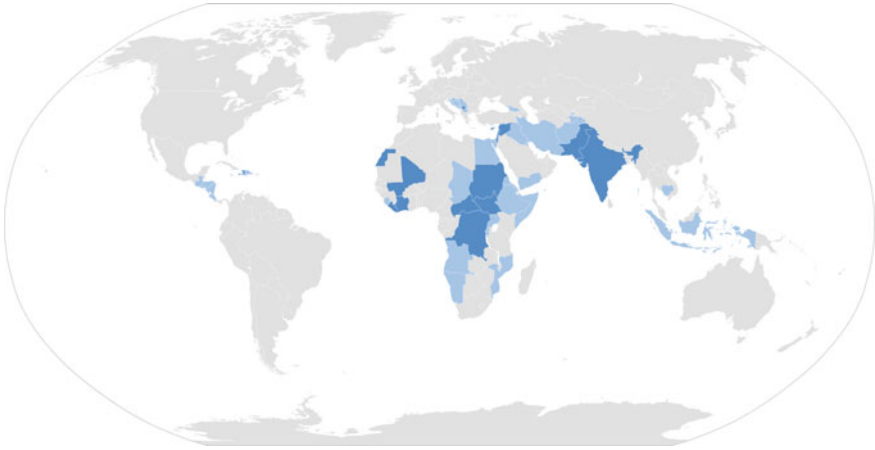


Fig. 9.2 Current and past UN peacekeeping operations. Dark blue: current peacekeeping operations; light blue: past peacekeeping operations. Image by user: Danalm000 [CC BY-SA 3.0], from [Wikimedia Commons](#)

states and populations, its **success has been limited**, especially due to divergent types of political regimes in power over the decades, the heritages left by the Cold War, restricted progress in democratization, and the conflictual geopolitics of various member states.²¹

The **Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)** is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the UN with a membership of **57 states** spread over four continents, and was established in 1969. OIC has **permanent delegations to the United Nations and the European Union**. Some member states, especially in West Africa, are not necessarily Muslim majority countries, though they have large Muslim populations. A few countries with significant Muslim populations, such as Russia and Thailand, have official observer status, while others, including India and Ethiopia, with large Muslim populations are not members.

The OCI claims to be the collective voice of the Muslim world, and has “the singular honour to galvanize the **Ummah** (Muslims throughout the world) into a unified body” with some **1.5 billion Muslims worldwide**. The OIC has relations with the **UN** and **other inter-governmental organizations** to protect the interests of Muslims and work for the settlement of conflicts and disputes involving Member States. “In safeguarding the true values of Islam and the Muslims, the organization has

²¹ Arab League Online <http://www.arableagueonline.org/>.

BBC Profile: Arab League. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-15747941>.

Top 10 Facts You Don't Know about the Arab League. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iRnXgMFtLA4>.

The Arabic Language: Its Amazing History and Features. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nDg3yPSzsEg>.

taken various steps to remove misperceptions and has strongly advocated elimination of discrimination against Muslims in all forms and manifestations.”²²

The **OIC-2025** programme draws on the **OIC Charter** and focuses on 18 priorities with 107 goals including Peace and Security, Palestine and Al-Quds (Jerusalem), Poverty Alleviation, Counter-terrorism, Investment and Finance, Food Security, Science and Technology, Climate Change and Sustainability, Moderation, Culture and Interfaith Harmony, Empowerment of Women, **Joint Islamic Humanitarian Action, Human Rights and Good Governance**. Its key bodies include: Islamic Summit, Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM), General Secretariat, Al-Quds Committee and three permanent committees for science and technology, economy and trade, and information and culture. OIC specialized organs include the **Islamic Development Bank**, and the **Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization**.

According to Amnesty International (2016), of the 21 million refugees worldwide, some 12 million people were hosted in just 10 states of the 193 countries recognized by the UN. Muslim countries are by far, hosting the most refugees:

1. Jordan (2.7 million)
2. Turkey (2.5 million)
3. Pakistan (1.6 million)
4. Lebanon (1.5 million)
5. Iran (979,400)
6. Ethiopia (736,100)
7. Kenya (553,900)
8. Uganda (477,200)
9. Democratic Republic of Congo (383,100)
10. Chad (369,500).

However, according to Amnesty International (2016), and based on UNHCR data, the oil-rich Gulf countries including Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain have offered zero resettlement places to Syrian refugees.²³

In the context of the Mediterranean—MENA region, significantly the **Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for Dialogue Between Cultures** is a network of civil society organisations dedicated to promoting intercultural discussion in the Mediterranean region and was set up in 2005 by the governments of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (**Euromed**); a political agreement made in 1995 between the EU and Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, Syria and Turkey. The Foundation’s programme is focused on activities essential for human and social dialogue including education and youth, peace and co-existence, cities and migration and media. The Foundation has supported many projects as well as developing a **region-wide Network of over 3000 civil society organisations**.²⁴

²²OCI. http://www.oic-oci.org/page/?p_id=52&p_ref=26&lan=en.

²³Amnesty International (2016).

MUSLIM COUNTRIES HOST THE LARGEST NUMBER OF REFUGEES. <http://www.altmuslimah.com/2016/10/muslim-countries-host-the-largest-number-of-refugees/>.

²⁴Anna Lindh Foundation. <http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/>.

9.4 International Humanitarian Law

9.4.1 *The Geneva Conventions*

The Geneva Conventions are a **series of treaties on the treatment of civilians, prisoners of war (POWs) and soldiers** who are otherwise rendered hors de combat, or incapable of fighting. Not to be confused with the Geneva Protocol or Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.²⁵ According to the **1951 Refugee Convention**, it defines a refugee as someone who “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” This is interpreted as a person who has been forced to flee their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster where the person crosses an international state boundary line or border.²⁶ **In its Global Trends Report (2017), the UNHCR refugee agency stated that over 68.5 million people were either refugees, asylum seekers or internally displaced across the globe as of the end of 2017.**²⁷

Often among the general public perception and fears, asylum seekers, refugees, legal and illegal immigrants, migrants and foreigners may be vaguely seen as one amorphous category, especially if they become more visible in the host country, and depending on the state of the economy there. The onus of processing which legal categories these people fall into, falls to international organizations and agencies such as the UNHCR and the prospective host state administrations and their respective legal obligations and migration policies. **While fully taking into account that ‘all people on the move’ are not refugees, and that there are security concerns regarding criminals and terrorists that may try to blend in with legitimate asylum seekers, the formidable task of letting in asylum seekers and refugees can be frustrated by opportunistic politicians and parties playing the populist card in their pursuit of power.** Hence the public needs to be clearly informed as to ‘who the others and newcomers are’, rather than falling into bipolar Right and Left-wing megaphone and twitter battles.

NGOs including Amnesty International and Freedom House have been to the forefront in reiterating that a refugee is a person that flees to a foreign country, to escape danger or persecution owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for

²⁵Rules of war (in a nutshell). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HwpzzAefx9M>.

Taming Warfare: The History of the Geneva Conventions (NHD Entry). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5SNneFCxJmA>.

To read more: https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/geneva_conventions and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geneva_Conventions.

²⁶UNHCR. <http://www.refugeelegalaidinformation.org/sites/default/files/uploads/1951%20convention%20and%201967%20protocol.pdf>.

Oxford Dictionaries. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/refugee>.

To be a Refugee (UNHCR). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LpwqK3B2ac8>.

²⁷UNHCR (2017).

reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, and is outside the state of their nationality or citizenship, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail him or herself of the protection of that country. **A person who is seeking to be recognized as a refugee is an asylum seeker.** Under international law, **refugees are recognized by the UNHCR** (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), and the state to which they flee is obliged to host them.²⁸ **An asylum seeker is a person who has sought protection as a refugee, but whose claim for refugee status has not yet been fully assessed. Every refugee has at some point been an asylum seeker.** Those **asylum seekers who are found to be refugees are entitled to international protection and assistance. Those who are found not to be refugees, nor to be in need of any other form of international protection, can be sent back to their country of origin.**²⁹

The **Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, also known as the 1951 Refugee Convention**, is a UN multilateral treaty that defines who is a refugee and sets out the rights of individuals who are granted asylum and the responsibilities of states that grant asylum. The **Convention also sets out which people do not qualify as refugees**, such as **war criminals**. It builds on Article 14 of the **1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights** which recognizes the right of persons to seek asylum from persecution in other countries. A refugee may enjoy rights and benefits in a state in addition to those provided for in the Convention.

Under international law, the **legal differentiation between an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) and a refugee** is where: the legal term refugee refers to a citizen of one state who has to flee or is displaced to another state, while an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) refers to someone who flees or is displaced from their home area for the same reasons as a refugee, **but who does not cross an international boundary** into another country and remains within the jurisdiction of his or her state of origin. Nonetheless, it is the duty of the state to protect its citizens.

States in crisis situations can appeal to the UN and international community for help, but when states are unable, or more seriously, unwilling to protect their own citizens, then this poses major problems for the international community. Attempts by the UN to cater for such people trapped within their own states have included sanctions, embargoes, and the establishment of ‘no fly zones’ attempting to prohibit the abusive government from carrying out air strikes on their own citizens as witnessed in the Kurdish region of Iraq during the Iraq-Kuwait emergency (1991) and Libya in 2011. The UN humanitarian ‘safe haven’ or protected area concept was dealt a severe blow with the Srebrenica massacre during the Yugoslav and Bosnian Wars (1991–2001), with the genocide of over 8000 Bosnians, targeting Muslim males and the rape of women, in July 1995, by Serbian forces, despite UN forces being present in the area.³⁰

²⁸To read more: <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home>.

²⁹To read more: <http://www.ssi.org.au/faqs/refugee-faqs>.

³⁰YouTube:

Srebrenica massacre—Explained in under 2 min—BBC News. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ymf5p3LbCAE>.

In the Syrian wars (2011 on), with the competing forces of the state regime, rebels, jihadist groups, involvement of neighbouring and regional countries, and extra-regional states including Russia and the USA, protection of the civilian population and especially IDPs has proven to be a geographical logistical quagmire for the UN and humanitarian community as regards establishing ‘safe havens’ or similar zones. It could be argued that direct Russian involvement since 2015 has challenged the ineptness of the UN and international community in bringing closure to the Syrian war.³¹

These **IDPs** or groups of persons who have been forced to flee as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, generalized violence, mass violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters remain **extremely vulnerable**. For instance, in the early two decades of the 21st century, many people suffered the horrors of the war and displacement in the **Darfur region as of 2003**, but remained within the state of **Sudan**, in contrast to **those who fled across the international boundary into neighbouring Chad and gained refugee status** there. But besides the IDPs from Darfur, other conflicts in Sudan since independence in 1956 have caused the forced movement of many other IDPs. The number of **IDPs** in Sudan peaked at around **five million in 2010**. Nonetheless, the total number of people estimated to be in need of humanitarian assistance in 2017 remained at 4.8 million, a reduction of 1 million compared to 2016.³²

Sometimes in the mass media, or in popular perception or consciousness, or being exploited by local or national politicians, the terms asylum seekers, refugees and IDPs are used interchangeably, with the word **migrant**, or **economic migrant**, or **illegal migrant (illegals)**, with the latter applying to a foreigner who enters a country without an entry or immigrant visa, especially a person who crosses the border by avoiding inspection or who overstays the period of time allowed as a visitor, tourist, or businessperson. Hence the danger of simplistic othering and framing ‘all non-nationals or foreigners’ as ‘illegals’ or criminal in image and rhetoric, leaving legitimate asylum seekers and refugees in a further stressed situation.³³

Conflicts surrounding this have been witnessed in several West African countries, and also in South Africa. These issues strongly came to the fore in the US Presidential elections (2016), UK Brexit referendum (2016), and other elections in several EU countries in 2016–18, including the Netherlands, France, Germany, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia and Sweden. **There is an ethical obligation on politicians, media and electorates to clearly distinguish between the respective categories of people on the move in a globalizing world, whether asylum seekers, refugees or migrants.**

Srebrenica: How the West failed this safe haven—Newsnight archives (2009). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tzBgmUpILJg>.

Netherlands: Guilt for Srebrenica Massacre | Focus on Europe. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eelph5oU4I4>.

³¹Cagaptay and Tabler (2012).

³²UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2016).

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC). <http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/sudan/>.

³³Dictionary.com. <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/illegal-alien>.

Forced migration and refugees continue to impact on many areas. This includes Syria and neighbouring countries, and the great trek to Europe since 2015. In October 2018, there were over 5.6 million UNHCR registered Syrian refugees in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, and North Africa, with over 1,000,000 asylum applications for Syrian refugees in the EU. In 2018, UNHCR counted nearly 5.6 million registered Syrian refugees worldwide.³⁴ In Venezuela, due to the deteriorating socio-economic situation and chronic shortages of basic essentials under the socialist regime of Nicolás Maduro, the UNHCR and IOM estimated that there are at least 2.3 million Venezuelans living abroad, and over 1.6 million fled the country 2015–18, with 90% of them going mainly to neighbouring countries, including Colombia that is already extremely fragile politically, as well as Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Brazil and several Caribbean countries.³⁵

Further north, Mexico estimates that over 400,000 undocumented migrants try to cross its southern border every year and many get stopped and deported. Regarding Mexico, the UNHCR states that applications for asylum have risen almost tenfold there in the past five years. Many thousands of migrants from Central America are heading northwards to the US-Mexico border trying to enter the USA, arguing that they are fleeing persecution, poverty and violence in their home countries of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. In October–November 2018, the UNHCR, local NGOs and international media turned their focus on the migrant caravan traversing Mexico to the US borderlands. The UN estimated that it numbers some 7200 people, on the march north. Coming at the period of the 2018 US midterm elections, this sparked much rhetoric, and US President Trump called for the deployment of 800 troops to the US-Mexican border.³⁶

Regarding frontline countries of arrival on the migrant trek to Europe, the EU authorities did special deals with Turkey to act as a processing centre and also help repatriate migrants to their country of origin. The North African countries refused similar EU proposals. The US administration has tried to make the frontline arrival countries such as Mexico and states further south on the migration routes responsible for detaining the travellers, processing asylum applications, and sending home non-successful applicants, with some compensatory financial incentives for these countries. However, some observers claim that these countries fear cuts to their development budgets from the US. The core problem for the migrants and asylum seekers remains the push factors of underdevelopment, poverty, violence and lack of good governance.

Migrants can be defined as people who move from one place to another due to push and pull factors, within or outside their home state, in order to find work or better living conditions, and whose home state is not within the legal categories that apply for asylum seeker or refugee status. In some situations, migrants may be perceived by people in the host country as attempting ‘to play the refugee card’

³⁴UNHCR. Operational Portal—Refugee Situations. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>.

³⁵UNHCR (2018a, b).

³⁶UNHCR (2018c), USA Today (2018).

in order to gain access to a new country. Debates surrounding this remain especially acrimonious in the USA, and in Europe since 2015.³⁷

A disputed term, especially in international law is that of environmental refugee. It describes “**people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural and, or triggered by people) that jeopardizes their existence and, or seriously effects the quality of their life**”.³⁸ Or “a person displaced owing to environmental causes, notably land loss and degradation, and natural disaster” including floods as with Bangladesh and Angola, droughts in Sudan and the Horn of Africa, and desertification as witnessed in North Africa. They may be forced to flee their home area or country as with Bangladeshis fleeing to India. **In 2012, 32.4 million people were displaced by environmental disasters**, relocating in their countries of origin, or seeking refuge through international migration. Ninety-eight percent of this displacement was caused by climate- and weather-related disasters, due to global climate change. This number is expected to reach 50 million by 2020. Of course, populations in the Global South face major challenges due to the existing levels of vulnerability there. According to Norman Myers (2008), when global climate change takes hold, “there could be as many as 200 million people overtaken by disruptions of monsoon systems and other rainfall regimes, by droughts of unprecedented severity and duration, and by sea-level rise and coastal flooding.”³⁹

A Development Induced Displaced Person (DIDP) can be defined as **someone who has been moved from their home or local environment in the name of ‘planned or intentional development’, and who remains within the state of their citizenship.** Such movement is promoted by the state and often supported by top-down (GOs) international organisations, and business interests. For example, dam construction as with Aswan in Egypt (1947–) and the Three Gorges Dam in China (2003–2012); forest clearance in Brazil and Indonesia.⁴⁰

³⁷Globalization 101. The Levin Institute. Push and Pull Factors (Migration). <http://www.globalization101.org/push-factors/>.

³⁸Essam El-Hinnawi, LISER.eu

³⁹Environmental Refugees. Globalization 101. <http://www.globalization101.org/environmental-refugees/>.

Myers (2001), El-Hinnawi (1985).

UNHCR. Environment, Disasters and Climate Change. <http://www.unhcr.org/en-i.e./environment-disasters-and-climate-change.html>.

To read more: <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=839>.

<http://www.ehs.unu.edu/file/get/4145>.

<http://www.ejfoundation.org/page590.html>

<http://geography.about.com/od/globalproblemsandissues/a/environmentalrefugees.htm>.

⁴⁰Forced Migration Review (FMR). <https://www.campaign.ox.ac.uk/forced-migration-review>.

Bjorn Pettersson. Development-induced displacement: internal affair or international human rights issue? Forced Migration Review (FM). <http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/FMRpdfs/FMR12/fmr12.6.pdf>.

To read more: <http://jurisonline.in/2011/01/internally-displaced-persons/>.

Globalization 101. The Levin Institute. Push and Pull Factors (Migration). <http://www.globalization101.org/push-factors/>.

In public perceptions this confusion between different categories—criminals, terrorists, migrants, asylum seekers and refugees may be due to **xenophobia** or dislike of, or prejudice against, people from other countries. This is sometimes due to **fear, or racism**—the belief or doctrine that inherent differences among the various human, or racial groups determine cultural or individual achievement, usually involving the idea that one’s own race is superior and has a right to dominate others, or that a particular racial group is inferior to the others. Essentially it is hatred and intolerance of people from specific groups, or more generally, those people who do not belong to one’s own ethnic, racial or cultural group. Badly researched news or sensationalist media contribute to this confusion. In times of great upheaval, confusion and mass movements of populations after human-made crises and disasters, people responsible for crimes against humanity or war criminals may ‘try to slip’ by the authorities and mix in with the refugees as happened with many Nazis after 1945, and also after the Rwandan genocide (1994)—as Hutu perpetrators mixed in with the Tutsi refugees in the Goma refugee camp in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Of course such fears exist regarding Daesh militants blending in with refugee flows into the EU or USA, or with Latin American drug cartel criminals getting into the USA through Mexico.

9.4.2 *The International Criminal Court (ICC)*

The **International Criminal Court (ICC)** is a permanent multilateral tribunal established **to investigate, prosecute and try individuals accused of committing** the most **serious crimes** of concern to the international community as a whole, namely the crime of **genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and the crime of aggression**.⁴¹ The role of the ICC is to bring people, and especially politicians and government officials **to trial** in relation to **crimes committed against humanity** such as genocide and other massive human rights abuses. It is hoped that **no longer can such people hide behind the concept of state sovereignty and immunity in international law**. The major aim is to deter future war criminals.

Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated: “**Our hope is that, by punishing the guilty, the ICC will bring some comfort to the surviving victims and to the communities that have been targeted.** We hope it will **deter future war criminals**, and bring nearer the day when no ruler, no State, no junta and no army anywhere will be able to abuse human rights with impunity.” In 1998, 120 UN Member States adopted a treaty to establish—for the first time in history—a permanent international criminal court. This treaty entered into force in 2002. Some 123 states have now ratified the Rome Statute of the ICC, of which 34 are African, 19 Asia-Pacific states, 18 East European, 27 from Latin America and Caribbean, and 25 Western

⁴¹To read more: http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/about%20the%20court/frequently%20asked%20questions/Pages/1.aspx.

European and other states.⁴² US policy concerning the ICC has varied widely; the Clinton Administration signed the Rome Statute in 2000, but did not submit it for Senate ratification. US Republican administrations are not in favour of joining the ICC due to fear of the possibility of any US citizens being indicted by the ICC.⁴³ Neither Russia nor China have signed up to the ICC either due to similar fears.

9.5 The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

The Responsibility to Protect (**R2P**) principle is an evolving **norm** in international relations that is becoming integrated into **international law**—that **state sovereignty is not an absolute right, and that states forfeit aspects of their sovereignty when they fail or refuse to protect their populations and citizens from mass atrocity crimes and human rights violations: genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and ethnic cleansing**. It emphasizes that **sovereign governments having rights, also have responsibilities**.

The R2P has main three pillars:

1. **A state has the responsibility** to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. In the historical evolution of states, reciprocal duties and rights between state leaders or regimes, and citizens were normalized, and legitimated by the sovereign *raison d'être* of the state being to protect its citizens.
2. The **international community has a responsibility to assist** the state fulfil its primary responsibility.
3. **If the state manifestly fails or refuses to protect its citizens** from mass atrocities and peaceful measures have failed, then the international community has the **responsibility to intervene through coercive measures** including economic sanctions. **Military intervention is considered as the last resort and must be approved by the UN Security Council.**

⁴²ICC. <https://www.icc-cpi.int/>.

ICC Investigations. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Criminal_Court_investigations#Germany.

To read more: <http://www.amicc.org/icc.html>.

[http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:I0ZWZh4IRBYJ:southsudanngoforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/OCHA_Glossary-of-Humanitarian-Terms.pdf+What+is+the+role+of+the+International+Criminal+Court+\(ICC\)+in+relation+to+human-made+humanitarian+disasters%3F&hl=en&gl=ie&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESi17OMFgzGtTPkKZFXdBJFYszrJW0NX8GievDVULi-7eKdtKrMtWmCTSPDG_0I2pYpUMeHc6lj6mcLuEspZr6sAmQz-tevu2U5I5t8m9l_MaG5juIWzj_i6sfw9EGNvEojQyK2r&sig=AHIEtbRvB6GLJ8wWAagDcziq4s9y3sY6lQ](http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:I0ZWZh4IRBYJ:southsudanngoforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/OCHA_Glossary-of-Humanitarian-Terms.pdf+What+is+the+role+of+the+International+Criminal+Court+(ICC)+in+relation+to+human-made+humanitarian+disasters%3F&hl=en&gl=ie&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESi17OMFgzGtTPkKZFXdBJFYszrJW0NX8GievDVULi-7eKdtKrMtWmCTSPDG_0I2pYpUMeHc6lj6mcLuEspZr6sAmQz-tevu2U5I5t8m9l_MaG5juIWzj_i6sfw9EGNvEojQyK2r&sig=AHIEtbRvB6GLJ8wWAagDcziq4s9y3sY6lQ).

⁴³Why the Trump administration is attacking the International Criminal Court. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=21J8i0Gux9I>.

US threatens to arrest ICC judges if they pursue Americans for Afghan war crimes. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e6W5DodZe7g>.

Responsibility to Protect (**R2P**) is a concept in humanitarian action and evolving law, and international relations, which relates to a state's responsibilities towards its population and to the international community's responsibility **in case a state fails to, or refuses to fulfil its duties to the citizens**. From a humanitarian perspective, since the 1990s, many humanitarian organizations and activists have been trying to **move the international law perspective from being state-centric, to a people—centric approach and law**. The foremost aim is to provide a **legal and ethical basis for some form of humanitarian intervention**. **This involvement of external actors, in the form of the international community through the multilateral actions approved by the UN with Security Council clearance, is aimed at a state that is unwilling, or refuses, or is unable to protect its citizens.**

However, it should be noted that the UN is a 'club of states' and hence each state pursues its own diplomatic and strategic goals, with the **UN Charter based on the concept of 'state sovereignty' (UN Charter Article 2)**. Similarly, the UN is composed of the **UNGA** comprised of all member states, and the **UN Security Council (UNSC)**, with the latter having **veto powers** for the **permanent or big five** i.e. who have a constitutional right to reject a decision or proposal made by the UNGA or law-making body. While a vast corpus of international law and precedent exists, further law and legislation is continuously evolving to meet current situations, often based on models in order to mitigate, manage and avoid further conflict and war. Essentially the UNSC has the final decision on what international norms and actions, and humanitarian law will become.

Supporters of R2P view it as a method of establishing a **normative basis for humanitarian intervention and its application**. **Detractors argue that by justifying external breaches of state sovereignty—as enshrined in the UN Charter, the R2P encourages foreign aggression by stronger powerful states**. The R2P principles were first advanced by the **ICISS** (International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty) established in the **2001 UN Report: "The Responsibility to Protect."**⁴⁴

With the increase in conflict within states, growth of international civil society, enlarged recognition of human rights, and growing appreciation of global interconnectivity, mass media reporting, and responsibility of governments to their citizens during the 1990s, this put much pressure on states to protect the civilians in states other than their own.

Ever greater numbers of citizens, NGOs and some states called for action on the R2P principles regarding specific regimes such as those unwilling to protect as with Myanmar (1948–2010), refusing to protect as with Indonesia regarding Timor Leste (1975–2002), or unable to protect as with the Democratic Republic of Congo (1998–2003) and so failing in their duty. The responsibility being to prevent massive human rights abuse. The international community has to try to solve problems initially via peaceful means such as diplomatic pressure, dialogue, sanctions and embargoes, and then, as a **last resort**, through the use of **military force**.

⁴⁴UN Office on Prevention of Genocide and the Responsibility to Protect. <http://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/about-responsibility-to-protect.html>.

Use of military force raises issues of **ethics** and of course the question that in specific circumstances as in the Libyan uprising (2011), is use of such force warranted by being ‘the lesser of two evils’. This is either seen as **extra-territoriality**, or an expression of **universal morality**. It must be noted that in humanitarian crisis situations a majority of sovereign states and governments affected, do appeal for international help from the UN, other states and NGOs, giving them permission to operate humanitarian relief operations in their territories, especially when the crises are due to natural disasters.

Nonetheless, there are exceptions as with **cyclone Nargis in 2008** that caused the worst natural flooding disaster ever recorded in the history of Myanmar. This became a complex emergency, when the **military dictatorship** in power, responsible for massive human rights abuses, **initially refused international aid** for its citizens not wanting them to be exposed to international aid workers, nor wanting the international community to witness directly what was going on politically in Myanmar. When certain countries led by France at the UN tried to invoke the R2P and ultimately an intervention, this was blocked by other states such as South Africa, and by China and Russia with their UNSC veto powers.⁴⁵

Following much debate in the UN and international community, the norm now is that R2P cannot be invoked and approved by the UN regarding natural disasters. Governments such as those of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Philippines, Indonesia, and Haiti regularly appeal to the UN for humanitarian aid when hit by earthquakes, tsunami, cyclones and so forth, as did the West African states of Guinea, Liberia, and Nigeria and Sierra Leone in 2014 with the Ebola epidemic outbreak. In the complex emergencies due to natural and human-made activities that have arisen over the past three decades in Sudan, encompassing combinations of drought, chronic food shortages and famine conditions, massive human rights abuse, the Darfur war, and civil war in southern Sudan (that eventually became the independent Republic of South Sudan in 2011), Sudan’s military dictatorship has refused UN and NGO humanitarian action on many occasions to the detriment of its own citizens.⁴⁶

In 2005, the UN Security Council referred the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court (ICC), and in 2008–2009, the ICC wishing to bring President al-Bashir to trial, filed charges of war crimes against him, including three counts of genocide, five of crimes against humanity and two of murder. The Prosecutor claimed that President al-Bashir “masterminded and implemented a plan to destroy in substantial part” three tribal groups in Darfur because of their ethnicity. In 2010, al-Bashir was charged with three counts of genocide in Darfur by the ICC for orchestrating the Darfur genocide project. Only days after the ICC indictment, al-Bashir expelled 13 international aid organizations from Darfur and disbanded three domestic aid organizations. Nonetheless, **al-Bashir remained in**

⁴⁵Brookings. The Burma Cyclone and the Responsibility to Protect. Roberta Cohen Monday, July 21, 2008. <https://www.brookings.edu/on-the-record/the-burma-cyclone-and-the-responsibility-to-protect/>.

⁴⁶Brookings. Sudan and South Sudan. <https://www.brookings.edu/topic/sudan-south-sudan/>; International Crisis Group. Sudan. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-of-africa/sudan>.

power, and has travelled to other states on several occasions that ignored the international arrest warrants. The ICC’s decision is opposed by the African Union, Arab League States, Non-Aligned Movement, and the governments of Russia and China. As of 2019, al-Bashir remains free.⁴⁷

9.5.1 The R2P: To Prevent, to React, and to Rebuild

According to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), the responsibility to protect is broken down into three responsibilities: **to prevent, to react, and to rebuild.**⁴⁸

The responsibility to prevent: applying preventative measures such as building state capacity. Also building or restoring the rule of law, and solving grievances including historical and ethnic perspectives, and creating unity.

The responsibility to react: this should be on a scale from low or soft-instruments such as cultural, economic, political or military sanctions, to diplomatic negotiations, embargo and boycott. **The upper end of the scale includes military intervention,** so as to halt overt violations from happening.

The responsibility to rebuild is crucial in order to **avoid falling back into catastrophic situations and cycles,** and hence the need for sustainable **recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation.** The factors that caused the disaster in the first place must be addressed, or they most likely will reoccur.

According to the ICISS, **any form of a military intervention initiated under the premise of responsibility to protect must fulfil the following six criteria in order to be justified as an extraordinary measure of intervention.** Note that these criteria remain contested for certain states at the UN.

9.5.2 The Threshold for Military Interventions

1. Just Cause: related to moral and ethical issues.
2. Right Intention: alleviating suffering and saving lives.
3. Last Resort: all other methods have been tried.
4. Legitimate Authority: not unilateral action, but collective or multilateral response sanctioned by the UN.
5. Proportional Means: scale, length and time of military intervention—minimum of instruments and capacity involved in order to succeed.

⁴⁷International Crisis Group (ICG). BRIEFING.,110/AFRICA 22 APRIL 2015. The Chaos in Darfur. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/sudan/chaos-darfur>. BBC News (2016).

⁴⁸ICISS. The Responsibility to Protect. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>.

6. Reasonable Prospect: the consequences of the actions should not be worse than the initial issue being addressed.

9.6 Arguments Supporting the R2P

9.6.1 Humanitarian

From humanitarian, moral, ethical, and human rights and development perspectives, states that do not fulfil their obligations towards their citizens, and who **willingly violate their rights must be dissuaded from doing so in the interests of human security** (UNDP). Similarly, the **elimination of war and violent conflict that wastes material and human capital, and that may lead to humanitarian disasters must be supported**. This physical and human capital should be used in the interest of human development and not squandered on financing conflict and arms as witnessed in West Africa and especially in Sierra Leone (1996–2001), or usurped by **corrupt ruling elites** often supported by **transnational corporations** and companies or industries in sectors such as oil production with this being **indirectly supported by foreign governments** as in Sudan trading oil for arms.⁴⁹ Other examples include the minerals found in coltan, and used in the electronics industry, helping to finance conflict in the DRC with involvement of groups from neighbouring states such as Rwanda.⁵⁰ Human-made **disasters within a state usually have a destabilizing effect on neighbouring populations and states causing IDPs and refugee flows**, competition for food, water, money and work which leads to resource scarcity, with obvious repercussions on regional and international communities. For instance, the destabilizing effects those humanitarian crises in Sudan have had on neighbouring Chad, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia in recent history. However, international human-

⁴⁹ YouTube. The global arms trade is booming | The Economist. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RfyqhJmGIk>.

YouTube. Global arms trade. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6LmPq7D-ds0>.

YouTube. The real harm of the global arms trade | Samantha Nutt. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6LmPq7D-ds0>.

UN office for Disarmament Affairs. The Arms Trade. <https://www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/armstrade/>.

The Economist (2017a).

SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. <https://www.sipri.org/>.

IHS Jane's International Defence Review. <http://www.janes.com/magazines/ihs-janes-international-defence-review>.

⁵⁰ YouTube. Conflict Minerals, Rebels and Child Soldiers in Congo. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kYqrflGpTRE>.

YouTube. Conflict Minerals 101. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aF-sJgcoY20>.

YouTube. Africa Conflict Minerals. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JaRTvQdwquU>.

Nick Heath. How conflict minerals funded a war that killed millions, and why tech giants are finally cleaning up their act. TechRepublic. <https://www.techrepublic.com/article/how-conflict-minerals-funded-a-war-that-killed-millions/>.

itarian responses and finances associated with this, also occasion changes in local economies and relationships that can lead to competition and resentment, as well as power groups and warlords gaining from the incoming capital.⁵¹

9.6.2 *A Major Reason for the Creation of the United Nations Organization*

Supporters of the R2P argue that a central geopolitical goal of the UN is **the promotion of peace, security and development within the international system** which is premised on the nation-state model. In the **UN Charter, Chapter 2**, the **sovereignty of the state is stressed**, but in **Chapter 7** of the Charter, it is stated that **UN action should be taken if conflict within a country is having a destabilizing effect on neighbouring states**. Concerning the latter point, the R2P helps to further this goal. Similarly, with reference to **collective security**, the R2P strongly promotes this in a globalizing world.

9.6.3 *Deterrent*

State regimes or governments or individuals must be made understand that they **cannot act with impunity**, regarding abuse of their citizens, and hide behind traditional concepts of state sovereignty or the old clichés “I was only doing my duty, or my job”, or “I was told to do it” by the government minister, the line manager, or commander, school principal or god. The **R2P furthers the concept of state accountability and transparency, and possible invocation of action, or being brought to trial and convicted by the International Criminal Court**. In 2013, the ICC handed down **Liberia’s former President Charles Taylor** a 50-year jail sentence on charges of aiding and abetting war crimes during the brutal civil war in neighbouring Sierra Leone. He was the first former head of state, or regime leaders, to be convicted of war crimes by an international court since the Nuremburg and Tokyo trials following World War II. Among others, ICC international warrants of arrest issued, were those for Joseph Kony (2005) of the so called Lord’s Resistance Army operating from

⁵¹YouTube. TEDxRC2—Fiona Terry—The Paradox of Humanitarian Aid. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J45cWdDEbm0>.

YouTube. TEDxHamburg—Linda Polmann—“What’s Wrong with Humanitarian Aid? A Journalist’s Journey” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gWdTQ84IEM>.

YouTube. Foreign Aid: Are we really helping others or just ourselves? | Maliha Chishti | TEDx-UTSC. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1xJ6p0B5V_A.

Uganda; and also Sudanese president Omar Al Bashir in 2009 and 2010.⁵² Some 161 persons were indicted in the ICC Tribunal for the Yugoslav wars (1991–2001) causing much debate in the media and international community.⁵³

9.6.4 *Economic*

Stable states and especially those with **good governance and democracy records are among the most developed countries**. Despite all the socio-cultural, and political economic challenges faced by India since independence in 1948, and abolition of Apartheid in 1992 in the Republic of South Africa with transitions to democracy, both states have managed to avoid coup d'état and dictatorships. Also they have made highly significant advances on their HDI levels in contrast to HDI rates of progress in Pakistan and Nigeria. Similar arguments can be made regarding the contrasting levels of development and HDI ranking for North and South Korea established in 1948. Nonetheless it should be noted that South Korea was largely under military rule, but following a capitalist model until 1987. Significantly, China followed a different political-economy path with communism since 1948 making major development advances, and partly liberalizing the economy since 1978; China attained the same HDI rank of 15 along with South Korea out of 187 countries by 2013.

9.7 Criticisms of the R2P

9.7.1 *Violation of National Sovereignty*

Certain states remain very cautious regarding support for the R2P, not only among the NICs with the legacy issues and memories of colonialism, but also **permanent UNSC** members including China and Russia, arguing that the **R2P undermines the international system of state sovereignty as promoted in the UN Charter**, Article 2.1. Many **former colonies tenaciously protect their sovereignty having experienced colonial domination** in recent history. Use of R2P instruments were almost invisible during the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar (2016–18), due to the stance of the national government there, but also due to its close relationship with UNSC permanent seat-holder China.

It should be noted also that both **China and Russia** were historically at the heart of land empires engulfing many nations and territories, including Tibet and Ukraine

⁵²To read more: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-10878424> and http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/structure%20of%20the%20court/office%20of%20the%20prosecutor/prosecutions/Pages/prosecutions.aspx and http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/structure%20of%20the%20court/office%20of%20the%20prosecutor/prosecutions/Pages/prosecutions.aspx.

⁵³The Economist (2017b).

respectively, and are cautious of evolving iterations of the R2P. **Powerful states will not accept foreign intervention in their own countries on the grounds of the R2P principle** as with Russia regarding Chechnya.

In 2011, the **UNSC approved UN Resolution 1973**, reiterating the responsibility of the **Libyan** authorities to protect its citizens. It demanded an immediate ceasefire in Libya, including an end to attacks against civilians, which it said might constitute crimes against humanity. It imposed a ban on all flights in Libyan airspace, a no-fly zone, and tightened sanctions on the Gadhafi regime. The UN resolution passed, with 10 in favour, 0 against, and 5 abstentions, including China and Russia. By abstaining rather than implementing their right to UNSC veto, this facilitated the UN R2P military intervention to proceed. The UN approved-military action was carried out by NATO, ousting the Gadhafi regime. However, in the following months and years the country fell into chaos with regionalist groups competing for control of the country and especially the oil producing areas. This was compounded by the jihadist Daesh establishing bases in Libya. Very limited success in establishing security, good governance and the rule of law has been achieved as witnessed with the activities of human trafficking and people smugglers in Libya on the refugee and migrant network trails between sub-Saharan Africa and the Mediterranean Sea targeting destinations in Malta and Italy in order to gain access to the EU. Detractors of the intervention believe that problems in Libya are best resolved amongst Libyans.⁵⁴

9.7.2 Double Standards in the Implementation of the R2P

Media and vested state interests may be selective in claiming or showing what is a humanitarian crisis. This puts **forgotten endangered populations** at greater disadvantage. Sensational and breaking news draws more clients, than analyses—before, during and after the crises. Some national and state media, or media with close ties to political or financial elites, may be influenced in choosing what is an emerging humanitarian crisis meriting R2P attention. This begs the question **what is the threshold for invoking the R2P**. Some observers try to argue that the threshold for intervention is unrealistic, and similarly ‘who’ and ‘what’ determines what is genocide or crimes against humanity or massive human rights abuses. This position certainly does nothing to help threatened populations.

Countries and political regimes may be treated differently in relation to calls for the R2P, as with the blocking of UN and UNSC procedures and activities. Certain observers posit that there are **no calls for R2P intervention in Gaza, nor the occupied West Bank**, despite Israeli activities there. Similarly, there are no serious calls for R2P in Egypt, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia with high levels of human rights abuse which have US-backed regimes in power, not to mention Saudi’s involvement in the Yemen War (2015 on) and disruption of vital food importation at ports.

⁵⁴Brockmeier et al. (2016).

Between 2011 and 2018, the USA and its traditional allies, along with Turkey and a majority of Gulf Arab states, made several calls for collective military intervention or the R2P to be implemented in the **Syria civil war**; while Russia and China vetoed such collective action at the UNSC in line with their ‘legal’ stance on Article 2 of the UN Charter, regarding sovereignty and territorial integrity principles, and government. At the behest of the Assad regime, Russia became militarily involved in the war supporting the government of Syria and its military forces; the USA and its allies supported the anti-Assad rebel forces. However, in the Syrian imbroglio, many Jihadist groups and especially Daesh seized oil-rich territories attacking both rebel and government forces, and carried out massive atrocities against their civilian populations. Yet, the Assad regime and Russia are committed to defeating Daesh, as is the USA and its allies. Concerning military actions for defeating Daesh, the USA and Russia worked out a *modus vivendi*, especially for aerial bombings so as to avoid accidentally hitting each other’s forces, and the consequences thereof.

Russia suspects that iterations of the R2P could be used by the USA in order to replace the Assad regime with a pro-American one, as has been witnessed in neighbouring Iraq with the US coalition invasion and overthrow of Saddam Hussein’s Baathist regime in 2003 and ensuing political instability found there since. Similar geopolitical patterns are observable with Western-led interventions in Libya (2011) and Afghanistan (2001). However, since Russian military intervention started in 2015, resulting from an official request by the Syrian government for military help against rebel and jihadist groups, Daesh has been progressively losing territory and the war. With the imminent defeat of Daesh, international attention will focus more on the struggle between government and anti-government rebel forces.

In an ideal world, all UN institutions and especially the UNSC, including Russia and China would take a more pro-active role in the R2P, ensuring that the post-military intervention phase is collectively managed by the UN ensuring transparency and an improvement in the lives of the populations affected. The dilemma remains that many citizens in the USA do not want their country to be involved in foreign interventions that are costly to the tax-payer and leading to death or injury of members of their armed forces. Yet when there are humanitarian crises throughout the world, there are calls from many American and citizens worldwide ‘for something to be done’. So who has the capacity, and will do it?

This was evident during the **Balkan wars of the 1990s** and lack of coherent policies and actions on the part of the Europeans and EU, before NATO and US intervention put an end to massive human rights abuses and genocidal ethnic cleansing activities not witnessed in Europe since the end of WWII. Similarly, UN humanitarian intervention operations 1993–95 in the dysfunctional state of Somalia, and the US military forces and humanitarian workers being attacked by local warring factions, and conspiracy theorists alike. The Rwandan genocide (1994) progressed while the UN and international community remained ineffectual, and in the aftermath, as in 1945, the ‘never again’ refrain was once more heard.

The Darfur genocide (that began in 2003), war crimes and massive human rights abuses continued in Sudan, and there were calls for UN intervention but this did not happen. The Government of Sudan, conspiracy theorists, and Jihadi groups were

ready to attack US policies, but the US did not intervene unilaterally nor multilaterally. Ordinary citizens and observers may be forgiven for thinking that the ‘USA is damned if it does, and damned if it doesn’t intervene’ including in the name of the R2P.⁵⁵

9.7.3 *New or Neo-imperialism and Neo-colonialism*

Critics of the R2P purport that it has a **Western agenda** to further its own interests firstly, and to control other countries, and to re-control former colonies, including those that they label rogue or failed states. Critics claim that the R2P often gives **powerful states access and possible control of the resources of countries in conflict**, such as oil and minerals. This became very evident in Iraq and Libya with the overthrow of the Hussein and Gadhafi regimes respectively, with US and UK burgeoning financial interests in areas such as security, military hardware and training, consultancy, reconstruction and provisioning, as well as the oil industries. Of note also is that Russia tried to invoke the R2P in relation to its invasion of Georgia in 2008 which did not get UN backing or approval. Since then governments and citizens, including Russian-speaking ethnic minorities, in the newly independent states of the former Soviet empire, especially Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been closely observing Russian geopolitics, with its annexation of the Crimea from Ukraine (2014), and continuing conflict in eastern Ukraine led by Russian-speaking separatists supported by Moscow, also sending in humanitarian supplies.

9.7.4 *Abuse of Interpretation*

The R2P principle is prone to false interpretation, misuse or abuse of power, and may blur the distinction between both humanitarian and military operations. This holds implications for possible confusion of roles between actors, military, NGO or civilian, and whose interests they serve. Similarly, **perceptions of the people on the ground** including endangered populations may see the military and aid workers as a foreign invasion causing negative reactions on their part where **fear can be exploited by warlords, or political factions.** The huge increase in the targeting of humanitarian aid workers for kidnap ransoms and murder for propaganda purposes, along with attacks on NGOs including the Red Cross by extremists, may be partly due to this, and attracts media attention for propaganda value. Extremist groups may be trying to counteract the infamous US ‘collateral damage’ arguments with their own suicide bombers, and so inadvertently create a type of nihilist environment.

⁵⁵To read more: <http://worldwithoutgenocide.org/genocides-and-conflicts/darfur-genocide>.

9.7.5 *Independence, Neutrality, and Impartiality*

Independence, neutrality, and impartiality constitute the humanitarian principles as embodied in the International Red Cross and may be threatened once there is military involvement, and so hamper the work of the humanitarian aid workers.

9.7.6 *Structure of the UN*

Critics argue that the **structure and organization of the UN itself** as it has evolved since 1945, and especially the power of the Security Council and Permanent Five with **veto powers, reflect the geopolitical situation of 1945, rather than that of the current international realities** due to decolonization in Africa and Asia, and breakup of the USSR and Yugoslavia after 1991. Despite the ending of the Cold War (1991), which had stymied much of the optimism and potential of the UN since its creation, on the UN Security Council, old established patterns often continue to persist with the US, its allies and client states taking different stances to Russia and China and their friendly states.

At its foundation in 1945, the UN had 51 sovereign state members, increasing to 76 in 1955, 117 in 1965, 144 in 1975, 159 in 1985, 185 in 1995, and 191 in 2005, coming to **193 in 2011**.⁵⁶

Observers note that the disputed State of **Palestine** applied for UN membership in 2011, and in 2012 was granted a **non-member observer status**. **By 2014, 135 (70%) of the 193 UN member states and two non-member states had recognised the State and nation of Palestine, but not the UNSC**. Besides Israel, states not recognizing **Palestinian statehood** were USA, France, and UK—with UN Security Council veto powers—as well as Australia, Canada, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Republic of Korea, Spain and Switzerland.⁵⁷

Critics posit that genuine UN engagement with issues such as decolonizing the people of the **Western Sahara** seeking an independent state since withdrawal of the colonizing power Spain in 1974, has been thwarted by Moroccan geopolitics with the support of its allies. This is due to Moroccan military occupation and war, policies facilitating progressive implantation of Moroccan citizens there, blocking refugees from returning home from camps in Algeria, and the tactical delaying of UN-recommended referenda concerning self-determination and possible independence in the resource rich Western Sahara. Since 1991 the UN Resolution 690 was accepted in accordance with settlement proposals accepted in 1988 by Morocco and the POLISARIO representing the Western Saharans. **Some 87 states, the UNGA, and majorities in the Non-Aligned Movement, African Union, and EU support the right of self-determination for the Saharawi**. However, of these, 40 states do not officially recognize the Sahrawi Republic; while 37 states recognize the Sahrawi

⁵⁶To read more: <http://www.un.org/en/members/growth.shtml>.

⁵⁷To read more: <http://www.juancole.com/2015/04/worlds-recognize-palestine.html>.

Republic; and 43 states support Moroccan claims on Western Sahara, but do not recognize its sovereignty over it. Morocco maintains close economic and political links with the USA, France and more recently China. Here there are echoes of the lack of genuine UN engagement in protecting the population concerned, on the part of powerful states and especially the Security Council. This was also witnessed regarding the **Indonesian occupation of East Timor** and exploitation of its resources, when colonial power Portugal withdrew in 1975, which ultimately led to humanitarian crises until 1999 when the UN intervened, preparing the way for national independence in 2002.

9.7.7 Not Realistic, Too Utopian

Here detractors of the R2P argue that the authority, political will, capacity and financing of humanitarian action and the R2P is basically not feasible, whatever the ethical or moral stance a state may take regarding humanitarian action and the R2P. The authority of the UN has been challenged on many occasions and especially in the past 20 years regarding humanitarian action, not only by states such as Sudan, Indonesia and Myanmar to name but a few, but by warlords, drug cartels, and terrorist groups including Daesh and al-Shabab.

Due to the vested strategies of UN member states and especially the Security Council and veto powers that have been used on too many occasions delaying or blocking action in emergencies, this has detracted from the **UN's credibility, and hence the need for urgent reform**. Besides having the political will or not at the UN to inform, to act, to prevent, to react, and to rebuild; electorates and NGOs worldwide also have to have the **political will** to act and lobby, and contribute **financially** via their taxes and donations to finance the R2P.

The UN is an organization, and not a state with standing armed forces and police services, nor the power of direct taxation of citizens, and so depends on agreed financial contributions of states, and the state volunteering of personnel, military and police forces by its member states in order to function and carry out humanitarian operations, and also close cooperation with voluntary groups and NGOs.

9.7.8 Remarks on the UN and Multilateralism

Despite all its limitations and some failures, the UN **remains a cornerstone of the international system and multilateralism** premised on the standpoint that this will help to curtail the aggressive behaviour or hawk-like strategies of many state policies and actions that may try to hide behind the much abused concept of national interest and sovereignty. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) more or less has the same role and mechanisms today as when it was created in 1945 when it

was established to prevent inter-state war. Historically, and especially among UN General Assembly members, this has been interpreted to mean peace between states. However, **since the 1990s, there were more internal than interstate conflicts.** A majority of states wish **reform of the UN** in order to reflect the state and people-centred realities of the 21st century and not those of the last century.

As well as the **UNSC having 15 members including the five permanent countries with veto powers, and 10 non-permanent members**, the UNGA elects the latter states for a period of two years. The 10 non-permanent members have a geographic distribution—5 from Asia and Africa, 2 from Latin America—Caribbean region, 2 from Western Europe and one from Eastern Europe. The UNSCs Charter mandate is to maintain international peace and security, and its decisions are binding on all UN member states, however many states in the Global South argue that UNSC power is too concentrated in northern hands.

The historic UNSC approval of the liberation of Kuwait with war on Iraq (1990–91) took place in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War (1946–1989) and in conformity with the UN Charter concerning interstate conflict and annexation-invasion of a neighbouring state i.e. the sovereignty principle. The almost universal agreement among UN members (SC and GA) led to a certain euphoria and great hopes for the future as was witnessed by the UN ‘can do approach’ and collegiate sense of responsibility, but this was largely foiled due to UN experiences in Somalia (1991), Rwanda (1994) (both internal conflicts) and Bosnia (1994–95)—technically an internal FR Yugoslav dispute. In Bosnia as in the other Yugoslav wars, the UNSC persisted in treating the conflicts as being internal, thus rendering fleeing populations legally Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) rather than refugees who cross international borders.

Though the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan as well as other prominent politicians and NGOs used the word genocide in the early days of the Rwandan emergency (1994), the UNSC didn’t, and so avoided the UN’s legal obligation of taking action against genocide as catered for in the UN Convention of 1948—**Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UN Resolution 260 (III))**.

The UNSC, like national governments is aware of the pitfalls of military deployment where realist strategy includes costs, an exit date, and exit plan. The states with capacity to deliver in Rwanda, such as France and the US were not willing to become embroiled, and the UN withdrew its forces. Despite the mounting evidence against the government of Myanmar in its ethnic cleansing and genocidal actions regarding the Rohingya population in Rakhine state in 2017–18, the low level response of the UNSC has been comparatively muted, and the regime in Myanmar has shown little fear of UN armed intervention in the name of the R2P. The Myanmar authorities are aware that it is very unlikely that UNSC veto-powers China and Russia would back such an operation. Due to this ‘wait and see’ experience, there is a major danger, that the Myanmar government may intensify its historic policies of suppression of the populations in Kachin and Shan states also.⁵⁸

⁵⁸Global Centre for the R2P. Burma. http://www.global2p.org/regions/myanmar_burma.

The issue of **failed states** and their implosion was not catered for as such in the UN Charter, except via the interpretation that it could destabilize international security in neighbouring countries. This was challenged by the 1988 UNGA resolution 43/131 regarding humanitarian assistance being sent across international boundaries without the consent of the host state. Endangered populations were not being protected and, or being abused by their own sovereign governments. Evidently such regimes would not consent to foreign intervention. However, **UNGA resolutions are not binding** and do not really have the force of international law.

Nonetheless, such perspectives concerning humanitarian action advanced by either the national ambassadors to the UN or NGOs have become interlinked in the processes of globalization and live news. **Viewers throughout the world witness live all forms of complex humanitarian disaster and expect the UN to act**, while voters in democracies expect their national governments to react or ‘do something quickly’. Yet voters in democracies are also aware of the loss of ‘their own troops and personnel’ in dangerous zones, a significant factor in US and UK domestic elections as with operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Military personnel on UN missions, IFRCC staff, NGO humanitarian workers and journalists are increasingly being targeted in conflict zones. As well as the ‘home casualties’, voters are somewhat aware of the financial costs for such humanitarian operations. This can conflict with national budget demands on areas including social services in the donor states and may also influence voting patterns. In real politick on the global stage, national governments make the decisions, rather than an ideal supra-national UN government. Hence national politicians with a national vision and often with an eye on future elections constitute a kaleidoscopic UN worldview. In other words, the world is a sum of national political perspectives that does not constitute a coherent world agenda.

Public consciousness of such political ambiguity has been heightened on several occasions by the work of such advocates as Bono and Bob Geldof, in the famine disasters of the 1980s, and MDG-SDG campaigners in the 21st century. UN agencies promote humanitarian issues through designated ambassadors and messengers include stars ranging from Angelina Jolie, to Emma Watson, Brad Pitt, Liam Neeson, Nicole Kidman, Sania Mirza, Gabriel Byrne, and Pierce Brosnan, and sports celebrities such as David Beckham, Salima Souakri and Rory McIlroy, and popstars including Shakira.

Even accepting the fact that each humanitarian crisis is unique, the UN mandate remains to act. Obviously, regional governments feel more concerned when there is an emergency in an adjoining state as has been witnessed in the Balkans and Africa’s Great Lake Region since the 1990s. Yet there is always the danger of tribalizing responses so to speak, whether in the Balkans, Eurasia or Africa, if the UN R2P is handed over almost exclusively to inter-state regional associations. For the UN to be effective, reform is necessary and to serve the interests of the global community rather than the narrower self-interests of powerful states, and also the political will to act in concert when necessary.

9.8 Peacebuilding and Post-conflict Recovery

According to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, **experience** in recent years, along with the work carried out on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principles including **to prevent, to react, and to rebuild**, this has led the UN to focus as never before on **peacebuilding—efforts to reduce a country’s risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development**. Aiming to achieve this, UN Activities include **monitoring ceasefires; demobilizing and reintegrating combatants; assisting the return of refugees and displaced persons; helping organize and monitor elections of a new government; supporting justice and security sector reform; enhancing human rights protections and fostering reconciliation after past atrocities**.⁵⁹

The root causes of the problems that led to conflict and war in the first place must be tackled if the peace and development are to be long lasting and sustainable. Despite similarities in post conflict locations and situations, each of them have their respective characteristics and narratives. Nonetheless, the experiences and comparative work help researchers and practioners to develop models and typologies as in the following: Post conflict typology: post-conflict societies, and enabling conditions and obstacles.⁶⁰

Post-conflict typology:

- Cessation of hostilities and violence
- Signing of political/peace agreements
- Demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration
- Refugee repatriation
- Establishing a functioning state
- Achieving reconciliation and societal integration economic recovery.

Post-conflict societies:

- Level of development and prevailing opportunities
- Presence of significant natural resources
- Horizontal inequalities in socio-economic dimensions.

Enabling conditions and obstacles:

- Security situation
- International commitments
- Capacity of the state to deliver services
- Political inclusivity of the state.

⁵⁹United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNSC), Peacebuilding and Post-Conflict Recovery. <http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/about/peacebuilding.shtml>; Wilson Center (2017).

⁶⁰To read more: <https://soc.kuleuven.be/web/files/12/80/wp01.pdf>.

Such challenges are faced by many so called post-conflict countries, societies and the international community, and **span all continents** including: **Africa**—Angola, Burundi, Chad, Congo, Congo-Brazzaville, Cote d’Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. **Southeast Asia**—Cambodia, Indonesia (Aceh), Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Timor Leste. **Asia**—Afghanistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Tajikistan. **Americas**: Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and Nicaragua. **Europe**—Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo. **Caucasus**—Azerbaijan and Georgia. **MENA**—Lebanon, Iraq, and in the future Libya, Syria, Yemen, Israel and Palestine.

9.9 Peace Processes

A peace process may be defined as a series of actions or steps taken in order to achieve a particular end and takes place over a period of time which can last many years. The official date agreed for a ceasefire may be regarded as an event and be commemorated at a future date in future history, but the processes of getting there to the objective of a sustainable non-violent society takes much work and time. Just because armed violence has officially ended, doesn’t mean that the conflict is completely over. **The majority of ceasefires fall back into armed conflict at different levels.** But the ceasefire itself sets in train a series of processes that give rise to other events. Diplomat Harold Saunders defines peace processes as: “a political process in which conflicts are resolved by peaceful means... They are a mixture of politics, diplomacy, changing relationships, negotiation, mediation, and dialogue in both official and unofficial arenas.”⁶¹

In the shadow of large-scale conflicts such as those in Somalia, Darfur and eastern DRC, and the international peace processes that have attempted to resolve these conflicts, Africa has a rich experience of local, indigenous peace-making that is seldom reported in Western media. These peace processes usually revolve around consensus-making, truth-telling and restorative justice—a system of criminal justice which focuses on the rehabilitation of offenders through reconciliation with victims and the community at large, and have a strong focus on rebuilding community relationships. Oftentimes traditional authorities, such as chiefs or elders, lead these

⁶¹Saunders (2001).

What is PEACE EDUCATION? What does PEACE EDUCATION mean? PEACE EDUCATION meaning and explanation. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFc2s66JV0E>.

UN envoy stresses need to revitalize South Sudan’s peace process. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XtILORD9yyg>.

What Role Does Sport Play in Peace Process? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kLe3r7NVR4A>.

Said (1996).

processes and serve as mediators. There are also many examples of civil society groups and NGOs playing important roles in such local peace processes.⁶²

9.9.1 *Truth and Reconciliation*

A truth and reconciliation commission (TRC) is a group of people entrusted by government or other official bodies with authority to investigate and reveal past wrongdoings by a government, its institutions or agencies; but also non-state actors such as paramilitary groups, and rebels, in the hope of resolving conflict and legacy issues left over from the conflict. These TRCs exist under various names, occasionally set up by states emerging from periods of internal unrest, civil war or dictatorship. Their brief may include disputed interpretations of tragic events ranging from murder and torture to bombings, and state ‘official reports’, or collusion of state employees, police or armed forces—secret or illegal cooperation or conspiracy in order to deceive others and cover-ups, as well getting information on the circumstances of death and burial location of the ‘disappeared’. In the Western media in recent decades, the Peace Processes that have received major attention are the narratives in South Africa, Northern Ireland and Colombia.⁶³

9.10 Conclusions

While it is a truism to state that national and international collaboration, organization and regulation are imperative for an **international rule of law and its enforcement**, in order to attenuate and avoid human-made disasters including conflict and war, unfortunately much greater advancement is needed in this area. With **globalization and internationalization** there has been increasing flows of trade, finance, people, ideas, culture and ideologies, over ever increasing geographical areas spearheaded

⁶²See: <http://peacemonitor.org/?p=134>.

See: Working together for peace—<http://www.c-r.org/issue/dialogue?page=1>.

Here several Peace Processes are presented: <http://www.c-r.org/accord/engaging-armed-groups-insight/northern-ireland-punishment-restorative-justice-northern> and <http://www.c-r.org/accord-article/key-points-belfast-agreement-1999>.

South Africa Peace Process: <http://www.c-r.org/accord/public-participation/south-africa-s-negotiated-transition-context-analysis-and-evaluation>.

Colombia: <http://www.c-r.org/search/node/colombia%20farc>.

Dealing with history and the past. Experiences of transitional justice, truth and reconciliation processes after periods of violence in Africa: <http://www.c-r.org/resources/dealing-past-experiences-transitional-justice-truth-and-reconciliation-processes-after>.

Northern Ireland: Dealing with the past—<http://www.amnesty.org.uk/dealing-past#.VfLBO9JVikp> and http://www.amnesty.org.uk/sites/default/files/time_to_deal_with_the_past_0.pdf.

⁶³Langmore et al. (2017).

firstly by the European imperial powers and followed with the rise of the USA to global power status after its **geopolitical experiences of WWI and WWII, and the waves of decolonization.**

Between 1944–99, there was the creation and multiplication of regulatory institutions such as the United Nations Organization and its agencies, and the World Bank and IMF, facilitating the second major wave of decolonization and entrance on the global stage of the former colonies or NICs. US President Truman’s address to the UN in 1949 setting out a universal dream: to assist people around the world struggling for freedom and human rights; to continue programs for world economic recovery; to strengthen international organizations; and to draw on the expertise of the USA to help people across the world help themselves in the struggle against ignorance, illness and despair.

This US leadership role set the context for the formation and growth of INGOs at national and international scales, and especially NGOs from the 1970s on. This attempt at better governance and a more humane world were thwarted by the Cold War dynamics, and evolving geopolitics of individual states, and former colonial land and sea powers, and emerging new and **Super Powers competing, along with the constant struggle for the balancing of fears and power. This was reflected in the power structure of the UN and in particular, the Security Council—Permanent Five members with veto powers, eventually becoming outdated due to the geopolitical realities with the increasing number of states in the world.** With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and dynamics for the reconfiguration of power, there was much hope for a greater shift from state-centric to people-centric humanitarian law as in the **UN Responsibility to Protect principle and creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC).**

With the ever-increasing powers of **World Bank and IMF** policies promoting neoliberal agenda, along with multilateralism, and a certain IGO sclerosis at global scales, in an increasingly **hyper-globalizing environment, the economic and development gaps between countries and within states became ever greater.** The need for change was clearly recognized in the MDG-SDGs, largely driven by NGO lobbying and demands of people for their human security. **The distance between those IGOs responsible for global regulation and national governments, and people on the ground increased, fuelling not only conflict over material resources, but existentialist crises, with a defining landmark being the 9/11 Jihadi attacks on the USA and subsequently other areas of the world leading to the so called War on Terror.**

The intermix of development challenges and vulnerabilities, poverty in contrast to mega-wealth, respective geopolitics of states and non-state legal performers, and illegal actors has rendered the task of humanitarian organizations and workers even greater. **There is no turning back the clock on the digital revolution and economic globalization, which by its very nature entails other facets of globalization including migration.** Differing and conflictual perspectives on this have been witnessed by electorates in the democracies in the EU, UK and USA especially since 2016, and in territories where actors are trying to manage humanitarian crises and disasters.

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Part IV
Conclusions and Further Learning

Chapter 10

Conclusions



Abstract In Part 1, geopolitics emphasizes territory, power, time, place and space regarding conflict and its resolution in geographical contexts. Concepts surrounding territoriality, resource control, defence and identity are assessed where the state continues to act as the framework for the UN and humanitarian law, despite globalizations. Defining and positively channelling nationalism remains challenging while territorialisation quests continue on planet earth, but also in outer space and possible future cyberwars. Conflict entails material and existential variables including Utopias, religion, development and democracy. The Democracy and UN HDI indices, shows strong correlations between conflict, crises and coping capacities. Kernel to development objectives are justice, human rights, endowment, entitlement and peace-building. Multiple causes exist for regional conflicts that can become radicalized. For sustainable development, planning with good governance supporting good citizenship is imperative, interconnecting central to local government and wider scales. In Part 2, humanitarian action and development contexts are appraised. Contexts, events and processes are core to global geopolitical orders and attempts at international governance, with humanitarian NGOs promoting action based on impartiality, neutrality and independence. The UN Responsibility to Protect has made progress in shifting the focus of international law to a more people-centred approach, keeping in mind hazards and risks. The impact of any disaster is proportional to the population's vulnerability levels and responses include multiple stakeholders aiming to support sustainable development. But the triad—food, power and hunger remains embedded in political-economy. A back to basics approach, encompassing food and health, money and work, environment and good governance must be kept to the forefront as attempted in the Sustainable Development Goals (2016–2030). In Part 3, the nexus between geopolitics, international organization and humanitarianism is appraised. This needs to be interpreted within the realpolitik of the global geopolitical environment of 1945, and original architecture of the UN—General Assembly and Security Council, with the latter including the five WWII victors holding veto powers, and effects of this during the Cold War (1947–91). Yet, humanitarian breakthroughs came with the Geneva Conventions, R2P and International Criminal Court. From the 55 original UN member states in 1945, this increased to 193 by 2011, and reforms in UN power structures urgently need to reflect this. Such is particularly evident in disjuncture between UN ideals and capacity to deliver, in contrast to the realpolitik being played

out in Ukraine and Crimea (2014 on), Syria (2015 on), Yemen (2015 on), DRC and Myanmar. UN agencies play a foremost role in humanitarian action, but the key players are NGOs and IFRC. Other significant examples of inter-governmental organizations include the Council of Europe, Europe Union, Organization of American States, African Union, Arab League and Organization of Islamic Cooperation. For the present, multilateralism remains the best deterrent to unbridled unilateral state action and its inherent dangers.

Keywords Geopolitics · Development · International organisations

In **Part 1** of this book, frameworks for studying geopolitics and conflict were interpreted emphasizing **territory and power, and the centrality of time, place and space** to any analysis of conflict and peace-building, and importance of the physical and human geographies in this for the geopolitical phenomena in **humanitarian crises and disasters**. **Territoriality** remains a key concept **linked to resource control, defence and identity**, where the **state and nation** continue to act as the framework for the UN, multilateralism and international law, despite globalization and changing expressions of political economy and geopolitics. Nonetheless, defining and channelling **nationalism** and its variable expressions remains a challenge in the shifting world order context and its constant reinventions. The **territorialisation quest continues not only on planet earth in real and virtual terms, but also in outer space**, continuing to intensify with China becoming the third outer space power after the USA and Russia. The **nexus between the outer space and cyber industries**, and military-tech and intelligence sectors has led to much speculation about future **cyberwars**.

Conflict entails material and the more nebulous existential variables, with the former being easier to identify. The **material substantial or quantifiable** includes economic and power variables, such as water, energy and mineral resources, fertile land, geostrategic competition, and zones of influence. Often more difficult to discern are the **non-material factors or existential**, the fruit of the imagination and utopian ideals. These variables are much less quantifiable but greatly impact on evolving conflicts and geopolitics, and include ideals, real and abstract grievances, and re-imagined golden ages.

Democracy itself may be classified as a **utopian ideal** with a long history, and various expressions feeding into the architecture of the 21st century global order and intergovernmental institutions. Hence political concepts and rankings regarding democracy remain markers in the **quest for peace and a better life**. However, democracy remains a contested ideal in many parts of the world, and of course its linkage to development issues and political economy. Nonetheless, the ranking of **countries in the Democracy Index and UN HDI indices, shows strong correlations regarding violent conflict and humanitarian crises and capacity to cope**.

Kernel to concepts of **justice, democracy, development and peace-building are endowment and entitlement concerns**, along with **action—context, structure and power** in humanitarian spaces. Hence the **human rights and democratisation dis-**

courses. These have to be juxtaposed with explicit and less overt **ideologies**, as well as religion, and fundamentalisms. Balancing **centripetal and centrifugal forces with ideals in democracies** has necessitated **mechanisms for attempting to resolve conflicts** turning into violence or degenerating into war as seen in democracies such as the UK vis-à-vis the Scottish National Party, and Northern Ireland since 1998. Similarly, Spain concerning the Catalonian independence movement, especially since 2017, in contrast to policies historically followed in the Basque country. Democratic states have elaborated various political mechanisms to cope with regional nationalisms as in power-sharing structures, with devolved government in Northern Ireland, guaranteed by the Good Friday Agreement (1998), and the evolving situations regarding the UK state and Scotland.

In its transition to democracy, since the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, Russia has faced major issues at the level of the state—top-down, but equally challenging has been the task of sectoral groups and individual citizens to adapt their spaces and voices to the emergent democracy in the Russian Federation. **States attempting moves towards democracy**, and encouraged to do so by the mature democracies, have faced vital concerns as with Kenya and Zimbabwe over the past decade. Despite results in ‘democratic elections’ as exemplified by Algeria in 1991, when parties with Islamist agenda won the elections, posing a major threat to many sections of Algerian society including women, and not only the ruling FLN party and military elite, but also having serious implications for regional and extra-regional states. Hence, states ranging from neighbouring Tunisia and Morocco to the EU, and especially France with a large population of Algerian origin, and the USA, were not eager to support the ‘democratically elected’ Islamists. Iterations of this have been witnessed in Egypt regarding ‘democratic elections’ over the past decade. Nonetheless, Tunisia’s positive transition to multi-party democracy since 2011, stands in sharp contrast to the experiences of Libyan citizens since the authoritarian Gaddafi regime was brought down in 2011 with the support of a UN approved coalition acting on the Responsibility to Protect Principle (R2P). The initial coalition consisted of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, Qatar, Spain, UK and US was expanded to 19 states including the UAE. Several competing alliances of Libyan groups have been struggling for control of the states, with strong regional hostilities between the Tripoli and Benghazi regions.

Multiple causes exist for regional conflicts, that can become radicalized fuelling regionalist and nationalist campaigns. For sustainable development, successful regional planning with good governance supporting good citizenship is imperative, interconnecting central to local government.

In **Part 2**, humanitarian action and development contexts are explored, starting with the different **phases in the history of international humanitarian law** as it has developed from the 19th century on. Here, **geopolitical contexts, events and processes** are all important as witnessed by the patterns of violent conflict and war with the extremes being WWI and WWII, followed by **new geopolitical orders and greater attempts at multilateralism and international governance**, with civil society and NGOs following the historic landmark lead of the Red Cross founded in 1863, with its **principles of humanitarianism, impartiality, neutrality and inde-**

pendence. Since the 1990s, and especially with the **R2P** (Responsibility to Protect principle), there has been increased progress in shifting the focus of international humanitarian law from being over **state-centric, to a more people-centered law.**

In all **humanitarian crises and disasters, the development levels and geographical contexts** have to be considered, whatever the categories of disasters, and associated **hazards, the vulnerability and risks** remain central. The level of impact of any humanitarian disaster is proportional to the level of vulnerability of the population concerned and **poverty** remains the key factor here. Responses to humanitarian disasters include **multiple actors or stakeholders.** The humanitarian crisis or disaster has to be interpreted as a **disruption in the development process,** and not an end point. Development cannot be conceived of as starting with a *tabula rasa* and hence the importance of the sustainable development framework in planning; despite the fact that humanitarian crises contribute to underdevelopment. Humanitarian action must be construed as coping with the emergency, but also working in such a manner so as to support sustainable development, once the emergency teams have left the affected area.

In this context the triad—**food, power and hunger**—this epitomizes the necessity for a sustainable development approach, as with famine and learning lessons from the past. Here patterns of global malnourishment help provide indicators of **vulnerability and early warning.** From this perspective, **women** play a vital role in food production in the NICs, that goes beyond cultural and gender discourses, being embedded in political-economy and poverty at local and national scales, but interlinked with globalizing economic variables. Significantly, there are key factors linking human vulnerability and risk of humanitarian disaster in many **post-colonial states, having experienced imperialism and colonialism,** and the **legacies.**

Regarding debates and strategies around development and associated ideals, people doing studies or research in this sphere, like many of those working in the sector, are confronted with a **myriad of interconnected anxieties, approaches, methodologies, reports, organizations and data.** Getting balances between holistic perspectives, and also dealing with a specific aspect or product in development, as in humanitarian predicaments, can lead to much frustration, and a feeling of not being able **to see the wood from the trees.** This has led to calls on many occasions for a **back to basics approach,** encompassing food and health, money and work, environment and good governance at local, national and global scales, with **empowerment being implicit in the discourse along with a human rights approach to development.** Attempts to bridge rational tensions in the development discourses are found in the architecture and policies of the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals 2000–2015) and the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals 2016–2030).

In **Part 3, the humanitarian action and development relationship** is explored embedded within the **nexus of geopolitics and international organization,** juxtaposing historical and present perspectives. This includes the positive outcomes of the **United Nations Organization (UN)** since 1945 as a **major humanitarian player,** but we cannot ignore its failures and limitations, in contrast to the ideals propounded when it was founded. The five UN agencies with humanitarian mandates include the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (**UNHCR**), World Food

Programme (**WFP**), UN Children's Fund (**UNICEF**), UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (**UNRWA**) and World Health Organization (**WHO**).

Nevertheless, this must be understood within the **realpolitik of the global geopolitical environment** of 1945, and original architecture of the UN—General Assembly and Security Council, with the latter including the five major victors of the Second World War (1939–45) holding crucial **veto powers and permanent seats on the Security Council**. US and Russia/USSR Superpower competition engendered the Cold War (1947–91), with ensuing spatial and ideological consequences; while in 1971, the People's Republic of China replaced the Republic of China (Taiwan) in the UN (1945–1971) gaining a permanent seat on the UNSC in recognition of being an ally of the victors in WWII.

From the 55 original number of **UN member states** in 1945, this inter-governmental organization had grown to 166 member states by 1991, and with the demise of the Soviet Union, to **179 by 1992**, with the vast majority of these NICs being former colonies. The **Non-Aligned Movement** founded in 1956 by the regimes in Yugoslavia, India, Indonesia, Egypt and Ghana attempted to counteract the dominance of the Superpowers, and establish a politico-military independent voice for the former colonies, but with varying degrees of success; today it numbers 120 countries.¹

Calls for reforms of UN power structures, especially since the 1990s, and particularly regarding the **UN Security Council** and position of the **Permanent Five Veto holders** have been numerous. Essentially, arguments are made that the power architecture of the UN in 1945, despite some minor changes, are **no longer fit for purpose**, some seven decades later. This is particularly evident in the **disjuncture between UN ideals and capacity to deliver**, in contrast to the **realpolitik being played out in Ukraine and Crimea (2014 on), Syria (2015 on), and Yemen (2015 on)**.

As witnessed in the historical continuum of the League of Nations and UN, in the creation of international organizations and institutions, there is an **imperative for international cooperation and governance to promote development; to limit, mitigate and counteract conflict and war**. The struggle being to establish agreement and **the rule of law** and its application, alongside the standpoints of realpolitik at regional scales. Here highly significant inter-governmental organizations include the Council of Europe, and the Europe Union that is responsible for **ECHO**—European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations, and another Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development. The development geopolitics and geo-economic nexus is epitomized in the creation of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (**OECD**) in 1961. Other examples of the spatial-power nexus include the North American Free Trade Agreement (**NAFTA**), Organization of American States (**OAS**), African Union (**AU**), Arab League (**AL**) and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (**OIC**).

¹The non-Aligned Movement. <http://namiran.org/>.

Regarding the progress of international **humanitarian law** in the **geopolitical mosaic**, major breakthroughs came with the **Geneva Conventions, and International Criminal Court (ICC)** complementing the more recent UN Responsibility to Protect (**R2P**) actions: to prevent, to react, and to rebuild in humanitarian crisis and disaster situations. Major arguments supporting the R2P principle include that it is already catered for in the UN Charter, Chaps. 6, 7 and 8, and that it can act as a deterrent to human-made humanitarian crises and disasters.

Alongside the prominent arguments for the R2P, the criticisms of it reiterate that it is a violation of national sovereignty as specified in the UN Charter Chap. 2. Here, the state-centric perspective reiterates the power of the state in the historical evolution of statehood and concepts of sovereignty, fearing a diminution in its power or being directly controlled by outside states. Other noteworthy reproaches argue that there are double standards being witnessed regarding calls for, or implementation of, the R2P in selected countries and people; examples here include the Rohingya condition in Myanmar since 2017, and approaches to the Libyan crisis since 2011 and that of the Palestinians, and people of the Western Sahara. **Abuse of interpretation of the R2P** remains a constant danger in vindicating military action, as witnessed with the post-event rationalization proposed regarding the US-UK led coalition invasion of Iraq in 2003, and that of Russia in the conflicts around South Ossetia (2008), and Crimea and South-eastern Ukraine (2014 on), where there was a noticeable tendency to refocus R2P-related arguments in support of Russia's own actions.

The foundational **stance of IFRC** (International Federation of the Red Cross—Red Crescent Societies) concerning the **humanitarian imperative**, with independence, neutrality, and impartiality has acted as a guiding framework for not only other humanitarian NGOs, but the work of the Red Cross influencing international law and becoming embedded in the global geopolitical architecture, as was formally recognized when it was officially granted Observer Status at the UN in 1990. Critics of the R2P argue that the work of humanitarian organizations is being undermined in the perceptions and actions of populations, where there is synergy between foreign armed forces and humanitarian NGOs collaborating under the auspices of the R2P. Detractors of the R2P contend that it is too Utopian not only for application in the field, but also due to the structure of the UN itself and getting the emergency R2P response passed through the Security Council on a case by case basis and the time involved, as well as getting the 'voluntary' forces and financing needed by the UN to implement the actions necessary.

Even so, whatever the shortcomings of the UN system and R2P, the principle of **multilateralism** remains as a deterrent to **unbridled unilateral action and its inherent dangers** regarding conflict. Like the UN, inter-regional organizations endorse inter-state action promoting peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery, as evidenced in the increasing number of peace processes over the past 25 years, and approaches to such with truth and reconciliation strategies, in order to avoid falling back into conflict and war.

Chapter 11

Reflection: Autonomous Learning, Activities and Questions



Abstract Individual autonomous and group learning is encouraged helping the reader to reflect on the ideas and themes that have been covered. The reader can dip in and out of the different activities covered in Parts 1, 2 and 3 of *Aligning geopolitics, humanitarian action and geography in times of conflict*.

Keywords Autonomous · Group · Learning · Reflect · Ideas · Themes · Activities

Individual autonomous and group learning is encouraged helping the reader to reflect on the ideas and themes that have been covered. The reader can dip in and out of the different activities suggested below.

11.1 Part 1 Conflict and Power

11.1.1 Theme: Geopolitics

Here the main purpose is to reflect and engage further with the concepts and skills regarding geopolitics, power and conflict.

Activity 1. What is geopolitics?

To answer this, **draw a mind map** i.e. a diagram with key words, representing the **central idea—geopolitics**—placed in the middle, and the **associated ideas** arranged around it. Then summarize this into one paragraph.

Activity 2. What is the main conflict in your own local, or home area?

Reflection exercise for individuals and groups: The aim here is to gain geographical and political insights from different perspectives into the conflict issue that you may be close to at a lived local scale.

Reflect on issues of possible conflict in **your local, or home area**. The objective is to **brainstorm** in a tangible way how political issues at local community geographical scales can **interact**, and with wider scales, **interconnecting** with the national territory, and possibly beyond that.

From brainstorming the issues being talked about or experienced in your area, do a **clustering exercise of the key words**, and then choose your topic. Such **topics** may include contested issues regarding planning permission, local services, pollution or environment, anti-social behaviour and drug abuse, migration or emigration, refugees, unemployment, corruption, and especially people and communities feeling—alienated or powerless, to cope with accelerated changes in their environment. Then regarding your chosen topic: (a) ask **five pertinent questions**, in order to make more sense of the chosen issue: what, where, why, who, what **possible solutions and actors**. (b) Draw a **diagram of top-down** stakeholders or institutions with ‘official power’ i.e. financed and controlled by the state, and also local government, and inter-state bodies. Then do similar for **bottom-up stakeholders**—non-state actors and voluntary sectors including NGOs, resident’s association and so forth. (c) Then **categorize** the stakeholders and decide what **primary and secondary research sources** you **would use** to analyse this problematic story further. The purpose of this for you is to be aware and explore the different aspects of the problem and to find out what may be missing in the arguments and narratives at present, and especially where possible solutions and responsibilities lie. Now **summarize** your research, **under short headings** (word count, about 600 words).

Primary and Secondary Research Sources¹

Primary research sources provide direct or first-hand evidence regarding a phenomenon, place, event, or person(s). This information comes from the researchers’ own observations and measurements collected in the field; collection of both qualitative (e.g. interviews, questionnaires) and quantitative (e.g. mathematically or statistically quantifiable) primary information. The type of information collected should be determined by the aim and fieldwork question. Quantitative information is collected through measurement and may be processed using statistical and other techniques. Qualitative information is collected through observation or subjective judgment and does not necessarily involve measurement. Qualitative information may be processed or quantified where appropriate, or it may be presented through images or text including direct interview material. The nature of qualitative data should provide sufficient information for analysis and conclusions. A secondary research source of data involves gathering information that has already been compiled in written, statistical or mapped forms e.g. scholarly books and articles, historical documents and records, census data, newspapers, web searches.

¹FHSS Research Support Centre. Data Types and Sources. <https://sites.google.com/site/geographyfais/fieldwork/data-collection/types-of-data>.

Activity 3.

Analyse **physical geography or topographical maps**—including google earth and google street maps—of the Israel and Palestine area, and then juxtapose these with **political maps** of the region. Make a list of the **five main points** regarding issues of territorialisation and conflict with particular reference to the West Bank and Gaza. Now do the same for India and Pakistan with emphasis on the disputed Kashmir region. **Compare and contrast your findings.**

11.1.2 Thematic Revision Questions

1. Appraise the centrality of physical and human geographical factors in any humanitarian crisis or disaster situation.
2. Evaluate the main contemporary geopolitical schools of thought regarding conflict and how to reduce, mitigate or manage it.
3. Assess the concept of territoriality in geopolitical thinking.
4. Assess the concept of time in geopolitical thinking.
5. Assess the key functions of the state in the 21st century.
6. Appraise the relevance of the nation-state model in the contemporary world.

11.1.3 Theme: The Causes of Conflict

Activity 1.

Reflect on the typology of material and existential categories for conflict. Research and draw a mind map for one country in Africa and one in Asia that is currently in crisis or conflict, with the risk of humanitarian disaster. Then write up a 250-word brief report for each country illustrating the geopolitical attributes. In your conclusions, compare and contrast your findings.

Activity 2.

At the **Movies**: Reflection on how cinema can impact on the perceptions we may have of humanitarian action and on how the movies can frame other places and societies.

Reflection: Movies and docu-films regarding humanitarian action and geopolitical themes can stimulate discussion and debate, offering insights and influencing attitudes. Analyse the following movies. Note that about two pages is sufficient, listing out the salient ideas in bullet point form. For contrastive purposes, you may wish to see similar films in this humanitarian genre from the perspective of risk and humanitarian disaster.

Films such as **Blood Diamonds** (2006, directed by Edward Zwick) set during the Sierra Leone Civil War (1996–2001) give sharp insights into the complexities

of humanitarian crises—underdevelopment, resource control, power, poverty and money. Similar issues are found in such countries as Angola, Cote d’Ivoire, DRC and Myanmar. Major themes include child soldiers, how non-ethical dirty trade drives and finances conflict and war in the international system, warlords and militias, and the weakness of the state. But also that there is hope, as with NGO pressure on industry and government for the respect of human rights and product traceability so as to regulate for ethical trade.

The multifaceted political inter-linkages of poverty, power, human rights, ethnicity, genocide and international responses and geopolitics is illustrated in such movies as **Hotel Rwanda** (2004, directed by Terry George) dealing with the Rwanda Genocide which took place during a 100 days in 1994 when 500,000–1,000,000 Rwandans were slaughtered. Major themes include inter-ethnic Hutu-Tutsi conflict in the NIC of Rwanda, poverty and competition for land resources, international law, the UN Responsibility to Protect and reality on the ground.²

Black Hawk Down (2001, directed by Ridley Scott) deals with the 1993 famine and civil war that gripped the failed state of Somalia, resulting in over 300,000 civilian deaths and a major UN peacekeeping operation going wrong due to the activities of the local warlords, and the collapsed state that fell further into being dysfunctional with all the negative consequences for its population and the regional states and international community.

Further viewing:

The Killing Fields (1984): British biographical drama film about the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia, which is based on the experiences of two journalists.

First They Killed My Father (2017): biographical historical thriller film directed by Angelina Jolie and written by Jolie and Loung Ung, based on Ung’s memoir of the same name. Set in 1975, the film depicts 5-year-old Ung who is forced to be trained as a child soldier while her siblings are sent to labour camps during the era of the Khmer Rouge atrocities.

The Lady (2011) is a French-British biographical film directed by Luc Besson, about Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Aung San Suu Kyi, and her struggle for democracy in Myanmar in the face of the ruling military regime.

Lord of War (2005), directed by Andrew Niccol. The toxic trade in arms and exploitation of poverty in the NICs is the central theme here highlighting warlords and militias, and the weakness of the state. The movie serves as a window onto the end of the Cold War and emergence of worldwide terrorism. The globetrotting illegal arms dealer sells his weapons of destruction to the highest bidder in conflict areas in the developing countries.

Beaufort (2007): Israeli war film directed by Joseph Cedar based on Ron Leshems’ novel of the same name about the Israeli Defence Forces occupation of southern Lebanon.

Green Zone (2010): Paul Greengrass’ critique on the US presence in Iraq.

²For a list of movies and documentaries about the Rwanda genocide—See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_films_about_the_Rwandan_Genocide.

Traffic (2000): Stephen Soderbergs' critique of the complex story of the illegal drugs trade between Mexico and the USA.

Incendies (2010): directed by Denis Villeneuve, is the saga of a family torn by the war in the Middle East.

Not Without My Daughter (1991), Director Brian Gilbert, depicts the escape of American citizen Betty Mahmoody and her daughter from Iran. The film has been criticized for its alleged (mis)representation of Iranian culture.

Captain Phillips (2013), directed by Paul Greengrass, tells the story of how in 2009 the US containership Maersk Alabama sails into the Indian Ocean, toward its destination. Somali pirates race toward the vessel and take everyone hostage. The pirates want millions of dollars in ransom, and Phillips must use his wits to save his crew and his ship.

Now add more movies and docu-films to your list, giving details.

11.2 Revision Questions

1. Evaluate the geopolitical factors regarding violent conflict or war in recent decades in two countries, in one of the following groups of regions: (a) MENA, (b) African Great Lakes region; or West Africa or the Sahel area, (c) Middle or South America, (d) Central Asia.
2. Explain the main methodology used for classifying conflict into material and non-material phenomena, and the nexus between these in complex emergencies.
3. Elucidate ways on how conflict can be resolved at different geographical scales.

11.3 Part 2 Humanitarian Action: Development Concepts

Here the aim is to elucidate the multi-layered interconnections between humanitarian action, development and geopolitics.

11.3.1 Theme: Development and the UN Human Development Index (HDI)

Activity 1

Take a country of your choice from the Low Human Development category of the UNDP HDI (most recent edition, available online), and analyse it regarding the level of development, humanitarian emergency and disaster, emphasizing the geopolitical aspects. Also reference physical and ecological geographical characteristics where appropriate.

Use the following steps in the research, production and delivery of your work

Step 1

Note that the research chronology for each **Step** is important, in the overall scheme and autonomous learning.

Reflecting on Demography³

The aim here is to explore basic demographic concepts and measures in order to assess the levels of vulnerability of populations that are affected by humanitarian crises. So the question must be asked: Why is an understanding of demography—including skills and techniques—central to development and humanitarian action.

In order to reflect on this, it is necessary to be familiar with Basic Demographic Measures. There are three fundamental mechanisms which influence populations and their structure: **births, deaths and migrations**. Typically, demographic variables are expressed as rates. A rate is a measure that reflects the frequency of an event (such as birth), relative to the population that may experience that event. Rates are useful because they allow us to make comparisons between different populations and because they can be compared across time to discover trends in a particular population and area.

Using UN sources, research and write out definitions for the following⁴:

- Measuring Fertility: The crude birth rate.
- Measuring Mortality: The crude death rate.
- Population Growth: Natural increase.
- Total Fertility Rate (TFR).
- Under-Five Mortality Rate (U5MR).
- Life Expectancy.

³See: UN DESA Population Division. World Population Prospects 2017. <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/General/GlossaryDemographicTerms.aspx>, PRB Population Reference Bureau. Glossary of Demographic Terms <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Lesson-Plans/Glossary.aspx>, McManus (2016).

⁴DESA Population Division. World Population Prospects 2017. <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/General/GlossaryDemographicTerms.aspx>.

Now, answer the following questions:

- (i) In Lesotho, the mid-2010 population was 1.9 million. The projected population in 2050 is also 1.9 million. Given that the total fertility rate in Lesotho is 3.2 and the birth rate exceeds the death rate, explain three likely reasons for this population estimate for 2050.
- (ii) Briefly explain which of the following indicators gives the broadest view of development levels, combining both social and economic aspects.
 - a. The Under-Five Mortality Rate (U5MR) that measures the number of children per thousand born that die before their fifth birthday.
 - b. The GNP (Gross National Product) per capita.
 - c. The GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita.
 - d. The Gini Index.
 - e. The UN HDI (Human Development Index).

Step 2

Google and search from reliable sources the five worst **natural humanitarian emergencies or disasters** in the past three years with at least five being from the Global South e.g. natural hazards: storms, floods, droughts and so forth; seismic hazards such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions; and environmental hazards: burden of diseases locally and globally—UN WHO (World Health Organization) maps give details for Ebola, cholera, malaria, sleeping sickness, dengue and so forth. In as far as possible, make sure that your five examples are varied.

Now do the same for **human-made humanitarian emergencies or disasters** such as civil wars in Syria and Yemen, instability in the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) or Venezuela, the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar and so forth. In as far as possible, make sure that your five examples are varied.

Now do the same for **technological humanitarian emergencies or disasters** where possible. This includes nuclear and radioactive accidents and incidents, toxic chemical mishaps, and toxic waste. In as far as possible, make sure that your five examples are varied.

Now do the same for **complex humanitarian emergencies or disasters**—with any combinations of physical, human-made and or technological variables. To brainstorm, see such sources as the INFORM Risk Index.

Step 3

Having completed Step 2 above:

1. Research the most recently published **UN HDI** (United National Human Development Index) rankings and statistics. Remember that the country rank is based on the following: (i) Longevity (life expectancy at birth) representing a long and healthy life; (ii) Education (mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling) representing literacy levels and attempts at higher order thinking which can empower citizens and states culturally, politically and economically; (iii) Income per capita representing a decent standard of living [Gross National Income (GNI) per capita in Purchasing Power Parities (PPP) (US\$)].

Reflect on the ranking statistics for countries in the main four UN HDI categories:

- (a) **Very High Human Development:** This category should include USA, UK, Finland, France, at least one Scandinavian state and two other EU states besides the ones listed here.
- (b) **High Human Development:** This category should include Turkey, Serbia, two Latin American states, and two Caribbean, two Asian and two African countries in as far as possible.
- (c) **Medium Human Development:** This category should include Egypt, Morocco, two Latin American states, and two Caribbean, two Asian and two African countries in as far as possible.
- (d) **Low Human Development:** This category should include Haiti, Mali, Rep. of South Sudan, and the last four countries with the lowest HDI ranking on the UN HDI index.
- (e) Also check out the **BRIC** countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), for rank and category.

Write out five points indicating any patterns that you see emerging from the latter exercise.

Step 4

Having completed the steps outlined above, now make a **table to include selected countries**. Go to the Insert dropdown table menu and click on insert table, selecting the required number of rows and columns. Remember that rubrics can be altered or added where necessary.

- (a) **Infill the rank data for the countries listed below**

UNDP HDI: Remember that the Highest HDI ranking is 1, and the lowest is the final country in the Low Human Development category; and countries can share the same rank. The country rank can change yearly depending on varying levels of development and data, with the number of countries ranked depending on circumstances. For the 2018 UNDP HDI rank table, 171 countries were listed, and Nigeria came in at 157 i.e. 157/171.

Now enter the data for the following countries:

Very High Human Development category: USA and any two European countries.

High Human Development category: Two countries.

Medium Human Development category: Two countries.

Low Human Development category: Three countries.

Example only:

Remember to give the table a short clear title and sources of the data (Table 11.1).

- (b) Reflect on your table looking for similarities and differences, and search for patterns. Write up two page on this.

Table 11.1 Emergency and Vulnerability: Comparative Data for Selected Countries

Country	Rank: UNDP/HDI	Rank: democ. index	CPI	?	?	?	Main dangers: physical: human: complex:
USA	–	–					Pacific Ring: earthquakes in California and volcanoes in Hawaii
Country	–	–	–	x	x	x	–
Syria							Civil War Jihadi terrorism Outside countries involved
Country	–	–	–	x	x	x	–

Sources UNDP HDI 2018, add more here ...

Note From column 4 on in your table, (?) refers to a ranking on a theme of your own choice such as Gender Equality^a or Freedom of the press or free speech e.g. Reporters Without Borders^b; or Global Defence Power (the amount spent by each country on arms).^c.

In column one enter the country name. In the following columns enter the UNDP HDI rank in column 2; in column 3 the Democracy Index, and category as found in the EUI (Economist Intelligence Unit) (<https://infographics.economist.com/2017/DemocracyIndex/>) or similar; in column 4, the Transparency International, Corruption Perception Index (CPI) rank (http://transparency.ie/news_events/corruption-perceptions-index-2016). Then add **at least another two index ranks for specific issues** that are **of particular interest to you** such as the Gender Equality Index (e.g. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII>), Human Rights Index and so forth. In the final column, enter the greatest dangers faced by that particular area or country such as natural hazard—earthquake; human-made—dictatorial regime, human rights abuse and further danger of civil war, using key words. Remember location of industries and nuclear power plants.

^aGender Equality—UN Dispatch: <https://www.undispatch.com/heres-every-country-world-ranks-gender-equality/>.

^bReporters Without Borders <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>.

^cGlobal Defence Power (the amount spent by each country on arms) <https://www.globalfirepower.com/defense-spending-budget.asp>.

Step 5

Now write up a **short report** based on a case study, on a humanitarian crisis or disaster in a developing country of your own choice from the Low UNDP HDI category (most recent edition). You can draw on the material that you have researched in steps 1–4. This should include, the probable impact of the humanitarian disaster, and suggested responses.

End of activity on UNDP-HDI development and related research.

11.3.2 Theme: Humanitarian Narratives—What’s the Big Story?

The **aim** here is to see how engaging with the big **humanitarian story** is important, and hence **defining the problem(s) and framing** it is essential. Remember that

when a breaking news story is brought to the public and mass audience attention, the obvious, and major reasons given for the emergency, conflict, crisis or disaster are usually just the ‘tip of the iceberg’ often masking underlying multiple issues. While every crisis and disaster is unique, many have common identifiable patterns, and hence the importance of case study work.

Activity 1

Brainstorming questions that could be asked during the research:

- What, where, who, when, how?
- What can be done to fix it?
- Who should act, or respond to this?
- How can people help?
- What? Breaking news e.g. Rohingya crisis (2016–17).
- Where? e.g. in Myanmar, in Rakhine State, Myanmar bordering Bangladesh ...
- Who? e.g. Who are the Rohingya; do we know anyone there, or do we connect or empathize with them, and why or why not? Who are the other actors?
- When? Now—live event(s) and unfolding story.
- How?
- Why are there IDPs (Internally Displaced People) and refugees, dead and missing people?

Within days or weeks, the story often disappears from screens but is still out there as the survivors are alive trying to rebuild their lives, often coping with the same or similar problems that existed before the crisis; before the breaking news story faded from public attention.

When carrying out projects or writing reports on specific humanitarian crises—the following framework may be helpful.

Defining the problem:

- What exactly is the problem? Define it.
- Significant physical geography and ecological contexts.
- Relevant human geographical context.
- Pertinent historical, political and event context.
- Actors or stakeholders: scale them from the local upwards.
- Humanitarian risk.
- Conclusions and recommendations.

In preparing reports, **do not simply cut and paste lists** from sources such as the UNDP HDI, CIA World Factbook, Freedom House, Amnesty International, and ICG (International Crisis Group). Search, locate, analyse, and prioritize data, summarize it and clearly reference the source in your own work. Also remember that information and data can be put in tables, boxes, maps and flowcharts where possible.

Activity 2

Reflection: Can it be argued that **Mass and Social Media are Stakeholders** in Humanitarian Action?

1. Make a list of six mass and social media sources that you usually get information from.
2. Select a current or very recent humanitarian disaster or emergency.
3. Regarding the emergency selected, compare and contrast information produced in your home country, and then coverage of the story with a European, a US and a non-Western distributor e.g. RTE and Irish Times, Euronews or Le Monde Diplomatique, France 24, El Pais, Rundfunk, Spiegel Online, Berlin-Brandenburg, BBC World and The London Times, CNN or New York Times, Boston Globe, Al Jazeera Live News, and of course the national media from the areas and countries affected by the humanitarian disaster such as Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Myanmar, Senegal, South Africa, Venezuela and so forth—press available from Onlinenewspapers.com, and online television and radio stations can be searched directly.⁵
4. Compare and contrast reporting of the humanitarian narrative.

Brainstorming Media and News: Who Is Framing the Humanitarian Narrative

The purpose of journalism,” write Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel in *The Elements of Journalism*, “is not defined by technology, nor by journalists or the techniques they employ.” Rather, “the principles and purpose of journalism are defined by something more basic: the function news plays in the lives of people.”⁶

Key concepts

- ✓ Mass media including TV, radio, and press targeting audiences at local, national and international scales.
- ✓ Technology and Information: Internet—WWW, YouTube, social media, blogging, tweeting, photographs ...
- ✓ Cinema, documentaries, docu-films ...
- ✓ Media targets: consumers seeking entertainment and news.
- ✓ Media industry—agencies and institutions that produce narratives.
- ✓ Representation and framing may be defined as the process, by which a constructed media text stands for, symbolizes, describes or represents people, places, events or ideas that are real and have an existence outside the text.

Reflection: key concepts related to the following:

Geopolitics surveys the political, economic and strategic significance of geography, where geography is defined in terms of the location, size, function, and relationships of people, places and resources.

⁵Online News Papers. <http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/africa-newspapers.htm>.

⁶**American Press Institute. 2017 What is the purpose of journalism?** <https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/journalism-essentials/what-is-journalism/purpose-journalism/>.

- ✓ Good news coverage should further alert the public, citizens and top-down institutions of the problem, and encourage appropriate action.
- ✓ Imperative: Clarity in presenting what the problems are, where exactly, and the scale at which the crisis is taking place, and who is involved is all-important as is the context of the crisis and levels of vulnerability.
- ✓ Global real time live news is streamed 24/7 in many parts of the world and to many people, leaving news consumers with the expectation of getting immediate answers, whether it be from the ‘man in the street’ or ‘the victim’, or the NGO spokes-person or journalist, and more especially those in positions of authority such as politicians. Yet often, there is not much time left for those in authority to think and act in emergencies as everything is fast-paced and they need to be thoroughly briefed and reflect firstly.
- ✓ The live-effect may impact on: (i) setting the agenda; (ii) impeding the reaching of policy goals; (iii) increasing pace with which decision-process works, and the consequences thereof.
- ✓ Regarding media, geopolitics and decision making, it has been argued that the volume of emergency assistance any humanitarian crisis attracts is determined by (i) the intensity of media coverage; (ii) political interest; and (iii) strength of humanitarian NGOs and international organisations present in a specific emergency country.⁷
- ✓ Mass media shaping geopolitical attitudes, also shapes public consent or dissent, favouring one point of view rather than another, influencing general audiences and decision makers.⁸

How The News Is Manufactured?

- ✓ Historically top-down institutions such as the state.
- ✓ State monopolies were then challenged by other interest groups including the private profit-making media.
- ✓ Historically, large news agencies such as Agence France-Presse (AFP), Associated Press (AP) and Reuters create the ‘news product’ and then sell it worldwide to other agencies such as the Irish Times, Indian Express, or Malawi News, Channel 4, or FRCN—Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria. Many smaller agencies now have, or send reporters to the country where the emergency is occurring.
- ✓ Internet usage: material being uploaded by the population in emergency, citizen journalists, general public and witnesses, but also ‘stakeholders’ such as the Daesh jihadis, and of course usage of the Dark Web.

Ownership of mass media: companies, business, share-holders and markets—Funding and Clients

The News Product:

- I. Corporations and Companies: directors.

⁷Gorm Rye Olsen, Nils Carstensen, Kristian Høyen (2003).

⁸Chomsky (1989), Herman and Chomsky (1988).

- II. Chief editor: makes the main decisions about ‘content’ and what the public will see and hear; or not see and hear. Hence the editor acts as a filter.
- III. Journalist: produces the news product.
- IV. The real news is based on: the actors—communities and populations affected by the humanitarian crisis—in real places; the humanitarian aid workers and the decision makers.
- V. Client: the public.

Dangers: regarding media coverage of human-made emergencies:

- ✓ While there are huge amounts of ‘information’ available, however clear and objective analysis is imperative.
- ✓ Journalists: news has to reflect what journalists consider the ‘truth’ and ‘common sense’—but this is becoming ever-challenging.
- ✓ Propaganda and Stereotyping.
- ✓ Reductionism at the expense of clarity: over-simplistic ‘explanation’ and framing and labelling.
- ✓ Negative and extreme nationalistic voices.
- ✓ False consensus, and ‘we all agree’.
- ✓ Distraction, sensationalism and entertainment overshadowing core issues.
- ✓ Pseudo-Scientific.
- ✓ The fake news phenomenon and debate.

Mass media help to legitimate or de-legitimate an emergency, war, or stakeholders, in a crisis situation, or help, or else hinder the work of NGOs, approving or disapproving of humanitarian intervention. Mass media can focalize the world’s point of view on a conflict such as Daesh in Syria and Iraq, or help forget or distract attention from it as with the Kurds in Turkey as opposed to the Kurds in Syria during the Syrian Civil War, but also humanitarian emergencies in Cameroon, South Sudan, and Yemen. Hence the phenomenon of forgotten wars and neglected conflicts, which if not dealt with, may eventually, become humanitarian disasters. Media continue to play a crucial role regarding vulnerable populations, and must avoid ‘crisis fatigue’ on the part of the public and humanitarian donors alike. This can set in as with ‘donor fatigue’ among the world community of mass viewers. Similarly, media must keep the spotlight on post-conflict and peace process locations and stakeholders, in order to support them and help prevent relapsing into violent conflict as in Colombia, Bosnia, Algeria, Timor Leste, the Philippines, Liberia, Kosovo, Northern Ireland or Sierra Leone.

The major challenge is how to turn information into action: (i) truth Vs neutrality; (ii) commodification of the news product Vs its pre-monitory role; and (iii) independence as promoted by UNESCO, and also Reporters Without Borders (Reporters Sans Frontières), an international non-profit NGO that promotes and defends freedom of information and freedom of the press. It has been postulated that greater

media influence exists when policy is uncertain and media coverage is critically framed and empathizes with suffering people.⁹

Overall, media may help win or lose a conflict or war, legitimate or de-legitimated it, support or not people in humanitarian crisis situations, and create or destroy civil society movements. Due to the revolutions in media as experienced over the past two decades, and especially during the Arab Spring revolutions from 2010 on, many observers hoped that the media would enhance democracy giving greater say and empowerment to ordinary people worldwide. It was hoped that there would be a massive surge in media literacy, independent media and community journalism seen as the last stronghold against globalized assimilated and biased media. A myriad of contested issues regarding media and ‘democratic’ usage have come to the fore especially during the eras of Presidents Trump in the USA and Putin in Russia.¹⁰

Activity 3

Reflect on the role of the media in sample Case Studies such as the following:

Syria

While estimates vary greatly, almost half a million Syrians lost their lives (2011–18) due to armed conflict, which began with anti-government protests before escalating into a full-scale civil war. Over 11 million others were forced from their homes (Internally Displaced People—IDPs) and Refugees fleeing abroad to Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Europe and North America, as forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad and those opposed to his rule battled each other—while Jihadist militants from the Daesh confront both sides and the population at large. Population in 2013 was 23 million people. Syria’s UN HDI Rank was 118 out of 187 countries in 2013 before the war started.¹¹ Compounding the civil war and humanitarian disasters, proxy wars are also being played out with Russia and Iran, and Hezbollah supporting the pro-Assad regime. Many Sunni Arab states, including Saudi Arabia and Qatar along with the USA, UK and France support the rebels. Other extremist Jihadi groups support Daesh, but there is also infighting within these organizations. While Turkey supports the defeat of the Assad regime, it collaborates with Russia, the main supporter of the Assad regime, in the fight against Daesh.¹²

Ethiopia and Eritrea

Ethiopia maintained its freedom from colonial rule with the exception of a short-lived Italian occupation from 1936–41. During the Cold War (1947–91) in 1974, the Derg military junta established a socialist state. Torn by bloody coups, uprisings,

⁹Reporters Without Borders, or Reporters Sans Frontières. <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>. UNESCO (2017) and Robinson (2000).

¹⁰Wempel (2017).

¹¹To read more: Physical and Human geography, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/er.html>.

¹²To read more: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868> and BBC Syria Profile and Timeline.

wide-scale drought, famines in the 1980s, and massive refugee problems, the Derg regime was finally toppled in 1991 by a coalition of rebel forces, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, and held the first multiparty elections in 1995. A border war with Eritrea in the late 1990s ended with a peace treaty (2000). In 2007, the Eritrea-Ethiopia Border Commission (EEBC) issued specific coordinates as virtually demarcating the border. Ethiopia has not accepted them and has not withdrawn troops from previously contested areas. Despite extensive modernization of Ethiopia in the last decades, the majority of the population are peasants who live from harvest to harvest, and are vulnerable to crop failures. This is exacerbated by a very high population growth rate, which is among the top 10 countries in the world. Even though Ethiopia is one of the ten countries globally that has attained the largest absolute gains in its HDI over recent years, it still ranks 173 out of 186 countries in the UNDP Human Development Report.¹³

Sri Lanka

Despite the humanitarian disasters related to the 2004 tsunami and civil war (1983–2009), Sri Lanka's achievements in health and education are remarkable. Key health issues encompass poor nutrition, along with the need to improve good quality and comprehensive health services in deprived locations and reorganize the health system to respond to non-communicable and other emerging diseases. In addition, addressing the special health needs of the elderly, disabled persons, and people in post conflict areas remains a challenge.¹⁴

11.4 Revision Questions

1. Identify and analyse the major geopolitical events and phases in the development of international humanitarian law from the 19th century to the present, illustrating how geopolitics impacts on the evolution of international law and legal processes.
2. Evaluate the importance of the UN HDI (Human Development Index) rankings system in planning for emergency humanitarian relief in disaster situations. Use case study material to illustrate your answer.
3. With reference to both physical and human geography, assess why the risk of humanitarian crises and disaster is greater in many countries in the Global South than in the North. Use clear examples or case study material to illustrate your answer.

¹³Research sources: CIA World Factbook—Ethiopia. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/et.html>, BBC Country Profile—Ethiopia. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13349398>, Wikipedia—Ethiopia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia>, Irish Aid—Ethiopia: <https://www.irishaid.ie/what-we-do/countries-where-we-work/our-partner-countries/ethiopia/>, UN HDI: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/national-human-development-report-2015-ethiopia>.

¹⁴UNDP. <http://www.lk.undp.org/content/srilanka/en/home/countryinfo/> and BBC Country Profile—Sri Lanka. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-11999611>.

4. What are the major commonalities linking human vulnerability and risk of humanitarian disaster in many post-colonial states? Use clear examples and case study material to illustrate your answer.
5. How can the media help or else hinder the work of humanitarian actors?

11.4.1 Theme: Development—Ideals and the Basics

Activity 1

The aim here is to **brainstorm development issues**, and to revise your existing or latent knowledge regarding development. The objective of this exercise is to become more aware of the holistic nature of development, and also moving on from the general to the specific, as in the themes that you select.

- (a) Students often already have many ideas and knowledge regarding development, so just brainstorm and write down the key words or ideas regarding what you believe development to be and then summarize into less than 150 words. When completed, highlight at least five prominent key words.
- (b) Then use the web and search for definitions of development (maximum five), and at least two major associated issues. Use quality sources for this such as the UNHDI, and reputable NGOs.
- (c) In this process, it is normal that further questions will come to mind, and also that you reassess some of the ideas that you previously held. Now compare and contrast what you wrote down for (a) and (b) above. Then query: how can levels of development be measured? What are the basic causes of poverty? What are the main political-economic or ideological approaches to development?
- (d) Then select at least two development themes or topics that may be of particular interest to you, such as sustainability, food and hunger, aid, human rights, gender issues and so forth. Research these for relevant information and create a mind map, with interconnecting bubbles or boxes containing key words or ideas.

Suggestions for brainstorming development topics. You may wish to add others yourself such as child soldiers.

1. Sustainable development
2. Poverty and wealth
3. Population
4. Hunger, health and longevity
5. Human rights and power
6. Politics and development
7. Trade and development
8. Aid and development
9. Gender
10. Education and empowerment
11. Arms

12. UN MDGs and SDGs
13. Corruption
14. Identity
15. HIV/AIDS
16. Ethical consumption and fair trade

Depending on your topic, now select and reflect on two governmental organizations e.g. UN and a national government agency, and two NGOs involved in your thematic area.

11.5 Revision Questions

1. Evaluate the statement that the impact of any humanitarian crisis is directly proportional to the level of development of the population affected.
2. Appraise the nexus between food and power at regional, national and international levels and the place of geopolitics in this. Use examples and case study material to illustrate your answer.
3. Assess the prominent role played by women in food production in the Global South and the challenges that they face. Use examples and case study material to illustrate your answer.
4. Why is the concept of sustainable development central to humanitarian responses to emergencies and in post-disaster planning?
5. Assess the contention that a human rights approach to development is essential in order to avoid many human-made disasters. Use examples and case study material to illustrate your answer.

11.6 Part 3 Geopolitics and International Organization

11.6.1 *Writing Reports and Recommendations*

Activity 1

Reflect and imagine that you have been commissioned to write a report giving recommendations on how best to handle an ongoing humanitarian crisis (of your own choice) as witnessed in Syria, Yemen, CAR (Central African Republic), Sudan, Republic of South Sudan, or the Rakhine region in Myanmar or similar. Your brief is that this report has to be intelligible and representative for decision makers at the UN and its agencies, and also for international and local NGOs willing to work in the area affected by the crisis.

Activity 2

Reflect and imagine that you have been commissioned to write a report giving recommendations on how best to manage a Peace Process territory (of your own choice), for instance South Africa, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Colombia, Cyprus, Transnistria, Northern Ireland, Western Sahara, Israel-Palestine, Bangsamoro in the Philippines or other. Your brief is that this report has to be intelligible and representative for decision makers at local and national levels, and also the UN and its agencies, as well as international and local NGOs willing to work in the area.

11.7 Revision Questions

1. Appraise the role of the UN Security Council in approving military aided intervention in humanitarian crises and disaster situations. Use clear examples or case study material to illustrate your answer.
2. Evaluate the main geopolitical arguments for and against the UN R2P (Responsibility to Protect) principle regarding foreign intervention in countries experiencing humanitarian crises or disaster. Use clear examples or case study material to illustrate your answer.
3. Assess the role of the EU and ECHO regarding humanitarian crises and disasters.
4. Evaluate the roles played by any two 'non major power' European countries such as Ireland, Norway, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Czech Republic or Bulgaria regarding humanitarian crises and disasters, with reference to the State, neutrality (where applicable) and the NGO sector.
5. Evaluate the salient roles played by any two 'non major power' countries from Asia, Africa or Latin America regarding humanitarian crises and disasters, with reference to the State, neutrality (where applicable) and the NGO sector.
6. Assess the foremost arguments that have been made for key changes in the UN structure in order to better reflect the realities of the 21st century, with particular reference to either (a) development, or (b) humanitarian action.

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