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Dedicated to the memory of
Romesh Thapar

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INTRODUCTION

There has never been a time when so much opportunity yet so much doubt has surrounded the futures of the way we care for one another. Both traditional and modern systems of care are in jeopardy. Traditional avenues of support which relied on the family or the local community have become moribund in much of the industrialized world. Newer systems such as those institutionalized over the last half century or more as the welfare state seem to be in very serious danger because of demographic changes, economic uncertainty, technological obsolescence, and ideological or psychological dissatisfaction.

In much of the Third World, long standing problems of population growth, inadequate food, land, water, housing, and the flood of immigrants to crowded urban areas continue to overburden traditional ways of human support and care. There seems scant hope for the creation of more formal welfare systems.

Some people view these conditions as offering splendid opportunities for self help, self reliance, and creativity. Families, local communities, and religious, corporate, and voluntary groups may find it easier to renew their commitment to assisting other people if they are freed from the bureaucratic, inefficient, and obsolete rules and procedures of what might be called the Overcaring Society, which has resulted from the welfare state.

In other parts of the world, however, reliance on organized and spontaneous violence, and on religious, political, economic, and ideological fundamentals, seems to be growing. Human traits of selfishness and greed have been elevated as virtues, while empathy, sharing, and caring are said to be debilitating and foolish. In these societies, survival of the fittest dominates the landscape and rules the minds of those who shape Careless Societies, whether by the State or anyone else, to help people is often to deny them the opportunity of learning to take care of themselves. It weakens them and hence all of society, some people maintain.

The conference on *Who Cares? and How? The Futures of Support in Different Cultures* of which this volume is a reflection, sought to

explore the contours of properly *Caring* societies and to distinguish them from both *Overcaring and Careless* societies. Questions regarding what is happening now and what is needed for the future at individual, group, national, and global levels were explored from the perspectives of different cultural and economic systems.

The conference was sponsored by the World Futures Studies Federation [WFSF] in cooperation with the University of Hawaii. Further support in money, material, and labor was received from a very extensive variety of organizations and persons around the world. They are most gratefully acknowledged on p. 352 of this volume.

The WFSF is an association of institutes and individuals professionally involved in futures studies from seventy countries in all regions of the world. For almost twenty years it has served as a forum for the exchange of information, ideas, opinions, and research activities in all fields of futures studies. It promotes the awareness of the need for futures studies in governmental, educational, problem-solving, and international organizations. World Conferences of the Federation are held approximately every two years on different themes and in different parts of the world. This volume is derived from the IXth World Conference and the first held on American soil, May 25-30, 1986, in Honolulu, Hawaii.

The University and the State have both had a longstanding and deep commitment to futures studies. The work of the Hawaii State Commission on the Year 2000, established in the early 1970s, is well known [See George Chaplin & Glenn Paige (eds), *HAWAII 2000* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970)]. The Hawaii State Research Center for Futures Studies and the Alternative Futures programs of the Department of Political Science of the University of Hawaii have been active since that time as well.

In 1983, Dr. Fujio Matsuda, then President of the University of Hawaii, and others within the University and the broader community proposed that the University support the Office of the Secretariat of the WFSF. This proposal was accepted by the Executive Council of the Federation at a meeting held in Honolulu in March 1983. The Secretariat was transferred from Stockholm, Sweden, and located in the Social Science Research Institute of the University of Hawaii shortly thereafter. As part of its continuing commitment, the University of Hawaii hosted the IXth World Conference of the Federation with the assistance of many individual, community, and international sponsors.

The Conference was designed so that the theme, care, carelessness, and overcaring would be felt and experienced as well

as discussed and deliberated. The very meeting places themselves were chosen and modified with them in mind.

The Opening Session at night was held in a completely enclosed, environmentally isolated, and somewhat alienating large ballroom in the Campus Center of the University of Hawaii. Seating was on rather uncomfortable folding chairs facing a too highly raised stage which gave the spectators an awkward view of the dignitaries who addressed them from it.

The cavernous room itself had been modified by graduate art students of the University of Hawaii (their names are found on p. 353 of this volume) under the direction of Visiting Prof. Simon Nicholson of the Open University of the United Kingdom. They designed and built a narrow entrance into the room leading to a springboard from which participants dove into several alternative futures. Thus, depending upon which route a person chose, he or she got a different impression of the future of care from others who chose alternate routes.

Once through the maze and into the ballroom, participants were confronted with a number of very large wooden (and apparently radioactive) cows grazing about a bewildering array of pictures and statements about care which were tacked on the walls, and a large video screen in the front from which various images and sounds of caring, carelessness, and overcaring emanated. (The video was produced by University of Hawaii student Bill McMahon.)

Before the Conference, elementary and secondary school students from throughout Honolulu had been invited to draw their images of the future. On each seat in the ballroom was a drawing done by a different student, rolled up like a scroll with a ribbon around it. Participants were invited before the speeches began to open their scroll, look at it, and share it with their neighbors. Significantly enough, even though the drawings had been created spontaneously by the students without any instructions beyond "draw your vision of the future of Hawaii," almost all of the images produced by the children were extremely negative: nuclear holocaust, environmental collapse, overpopulation, and overbuilding. What few positive images there were tended to be of the very high-tech, Buck Rogers type. The formal session opened with a solemn chant by Pua Keala Mann and Puuhonua Tavares in the Hawaiian language.

The intended (and apparently achieved) effect of all this environmental design was to produce a kind of mildly oppressive sensory overload for everyone in the room. Thanks to Elmer Botsai, Dean of the School of Architecture, University of Hawaii, for the

environmental design idea. But the further intention was that this was to be the initial experience and feeling. From the first session onward each subsequent session was held in progressively open freer pleasant and liberating surroundings. The second session was held in the same ballroom but with the sensory overload greatly reduced. The third day saw even less modification and the session began with original music and a dance by Sue MacLennan and Simon Nicholson of the United Kingdom. In addition lunch on the fourth day was held outside on a bit of land (called the Taro Patch) which native Hawaiian university students had illegally appropriated and developed into a kind of living and growing example of the way native peoples had lived in Hawaii until modernizers had marginalized or destroyed it. The sessions of the fifth day were held in a completely glass walled church in the round setting which opened directly on the radiant Pacific Ocean. Original music by Neil McKay Professor in the Music School of the University of Hawaii played unobtrusively. Lunch that day was also outside beside the ocean. And the Closing Session for the Conference was completely outside in cool grassy flower bedecked and sun drenched Andrews Amphitheater on the University of Hawaii campus. Only the radioactive wooden cows and the Hawaiian chanter Pua Keala Mann were present to remind us of how far we had come from the stifling opening ceremonies.

Of course not all of the opening ceremonies were stifling! State of Hawaii Governor George Ariyoshi who was a pioneer in state planning in the US gave a brilliant lecture on the history rationale and necessity of planning for a small remote culturally diverse island community like Hawaii. His intimate mastery of the subject was such that he spoke entirely without notes and thus his lecture cannot be included in this volume! But the impressive argument for envisioning and planning for preferred futures will remain in the memories of all who heard it. Eleonora Masini President of the World Futures Studies Federation followed with a brief opening statement in which she explained that the WFSF always tries to link the themes of its World Conferences to the places where they are held. For example the previous World Conference on the Futures of Peace was obviously perfect for Costa Rica a country unique in the world in that by constitutional mandate it has no army and furthermore has even renounced its sovereign right of self defense declaring that it will only defend itself if attacked by collective defensive military action by the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations. Concerning the theme the Futures of Care President Masini said that Hawaii's worldwide reputation as a forerunner in futures studies and as the

land of Aloha made it similarly appropriate for this present conference and its theme. Albert Simone President of the University of Hawaii in a speech reproduced emphasized the desire of the University of Hawaii to be truly international sensitive to the future and to the needs and desires of people around the globe. Magda McHale North American Vice President of the WFSF and head of the Center for Integrative Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo had with her husband John McHale been very instrumental in helping Hawaii launch itself towards the future in the late 1960s and early 1970s. She noted some of the treads of continuity between the future in the past and the future in the present found in this Conference. Her reflections follow President Simone's

WELCOMING REMARKS

by
ALBERT J SIMONE

INTRODUCTION

The University of Hawaii is very happy to welcome you and to extend its very best wishes for a most successful conference. By way of welcome I would like to speak to you about two University commitments in particular. The first is our commitment to the international university. The second commitment is our effort to be appropriately responsive to the new science and technology.

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

This University in its core curriculum and in the specified curriculum of almost every department, school, college, and program is developing an international, especially Asian and Pacific focus and orientation. Research throughout the university has reflected and increasingly in the future will reflect this focus and orientation. To support these curriculum and research developments, faculty and students with these interests and commitments increasingly will be recruited. Programs of faculty and student exchange will be increased. Every attempt at enhanced collaboration with universities throughout Asia and the Pacific will be sought. This collaboration will take the form of joint conferences such as this current one, as well as specific research projects jointly sponsored by universities throughout the region. Where it is appropriate, the University of Hawaii, particularly through its professional schools, will be engaged in outreach to Asia and the Pacific with specific training and educational programs.

The critical ingredient for the success of the above is a ready, sincere, and open dialogue among faculty of the universities throughout the region. This is why conferences such as this one are so important.

In addition to what we have already described, in my view an international university of the future must also dedicate itself to peace studies. There must be a core requirement so that every student who enters the university departs with better understanding of the most fundamental issue of our time: this implies that a solid program of

peace studies eventually must be made part of the core curriculum. I believe a contemporary international university must also provide elective courses beyond a core requirement for students who wish to pursue this field further. In particular, an interdisciplinary major in peace studies should be available. There should be a formal vehicle to encourage and support research in and understanding about the causes of conflict around the world and the possible solutions for resolving these conflicts. There should be full awareness of the consequences of not being successful in this conflict resolution. The University should take the lead in providing peace issues education for the public, as well as establishing a forum for political leaders to interact and become fully exposed to these issues.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The working for peace implies a university which cares about the world in which it lives and the people which it serves. High technology development by itself cannot be the vehicle for affecting this caring approach to education and life. There is a need for technology transfer throughout the world in the fields of health, medicine, food production, population control, energy production, resource development, education, and conflict resolution. The universities can and must take a lead in providing this technology transfer in a caring and sensitive fashion.

SOLUTION

We are one planet and one family. If our planet is to have a future, we must learn how to live together in peace with compassion. We must really be our brother's keeper. We must care for one another. It is for these reasons that I believe your work in this conference is so significant and why I personally support it so strongly.

OPENING SESSION
by
MAGDA CORDELL MCHALE

It is a great honor and privilege for me to be here tonight to acknowledge a debt we the WFSF and indeed futurists everywhere owe Hawaii. I was here with my late husband John McHale more than a decade and a half ago when at the highest office of this State a commission was established to think about the future then aptly called *Hawaii 2000*. It was the first such commission anywhere later much emulated in other states of the United States and indeed by many other nations.

It was also in Hawaii that George Chaplin, editor in chief of the Honolulu Advertiser, was not only instrumental in establishing this Commission but devoted on a regular basis a page of his newspaper to inform and educate his readers and others about the importance of correct perceptions and actions in the present in order to have a more desirable future.

It was also in Hawaii that the Planning Office of the Judiciary established a formal process of Futures Research. It was also in Hawaii at the University that our dear colleague Jim Dator urged others to establish the first Futures Awareness course and later was very involved with Hawaiian citizens groups in order to frame a better tomorrow for themselves.

A distinguished Hawaiian citizen Keiji Kawakami not only spent all of his private time urging the various groups but implemented at least in his company the kind of management that all companies should adopt in the future.

I am only mentioning a few among the many who participated in this first endeavor on a grand scale from grass roots to corporations and the world beyond Hawaii. In fact looking over the program of our conference I can see from the many sponsors that this tradition still continues here.

Mahalo mahalo nui loa

CHAPTER I
WHAT IS CARE? WHAT IS A CARING SOCIETY?

Almost two hundred persons from twenty six countries attended the Conference. In the pages that follow some of the spirit and substance of the Conference is captured. But there were several preparatory activities conducted and a substantial amount of background material prepared and distributed before the Conference was held.

Probably the best known and most frequently cited precursor was the final report entitled *Time to Care* on the future of Care in Society which was carried out by the Swedish Secretariat for Futures Studies in Stockholm from 1978 through 1981 for the Federation of Swedish County Councils. The County Councils play an important role in the provision of social welfare services in Sweden and thus sought guidance in anticipating the future of such services. [See *Time To Care* Landstingsförbundet Futures Studies Unit Box 6606 S 113 84 Stockholm Sweden. See also Inge Dahn and Lena Lundh (editors) *Care and the Concept of Man Six Essays* and Mårten Lagergren *The Costly Care Millstone or Sheet Anchor* both from the Swedish Secretariat for Futures Studies Box 6710 S 113 85 Stockholm Sweden].

The Swedish study commenced from an understanding of humans as active social animals. A good society with good care is thus based on three assumptions: (1) Everybody needs to be needed. (2) Everybody shares a common responsibility towards those in need of care. (3) Men and women must enjoy equal conditions.

The purposes of care today were described as including help during sickness and incapacity during financial difficulties and in connection with periods of personal and/or social adjustment (this latter was considered to be the most intrusive into the rights of individuals to express their differences and thus the most problematic). While problems of unemployment, inadequate housing, family dissolution and the like are included in the report, matters of health care are the main focus.

Good care must be available on equal terms to everybody who needs it. It must lead to the desired result (cure, relief, comfort).

adjustment etc) And it must respect clients and patients as people thereby utilizing their inherent resources

How these factors are operationalized in any specific society depends upon its culture traditions and existing conditions In Sweden over the past twenty or more years a very extensive system of social welfare has been developed But many people feel it has many unsatisfactory features and it is being faced with many overwhelming challenges

Over the past twenty years medical expenditures in Sweden have more than sextupled Local taxation rates have doubled Employment in the care sector has risen enormously and social expenditure in the sector has risen from 15% to 33% of GNP

Looking ahead between 100 000 to 300 000 jobs are expected to disappear from the economy by the year 2000 while half a million additional people will seek employment If the care sector itself were to continue to expand at the rate it did in the 1970s its costs would quadruple and twice the present number of people would be employed in it but the volume of activities of the sector would only increase by fifty percent! Finally if current levels and modes of care are continued taxation would have to rise to an average of almost 70% of income by the turn of the century compared to fifty percent today

Thus there is a dual crisis perceived in the future of care in Sweden a crisis in expenditures (which should be clear from the facts above) and a crisis in results This latter is because the current results of care do not measure up to the demands which one should be entitled to make There are long waiting lists and waiting periods it is difficult to find one's way around the system and people receive impersonal and indifferent treatment because of authoritarian over professionalization of the care system

The solution to these difficulties in Sweden was thought to lie in the following (1) The problems of care must be solved closer to their source (2) Everybody must assume greater personal responsibility for mutual care (3) Citizens must exert more influence on professional care (4) New technologies such as new drugs or electronics in the service of care might help in the future but they will also introduce new problems which might deepen the crisis

The report ends with a scenario of *Sweden With Care* in the year 2006

The period of the 1980s is one of economic and other social difficulties and thus of difficult readjustment of the welfare system As a result of intelligent legislation

in the 1990s in response to increased automation unemployment is virtually eliminated by reducing the length of the working day Conditions of the workplace are also improved

A Care Commission is appointed Training for the care professions is altered to emphasize social rather than primarily medical or technical aspects Hazards to health and happiness which were caused by social arrangements (pollution traffic safety hygiene etc) were identified and corrected or minimized Observing that traditional systems of individual support the nuclear family especially are eroding the Care Commission suggests measures to strengthen local community autonomy and networking resulting in people getting greater social support from people immediately around them even though they remain able to move easily from one local community to another

Greater attention is paid by society to the rearing of children The talents and energies of young people are integrated more seriously into the community Each individual is educated how better to take care of herself throughout the various developments in her life While care in hospitals and clinics is improved persons are encouraged to obtain care within their normal everyday environments

People who wish to end their lives in the presence of friends and relatives in their normal surroundings are able to do so Efforts are made to relieve terminal pain but not to prevent or postpone death Death as life becomes more dignified

Of course Sweden is not the only country concerned about the future of care Peter Baehr of the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy provided fellow WFSF members with some information about research on the future of social security undertaken by the Dutch Council

In several countries the UK Belgium Holland as well as Sweden the debate about the reform of social security is becoming more and more future oriented A central issue in these debates is the idea of a basic income A basic income scheme provides for the payment

of a general minimum income according to residence while existing social security schemes provide for the payment of specific benefits according to specific contribution tests. Advocates claim that basic income schemes are better suited to future cultural social and economic circumstances than the existing social security systems. These new circumstances are (among others) high levels of unemployment, growth in the number of part time and temporary jobs, growing interest in self employment and small scale production, changing distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women, changing patterns of mutual aid and care, increasing number of one parent families, rising rates of divorce, manifest need for higher degrees of self reliance and desire for a less bureaucratic welfare state.

An examination of the feasibility implications of a basic income scheme under future cultural social and economic circumstances should I think receive high priority in the area of futures research.

[See In addition to Report 26 to the Dutch Government by the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy entitled Safeguarding Social Security (1985) see Jos Dekkers Building up Social Security Without Destroying Self Reliance and Mutual Aid a paper for a Unesco conference on *The Cultural Dimensions of Development* The Hague September 1985 and Jos Dekkers Safeguarding Social Security for the conference on *The Future of Social Security in the European Community* Habay la Neuve Belgium, September 1985]

Clive Simmonds from Ottawa Canada contributed to the pre conference discussion among WFSF members by pointing out that we can less and less run welfare systems on the basis of paying for youth and retirement from earnings in mid life. This leads to what the Japanese are calling the design of the 80 year life. Such a life must make simultaneous human social communal cultural economic and financial sense but has to be negotiated into place primarily politically. There is every indication that this is possible if it is designed in these terms. The Honolulu Conference should be an important step in this direction.

David Greene of the Faculty of the Environment School of Architecture The Polytechnic of Central London England added The question for an architect regarding the theme of the Honolulu Conference must be How can I in my work contribute to the advancement of the goals set out for the Conference? History shows that architecture and the design of the city has always been the property of the ruling elite whether that might have been the church powerful landowner warlords large corporations or government bodies. They have required the designer to symbolize their economic and social power through the construction of long lasting and often enormous edifices often extending beyond the building into the surrounding landscape. Thus the control of these power groups is given dominance over the earth itself territory appropriated man asserting his dominance over nature. There were attempts in the early 20th century to redress this situation by making an architecture for the masses particularly in Europe. It was however a style celebrating stern Puritan values. It swept aside in its search for socialist architecture the rich diversity of working class life and the complex social networks associated with it and thus produced an unparalleled sterility that exists today.

The negative aspect of this new awareness has been the emergence of conservation as an architectural issue. It may be possible to envisage a no change architecture but not a no change life.

Can architecture actually contribute as a process to promote caring societies? If it is correct to assume that environment and behaviour are interconnected then the answer to this question must be yes. But history reveals architecture not as a means of promoting the general good but as a private world inhabited by the rich and powerful producing an environment to at best impress the populace and at worse intimidate it. Even today we see this system operating. The defense of this process is the assertion that architecture is art. But art must touch the soul. What people want are clean clothes not necessarily washing machines.

Ionita Olteanu editor of *Economica Revista* of Bucharest Romania opened the dimensions of Who Cares? even wider during the pre conference discussions.

I think the most terrible calamity of our time a real sore rapidly spreading at all levels is violence in all its forms oppression domination poverty inequality marginalism maldevelopment malnutrition lack of

education inadequate medical assistance drug abuse crime terrorism etc Violence which always breeds violence has become the most frightening threat at the planetary level The mass media more than merely reflecting this reality emphasize violence and aggression at various levels treating it as a normal topic People are deprived of freedom participation a decent life Our whole civilization lives under the threat of nuclear destruction inadequate development processes affect the environment and man an irrational arms race amplifies structural violence and widens the already dangerous gaps between rich and poor Vietnam invades Cambodia to punish Pol Pot China wants to teach Vietnam a lesson The USSR wants to make order in Afganistan the USA in Nicaragua and El Salvador Lebanon once a flourishing wealthy oasis is broken up by the confrontation between Syria and Israel Muslims and Christians Ulster is shaken violently by the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants Cyprus is divided between the Greek and Turkish communities to say nothing of India Bangladesh Indonesia Pakistan etc The world has gone mad As long as violence insecurity domination and all the structural violences exist in such profusion no Caring Society can be possible A Caring Society must be based on two principles on non violent societies and on a non violent eco development which is in agreement with the social and human aspirations of each local national and international community In a world of peace based on an adequate and just development the manifold complex issues facing a Caring Society would be much easier to solve

The Conference began where these preparatory discussions left off Andrej Sicinski (Poland) provides us with a very helpful discussion of some of the possible meanings of Caring Careless and Overcaring Societies while Romesh Thapar (India) warned that industrialized societies should not offer aid and care to so called developing societies out of a misunderstanding of history and the present situation

Much of the human misery and environmental degradation found in the Third World can be traced directly to Western imperialism and subsequent processes of dependency Moreover an additional reason

that development was possible in Europe and North America at all is due less to the diligence and cleverness of Westerners than to the fact that Europe avoided overpopulation by exporting its human surpluses to the empty lands of the New World Left to its own devices absent the historical and contemporary Western destructive intrusions many of the traditional forms of care in Third World areas are or would be quite adequate to their tasks Thapar affirms

So rather than simply offering care out of the goodness of their hearts and the surpluses of their bounty citizens in industrialized societies should seek to create a more equitable global economy where people would be able to take care of themselves without being dupped and cheated out of what are rightfully resources for their own development Industrialized societies also should make their (comparatively) vast fertile and empty lands more freely available to people from the Third World who like the Europeans before them might wish to move and prosper there

Uvais Ahamed (Sri Lanka) follows with an eloquent plea for better cross cultural communication and hence understanding and especially urges that if we put the child in order we will have taken the necessary first step towards thereby putting the world aright

John Morse (US) presents a convincing case for the position that cooperation and not competition care and not carelessness can and should underlie human interactions while Roderic Gorney (US) himself an MD discusses the need for a universal Hippocratic Oath why is it that only doctors of all people have to take an oath that they will seek to do no harm in their caring efforts? Shouldnt that be expected of each and every one of us just as seriously and effectively?

Timothy Dolan explores Buddhist approaches to caring in his paper entitled From the Inside Out

Magda McHale concludes this section on What is Care? by reminding us of the meanings one might even say the utility of love and ends with a poem *As a Woman*

**INTERVENTION AT THE PANEL DISCUSSION ON CARING,
CARELESS AND OVER CARING SOCIETIES**

by
ANDRZEJ SICINSKI

I am well aware how irritating and frustrating it is when during a discussion on important social problems someone comes up with his or her considerations of concepts. Such reflections often act even as very effective discussion killers. If I suggest in spite of that so discouraging a perspective to make precise certain concepts and to give a closer look to certain ideas connected with a Caring Society I am doing this with the conviction that many controversies and disputes concerning this problematique are due to misunderstandings of some basic ideas and definitions.

My purpose after all is not to persuade you into unification of concepts and ideas but rather into emphasizing possible differences in their meanings. This would make possible for us to come to a practical agreement or to pinpoint differences. I believe the main differences between concepts of care can be presented through answers to the following five questions:

- 1) Why are people supposed to care for other people?
- 2) For whom are they to care?
- 3) Who is to care for whom?
- 4) What range should the care take?
- 5) How should it be manifest?

Let us begin with the first question: Why are people supposed to care for other people? The necessity or need for such care can be justified in two basic ways: one of them could be named ideological, the other practical.

Ideological justification appears in different versions. On the one hand there are arguments of a metaphysical religious type in their Christian version appealing to brotherhood of all people to their being children of God and to general equality towards Him who demands that thou love thy neighbor as thou loves thyself. Besides that there are secular arguments: the idea of social equality and solidarity of the oppressed proclaimed by the communist movement; the idea of solidarity of the human species or ideology of happiness for all and for everyone appearing in many wealthy Western societies.

Justifications that I call practical also appear in much differentiated versions. Sometimes the duty of caring for others is founded on a so called secular independent ethic formulating the principle of mutuality best expressed in the saying: don't do to your fellow man what you don't like to be done to yourself. The Latin proverb expresses it even more pragmatically: *do ut des* (I give to be given). Different characters have functional arguments: they are based on a conviction that a lack of care for at least some segments of the society can bring about disturbances in the functioning of social systems (e.g. growth of crime, threats to public health, etc.).

Practical arguments are also brought up by opponents of the caring society, e.g. when they emphasize a need for competition. Here however I want to bring into review different concepts of the caring society.

With arguments so divergent for the necessity or usefulness of care, the idea of a caring society clearly means different things to different people even when they agree to certain technical aspects of it. I think then that knowledge of our arguments justifying care is a necessary condition for understanding mutual positions in more specific questions. Personally I opt for the practical justification appealing to a secular ethic based on the principle of mutuality. I should behave in the way I want others to behave towards me; for this reason I must care for those who need care because I would expect their care in similar situations. I am not denying the importance of ideological arguments. I know however they are not convincing to everyone.

The next question: for whom are we to care? Is everyone to be cared for even those who don't wish any care from others, especially from specialized institutions? Or should we care only for those who declare a need for care? Or will the care only be for people markedly by individual standards of every society: weaker children, disabled, sick, unemployed, poverty-stricken? As to those weaker ones, will care be provided to everyone or only to those who are not guilty of the weakness?

In answering these questions I would prefer to limit the range of care to those who need it for reasons beyond their control. I do not think then the idea of caring society should favour the lazy, indifferent or reckless. A doubt however may be raised as to who would be determining that guilt and according to what question and criteria? I have no ready answer to this question so let me stop at emphasizing its significance and suggest a tentative rule: It is better to admit a risk that some who could go just as well without any care may be given it than to refuse it to others in need.

I am not going to elaborate on the third question who is to care for whom as it looks to be one of the major topics of our conference. Let me just point here to my own preferences. I think care is the more effective and humane the closer (socially) and less formalized the sources who provide it e.g. family, friends, work mates, neighbours. Large social organizations first of all the state should create conditions to provide care by small groups and individuals but not so much act as dispensers of that care.

Centralized care, costly and ineffective, feeds bureaucracy and (if it happens to be the state bureaucracy) it lays claims to control over even the most intimate spheres of human life. It expects in addition obedience from the recipients. Requested more or less openly the principle of reciprocity transforms here into subordination. Some states might even find ideal a situation in which every citizen needs to be cared for while (from the point of view of the one who really needs help) most precious is the care received from his or her equals (as it does not bear a sense of social degradation and dependence).

No less important is the question of care in the caring society. Is care to put it simply to concern only our bodies or perhaps also our souls? An off hand answer would be to say it should concern both but it is care for the soul that involves particularly weighty problems.

Care for the soul is understood here rather broadly. It would include different psychic needs (love, respect, sense of security, etc.) A caring society cannot be expected from the state or from great formalized organizations but only from small social groups and individuals.

And what about other spheres of care for our souls like education, formation and fulfillment of cultural needs (especially the so called highbrow culture)? It wouldn't be wrong if the caring society extends its interest to these spheres. This however bears specific problems. For example serious complications stem from the fact that neither knowledge nor cultural values are ideologically neutral. Here a threat may emerge that the care for souls can serve as an instrument of the rule over souls.

The threat looms particularly clear when care for our cosmology (Weltanschauung beliefs) is involved. The care in this field is taken by the Church by believers in Allah, by the states ruled by Communists. Some of us do not wish at all to experience any care in this respect some on the other hand appreciate it. But in any case those who are for the caring society should clearly indicate the range of care such

an ideal society must provide. And I am personally in favour of the form not interfering with my beliefs especially if such interference should come from the state.

Finally it is the question of what forms should care take what would be its style? Let me outline five possible styles of care: charitable, philanthropic, paternalistic, bureaucratic and partner like.

First traditional charitable style consists in giving support to those in need mainly to the poverty stricken it has a religious background of fulfillment of a moral duty. Philanthropic care is a manifestation of human solidarity. In modern times this type of care is more often than not an object of derision (confidence in practical motivations and institutional forms is nowadays much stronger than belief in human solidarity).

The paternalistic style is an expression of a sense of responsibility for the fates of some individual people or groups but this responsibility is not regulated by any strict rule. Here are some examples: a father's responsibility for his children (hence its name), employers for his workers, the state's responsibilities for its citizens etc. A specific trait of this style much practised in socialist states is that decisions about who and what care is to be given are at the discretion of its providers while the attitude of the recipients is that of wide expectations and claims. Claiming attitudes have also to do with the style of bureaucratic care: care apportioned not by recognition as in the paternalistic line but according to strict legal regulations. This style is typical of certain welfare states in the West.

Finally the fifth style partner like assumes that care is due (for this or that clear reason) but its essence is cooperation with the recipient in his or her coping with life problems to help develop individual initiative, ingenuity, activeness. Typical of this is respect for and recognition of recipient's subjectivity.

I think none of these styles can be totally rejected or discredited. Each can be useful depending on individual situations of the one in need, one who provides care and in what field. However most of all I am in support of the fifth partner like style which puts a particular emphasis on the autonomy of people in need. Owing to this the odds are that the care will fulfill its material and psychological functions to the individual bringing on the occasion desirable societal effects.

In any case when we discuss a caring society we should be aware of a possibility of adopting varied styles of care.

NO CARING WITHOUT MINIMAS AND MAXIMAS

by
ROMESH THAPAR

Regional location and the historical processes which brought about that location through migrations conquest traumatic confrontations exilings and the compulsions of migration have a profound bearing on the proper understanding of what is care and caring in human terms. If this complex background is not kept in some kind of focus including the fact that a 100 million or more left Europe to populate the new world we would tend to get a very distorted understanding of the culture of caring as it develops in our times.

We are living at a stage of human development where social security of varying complexity and contrariness is more or less guaranteed to the people who inhabit the northern hemisphere yet even as millions face hunger if not starvation and death in the lands of the South once ruled and exploited by the North. A global viewing of the caring culture changes depending on the point from which the assessment is made and the degree of impartial study behind it.

Within the affluent North animals turned into pets are more cared for even surrounded in luxuries as the poor of the South wait for some kind of assistance to reach them from the surpluses of their elites and of the northern regions. It is a global situation well covered in the media but never made the subject for incisive comment and education. We are through our avarice and greed and our thoughtlessness creating separate worlds within our world. The pattern is familiar. It already exists within nations.

The ramifications of this state of affairs are too many to discuss in a short intervention but it would be ridiculous to interpret the contrasts as pointers to the business of care and caring. And yet the thrust is of charity and very often little else. Those unfortunates it is imagined have somehow to be saved from the awful fate that awaits them because their societies are hard brutish and uncaring.

Assessments of this sort may well be relevant in the larger context. No society in today's world should permit itself the selfishness to ignore the basic minimums the minimas for its members. To achieve this it must necessarily establish the limits to high living the maximas for those who are more fortunate in its

society. But then this is easier said than done in today's world. The divisions are not easily dissolved.

In the distant past and before the rise of global colonialism and imperialism most societies organised themselves around interdependence or sharing or trusteeship. These fragile structures of caring in tribal and communal societies could not survive the impact of foreign marauders and exploiters. The looting of the southern lands made non caring a way of life for half the world's people.

We are not speaking of beggars but of people so broken that they are unable to seek out anything more than bare survival in the economic environment left to them. They still somehow retain their sensitivities their dignities and their hope for better days. The task in our southern lands is to heighten awareness of the plight of these sections before they are lost forever. Charity is no answer. Instant solutions are also self-defeating. It is only through institutions geared to transforming tasks that we can remedy the ravages of an imperial and colonial past.

Charity whether it be local or global must be transformed through institutions to become a catalyst which restores the creativity and productivity of these millions. It is this thrust of care and what we call caring which must develop locally and globally. A starting point is to remove the fog of misunderstandings about the past of the peoples of the world. Effort in this area is encumbered with all manner of inhibitions.

There is not nearly enough understanding of the imperial colonial era. It is played down or muted because it causes embarrassment to the so-called information societies of the north. For this reason there is no comprehension of how aid from the affluent nations is seen by the receivers as a debt repaid. So much of the global economic dialogues dies because the past is not allowed to speak. But memory cannot be starved.

In this connection despite the vast spread of statistical and interpretative surveys no one suggests that for general enlightenment it might be useful to study the migration of European populations to the newly discovered continent of the world and their forcible occupation. This migration involving a minimum of some 100 million saved Europe from the population explosion that today ravages Asia. A proper study of these movements of people and the need to evolve a view on present day counter migrations which assists a global balance through settlements in comparatively empty regions is long overdue and would give new dimensions to the notions of care and caring.

If we allow support to build for exclusive and ethnically pure national conglomerations even theoretically (now that a mix is visible everywhere) we will build frustrations, angers and alienations on a scale which encourages all the political distortions and savageries that destroy our hopes for a more human and creative future. We can see the beginnings of this breakdown. And we have not really started on managing the inevitable tensions and polarisations in communities facing the arrival of immigrants. These are new problems but it would not be an exaggeration to say that they will soon become part of the global dialogue.

The quality of care and caring must therefore undergo profound change within nations and between nations. As a starting point I would like to urge a global dialogue on minimas and maximas. It is here that our value systems are tested. It is here that respect for human dignity and opposition to wasteful life styles find a creative mutation. It is here that we are able to see the outlines of the social restructuring which will be required to give care and caring a new content and thrust.

Any other approach is overlaid with what is called do-gooding, conscience-soothing, easy moralising, patronage peddling, charity drives and a host of unhealthy vibrations which in the long run vitiate human relationships. We have enough evidence of this and it is a mistake to imagine that these messy endings are the result of political manipulation and ideological mumbo jumbo. We have come to a point in our global development when we need a larger presence of unselfishness and humaneness to reinforce our projection of care and caring.

Let me explain our backwardness in these grassroots matters by testing practice in societies that happen to be well endowed. At this moment when the patterns of social security are under assault we underplay the prejudices we have created by popularising thoughts about the unemployed, about work shirkers, about dole, about moonlighting, about drop outs, which are disparaging and discriminatory. They not only spark psychological aberrations but encourage a way of life outside the established norms, largely illegal and with a potential for extending illegalities. The moral decay so visible globally is rooted in our failure to reassess our attitudes towards the minimas and maximas.

At the present level of consciousness about these matters it is surprising that the area of care and caring remains alive and manages to defeat the growing cynicism. I am concerned about these facets of affluence because they willy nilly influence attitudes within the elites

of poor or developing societies. We need in other words to evolve new and more sensitive attitudes to inequalities between societies if caring is to become an integral part of a humane consciousness.

Why are we not proceeding to establish a minimum which is the right of all citizens of a particular society to receive a payment made without reference to the earning potential of the individual? Everything above the minima is earned as a result of special skills. Training in these skills would be open to those who seek them and competitive within institutions or outside through more open or flexible systems. We cannot remain captives of ritualised past practice.

Each society would necessarily evolve its own minima as it would its maxima, the point beyond which taxation should come into play depending on prevailing notions of a mix of incentives to encourage productivity. We had better excite thinking in this area before the electronic revolution pushes us massively into the era of robots. We are dragging our feet, damaging our sensitivities about the problems of our less fortunate fellow humans or those threatened by the new leaps in technologies.

A much more complex aspect of care and caring is the relationship between minimas and maximas between societies, some very advanced, others not so advanced, quite a few backward and very backward. Obviously our world of nations cannot forever live at different levels of minimas and maximas, especially when this world is becoming a kind of neighbourhood as a result of scientific and technological advance. Some transitional solutions will have to be found and it is here that the central challenge to care and caring will have to be uncovered if political and economic leadership is wise and creative.

The thought will cross the mind that all that is needed is more solid effort to return our world to the pathways of peace. A cutting of armament budgets, now beyond one trillion dollars a year, could dramatically change the varying balance between minimas and maximas. But is such a transformation possible without critical changes in the value systems which underpin attitudes to minimas and maximas and the business of implementing them? That is how care and caring assume catalytic dimensions.

Other approaches to the problem of care and caring in societies cannot but remain marginal and open to all the vibrations that charity and aid and donating and assistance, however well meant, invariably spark vibrations that are often ugly, which create deep misunderstandings and angers destructive of healthy relationships.

This build up of explosiveness must be reduced or it might at some stage vitiate our sensitivities. It is a danger too easily glossed over.

Do I have to advance evidence? India in the fifties fed for several years by over publicised US food aid remained a hostile and suspicious receiver. Africa today hovering on starvation and death will not be grateful when food aiding has salvaged millions from certain death. Live Aid has to find roots in a minima/maxima texturing before it breaks the heritage of the past and makes the whole question of care and caring a Live Issue. Maybe the new generations might reduce the gap between the thought and practise in their own life styles. That would certainly mark a significant advance in care and caring. The new slogans already have a new ring. They say Deny Yourself. Concretely caring in terms of minima and maxima means a complete reversal of economic attitudes. For instance no nation which has part of its population on the brink of starvation can think in terms of exporting food. In fact exports will have to wait until the minima is fulfilled.

The brotherhood of tomorrow based on care and caring will be built on minima/maxima equations. They will be variously described depending largely on levels of all round development and maturity but they will constitute the critical yardstick for measuring the quality of our concerns and commitments. The new sensitivity and consciousness cannot but become more and more holistic to survive the ravages of despair, demoralisation and ultimately divisiveness. Every attempted short cut and compromise will return us to positions which remind us of the forgotten fundamentals of civilised living.

Whatever our concerns at this particular moment they have to be an integral part of the over all global perspective establishing alternative values and alternative attitudes. We particularly at this meeting belong in a sense to the communication society and it really is our responsibility to disseminate these values with a greater ferocity than we are doing at the moment. In fact there is hardly any impact on the media whether in the northern or the southern hemisphere. Television beams away visions of the good life which are synonymous with dreams of a life brimming with waste and vulgarity.

So much of the humanity that is growing within us is smothered or blunted because we de-link from a realistic understanding of what is described these days by thoughtful thinkers as our problematique. It is here that a major effort at enlightenment and renewal is needed. And it must come from those who are obsessed by the promise that the future holds whatever the traumas of today.

THE NEED FOR COMMUNICATION

by

UVAIS AHAMED

The enormity of the planet in which we are living is a thing of the past. It was decades ago that man spoke of an enormous world and of its inaccessible distant corners. In spite of a multitude of crisscrossing cultures man made barriers and boundaries. People are today communicating with one another in an unprecedented manner. The technological advances made by man in diverse spheres and the firm grip he has on the most sophisticated know how has not only made the conquest of outer space a mere child's play attended of course by monumental follies and disasters but also has made the boring of the earth miles and miles inside and the possibility of making the sea inhabitable only a matter of time.

The advances that have been made in the field of telecommunication and those that are envisaged during the next 14 years before we all become 21st century folks will certainly bring the prospects of a global village even closer. Man could of course enjoy the fruits of his enormous labour in the area of science only if the world is spared the emergence of a mad man holding the levers of power. Man must also pray to the good God to save those who hold the levers of power from suddenly going mad. Either way spells disaster to humankind.

THE WORLD AS A VILLAGE

Notwithstanding such calamitous eventualities the era has dawned when man has to start thinking of the world as a village among other planets and not as an entity harboring a network of disparate villages with commonality in whatever form absolutely non-existent. Globally speaking we have to reconcile ourselves to the notion that we do have a commonality and that it resides in the fact that we are inhabitants of this small planet the earth. We as such have a common heritage as beings of the earth distinguished from beings of any other planet if ever life is found to exist in them.

We also know that only a quarter of the earth is land while the rest is one huge mass of water. The Ocean. One can easily assume that the first men who appeared on earth would have definitely called

this The Ocean if they knew then that the world had more sea than land Leaving aside the two poles the North and South are not conducive to human habitation because of the extreme cold we are left with even less land This has to be shared with a multitude of non human species of life beginning with insects reptiles animals birds and going on to other fauna and flora Hence the survival of humanity on earth is heavily hinged on the extent to which people and nations help each other When viewed against this backdrop it is not difficult to understand the stupidity of stratifying countries into first second and third worlds When will we be thinking in terms of one world? It is indeed encouraging to bear the words life We are the world carried by the air waves clear and loud But to what extent are we translating these lofty ideals into laudable deeds? To what extent are we effecting changes in our lifestyles? in our thinking? and in our value systems to help us leave the world as a better place than the one we were born into? Is it not true that a voluminous amount of grain which could alleviate the suffering of the famine stricken rural poor in Africa is being used to fatten cattle to provide us who are already fat with the meat (which we have got accustomed to enjoy) for 3 hearty meals a day? Is it also not true that 70% of the time and energy of the world's renowned scientists is spent on discovering new and more effective ways of annihilating humanity from the face of this world?

MYRIADS OF ORGANIZATIONS

It is within this framework one has to consider the focal theme of the conference *Who Cares? and How? Futures of Support in Different Cultures* The spontaneous answer to the first questions who cares? will seem to be that every body cares The myriads of organizations that have sprung up in diverse parts of the globe with the express purpose of serving others bear eloquent testimony to this Varied and numerous are the organizations at local national and international levels aligned and committed to the task of support in different cultures The United Nations is replete with agencies deeply committed to the task of caring in numerous areas of human endeavour UNESCO has an education sector social sciences sector natural sciences sector communication sector a sector for assistance in women's affairs youth activities and so on all promising support in different cultures in the same way the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization have their own programmes of support for people everywhere in their respective fields of

specialization Then there are the other inter governmental organizations like the Non aligned Movement ASEAN the Commonwealth and Afro Asia Solidarity which avowe to a participatory approach in caring for each other There are also innumerable non governmental organizations both at the national and international level Several countries have produced humanists philanthropists and holy saints of a high and rare calibre They have extended and continue to extend support in different cultures

A FLAW BEHIND SUPPORT

Every right minded person will but agree that if all organizations carry out as good samaritans all the functions they are committed to all the human sufferings misgivings illiteracy poverty ignorance and ill health would be eradicated Most tragically all these things are lacking How can such a situation exist when everybody seemingly cares? There should be a flaw behind all this philosophy of support This is where the query How ? becomes important

In spite of the present trends in population explosion this beautiful planet is still a pleasant place to live in Fortunately there is enough space in the world to hold its population and enough food to feed this population with the sufficient nutrition it requires Unfortunately there is disparity both in its production localities and in its distribution Hence the gap between the haves and have nots is ever widening Hence various communities and cultures across the borders are bestrewn with poverty calamity ruin abyss ignorance ill health anger and provocation

Whither has the caring gone? Whither the alleviation of human suffering and agony? Have the organizations been in a deep slumber? Innumerable questions could be flung left and right seeking remedies and solutions The crucial point is not who cares? but How? It is the nature of caring the calibre of caring and the processes of caring that matters

How should one care for the less fortunate? The answer to this question depends to a great extent on how much we are in grip with certain realities Love is not self love compassion is not self pity sacrifice is not self gratification The organizations that are set up with the avowed objectives of serving others are in many instances concerned with the annual reports which they have to write highlighting the clientele they have reached and the funds they have doled out Their very existence depends to a large extent on how well their reports read Hence the desperate competition among these

organizations should learn to give up that something which they hold dear for the sake of the others. Leo Tolstoy was right when he said that the hard task master who rides his donkey with a heavy load is ready to do anything to relieve the beast of the burden other than getting off his back. The very thing that is called for is the very thing that is denied.

PUTTING THE CHILD IN ORDER

Cultural development is synonymous with the rights and privileges that man enjoys in society. The better the amenities available to man the higher the cultural heritage would be. The UN charter on human rights is on paper such a marvelous code of ethics. Universal peace and cultural heritage could thrive only if they are based on social justice. Hence the desire to help should be embedded in the inner crevices of the human mind. The desire to support should originate in man himself since everything begins in the mind of man. Hence it is in the mind alone that support and deference for different cultures could be founded on a firm footing. When seeking solutions to the question How? it is significant that a sound code of ethics should be instilled deep into the heart of man which calls for self sacrifice as an integral part of support.

This reminds me of the parable of the learned professor and his map of the world. A map of the world was drawn on one side of the paper with a figure of the child on the other. The professor tore the map into small pieces and instructed a group of young students to put it right again within a stipulated time. Strive as they would racking all their brains they could not and time ran out. Look here said the wise old professor put the child in order which you find over leaf. This was child's play and within seconds the feat was accomplished. When overturned after passing the world had automatically come right. Sons said the professor Put the child in order and the world will come right as a natural culmination. Hence the answer to the query How? rests in the moulding of the mind of man from childhood.

This brings us to the question of futures of support. Should support be perennial? Should a section of society be mere recipients of a dole forever with no human dignity? How could equality of opportunity be created? Self reliance induced? The vast gap between the haves and the have nots be bridged? One might wonder whether in a human world replete with innumerable weaknesses man could ever reach a dimension where equality could prevail. This could seem

a utopian ideal. Yet if everybody works with a utopian ardour and enthusiasm even such an ideal would not be an unreachable goal.

INJUSTICES PLAGUE SOCIETY

The futures of support will not rest on the mere advocacy of political philosophy through pamphlets, speeches and other media. These could never bring the desired results. The futures of support should be in the form of a desire to change not the society directly but to envisage a change in the individual reciprocated by a similar change in society. What plagues society today are social, economic and political evils and injustices. These are the areas which cry out for changes and more benign approaches.

To the question How? we should develop strategies to make human beings realize their own enormous strength. Human dignity could be best asserted in action and so we must make men active in seeking solutions to their problems. Given the fact that the large majority of the people in the world are rural folks a sustained effort should be made to seek solutions in rural values and aspirations. We should find a continuum in time by which traditions of the past could enable the people to acquire cohesiveness and also fortify the spirit of self reliance. An elitist approach to the question How? on the other hand is void and meaningless. It may emanate from managers of political, educational, commercial, military, administrative and technocratic planning institutions both national and international. But this elitist strategy will have only unintelligible jargon that could confuse down to earth work. Elitist approaches and ivory tower isolation is not the answer to How?

THE FUTURES OF SUPPORT SHOULD AIM AT

- 1) Encouraging public participation at all possible levels
- 2) Encouraging man to realize the value of human dignity, the nobleness of man and his inviolable rights and privileges
- 3) Attempting to minimize social injustices such as caste and class differences

EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION VITAL

It is here that the all important question of communication arises. How we are going to care and how we are going to help will depend on how effective communication is. If any worthwhile inroads are to

be made to uplift the less fortunate from the abyss of ruin they have fallen into the different cultures will have to be understood appreciated and promoted One must also note that deep rooted attitudes and convictions of traditional societies cannot be changed easily Habits of thought and conduct can be stubborn obstacles to development Nevertheless attitudinal changes will have to be brought about to facilitate growth and development The need to acquaint oneself with different cultures cannot be over emphasized Knowing the culture of a community can be equated with the ability to know and read a map With such an ability one cannot get lost or sound unintelligible

How could one care when communication comes to a standstill due to cultural barriers and differences? How could one care when those that care are insensitive to the culture and basic needs of those who should be cared for? Hence in innovating strategies to care for those who need it the most significant element is to bridge the gap that could divide the world into watertight and impregnable compartments nullifying the good effects of caring

One must make note of the fact that society is but people in communication and that too in the sharing of human experiences cultural communication is synonymous with the returning of the community to itself Society will naturally come to a dead end if communication breaks down It is plain that journalists broadcasters film producers and writers who are the mediators of society will be valueless if their message is not assimilated As a definite step towards making caring something meaningful a climate in which each others culture could be understood should be promoted and fostered This not only means encouraging fostering and preserving the identity of each cultural group but also through efficient communication practices encouraging national integration peaceful co existence and growth of the respective cultures which could also blossom into a rich heritage of beauty and elegance

CARE IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

by

MIHAÏLO MARKOVIC

There was much gentleness nobility and warmth in all the speeches in the opening session However the other side of the spirit of aloha in confrontation with a strange unreasonable unjust reality must be "critical spirit a spirit a spirit dissatisfied with a world that has failed to be what it could have been and which is not yet nearly what it could conceivably be in the future

What I would like to do in this short presentation can be summarized in the following four points

- 1) I should like to clarify some conceptual difficulties about the term caring and especially to remove the current confusion that consists in associating caring about people's needs with controlling people's lives under the disguise of protecting them
- 2) I believe that all existing societies are more or less careless within the frames of national societies and internationally This occurs in a situation when globally speaking technological and economic conditions have already been created to remove the worst forms of human misery and to ensure a decent level of satisfaction of basic needs of all individuals
- 3) This carelessness can be overcome only if existing social inequalities and enormous military expenditures are substantially reduced The latter is easier to achieve than the former
- 4) The problem of caring is not only the problem of the amount of social means allocated to this purpose but also the problem of a truly democratic self governing organization of social care that will offer an alternative to the wrong dilemma either spontaneous philanthropy reduced to the area of civil society or wasteful bureaucratic welfare centered in political society There is a third possibility and it is by far preferable

1

What constitutes the conceptual problem of care is the lack of clarity about what care really is and what it must not be identified with

Here is what in my opinion care is not and must not be. It should not be a pretext for control and domination. It must not be paternalistic and arrogant, reducing the cared for person to a passive object, expecting excessive gratitude even when it is only a partial return for past abuses. Care must not be furthermore impersonal, mechanical, reduced only to physical needs. Some of the basic human needs are to develop and maintain personal and group identity, to belong to a community, to have and be recognized. Care must not turn into a lucrative profession which appropriates for itself an increasingly big share of the national cake. Organized forms of care must be nearer to the source of suffering and deprivation.

In fact care is a practically expressed concern for the satisfaction of other human beings' true needs. True needs would be those the satisfaction of which is a necessary condition of human survival and development. False needs are not such a condition and may even threaten human existence and growth. Thus caring involves responsibility. It is wrong when it supports and brings to life false needs such as excessive consumption, domination, violent abuse of other person, or self-affirmation that is inconsiderate to other people.

2

The tendency to care about others is one of the fundamental dispositions of human nature. Such a disposition clearly exists in all developed living organisms.

With humans caring is less instinctive and more conscious, less determined, more purposeful, chosen and in that sense free. In all societies at all times care was not only parental but also more or less directed toward the old, sick, or handicapped. The idea that the human being is a self-centered, isolated individual concerned only about oneself, free to do one's own thing and free just in the sense of the absence of external obstacles to what one desires, this idea emerged in modernity rather late in human history. It surely is the consequence of a new historical situation, one in which technical means were created for exponential material growth in which it became possible to accumulate the results of one's individual work and to invest them into production that could bring to the owner ever growing returns, ensuring the satisfaction of ever new individual needs at an unprecedented level.

Under those conditions care for others tends to be reduced to a minimum. It assumes the form of philanthropic activity of individuals, small organizations, and religious communities. At the peak of the laissez-faire society the view prevailed that care for the

old, weak, sick, or underprivileged was not one of the concerns of the state. This attitude of Nineteenth Century ruling elites gave a strong impetus to Socialist movements with their emphasis on solidarity and social security. Roosevelt's New Deal and the idea of a welfare state also was a prudent response to the evils of a deepening economic and social crisis and to the challenge of socialism. It secured to the West half a century of relative social peace and of surprising inner harmony. But it is fair to say that a good deal of the material means used for welfare come from superprofits in the exchange of goods with the underdeveloped parts of the world or directly from the exploitation of colonies.

Thus while the degree of care within industrially advanced countries and the Soviet Union considerably increased between the two world wars, care in international terms was almost totally absent. Aid to developing countries emerged as an idea and reality only after the Second World War with the dismantling of former colonial empires, the emergence of dozens of new independent states, and the creation of the United Nations and its various agencies.

The amount of foreign economic aid has so far been rather disappointing. Although it has increased in absolute terms over the decades, it represents only 0.3% of the GNP of developed countries. The fact is that these countries on the average spend 5.4% of their GNP for military purposes (18 times more, \$30.4 billion of aid versus \$547 billion of military expenditures in 1983).

Moreover, a good deal of this aid is not so much an expression of real care as an instrument of economic domination and power politics. In 1982, military expenditures of developed countries exceeded \$521 billion. In that year, public expenditures in all developing countries reached \$113 billion for education and \$50 billion for health. The budget of the US Air Force alone is larger than the total educational budget for 1.2 billion children in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, excluding Japan. On the other hand, the Soviet Union in one year spends more on military defense than the governments of all the developing countries spend for education and health care for 3.6 billion people. So much for care in international relations!

Now when the question arises about the possible distinction between careless, caring, and overcaring societies in our present civilization, I would like to express the view that all existing societies are more or less careless or insufficiently caring. There is not such thing in our present day world as an overcaring society. That does not mean that there is not the phenomena of overcaring or that there are not widespread tendencies of overcontrol, marked as overcaring.

We should indeed distinguish the two at least conceptually. In reality the lack of knowledge of actual motives in any given case can lead us to confuse them.

It is one thing if a government tries to improve the quality of life for its citizen but wrongly perceives their needs or overdoes in a certain area so much that it demobilizes the creative impulses of people and brings about various forms of parasitism.

Here are examples of those two forms of overcaring. For some years after the Second World War many apartments in Yugoslavia were built by the state without a kitchen. They were built for families whose houses were destroyed during the war or who moved from one town to another or from the countryside to the town. State care over these people went so far as to determine for them a definite collectivistic style of life. Since it was assumed that all women would be employed and that all people would love to eat together in public cafeterias it was decided that kitchens were no longer needed. But the assumption was wrong and people preferred to turn sitting rooms or bathrooms into kitchens.

Another example of overcaring was the indiscriminate offer of scholarships to all students regardless of their motivations and ability. Large numbers of young students took those grants and spent years in the university without doing any serious work. Then the government went to the opposite extreme and abolished all grants for awhile. Overcaring does indeed end up in parasitism.

It is an entirely different thing when under the pretense of caring for its people a government introduces more or less subtle forms of domination and control. For example certain governments care so much for the security of their people that they tap every international telephone call from and to its territory. This happens in the so called free world as much as behind the so called iron curtain. Another example of pseudo overcaring is when governments are so much concerned about the souls of their citizens that they introduce compulsory religious or ideological education.

It is true that one should be critical of both true over caring and the authoritarian treatment of people under the disguise of pseudo overcaring. But both the motives and the consequences are different in these two types of cases parasitism in one case subordination in the other.

Another distinction should be made about overcaring. The criterion of how much care there is in one society should not be the amount of taxes paid by citizens or even the level of public expenditures for education health and social security in general. In

some societies quite substantial means are collected from citizens and then wasted. This raises the very essential problem of social self organization for caring functions. The question here is if there are better alternatives to the wrong dilemma a wasteful bureaucratic welfare state versus the return to traditional spontaneous philanthropy outside of the sphere of political society. Before I come to the question of social organization let me give some evidence for my conviction expressed earlier that all present societies are insufficiently caring for the needs of their people.

If we start with the superpowers the picture is the following. In 1982 United States military expenditures were \$196 billion (6.4% of GNP) public expenditures for education \$196 billion and for health \$136 billion. Per soldier \$89 000 was spent for education *per capita* \$686 for health *per capita* \$589.

As a consequence health service in the US is not available for many people a situation worse than in many Eastern European countries. There is more population per physician (500) or per hospital bed (170) in the US than in Bulgaria or Hungary where the respective figures are 390 and 90 for Bulgaria and 460 for Hungary. In the US 20% of the population lives in relative poverty.

The second superpower the Soviet Union spends \$170 billion for the military \$77 billion for education and \$48 billion for health. Expenditures per soldier are nearly \$46 000 whereas public expenditures per capital in education are \$288 and for health only \$178. In spite of a tremendous building effort since the late Fifties many people still don't have a decent apartment and the way people have to stand for hours in queues in far too few department stores is a disgrace to the system.

Europe offers a slightly better picture but many of these problems such as unemployment in Western Europe and poor housing and low level of services in Eastern Europe could be solved had not European countries poured \$100 160 a year for military purposes during the Seventies and Eighties.

A really depressing picture is found in the Third World. Between 1960 and 1983 military expenditures of developing countries increased five times from \$33 to \$162 billion. At the same time every day in Africa alone 14 000 children die of hunger or hunger related causes. The costs of operation of one single aircraft carrier which is \$590 000 a day could have saved them all. In South Asia and Africa only 34% to 48% of population have safe water life expectancy is 40-50 years the infant mortality rate is high and there are thousands or dozens of thousands of people per one physician or

per none hospital bed (Ethiopia Chad Mali Mauritania Nigeria Sudan Indonesia Afganistan Pakistan Nepal Bangladesh Laos Cambodia Thailand)

At the same time arms imports in developing countries increased from \$2 billion in 1965 to \$28 billion in 1983

Countries in South Asia and Africa which spend \$1.2 for health *per capita* are able to afford \$4,000-10,000 per soldier. This madness tends to grow exponentially

3

As you may have noticed the evidence above demonstrates that the overwhelming carelessness of contemporary societies did not involve data about social differences. Another aspect of insufficient care is the coexistence of luxury and misery. In spite of the fact that the burden of state taxes has increased in recent decades and that a significant part of the state revenues is allocated for social security inequalities among social groups are still enormous and are not tending towards being reduced. A powerful middle class has emerged that resists social change in favor of the disadvantages. Those social forces that struggle for more caring societies for greater contributions from the rich or for substantial reduction of the present differences between the rich and the poor are confronted with egoism and indifference of a silent majority that only recently learned the joys of material comfort and is hardly ready to sacrifice any bit of it. The seemingly unresolvable riddle of the present day historical situation is that the conservative attitude of the middle classes in advanced societies under the present conditions of relative prosperity makes any radical social change by democratic means impossible. Even when they temporarily come to power because of mass dissatisfactions with their opponents parties that advocate substantial social reforms lose electoral support when they attempt to implement their programs. As things are now a more just redistribution of wealth and the overcoming of present class differences would require the use of violence. That is what happens in the Third World all the time.

The trouble is that violent social change executed by a minority not only deprives majority citizen of their civil rights but also tends to reproduce class differences in a new form. Victorious former revolutionaries and their loyal heirs invariably tend to materially reward themselves for their services to the nation and to reproduce the super luxurious style of life of the defeated upper classes. They tend to be as elitist and careless as their predecessors. And equally they tend to waste a major portion of the national wealth on military purposes.

That is why the struggle against militarism in all its forms becomes such a basic issue. The heavy burden of military expenditures presses everybody except the wealthiest citizen who find way to avoid paying any taxes. Weapons produced and accumulated in senseless numbers threaten the very survival of everybody and all life on earth. (Out of the 25,000 existing nuclear missiles one hundred would suffice to destroy this planet for good). Billions wasted on weapons that must never be used. (The \$780 billion spent on the military mean than \$150 *per capita* of the world's population should be compared with the \$32 total public expenditure *per capita* for the entire developing world. \$10,060 billion of the world's military expenditures since 1960 mean an investment of over \$2,000 by each living individual in the world).

Advocates of military spending might respond that people also need security and that concern about national defense is one of the forms of caring about people. This is a rather cynical attitude. Security either at the level of person or nations and national state is a basic socio psychological need and self defense is a legitimate right. However priority given to this need and this right in comparison with other needs and rights is out of any proportion. There is a complete reversal of ends and means on this issue. Nothing endangers more the very existence and development of human societies which is supposed to be the ultimate end than the means of this defense. Self defense turns into its very opposite self destruction.

That is why it will be increasingly difficult for humankind to solve any of this epochal tasks caring for this disadvantaged parts and individual being one of them unless the present day madness of militarization the arms race and the quickly growing arms trade is reversed.

4

This brings me to my last point. Any advocacy of greater social caring is not likely to win greater popular support if this means strengthening the bureaucratic state. Bertrand Russell was right when he ironically described the future welfare state as one in which one third of the people would work with insane intensity and effort one third would stay idle expelled from work and all social life and one third the state bureaucracy would be busy transferring the products of the former to the latter.

The only reasonable truly democratic alternative is a self governing structure of both the organization of work and of caring for the disadvantaged members of society. One must recognize the right to work and the right to social support in case of illness and

helplessness and fundamental socio economic rights comparable to civil rights such as the rights to vote to publicly to express ones views and to organize In order to implement those rights society must be so organized that from the elementary community to the level of global society decision making power stays in the hands of non professionals and not the bureaucratized representatives of citizens freely elected recallable rotatable after they serve one or two terms At each level such self governing organs of social care would directly deal with all issues from the area they represent and would delegate to higher level organs of social care only those issues which require coordination and over all direction

My profound conviction is that such self governing social care is the only feasible and attractive alternative to either bureaucratic waste and authoritarian care or to inadequate and uncoordinated philanthropic initiatives

**WHO CARES? AND HOW? CARING
MUTUAL AID & INTERACTING MINDS**

by
JOHN MORSE

Demographers generally recognize that one of the reasons for the population explosion is that public health programs in their very caring way mass immunized the people introduced measures of sanitation water supplies and other things which directly affected the death rates but not necessarily the birth rates The point here is that things were done *to* people and not *with* or *by* the people themselves Yet historically when there had not been such *caring* intervention the Demographic Transition as it is called had gone on smoothly with parallel downward reductions in both the death and the birth rates The slowly accumulating knowledge of families and the on going experiences of the peoples had been fed back *pari passu* into their own common evolving culture and behavior Systems people would refer to this as the self regulating process of an adaptive system

The very use of the word *who* in the title of this World Conference *WHO CARES? AND HOW?* forces us immediately to consider Just who are the actors? And the word *how* forces a serious consideration of the self regulating process of evolving systems Are the actors the people themselves or the State? And how do individuals interact with the State? How about political policies? In one country social expenditures have risen over the past twenty years from 15% to 33% of GNP with taxes expected to rise from 50% today to 70% by the end of the century Yet in another a cold steel scalpel is used to cut such expenditures arguing that solutions lie in the market place

The *who* and *how* questions of care are important to explore but so too is *care* itself Just what do we have in mind when we think about *care*? And are there phenomenological blocks to caring? It is easier to think about care in terms of material needs such as food clothing housing medicine and vocational education In many parts of the world this lack is nothing less than heart rending But more devastating is the lack of care given by a member of a city council to a nuclear question arguing that it is a National issue What are the blocks to this level of caring? There is an overarching caring a caring argued here as the *sine qua non* of global survival! But this is to get ahead of our story Suffice it to say that our exploration though

philosophical and historical here at the outset is necessary for the enumeration of appropriate actions both immediate and long term

First off we must explore the relationships of *individuals* with their aggregate a phenomenon far more complex than first suspected Basically just how do Individuals affect the behavior organization policies values goals decisions of the *Collective* be it a group community nation or the species and vice versa? Agreed Interventions do greatly influence the relationships But episodic thrusts of power by technocrats or by dictatorships chance or the advice of prophets don't illuminate the fundamentals of this phenomenon The artichoke heart is below many leaves

Also excluded from present consideration are the *answers* which might also be found in the study of simple organisms Slime mold for example survives well as a single cell when food is plentiful but in scarcity the cells clump differentiate and form food gathering aggregates like amoeba Mathematical modeling has been used to study just how such organizations might come about And at another level species and ecosystem biologists are currently probing the phenomenon of species interdependence how species *policies* one might say are arrived at For example fig trees nurture a particular wasp to assure pollination

Because of the unique properties of the human mind however such biological investigations can only partially illuminate the phenomenon here explored We'd like to go beyond the matter of imposed power simple genetic programming chance biological evolution and mathematical explanation to the consideration of phenomena resulting from the very special nature of the Human Mind And it's not that we are more beautiful than the Monarch butterfly Quite simply we are more complex and so too must be any analysis Hopefully this integrative exercise will initiate the flow of ideas permitting us to penetrate some of the fundamentals for a better understanding of the relationship between the individual and the aggregate We must learn to deal with our clear and imminent dangers threats to not only the Quality of Life (the human potential) but World Survival itself

FROM 'THE WHOLE BEAST' TO 'GREAT BEING' OUR POTENTIAL

The role of Mind as a controlling force over the brain though revealed over some twenty years ago by Nobel Laureate Roger Sperry is gradually being accepted¹ His insights regarding the primacy of

values are here extended Facts don't fully govern In everyday experience when we use the expression I'm doing this against my better [logical] judgement values and goals have indeed been interjected to temper the facts Call this mind over brain with values controlling

Our speculation here is that the principle of values acting as control for the *individual* is also applicable in the *plural* So that analogously there is a similar value control which takes place among what might be thought of as the *interacting minds* of the Aggregate J.B.S. Haldane geneticist biologist mathematician (a reader of Comte the originator of the term sociology who saw religion as having humanity as the object of worship) wrote² Now if the cooperation of some thousands of millions of cells in our brain can produce our consciousness the idea becomes vastly more plausible that the cooperation of humanity or some sections of it may determine what Comte calls a *great being* This our human potential can be compared to that of ants Lewis Thomas³ provides the insight

A solitary ant afield cannot be considered to have much of anything on his mind indeed with only a few neurons strung together by fibers he can't be imagined to have a mind at all much less a thought He is more like a ganglion on legs Four ants together or ten encircling a dead moth on a path begin to look more like an idea They fumble and shove gradually moving the food toward the Hill but as though by blind chance It is only when you watch the dense mass of thousands of ants crowded together around the Hill blackening the ground that you begin to see the *whole beast* and now you observe it thinking planning calculating It is an intelligence a kind of live computer with crawling bits for wits

Hopefully our speculation regarding humans their aggregate and the role of values can provide the necessary clue to our understanding of group cooperation and Mutual Aid And on the way to this perhaps we can better comprehend and deal with one important root of the problem something described by philosophers as the *Fallacy of Composition* Crudely put the total is not the sum of the parts⁴

Again this challenging task of comprehending the relationship between the Individual and the Aggregate is *not* trivial And though complex it must be exploited The diversionary attraction of the easier reductionist approaches to the question of *caring* not only perpetuates ineffective interventionist controls and bureaucratization but even more detrimental is the fact that reductionism as such prevents consideration of the really critical blocks and fundamentals

such as those just briefly mentioned. *Ipsa facto* and certainly strategically fundamental matters *must* be recognized and dealt with if we are ever to have long term ameliorations of today's crises. This argument is especially important when we recognize that the crises are not only interrelated but have a common etiology: Hunger, population injustice (both economic and social), energy environment and meaningful employment consistent with personal and cultural development, each tied to stress/unrest and ultimate holocaust. There was no doubt of this *interconnectedness of care and crises* in the minds of the United Methodist Church Bishops when they wrote and recently got approval of a Pastoral Letter including this sentence: Justice is forsaken in the squandering of wealth in the arms race while a holocaust of hunger, malnutrition, disease and violent death is destroying the world's poorest people. No matter how self-satisfying it might be, simply *Marching* for Hunger or Peace while necessary is not sufficient. All this argues the need for a better understanding of the principles of Mutuality and Interacting Minds. Hopefully this will contribute to the processes of our evolution toward the goal of an organic symbiotic and synergistic system in harmony in and with our environment.

A BIT OF HISTORY

Prince Petr Kropotkin was stimulated back in 1880 by a St. Petersburg lecture of Professor Kessler directing attention to Mutual aid⁵ as a factor as important as Darwin's survival of the fittest thesis, perhaps of even greater importance to us since *living* in the fullest sense of this word is more than the simple matter of *survival*. World human conditions indicate that we are not evolving up to our Life Quality potential.

Kropotkin's scientific work in Siberia revealed cooperation among animals in their harsh struggle for life; this was also observed in his sociological studies of savages, barbarians and the impoverished peasants of Russia. I saw Mutual Aid and Mutual Support carried on to an extent which made me suspect in it a feature of the greatest importance for the maintenance of life: the preservation of each species and its further evolution. A cursory review of history shows that early on there was this natural tendency along with the actual formation of instrumentalities for *mutual aid*. A Moorish traveller round the world, Ibn Battuta, passed through Anatolia in the first half of the 14th Century and was prompted to write about the cooperation and mutual aid manifest in the guild system which he found in every

town. But the guilds became perverted in time. The Cambridge Economic History of Europe covering the economic organizations of early modern Europe (pp. 464-9) indicate deprivations of guild authority resulting from monopolistic tendencies and subordination to the state. Cooperation suffered. These were changes for the worse.

Sadly this *natural* tendency for mutuality became perverted due to many interactions: power⁶, greed, control, and the State's bureaucratized attempts (with all good intentions, presumably) life quality function. The absorption of all social functions by the State necessarily favored the development of an unbridled, narrow-minded individualism. In proportion as the obligations towards the State grew in numbers, the citizens were evidently relieved from their obligations towards each other.⁷ It may not be too late to revive cooperation.

COOPERATION REVIVED

Robert Axelrod has written a timely book dealing with the evolution of cooperation⁸ in which he analyzes the conditions propitious for it. Lewis Thomas is quoted on the book cover as saying: I never expected to find wisdom or hope for the future of our species in a computer game, but here it is. Read it. Axelrod, a political scientist, says that promoting good outcomes is not just a matter of lecturing the players about the fact that there is more to be gained from mutual cooperation than mutual defection. It is also a matter of shaping the characteristics of the interactions so that over the long run there can be a stable evolution of cooperation. If we pay attention to what he has to say, we can see that there are substantiated, more effective ways other than *preachments* on goodness and cooperation. A *Tut* for *Tat* behavior *taught* cooperation by its reward/punishment feedback nature, thus producing group gains superior to those from the Golden Rule of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. Admonitions on goodness just life wolf/wolf can deflect our learning. Simple preachments won't do. But such efforts will persist until we realize that substance was lost when education became a matter of *business* with hierarchical institutionalization. We can be easily deflected from the more natural processes of learning.

His suggestions not only open the way to a revival of Kropotkin's Mutual Aid but also, though not mentioned, they provide key conditions which are helpful in two major respects: (a) To overcome the obstacle of individual and group implicit in the Fallacy of Composition, and (b) to give free play of values to both individuals.

and the aggregate for use individually and through their interacting minds. This means that for both Individuals and the Aggregate there can be a binding of rational facts and values for better cooperation and mutual decision making for collective action. Axelrod⁹ says that

The most promising finding is that if the facts of Cooperation Theory are known by participants with foresight the evolution of cooperation can be speeded up. We are limited here in giving the fascinating development of his ideas beginning with the iterated Prisoner's Dilemma said to be the *E coli* of social psychology¹⁰. Suffice it to say that his empirical research found as mentioned above that *live and let live* (Tit for Tat) was the best strategy for the development of mutual cooperation without central control simply by starting with a cluster of individuals who rely on *reciprocity*. In a way this is the Prisoner's Dilemma writ large with enough repeated situations of this sort in an environment where the *players* are able not to make face to face deals but to act from a community base of understanding and common values. Mutuality. Axelrod says that cooperation can be promoted. 1. Enlarge the shadow of the future so [that it] is sufficiently important relative to the present. 2. Change the payoffs [to make] the long term incentive for mutual cooperation greater than the short term incentive for defection. 3. Teach people to care about each other being altruistic to everyone at first and thereafter only to those who show similar feelings reciprocity as the basis for cooperation. 4. Teach reciprocity.¹¹ These practical suggestions when combined with the promotion of and emphasis on the importance of common values throw light on the fallacy of composition.

FALLACY & TRAGEDY

A more adequate definition of the Fallacy of Composition has already been given. Essentially the data banks as it were of Individuals which are necessary for their personal decision making differ from the data bank of facts required for overall judgements of the Group. Garrett Hardin's seminal article *The Tragedy of the Commons* illustrates this well. Each sheep added to a herdsman's flock grazed on common land is to his advantage since the added costs due to soil erosion of the Commons is divided among all others. Each will tend to add to the size of his flock to the detriment of all. The fallacy lies in the fact that the right decision or policy for the composite of herdsman does not flow from the separate judgements of each. The complete and necessary facts related to the Group are not available to a

sufficient number of Individuals. Actually some could never be as in the case of the over use of fertilizer or a pesticide which might show up generations later as having poisoned the aquifer or caused genetic damage to the future generation. Arrogance? Yes when individuals think they each have facts and nothing but the facts *ma'am*.

Our challenge is tied to the Dilemma the Fallacy and the Tragedy because of the lack of facts among all members and the imperfect exchange of information. Humility with mutuality of values tied to wonderment, doubt and reverence can begin to fill these gaps for more benign living.

As an example consider the herdsmen and their families with the members contributing to the common mixture of facts and values in an ambience of mutuality. A factual gap for one might be made up through the knowledge of another accepting judgments on the basis of trust coming from iterated experiences or through a deep sense of place and person in the historical development of culture. Crudely put the individuals thinking is aided by the thoughts of present and past persons with cultural values such as trust acting as glue to hold together and bridge over the missing parts. It is no secret that a highly developed culture provides the necessary condition for both individual and group behavior. But going beyond this it might be said that just as for Individuals the Mind (cum values) becomes the controlling force over brain so too the Interacting Minds in the developing culture of the Aggregate can act with mutuality fulfilling that natural tendency for Mutual Aid. Perhaps we can surmount the Prisoner's Dilemma and the Tragedy of the Commons! But there remain other obstacles.

OTHER FUNDAMENTALS

Before suggesting possible actions attention is directed to basics which must be kept in mind even though difficult to handle. Progress can not be made so long as we deal only with symptoms ignoring the systemic and fundamental problems simply because they are too complex or long range. Basically much depends on (A) our ability to redirect humankind's cultural path as discussed below. The other fundamentals are only briefly mentioned along with references. They cover the need (B) to secure general agreement on those universal values most basic to life consistent with a fulfilling freedom¹³. (C) evolve a new paradigm reflecting a sense of holism away from strict empiricism and Cartesian reductionism¹⁴. (D) rethink our impersonal

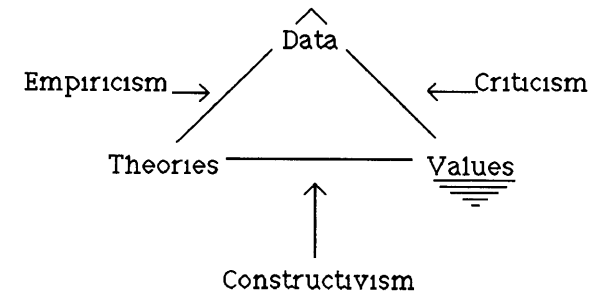
and alienating money market economy¹⁵ and (E) listen to Garrett Hardin¹⁶ who points out the need to distinguish between *promiscuous* (do gooding) altruism and *discriminating* altruism between *reciprocity groups*. The survival of the species is as it were an accidental by product of discriminating altruism. Biologists have known this more or less ever since Darwin but it has become crystal clear only the last two decades.

The first of these fundamentals (A) has been addressed by Andrew Schmookler in the already referred to book *The Parable of the Tribes: The Problem of Power in Social Evolution*. Early on he says (pages 18 and 21) that it is not culture per se which marks the point of discontinuity evident in the unfolding of human destiny but a particular stage of cultural development: civilization. Civilization is here defined as that stage or subset of cultural evolution which begins with the innovations of domestication that is with the shift from food gathering to food production. The rise of culture was of course a prerequisite for the rise of civilization but the development of culture in itself did not imply a radical change in human life. Just as the emergence of learning opened a crack through which culture could ultimately stream through so did culture open a small gap through which could eventually gush the remarkable transformations of the evolution of civilization. The possibilities for change became open ended. The biologically evolved constraints suddenly were removed and the mushrooming forth of new civilized social structures could and did occur.

The new human freedom made striving for expansion and power possible. Such freedom when multiplied creates anarchy. The anarchy among civilized societies means that the play of power in the system was uncontrollable. In an anarchic situation like that one can choose that the struggle for power shall cease. But there is one more element in the picture: *no one is free to choose peace but anyone can impose upon all the necessity for power*. This is the lesson of the parable of the tribes. If we wish to promote interactive mutuality in our species we must reduce all detected blocks of power. But more fundamentally in our evolution toward a more viable civilization we must recognize the need to make the necessary structural changes of which Schmookler writes:

Johan Galtung in one diagram nicely combines the new sense of the import of values with the classical empirical scientific approach¹⁷. He says that Epistemologically values become as important as data and theories. Thus we are working with a triangle in order to understand, criticize, construct and act. With the values a

preferred world can be depicted for we are fully capable of intuiting or conceiving that which is not even if we do not have knowledge in the empirical sense.



We are free to construct utopias on paper as blueprints proposals in any way our imaginations may carry us and this is not merely an idle pursuit by intellectuals with excess time. Neither data nor values are sufficient; this is where theories come into the game. As theories are inspired by extrapolations from data, they are to some extent tied to the past but they also permit us to speculate about the future.

For those who see things in *picture* we have here with this triangle a depiction of the phenomenon of the left/right blend of brain with values and distant goals, all providing the grist for what Sperry calls the controlling mind. Simply visualize a circle drawn around the triangle for an individual. And to visualize Interacting Minds one might think of the linked circles of the Olympic symbol.

SOME SPECIFICS

We can not simply leave the matter as a requirement for philosophical and attendant long term cultural and paradigmatic changes. However we *must* not forget these prerequisites to Life Quality and Survival. We must improve and change our systems, structures, present day institutions and policies, all with an eye of fostering Cooperation and Mutual Aid *with greater emphases on values & goals* for the interplay of minds in today's crucial plural decision making processes. Exigencies of the day demand action. Our present ways have led to alienation. Simple preaching of goodness and cooperation

has not been too successful in the establishment of those favorable conditions which promote Mutual Aid & Interacting Minds

As mentioned Axelrod's research has revealed very specific ways. In addition to this we are reminded of others by Donald Scherer¹⁸. He says that Schumacher's concern with smallness is that small groupings can be selective and thereby promote *community solidarity* a basis of trust and an alternative to coercion for avoiding Tragedies of the Commons. Smallness promotes visibility and offers repeated interactions among interdependent individuals who know each other thus to build up trust Kirkpatrick Sales Human Scale¹⁹ covers these and other points. These ideas and references are not exhaustive. Of importance here is simply the recognition of the fact that there are indeed many unexplored and untapped opportunities for immediate action. This whole exercise will have been in vain if it has not stimulated some of us to take the necessary time out from our preoccupying daily tasks to *simultaneously* deal with fundamental issues. This could partly calm our frustrations in seeing the needs for care growing without end and crises leading to holocaust.

To close on a more pleasing note and to remind us of our humanness we again quote Lewis Thomas. Music is the effort we make to explain to ourselves how our brains work. We listen to Bach transfixed because this is listening to a human mind. *The Art of the Fugue* is not a special pattern of thinking it is not thinking about a particular thing. The spelling out of Bach's name in the great unfinished layers of fugue at the end is no more than a transient notion something flashed across the mind.

The whole piece is not about thinking about something it is about thinking. If you want as an experiment to hear the whole mind working all at once put on *The St. Matthew Passion* and turn the volume up all the way. That is the sound of the whole central nervous system of human beings all at once.²⁰

SUMMARY OF CARING MUTUAL AID & INTERACTING MINDS

As the diagram indicates the analysis begins with the observation that the distressing Care questions are in turn linked to Crises of greater concern affecting not only Life Quality but our very Survival. This interconnectedness suggests the need to probe the common human fundamentals going deeper than our accustomed questioning of the *isms* the institutions and the related structural problems. An historical philosophical approach along with a search of the literature

and empirical research appears to have been productive in indicating some very specific short and long term prophylactic action opportunities.

At the turn of the century Kropotkin's scientific work with animals and his later sociological studies led him to see Mutual Aid as being perhaps of greater importance than Darwin's survival of the fittest. This natural condition an aspect of care has been lost for reasons discussed. Happily recent research reveals the ways other than conventional preachment in which cooperation *can* be revived.

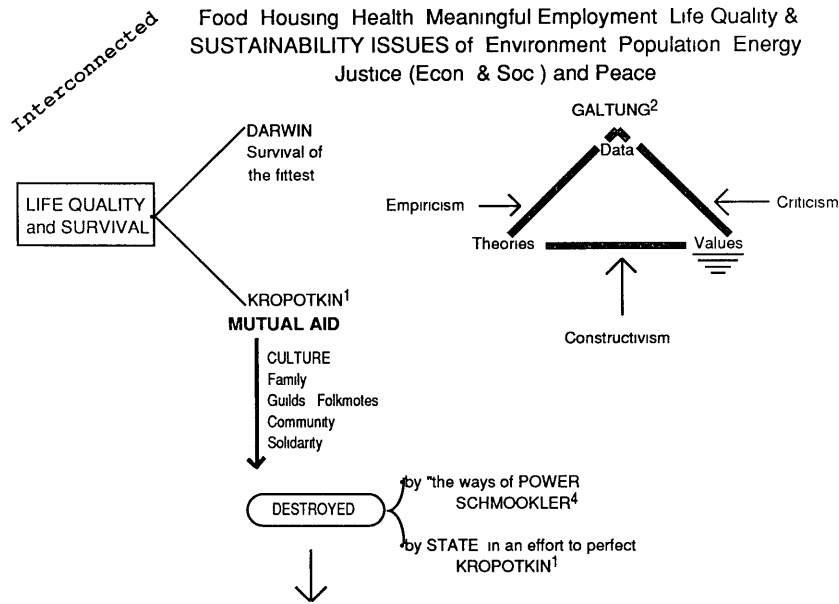
Galtung's Triangle helps us see beyond the now deprecated reductionist Newtonian Cartesian and strictly empirical approaches to understanding and decision making. His inclusion of *values* is *not* simply another conventional statement of their importance. This special sense ties in with Sperry's laboratory research indicating that the Mind acts over the physiological brain with values controlling. In this light the classically described blocks to viable group decision making are discussed. The Prisoner's Dilemma The Fallacy of Composition and the Tragedy of the Commons.

Our synthesis leads nicely to the speculation that the principle of values acting as control for the individual is also applicable in the plural Interacting Minds. Hopefully a directed effort in the implementation of this concept *interacting minds* will provide for better short and long range mutual handling of our care and crisis concerns. The diagram lists action opportunities. Steps for the enhancement of cooperation were discussed under *Cooperation Revived*.

ACTION SUGGESTION

The action suggestion is that as an adjunct the various care/crisis operating organizations educational and other institutions (separately or in association) take time out in *retreat* to study the strategies and opportunities related to the matters discussed. They might plan concerted educational programs to jointly begin to do some of the things which *should* have been initiated say forty years ago! Care programs always lagging behind demand and simplistic *crisis management* just won't do for long.

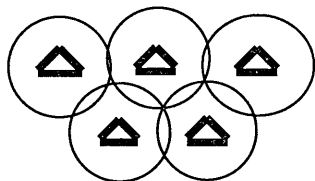
CARE & CRISES



?How to revive and expand MUTUALITY & COOPERATION?

- A Improve conditions propitious for cooperation Axelrod⁵ & others
- B Accept New Paradigm Mind over brain values controlling Sperry³
- C Downplay Newtonian/Cartesian reductionism Capra⁶
- D World view NOT conquest of nature and relief of Man's Estate
- E Encourage humility with doubt and wonderment not macho arrogance
- F Foster humanistic & holistic not materialistic teaching
- G Promote **discriminating** not promiscuous altruism Hardin⁷
- H Pursue research into the process of decision making in the plural The public good should not be whatever results from the pursuit of private ends! We have the Olympian task of better understanding our

INTERACTING MINDS



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- 5 Axelrod The Evolution of Cooperation (N.Y. Basic Books 1984)
- 6 Capra The Turning Point (Bantam 1984)
- 7 Hardin Naked Emperors Essays of a Taboo Stalker (Los Altos Kaufmann 1982)

NOTES

- ¹ See latest book of his *Science and Moral Priority Merging Mind Brain and Human Values* Roger Sperry (Praeger pbk 1985)
- ² *Inequality of Man* Chatto 1932 p 113
- ³ *The Lives of a Cell* Viking 1974 p 12
- ⁴ We are committing the fallacy of composition when we argue from the premise that every man can decide how he will act to the conclusion that the human race can decide how it will act (for example with regard to the rate of increase of population or the choice between war and peace) This or similar fallacy is committed whenever we assume without adequate reason that we can speak about groups in the same ways in which we can speak about their members that we can speak of a nation having a will or interests Of course it may be possible to do this there may be predicates applicable (in the same sense) to a group and to its members but this cannot be assumed without evidence It may also be possible to introduce a different but useful sense in which a predicate normally applied to individuals may be applied to a group but if so the new sense must be explained Quoted from Paul Edwards ed *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* vol 3 (New York Macmillan 1967) pp 169 179
- ⁵ *Mutual Aid* Prince Petr Kropotkin (written in 1902 after 7 years of research) Penguin 1939 and recently reprinted by Porter Sargent as an Extending Horizons Book
- ⁶ Andrew Bard Schmookler *The Parable of the Tribes* (Berkeley University of California Press 1984)
- ⁷ Ibid Kropotkin p 227
- ⁸ Robert Axelrod *The Evolution of Cooperation* Basic Books PL 5145 pbk 1984
- ⁹ Ibid p 24
- ¹⁰ The Prisoner's Dilemma gets its name from the story of two prisoners who are separately interrogated There is insufficient evidence to convict them of their crime that the police suspect them of having committed Unless they confess the worst conviction they risk is for illegal possession of firearms for which they would each be sentenced to a year in jail But the police and the prosecuting attorney are devious and they offer each prisoner the following deal you can turn states witness to help us put your partner away for ten years and we will let you go free The only hitch is that if both of you confess we'll convict both of you of armed robbery and ask the judge

for a lenient sentence of only six years for each of you To confess or not confess that is your dilemma If you are narrowly self interested you are better off confessing no matter what your partner does Since you both must see the issue this way you may both spend six years in jail But if you could act together as a group with a single mind you would act in the groups interest and hold out so that you both would spend a year in jail If however you reason from the fallacy of composition while your partner acts from self interest you will rest ten years in jail *Collective Action* Russell Hardin The Johns Hopkins University Press 1982 with emphases supplied

¹¹Ibid pp 124 141

¹²Garrett Hardin The Tragedy of the Commons *Science* 13 December 1968

¹³Sperry on page 115 of his book *Science and Moral Priority* says that What is needed more specifically is a new ethic ideology or theology that will make it sacrilegious to deplete natural resources to pollute the environment to overpopulate to erase or degrade other species or to otherwise destroy demean or defile the evolving quality of our biosphere

¹⁴Compelling argument is given by Fritjof Capra's *The Turning Point Science Society and the Rising Culture* Bantam Books 1984

¹⁵Cooperation and mutuality is more likely to be engendered when economics is viewed in human terms The Informal Economy does *not* enter the GNP yet those things done for ourselves and for each other (Mutuality!) represent according to British economist Charles Handy 50% of the countrys total economy

¹⁶*Naked Emperors Essays of a Taboo Stalker* William Kaufmann Inc (1982) p 126

¹⁷Johan Galtung *The True Worlds A Transnational Perspective* (NY The Free Press 1980) pp 30 31

¹⁸*Ethics and the Environment* Edited by Donald Scherer & Thomas Attig Prentice Hall 1983 pp 204 212

¹⁹Published by Coward McCann & Goeghegan New York 1980

²⁰*The Medusa and the Snail* Lewis Thomas Viking 1979 p 154

THE UNIVERSAL HIPPOCRATIC OATH

by

RODERIC GORNEY

Twenty four hundred years ago was born on the island of Cos in ancient Greece a remarkable man physician scientist and teacher The accomplishments of Hippocrates or the several doctors and school that bore the name were many profound and lasting but one stands above all the rest It is not that he threw the Gods and supernatural punishment out of the theory and practice of medicine It is not that he established the worth of scientific observation and thinking in medicine It is not that he clearly stated that epilepsy is no more sacred a disease than any other and that like all illness it has a natural cause It is not that he emphasized natural methods and that the patients nature is the true physician It is not even that he wrote the code of ethics that in its various versions has been adopted by physicians everywhere and has guided their practice for over two millenia

Hippocrates central distinction rather is that he charged at least one segment of the human community physicians with responsibility to act in accordance with conscience

The signal significance of this injunction can best be appreciated by considering the two central themes of his oath The first is that the physician in his role as a doctor is to do no harm for example is to give no deadly drug and is to adopt whatever regimen will in his judgment best benefit the patient Second the physician in his role as a person whether in attendance upon the sick or otherwise is to refrain from all wrongdoing or corruption is even to keep secret whatsoever things I see or hear concerning the life of men which ought not to be noised abroad (FN Encyclopedia Britannica 1967 Vol 15 p 95)

What is so extraordinary about these ideas? Is it just their idealism? Probably not though the twentieth century thinker is likely to feel respect for the humane sentiments expressed the modern mind is likely to experience also a second perhaps less fully conscious response that runs something like this Why of course What else would you expect of a doctor?

And that muted counterpoint is the clue to the true distinction of Hippocrates For in his day without the support of his tradition that

is precisely what you would not expect Ordinary people including doctors often act in accordance with their wishes rather than conscience

Let us notice that the character of what is right and wrong itself is not in dispute Hippocrates though he adds certain specific prohibitions in other passages assumes in general that we all know which deeds are wrong and corrupt but that without particular reminders of their special obligations physicians will be as likely as others to yield to temptation And of course he was right He lived in a time before notions of justice and fairness had been widely codified let alone set down in charters or constitutions And in his appeal that physicians conduct be regulated by the inner sense of morality he performed a great service not only to medicine but also to all people affected indirectly

And yet his special achievement has also impeded progress toward a more just and therefore more viable world All too often admirers of physicians have been content to laud their special qualities and let it go at that Take for example this representative tribute from Robert Louis Stevenson

There are men that stand above the common herd the physician almost as a rule He is the flower of our civilisation and when that stage of man is done with and only remembered to be marvelled at in history he will be thought to have shared as little as any in the defects of the period and most notably exhibited the virtues of the race Generosity he has such as is possible to those who practise an art never to those who drive a trade discretion tested by a hundred secrets tact tried in a thousand embarrassments and what are more important Heraclean cheerfulness and courage So it is that he brings air and cheer into the sickroom and often enough though not so often as he wishes brings healing Gratitude is but a lame sentiment

One might have hoped that such a perceptive artist as Stevenson might have lofted the spark of the Hippocratic code of conduct to ignite other groups including tradesmen rather than impugn their capacity to catch the ethical fire Ought not lawyers bind themselves equally? How about taxi drivers nursery school teachers morticians grocery clerks government officials plumbers and electricians? And is society less in need of ethical restraints on filing of unwarranted

lawsuits purveying of defective military aircraft parts political leaders who become tyrants excesses of parental punishment or profiteering on child sexual abuse?

The apparent fact that it was common in Hippocrates day for physicians to misbehave in the same ways as did non physicians didnt dissuade him from formulating his oath which across two thousand years has educated doctors and changed their behavior to the extent that they have earned accolades such as that of Stevenson

We live in a time when poverty pollution and war in addition to such corruption and wrongs as those mentioned above have induced a mood of despair and desperation in millions every where and this at a time when the future if well managed promises a golden age of fulfillment unparalleled in human experience Such loss of hope amidst unlimited opportunity for improvement leads to violence

In the not too distant future it seems probable that a coordinated band of terrorists operating simultaneously on six continents in thirty nations to take over governments nuclear power plants and reservoirs could hold hostage the entire planet With that in mind is it not past time that we instituted for the safety of all of us the Universal Hippocratic Oath?

FROM THE INSIDE OUT BUDDHIST APPROACHES TO CARING

by
TIMOTHY DOLAN

INTRODUCTION

The future of caring in societies is as slippery a topic as can be found in the field of futures studies. To a large extent this is due to a continuing confusion as to what constitutes caring and how caring is generalized to society as a whole. The Buddhist perspective on caring suggests an inside out approach as opposed to a top down process familiar to Western social design. An example of how Buddhist concepts of caring vary from the Western images can be seen in the latter's preoccupation with utopias and utopia building. There lies implicit in most utopias a presumption that the system by promoting quality structure for caring human relationships can create caring relationships. The challenge for the individual is to be a good citizen and get uncritically into the groove. The Buddhist approach implies another way which is often confused with psychologism. In the pages that follow this concept is critically confronted. Buddhism is not purely psychological in its attitude towards caring either originally or now. The work of Buddhist activists attest to a positive role for caring that comes from the kind of awareness that Buddhism cultivates.

BUDDHIST CARING MAHAYANA VS THERAVADA

To speak of caring from a Buddhist perspective one must first work through a duality in a philosophical tradition that ostensibly promotes non dualism. The duality can be traced to what can be called the hindification of the message of Buddhism. This hindification refers to the body of teachings associated with the Mahayana or Great Vehicle. These are the Sanskrit writings of the Buddhist canons. The original Buddhist canons were written in Pali the vernacular of the northern Indian region where the Buddha taught. The Mahayana literature is largely comprised of the Sanskrit translations and commentaries of the original Pali canon. Why was the Pali canon translated into Sanskrit? They were translated into Sanskrit for much the same reason that the words of Christ spoken in Aramaic were translated first into Greek and then into Latin. There was the practical

matter of transmission of the teachings over distance. This had to be accomplished through the standard written language of the day. This language was Sanskrit the language of the Brahmins and the language of legitimacy. It held a privileged place over other languages as the medium for intellectual interchange throughout the subcontinent. In order to gain any semblance of legitimacy as a universal teaching Buddhist scripture was obliged to submit to translation into Sanskrit. The Pali canon never more than a few hundred pages in original form came to fill libraries under the influence of Sanskrit and the wordy culture it represented.

The irony of this submission to the linguistic imperium of Sanskrit parallels the irony of the Christian experience with its Hellenization/Romanization of the Judeo Christian scriptures. Like the message of the Essenes the Buddha's message was one that stood in opposition to the dominant philosophical traditions about it. Thich Nhat Hanh in *Zen Keys* comments

The entry of Buddhism into Indian history must be considered as a new vision concerning man and life. This vision was expounded first as a reaction against the Brahmanic conception that dominated Indian society at the time. This is why the doctrine of Buddhism reacting against Brahmanic thought and society is very clearly of a revolutionary nature.

Buddhism was thoroughly opposed to this Vedic authority and to all the points of belief. Buddhism rejected all deisms and all forms of sacrifice. From the social point of view Buddhism combated the caste system accepting the Untouchables in the Orders at the same level as a King. From the intellectual standpoint it rigorously rejected the concept of I (Atma) which is the very heart of Brahmanism¹

This final point is important for the Mahayana tradition has emphasized self reliance on the path towards enlightenment which has created a confusion between self as meant by the Buddha and self as popularly interpreted to mean ego. This confusion has left many with the impression of Buddhism as a psychological affair a kind of

wrestling match between the temporal ego dominated mind and one's true Buddha nature. Such a perspective seems to discount caring as a virtue among Buddhists. It appears to reinforce the impression popularly held in the West that Buddhism is nihilist oriented towards withdrawal from the world and not towards active participation in it. The Mahayana tradition further lends support to this notion with its presentation of the role of bodhisattva as an enlightened being who *decides* to care as if enlightenment did not make compassion self evident. In Mahayana thought the bodhisattva vow is encouraged as if it were an option.

- 1) I resolve to become enlightened for the sake of all living things
- 2) I will cut the roots of all delusive passions
- 3) I will penetrate the farthest gate of Dharma
- 4) I will realize the supreme way of the Buddha²

This caring optional approach is misleading. While enlightenment has generally required withdrawal it has also implied return.

The Theravadic tradition has always consistently regarded enlightenment issuing from awareness and true awareness guiding right action. In the Karaniya Metta Sutra one of the earliest Buddhist teachings care of others is stressed in balance with the self. The Buddha taught his first disciples to go out and care for the well being of others. A Buddhist proverb expresses the caring side of Buddhism in this way:

There are four kinds of people those who think only of themselves those who think only of others those who think of neither themselves or others and those who think of others as themselves³

The point is clear. Enlightenment is certainly a personal goal. However personal enlightenment becomes inseparable from the process of enlightenment for all. The Buddha was originally moved by the suffering of others to seek enlightenment. The Buddha would not have become the Buddha but for their suffering. Enlightenment does

not involve a disconnection from the suffering of the world nor does it embrace suffering for others in the tradition of Christ. It does not deny suffering in the manner of the ignorant. It does not attempt an escape from suffering as do the drugged. It does not angrily fight suffering like the revolutionaries. It embraces enlightenment for it is the only sane response to suffering. It is then the highest act of responsibility for the Buddhist. It is the most caring thing one can do.

The key to enlightenment and to the informed responsibility that follows is through the cultivation of awareness. The awareness has no anchor no center no mighty fortress in dogma. In this sense it is incorrect to consider Buddhism as a faith. Thich Nhat Hanh a Vietnamese monk and social activist relates a short dialogue between a pundit and the Buddha which underscores this emphasis on awareness:

I have heard tell of Buddhism as a doctrine of enlightenment. What is the method? In other words what do you do every day?

We walk we eat we wash ourselves we sit down.

What is so special in those actions? Everyone walks eats washes himself sits down.

Sir there is a difference. When we walk we are aware of the fact that we walk when we eat we are aware of the fact that we eat and so on. When others walk eat wash themselves or sit down they are not aware of what they do⁴.

Buddhist activism then comes out of awareness the ceasing of ignorance but not self consciousness which is a confusion of ego with the true self. It is the nurturing of awareness on all dimensions whether on a toilet seat or as a member of that 6% of privileged humankind that consumes 40% of the world's resources. It is also the awareness of the truth that sick minds do not create healthy societies and that we must get internally clear or we will only project and reproduce our neuroses elsewhere. This is the fatal flaw of the welfare state which assumes that the equitable distribution of

material and services is a caring activity of the highest order. For the Buddhist there is a recognition that the artificial imposition of entitlements hardly addresses the fundamental questions of existence and certainly not the deep structure of suffering. What the welfare state does is an act of delusion. It is the delusion of having done something which will end suffering when at best it can only preside over a more equitable distribution of suffering. The leveling of suffering does not extinguish it. It is a futile activity of a confused materialist rationalism. The symptoms are treated but the disease remains. Lao tzu, not a Buddhist in the formal sense of the term, nonetheless speaks a Buddhist response to the welfare state in his indictment of this top down approach:

Cut out sagacity, discard knowingness, and the people will benefit a hundredfold. Cut out humanity, discard the utilitarian, and there will be no thieves and robbers. Become unaffected, cherish sincerity, belittle the personal, reduce desires.⁵

There is a populist tone played above that shares with Theravadic Buddhism a disdain for the claims to authority made by the state. Authority is at all times drawn to pride. This pride is a trap for both the authority and the subject. It is insidious, manifesting itself in religion as well in the form of spiritual materialism.⁶ The prescriptions of authority eventually mislead and suffering continues. This populist side to Buddhism has not been ignored by the state which has historically suppressed this side of the Dharma.

As with most religious movements, Buddhism had its revolutionary period early in its development as mentioned earlier. Its expansion put it into conflict with authority on a fairly constant basis. In addition, Asian histories cite several bloody encounters between not only monks and soldiers but monks and rival monks of differing schools. Kung fu, a holistic practice (not simply the martial art that most believe it to be) was developed at the Shao Lin temple in Western China in order that the temple be successfully defended. Persecution is a constant feature of its history, not only by the West but within Asia as well. There was inevitable accommodation to the temporal imperia that it encountered which eventually led to the deemphasis of its activist side. Still, the remote setting of Buddhist temples was not as much an attempt to withdraw from the world as it was geographical testimony to its persecution by the state. There are

fresh violences against Buddhism in China where the cultural revolution of the late sixties closed down or destroyed virtually every temple and monastery in the country.

This is not to suggest that Buddhism has been ineffective as a political influence. From King Asoka, the greatest of India's monarchs to Kublai Khan, ruler of the greatest empire in terms of land area in history, Buddhism has had its patrons. The basis of political culture in Bhutan, Burma, Kampuchea, Laos, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Vietnam is still Buddhism. The center of community life and thus community politics is centered on temple grounds to this day in most of these places. Japan's third largest party is a reformist, Clean Government Party with overtly Buddhist roots. The center of resistance to Chinese rule in Tibet is still over the former's efforts at suppressing Lamaism. In these areas and in other areas as well, Buddhism is still the dominant ideological influence. Buddhism is far from the distant and aloof practice that it is so often presented as being.

CONTEMPORARY BUDDHIST ACTIVISM

Buddhist activism, a manifestation of caring, now influences politics beyond its traditional range. The following examples serve to underscore the characteristics of Buddhist caring. Vietnam has had a long tradition of tolerance of both the Mahayana and Theravada schools. This coexistence has also proven to be fertile ground for Zen Buddhism which, while emerging out of the Mahayana tradition, strips it of its Sanskrit scholasticism and spirals back towards the elegant simplicity found in the older Theravadic practice. Out of the trauma of Vietnam's war came Thich Nhat Hanh, a leading community leader, social activist, writer, and Zen monk. Thich Nhat Hanh headed the Vietnamese Buddhist Peace Delegation during the Paris Peace Talks. Prior to that, he led the *third way* peace movement in Vietnam. He also served as the vice chairman of the Fellowship for Reconciliation, an effort to heal the physical and spiritual effects of the war. His translated writings are many and varied in content. They include *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire*, *Zen Keys*, *The Cry of Vietnam*, *The Raft is Not the Shore* (co-authored with Daniel Berrigan), *The Miracle of Mindfulness*, and *A Guide to Walking Meditation*. Thich Nhat Hanh now works on behalf of a Vietnamese community growing fruits and nuts in a rural area of France. His impact has been widespread. His approach to caring is inside out, characteristic of Buddhist activism.

In an exercise from *The Miracle of Mindfulness*, he prescribes this therapy for hate:

Sit quietly Breathe and smile the half smile Contemplate the image of the person who has caused you the most suffering Regard the features you hate or despise the most or find the most repulsive Try to examine what makes this person happy and what causes suffering in his daily life Contemplate the persons perceptions try to see what patterns of thought and reason this person follows Examine what motivates this persons hopes and actions Finally consider the persons consciousness See whether his views and insights are open and free or not and whether or not he has been influenced by any prejudices narrow mindedness hatred or anger See whether or not he is master of himself Continue until you feel compassion rise in your heart like a well filling with fresh water and your anger and resentment disappear Practice this exercise many times on the same person ⁷

This may seem like a naive exercise to the hardened intellectual mind yet to not understand and even identify with the object of whatever it is one might hate is really to continue to live in rationalized ignorance doggedly refusing to face reality

I hold the gun and you hold the wound
And we stand looking in each others eyes
We both think we know whats right
We both know we know whats wrong
We tell ourselves so many many many lies

Naked Eye
Peter Townsend
1978

So compassion unfolds from practice This compassion becomes generalized to all living things The method is not discursive which confounds the intellect but also balances the heart

The current work of Thich Nhat Hanh in France centers on maintaining familial love and support among the Vietnamese now

living there In France the Vietnamese families connected with his community set aside a few minutes a day to silently and meditatively look into the eyes of their spouses and children ⁸ This practice among those in this community binds them and their families together and has proven to be a successful coping mechanism for those Vietnamese in France who would otherwise be under the influence of the family rending forces that have beset other immigrant groups to the advanced industrial world

Other examples of Buddhist caring are also emerging in Western settings In Honolulu Hawaii the Diamond Sangha a Zen community has encouraged participation in social justice and peace movements Diamond Sangha members are active in the Buddhist Peace Fellowship and also publishes Kahawai a journal for women and Zen Kahawai is described as concerned with the confluence of two practices Zen and feminism The purpose of Kahawai is to encourage womens practice and promote womens full participation in Buddhist institutions as those institutions establish themselves in the West ⁹ Robert Aitken Roshi or master of Zen at Diamond Sangha is the author of a number of books including Mind of Clover a book on Buddhist ethics

On the individual level there are other examples of caring that come spontaneously from the cultivation of awareness Akira Takase a devout Buddhist and head of a local fishermans cooperative in Japan received international attention for his work on behalf of whales His actions have saved three whales from butchering when he persuaded his friends to donate funds to buy the whales for release back into the ocean When a whale of a rare species beached itself and died near his town he arranged for a Buddhist funeral service for it The local townspeople were so moved by his actions that they began to question the tradition of eating whale meat ¹⁰ This is quite remarkable indeed considering the courage it took Mr Takase to go against long held Japanese tradition

Dr Roland Tatsuguchi a Reverend at Shinshu Kyokai Honolulu and a special education teacher with the Hawaii State Department of Education relates in anecdote his own awareness expanding experience as a special education teacher One morning he went out to a plot of ground next to the Special Education building to prepare the ground for a garden project he had planned for his students A passerby stopped to watch him and soon asked what he was doing Upon hearing the reply the passerby shook his head and criticized him as a junk teacher for doing the work himself and not involving his students in the experience He immediately stopped his work and

brought his students out to do the work. Another passerby noticed the activity, watched, and then asked him what was going on. Upon hearing the reply, the passerby criticized the Reverend for being a junk teacher standing over his students uninvolved and directing them from above. Dr. Tatsuguchi immediately understood that his place was with his students on his knees preparing the earth for the garden.¹¹ This cycle of literal self-cultivation, objectification of the experience, pressing others into the form, and finally indentifying the self with the process and merging into it is indicative of the dynamic of Buddhist caring.

SUMMARY

Buddhism is at its heart a response to suffering. It is a human response and is thus colored by the full range of other human tendencies, particularly the human tendency towards ignorance. At the height of the Vietnam War, the Chinese Buddhist Association raised sufficient funds to buy a MiG for the North Vietnamese. This hardly seems an enlightened application of Buddhist principles. The histories of the avariceness and promiscuity of certain monks are also constant enough through time to provide ample evidence that it takes more than a robe and a shaven head to become a caring being. More than a few Buddhist temples have been or are still havens for the criminal, the lazy, and the slow.

This dark side certainly exists. Yet there is a steady emanation of a promise of liberation and peace through Buddhist style understanding. This understanding starts with the self and spreads outward to the universe. It arises from sincere introspection and active reconnection with that which is a collective divinity. As the peculiar truth-seeking of scientists continues to peel away at the layers of material in which they presume to find their way, a Buddhist interpretation of what they are finding comes to a quiet legitimization. As we all come to see ourselves as less and less isolated observers of the world (It starts hopefully early with the realization that it is not all just like TV after all), we become more and more active participants in it. Our response to it becomes more and more Buddhist in expression. This is because, as Alan Watts once wrote, infinity extends infinitely inward as well as outward. Thus to cultivate that awareness is to bring one finally to look into the eyes of those close and care to the bone.

NOTES

- ¹Thich Nhat Hanh *Zen Keys* Garden City NY Doubleday Anchor Press 1974 p 26
- ²Taken from notes of a conversation with Reverend Somoloka
- ³Thich Nhat Hanh Op cit p 28
- ⁴Thich Nhat Hanh *A Guide to Walking Meditation* translated by Anh and Jenny Hoang Boston Eastern Press 1985 p 12
- ⁵From Alan Watts *The Book on the Taboo Against Knowing Who You Are* New York Random House 1967
- ⁶See Thrumpa *Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism* Boulder Shambala Press 1976
- ⁷Thich Nhat Hanh *The Miracle of Mindfulness* Garden City New York Doubleday Anchor 1976 p 122
- ⁸Related by Thich Nhat Hanh's sister on her visit to Honolulu in June of 1985
- ⁹Diamond Sangha pamphlet material circa 1986
- ¹⁰*Honolulu Advertiser* March 3 1986 Section B p 1
- ¹¹Story related at the Comparative and International Education Society Western Regional Conference December 27-30 1986 by Dr. Tatsuguchi

REFLECTIONS ON OUR TIMES

by
MAGDA CORDELL MCHALE

INTRODUCTION DAILY PROBLEMS

Amidst considerable turbulence at the world level of daily crisis sensations and conflicts it seems unrealistic even idealistic to remain optimistic about the future of humankind

Yet I remain so as I have learned from many of you that to reflect upon and study the human condition we have to pay attention to its past which then shows how far we have come from our beginnings as a global society On the whole great progress has been made all be it with great suffering

REFLECTIONS ON OUR TIMES

Reflecting on our times I realize how much our thinking and attitudes had to shift in order to accomodate the changing realities of today

A few years ago we never could have understood that the trends that bring us collectively into a planetary community are not those visible bonds between nations (not international) but rather the facts that many of our activities are overarching forces social institutional technological whose effects flow across national boundaries (like banking or acid rain) and whose maintenance transcends and transforms the concept of local national sovereignty into a transnational character

Neither could we fully recognize that the world that has been made has not occured because of any political or ideological notions but by the operations of social economic scientific and technological facts It is these less visible forces which do not obey the lines of political maps that have changed the world for us

Current problems all appear as economic unemployment inflation various shortages problems of environmental degradation and so on Yet I feel that these problems go deeper and that they are symptoms of socio cultural disarray that is based on past historical experience

Historical experience and cultural inheritance make us differ with

each other and this differing often influences our behaviour towards one another Bad memories of past experiences divide us as peoples and yet we know that the only way out of all our dilemmas is to work towards collective welfare rather than our individual comforts After all we are all part of an inter dependent world a world that humankind created Surely we havent lost the mastery of its direction? I think not But what we have missed out on is to acquire the correct perception and understanding of today's world

I

Our present times this century of ours is very different from our previous experiences This century that many call the post industrial period introduced to us the most sophisticated technologies (computers) and eventually half way through the century brought about the interaction of information technologies (knowledge) with their communicative capacities into a totally new environment that now we conveniently call the Changing Information Environment

However this environment does not respond kindly to traditional perceptions and use It requires a new understanding Its inherent qualities have to be viewed from many angles

Information technologies have to be viewed not only as hardware developments but as software as well as behavioral and social technologies as part of important political economic cultural and aesthetic dynamics We are dealing with a matter whose importance is pervasive to the extent that information is the essential commodity in both individual and social order and organization It is intelligence around the earth that links us individuals in cooperative knowledge enterprises It is a complex and interrelated network of institutions organizations and interdependent technological systems that link us to form a remarkably unifying network of human service systems around the planet

In this kind of an environment it is unfortunate to quarrel about ideas that are no longer useful to us We are no longer a community of places but of peoples the artificially imposed political boundaries are no longer useful to us for all of our activities

Our times require a different behaviour pattern from us all a pattern based on metaphors that can guide us to a more fruitful useful and just world within which we can all conduct our myriad affairs in a peaceful manner

II

Though it is difficult for us to understand this change yet recent past experiences have shown us many ways to think and behave anew. We have voyaged into space and are looking down at our planet. We see rivers flowing into oceans land that is continuous. There are no white picket fences that delineate this is mine and that is yours. All of it belongs to all of us and we all misuse it. We are all equally uncaring.

III

Today here in beautiful Hawaii we are examining three different types of societies: Caring, Careless, and Overcaring.

I suspect that each of us has experienced sometime or other during one's lifetime each one of the three. We all probably would agree that even within the most caring society there are many areas of the human condition that are uncared for, abused, and sometimes willfully neglected.

Assuming that a caring society is the one that really best fulfills the desires of each of our societies then to achieve that stage will obviously require a great amount of learning from us all.

Don Michael, the very imaginative teacher, suggests that in fact we will have to become learners in how to achieve such a state. This is true for otherwise we will never be able to understand, let alone answer the questions we have set for ourselves, namely: What should we do? How can we, individuals, have new insights, knowledge, institutions, and processes which will promote this appropriately caring societies for the future?

I would like to suggest that the first lesson to achieve such a state be learning of the meaning and use of the metaphor to love.

Love is not an emotional state. Love is a condition. To be in love is a necessary condition in order to perform all human activities in a caring, constructive human way in ways appropriate to our own times. We only can perform correctly the myriad tasks necessary for us as individuals, as well as the systems through which we conduct our affairs, if we love to do them, if we truly love that task. We have to be in the condition of love.

The love of others
The love of self
The love of beauty
The love of nature

Theophile Gautier puts this in the following manner: To love is

to admire with the heart. To admire is to love with the mind. To admire is not to envy. It is to respect!

Love softens the darker side of our nature. It helps us to better deal with today's realities and opens up tomorrow's possibilities. If we are in that condition, if we love, then we can hopefully be more open to the understanding of our world.

With love we can retain our distinctive, individual, socio-cultural needs and values and in harmony build a future so long desired by all.

Robert Browning wrote: If you take love away our earth will become a tomb. Anais Nin reflects that the only abnormality is the incapability to love.

As learners, our first lesson in this new curriculum we have learned is that one not only needs an educated, well-informed mind but also an educated, well-informed heart.

AS A WOMAN

Why aren't I ashamed?
because
I am a woman
I love
with my heart all
all that is sick
all that is bad
all that is hollow
all that is painful
all that is hungry
all that is sad
all that is useless
useless for us all

I as a woman
I love
with all my heart
in the hope
that I as a woman
will learn to love with
all my mind

CHAPTER II PLANNING FOR CARE

Milos Zeman (Czechoslovakia) introduces this section with a superb piece which distinguished between rules oriented planning and task oriented planning in relation to which will produce caring and which careless or overcaring societies

Several case studies follow Tibor Hottovy (Sweden) traces the historical rationale and development and possible future movement of public housing policy in Sweden while Katrin Gillwald (West Germany) follows similar developments related to care for the aged in West Europe generally and West Germany particularly Of special interest are her comments on the future of aging and of care for the aged in the future Maria Kalas Koszegi (Hungary) similarly discusses the general historical present and future condition of welfare policies in her country Eleonora Masini (Italy) follows this with a summary analysis of studies which she has coordinated through the United Nations University on care for and by women in various Third World locales while J C Kapur (India) after a harrowing description of the forces and factors leading (or rather mis leading) the world to a variety of dystopic futures describes his own inspiring and practical work in the area of alternate energy systems in India

Following on this latter theme Sam Cole (UK) elaborates on the role of technology in developing countries arguing for the utilization of blended technologies which integrate traditional knowhow with appropriate modern technologies He considers especially the impact of such a policy on employment Mervat Shoukry (Egypt) speaks to the necessity of mutual communication between foreign developers and the people in the area they are helping to develop She describes especially her own work as the public relations coordinator for a gigantic metro building project carried out by France in Cairo Egypt Joseph Dupris (US) concludes this section on Planning for Care by picking up the theme emphasized by Uvais Ahamed earlier put the child in order A member of the Sioux Indian tribe Dupris briefly discusses the positive consequences of having native American people responsible for designing and carrying out education in their own way rather than slavishly following that of the dominant society

DIRECTIVE PLANNING VERSUS PLANNING OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR HUMAN CARE BY PLANS

by
MILOS ZEMAN

INTRODUCTION

There is an over caring society where planning might narrow human potential. There is a caring society where planning might prevent a narrowing of human potential by unplanned forces. But one cannot imagine a careless society with a developed planning. Therefore planning is one of the forms of human care, a very stimulating yet a most dangerous one.

If intensity of planning increases, the whole life of a society becomes more and more influenced by the new factor of long term social decision. The resulting change starts consequences not reversible. Unfortunately, a set of these consequences represents not only an irreversible chain reaction of progress but also a symmetrical chain reaction of backwardness. Planning embraces both latent possibilities in some cases it might be the most important factor of retardation.

Actualization of both possibilities depends on the paradigm of planning. There is a paradigm of directive planning that might be described as tasks not rules. There is a contrary paradigm of rules not tasks that leads to planning of opportunities for real development of human potential. The chain reaction evoked by directive planning seems to open the worsen trajectory into human future by destroying creative activity.

It is better to simulate a catastrophe in the form of a warning forecast than to face it. The simulation forecasting model that imitates the impact of planning on the global social dynamics in Czechoslovakia has served as one of the inspiration sources for the following text.

WHAT IS WANTED?

The ecological structure faces the influence of pollutants that decrease its ability to reproduce. In extreme cases the polluted structure ceases to exist. In non extreme cases the structure eliminates the sensitive elements and narrows the range of possible

futures its potentiality. It's like in a chess game if you are forced to one single possible move only the lack in diversity of possible positions increases the probability of loss.

There are not only ecological pollutants. More or less invisible pollutants of social development exist in economic, technological, cultural, demographic, etc. areas. A complex of these pollutants represents that latent toxicity which is an integral part of potentiality of social development.

The primary source of toxicity is decision. If there is a task limit on the number of new students, the toxic chain reaction continues in the form of a limit on technological progress, a limit on production capacity, a limit on lifestyle, etc. These limitations frame the area of pessimal development, any individual limits provoke a process of degeneration. Directive planning makes toxicity an expanding part of potentiality.

Just imagine a map of futures. The map may be interpreted as a variety of possible routes. Some of these routes lead to a moorland or to an abyss. These are the routes to an increasing toxicity. Directive planning recommends these routes as the routes towards an optimal future. Pleasant and acceptable tasks do not reveal their Janus face in the moment of their formulation. Nonetheless they limit human freedom as a freedom of choice. The planned object is transformed into a screw of Chairman Mao.

A caring society with a developed planning mechanism is to implement the de-toxication function of planning. We are to find the rules that diminish the emerging pollutants of future development. Contrariwise, a positive or desirable development is a matter of human subject without any intervention of the planning process. Try to find out the worsen trajectory with its pollutants and toxicity; an optimal trajectory of spontaneous activity will be the result.

The pseudo-positive orientation of directive planning has its all-round negative consequences. The set of specific tasks for the future is fictive optimality; there is no desirable future associated with a narrowing of freedom of choice, development space, and human potential. The proposal of de-centralization of planning does not solve the crucial problem if the paradigm of planning consists in the manipulation of human subjects; then de-centralized planning represents an increment of manipulation, not an increment of freedom.

Therefore the desired relationship between human caring and human freedom consists in a strictly prophylactic function of human care. Try to fight the entropy if we plan the barriers against hell; paradise will win its own battle.

WHAT IS HAPPENING?

Let's describe a potential toxication process of social development under the influence of a paradigm of directive planning

The simulation experiments show the following trajectories

- 1) National income will stagnate in the nineties
- 2) The growing international debt will continue mainly towards the other socialist countries
- 3) The revolution of growing expectations will provoke an intensive internal disequilibrium as regards the standard of living
- 4) The international debt will provoke an intensive external disequilibrium (balance of payments trade balance)
- 5) Technological progress material consumption efficiency and innovation cycles will show worsening parameters
- 6) Dequalification tendencies will occur as a result of slow technological progress and undesirable demand in the area of the labour force while egalitarian tendencies in wages will continue
- 7) Worsening of environment nearly catastrophic ecological parameters
- 8) Complicated population dynamics mainly in the area of new born mortality (partly as a result of worsening ecological parameters)
- 9) Stagnation of the tertial and quaternal sectors transport trade science culture health care schools building etc

Of course all these more or less pessimal trajectories are strictly conditioned by the existing paradigm of directive planning as a form of a central social decision. The simulated forecast must not occur. Like any warning forecast it's a sort of a self-defeating prophecy.

Unfortunately there is nearly no risk assessment in the frame of directive planning (paradoxically there is nearly no opportunity analysis either). The ability of early warning systems is diminished under a situation where the tasks dominate the rules. In the end there might be no object which should be planned.

WHAT IS NEEDED?

Social poison is inherently present inside the potentiality of social development. The old belief in planning was ignoring that poison. The planning therapy tried to increase the abilities of an ill patient by

liquidation of his authentic activities in the area of independent formulation of aims. The new belief of planning is to cure the environment not the patient. The social environment reproduces the toxic consequences of social pollutants. Task oriented planning is object oriented planning that makes the human subject the planned object without any immunobiological response. In that sense directive planning is a form of manipulation, moreover a manipulation that disseminates social poison.

Rules oriented planning is environment oriented planning that takes the human subject to be creative, moreover it broadens the frontier of his creativity. Any rule connects an individual with a relevant environment. It does not prescribe any specific activity of an individual, it merely informs about the environmental consequences of that activity. In that sense the rule is a function where the input activity is an independent variable and the output reaction of an environment is the dependent variable. Such a decision function is not invariant in time, it varies as a manifestation of free will.

Of course not any decision function will evoke the positive chain reaction of progress as a trigger of objective laws. Nonetheless an if-then approach makes it possible to simulate the variety of possible consequences and makes these consequences controllable. A lot of simulation experiments have to be done before projecting any decision function. Contrariwise task oriented planning is a planning without explicit rules, planning which is not under control. Intensifying entropy and crises are the result.

Let's illustrate the preceding problem. One of the decision functions connects individual performance to wages. The explicit function may be a convex, linear, concave, S function, etc. According to the parameters of that function the poison of inefficiency will be more or less eliminated. If there is not such an explicit rule the hidden rule will gradually emerge as the worst of the possible ones. I'm afraid that there is even a negative correlation between performance and wages in the system of directive planning. As a natural result performance is rare and the cancer of inefficiency demonstrates its irreversibility.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

Let's simulate a map of possible futures as a map of opportunities and risks. Any route in the map is conditioned by a specific set of decisions. None of these routes is predestined, there are crossroads where we can change our direction if we change our decisions. An

over caring society denies the plurality of routes there is a single route to the future and a wall around. A careless society has no information on the crossroads.

Fear provokes a mobilization of public opinion. Therefore warning forecasts may be a happy hunting ground for the intensification of knowledge about its potentiality. Nevertheless there is a transformation of the risks into opportunities. Planning is one of the types of such a transformation. The neutral axis that divides warning futures from attractive ones represents non planning. It's a rather boring grey way without the pathos of expectation the way of a present oriented life. Planning might leave that way in both dimensions the autoregulative forces could not create such a catastrophe as directive planning might do but they do not reveal the fascinating plurality of choices the condition sine qua non for human freedom in a caring society.

PUBLIC CARE RIGHTS, OBLIGATIONS, AND HOUSING POLICY IN THE WELFARE STATE OF SWEDEN

by
TIBOR HOTTOVY

INTRODUCTION

This article is aimed at outlining some historical aspects of the development of the Scandinavian type of welfare society and at showing briefly some effects of the Swedish welfare policy on the economy on the citizen's right for care and on housing.

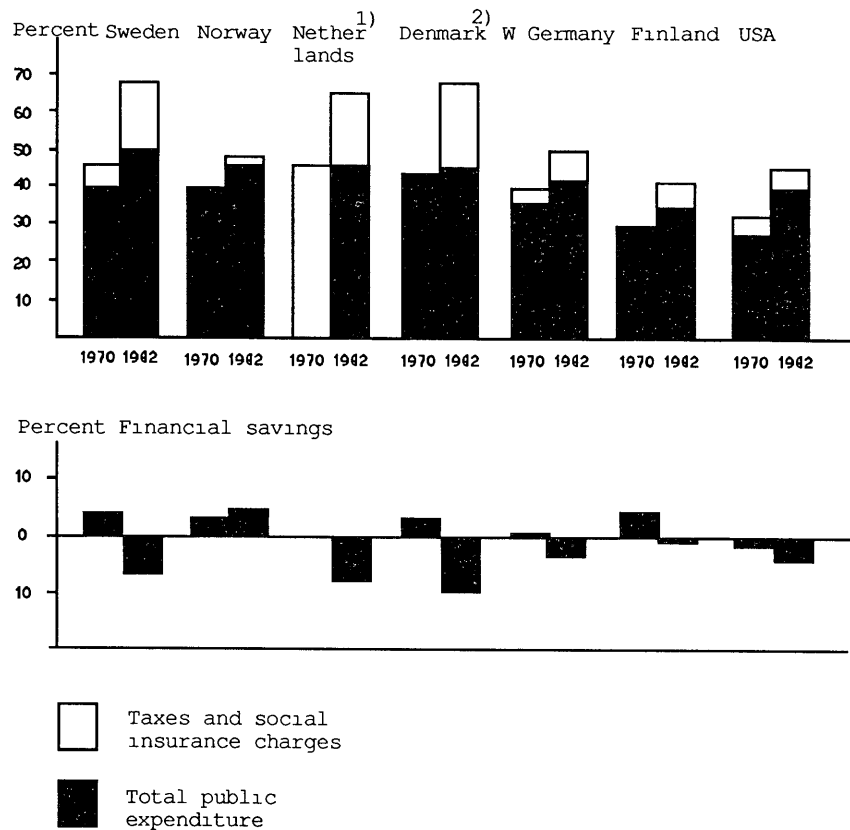
When in a publicly regulated welfare society like that of Sweden a long period of economic expansion is quite suddenly superseded by one of stagnation the welfare state encounters situations that expose certain deficiencies inherent in a publicly regulated economic system where all questions and social priorities must be subjected to the political process. In such periods people's attention is focused more than usual on the path the nation followed in the past looking for causes of the problems identified and on the options and threats which have to be taken into consideration when planning the future.

Policy making and planning are future oriented activities. In the Swedish type of mixed economy government planning coordinates the long term goals for planning to be carried out in the public and private sectors in the planning process one that consists of large or complex systems such as health housing transport education the labour market industry and defence. The common denominator for all these fields of future oriented activity is that key decisions not only involve large financial investments but also have wide long term impact. To increase the plan's reliability future studies and forecasting have been used increasingly during the last decades and ministries and state agencies have allocated more resources to such studies. In recent years even municipalities and organizations have started to conduct or have participated in future studies in increasing numbers (1 2).

2 WELFARE POLICY AND THE SUBSTANCE OF CITIZENSHIP

2.1 Well being and Welfare

According to hedonism the ultimate values and motives of human action lie in the pleasure produced for the individual or the



- 1) Information is lacking about taxes and social insurance details for 1970 and also for financial saving 1970
- 2) Information refers to 1971 and 1982

Source OECD

Figure 1 Total public expenditure taxes and social insurance charges and also financial savings in a number of countries Percent of GNP 1970 and 1982

community and in the avoidance of pain. Hobbes revived in the 17th century adding an ethical conception to the older psychological hedonism. He thought that pleasure was to be obtained and pain avoided within the institutions of the state. The state assists in the realization of one's desires and makes correlative demands in the form of duties. (3)

Hedonism was extended to the philosophy of law by the classical school of criminology. Since men calculated pleasures and pains in advance of their actions each crime was to carry a specific sanction that would just outweigh its derived pleasure.

Hedonism was also the leading psychological principle of classical economics until the school of marginal utility was developed in the 19th century. The greatest happiness principle is used e.g. by the Utilitarians to test all rules moral and legal and all institutions and to suggest improvements extending hedonism to the general problems of social change that resulted from the Industrial Revolution. (3)

Pleasure and pain reward and punishment rights and obligations are referring to the citizens desire to maximize the good life to the consequence of that desire and to the set of restrictions which are constituting the institutional framework to keep together this ever changing dynamic relationship. Constraints on behavior are necessary to make up institutions and human organizations without which civilization is impossible and citizenship would not have any substance. To promote well being and welfare the citizens common efforts are directed at maintaining and further developing specially designed institutions through which the implications of the concept of citizenship are more closely defined. The judicial system political democracy general conscription schooling care and public transport are examples of such institutions within which the distribution is wholly or partly determined by other factors than the desires that the citizen can express with the help of their money.

The main question is how and by whom pleasure and pain rights and obligations should be distributed between the citizens of a nation today and between the citizens of the world in the future.

2.2 Welfare and the Rights of the Citizen

The origin of rights and obligations recognized today lies in the past. Earlier the responsibilities of the citizen were to the public. For example they had to pay taxes in money or in kind do military service and perform some work. For a long time the State's expenditure was confined to financing the defence forces and to a lesser extent to promoting trade. As a result of reforms carried out during the 20th century aimed at developing health and social care and improving education contact between the citizen and public institutions has been radically altered. From being essentially collective the services have tended to be linked more to the individual. Obligations and rights increase all the time.

The need for organized representation of the citizens rights has always been most acute at times when the organizational control of obligations by the central authorities has been greatest Under these accelerating complex circumstances the role of the citizen in a modern society becomes increasingly obscure and unintelligible After more than a century of gradually accumulating an increasingly comprehensible systems of regulations the public debate and tentative reforms of the 1980s are again centering on the creation of greater local freedom decentralization and further de regulation

Different scientific and political theories exist about the right proportion of public and private sectors about the role of the state etc In the background of that debate one of the main questions is whether the welfare state policies threaten economic growth

The critics argue that the increasing scope of political interventions the too ambitious social programs the increasing strength of interest groups and restricted self regulation of the market undermine economic efficiency and have negative long range effects on the welfare itself Those who defend the Swedish institutional form of the welfare state claim that the economy since the Second World War did not develop less favourably in Sweden than in the comparable countries outside Scandinavia which have marginal welfare systems (4 5)

2.3 Rights, Obligations and the Concept of Equality

The development of the rights of the citizen in a democratic society since the French Revolution will be demonstrated by reference to the survey and reasoning of Sverker Gustavsson a Swedish political scientist The presentation here is a brief resume and illuminates only some of the main issues (8) The reasoning is characteristic of a reformistic way of thinking which has influenced welfare policy since the 1930s

Policy as a rational course of action disregards God history and any other such entity The desire to avoid this kind of equivocation marks the change in attitudes that was initiated during the latter part of the eighteenth century in Western Europe and North America a change which has since governed developments in most of the world

The Christian concept of equality which prevailed during the Age of Enlightenment acquired a worldly connotation in addition to a religious one From the eighteenth century onwards rights and obligations which were to apply to all in equal measure were extended to embrace ever larger sectors of the population At the same time their content was expanded

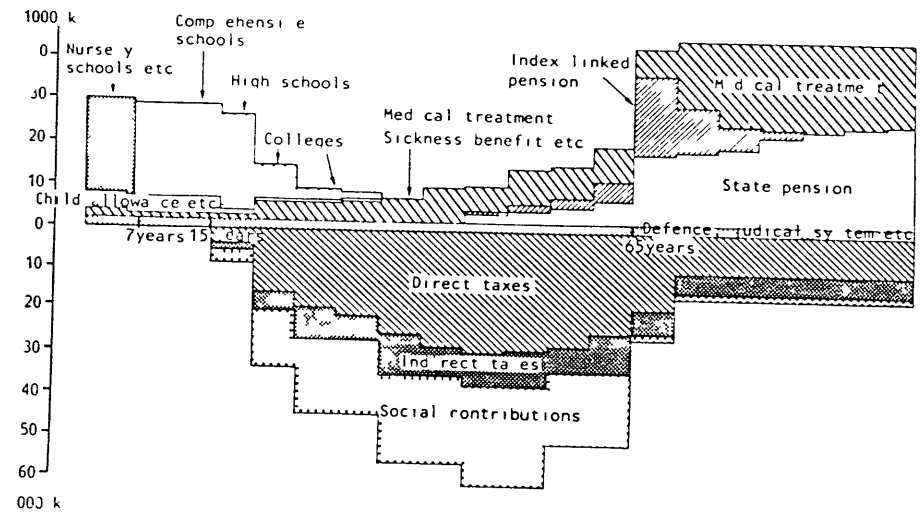


Figure 2 Certain public services and financial transfers paid taxes etc Schematica distribution over an individuals life span Source SCB Statistics Sweden(6)

First the citizens were considered equal as regards to their civil status All were afforded the same right to bring or defend actions in a court of law No property or occupation could be reserved for a particular sector of the population Anyone could conclude whatever agreement he or she wished and was able to

During the nineteenth century a political component was introduced The right to participate in general elections was applied on the principle of one man one vote

During the twentieth century we have been concerned with what further aspects of citizenship shall be considered Is it enough to have equality and integration in civil and political matters? Or should citizenship also extend to full and equal access to such social resources as medical care housing and education

2.4 Two Ways of Extending the Substance of Citizenship in a Modern Society

The extension of the substance of citizenship finds expression in two approaches First modern society is characterized by a general effort to extend what is considered to be equality for all In this kind of broadening of citizenship the rich get less and the poor get more to

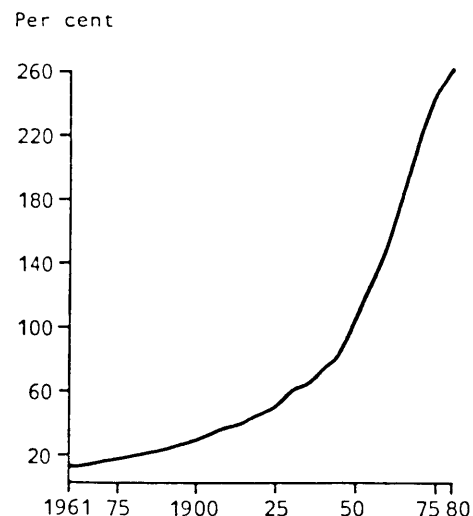


Figure 3 The proportion of public expenditure to total production (GNP 1913 1984) Source E Hook Central Bureau of Statistics (SCB) National Accounts

spend But what the rich go without and what the poor use their money for is a matter only for the party concerned

In the second approach and in this context the opposite one the lowest common factor of all specific efforts is that equalization is carried out also in kind The rich contribute not only their money but also their work and knowledge Analogously the poor not only improve their position through an unspecified contribution of money from the rich which is used as the individual deems best but also benefit from the application of the knowledge of the rich

3 THE PUBLIC SECTOR

3.1 The Development of the Public Sector

The development of the public sector in Sweden and in a number of other countries has followed the specific line that all citizens are dependent to a greater or lesser extent on public services and financial transfers People have the right as citizens to fundamental services and benefits in various life situations regardless of their ability to pay Thus even if the market forces create economic inequality the public sector re distributes substantial revenues and rights among the population to even things out (Figure 2)

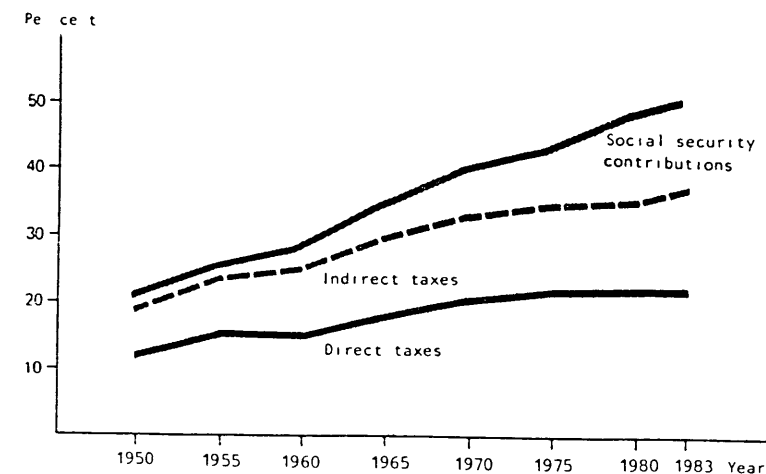


Figure 4 The Public Sector Tax revenue and social security contributions as percentage of GNP Source SCB National Accounts

In Sweden expenditure on social welfare quadrupled from 1930 to 1945 and increased sixfold between 1950 and 1975 Per capita incomes are among the highest in the world and personal incomes are comparatively evenly distributed Taxation is high because of the large public sector and re distribution of public funds (Figure 3)

3.2 Functions of Today's Public Sector

Today Sweden has a large public sector that produces a number of important useful commodities for the citizen and also directly re distributes incomes between different groups of the population (Figure 4)

Two important aims of the public re distributions of funds to households are to guarantee a minimum economic standard to citizens and to compensate for any loss of income during illness and through age etc

During recent decades a further target economic equalization has gained increasing significance But equality is not a clear cut concept it is sometimes identified with uniformity (sameness) and sometimes with equivalence (equality but not sameness) Moreover there is a conflict between the freedom of choice for the individual to choose his level of service and what is best for the public

1	2	3	4
1870	115	115*	12
1890	260	260*	17
1911	612	554	16
1920	1 496	418	3
1930	1 801	251	3
1940	4 518	-	-
1950	12 464	106	0
1960	22 770	217	0
1970	36 155	-	-
1980	229 589	42 297	8
1983	460 196	97 605	14
1984	534 600	109 100	14

- 1 Year
 2 Total national debt
 3 Of which foreign debts are
 4 Debts to foreign countries as a percentage of GNP

Table 1 The foreign debt Source Yearbook of the National Debt Office *Total national debt presumed to be borrowed abroad

Although considerable sums have been invested in order to achieve equality only a few analyses exist to show the outcome of this policy in various areas To get answers to questions such as What kind of equality is sought? Does public expenditure contribute to the achievement of equality in any of the implications contained in that concept? etc needs further research and debate (Table 2)

3.3 The Public Sector, GNP, and the Country's Debts

Whereas in 1970 the public sectors revenue was greater than its expenditure in 1983 the reverse was the case and 45 percent of the public sectors revenues went to financial transfers as opposed to 29 percent in 1970 As it was impossible to finance completely the development and renewal of the country's means of production both private industry and the State were compelled to borrow money for this purpose

Welfare programs in Sweden consist of eight main sectors In 1981 they amounted to

I	Pension System	38% of social expenditure and 12% of GNP	
II	Health Insurance and Health Services	36%	11%
III	Occupational Injuries and Industrial Safety	x%	1%
IV	Unemployment Insurance/ Employment Policy	6%	2%
V	Family and Children	16%	5%
VI	Social Assistance	x%	x%
VII	Education	%	7%
VIII	Housing	%	5%

x = less than 1%

* (3% if excluding tax deductions and 2% if also long term repayment loans are excluded)

Table 2 Source Welfare programs in Sweden by Sven E Olsson Swedish Institute for Social Research Bulletin 1/85

Incidentally Sweden's foreign debt measured as a percentage of the GNP was as large around the turn of the century as it is today (Table 1)

3.4 Employment Policy

The proportion of the work force employed in agriculture and forestry fell from over 50 percent in 1900 to less than 7 percent in 1980 while industry's share increased from 30 to 40 percent and the service sectors from 20 to more than 50 percent Employment in the public sector grew rapidly in the seventies In the service sector there has been a steady increase (Figure 5)

Sweden places greater emphasis on keeping employment up instead of keeping inflation down than other industrialized countries This policy has resulted in the problem of large central government budget and balance of payments deficits but in return unemployment has been kept below 3 percent since the 1940s (6)

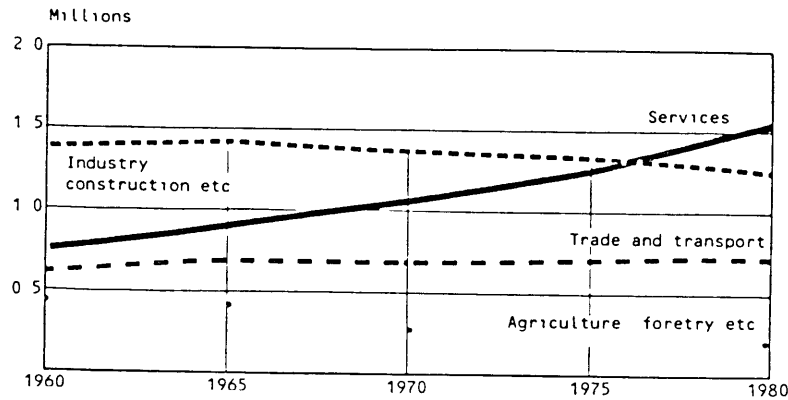


Figure 5 Employment in service increasing Source SCB National Accounts

The solidaristic wage policy in Sweden was very effective during the 1960s and early 1970s and resulted in a radical wage equalization compared with other OECD countries. The principle of the solidaristic wage policy had already been adopted by the workers central organization (LO) in the 1930s. This policy is based on two main principles: the principle of fairness (equal pay for equal work) and the principle of equality (the aim of which is to achieve a general levelling out of wage differences between different industries, occupations and the sexes) (5).

During the seventies a growing number of people found themselves on the fringe of the labour market being employed on special emergency work in labour market training schemes and in sheltered workshops or else relegated to early retirement. A large number of all adults of working age are involuntarily excluded from the regular labour market in this way.

Work in the informal sphere of economy which was so prominent in the rural society has diminished in importance and the formal economy and paid employment have come to dominate politics as well as research. The work done in households and elsewhere which is not paid and which in terms of time probably amounts to as many hours as all paid work is totally disregarded in national budgeting (7). One reason for this is that the informal sphere of economic activities includes elements of markets and of social reciprocity that are not easily accessible to political and economic control. Services for example that tend to be too costly on the market are now increasingly conducted in the home on a do it yourself basis often facilitated by purchased communications information and service functions and devices. This trend represents also a step towards a computer aided self service society.

4 THE WELFARE POLICY AND THE NEED FOR HOUSING

4.1 The Origin of Today's Housing Policy

The housing shortage started to grow when the agricultural society began to give way to the industrial state 100 years ago. Widespread structural unemployment resulted and poverty was the dominating social problem during the second half of the 19th century. The situation then began to improve but persisted for more than fifty years.

Much of the thirties was marked by the great unemployment crisis. To deal with this society tried to apply its greatest resources. In 1933 the Social Housing Commission was set up and this was to remain in being until the end of World War II. In 1945 it issued its final report.

The investigations carried out by the Social Housing Commission were an important part of the Social Democrats post war program. Just as in other parts of this program the report was coloured by the idea of the welfare state (the people's home). Society should ensure that the citizen enjoys basic security. This also applied to housing accommodation.

The most important aims of the housing policy of 1946 was to do away with the flagrant shortage and to improve radically the general housing standard throughout the country. To a large extent these aims were achieved during the post war years.

4.2 The "Million Program" and its Result

The Commission's report saw the housing shortage as being eliminated in a maximum of 15 years. But general prosperity had increased and there was a growing demand for more spacious and better homes. As the influx into the expanding districts became much greater than had been imagined in the 1940s it was decided by the government that the housing shortage should be dealt with once and for all. The Million Program was the result. In the decade following the mid sixties one million homes were to be built in enormous volume in relation to the Swedish population of approximately 8 million (Figure 6).

In an international perspective Sweden's performance in meeting the material requirements of housing is today regarded as exemplary and overcrowding as mass phenomena no longer present a problem. With 440 dwellings per 1000 inhabitants Sweden has the best

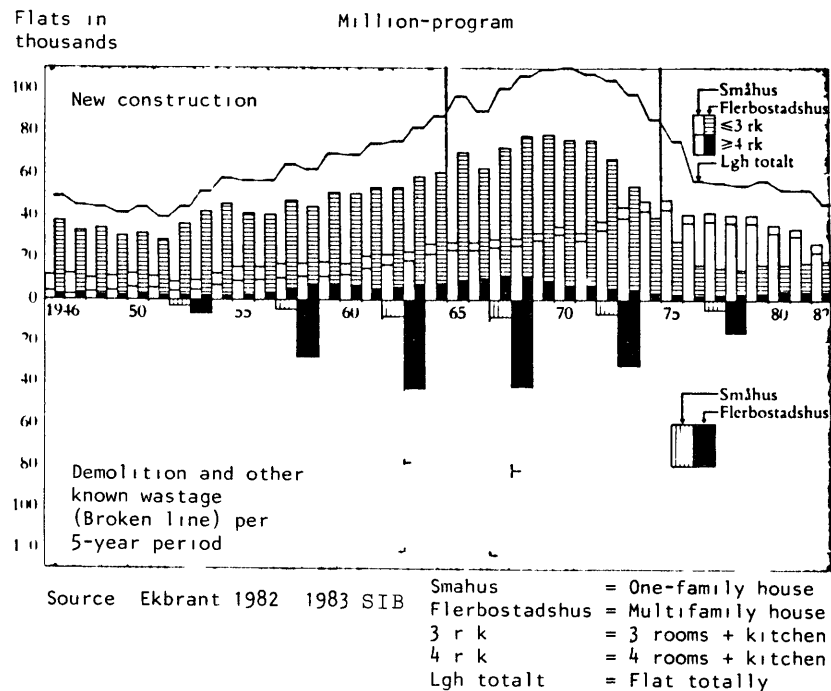


Figure 6 New construction as well as demolition and other wastage of dwellings from the end of the 1940s to the commencement of the 1980s

dwelling standard among comparable countries. The figures for Switzerland, France, and West Germany are not far off, but these countries include leisure time cottages in their calculation, and to obtain comparability, the number of these in Sweden should be added to the housing figure. The figure then rises to about 530, which is considerably larger than for any of the other countries considered. This does not mean that all our housing problems have been solved; reports speak of many deficiencies, but it seems that we have arrived at a point where some traditional issues of housing policy have to be considered.

4.3 Recent Trends in Housing Policy

The aim of the welfare state was to correct through public efforts shortcomings in the social system and to provide adequate benefits. The development of the welfare state is closely related to that of housing and planning. Because housing policy was a prime

socio-political issue, it was a powerful factor in determining the overall situation. This situation is the point of departure for future housing policy alternatives.

In the 1970s, the terms of trade declined, owing largely to the oil crisis, inflation, and a decrease in population mobility. Many districts, especially the industrial areas with a stagnating or falling production, found that they had an excess rather than a shortage of dwellings. During the economic crisis, there was a great increase in the construction of one and two-family houses. When housing capital was no longer required for multifamily housing, people were encouraged by tax incentives and anticipated inflation to acquire a home, and in a very short time many families with children were moving into houses in the new residential suburbs.

From 1950 to 1970, the proportion of detached houses under construction annually remained fairly stable at around 30 percent, but in 1975, it rose above 60 percent. After peaking at 75 percent in 1978, the figure was 60 percent in 1984.

There is a close connection between age and the size of the household. Most older people live in a household of one or two people. With rising age, the incidence of living alone increases. Since women live longer than men, it is often the older woman who lives alone. The group of people living alone aged 75 and over consists of 76% women and 24% men. Although one-person households consist to a large extent of the elderly, even many young people live alone, especially young women. Households have continually decreased in size since the war. This applies particularly to Sweden, which has more small households than other countries (Figure 7).

4.4 Future Housing Policy Alternatives

During the 1980s, the social target for housing has once again come to the fore. This is reflected in a great readiness to reconsider the conventional methods for the building and administration of housing. The passwords for the eighties have become integration, small-scale decentralization, and tenants' participation. In addition, various kinds of collective living are being discussed. The exhibition *Housing 85* (Bo 85) certainly did not manifest the confidence expressed at the Stockholm Exhibition 1930 that the key to better housing had been discovered.

There are diverse views of future housing policy. In certain quarters, it is considered that only the minimum basic needs should be subsidized by society. In others, it is held that society should be responsible for the allocation of all medical care and housing.

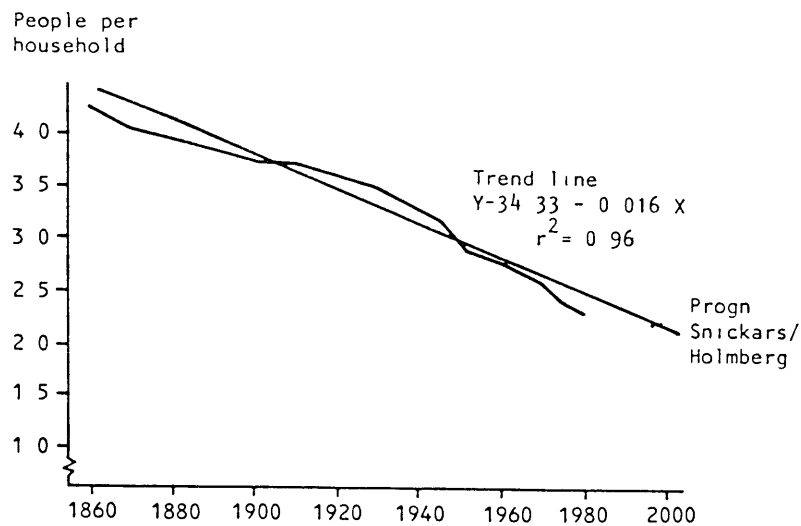


Figure 7 Average number of persons per household 1860 1980 Source Nils Gustav Lundgren The National Swedish Institute for Building Research stencil 1986

According to S. Gustavsson (8) the following five housing policies can be envisaged in the future

- 1) Society should not have a particular housing policy. At Sweden's present state of development the problem has the nature of a general distribution policy. Society needs only to ensure a fair distribution of consumption as a whole.
- 2) There should be a policy with regard to housing but with no stipulation of how the dwellings are to be distributed. A central feature of this concept is a more limited overall technical and socio-economic approach. The houses generally should be looked after and maintained so as to last as long as possible.
- 3) Particular attention should be given to that section of the population with the poorest housing. The various sectors of society should promote better organization of the distribution policy as a whole.
- 4) By methods of general validity housing should be allotted according to the size of the household. The underlying concept here is not an allocation policy in the usual sense of the term but one that promotes what is considered to be the right distribution of housing. This concept is the same as that inherent in the

current approach to the distribution of available educational and medical care resources. All those having a dwelling below an optimal should receive support and all with a dwelling above this standard should be taxed.

- 5) The housing subsidy should be determined on the basis of stipulated future minimum and optimal dwelling standards. A subsidy may then be allocated for a dwelling that considerably exceeds what is judged to be statistically correct as regards the available housing. Thus those sectors of the population at present better off should act as pioneers for what it is hoped to be realized in due course for the population as a whole.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

5.1 The Choice has to be Made

In a democratic planning process the worlds of forecasters, policy makers, planners, and the public have to be in tune, but in practice those who decide and can implement decisions are the policy makers. At the national level the elected politicians sometimes find it difficult to understand planning problems because of their scope and complexity. The initiative comes mostly from the planning officials who represent sectoral authorities. Although most problems are horizontal they are attached to an interdisciplinary plan.

The institutions concerned with planning usually operate vertically. There is often an information gap between the complex problem which has to be planned intersectorally and the plan made by a vertically operating organization because the data on which the decisions are based have been gathered in a particular sector.

5.2 The Commissions Prepare the Reports

In the Swedish administrative system an important role is played by ad hoc commissions. They treat both cross-sectoral and sectoral problems on a national level. Long-term changes or reforms, whether proposed or planned, are prepared by such officially appointed commissions. The results of their investigations are published in the official reports of the Swedish Government known as the SOU Reports. There are other important bodies concerned with policy analyses and/or future-oriented research (Table 3).

Reported deficiencies such as drastically increased housing costs, imbalance in local housing markets, and increased segregation (9) led

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in 1983 to the establishment of a new Housing Policy Commission which was charged with undertaking a complete survey of housing policy. The terms of reference for the Commission were that future housing policy should encourage equal standards and socially integrated living where the households would be able for example to acquire a dwelling on the basis of the household's size rather than its financial resources. As the household increases or decreases in size it would move to another dwelling.

The terms of reference received by the Commission would imply some important changes although they do not imply drastic deviation from the existing housing policy.

5.3 Comments

Half a century ago politicians, planners and architects had ideas and visions of how to create a better physical and social environment for the citizen. A belief in planning and in rational action was a major influence in shaping the pattern of settlements and the framework of today's society. Notwithstanding the identifiable shortcomings of the resulting urban environment, the past period of industrial development and the planners' optimism have stimulated the creation (for western societies at least) of an incomparably firmer foundation for further development. This basis implies functioning urban areas, a well organized (sometimes over organized) social fabric and welfare standards that the creators 50 years ago could hardly have imagined.

The misery round the corner in the thirties inspired those few to do much for the many. Places where the ideas should be realized were the town and the country. Their concern was essentially their own country, their own region and their own town.

During this half century the Earth has shrunk at an increasing rate and the world's misery is brought into our own living room. We have got the message. The question is whether we have the ideas, vision and courage for rational action to create welfare for the coming global information society just as the visionaries of a generation ago had when they created welfare for the western industrial societies.

Some important public bodies concerned with policy analyses and/or future oriented research				Some non governmental organizations initiating financing or performing R&D
Ministries	Special coordination bodies	Bodies providing R&D	Bodies carrying out R&D	Royal Academy of Sciences
Foreign Affairs	Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation	Swedish Institute for Developmental Research	Stockholm Institute for Peace Research	Royal Academy of Engineering Sciences Stockholm School of Economics and Business Administration
Defence	Security Studies Planning	National Defence Research Institute		Nordic Business and Social Research Institute SNS
Health & Social Affairs	Delegation for Social Research	National Board of Health & Welfare	Planning & Research Institute of Health & Social Services Swedish Institute for Handicapped National Institute of Research on Protection	Scandinavian Institute for Administrative Research SIAR Industrial Institute for Economic and Social Research IUI The Swedish Association of Local Authorities
Budget & Economy	Section of Economic Planning	National Administration Swedish Agency for Developmental Research		The Federation of Swedish County Councils
	Council of Economic Planning		National Institute of Economic Research	Associations and societies concerned with futures studies
Education	Research Council of Co-operation	National Board of Universities and Colleges Research Council Committee for Future Oriented Research Secretariat for Future Studies	University of Gothenburg Stockholm University National Institute of Urban and Regional Planning Institute for Social Research	Associations of Members of Parliament and Researchers RIFO Swedish Society for Future Studies Swedish Society for Town and Country Planning
Industry	Expert Group for Policy	National Board of Technical Development Swedish Council for Scientific Information National Development Fund	National Institute of Materials Testing Institute for Trade Research Statistics	Swedish Operations Research Associations The Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations SACO The Swedish Employers Confederation SAF
Housing	Expert Group for Housing Policy	National Housing Board National Board of Urban Planning National Land Survey Board Swedish Council for Building Research	National Swedish Building Research	The Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions LO The Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees TCO
Labour	Expert Group for Labour Market Research	National Labour Market Administration Swedish Work Environment Fund	Work Life Center	The Federation of Civil Servants in Sweden ST Federation of Swedish Building Employers
Transport & Communication	Transport Research Delegation		Swedish Meteorological & Hydrological Institute Swedish Geotechnical Institute	Federation of Swedish Industries SI The Swedish Building Workers Union SBAF
Agriculture	Environmental Advisory Council	National Environment Protection Board Swedish Council for Forestry and Agricultural Research	Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences Institute for Forest Improvement	The Associated General Constructors and House Builders of Sweden SBEF National Association of Tenants Savings and Building Societies HSB

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AN EXERCISE IN PROJECT BUILDING
ENVIRONMENTAL MEASURES OF A CARING SOCIETY FOR THE
AGED

by
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PROJECT BUILDING

Project building a concept outlined by Masini (1982) is a long term perspective and analytical preparatory exercise for societal planning. It is meant to detect tendencies and describe images of existence beyond the horizons that planners and politicians necessarily have as they go about their everyday tasks. The idea is to map out desirable (or undesirable) states of existence gathering knowledge about trends favoring or hindering their realization and identifying ways to correct undesirable developments in a timely manner preferably by supporting trends of development already emerging. Basically the components involved in conceptualizing environmental measures to be taken by a caring society are familiar the natural and built environment the people and arbitrary principles of the caring society. To order these components for project building though one must elaborate on

- 1) The principles of the caring society with special regard to its environmentally relevant aspects
- 2) possible developments in the number of people being studied in their social conditions and in their preferences aspirations and needs especially the environmental implications of such developments for say the next decades and
- 3) the environmental quality and amenities required for action in keeping with such principles and developments

When talking about environmental conditions one should bear in mind that they are by and large only requisites for creating humane living conditions the key factors of which are social economic and political in nature. Environmental conditions are the reflection of those factors. Apart from media contamination hazardous to human health poor environmental conditions do not seem to be a primary cause for reductions in human well being. Rather they are an unpleasant disturbance on top of more central social economic and political problems. Environmental sociologists have agreed that

environmental conditions cannot bring about a particular planned social behavior but rather affect the satisfaction of existing needs and their behavioral implications. Thus the healing forces of the physical environment should not be overestimated.

1 PRINCIPLES OF A CARING SOCIETY

With respect to the principles of a caring society there are two questions to be answered: Whom is the society to take care of? How should such care be given?

As for the first question there is a broad and a narrow concept. The broad concept is that a society must take care of all its members. Without going into the details of philosophical and practical arguments for or against such a postulation it can be demonstrated that the responsibility a society has to take care of all its members is especially great in the environmental sphere. Heavy environmental pollution is unhealthy for everyone. Dense urbanization and/or poorly organized use of space is uncomfortable for everyone. Unsightly environs offend everyone's aesthetic sensibilities.

The narrow concept is that the society is more responsible for some groups than for others. These former groups are those having less influence over their own well being than others. They are children and young people (until they are of age), the aged, the chronically ill, the handicapped and/or otherwise disabled persons and the poor. All these groups more or less lack the physical, mental, educational or financial resources to escape or compensate for environmental deficiencies in their surroundings. The following passages will focus on the aged and the specific issues and problems confronting them.

An answer to the question of how a society should care for its members is necessarily subjective, i.e. value dependent. A rather liberal solution is that society should foster the greatest possible freedom of choice, self-determination, support or self-help, and that it should give only as much direct care as is absolutely necessary. This seems to meet a human need for whose existence there are various indications. One of them is that children insist on doing things on their own as soon as they are able to speak. Another one is the frustration commonly reported by aged and/or disabled persons when they realize that they are declared to be invalids.

There may be people who like to be taken care of constantly. However, it is common knowledge that individual initiative strengthens self-confidence and encourages a positive view of the

world. Although no one has the right to determine another person's concepts of life including the choice of a positive or negative world view, it might be widely acceptable to postulate the primacy of each individual's self-determination as a normative guideline for societal interventions.

Apart from the path of virtue taken by the caring society there are two less virtuous ones: those of the careless and the overcaring society. The overcaring society cares so much about its members that they lose their own initiative and self-confidence, or it offers inadequate care, e.g. technical solutions to social problems. Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany are said to be overcaring societies, for instance. The careless society cares too little for its members in situations they cannot cope with themselves. It propagates private solutions for problems that society as a whole should be responsible for and thus unfairly creates new dependencies and sources for discontent. Some current neo-conservative attempts to save public money by transferring caring responsibilities back to the private household are examples of this approach.

It is obvious that as a rule societies are not completely overcaring or completely undercaring. It is more likely that they are a mixture of both with more or less explicit variations between different spheres of life.

2 THE AGED NUMBERS, SOCIAL CONDITIONS, AND GENERAL ASPIRATIONS

Defining the Group

Members of the social group called the aged can arbitrarily be defined as being at least 60 years old, the age at which people can generally retire from professional life in the FRG.

According to the most recent West German statistics, the population of the Federal Republic was 61,175,000 in 1984, with 20 percent of their inhabitants being 60 years of age or more (Statistisches Bundesamt, ed. 1986). Demographers assert that the population will decline to 60,790,000 by the turn of the millennium, with approximately 23 percent of the inhabitants being 60 years of age or more. Both the decline in the total population and the rise in the number of people in the 60 or more age bracket will be due to regression in the birth rate. The number of births in Germany has been declining for more than one hundred years and will most probably continue for the next few decades. By the year 2040, the

onion shaped age structure familiar today will look like a slim cylinder with fewer people and an almost equal distribution across all age brackets (Jung & Mackensen 1984)

The average life expectancy of West Germany newborns is presently about 73 years the figure for females being 76 years and that for males slightly less than 70. Life expectancy has been steadily increasing. It is now debated whether the Germans have reached their maximum life expectancy. At the center of the controversy is the question of whether environmental pollution shortens life expectancy. In 1984 for example the Bavarian Statistical Office published figures showing that it is falling in regions with extraordinary high air pollution (Siegert 1984). By contrast influential West German industrial associations maintain that life expectancy keeps rising despite eco stress (Handelsblatt 10 April 1985)

3 SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

The Federal Republic of Germany is what one calls an advanced Western industrialized country and the living conditions of its citizens including the aged reflect that. The major characteristics of this society are (a) high degrees of influence exerted by science technology industrialization urbanization institutionalization automation specialization and bureaucratization (b) a high degree of professional social and regional mobility social and spatial segregation including family segregation with no more than two generations in a household as the norm (c) a high level of economic activity and wealth a high standard of living and income and a tightly woven social safety net and (d) a high degree of environmental pollution environmental damage and social disruption

For the aged this means with respect to

Health

West Germany is a comparatively rich country thus the health care infrastructure is comparatively dense. Health insurance is mandatory for workers and employees up to a certain income level. Until recently health insurance was free of charge for retired persons now they must contribute a small percentage of their income to it. Although nothing can prevent age related decrease in physical intellectual and mental energy or an increase in susceptibility to

illness and chronic diseases it is not difficult for a senior citizen to get health care

The cost explosion in the Federal Republic's health care system has been a prime topic of discussion for years now without any notable success in curbing expenditures. The highest costs are incurred by medication and hospital stays a fact that makes the aged a prominent target of criticism. Elderly patients consume more medicine and stay longer in hospitals than other age groups. It has however been shown that the West German pharmaceutical industry is among those with the highest profit rates and that West German physicians are in the country's top income group. Additionally the administrative regulations for the hospitals which are run by the state allow the institutions to operate inefficiently. Patients perhaps particularly the elderly ones seem to get talked into making extensive use of the health care system by those groups that benefit by such practices.

The Federal Republic's health care system almost floods the nation with medications and apparatuses making it appear that diseases can be controlled deferred and eradicated by technical means only. Except for large scale anti smoking campaigns too little attention has been paid to causes having to do with nutrition and life style. This is also true for diseases with possible psychological roots like stress social isolation and loneliness which are particularly relevant for elderly people. Iatrogenic disorder including the unhealthy side effects of medication are still not receiving enough attention either. Finally hazardous effects of environmental pollution have been largely ignored for too long. Circulatory and respiratory diseases are major causes of death among the elderly and air pollution is known to aggravate if not to cause both types of disorder. In light of these shortcomings the West German health sector appears to be careless (on the social and societal side) and overcaring (on the technical side) at the same time.

Income

As recipients of retirement benefits elderly people in the Federal Republic are clearly in the low income bracket. According to calculations of the Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (Bedau & Goseke 1982) the average income for a West German household in 1980 was slightly more than DM 1800. On the average households of people receiving retirement benefits presumably have fewer members than other households so these figures do not necessarily

signal acute material needs. However, the income structure among people receiving retirement benefits indicates that more than 50 percent of the households headed by elderly persons lived on less than DM 1 500 a month in 1980; half a million of them, primarily widows, on less than DM 700 a month (Hinschuetzer & Mombert 1984). In view of living costs in the Federal Republic of Germany, the former amount is at the borderline; the latter amount is probably too little for a decent life. According to official statistics, the standard living costs of a household of two persons receiving retirement benefits amount to about DM 1 500 a month (Statistisches Bundesamt 1986).

The Federal Republic's retirement system is along with the cost explosion in the health care system another perennially controversial topic. The working population pays for the pensions of the retired who, during their working lives, had paid for the pensions of their predecessors. Given the demographics of the West German population, ever fewer working people are paying contributions for ever more recipients. As a matter of fairness to those people whose previous contributions have established their personal claim to a national pension, such intergenerational solidarity cannot be eliminated abruptly. Several solutions to this problem are under discussion.

Environmental Conditions

According to a Federal survey on housing conditions in the year 1978 (Burkhardt, Heinrichsdorf & Kausel 1982), 85 percent of the 9.4 million persons 65 years old or more lived in a senior citizens household (34 percent of those people lived alone, 42 percent with one other person, 9 percent with two other persons), 11.5 percent in mixed generation households, and 3.5 percent in senior citizens homes. The technical facilities in the apartments of elderly persons were, according to the same survey, below average. More often than not, the apartments were without central heating, warm water, toilet, bathroom, or balcony. Moreover, the aged must spend a higher percentage of their income for rent than do members of other groups.

Although these indications suggest some degree of societal carelessness, there are also indications that the government plans to increase care. The following information is based on a report prepared for the Federal Ministry of Housing (Achterberg & Bade 1985). The planning recommendations of this ministry define four types of accommodation for the aged:

- 1) Single apartments especially equipped to meet the needs of the aged in normal apartment buildings
- 2) Apartments like those in 1 above but grouped together in one or more buildings with the occupants being able to avail themselves of economic and social services
- 3) Homes for the aged with economic and social services, temporary nursing, as well as common meals and other activities
- 4) Hospital type homes for the aged

Since Federal and Land governments began financing the construction of accommodations in the first and second categories in 1963, more than 150 000 units have been built. This program is still continuing. Because this pace obviously does not satisfy the demand for such apartments, it has been recommended that existing apartments be rebuilt or renovated to meet the needs of the aged. It is further recommended that the provision of such single apartments be accompanied by social stations (mobile social services) and organized neighborhood help for the elderly.

In the Federal Republic of Germany (including West Berlin), the Lander are responsible for the social service. According to a recent survey (Hinschuetzer 1983), there were nearly 1 500 social stations providing mobile services for the aged in the Federal Republic in 1982. Their tasks vary from Land to Land, ranging from household help and temporary nursing to many kinds of assistance in household guidance, information, and transportation, the organization of cultural events, and a mobile lunch service. In 1983, West Berlin had forty-two social stations, about one for each 10 km² of the city region.

Social Status

Generally speaking, elderly people in West Germany do not have a social function. Traditionally, the men lose theirs when they retire from professional life; the women lose theirs when the children leave home. This situation is aggravated for the elderly by the fact that advanced industrialized countries idealize the young, dynamic, and economically active (and successful) person. Wisdom and experience, for which aging is a necessary (though admittedly not sufficient) prerequisite, does not rank highly in the value system of such societies. Whereas the student movement generation took leave of the family structure by the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies, members of today's young generation explicitly no longer

regard their parents as models for their own lives. There are fewer opportunities than there used to be for elderly people who still feel fit enough to engage in a relatively undemanding part time or casual job. With unemployment presently running at about 10 percent in the FRG the competition for even those jobs is tough and most employers might feel pressed to give the job to an unemployed young person who is trying to enter and remain in professional life rather than to an elderly candidate.

Certainly there are many elderly people who look forward to retiring and reorganizing their lives around their own aspirations free of constant responsibilities. There are people particularly self employed or those from industry's top management positions who continue working if only as consultants. And there are families with strong ties and perhaps some task and burden sharing between the three generations. Elderly people who have such opportunities certainly have fewer social problems. It is however difficult to estimate how many elderly people are satisfied and socially integrated in any of these ways. It might well be the majority but the less fortunate individuals are more visible. In West Germany as in other industrial countries the suicide rate is increasing as the population ages. In 1980 almost one third of all reported suicides in the FRG were committed by persons 65 years of age or more most of them men (Hinschuetzer & Momber 1984 p 310).

Foreign Population

Some people familiar with West German conditions may be surprised that the country's foreign population has not been mentioned yet. After all the Federal Republic had about four million foreigners by the end of 1984. The majority of them are so called guest workers and their families who came to the country mainly in the 1960s. In the early 1980s 33 percent of the FRG's foreign population was Turkish about 13 percent Yugoslavian another 25 percent from different Mediterranean countries and Portugal. Because the reproduction rate of these groups is higher than that of the German natives (and is expected to remain so for the foreseeable future) the foreign portion of the national population as a whole will increase to an estimated seven million by the year 2000.

The population's elderly foreigners are not accorded special attention in the present context because the immigration of guest workers has been stopped and measures are now being taken either to repatriate them or to integrate them into West German society.

Thus the foreigners who stay should receive the same treatment as everyone else in the Federal Republic.

Apart from this however the actual situation of the foreign aged is presently different from that of their native neighbours. The reason is that the degree of their family integration is still notably higher than of Germans. It can therefore be assumed that they have fewer social problems of aging right now. In the long run however it is expected that the foreigners will become assimilated into German life styles and customs to an extent that will bestow upon them the same types of problems suffered by native Germans. It is thus highly probable that the society of the Federal Republic will eventually have to take care of its elderly foreigners just as it does its own senior citizens.

4 PREFERENCES, ASPIRATIONS, AND NEEDS

Preconditions for Secondary Socialization

The assumption usually made is that the experiences of secondary socialization very roughly defined as taking place between fifteen and twenty years of age are decisive in forming the attitudes and the concepts that individuals have for the rest of their lives. Most people retiring from professional life within the next twenty years were born between 1920 and 1940. The eldest third of them underwent secondary socialization during the Nazi period during and immediately after the Second World War (from about 1935 to about 1947). The middle third of them underwent secondary socialization during the final years of the Second World War and the first decade of reconstruction (from about 1942 to about 1954). The remaining members of this group underwent secondary socialization almost entirely during the reconstruction era in West Germany and the first years of the country's legendary economic miracle (from about 1949 to about 1960). See figure 1.

Most of the first third of the population being studied experienced political disillusionment privatization and deprivation during secondary socialization and saw mothers take unforeseen roles and responsibilities while their husbands were away in the war. In its secondary socialization the second third of the population being studied experienced both the nation's initial achievement during reconstruction and widespread confusion about Germany's political history in the immediately preceding decades. In a widely acclaimed analysis Schelsky (1957) called this group the skeptical generation.

In its secondary socialization the last third of the population being studied experienced the deep breath taken after the Second World War the headlong rush into the economic miracle and its less beloved by products

Among the youngest members of this latter group are those who participated in the student movement of 1968 and the founders and members of the present Green Alternative movement and party It was a time of search for new living arrangements for example communes This group also includes an increasing proportion of professional women postponing if not giving up thoughts of bearing children in favour of pursuing a career The group protested against and emancipated itself from authoritarian structures and with that initiated far reaching processes leading to self awareness and emancipation among other groups in the population The most visible group at the moment embraces the ideas of a new wave of womens liberation and is fighting for a guaranteed womens quota in professional and public positions if not for temporary exclusive access

There is also an increasing degree of self awareness and self organization among elderly people In a 375 page guidebook on the Federal Republic's self help groups (Dersee 1982) there are twenty five pages about senior citizen initiatives Among them the Action Group Young and Old the Advocates for Aging and the Grey Panthers Some senior citizens are presently trying out new living arrangements too including such experiments as living in communes just as their children had done

Given the deeply rooted conclusions stemming from secondary socialization it may be suggested that the majority of the first and second thirds of the population being studied will as elderly people greatly emphasize economic security privacy and private solutions to problems and will more or less refrain from becoming politically involved It does not seem out of place to assume however that the last third of the population being studied the people who will be senior citizens near the turn of the millennium will be introducing the image of the New Old self confident individuals who are politically aware and active and open to experimentation

Environmentally Relevant Needs and Aspirations

The introduction in a report for the Federal Ministry of Housing (Achterberg & Bade 1985) cites the old stated elementary desire of elderly people to retain their freedom and independence as long as

possible In terms of housing this means allowing them to live in their own apartments The authors also cite the results of a survey showing that the overwhelming majority of all senior citizens want to live in the surroundings they are familiar with Provided that the new apartment is equipped specifically to meet the needs of elderly occupants that it is integrated with other family dwellings and that it is located in their present vicinity 74 percent of the senior citizens interviewed would decide to move into such an apartment and give up the one they have now (which as a rule has become too large for them) Beyond these stated preferences environmental measures taken with elderly people in mind should allow for the senior citizens generally waning physical strength decreasing mobility and shrinking radius of action These considerations make the quality of the senior citizens immediate environment especially important Environmental measures should also take into account the persistent needs for integration communication diversity and stimulation

5 ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY AND AMENITIES FOR THE AGED

Practical Advice Now Available

The authors of the above quoted Ministerial report outline principles for environmental quality with the needs of the aged especially in mind Some of their fundamental points pertain to the technical features of apartments No thresholds appliances that can be used comfortably and safely by placing wall sockets higher on the walls for example special fixtures like handles for and around the sanitary facilities a design that allows a view over other parts of the apartment and even through a window from the apartment's bedroom or bedcorner and a balcony to enable one to enjoy the outdoors without necessarily leaving the apartment

Building Design

Single story houses or multi story buildings equipped with an elevator no cellars or attics but storerooms adjacent to the apartment or off the entrance hall doors without thresholds well lit staircases that foster communication and have big windows

The Surrounding Houses

Large green spaces with a good overview a properly designed

network of footpaths short distances to shops and public transportation

The Sitings of Buildings and their Environs

Central location providing access to shops availability of social and cultural events which however should not be at the expense of silence safety and fresh air (compromise easy access to public transport) no ghettos for the aged

6 UNCERTAIN INFLUENCES

The dynamic development of computer and telecommunication technology may well threaten the integration and communication of elderly people and contact others. It is taken for granted that daily shopping nearby and casual walks to the bank are highlights in daily lives of most elderly people. Such activities give them the chance to meet other people and converse. These possibilities could gradually disappear should banking matters shopping and travel bookings be accomplished increasingly through home computers and if the local shops and agencies thereby become concentrated in big central order and distribution units. One could argue that using a home computer could in itself satisfactorily replace the few unpretentious daily face to face contacts that elderly people have with others but there is as yet no indication that this would ever be the case.

In an article entitled *The Future of the Cities* however Hahn (1983) cites forecasts of value changes that could result in a reassessment reactivation and strengthening of small human networks on the local level. If such a development were to take place it could offset the loss of personal contact and communication that private computer technology and telecommunications would bring about. The foreseeable value changes Hahn mentions include a trend toward having several generations live together not necessarily so much among families but among any persons of different age groups having compatible value systems.

7 CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

Guiding Principles

The general conclusions to be drawn from this analysis are that environmental measures taken in the interest of the aged by a caring industrialized society must adhere to two guiding principles

- 1) High quality environment must be brought to elderly people because most of them lack the physical ability or the mental vigor or the financial means and sometimes all three to escape even temporarily from a low quality environment they might live in
- 2) The environmental measures must stimulate and foster personal contact among elderly people and between elderly and young people. Such contact should be established in the immediate vicinity of the aged persons because they are less mobile

Principles for Environmental Planning and Programming

The above guiding principles apply for environmental planning and programming

- 1) Continue efforts towards a general reduction of environmental pollution
- 2) Continue efforts towards urban decentralization
- 3) Base all new housing construction reconstruction of old buildings and the organization of the built environment to the needs of the aged

The third suggestion might seem utopian but it is not because

- 1) the proportion of elderly people in the Federal Republic of Germany is due to increase markedly
- 2) it would provide the aged with much greater freedom of choice among preferred environments. Apart from its general desirability it could lower the social costs of aging in terms of easier gathering of kindred spirits and
- 3) most of the appropriate measures for the aged like providing manageable diverse and safe environments houses equipped with elevators or single story structures are desirable for other social groups as well particularly for families with young children. Other measures like placing wall sockets higher on the wall than they usually are eliminating thresholds in apartments reducing environmental pollution would not be an inconvenience to anyone else

One implication of such a suggestion is that designs for apartments and houses would have to be flexible so as to allow for an

inexpensive redistribution of apartment sizes should that become necessary

Principles for Social Planning and Programming

Finally the analysis suggests some principles for social planning and programming

- 1) Increase the number of social stations and mobile social services in order to satisfy the needs of an ever greater number of users
- 2) Support experiments in new living arrangements bringing the aged together with different generations from different families
- 3) Support those elderly people who are interested and motivated enough to start semiprofessional self employed activity

The proposal to support activities engaged in by elderly people might be worth considering as a way of promoting social integration meaningful to them. With an ever greater number of increasingly defunctionalized senior citizens and an almost closed labor market the preferential treatment of younger people who are trying to make their way in professional life might no longer be justified in the long run.

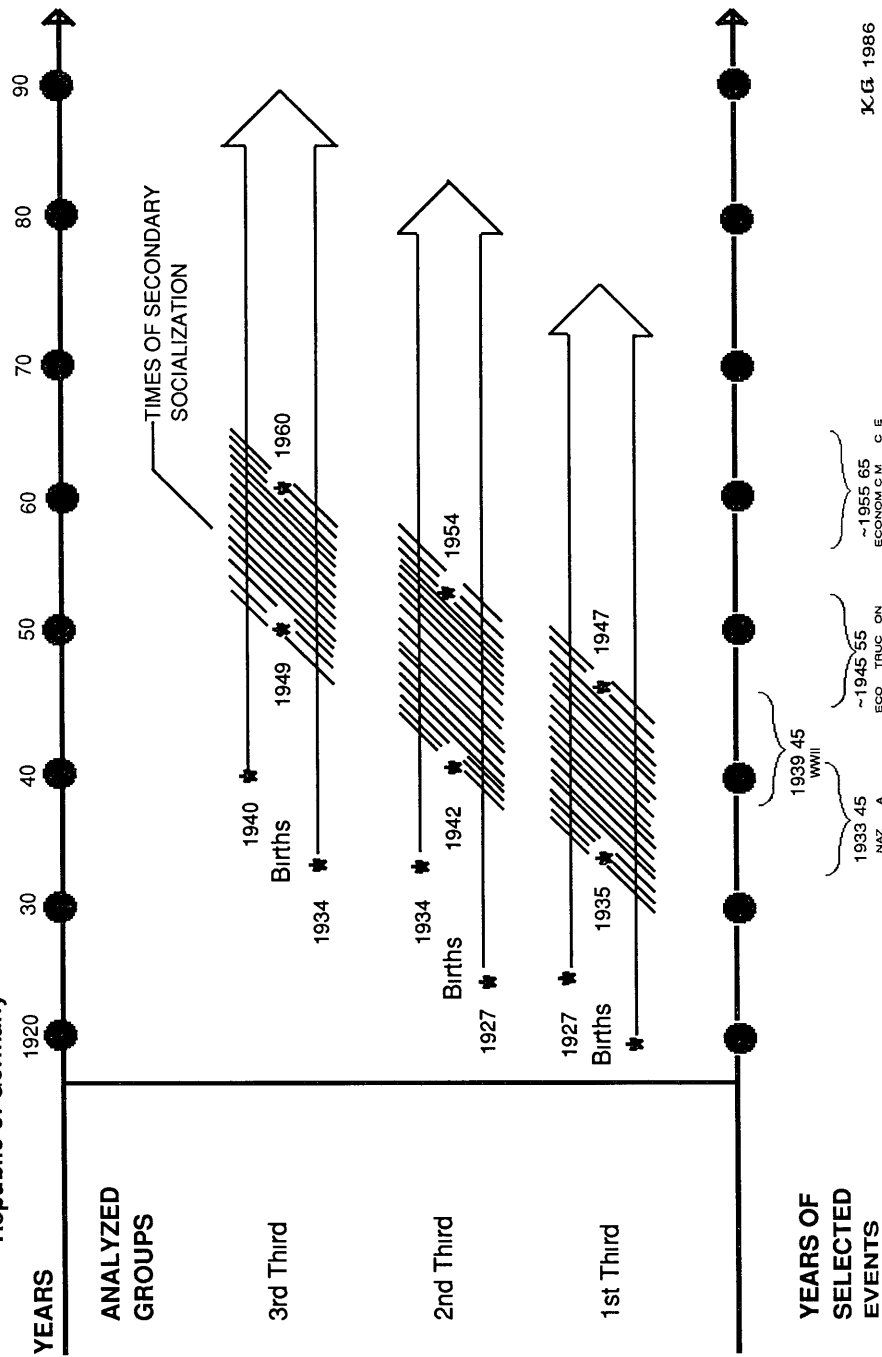
There are already experiments with new living arrangements involving elderly people and mixed generations living together in apartment communes or commune like apartment house initiatives. In 1984 a report summarizing ten years of experience with commune like apartment buildings was published (Weber et al 1984). Recently a report on more than forty examples of elderly people in apartment communes appeared (Kuratorium Deutsche Altershilfe 1986). The main lesson to be learned from these examples is that potential participants should be made aware of the considerable difficulties encountered when undertaking ventures of this kind and should therefore involve themselves only after careful conscious deliberation.

7 OUTLOOK

In the foreseeable future many elderly people will undoubtedly choose hitherto traditional forms of environment and social interaction so traditional environmental measures and structures are unlikely to become suddenly obsolete. On the other hand a different group of elderly people is emerging. It includes people who had

participated in the student movement of 1968. It includes the founders of the Green/Alternative movement. This group the New Old will most probably bring a freshness to societal politics concerning both the aged and the environment. The members of this group will have the advantage not only of the training in self confidence participation and political action that an increasing number of them has undergone in their youth. By the turn of the millennium their particular advantage will be that one third of the voters will be elderly persons. They are most likely to get what they seek.

FIG 1 Persons Retiring Within the Next 20 Years
Historical Background of Their Secondary Socializations in Germany/The Federal Republic of Germany



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RESPONSIBILITY IN CARING

by
MARIA KALAS KOSZEGI

Who is Responsible?

Everybody has got responsibility in caring. Nobody can say I don't want to care for anybody. I don't want to be responsible for anyone. I am not interested in what the others do, and I also do what I want to do. My life should be carefree and free.

There are some who think a little bit differently. They consider caring as responsibility that should be a duty for others only. They have nothing to do with it. *Others* should join it in case of final need. At the same time, in most cases, they require caring for themselves, saying somebody last but not least. The government should be responsible for them as they are human beings. As a matter of fact, we are more and more indifferent, saying I don't mind, I don't care, it's not my business, that's all.

Everybody is responsible for caring, if not for others, not for anybody else, but for himself *always*.

Why?

Because there are no absolute Robinson Crusoes any more, everybody is a member of a larger or smaller society, and either with his illegal/strange/behavior or his not normal death gives more work for people who are officially or not officially responsible for all the members of the societies. This refers to such people who live completely alone.

However, if one has a child, a wife or husband, if his parents are still alive, he is responsible for all of them. Here I could also enumerate the brothers and sisters, the relatives on different levels of relation, friends, colleagues, neighbours, etc. but I'm afraid, also in the case of the closest relatives, there are big problems, even in the so-called civilized societies, in which they may be even bigger than those where the old traditional customs are still alive.

The old tradition in caring is being changed in all countries and parts of the world. This changing, however, is not always positive.

As a rule, one could think the higher the richness of a country, the more parallel the welfare and safeguarding that goes with it. The society can more easily share its income with people in need.

Studying the situation in this field in different countries, the situation seems not to be the above-mentioned. Also in the urban case, the redistributed wealth is relatively high, groups in the population can be found which are in worse condition than others in the society.

It is something that always can be found everywhere. The only question is how much is the difference in income and living standard between the social groups, i.e. how much is the number of the people who live under the average or even under the minimum level of income? What is the difference in the case of social security between the individual groups, and last but not least, the difference in social institutions, infrastructure or commercial network between different parts of the given country?

The regulation of these problems, however, is the task of the state, and their just solution is one of the main duties of the leaders of every country, all over the world.

No use denying the fact that to solve the social problems, the local societies, groups of volunteers, and first of all (in developing countries) the different churches play important parts. In spite of this opinion of mine concerning their activity, I don't intend to deal with them in this paper. I'd like to concentrate to the responsibility of individuals, and in the second part of my study, I'd like to speak some words about the situation in Hungary concerning caring. Caring on the government level is practically equivalent to its social policy.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF INDIVIDUALS

When I chose the topic Responsibility in Caring, I didn't know how difficult it would be to decide what to include or what to neglect. I found myself in a one-way street. I came to a deadlock.

Just to begin

How far to go in caring? How to bring together somebody's freedom with others' willingness to care for somebody? To answer it is not easy at all, and it hasn't been solved yet. In Hungary, to be more economical with the amount available for helping people in need, we try to find out who to help first. We try to know which families or individuals are in a worse situation than others. Without possessing the necessary information, however, this idea can not be implemented correctly.

To approach this question from another viewpoint how far am I responsible for somebody? One can find people families nations living in worse condition than you are Does it mean that you cannot have a good meal without thinking of others in need? This is impossible indeed but we have to know when and what to do in caring within a small community and beyond it as well

Naturally the level of responsibility in caring is different For example the responsibility of parents for their children the childrens responsibility for their parents the adults for every child everybodys responsibility for the closest members of their family for their relatives for the people living in their neighbourhood in their village or city the governments responsibility for the small or poor countries These are very different from each other

In analyzing these differences much could be written about the responsibility of individuals smaller or larger societies or even of the governments safeguarding the balance of our lives But the length of my study is limited I can only enumerate the problems which I've found worth discussing here at our meeting and to call our attention to their possible solution

PROBLEMS TO SOLVE

Who or what is responsible?

- 1) for the undesired decreasing rate of birth in Hungary and other countries with higher levels of development
- 2) for the problems of and with teenagers and other young people their everyday behaviour their adaptability in the society for supplying them with working places etc (Where are the parents the educators and the society?)
- 3) for the problems of the growing number of crimes mostly among the youth?

Or how do we see?

- 4) the general level of employment the problem of unemployment and the social security connected with them
- 5) the economic and structural change and the affected people who are obliged to be a burden to the society while looking for a new job
- 6) the problem of the disabled to help them to be perfectly adequate members of the society perhaps at working places as much as possible

- 7) the problems of old people in cities and in villages
- 8) the people living alone in particular the sick and old people who cant look after themselves
- 9) women in society today their emancipation and their doubled workload at their work and their family how the Government could help to ease their hard life (with having more nurseries household utensils etc)
- 10) women and girls in the country separated from bigger communities and the opportunity for being equal members of societies
- 11) housing problems first of all of young married people
- 12) deteriorated health conditions stress overwork early heart attack etc
- 13) teaching and education the social background and effect of co education from 11 to 18
- 14) environmental problems supplying of the population with healthy drinking water protecting arable land green patches fresh air etc for the next generation
- 15) regional backwardness within countries
- 16) growing differences in economic development between countries etc etc

I'd recommend to think these problems over to think of the situation in these field in our countries and to see *our* responsibility for them

THE SOCIAL POLICY IN HUNGARY

Because the content of the term social policy varies in different countries I consider it important to explain its meaning in Hungary In my country social policy covers such systems or networks of allotments and provisions institutions and activities which provide for the population's financial income free or subsidied services completely or partly excluding the market situation from it On the other hand it also includes the national and local rule of being granted and the way how to be entitled to them

In providing social services the relevant central institutions the local councils the enterprises social organizations and families sometimes non organized individuals take part In producing the necessary sources all of the three income owners participate (1) the population and (2) the producing enterprises with their contributions and (3) the state with the budget

THE SITUATION TODAY

Today in Hungary nearly every member of the population participates in social insurance nearly every family with children receives the family allowance nearly every little child goes to a nursery more than 80 percent of the people above pension age receive pension or pension like assignments

Public Education and the Health Service is Mandatory

In the last decade the social policy of our Government helped significantly to eliminate the difference in income first of all with its social help (e.g. allotting flats and helping the families more intensively in raising their children with donations of clothing and food)

Our social security system first of all in the field of pensions and networks of care for children can be considered developed in international comparison as well

The Direction of the Further Improvement of Social Security in Hungary

In spite of all the difficulties we have to face the main goal in our social policy is to maintain social security even to increase it if it is possible and to moderate the social differences independent from the work people do

Hungary is not a big and rich country We know that in the development of our social activity the economy plays a significant role However there is a quite close mutual influence between them Therefore the ratio between income which originates from work and from social resources should be planned in such a way that they in harmony with or economic possibilities ought to serve both economic and social efficiency for long at the same time

In the recent past however because of the growing economic difficulties also in Hungary unfavourable tendencies can be found in the field of the social welfare as well while the capacity of the social institutions has been growing the real level of more social benefits declined The income of the families with more children compared to the ones without a child is low for young people to find their own flat is time consuming and financially not easy the everyday material problems of the old in particular those who live alone and are disabled is getting more and more difficult

Together with the results which we can boast of in the field of full employment the situation is not favourable any longer It is hard to satisfy the demand for the desired working places for everybody immediately in spite of vacancies

There are no societies without social problems but today much higher responsibility is required from the government local authorities families and individuals as well At the same time we ought to think in short term and long term solutions

In my country the Academy of Sciences the Trade Unions and other relevant institutions are more and more intensively involved in working out the up to date social policy of the Government This co operation can be considered very fruitful

No doubt in Hungary the social security and the social welfare of the population is based fundamentally on the participation of the citizens in the socially organized work Also therefore one of the most important tasks of our leadership is to ensure also in the future full employment and avoid unemployment even in the case of young people entering the work market for the first time

As the fundamental principle of the future in my country on the field of social security is the maintenance this security for all subjects so we try

- a) to enforce much better the principle to help individuals or families according to their need
- b) maintain the real value of social services

To realize these principles we shall pay special attention to

- 1) The population contributes to social expenses depending on their income at the same time those who pay more should get social services of higher value At the same time better help for people in worse condition should be insured
- 2) The way of selecting people and families in need by their social conditions requires more and better information than we possess at this moment and at the same time it requires more independence and responsibility for the local authorities
- 3) To make caring much more family oriented

Together with that we need more skilled experts and specially trained people for working in the social network

**CARING FOR LIFE, THE SPECIFIC CARE OF THE FAMILY
AND WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION**

by
ELEONORA BARBIERI MASINI

1 INTRODUCTION

Caring for life is the central concept for the caring society as well as for a caring person

Life is in fact the reason for caring the first stimulation for caring. Caring has to be understood as an act as a way of life for the individual as well as a way of behaving in a society and has its origin in life of oneself and of others. Unless one starts from life it is impossible to care and on the other hand unless life is the goal of caring the values and priorities involved may not lead to a caring society.

Many ideas can be discussed in relation to caring societies and as a preamble have to be discussed

- a) Societies which care or not for the life of their citizens societies which overcare or undercare for the life of their citizens
- b) Care for health as a basic element of life without which we can speak of life only in very exceptional cases related to specific spiritual beings
- c) Leadership in caring what are the kinds of leadership which take into consideration caring as basic to citizens?

It seems tautological to say it but we often discover that caring can lead to care only for oneself whether person or society which does not necessarily mean caring for life. We can discover in fact that caring for society is to preserve a set of values and priorities which are for the benefit of those who apparently care who can care because that is their power not for those towards which care should be shown.

This can be seen also at the level of the family certainly at the level of a modern democratic state where the crucial care should be in search of equality of opportunities in search of equal education health labour and which instead turns out to be very often caring for

the government in power for the political parties and not as a consequence for life of the citizens of that country. This is why a concept of care for those who are beyond care.

At this point defining life is important although it is as difficult as defining needs values culture etc.

To avoid such problems I would like to define life in relation to the individual's capacity to live in a group in a society without losing himself or herself. Life according to this definition is when the social character in Eric Fromm's terms¹ is geared to values which are interiorized in relation to life itself at all levels physical psychological and spiritual in a given group or society. This is important although I find the concept of life per se dangerous like the other concepts with which scholars have been dealing in the last decade like human needs.

In fact it has been found that after planning for human needs very often what is done covers other concepts which are not for but against human needs and against life.

This is why I prefer using caring for life in terms of relations with society and this will be the line of analysis in relation to the family.

I shall speak about the family especially in relation to the developing countries where I have been working in the last five years for the United Nations University.

2 CARING FOR LIFE IN THE FAMILY WHERE LIFE STARTS

We have through the centuries witnessed different ways of caring in society in the first moments of life. It begins with the family. Rather than speak about the family I prefer to speak about the household as the primary living unit where the first relations of the human being start.

Historically the human being has experienced extended families with people of different generations living together and life is cared for in a continuous way which goes from the caring of the new born to that of the oldest. This is of course within the knowledge of the times of which the household is a part. This means often and in some places that very unhealthy conditions are present and that death of many of the weakest is frequent. Even today in my country Italy I can remember the cases of women of the poorest parts of the rural areas of the North who describe in their life histories that their grandmothers today 80 years old would work in their youth to the last moment before the birth of their child and go back to work.

(because the grapes or other crops were ripe) two days after the birth of their child and if it would die they simply would say *il est mort* (it's dead) So the patriarchal family in purely rural times is still a very incomplete way of caring especially in relation to women and children

If from the agricultural patriarchal family we look at the nuclear family in industrial society which is reduced more and more to two children we witness that it is the place where all the conflicts of the external world like violence in the streets danger of losing one's job fighting to get on a bus or queuing for food for a long time are present and influence the behaviour of its members

At the same time if we try to follow the different trends into the future of such households in industrial society we find that the extended family is strengthening in a new caring way and in different ways The need for aunts and grandmothers sometimes grandfathers because of the pressures of the nuclear family on the young woman (work time uses etc) is getting stronger the extended family is coming into being again under the pressures of our present times If the present industrial society is really coming to an end it would be interesting if this new trust of people which will have to live in a decentralized way working at home through computers etc will stimulate again an extended family in a way re-creating that which was by it destroyed

On the other hand if we look at the nuclear family we see more and more women as heads of households not only in the developed world but also in the developing world The need of African professionals to escape tribal ties the migration trends on many continents which are getting stronger the possibility of domestic work for women in the urban areas while living in the outskirts of cities are all elements fostering a growth of women headed households How will this develop in the future? How will the children of such households be when they grow up? Will they develop a more caring way of life or just the opposite?

I shall not go into psychological consideration to such trends but rather into social ones Children could become more independent and hence might need more care from the whole society and at the same time will have to have a greater responsibility towards the same society or it may be that having lived through a time when he or she have experienced in his/her early years only the presence of the mother or sometimes only of the father both working and caring for him or her they might be led to total independence bordering towards de-responsibilization This discussion shows how much caring

for life at the first stage of life is something that directs social and economic situations and cannot be considered abstractly and generally At the same time we must say that caring for life cannot be defined once and for all but has to be seen and lived through with difficulties in different historical moments There are in fact limits which are related to life at the physical psychological or spiritual levels Physically they are related as an example to the increase of violence against children in developed societies and to the presence of children in work in developing societies Psychologically they are related to the possibility of a future of equal opportunities in education work leisure for many children At the spiritual level it can be related to the possibility to choose in the future the ideology the religion they wish Caring for life in the family hence is a very complex phenomenon which is rooted in reality's everyday questions and not an abstract topic At the same time such a topic in relation to the family cannot be discarded as this is the psychosocial unit which shapes children's minds and bodies and is here to stay in the future

3 CARING FOR LIFE IN THE FAMILY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Some examples which take into account the three levels in developing countries physical psychological and spiritual can be given when we describe the future in terms of indicating changing trends

There are in fact some changes occurring in the family which indicate the future in the developing world which of course show differences and similarities among their regions and states

The extended family is very strong on the whole in developing countries especially in certain areas² Field work in fact shows that in Sri Lanka the family still involves different generations and even if women have to migrate to work outside the country because of men's unemployment this seems even to reinforce the needs for the extended family by bringing back the role of the older generation A special kind of caring seems to emerge in situations of need which goes back to older generations

Another field research carried out in Brazil in the town of Petropolis shows how the older women having been in work since the age of 25 stop working very young at the age of 40 or so but start taking care again of the family in different ways both at physical or psychological levels

The older women become important in a caring function and this

also emerges from the results of field work in Bogota in urban areas where socio economic forces take women back into the house to look after grand children even if they (the women) are still working outside the household

These cases seem to indicate women who are pushed to change their way of caring but also communities have a function of caring for the weaker and are forced to change their behaviour. The caring behaviour emerging in Ivory Coast from the indications of another field research shows that a village which has been displaced by the building of a dam which will give electricity to half the country has reacted as a whole community in order to help the older generation to rebuild the village the houses often on ethnic and religious groupings circumstances can be greatly differentiated and play a great role. There seem to be old ways of caring which are reinforced in different situations of our times but are on the contrary in need of support by the old traditional ways of caring. The community emerges as a whole in the old role of caring because of need and danger.

A case in point is in the townships in China. The new needs for caring have to be faced by the whole community. The old people have a right to have work which is not too heavy. They have even the possibility of small leisure travels. They need hospitals which are built by the same community and offer also day care. So it is the whole community that takes on its own responsibility of caring for the needs of its members which are certainly different from the past.

Caring as part of the task of the community is a social behaviour of great importance for the future and emerges on a traditional basis in time of need and danger. This seems to be something which will emerge more and more with all its difficulties in times of danger as the ones we seem to be living today in different parts of the world.

Another point is that at the individual level in the developing countries it still seems to be the woman who is the caring one. This is the case in plantation areas in Africa and in Latin America it is the women who have to care for the other women in cases of bad health in questions of nutrition of the young and in everyday needs in child bearing etc.

As an example family planning can only pass through women not only because it is women who have to act (often men do not want family planning) but because it has to go through women's knowledge and awareness. Hence we can say that change passes through women. The role of caring by women is crucial to changes as many things do not change in themselves but need a carrier of change.

In developing countries from the experiences I have described

emerging in field work it is women who care in families and in communities. But I would like to close this part on developing countries with the phrases of a colleague Ashis Nandy who refers to Gandhi's thinking. There is a woman in every man and there is a man in every woman. It is a continuum not a dichotomy. Where do we stand today in developing countries? And where do we stand in the developed world on this continuum in relation to caring? Caring can be understood as the meeting point between men and women. This could be a new way of seeing cooperation rather than competition between men and women.

4 CARING FORCES AS CHANGING MECHANISMS

What we have been discussing makes us ask: can the caring forces become forces of change in a world of violence which is now growing even with even greater inequalities? Our times are growing in capacities human as well as technological. We shall try to see if caring forces can be a way of change. One point I would like to underline is that women have not been builders of the industrialized world but most of the time only passing participants. The social character they carry does not belong to the industrialized world. The caring element is not part of the industrialized world.

Can this hidden capacity of women bring to the forefront different capacities and help build an alternative world? Can the caring part underdeveloped in men which is not yet at the surface which has been suffocated by competition striving up the ladder of what is though important in an industrialized society like money property knowledge can it emerge in the future? Can women change this having the hidden capacities?

Another very serious characteristic of the present time in terms of the future is the lack of motivation of the younger generations in the developed world. This is clearly true for most of the youth in Europe. There is a great difference between the youth of the 60s and even part of the 70s with the youth of the 80s. Youth is uninterested except in its own personal world. Not even careers while money is important they are only interested in a good life. Can the elements of the caring society counteract this trend?

The young in the developing world are on the contrary angry about the unequal situation which has been going on for centuries and about which political independence has not created real independence whether economic or cultural and has as a consequence fostered even greater inequalities. In Latin America Africa and Asia although

there are differences within the countries and within the regions youth have developed an anger which is also an awareness of their rights for education work and a healthy environment Can a caring society help with these questions? It is difficult as it means thinking of a very great population as an example 45% of the population in Africa is today under 15 years of age 36% of the population in Asia is under 15 39% of the Latin America population is under 15

Can a caring society a caring world a caring capacity counteract such trends? Awakening the caring in men counteracting the demotivation of the young in the developed world striving to answer the anger and the needs of the rights of the youth in the developing world?

These are the challenges which I see emerging from a caring for life topic in a moment of drastic violence on one side and of misunderstanding or non dialogue on the other These trends are based in industrialized society which has in its terms been put into question by many events like Hiroshima or in the present day by Chernobyl and which are already influencing a part of us our children our environment our biological sanity our psychological health but hopefully not our spirituality

NOTES

¹Eric Fromm *The Sane Society* Routledge and Kegan London 1956

²United Nations University Project Household *Gender and Age* First Report Santo Domingo 1985

AGENDA FOR THOSE WHO CARE

by

JAGDISH CHANDRA KAPUR

There are billions of unsuspecting victims of systems of social organisation Neither do they have any clues about their state nor can they do anything about it There are hundreds of millions who are beneficiaries in such systems but do not care for the price others and they themselves and their future generations have to pay to keep these going And these are the ones who have preempted the power resources media and messages of the system and who want to make billions love their state of want and servitude by creating images and illusions of progress Through the exercise of unlimited power in an undifferentiated manner and increased satisfaction of unsatiated hunger for goods increasing waste and rising crescendo of excesses they have developed an insensitivity to hunger and to the lack of basic needs of others

The breakdown of the moral and ethical framework within which all orderly human systems must function has made the global environment unstable ungovernable and a threat to the future of our planet

Efforts of those who really care are insignificant in terms of the needs while others are weak and insecure The situation demands great visions and brave men with dedication and the will to stand up and let themselves be heard above the tumult and the shouting of the controlled media

Nothing ever assures permanence in a state of inequity and injustice Increasing resort to megaforce to preserve it only means that the system has lost its moral authority is insecure and in its arrogance becoming belligerent to a point of losing its rationale Visible displays of acquiescence to forces of destabilisation and terrorism may not necessarily signify acceptance of authority but in reality may mean maturity and a sense of self preservation by its victims Given time aggregating signs of retreat of the power structures will isolate these further from the human mainstream make them even more vulnerable aggressive and self destructive In this process opportunities for peaceful transformation to a new state will also recede

Even those who develop frameworks instruments and techniques which translate caring into visible symbols and strategies or action plans for welfare have been whipped into a state of helplessness in mounting adequate responses to human needs. This state has been brought about through a psychosis of fear of unlimited power and violence which others control.

The potential for seeking adequate satisfaction of human wants through existing frameworks and known strategies is receding and there is no course of action in sight which can survive the polluting effects of the world systems.

The political and economic elites of the developing world have been hooked to unattainable images of modernisation and living styles and have been sucked into an orbit where techniques are projected credits and investments are proposed and before they know it the countries are launched on the path of consumerist development with aggressive elitist vested interests and their volatile detractors amongst the aggregating unemployed. Before long these nations are in an urban foreign exchange and debt crisis and in the hands of manipulated dictatorship mercenary terrorist movements.

This unfortunate story has been repeated in countries after countries in every continent. There may be variations in scenario intensity of conflicts or violence or levels of destabilisation but behind it all there is the same story of perfidy. Gandhi, Martin Luther King, John Kennedy and tens of other big and small all represent links in the same chain of sacrifice by those who challenged the existing order of things.

But there always come moments in history when directed violence against individuals leading great movements for change rebound against their detractors with such force as to change the very course of history. A South African official who threw out a young Indian lawyer called Gandhi from a railway compartment for the colour of his skin could hardly have realised that he was participating in a great moment in history that was the commencement of the process of liberation of the world's people from colonial regimes. In the last three quarters of a century most nations except the one on the periphery of where the movement first began are already free politically. South Africa will perhaps be the last one to fall.

The only real contribution that the processes of development of the Third World appears to have made so far is to enhance the time scale of the consumerist systems in the developed world. The techniques employed while on one side showing impressive gains in the GNP of these countries showed vast impoverishment of the

people taking place simultaneously. These highly innovative and insidious techniques while funnelling away the wealth of these countries with the active connivance of the elites were creating illusions of progress for a few and hopes for the progress of many. But before even the basic needs of even a small fraction of them could be satisfied the countries got into a double bind situation. Many decades will be required before they can get themselves out if at all of their debt trap. Unless there is a miracle of sanity and sacrifice their continued servitude for many generations appears assured. Latin America and Africa are getting into such a turmoil. The countries of the Indian and Pacific Ocean Regions are now heading towards a similar ego boosting journey to consumerist utopias.

Millions around the world have had perceptions or premonitions of these trends. They have been struggling in their own way as individuals, groups or organisations to create an environment of hope in the future in new ways of life. They have adopted service rather than acquisition, man rather than his possessions, to teach to walk and release innovative capabilities rather than to exploit, to create new images, new techniques as their goal. They are struggling for the eradication of poverty and satisfaction of the basic needs of many rather than profiting from luxuries for a few. They promote the message of peace and harmony rather than confrontation and violence. All these centres lie scattered with few linkages. They have often small but sometimes substantial but unrelated constituencies of their own. Effecting one or the other aspect of human existence but in the aggregate enshrining the dreams and aspirations of hundreds of millions of people except perhaps those who have been moronised within a narrow focus of a consumer life with all their sensitivities subverted to be able to uphold only one cause, cherish one dream, worship one God that is the materialist consumerist system and its infrastructure of super armament. They are afraid to criticise it or any of its aspects because it is considered subversion of the decent aims of humankind.

Humans must also be controlled lest they become a threat to the system. The age of speculation and raising fundamental questions is thus ending. Moral issues must now be decided on the basis of what is necessary for the growth of the dominant culture's power. Whatever does not fit into the growth needs is now considered irrational, inhuman, evil. And those who question it are tormented and at its most human level isolated like the transmitter of psychic and intellectual AIDS in isolation far more disabling than physical isolation. There is nothing left to communicate except to the periphery.

Therefore either we can enjoy the boons of the system at a heavy price for others and future generations sing its praises or wait for the walls to crumble and in the meantime sustain each others morale. And yet therein lies hope. Systems based waste excesses violence are losing both their physical and moral basis. The processes of moronisation and psychic manipulation have reached an extreme point and are laying waste the creative urges in man. In other words this would recoil on the system itself making it more desperate more destructive more immoral more suicidal. We can hope that like the phoenix a new world will arise from its ashes.

In the past also new worlds have arisen. But after all sacrifices were made. These were launched on the same path with a greater zest than what its victims wished to alter.

Before World War One there were a few powers on a civilising mission in many countries. These imperial powers controlling the erstwhile colonies had to preserve an inorganic way of life in a human environment and built ruthless and vicious systems with often a human exterior. They at least carried an illusion of moral responsibility for their backward charges and had to maintain an orderly environment to further their commercial interests.

The post World War II systems have different contours. They revolve entirely around commercial defence or ideological interests with overt and covert protection linkages or arrangements with local elites. These arrangements do not carry any moral responsibility in the formulation of objectives or their realisation except that of profit or power maximisation.

Starting with the Club of Rome the basic thrust of most studies about the future was to assess availability use or misuse of resources and their consequences. The needs of developing societies in approaching problems of poverty and development have also received some attention.

But few have dared question the basic framework of high energy technology systems whether operating within the laissez faire market economies or the incentive restricting techniques of the centralised planned systems. Parameters of social organisation or economic locomotion have remained basically unaltered and are in fact considered sacred. Thus the few significant pictures of new designs of living that emerged are largely unrealistic and have little survival value.

The existing development patterns have little to contribute in terms of the satisfaction of basic needs of over two thirds of the worlds people. How is a person in a village in China India or Africa

concerned with cargo load or frequency of a space shuttle when he cannot even get food or fresh water? How good are the energy guzzling missiles when people have to walk miles to get firewood? What good are massive investments in finding out cures for AIDS cancer and coronary ailments to help a few million people when simple medical assistance is getting outside the reach of most of the people? A trillion dollar investment in armaments for external security becomes meaningless when millions of lives are being crippled through worldwide trade in narcotics and by physical and psychological sicknesses largely in countries with the so called highest standards of living. These are the issues which are challenging social thinkers who really care.

There are hundreds of persons and institutions with such concerns and commitments in most countries but they have little communication with people having similar concerns elsewhere. We should seek them and bring their experiences activities and concerns to a broader section of the human community.

An agenda for those who care would involve a broad spectrum of multidimensional human activities at many different levels on an ascending or a descending scale depending upon the individuals station or aptitude.

- 1) Alleviation of human suffering disease poverty and ignorance within the immediate environment or movements towards it on a larger human scale.
- 2) To catalyse human self reliance and to release the innovative capabilities of the people to mold the environment to their own physio psycho spiritual needs.
- 3) The consumerist value system is recklessly approaching its self destructive phase from which the only advance could be a nuclear holocaust the only retreat an economic chaos the only diversion a large scale commitment of the poorer two thirds of the mankind to these very same processes of uncontrolled production consumption or arms accumulation. The inability of the world to sustain these processes in terms of energy resources and human psyche for any length of time would only mean massive dislocation greater instability and chaos. Thus there is an urgent need for creating living examples (as against intellectual escape routes and media blitz) for new designs of living.

The other manifestations of the self destructive processes within

the high velocity consumerist armament system are physical social and psychic excesses causing family breakdown drug addiction incurable diseases such as AIDS psychological breakdown and the disappearance of ethical standards from all human activities And all this in the name and under the flag of success achievement power and progress

Thus a rapidly spreading cancer affecting all the nodal points of a social organism has taken hold of societies claiming to be its greatest beneficiaries And now all this is rapidly spreading to the entire human and social order The only hope of reversing this otherwise irreversible process is to halt its growth in what is left of the new and emerging societies

One of the most significant factors in the deteriorating state of the worldwide physical environment is energy Whether it is

- 1) The radio active waste caused by the nuclear power or the need to dissipate large volumes of heat or accidental radioactivity in the plant itself
- 2) The creation of a carbon layer above the earth's surface caused by excessive use of coal
- 3) The ecological monoxide fumes from the oil based energy production and use processes
- 4) The desecration of the forests by the search of cooking fuels in the developing countries and the consequential ecological disturbances and weather changes
- 6) The massive centralisation of energy systems and the emergence of the megalopolis and large concentrations of populations in small areas and the environmental and sociological consequence thereof

The non availability of energy even to meet minimum basic needs such as cooking and lighting is a cause for considerable hardship for most people In India for instance over three fourths of the population resides in rural areas and over 63% of their energy requirements are for cooking only Similar situations with variation exist in most developing countries where people often have to walk miles to collect firewood for survival It is estimated that during the last half century over half of India's forest wealth has been ravaged to supply the energy needs of the poorest section of the population In many other areas of the world considerable ecological damage has been done in search of cooking fuels or industrial raw materials Most aspects of development for the satisfaction of minimum basic needs require energy in one form or the other

The poorest sections the least beneficiaries are also the greatest victims of fluctuations in the worldwide trade in energy Therefore the development of adequate decentralised energy infrastructure largely based on renewable sources of energy is of prime importance

These and many other factors have been adequately dealt with by the present and many other authors including the role of centralised energy systems in the process of urbanisation

There are innumerable resource constraints and compulsions in favour of rejecting short term solutions relating to energy The sun based energy system in its totality includes sunlight solar thermal wind moving water biomass or recycling of animal plant and human waste While there are variations in the availability of any one of these resources at different locations the sum total may however be more uniform than is believed

On a personal note I presented a paper Socio Economic Considerations in the Utilisation of Solar Energy in the Developing Societies to the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources in Rome in August 1961 The objective was to present a model of an integrated renewable energy system for rural communities to bring welfare where the people are and thus to prevent needless urbanisation There was an overwhelming response to the presentation But the pull for adherence to the system and finding solutions within its framework was much stronger than chalking out unconventional courses of action

In the early seventies I launched a one man effort at my farm in the Union Territory of Delhi to research and develop a technically dependable and economically viable rural energy system based entirely on renewable sun based energy sources

The basic features of the activity included

- 1) an assessment of the diverse energy needs of the communities such as cooking lighting water supply refrigeration agricultural services etc
- 2) an assessment of the available energy resource from the solar light and thermal energy wind water biomass and waste recycling in the immediate environment
- 3) to relate the available resource to needs and to design an energy infrastructure to optimise this relationship
- 4) to optimise known technologies and to innovate new ones in relation to each available source and to integrate these together to assure uninterrupted energy supplies to meet diverse needs Such a system has a synergetic effect to bring about economic

improvements in the general socio techno economic environment affecting health education cleanliness aesthetics and employment with the active participation of the community and by catalysing the innovative capabilities of the young and the old

The economic viability and social value of such systems is beyond question Their contribution in stemming the exodus to the urban areas and upgrading the level of welfare to the large mass of the rural people is being increasingly realised

The experience gained and the techniques innovated through these efforts have already been successfully transmitted to a village in Rajasthan Four more villages in other parts of India in the population range of 500 2000 are in various stages of assessment and planning

The way such a system works is that each one of the renewable energy sources depending upon availability in a particular area performs a designated function for instance bio gas wood or sun for cooking wind water or biomass for generating electricity The energy source while performing an assigned task most of the time can under certain conditions also act as a standby for the priority requirements of the community At Kapur Solar Farms solar photovoltaic provides electricity for lighting domestic water supply running hospital refrigerators and the control systems of the integrated energy system If there is not enough sunlight available on certain days or the requirements go beyond the capacity of the storage systems then innovations have been made that wind energy gives up its primary function of pumping irrigation water and starts generating 24 Volts electricity which in turn is stored in the common low voltage electricity storage system If for some reason both the solar photovoltaic system and the wind system fail than a small proportion of the energy produced by a bio gas generator is converted into 24 Volt supply and transferred to common storage batteries

The system thus assures reliable energy supply throughout the year Similarly methane gas generated from animal plant and human waste and water hycinths is produced by different types of bio gas plants for which systems have been optimised The investment in such an energy system to meet a substantial proportion of the diverse energy needs of rural communities is less than Rupees 1000 (U S \$80) per capita

The economic costs for providing similar levels of welfare in the urban areas will depending upon the conditions be 10 30 times The worldwide costs of maintaining high energy technology high waste consumerist armament systems as islands in an ocean of poverty should thus be obvious

CONCLUSION

Those who pride themselves in the so called information or Hi tech society are in fact the victims of a plethora of indigestible disinformation It not only distorts images of reality but creates illusions of progress in the midst of massive processes of social retrogression Even our academic and social results based largely on the rearrangement of such information have not remained unpolluted So we can make the right look wrong or the reverse at will No orderly change is possible in such an environment Therefore one of the primary tasks for those who truly care is to intervene and endeavour to correct this illusion But this will no longer be possible through a centralised high density media blitz because neither the media has credibility nor is it available for such intervention There is therefore a need for a different kind of approach through personal example straight to the hearts of the people The demonstration and multiplier effects of what is real is more permanent than all the rapidly fleeting and contradictory images of progress of which we are the harrassed victims

Many in their own ways are unveiling the irreversible damage to our ecology and exposing those responsible thus creating sustainable images for the future both in terms of the physical and human potential That is where the new world of the twenty first century is making its torturous birth

**INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY IN LOW INCOME ECONOMIES
THE IMPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME
DISTRIBUTION**

by
SAM COLE

SUMMARY

Integrated or Blended technology which combines the traditional knowhow with recent scientific advances has been posited as an appropriate technology for developing economies. This paper explores the conditions under which this technology may be beneficial. The conclusion is the consequences for employment are very great provided a dynamic and economy wide approach to its implementation is adopted.

INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the implications for employment, income distribution and growth in low income developing countries of using so called blended or integrated production techniques. Unlike earlier attempts to specify an appropriate technology for developing countries (eg Stewart 1976, Bhalla 1979, Diwan and Livingstone 1979) a key characteristic of these latter day techniques is that they combine the indigenous knowhow of these economies with the most advanced knowhow. Bhalla et al (1984) and von Weizacher et al (1984) have attempted to clarify the approach and to provide practical examples. Above all they argue the need to integrate traditional and new technologies. Rather than simply importing ready made techniques from the more industrialised economies, recent breakthroughs in micro processor devices and other areas would be used to create a radically new technology more directly relevant to the economic and social needs of low income economies. When traditional occupations are swept away by new technology they assert there is often considerable social loss which does not enter into the calculations of the new enterprise. The value of local knowledge, insights, skills and managerial abilities, as well as physical facilities, are rendered wholly obsolete or redundant. As Bhalla concludes, if traditional production can be upgraded by a marriage with newly emerging technologies while still retaining much of the substance and form of the older methods, gains in efficiency and competitiveness can

be achieved while preserving existing human and physical resources. The main focus in this paper is on the impact of information technology, primarily the new technologies based around the use of micro electronics, since these have given rise to the greatest concerns for employment, distribution and international competitiveness. With respect to these technologies, Wad (1984) explains that they offer developing countries a low cost, easy to use technology that is extremely flexible and amenable to small scale applications which, if properly exploited, will enable these countries to move out of their dependent states and become truly self-reliant.

For the poorest countries, such hopes contrast greatly with the expectations of many authors. Hoffman (1985) for example points out that most analysis of the impact of new technologies is biased towards the more advanced developing economies, while the implications for the poorer countries have hardly been addressed at all. He hypothesises that these countries may be only marginally affected by the technology and the social and institutional changes that will accompany its diffusion, and also that this is arguably a good thing, since the poorer countries have much more immediate and pressing problems to confront. What little evidence there is indeed suggests that new technology in its present form is unlikely to relieve the massive unemployment in low income countries. Royer (1984) for example has calculated the impact of continuing present trends in the transfer of technology on employment in developing countries in a long term macro economic context. He shows that even modern sector technology, with steady historical trends in factor productivity, rather than the radical shifts expected with information technology, and with steady rates of capital accumulation in developing economies, will not begin to resolve the unemployment problem for several generations. Another author has calculated (eg Parker 1984) that the unemployment problem may never be solved through use of such technology.

In Bessant and Cole (1985) and Cole (1986) calculations are presented as to the direct and indirect impact of information technology on the economies of countries at varying levels of industrialisation. Because there is no consensus in the literature as to the eventual geographical location of new production systems or even their impact on productivity, a range of contrasting hypotheses are explored. First, it is assumed that the new innovations constitute primarily a rich country technology, as seems to be the predominant conclusion in the literature (see eg Kaplinsky 1984, Hoffman 1985, Fransman and King 1984). Second, following the arguments of

Jacobson 1982 and Soete 1984 it is assumed that the technology may be transferred in an imitative form rather rapidly to developing countries via international firms or through more indigenous scientific and technological endeavors. Quantitative estimates of the expected shifts in factor productivity and extent of use in each case including those arising from systemofacture (or factory of the future effects as discussed in Ayres and Miller (1983) and Kaplinsky (1984) are based on a review by Bessant in Bessant and Cole (1985). In either case the impact on employment and income assumptions about technology transfer have little impact on unemployment levels in low income countries. We shall not detail these particular results here except insofar as it affects our later argument.

One important point needs to be made though namely that it may be quite misleading to extrapolate the results of case and sectoral studies to an appraisal of the overall impact of new technologies even if they are based on a cross national survey. With respect to information technology Hoffman (1985) for example concludes that developing countries should monitor and match the technical basis.

Where diffusion is rapid then the process of adaptation either through the use of new techniques or via improving the efficiency of existing systems must take place. This conclusion may be more or less true in the short run but only so long as the exogenous conditions pertaining to the micro economic (partial equilibrium) analysis of the concrete cases remain more or less unchanged it is unlikely to be a reliable guide in the longer term or in the context of a widespread change in technology. The reasons are obvious with the introduction of micro processor based techniques on an extensive basis in many sectors and countries the whole structure of factor and commodity prices is likely to change. We might go further and suggest that whether new or traditional techniques are being introduced a primary purpose is to shift relative factor costs. Thus any partial equilibrium assessment is likely to be wrong the gains to efficiency and competitiveness of which Bhalla and others speak have to be evaluated in a system wide manner. The importance of general equilibrium cross sectoral effects is emphasised for example by Stewart and Weeks (1975) in exploring the issue of wage policy in a developing economy with heterogenous technology and labour markets. They conclude the two sector approach must be pursued if intelligent wage and unemployment policies are to be formulated. This does not of course say that general equilibrium mechanisms (such as those described in this paper) are uniquely correct but they shed additional light on a very complex issue.

The kind of mechanism we refer to are illustrated by an example from Bessant and Cole (1985). The predominant view of the diffusion of information technology (noted above) is first that it will have greatest impact on comparative advantage in the high income developing economies and least impact in the low income developing economies and second that its impact on labour productivity will be greatest on balance in the industrial sectors and least in the agriculture sectors (indeed negligible in the agriculture sector of the poorest countries). Translated into a general equilibrium framework this suggests first that the industrial sectors of the richest countries are likely to become increasingly competitive vis a vis the industrial output of middle and low income economies and second that this sector is likely to become more competitive for factors of production vis a vis other sectors within the high income economies. Especially because the demand for capital is high (and so its price rises) as industry in the richer countries becomes more competitive on world markets their already very capital intensive agriculture can become less competitive. In principle this result could have some beneficial consequences for low income countries (especially those whose domestic agricultural production has been undercut by exports from Europe and North America) since it would allow an expansion of their own very labour intensive agricultural sector with a net increase in rural incomes and jobs. What this suggests is certainly that confronting the impacts of internationally changing technology is unlikely to be dealt with satisfactorily through a sector by sector approach it requires an economy wide strategic policy.

In practise even such positive features as we have just described would be whittled away by protective subsidies for agriculture in the industrial nations. As we shall further illustrate below much technology policy in poor economies may be rendered ineffective in the face of the very great pressures which technological and other changes in rich economies impose on them via market forces. In part this is a result of the very large relative size of the industrial economies. But more so Miles (1984) using the results of empirical studies of appropriate technology cited above suggest these technologies are only likely to be effective if they are employed in conjunction with active trade and social policies. Otherwise they may be worse than useless. Such findings reinforce the fundamental point that when developing economies are obliged to comply with world market prices for commodities set by the very different technology of other economies their own development options are severely constrained. Important development alternatives are forgone unless a

technology policy can be designed which takes account international forces as well as domestic social and economic goals

Before considering the empirical dimensions of blended technologies we recognise that the problems of innovating such technologies must be judged to be less technical than institutional. As Wad (1984) emphasises Underdevelopment is not so much a technical problem to be solved by technical means. It is rather the result of complex political economic and social factors that in turn influence technical conditions. He cites the green revolution as an example of technology which was supposed to be cheap and easy to use but which has often been associated with increased inequities in rural areas and displacement of marginal farmers. Obviously then we must distinguish technical possibilities from the institutional constraints. On the other hand as Ernst (1983) and Freeman (1984) have emphasised if developing countries simply react passively to the strategic decisions of international firms and the more industrial economies they will remain in a dependent and very vulnerable position whether or not some of the most advanced techniques are employed in the export oriented enclaves within their territories. At the very least then we should attempt to clarify the characteristic of a more independent approach.

THE POSSIBILITIES FOR BLENDED TECHNOLOGY

Both Bhalla et al and von Weizacher et al provide numerous illustrations for example the use of electronic load controllers for hydro electric power generation in Colombia Sri Lanka and Thailand controllers for fermentation and grain storage as well as the possibility of new devices for irrigation control systems meteorological forecasting of micro climates and rural healthcare systems crop scheduling and fertilizer application. However convincing as yet there is rather little empirical evidence upon which to base a priori estimates about factor inputs and the like. Much more empirical research is needed in this direction if the possibilities for these new technologies are to be evaluated satisfactorily. But even if we do not have precise data we can nevertheless use preliminary judgements and also use a macro economic calculation to estimate the performance (in terms of factor use and so on) which would be required to ensure that these techniques could even in principle become part of a viable development enterprise. Given this data we can then ask whether it is inconsistent with what we believe to be the technical and institutional possibilities for the new technologies.

In characterising technologies it is useful also to make a distinction between the scientific knowhow involved in production and mere mechanisation. Since there is no automatic correlation between scientific and mechanical inputs to agricultural production it is possible to conceive of highly scientific production that uses rather lowly mechanised techniques. For example Barscht (1977) on the basis of empirical studies in India and the Philippines demonstrates the potential of increasing agricultural yields through the use of greater scientific inputs to production rather than increases mechanisation. Mechanisation in the guise of increasing capital labour ratios has been the principle dimension of most theoretical and empirical studies of choice of technique (e.g Vitelly 1980). If the concept of mechanisation is extended to include substitution between skills and intermediate inputs (as well as royalty payments subsidies and so on) can be used to explore for example the substitution of unskilled labour for scarcer skills capital and intermediate inputs as well as complementary wage and other policy.

Thus even though we have rather little precise quantitative data about the possibilities for upgrading traditional techniques using information technology there appear to be numerous potential applications and we can explore these within a general equilibrium framework¹ by making semi empirical estimations of the factor inputs to such appropriate technology. We shall adopt some rather conservative figures here so that there can be no dispute that the technology we are assuming is technically feasible even though there may be institutional difficulties in its actual innovation. We assume that in all sectors the number of unskilled and skilled workers (per unit of production) increase while inputs of capital and intermediate inputs decrease. (This assumption is rather different from that which should be made if traditional rather than integrated or blended techniques are considered since in that case the use of unskilled labour would generally be expected to decrease.) The changes in factor and other inputs are chosen in such a way that production costs (at base year prices) remain unchanged. This assumption means that we shall be examining first the impact of substitution effects between factors rather than changes in competitiveness arising from shifts in productivity and also that we are not claiming impossible feats for developing country research and development institutions. In some respects our assumptions may be overly cautious since many of the empirical studies comparing modern sector and traditional techniques show that production costs are likely to be reduced when the latter are adopted. As Vitelly (1980) showed most comparative studies set out to demonstrate this particular point.

What performance targets should we set for the blended technology? In the calculations below we aim to ensure that all labour both skilled and unskilled is fully employed. In addition to this we aim for an increase in national output, household income and the potential for sustained economic growth in such a way that a reasonable balance is maintained between the level of production and consumption in each major sector of these economies. In order to achieve these targets in the experiments that follow, inputs of capital and intermediate materials have been reduced in all sectors by 10% while inputs of skilled labour increase by 5%. Unskilled labour inputs then also increase so as to leave total production costs unchanged at the original factor and commodity prices. The changes are in Table 1. The greatest increases in total labour intensity are in activities which currently have the lowest labour to capital ratios and the greatest increases in skill intensity are in activities which currently employ least skilled labour. Obviously these figures are debatable but they certainly reflect the spirit of what appears to be possible by combining traditional and emerging technologies.

We turn now to the question of what happens when this technology is adopted on an economy wide scale and show that its impact depends greatly on how international trade and domestic social and economic policy are managed.

THE AUTARKY SOLUTION

We examine first the consequences of introducing the hypothesised technology in a situation of autarky (i.e. international trade across the economy groups is blocked so that commodity prices in the low income countries are independent of those in the rest of the world). The results given in Table 2 (a) show that shifts in household income, profitability, employment, sectoral output and levels of net exports resulting from the introduction of the new technology (i.e. they contrast the situation with the new technology with the prevailing situation). We see that real national income has increased by about 19%. Levels of skilled and unskilled employment too have risen sharply by 18% and 35% respectively. This exhausts the supply of skilled labour but some unskilled labour is still underemployed. The income of poor households has risen by 20% while the income of rich household incomes has fallen by 19%. Because of the great increase in employment the wage income of all households has risen dramatically even though wage rate increases have been constrained to around 10% (in order to maintain profitability at a level which should sustain the

existing rate of growth). Although the investment income of rich households has fallen this is countered by increased wage income the fall in household incomes is therefore primarily due to the removal of income transfers from abroad in the autarkic economy.²

We should not be surprised at the magnitude of the shifts. First we should remember that in a closed economy the imperative for increased labour productivity to increase per capita incomes arises only when all human resources are fully employed (see eg Jones 1976) until that time more rather than less labour intensive techniques may be consistent with increased output. Second in an autarkic economy important multipliers whereby increased employment stimulates in turn increased demand, output and further employment will be brought into play. In an open economy these may be undermined because with factor price shifts domestically produced goods become non competitive and the increased demand is satisfied by increased imports (see eg Cole 1983).

The introduction of the possible technology then appears to meet many of the macro economic objective we have specified at least with autarkic trade policies. Obviously such a scenario begs many other questions of policy but what is demonstrated clearly is that as unutilised human resources are brought into production, real household and national income can rise dramatically.

THE OPEN MARKET SOLUTION

We claimed above that exposure to international competition may undermine the employment and redistributive impact of the new technology. If the same technology is adopted in an open trading economy (i.e. so that local prices are constrained to match world prices as determined largely by the technology and markets of the richer economies) what then is the effect? If the technologies of the high and middle income economies are the same as in the base period then virtually all the gains are lost. This is shown in Table 2 (b). The increase in total real income is reduced to 3%, the employment gains are eliminated and in addition the composition of production is markedly changed so that the economy becomes very dependent on some commodities. Although industrial output increases greatly the low income economies become increasingly dependent on imports of agricultural products. This suggests that the combined impact of open trade policies and labour intensive production techniques (whether upgraded through the integration of emerging technologies or not) could lead to a potentially disastrous situation.

The magnitude of the change as compared to Table 2 (a) again might be surprising given that production costs for the new technology are taken to be competitive with world commodity prices at the original factor prices. However it has to be remembered that since the primary reason for adopting labour intensive techniques in the first place is to increase employment and so push up wage rates this immediately forces up production costs making the goods non competitive in world markets. If the system of production is protected from world market in the previous calculation then prices still rise but wage incomes rise even faster so enabling multiplier processes in the domestic economy to thrive.

THE DIRECTION OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

The constraints imposed by world markets on the low income economies need not be so severe. Such effects depend critically on the best practice technology employed by foreign producers insofar as these are the major determinants of world prices. Table 2 (c) shows the situation when information technology elsewhere in the world can again be characterised as a rich country technology. The local situation is determined still by relative world prices and demand for commodities but because of the relative weakening of the agriculture in the poorest countries faces less competition in world markets. Consequently many of the positive effects of the labour intensive possible technology remain. Indeed Table 2 (c) shows that total income has risen by some 22% the number of unskilled jobs has increased by 44% and the income of poor households has risen by 34% above the base period. Despite these gains there are also some losses in particular the service sector declines and in consequence of this many skilled jobs are lost.

The last result suggests that even though the choice of technique is a response to domestic needs it must take account of changes in technology elsewhere. Further as claimed in our introduction this is not simply a matter of matching sector by sector the technological advances of other countries. For example as remarked earlier the greatest reduction in production costs as a consequence of using probable technology in either the high or middle income economies are in the industry sector followed by services and lastly agriculture. But in the calculation shown in Table 2 (c) the service sector rather than agriculture or industry sectors in the low income economies are most adversely affected. This is because of the combination of domestic and international market forces is such as to make services

in the low income economies relatively uncompetitive either in its ability to compete for labour and capital domestically or to sell goods internationally. Consequently it is the service sector which must be made more competitive if the imbalance between domestic production is to be restored and if the number of skilled jobs is to be increased.

To illustrate this we assume that the shift in production costs in the service sector of the low income economies match those in the high income economies. In this case the increase in unskilled jobs (per unit of output) shown in Table 1 falls to around 14%. The result is shown in Table 2 (d). Total output has risen now by nearly 26% and unskilled employment by nearly 50% while output in all sectors has increased well above the original level.

CONCLUSIONS

The earlier results and discussion have demonstrated that technology is a powerful determinant in the growth and distribution of income and full employment and it follows that technology policy can be an equally effective instrument in achieving and maintaining equitable objectives. Governments dedicated to primarily market oriented economic policies are not likely to place distribution at a premium and policies which rely on trickle down to ensure the relief of social hardship are not likely to encourage entrepreneurs to adopt redistributive techniques or to promote researchers to develop them. On the other hand governments which are concerned to relieve unemployment and the waste of human resources and potential but recognise also the power of international and domestic markets can use technology choice as one instrument of policy to achieve a broader set of economic and social goals. Domestic and international markets can both reinforce and undermine the objectives of technology and other policy. In particular use of labour intensive appropriate techniques increases and hence creates additional employment and through the market pushes up wages and demand and hence creates additional employment. But this reinforcing mechanism in the domestic market can be undermined by the behavior of international markets. Conversely because international markets create a discipline which encourages optimally efficient so ideally both sets of mechanisms should be used to reinforce the broad objectives of social and economic policy.

In the spirit of achieving a deliberate set of social and economic objectives we have asked what direction of technical change is required to maintain an acceptable balance? As we have seen there

may be rather little that developing economies can do to change world prices but by adapting technology so as to balance factor and commodity prices it may be possible to maintain a stable and internationally competitive economy. Indeed if this is not done then the sole strategy of attempting to bring unused human resources into play is undermined. A strategy of modifying technology therefore should not be aimed only at specific low income sectors but rather for strategies which propose that development should make use of an integrated technology system namely that it must adapt systematically to the changing world economic environment. For this to happen rapid technical change in the less industrialised countries takes place in response to changes in the industrial countries but the direction of change is qualitatively different. First the composition of production and products are geared towards domestic markets second the improvements in productivity are concentrated on non labour inputs as far as possible and third the concentration of effort takes account of economy wide changes.

It may be argued that what is suggested here is more or less what a free market left to itself would do anyway. In particular entrepreneurs will respond to both world commodity prices and factor costs before deciding to innovate or employ a new technology. But in this decision they are motivated largely by questions of profitability with employment at best a secondary consideration. The argument that is left to itself the market will ensure the correct choice of technology in order to maximise output means little when the observed result is that large numbers of people are socially and economically marginalised through unemployment. Clearly then the way governments set about encouraging new investment can determine the direction of technical change. Giving tax breaks on new capital spending rather than providing subsidies for the creation of new jobs will obviously push investors towards a capital intensive rather than a labour intensive choice of technique. Furthermore when the capital intensive technologies are more readily available through transfer from richer economies and only modest research and development undertaken in the developing economies firms and governments however well motivated are left with little effective choice.

This lead us beyond the scope of the present paper. The question of how to stimulate the research and development effort in developing countries has been discussed in many of the references cited including for the promotion of integrated and blended techniques. What we have tried to do here is to define the concepts in operational

terms and to clarify their strategic and practical terms implications and the relevance of other instruments of policy.

NOTES

¹The model we use in our study was developed at the Science Policy Research Unit by the author and colleagues (John Clark Tony Meagher Henry Lucas). The equations of the model derive in part from a theoretical specification by Gracielly Chichilnisky and its theoretical properties have been presented in a number of papers (e.g. Chichilnisky 1978 Chichilnisky and Cole 1987b Chichilnisky 1981) and reviewed in the literature (e.g. Taylor 1979 Jone 1982 Bhagwati Brechter and Hatta 1982 de Meza 1982 Sadulet 1983 and Cohen et al 1984) especially those results which deal with the perverse effects of development aid and reversals in the terms of trade. We are not concerned directly with these effects here since concepts such as the terms of trade are not unambiguously defined in a multi region model such as that employed in this paper. The equations and method of estimation of the model have been published elsewhere (Meagher and Cole 1984 Cole and Miles 1984).

²Here we are assuming the possibility of some kind of incomes policy. In general the magnitude of the results depends on the estimated and assumed relationship between factors and prices as well as the extent of factor substitution within and across sectors. Both are areas of great controversy. We have used fixed coefficient production functions in order that explicit shifts in factor use can be introduced and a variable supply elasticity for all classes of labour. Without entering into extended justification here we cite Squires (1979) who concludes that the available evidence with respect to rural wage rates which are the most relevant to our discussion is more consistent with subsistence explanations (such as those of Lewis 1954) and further that within the former explanation the evidence for the dualistic version is weak. The general points we make in this paper about the systemic nature of change do not in any case require that all factor markets are elastic. Structural features in particular those arising from differences across sectors and countries in the prevailing factor productivities appear as more important.

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Table 1 Shifts in Factor Inputs by Sector

SECTOR	AGRICULTURE	INDUSTRY	SERVICES
INTERMEDIATE INPUTS	-L	L	-L
SKILLED LABOUR	+L	+L	+L
UNSKILLED LABOUR	+L	+VH	+LH
CAPITAL	-L	-L	L

KEY TO SCALE (PERCENT CHANGE)

N	NL	VL	LL	L	LM	M	MH	H	HH	VH
0	5	2	45	8	125	18	245	32	405	50

Table 2 Shifts in Income Employment, Output and Trade

ECONOMY GROUP	LOW (A)	LOW (B)	LOW (C)	LOW (D)
INCOME				
TOTAL	+M	+VL	+M	+MH
RICH HH	L	VL	L	NL
POOR HH	+M	+LL	+H	+H
CAPITAL	L	NL	L	L
EMPLOYMENT				
SKILLED	+M	VL	L	+LM
UNSKILLED	+H	+VL	+HH	+HH
PRODUCTION				
AGRICULTURE	+LL	VH	+H	+HH
INDUSTRY	+L	+VH	+HH	+LL
SERVICES	+LM	M	MH	+LL
NET EXPORTS				
AGRICULTURE	LL	VH	+LM	+M
INDUSTRY	+LM	+VH	+MH	LL
SERVICES	+NL	MH	HH	L
COMMODITY PRICES				
AGRICULTURE	+VL	+N	+VL	+LL
INDUSTRY	+N	+N	+N	+N
SERVICES	+NL	N	+N	+N

KEY TO SCALE (PERCENT CHANGE)

N	NL	VL	LL	L	LM	M	MH	H	HH	VH
0	5	2	4.5	8	12.5	18	24.5	32	40.5	50

- (A) No international trade or transfers
 (B) Original technology in rest of world
 (C) New technology in rest of world
 (D) Technology adapted to new international conditions

COMMUNICATION IN THE SERVICE OF FOREIGN SUPPORT

by
 MERVAT SHOUKRY

The topic of my paper was suggested by the fact that Egypt is presently undergoing an open door economic policy represented in the wide range of foreign and joint venture projects which are currently being implemented in Egypt and in which foreign technology and expertise are being launched in support of Egypt's developing progress.

From my own point of view as a communication expert any type of foreign support will depend for its success on careful adaptation to local understanding values and even local emotional perceptions and reactions. That is to say foreign support will depend for its success on a continuous process of overcoming personal differences arising from different judgements emotions and social perceptions of both foreign experts and locals at different levels. In other words support may be most effective when it rests on a genuine understanding and sensitivity to the needs and motivations of different cultures since in different countries people have their different frames of reference.

I believe that the frame of reference is perhaps the key idea. It determines how different people interpret different situations. Hence to be positive the country offering support would be well advised to recognize and accept other frames of reference to understand and try to predict the impact of the particular support on the country's needs interests and values.

As an example of foreign support I chose a real life situation in my own country Egypt *The Cairo Metro Project*. The Cairo Metro Project is a huge project which is being currently implemented by a consortium of 17 French and 2 Egyptian companies. Though the Metro Project is meant to solve traffic and transport problems in Greater Cairo particularly since studies proved that within three years time the center of Cairo will suffer from a complete traffic blockade and that constructing an underground metro is the optimal solution to solve traffic and transport problems in the center of the city public opinion in Cairo was completely negative towards the Metro project.

The opposition of the people of Cairo to any public works may be partially attributed to the following reasons

- 1) Suffering from a shortage of public utilities such as power failures old water pipes hackney increases the negative attitude towards the difficulties that will be raised by the metro project particularly since the projects working sites will occupy sizeable areas in the center of the city where traffic is at its peak 24 hours a day
- 2) Relying on such big projects on foreign investment and technology which will result in an increased deficit in the balance of payment
- 3) To this may be added another important factor and that is failure to build an understanding between such projects and the public through the media of communication which leaves the public relatively ignorant of the essential facts about such projects

A few months after signing the contract between the French and the Egyptian governments to put the metro project into effect I was asked by the French Egyptian Consortium to undertake the publicity campaign explaining to the public the utility of the project on the one hand and urging their patience and cooperation on the other hand This gave me the opportunity to experience at close contact the public reaction towards foreign support represented in such projects which are meant to serve the general public It also gave me the opportunity to live the daily differences and understandings moments of frustrations and times of success of about 3 000 Egyptians and French people daily working together I was also privileged to enjoy several times the positive reactions on both sides arising from satisfaction of aspired achievements being realized

My purpose was to lead the people of Cairo not only to accept foreign support (represented in the metro project) based on conviction of its utility but also to take a genuine part in its different stages until its final achievement which will actually be a moment of triumph of goodwill and understanding between two peoples the Egyptians and the French

In order to achieve my purpose my publicity campaign rested on three basic factors

First Establishing a system of continuously providing the information required to different categories of people for prompt answers to questions and problems This requires understanding of human behavior on the one hand and the unquestionable right of all people to know on the other hand

Second Understanding that human behavior is determined by

what people will learn from the support situation and environment and how they will be influenced by it Since the average person does not voluntarily dislike support hence depending on the system of application support may be a source of satisfaction

Third Regarding support as a social system in which people interact to achieve their own personal objectives through achieving the objectives of the particular support offered In other words through integrating the efforts of individuals into a unified whole

After careful analysis and reflections based on extensive survey and sampling I reached the following findings which primarily reflect my point of view as a communication expert

First It goes without saying that every aspect of human relations involves communication Words are the principal communication instrument We all live in a verbal environment Hence in order to transmit the necessary information senders must show reasonable verbal capacity and learn to improve their transmission of words ideas and feelings to cope with the receivers perceptions and reactions to their statements One of the most conspicuous handicaps in the process of transmitting the required information is choosing the words which closely mean and connote the things or ideas which one thinks or talk about in such a way as to conform with the receivers perceptions leading to his positive reactions

Great differences exist from one person to another in the degree of accuracy and clarity with which the individual can express himself on matters he is trying to learn or transmit Hence it would be wise to be sensitive to what is on the receivers mind and not to be literal in the interpretation of words and statements In order to overcome this handicap of misinterpretation on both sides I began to organize a number of meetings interviews seminars on different occasions and at different levels to explain the facts discuss ideas and iron out differences misgivings or opposition

Second The first step for reaching effective results of the support offered is to create the necessary environment for support acceptance by developing a better understanding and knowledge of human behavior

Behavior is a function of the human structure and its environment It is a function of the individual understanding and perceiving his world It is brought about by the effort of the individual to secure an adjustment between himself and his

environment To the supporting country the foremost concern should be achieving the acceptance of the receiving country based on a realistic understanding of the support offered Since different cultures may influence the understanding of different concepts a carefully planned communication campaign may help establish a common point of view and reduce misunderstandings arising from different frames of reference

In order to realize this objective I set out to organize an extensive media campaign utilizing the different media of communication the printed word radio TV etc

Finally The success of any type of support rests on valid participation or inclusion which may be realized when the senders and receivers perceptual profiles are reasonably close together Perceptual differences intervene with effective communication and hence effective participation Participation is a sharing of meaning Meaning is more effectively imparted when the sender understands the receivers background and experience the greater the effort to be exerted to find a common ground of understanding To realize the concept of inclusion I introduced a number of new ideas and put them into application which all served to create a shared feeling to achieve a common goal One example is inviting university students to work in the metro project during the summer vacation

In conclusion I believe that for support to be successful we should be aware that humanity is made up of uncompleted individuals that although every individual is different from any other one the qualities of every individual are complementary to the qualities of those of another that only the melting of these qualities may achieve the common target and that the most effective support will result from participation that depends upon the acceptance of each group of the riches of the other group

THE NATIONAL IMPACT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION A RENAISSANCE OF NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH TRIBAL SELF DETERMINATION

by
JOSEPH DUPRIS

We know you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in these colleges and the maintenance of our young men while with you would be very expensive to you We are convinced therefore that you mean to do us good by your proposal and we thank you heartily But you who are so wise must know that different Nations have different conceptions of things and you will not therefore take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happens not to be the same with yours We have had some experience of it Several of our young people were formerly brought up in the Colleges of Northern Provinces they were instructed in all your sciences but when they came back to us they were runners ignorant of every means of living in the woods unable to bear either cold or hunger knew neither how to build a cabin take a deer or kill an enemy spoke our language imperfectly were therefore neither fit for hunters warriors nor counselors they were totally good for nothing We are however not in the less and to show our grateful sense of it if the gentlemen of Virginia shall send us a dozen of their sons we will take great care of their education instruct them in all we know and make men of them

(from the speech by Canassatego a spokesman for the Iroquois replying to an offer made in 1744 by the Virginia legislature to provide an education for six Iroquois youths at William and Mary College)

DINE BIO'LTA ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL

Setting

Rough Rock lies at the foot of Black Mountain in Arizona on the 25 000 square mile Navajo Reservation The nearest sizeable town is Gallup 120 miles away When the Demonstration School was established in the summer of 1966 Rough Rock's population was less than 1 000 At that time the school served 300 children between 6 and 16 years of age two thirds of whom lived on campus

Philosophy and Objectives

Two themes were fundamental to the philosophy of Rough Rock at the time of its conception those of cultural identification and local

control. Instead of forcing children to relinquish their Indian identity as the price of entering the white man's world, Rough Rock stressed a both-and approach. The goal was to instill a sense of pride in being Indian to show children that they can take the best elements of both ways of life and combine them into something of value. It was felt that children should be prepared to function in a bicultural setting if this was their choice in the future. In addition, organizers of the school hoped to involve the local community as much as possible. Unlike most of their predecessors, these organizers assumed that Native American people are capable of both determining the educational needs of their children and community and taking responsibility for the operation of educational institutions serving them. The role of professionals thus changed from one of control to one of assistance.

Organization and Staffing

Initially, the BIA turned over a \$3.5 million new school facility and both the BIA and OEO awarded about \$300,000 each to a private non-profit corporation called Demonstration in Navajo Education (DINE). Soon after Robert Roessel arrived as the first school director, people at Rough Rock elected one woman and four men—all shepherders and medicine men—to the school board. Control of the school immediately passed over to them. They were given absolute control over hiring, firing, and general policy. The group convened for all-day sessions once a week and also met weekly with Roessel, his staff, and the school's all-Navajo board of directors. In addition, regular meetings were held with the local Chapter.

In 1966, 10% of the faculty was Navajo; by 1971, the figure had reached 60%. All employees received orientation about school philosophy, Indian education, Navajo history, etc., and non-Indian staff and their children were tutored in Navajo language. Salaries were cut initially so that more people from the community could be employed. After two years, Roessel stepped down as director. He was replaced by a Navajo, and the administration became completely Indian.

Curriculum

The culture identification component of the curriculum has included units about the Navajo hogan, its history, construction, ceremonies, etc.; Navajo farming and livestock; reservation facilities;

land, climate, and Navajo history and government. The Navajo Curriculum Center at Rough Rock, begun in 1967 with Title I grant monies, prepares materials on Navajo history and biographies. Legends, chants, and oral histories are recorded there by elders in the community. These people also check the accuracy of other collected data. Students are involved with adults in an art program, learning from them, for example, the skills of weaving and silverwork, which could later be a source of income for the children. A medicine man apprenticeship program has been initiated. In classes, pupils study traditional uses of plants and discuss contemporary issues such as the Hopi-Navajo border dispute and Black Mesa controversy. A bilingual program emphasizes mastery of both Navajo and English, with Navajo as the first language of instruction. As children grow proficient in English, most studies shift into that language.

School Community Relations

Rough Rock was established as a community-controlled school. Navajos are involved in the school in many ways, besides administration, however. The adult art program seeks to revive dying Navajo crafts and also produce more local wage earners. Community members teach students in all aspects of the culture program. Adult education classes are held. Old men, who are historians and medicine men of the tribe, come to the dormitories at night to recount legends. Parents are encouraged to come to Board meetings and their children's classes, and to stay overnight at the school. Many are hired on the dorm staff on a rotating basis. Students go home any weekend they want. Teachers visit the homes of all their pupils at least twice a year, accompanied by the child and a translator if necessary. In addition, non-Indian teachers are to live in a hogan for a period of time in order to experience what it is like to haul water, chop wood, etc. Auxiliary services have been set up to assist the community; for example, agricultural products are sold at cost.

Other Comments

Rough Rock is a highly publicized educational experiment. In the first 22 months of operation, it received 15,000 visitors. Though surrounded by some degree of controversy, mostly the result of a critical OEO-sponsored evaluation, Rough Rock is still generally considered the first important and dramatic example of self-determination in Indian education.

CHAPTER III

LEADING TO CARE AND CARING TO LEAD

Glenn Paige of the Department of Political Science of the University of Hawaii is widely acknowledged as one of the world's top experts on the surprisingly neglected subject of political leadership. Because the study of political leadership is generally ignored by institutions of higher learning everywhere in the world, Prof. Paige has sought to bring this lack and the possibility as well as necessity of rectifying it to the global community in many ways. For one thing, Prof. Paige has convened panels on leadership for recent World Conferences of the World Futures Studies Federation. The articles in this section represent some of the contributions on the role of leaders in and towards a caring society.

Jose Abueva (Philippines), President of the University of The Philippines at Kuezon City, The Philippines, leads off with a challenge to universities everywhere to fulfill their obligation to offer adequate education and training explicitly for leadership. Given the statements made by Albert Simone, President of the University of Hawaii, at the opening of the WFSF Conference that the University of Hawaii seeks to be a truly international institution of higher learning, one might expect Dr. Abueva's challenge to be accepted here.

But in addition, Dr. Abueva recounts various challenges towards education for leadership that have been directed towards his own United Nations University. Indeed, one of the most promising is that made by Jean Blondel, James MacGregor Burns, and Prof. Paige (arguably the Big Three in leadership studies globally) for the creation of UNU Institution of World Leadership.

Reflecting at some length on the theme of this conference on the future of care, Dr. Abueva himself calls for the creation of a UNU Institute for Human Survival, Development, and Welfare to be created in New York City so that the findings of the Institute can be placed immediately on the agenda of various UN organizations which are headquartered in that city.

John Burton (US) follows with seven propositions concerning leadership in response to basic human needs. He summarizes his seven propositions this way:

In a sentence, the Western interest-oriented, personally achieving system is the source of global violence, not

planned welfare states whether these be socialist or mixed economies and that world war three like the two before it will be fought as a means of resistance to the pursuit of human needs especially the needs for independence national identity and distributive justice

Donald Michael (US) next presents persuasive evidence that many leaders and followers alike currently labor under a massive delusion that it is possible to control the social systems of the present To the contrary these systems are not and they cannot be essentially controlled Many people recognize that our societies are out of control now but not many accept what Michael says we all must accept that the desire and belief in control is itself a harmful delusion Rather we need to accept uncertainty as a real and permanent part of life to live with and acknowledge uncertainty and to nurture a new form of leadership and followership which emphasizes compassion instead of control and the acceptance of turbulence and fuzziness instead of a wholly futile search for permanence and surety

Maria Modig (Sweden) examines the consequences of civil disobedience of certain leaders who seem to care too much Her article is based on her research into various whistleblowers in Sweden people who cared so much about justice environmental conditions equality and the like that they spoke out when they saw persons or institutions violating laws or moral standards

Her conclusion is that such persons who play a tremendously important role in society nonetheless must learn when to quit when to leave an organization or community if they and their cause are to remain effective If they do not then they will be seen as or actually become bores who are stuck in past situations unable to be effective leaders any longer in the present or for the future

Erica Landau (Israel) concludes this section on leadership for a caring society by discussing her experiences in identifying and educating gifted children She emphasizes that giftedness is culturally relative and not absolute Persons who are gifted in one situation or environment may not seem to be so in another Most importantly she stresses that if gifted children in culturally deprived environments are not identified and nurtured then they will likely exercise their giftedness as juveniles and later adults in anti social ways They may become leaders in violence and crime instead of towards peace and justice To neglect education for the gifted on the basis that we need to focus on the average or even sub average learner means that the condition of leadership and followership and hence of society generally will substantially worsen in the future

HOW UNIVERSITIES CAN ASSIST LEADERS AND CITIZENS TO RESPOND TO GLOBAL CARING NEEDS

by
JOSE ABUEVA

We believe that if humanitarianism were to become a factor to reckon with in international relations just as economic political and security conditions are this planet would be a better place to live in Hassan bin Talal and Sadruddin Aga Khan Co Chairmen of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues 1985

An important human need is for responsive creative principled leadership in all areas of life This does not mean a dominating elite but rather persons in positions of comprehensive responsibility who are dedicated to serve others and to assist others to realize their full human potential This means taking initiatives as well as responding supportively to the initiatives of others

Leadership failure to be responsive to human needs and to find bases for co operative problem solving action across sectors typically bring national and international breakdowns with enormous human suffering It is in the interest of each person in every nation that the leaders of every other nation as well as their own develop the capacity to understand their needs and co operate in assisting their fulfillment Abdel Salam Majali and Glenn D Paige proponents of an Institute for Advanced Study in Leadership 1981

The title of this paper assumes that more universities can as some already do assist leaders and citizens to respond not only to a particular society's caring needs but also to global caring needs It implies that the needs for care and support in any particular society are somehow related to conditions beyond its national borders and in the world as a whole It suggests national and global responsibility that the people in any country not only in the rich or industrialized countries have an obligation to be concerned and helpful in regard to the needs for caring and support within and beyond their boundaries and around the globe However the title in a way begs the questions of what are caring needs who needs caring and support and why and who should provide care and support in a world that is constantly in flux

1 DEFINING PROBLEMS AND CONCEPTS

To begin with therefore perhaps academics in dialogue with

policy makers and other concerned citizens should clarify such concepts as (1) vulnerability and security (2) caring and support systems (3) global interdependence in respect of (1) and (2) and (4) responsibility for caring and support

In fact as I thought of the overall theme of this Conference (the future of the ways humans care for one another) and the way it was tentatively defined several more questions came to mind for which answers need to be found What is a properly caring society from the viewpoint of its various members and of other societies? For a start we might take the more or less conventional meaning of caring and support i.e formal systems to help meet the needs of the aged or elderly working women the sick the handicapped or disabled the temporarily unemployed and the like which are also referred to as social security systems operated by the state business employers workers organizations and health insurance companies

Beyond their social security systems societies vary in their concern and provision for the needs of other vulnerable or disadvantaged members of society These are the poor in general who comprise a substantial portion if not the majority of the people in many developing countries They are often unemployed or underemployed hungry undernourished and lacking formal education increasing numbers of them are landless and even homeless By and large to emphasize the point the poor including those who are marginally self employed in the large cities and towns are not included in the formal social security systems and they depend solely or mainly on their own family and sometimes on other private means including charity Their disadvantaged or marginalized status in society means that they are also the most ignored if not oppressed and exploited by the powerful and rich In other words there usually is a political dimension to their vulnerability and insecurity and their being and remaining outside the formal social security system

In this general category could be included some ethnic minorities aborigines or frontier peoples and those who have been displaced from their homes and land by violent strife refugees in their own country if not refugees according to international law A special category needing care and support are poor children especially orphans and abandoned ones and street children who now are estimated to number over 30 million in the cities of developing countries and of some industrialized ones When severely undernourished they either die young or suffer in many ways throughout their lives When deprived of caring and nurturing homes and schooling some of them end up as delinquents and criminals

Socially and politically alienated youth are yet another category Youth need the attention and care that would give them proper socialization and integrate them into society as learning working and forward looking young citizens and potentially even more useful and committed adults

In many developing countries and some industrialized societies as well significant numbers of adults languish in prison for their political beliefs or as prisoners of conscience Similarly whole populations are denied freedom of information and other human rights that are otherwise universally acknowledged in principle

By now we have enlarged our concept of the vulnerable and disadvantaged in society who need caring and support beyond what social security systems are established for and can afford to provide We can add to the concept the victims of various kinds of abuse and discrimination alcohol and drug abuse battered women and children victims of racism sexism and religious and ideological intolerance The concept of caring and support and of neediness could still be expanded further to embrace those who whether rich moderate income or poor are lonely or loveless desperately in need of love personal warmth or emotional and social support The death of loved ones divorce or separation of spouses the loss of parents childlessness prolonged separation of family members serious illness old age and other forms of aloneness and isolation produce some common consequences for those affected Then there are those who suffer from natural disasters and are unable to recover from their effects

Moreover the concern for the futures of societies in a world in rapid change and transformation and thus of the welfare of future generations of peoples in the various categories that we have identified impels a consideration of changing caring needs and support systems as the world turns Moreover in Ilya Prigogine's perspective We are living in a period which emphasizes uncertainty instability fluctuations and amplification In such a world concepts like order and disorder always have a dual meaning and appear together Likewise our other concepts for dealing with the world and its peoples in varying settings and at different levels are also changing and appear as values on a continuum rather than as simply dichotomous

Certainly academics and activists call attention to societal and global problems that require concerned and caring responses Various social movements most of them involving scholars and students are demanding such responses peace movements anti nuclear

movements women's movements ecological movements human rights movements ethnic cultural movements labour movements youth movements anti authoritarian movements anti racist movements religious fundamentalist movements consumers movements etc To serve the interests of all humankind the United Nations system and various international organizations and NGOs have been established including those that bring together the world's scholars and universities These social movements and organizations are concerned with different but interacting problems that lead sufferers to feelings of insecurity

Social Security is only one albeit important of the needed responses in individual countries and throughout the globe This is why there is a continuous search for security as variously defined national security international security (the Palme Commission) common security (Prime Minister Ohira's sogo anzen hoshō) comprehensive security people's security personal security In development circles one is seized by the pursuit of financial security food security energy security ecological balance balance of population resources and the environment survival of cultures etc

The quests for security survival and balance seems to be subsumed in the mandate of the United Nations University to conduct research into the pressing global problems of human survival development and welfare This juxtaposition in the UNU Charter is not simply rhetorical it suggests both theoretical and practical links among the three goals whose common and simultaneous fulfilment defines very tersely the global problematique of humankind

Again it is the task of academics to help decision makers in various walks of life including social activists at the grassroots to articulate those global problems and goals in different settings to examine their compatibilities and contradictions and to devise possible appropriate responses Differing definitions of security often reveal conflicts of interest Thus in the name of national security governments may suppress and oppress critics and dissidents who thereby lose their freedom and security In fact national security often means the security of the ruling elite against the protest and action of the oppressed As Rajni Kothari has observed the pursuit of national security by every nation and especially by the superpowers has resulted in the common insecurity of all nations Material security may not guarantee the sense of personal security that comes more from loving and being loved in a perceived web of relationships involving other humans and God which make possible loving care and greater sensitivity to the needs of others

Academics and universities must assume a large part of the responsibility of reconceptualizing in a global context the changing meanings of peace security survival humanitarianism development welfare and their interconnections of discovering the causes and consequences of the problems related to them of assisting leaders and citizens in their efforts to understand those goals and problems and find practical ways of dealing with them in effective and beneficial ways including basic changes and transformations in the goals structures and processes of individual societies and the world community

By global we mean not only the world as a whole (physically and geographically) but also the problems in their totality and complexity as perceived in a pluralistic world and analytically by scholars scientists and activists To label problems global also means that they need to be dealt with simultaneously at all levels international regional national sub national and grassroots Scholars need to work with leaders in all walks of life to acquire a global perspective to find ways of looking at humanity and nature as a unity and to promote human solidarity around the world and across the generations even as religions underline the unity of all the world's peoples under God As many people as possible but especially leaders need to think globally and act concertedly at various levels The ideals and goals people seek are to be seen as something to learn as well as to do For this kind of learning we at the UN University led by Rector Soedjatmoko have adopted the concept of global learning as essential to human survival and welfare in a shrunken crowded and interdependent world Its elements according to Edward W Ploman are participatory learning or solidarity in space anticipatory learning or solidarity in time and social learning or mutual learning not only by individuals but by organizations and whole communities nations and all humankind

To examine social security itself in the changing national and global contexts is a worthy joint undertaking for academics and leaders for it will uncover varying concepts policies and programmes that have evolved to meet the needs of intended beneficiaries as well as the problems successes and failures that have been experienced Leaders are usually under heavy pressure to pursue conflicting goals carry out multifarious responsibilities and reconcile opposed interests and they could use ideas and experiences that can be gained from other countries comparable to their own In this way for example they could better adapt their social security system and avoid what might be costly mistakes

Moreover a comparative study of social security systems in changing contexts could be accompanied by a review of even more basic concepts such as human needs human survival human vulnerabilities and security needs which call for adequate human and social responses personal and individualized as well as general and institutionalized This review can benefit from many resources Psychologists have theorized about individual and social human needs The United Nations and its agencies have formulated ideals and goals and rights and obligations for a peaceful just and humane international community it has also come up with the concept of basic needs that need to be satisfied as a matter of urgency in developing countries Other scholars have identified peace economic well being social justice and ecological stability as world order values to be pursued Religions have emphasized moral and spiritual needs that transcend and underlie the satisfaction of material needs National leaders articulate their nation's vulnerabilities and needs which may or may not link those facing other and even all nations together

Rarely however are so called ordinary citizens consulted regarding their security and caring needs and this is where scholars using participatory research methods could contribute useful insights and knowledge to policy makers Such research involving people as partners in learning could reveal traditional and adaptive and modern ways of providing social security and meeting other security needs It can detect the changing roles of the family the clan the local community the government the church and other institutions and their capacity for meeting the social security and other needs of their members

2 EXPLAINING AND ENHANCING CAPACITIES FOR CARING AND SUPPORT

Human needs including social security needs tend always to outrun individual social and institutionalized capacities for meeting them In part this may be traced to high population growth in many countries to rapid urbanization to rising standards and costs of living to greater mobility to lack of space in homes to shortfalls in government revenues and to shifting perceptions of the role of family vis a vis government and other institutions The latter are related to changing values and orientations for example from familism and community solidarity to individualism and corporatism from mutual dependence and mutual help to self reliance and self determination

These are useful hypotheses that need to be tested by scholars in particular countries

Scholars leaders and activists together should also study the varying capacity of individual persons and of nations to contribute support for the needs of other peoples especially those who live far away from them There are available measures of transnational empathy sympathy and concern expressed in international assistance of one form or another Why is it that certain countries excel others by far in providing assistance to poor countries? Why are certain countries and organizations identified with them more inclined than others to contribute to people in other lands who suffer from natural disasters wars hunger and disease? On the contrary what make some individuals and nations less concerned or indifferent in regard to the needs of others even within their borders? How is it that nations know for strong individualisms may also be the ones most responsive to the needs of less fortunate nations?

The prospects for a more abundant global caring and sharing to satisfy interrelated human needs for survival and security are said to be related to the ability of more and more leaders and citizens around the world to develop their identity and loyalty as global citizens or world citizens over and beyond their various other identities and loyalties as members of families clans communities organizations churches religions or country In his book published in 1973 *Toward the 21st Century Education for a Changing World* Edwin Reischauer stressed the urgent necessity of inculcating a sense of world citizenship based on an emotional awareness of shared interests and common identity as human beings Global educationists in the United States are teaching students that they are citizens not only of their own town state and nation but of the world Glenn D Paige has argued with cogency and eloquence for nonviolent global citizenship which he defines as an identity and set of rights and obligations to increase the well being of humankind as a whole and to support the life sustaining capabilities of our common global habitat These rights and obligations are to be carried out without threat or use of killing force Richard Falk emphasizes the importance of creating new values and norms for citizens everywhere at this stage blueprints of alternative world order systems are not very important What is most essential is a new tradition of citizenship based on the values of peace economic well being human rights and ecological balance

What proportion of the people in any country have the level of knowledge necessary for an adequate understanding of global situations and processes? How strong a feeling of kinship with the

worldwide human family do they have? What values attitudes and psychological states account for a people's knowledge of and identification with humanity? According to Joseph Short the first two questions were asked of college students in the United States in 1980. A very small proportion of them had the requisite level of knowledge. 25 percent felt nothing in common with most of the world's people and over one quarter of the students said that they had almost nothing in common with people in underdeveloped countries. Short also observed that activist educators are probing deeper to find out why people feel overwhelmed by the nuclear and hunger perils and trying to find out ways of unfreezing minds emotions and capabilities for action. If most of the people in the United States a superpower with worldwide interests to protect and promote have a low level of global knowledge and identification what would be the situation in other countries? In the interest of common human survival and welfare in an interdependent world it would seem imperative indeed that scholars educators leaders and activists discover the reasons why global knowledge and identification is low or weak among perhaps most peoples of the world. Are these the same reasons why political leaders lack the political will to act on well known global problems? What other factors explain incapacity for action?

Daunting as are the tasks of leadership and citizenship for human survival development and welfare on a global scale there are salutary signs that modest progress in achieving those tasks is possible. Despite the many threats to human survival and well being global crises and the erosion of multilateralism the realities of global community and interdependence are visible as are international co-operation and assistance in various fields of human endeavor. Again what Glenn D Paige identified as factors favouring non-violent global citizenship may be cited as also favouring global sharing and caring in the specific sense of social security or in the broadest sense of enhancing global human survival development and welfare. He mentioned the human capacity for multiple identities and loyalties for celebration of outstanding human performance and services and of natural beauty and bounties for compassion beyond the boundaries of the nation state for curiosity for discovery and travel for appreciating that the well being of others depends upon the well being and contradictions of the self and that the welfare of the self depends on the welfare of others. We can point to innumerable international organizations governmental and non-governmental to multilateral and bilateral aid to philanthropy to charity to volunteer services to world conferences and sports to internationally linked

social activism to religious programmes for the poor the homeless the sick and the dying to *USA for Africa* and *Race Against Time*. The United Nations has special programmes for or studies on infants children mothers women in general youth workers farmers and fishermen the handicapped the aged refugees and peoples threatened by war and suffering from famine and disease.

In asking about the prospects for evolving a properly caring society and a properly caring world I venture to ask: What kinds of individuals homes communities organizations and countries and in what settings would be expected to show increases steadiness or decreases in love compassion humanitarianism and human solidarity upon which may be based the global caring and support we are talking about in this Conference? In order to advance to a future that will provide individuals nations and the whole world with reduced vulnerabilities and insecurities and therefore with net gains in well being and security what changes are required in people's perceptions awareness knowledge values attitudes relationships commitments skills and in their social structures and processes? These are basic questions that universities research centres and scholars should continue to address if they are to assist leaders and citizens to respond to societal and global caring needs.

3 GLOBAL PROBLEMS AND THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE FUTURE

In order that universities may be better able to promote understanding of global problems and their interconnections with national and local problems and contribute to their simultaneous alleviation or solution by leaders and citizens universities have to consciously develop a number of mutually reinforcing capacities in addition to their pursuit of conventional academic and scientific excellence. This insight and hindsight is derived from an assessment of the UN University by its Centre staff field directors and guest scholars who convened for the University's fourth annual planning meeting in Tokyo in April 1986.

Thus in addition to the constant quest for scholarly and scientific research and learning the leading university or universities in every country may each have to develop the following capacities:

- a) its capacity to take a long term and inter-generational view and to anticipate global problems and future states of the world and the human condition

- b) its capacity to deal with various sectors of society and to link problems from the local to the global level
- c) its capacity to be problem solving in the broad sense of this term and thus to be relevant and responsive to pressing global problems and to the fears and anxieties as well as the hopes and aspirations of humankind but especially of the disadvantaged majorities who are poor and marginalized in many respects
- d) its ability to be on the frontiers or cutting edge of knowledge and learning working with some of the leading scholars in various parts of the world
- e) its capacity to co operate with universities in the region and other parts of the world
- f) its capacity to learn and learn how to learn which include the faculty to unlearn to question not only conventional knowledge but also hypotheses and assumptions and to counteract the tendency to ignore what may be important areas not related to one's paradigm this includes the ability to think differently to recognize the limitations of particular disciplines approaches methodologies and techniques
- g) its capacity to investigate problems in ways that combine the perspectives and methods of various disciplines and professions respect different cultural traditions and recognize divergent schools of thought and ideologies
- h) its capacity to focus and unclutter its agenda concentrating on fewer activities while maintaining a transnational presence for which it must have the will for closure and change whenever necessary
- i) its capacity to relate to the interface between scientists and non scientists to use indigenous knowledge and learn with and from the people whose situation is being studied
- j) its overall ability to project an image as a distinctive useful and valued university in the perception and judgement not only of its national constituencies but also of universities in other parts of the world

In this direction the eleven year old UN University has a great deal to learn and develop but it has at least discovered what it has to do if it is to become a distinctive useful and valued university in the view of its recognized constituencies the United Nations and its agencies the world's scholars and the world's public

UNU's assessors affirmed that the University should continue with certain ongoing scholarly concerns and interests in its broadened

research agenda They pointed out the need for more variables to be interrelated and integrated at higher levels of complexity which would bring into focus the many and more complex dimensions of problems that are being studied more or less separately in various research projects but should henceforth be grasped in their larger complexity and interconnected wholeness They urged a greater application of the comparative method involving more countries and regions and in fact the whole world and all humanity in some cases

They also recommended the following foci among the next generation of integrative studies the UNU should undertake

- 1) Views of the world from the South (to complement the better known views of the world from the North)
- 2) How the world has changed in the last fifty years
- 3) Philosophies of history
- 4) Perceptions of the problematique of governance from local to global levels
- 5) The relations worldwide between the disadvantaged and the rich and privileged
- 6) Life support systems and governance for sustainable livelihood for all but especially the disadvantaged and for their access to resources and technologies
- 7) Vulnerability in addition to peace and security
- 8) More beneficial rural urban configurations
- 9) Conservation and sustainable development
- 10) Social and global transformation as essential concomitants of peace and development

At the same time that they stressed the importance of focussing on the interfaces or hinges between the issues problems and variables being studied in separate research projects they also emphasized the interrelations among the University's three scholarly functions of research post graduate training and dissemination of knowledge training for research research for training research and training for capacity building for individuals and institutions and both research and training as vehicles of dissemination and the preparation of textbooks reflecting the UNU approaches in linking local and national problems to those at the global level

With the theme of this Conference in mind I suggest that the UNU design a study on Local Global Caring Support Systems for Social Participation of Disadvantaged People The following is how I described the propose study

Building on and linking UNU's work in separate ongoing projects and a few new ones UNU should undertake a comprehensive and integrative comparative study on a number of disadvantaged people and groups in selected countries. These are women in general (working mothers pregnant women single mothers and widows in particular) children youth and the elderly in or out of family households the sick disabled and handicapped ethnic minorities migrants refugees and other locally displaced persons and majorities in many developing countries who are poor and often unemployed homeless landless and also oppressed and exploited.

UNU should study these disadvantaged people and groups in their changing contexts in two ways (1) The traditional and modern caring and support systems available for them and (2) their current or possible social participation and integration in society. The latter includes their self determination and empowerment as productive and valued citizens. Leaders and people around the globe can learn from the world's rich and varied experience in caring and social participation thus making UNU meaningful to the lives of millions.

In highlighting the call for the next generation of integrative studies and suggesting a comprehensive and integrative study on Local Global Caring I should mention that the UNU has separate and still to be integrated research activities focussed on Household Gender and Age Women's Work and Family Strategies Nutrition and Primary Health Care Security Vulnerability and Violence Security and Development Peace and Global Transformation Regional Peace and Security Perspectives on Contemporary Youth Regional Perspectives that examine the role of the state in the process of transformation, transnationalization the role and character of social movements and new socio political approaches to solving critical problems Ethnic Minorities and Human and Social Development on the Global Impact of Human Migration on Hunger and Poverty the Poorest Billion Development and Technological Transformation the Management of Change Perceptions of Desirable Societies in Different Religions and Ethical Systems and the Management of Complexity. The UNU is also embarking on a study that should be of special relevance to this Conference namely Poverty and Welfare Resource Allocation Social Support Systems in Transition. According to the project description

The concern centres on the notion that traditional forms of social support may not persist and yet state intervention of the type attempted in the industrialized countries will only lead to unmanageable problems of social insurance and income transfer

Let me add that many among the UNU staff and co operating scholars around the world believe that the University has an obligation to be a spokesperson or a spokes institution for the poorest sections of the world's population to share and spread concern for what these people feel want need demand protest against and are able or unable to satisfy. More universities in the future should join those which are now committed to such a role if universities are to assist leaders and citizens in responding to caring needs on a global scope.

4 LEADERSHIP FOR NATIONAL GLOBAL PROBLEM SOLVING

Given the influence of leaders on the opinions and behaviors of many people how can universities assist leaders in various fields in gaining visions of alternative futures and in developing the knowledge skills and the will to come to grips with problems? By virtue of their strategic positions in their societies political leaders particularly need to be assisted in understanding how local and national problems they face are linked to global one that are often ignored. But knowledge and understanding and a sense of responsibility concerning global problems and needs such as global caring needs and support are not enough. In Robert C Tucker's view leadership is not concerned solely with power. Leadership has the three fold tasks of diagnosing the situation authoritatively devising a course of action designed to resolve or alleviate the problems and mobilizing the political community's supports for the leaders definition of the situation and their prescribed policy response.

Tucker also makes the useful distinction between constituted leaders who hold official positions of power and non constituted leaders who perform leadership tasks for the community in their non official capacity. When constituted leaders are in default non constituted leaders often arise to fill the gap. This is true in individual societies and in the world at large with respect to global issues and and problems. It is this consideration among others that suggests the need to involve non governmental leaders or social activists in global learning experiences.

Scholars can help leaders in the task of diagnosing situations and problem in their complex interrelated wholeness and if possible in devising policy options. However committed and determined leaders may be they need the understanding and support of their constituencies in order to push through their course of action or policy.

Scholars and educators can help leaders in both the short run and the long run by increasing the people's level of awareness, knowledge and emotional commitment to solving the pressing problems of society and of the world at large so that these would be seen by them to be in their own interest, the nation's and humanity's at the same time.

In different ways and with varying degrees of success, universities are providing learning opportunities for young students, a number of whom become tomorrow's leaders, for so-called mid-career or emerging leaders, and for those now in top leadership positions. However, the military management schools and business corporations probably excel in preparing people specifically for leadership roles. Some universities in the United States and Europe have special programmes or seminars for younger leaders from different countries. But few institutions gear their learning programmes especially to assist political leaders and activists for dealing with global issues and problems transcending national and local problems or beyond the compass of one or a few disciplines or professions. Thus proposals for an Advanced Seminar on Global Problems and of an Institute for Advanced Studies in Leadership, both to be initiated within the United Nations University, have this consideration in mind. As William Shaw Glenn D. Paige and this writer saw the need for an Advanced Seminar on Global Problems for mid-career leaders in and out of governments to be drawn from various countries, their justification was as follows:

As we approach the 21st century, it is increasingly apparent that strictly national efforts to respond to human needs are inadequate. There are universal global issues such as peace and security, economic well-being, hunger, ecological balance, co-existence of different peoples and social systems, plus many other critical issues, all transcending local, state and national boundaries. No nation can be safe while the world is insecure. No nation can be sure of economic justice while global injustice prevails. No nation can be certain of human rights without global respect for human dignity.

In the normal course of career development, many leaders have limited time to devote to gaining comprehensive knowledge of the world, its people and leaders, in view of their other time constraints. Some leaders have focused their primary attention on single issues (e.g. environment, peace, etc.) and therefore

have not had the time to look at a range of critical world issues. Leaders normally have little free time for comprehensive study, reflection and sharing of experiences with persons outside their own sector of activity. When top leadership positions are reached, requiring global perspective, greater sensitivity to human needs and the ability to establish working relations with other leaders to solve pressing problems, there is little opportunity to quickly acquire these skills. It is difficult to gain access to relevant and timely information on global issues. There are few, if any, institutions devoted to the preparation of leaders with global outlooks who can co-operate within and across national and institutional boundaries. Top leadership, especially those in national political positions, confront their awesome problems essentially unaided and unprepared.

The Advanced Seminar on Global Problems was intended to stimulate the participants' capacity for global thinking related to national and local problems, for understanding development as part of societal and global transformation, and for developing the qualities of leadership that are needed in dealing with global problems. Leader participants would be selected based upon their recognized potential to hold key national/international positions in the near-term future in government, industry, labour, religious, media and other social organizations. The Seminar would integrate knowledge on global problems, leadership and social learning. The UNU also recognizes that in the long run, the learning capacity of various institutions and of whole populations will be necessary if national as well as world leaders are to have constituencies that understand and support proposed measures to deal effectively with global problems. (A pilot Advanced Seminar in Africa is being planned and implemented.)

In recommending the establishment of an Institute for the Advanced Study of Leadership, Jean Blondel, James MacGregor Burns and Glenn D. Paige stated:

What needs to be realized is that world leaders and those who surround them probably broadly reflect the mixture of hope and helplessness which characterises all of us, while these leaders, like all of us, are confronted

with daily national problems which have a direct impact on them. World leaders are often extremely transient: the average post 1945 leader has remained in office for only about three years and other members of governments have been in their posts for periods of about the same length. Furthermore, world leaders are often either catapulted to office with no or very little preparation to government (let alone world affairs) or have had to devote more attention to the problem of securing election and achieving leadership than to the content and nature of their activities after becoming leaders.

In short, the preparation to leadership is haphazard and the forms which the career often takes before accession to leadership are rarely adequate training for the exercise of leadership. Leaders (like scholars) only push for the matters and the solutions in which they have a deep interest.

It should be stressed that many leaders can and do learn and lead. And it should be realized James MacGregor Burns reminds us that some problems are simply intractable whatever the quality of leadership. It is common knowledge that with rare exceptions scholars may not really know the roots of public problems and needs. Whatever may be said of leaders, leadership is indispensable in all social life. Generalizations often made about the shortcomings of leaders or their strengths need study and comparison across many countries. Scholars and educators need to know leaders summon the political will to pursue their goals in the face of obstacles if the former are to assist the latter. Such knowledge can be learned through research and dialogue involving participants from politics, education, religion and other sectors of society and the global community.

5 TOWARDS A LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL, DEVELOPMENT, AND WELFARE

The time may come soon to begin exploiting the idea of establishing a research and training centre for the UN University to be known as Leadership Institute for Human Survival, Development and Welfare. New York would be a suitable location because the Institute would be readily accessible to United Nations diplomats, visiting leaders around the world, attending UN meetings, UN permanent missions personnel

and UN officials. In turn, the Institute could avail itself of the services of UN experts, academics and other resource persons from North American universities, research centres, governments and other sectors.

The Institute could perform the following functions:

- 1) An information clearing house on research and education on global problems that are the concern of the United Nations, the UN University and other universities and research centres.
- 2) A critical forum for dialogue on global problems for leaders in various fields, scholars and social activists.
- 3) A training centre for mid-career leaders and young persons interested in international and developmental affairs and multilateral co-operation.
- 4) A research centre for studying leadership for global problem solving and for integrating and transforming knowledge and information on global problems generated by the UNU and other research institutions and agencies and for developing learning materials for the world forum and training centre.
- 5) A liaison service linking the UNU to the United Nations, the Secretariat, UN missions and interested North American scholars.
- 6) Part of a network of institutions with converging interests such as the proposed North American Academic Council on the United Nations, the Interaction Group of former presidents and prime ministers, International Studies Association, World Futures Studies Federation, International Society for Political Psychology, etc.

Exploration of the Institute can draw ideas from a variety of proposals including those already submitted to the UN University. In Glenn D. Paige's book published in 1977, *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership*, he expressed the hope that the United Nations eventually might come to accept responsibility for explicitly educating international leaders.

6 SOCIAL LEARNING AND MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Early in 1981, David C. Korten, on behalf of the Management Institutes Working Group on Social Development, proposed collaboration between the Group and the UNU in line with the development of social

learning as a means of transformation at the national level and the rural community. With UNU's collaboration the Group would build networks linking scholars in various countries to share experiences in building individual and community capabilities to provide social services and manage natural resource systems and in applying a social learning approach to reorienting large bureaucracies toward support of community self help efforts in order to achieve changes in policy organization procedures and personnel skills and attitudes needed for their redefined roles.

7 UNU INSTITUTE FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP

In May 1981 this proposal by the European Consortium for Political Research was submitted by Jean Blondel James MacGregor Burns and Glenn D Paige. In their statement the authors said:

We are writing out of the deep conviction that in the present state of national and international crisis facing the governments of the world one of the most urgent tasks for the academic community is the setting up of an institute devoted to the study and improvement of political leadership. We feel that the United Nations University is the ideal organization and indeed the only one through which such an institute can be launched and prosper.

the peace and security of the world which the United Nations has been set up to maintain are obviously endangered by the arms pile ups taking place among the superpowers and elsewhere they are also threatened by the many conflicts in various parts of the planet which at any moment could turn into major conflagration if they were allowed to escalate. These developments are obviously fuelled by the two other major challenges which the world faces those of the enormous disparities between rich and poor and of the widespread disregard for human rights. The fact (is) that the North South problem and its many ramifications within both the North and the South are among the most serious potential sources of conflict as well as a human disgrace. These three problems of world peace economic order and human rights will begin to be tackled only when governments and leaders in

particular become truly personally committed to giving them absolute and permanent top priority.

The proponents cited reasons why the commitment of national leaders to solving global problems is limited and national problems are given higher priority than the overall crises facing mankind. They went on to say:

Given this state of affairs there is an overwhelming case for the immediate setting up of an organisation of a scholarly character devoted to the analysis of the problems facing world leaders and to the discovery of means by which these leaders can see their tasks alleviated and therefore can concentrate on pressing world problems. An organisation which would also be designed as a forum where past present and future world leaders would exchange ideas both about leadership and about the tasks facing governments. It seems obvious however that unless [the Brandt Commission on International Development Issues and the Palme Commission on Security Issues and Disarmament] are paralleled by an organisation acting as a continuous underpinning of these activities fostering further developments undertaking the necessary supporting research and generally bringing together the political academic and other members of the world community concerned with these problems the impact of (such) bodies will remain limited.

The authors then argued the case why the UN University should set up their proposed Institute for World Leadership.

An organisation such as the one which we envisage here needs both to belong to a broader institution and to be spread out geographically. This is why the United Nations University is ideally suited to launch and develop the idea. The United Nations University has world wide influence its links with the United Nations are such that world leaders will take notice of a world leadership programme which it would sponsor while the programme would not be dependent on any government. The structure of the United Nations University is also

such that having launched the programme it will be able to spread its various segments across the world by using local institutions of course but without having to rely entirely on them. Only the United Nations University can call on the help of those all over the planet who are concerned with both the theoretical and practical problems which such an Institute for World Leadership will have to analyse and to attempt to solve.

8 A UNU INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN LEADERSHIP

In June 1981 Abdel Salam Majali President of the University of Jordan and Chairman of the UNU Council made this proposal to the University with the assistance of Glenn D Page. Dr Majali was deeply interested in a learning experience involving as many as 1000 young leaders from several countries each year. The guiding principles of such large scale learning experience in a travelling leadership seminar are (1) peer learning (2) diversity of background (3) younger leaders of promise (4) direct exposure to global conditions through travel observation and inquiry (5) meetings to question leaders in each country (6) preparation of leadership policy papers on global problems of interest to each participant (7) making the traveling fellows group itself a global research teaching problem solving and advisory group in microcosm.

9 "WORLD STUDIES" AND A "WORLD CAMPUS" FOR THE UNU

Kenneth E Boulding shared his Reflections on the United Nations University in a succinct statement. In Boulding's view

The major function of the United Nations University which is implicit in all its programmes is to develop increased human knowledge around the world of the world as a total system. At the moment it is doing this almost entirely through research programmes but there is a great opportunity for expansion into education that is into the propagation on a world scale of more accurate images of the world which its own research programmes and others of similar kinds are developing.

To this Boulding suggested that UNU develop a curriculum in world studies that would look at the world as a total physical

biological and social system in space time as an ecosystem in the short period and as an evolutionary system in the long period. He then suggested how appropriate learning materials might be developed which would also give for each country region and culture a sense of how it is placed in the total world. By appointing teaching fellows in universities all over the world the UNU would in effect develop a world campus and a body of people devoted to it and familiar with it in every country and region of the world.

At various sessions of the UNU Council Elise Boulding suggested that UNU researchers undertake as part of their commitment to the University's mission to give lectures on the subject of their studies. Moreover UNU might collaborate with graduate schools around the world in a dialogue on global issues and problems utilizing the results of the UNU's research.

Thus in the various ways recommended by the Bouldings the UNU could link up with the world's academic community and teachers in an interactive and mutually beneficial global outreach. Together scholars and teachers could create and exchange accurate images of the world and help stimulate that world public consciousness of the need for increasing humankind's collective capacity to deal with its problems and realize desirable world order values.

10 AN NGO OR PVO APPROACH

It should be noted that the UNU has so far established only one research and training centre of its own the World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER) which is located in Helsinki. The Government of Finland which is hosting WIDER has pledged US\$30 million for its endowment fund but international funding for WIDER is envisaged. Japanese business leaders and scholars are initiating a programme of activities that are expected to lead to the creation of a UNU Institute of Advanced Studies in Tokyo where the UNU has its headquarters. The University is also vigorously promoting the establishment of a proposed Institute for National Resources in Africa (INRA).

Following the private and non governmental initiative of the Japanese it is suggested that North American scholars take the lead in exploring the desirability and feasibility of setting up the Institute for Human Survival Development and Welfare. I am suggesting a successful demonstration of the need for and potential benefit of establishing the Institute following a number of preparatory activities and intensive exploration could lead to support by private donors and

the national governments of North American cities States and Provinces Eventually the national governments of North America may be persuaded to contribute to the enterprise as well as to the Endowment Fund of the UN University All this is no more than a futuristic vision and a hope at this moment

SUMMARY

The title of this paper emphasizes the role of universities in helping leaders and citizens to respond to global caring needs As I acknowledged in my presentation that role is best performed in cooperation with leaders and citizens especially social activists in a triangular partnership which enables all actors to learn from each other At the outset I identified ten distinguishable but overlapping categories of people needing care and support (1) the usual objects of social security schemes (2) the poor in general (3) ethnic minorities aborigines and frontier and displaced people (4) poor children (5) alienated youth (6) prisoners of conscience and victims of human rights violations (7) victims of abuse and discrimination (8) the lonely or loveless (9) victims of natural disasters (10) future generations

As Abdel Salam Majali and Glenn D Paige have indicated an important human need is for responsive creative principled leadership in all areas of life This certainly applies to the alleviation of human suffering and the response to caring needs In this respect universities and scholars can assist leaders social activists and citizens by helping them in (1) anticipating and articulating problems (2) defining problems and concepts and redefining them as the need arises (3) warning and challenging leaders and citizens in regard to pressing and foreseeable problems (4) explaining differing and changing capacities for caring sharing and support (5) enhancing those capacities and (6) providing learning opportunities for leaders social activists and citizens

However in order that the leading university or universities in a country would be able to play the above role they would have to transform themselves by developing a number of mutually reinforcing capacities in addition to academic excellence as commonly understood Finally leadership for national global problem solving was discussed in relation to the evolution of the idea of establishing in the future a leadership Institute for Human Survival Development and Welfare as a research and training centre of the United Nations University in New York the host city of the United Nations Let me underline the fact

that this is no more than a personal vision and hope which I have begun to share with some academic colleagues around the world

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**REPRESSION OF HUMAN NEEDS
SYSTEM SURVIVAL OR DESTRUCTION?**

by
JOHN BURTON

INTRODUCTION

The question we are addressing is the extent and consequences of political leadership which is in the interests of system preservation suppressive of ontological human needs and aspirations

By leadership we mean in this context decision making leadership generally rather than the leadership of particular personalities that happen to be in high office at a particular time. By ontological human needs as will be explained we mean needs such as those of recognition, identity and others necessary to the full development of the individual as a social entity.

I wish to advance seven propositions.

First human societal needs of development such as the need for individual identity and the need for distributive justice require satisfaction before there can be stability in social and political relationships, national or international.

Second while the pursuit of these needs is most clearly observed in multi ethnic and multi class societies especially in conditions of political and economic underdevelopment, needs of identity and distributive justice are no less sought though less conspicuously in all societies even developed ones and at all income levels.

Third personal achieving societies that is laissez faire free enterprise economic systems with which are associated the party political system of government that caters for special interest groups are becoming more rather than less strongly institutionalized to repress the human drive for needs fulfillment. In this way they are creating political instability for themselves which is spilling over into international relations.

Fourth the United States and its free enterprise allies give support to many feudal or autocratic regimes which are able to survive only by reason of political repression on the grounds that these are free societies by which is meant free enterprise systems.

At the same time the US seeks to destabilize others which seek to construct a more sharing economic system so necessary in conditions of underdevelopment.

Fifth under pressure of human needs fulfillment changes away from free enterprise systems will take place within the Western sphere of influence leading to increased military interventions by the US and its allies, increased terrorism by those who feel frustrated in the pursuit of their developmental and identity needs and finally to a sense of failure and insecurity within the US and other free enterprise countries. This will lead to further acts of desperation.

Sixth the personally achieving society once insecure and defensive diverts research and development not to social goals such as education but to military defense leading to trends toward a military economy which cannot be reversed except in conditions of deliberate planning for post war or post disarmament reconstruction.

Seventh the continuing denial of independence of nations in areas strategically significant for the great powers for example in the Middle East and Central America must lead to conflict between the contending parties and finally to great power conflict.

In a sentence the Western interest oriented personally achieving system is the source of global violence not planned welfare states whether these be socialist or mixed economies and that world war three like the two before it will be fought as a means of resistance to the pursuit of human needs especially the needs for independence, national identity and distributive justice.

THE PROBLEM

There are in the world society a large number of situations in which demands on authorities are being made by cultural, ethnic and underprivileged groups and are being resisted by elites leading to violent conflicts.

Some come to mind as they are in our newspapers regularly: South Africa, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Angola, Ethiopia, El Salvador, Afghanistan, South Korea, to name but a few. The Defense Department has listed 42 such situations (The Washington Post of April 27, 1986).

The patterns are regular: peaceful protest, refusal of demands, violent protest, attempts at repression, escalated violence and terrorism, state terrorism, external interventions and further military escalation.

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The patterns are regular: peaceful protest, refusal of demands, violent protest, attempts at repression, escalated violence and terrorism, state terrorism, external interventions and further military escalation.

It is to be noted that in every case these are protracted conflicts. Attempts to settle them by bargaining and negotiation fail. Attempts to settle them by force inevitably lead to escalated conflict. The reason is that they have their source in inalienable and primordial needs of human development which will be pursued whenever opportunities emerge and usually regardless of consequences to self and to society.

HUMAN NEEDS

These conflicts in world society and also the increasing incidence of terrorism direct our attention to the political reality that demands on authorities relate not primarily to material interests that are negotiable but predominately to certain human needs that are common to the human species and will be pursued regardless of consequences.

These conflicts in world society are mirrored in industry in male female relations and wherever human needs for identity are suppressed.

We have been in error in assuming that the individual is infinitely malleable and can be socialized into behaviors that accord with social institutions. Legal man or woman a person whose behavior is determined by a costing of the consequences of detection and punishment is a fiction. Economic man or person who calculates on this basis of market conditions fits into economic theory but has little to do with humanity. The real person is something different. The individual and identity group seek ethnic and cultural identity, distributive justice, meaningful political participation and opportunities for self determination and development. This has always been the case and will always be the case.

HISTORY OF CIVILIZATIONS

It is because the person is not wholly malleable that civilizations have moved from slavery and feudalism to more liberal forms of control. There is a historical continuity in protest against authoritative controls. It is clear that this movement is still at an early stage. Repressive elites are still the rule not the exception. What we are witnessing in the world today is no different from protest and repression of protest in the past except that we are now beginning to encounter thanks to means of violent protest the political reality that effective political power finally resides in the individual and in

identity groups not in state authorities. The state has the means of repression and can survive for a long period of time at great cost but finally suitably led peoples power reflecting human needs that will be pursued prevails.

We could summarize all this by saying that authorities the state management in industry the teacher and the head of the family are no longer the locus of power and are in trouble. It is the individual usually acting through an identity group of others with the same objectives who is finally the controlling force. There are needs of individual development and control that will be pursued regardless of consequences. Manipulation, socialization, coercion and repression merely postpone the inevitable. The inevitable is foreseeable given the universal availability of means of violence.

WESTERN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

This continuing conflict between human demands and elite resistance has been embodied in Western political philosophy. Western party political systems of government are adversarial in their legal and political institutions: plaintiff versus defendant, government versus opposition, employer versus employee. They are characterized by the way they relations in the work place and generally. They institutionalize the conflict between demands for individual identity and recognition on the one hand and resistance to these demands on the other. The underlying political legal philosophy on which they are based is the classical one that there are those who have a right to expect obedience and others who have a moral obligation to obey.

The source of this right and the basis of the selection of those who have the right have never been made clear in political philosophy. Empirically we have to conclude that the right of an elite to expect obedience is a right derived from possession of the power necessary to impose values and institutions on others. This applies at all social levels from the family, the school, the work place to the highest political level.

And now due to a variety of historical and contemporary circumstances which have played into the hands of individuals and identity groups, power elites are under fire in many countries. The more power they have and exercise the greater and not the less grows the opposition to them.

In the world society very many states are governed by elites that while legal that is in control and internationally recognized have little legitimized support. They rely on their own and on foreign

military power to remain in control. With the general availability of weapons of violence their control is being eroded and their dependence on external support increased. It is these non-legitimized power elites that fuel East West conflict.

The same analysis holds good for relations between more and less powerful states. The great powers exercise power based and non-legitimized authority over smaller states. The longer term consequences are the same: more and more resistance separately and then together.

RESPONSES

A first response by the powerful to failure in policy is coercion more of the reaction that has already failed. For this reason there is a strong movement globally towards increased state repression and at the international level an escalation of military power.

The United States is the most economically and militarily powerful imperial state in history. It is supported by those elites which lack legitimization and require United States support for survival. It is not seen by others to be standing for law, morality, human needs or justice. The domestic costs of its imperialism are escalating with increased opposition, thus increasing in some social segments a sense of relative deprivation through the destruction of educational and health infrastructures. Like other imperial powers before it, it has no reasoned option but to contract out of this role before it is too late, but like the elites of other imperial powers before it, it will destroy itself and others in the process rather than admit its own system faults.

This use of power is the characteristic response to failure in the management of Soviet American relations. There is no attempt to get to the root of the problem. The result is that we are witnessing a sham conflict. If either the US or the Soviet Union were to spin off the side of the earth, another enemy would have to be found by the other. The problem is not in their particular relationships. It is rather internal for each. The refusal of capitalist interests to move toward a sharing society has led to a sense of domestic insecurity when faced with the educational, health and welfare benefits of even small neighbouring countries which seek to create sharing institutions. The inability of socialist countries to move toward a participatory society has led to a sense of domestic insecurity in them also. The fear which the US and the Soviet Union have of each other is not fear of

invasion but fear of their own system failings. Both are defensive to the point of being aggressive. Both will continue to be aggressive rather than admit to their own failings.

My own view is that we are unduly optimistic in believing that fear of the logical consequences of escalated violence, thermo nuclear warfare, will overcome elite resistance to change. At a certain point in the escalation of conflict, ideology and role defence take control. The holy war is fought, no matter what the consequences.

SOME PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES

Our common enemy globally is turning out to be Western political philosophy. We are now beginning to realize that those institutions for which we are prepared to sacrifice armies and civilians are a sham.

Take for example the key one, the Western notion of democracy.

I have already argued that the pursuit of immediate and short term interests is a major reason for resistance to that change which is necessary for social and political stability. Democracy is a system of government that plays to immediate interests and pressure groups, neglecting not just the interests of unrepresented minorities but of majorities also. Democratic governments are usually elected by the positive votes, considerably less than 30 percent of the electorate. They gain and remain in office as a result of financial and media support. Monied lobbying groups are more influential than the total electorate. It is these same immediate interests that define so-called freedoms: freedom to pursue immediate interests regardless of the longer term common good; freedom for a one per cent minority to control the media and to inform public opinion; Of no interest to such pressure groups are freedom from fear of poverty, unemployment and violence in the streets, and freedom to develop fully as an individual within a chosen culture.

The self-acquiring and self-achieving system is almost by definition one of privilege and as such encourages corruption as a recognized and acceptable technique. There have been listed 110 cases in which senior administrative officials had been accused of unethical or illegal conduct since January 1981. (Washington Post, April 27, 1986). Action was taken in only a few cases. This is probably just the tip of the iceberg as it deals with government only and not industry. The most minor breaches of law or procedures by those who seek public assistance, however, are dealt with according to the law.

Democracy in Western political philosophy is basically an institutionalized means of resistance to demands for human needs of distributive justice identity and recognition. In this way it has scarcely advanced over the aristocratic systems it replaced. It is Western type democracy. Western type so called free societies not welfare or even socialist state systems which present the major threat to the promotion of human needs and development and a major threat to peace.

Are middle class educated and privileged persons prepared in their own interests to recognize these political realities to seek the structural and institutional changes necessary for a sharing society nationally and internationally or are such persons content just to predict catastrophe while blaming it on others?

AN ALTERNATIVE RESPONSE

A second possible response to failure and crisis is to be analytical and to consider the nature of the historical and current problem the problem of change and resistance to change.

The problem of change in this environment of power politics may presently be of intellectual interest only because problem solving analysis is not part of our consensus. Moreover it is bound to lead to conclusions unacceptable to privileged elites. Non power and empowered processes of resolving conflict between protestors and those who resist change are likely to lead to change. Analysis and long term planning present a threat to those whose interests are rooted in the immediate. In South Africa the present generation of elites believes that it can hold out leaving the problem to future generations and it resists on power negotiation.

In Western capitalist systems the belief is that the underprivileged will remain apathetic and accept conditions in which their human needs of development are suppressed that unemployment poverty gross inequalities of opportunity and distributive injustice can be contained indefinitely. Meanwhile those profiting from research development and manufacture in the arms industry are concerned with immediate gain and accomplishment not with the less tangible certainty of domestic and global catastrophe in the longer term.

Intellectually however there is a paradigm shift on the way. The problem of change is at last being considered whereas previously the maintenance of the status quo was the preoccupation of scholars. Empirically and theoretically we now realize that the locus of power is

not any longer if it ever were with authorities. The locus of power is finally with the individual and the identity group through which the individual operates. The power political philosophy has no explanatory or predictive power. Afghanistan Vietnam Iran and Lebanon have and in the future Nicaragua and other situations will demonstrate quite clearly that military power cannot coerce human behavior when needs of distributive justice ethnic recognition and identity are at stake.

FROM ANALYSIS TO POLITICS

Intellectually there is one possible way out and that is a process of conflict resolution that is so analytical that it enables leaders to envisage their options clearly and at the same time to make accurate costs of the consequences of their behaviors. Even the South African leadership might be persuaded to accept change if it could see clearly some acceptable options and also the costs of resisting change. The study of problem solving conflict resolution processes which are analytical of common goals and which seek win win resolutions rather than power settlements is an urgent one.

The reality is that the only type of society that can possibly cope with demands for substantial change that can cope with demands for identity and distributive justice are societies capable of long term planning. These are societies that seek to eliminate self destructive privilege.

CONCLUSION

The question is what is the means to stability? Is it repression or response to demands? The answers are clear at the domestic level. We have a large number of cases of ethnic conflict which demonstrate that there is no coercive means of repressing even minorities.

We assume that it is only other states that are repressive. This is not so. In so called free societies there are institutional and hidden means of repression as damaging as the more obvious forms of repression associated with a centrally controlled state. What could be more repressive than structural unemployment and lack of educational opportunities and inequalities of income and opportunity on the scale present in the US?

This is an occasion on which to look at the future. We do this in order to predict and to alert ourselves and others to probabilities we should like to avoid and can avoid only by accurate prediction. The

future is an extension of the present. It is a clear analysis of the present that will enable us to predict the future and to point to the steps that must be taken to ensure our worst predictions will not come about.

There are certain things we know. We know societies will not be stable unless human ontological needs are met. We are dealing not with probabilities but with certain predictions.

It is time to speak out. The New Zealand refusal to allow decision making on a vital matter to be taken away from it is only a very small tip of a very large iceberg. It reflects a demand for recognition and identity for participation as an equal for an end to domination by power that is not accompanied by wisdom or a common consensus. There are human needs that will be pursued regardless of consequences to self and to society. When interests backed by thermo nuclear power confront needs of recognition, respect and identity that are ontological and outside the bounds of trading or suppression, there is a condition of conflict likely to end only in catastrophe.

Decisions relating to the survival of civilizations are for political leadership to make. They are decisions that rest on the question whether to respond to or to suppress human societal needs. The two thermo nuclear powers need to look inwards for a solution.

But most important of all, creative thinkers must discover and articulate options that are politically possible and available. No leadership can change policy without clear and viable options. In particular, there must be an adequate explanation of conflict from which to deduce means of handling it. The labelling of the other side as aggressive and untrustworthy is primitive. We have only just begun this task. We are only now exploring generic theories of conflict on which to base processes of conflict resolution. Conflict analysis and conflict resolution are new studies. They deserve far more support.

COMPETENCE AND COMPASSION IN AN AGE OF UNCERTAINTY

by
DONALD MICHAEL

ABSTRACT

In an era of widespread social turbulence, the efforts of individuals and institutions to assert and exercise control over societal circumstances are increasingly seen to be counterproductive. A different perception of the nature of existence and a recognition that inability to control is not necessarily a sign of weakness or incompetence could help nourish the emergence of more humane and worthy modes of personal behavior and public regulation.

The belief persisted that increased power to alter the environment brought increased control over it. This belief still far from dead is a manifest delusion. First, as every engineer knows, the difficulty of devising any physical control system lies not only usually not chiefly in generating enough power but also in generating enough information. Since the material world is a system and any change in the given system is bound to have numberless, often unpredictable, repercussions throughout the system, so even if the effect of the intervention is to bring under control the variable which is directly affected, the total system is likely to be less predictable than before, while all learned skills based on the former given are depreciated. Further, these interventions and the further interventions to which their unpredicted results are bound to lead are likely to be self-multiplying. The rate of change increases at an accelerating speed without a corresponding acceleration in the rate at which further responses can be made, and this brings even nearer the threshold beyond which control is lost. Sir Geoffrey Vickers¹

It is a grand irony of our culture that one of its most basic premises—that more information leads to more knowledge, which in turn leads to more power to control—has turned on itself. Instead, we confront the undeniable fact that more information has led to an ever-increasing sense that things are out of control. Information about environmental deterioration, economic disarray, toxic wastes, national security, the dissolution of the family, or the stumbling of the schools all points in the same direction: we are unable to control our society, informally to guide it or formally to regulate it into performing the way we, any group of us, would want it to perform. What is more, the more information available, the less people are inclined to assign legitimacy to the institutions or organizations described by the

information. On the one hand the information reveals ineptitudes in practice and fumbings of purpose if not immoral or illegal action. On the other hand information provides the grounds for conflicting interpretations of what is going on and what should be done thereby deepening the conclusion that nobody really knows what to do or how to control the situation. The consequent endemic distrust and delegitimation in turn undermine efforts to gain control for attaining desirable ends or even for maintaining reliable norm settings thereby amplifying the indicators of incompetence. Finally information in the form of future studies strongly implies that things are highly unlikely to be more controllable in the years ahead.

For those whose roles define competence as the ability to control outcomes and that includes most managers and administrators in conventional organizations this state of affairs is increasingly disturbing upsetting both public performance and private well being. Two responses are typical for some dogged efforts to force or more intensively seek control for others a beginning reperception of the relation of humans to each other and to their world that moderates the aspiration to control. To those in the latter group (in which I include myself) it is increasingly evident that the conventional passion for control results in behavior and norms that are antithetical to human development in a turbulent world.

Of course there have always been a few wise administrators and executives who are comfortable in the knowledge that things are mostly out of hand and who through their wisdom manage to keep things tolerably balanced if not optimized. My impression is that such wise balancers and optimizers are comparatively rare in the United States and that regardless of personal philosophies those responsible for a leader's public image present him as if he were in fact in control. That Chief Executive Officers and other senior administrators often by choice or necessity make decisions based on hunch or intuition is obscured behind clouds of data projections and public relations verbiage aimed at convincing everybody that the organization recognizes causes and controls them to good effect.

In the following paragraphs I will describe some typical behavior associated with efforts to control and some of the counterproductive consequences of those efforts all too evident today and certain to be even more counterproductive tomorrow. To understand why so much effort and status is devoted to attempts to control I will propose a connection between Newtonian/Cartesian epistemology and the dominant definition of competence in the West chiefly practiced and promulgated by white males. In this way we can better appreciate

the potential utility of a much older and more pervasive way of balancing and optimizing that chiefly ascribed to and practiced by women and many non Western cultures.

I will use as examples some pervasive devices used in management in the politics of management and in politics per se to maintain the illusion in self and in others that the target situation is controllable or is under control.

Probably the most widely practiced device is that of partitioning delineating a social problem and splitting it into parts allocating them to different disciplines offices and functions. Each effort then is bounded and insulated from the conceptual and operational ambiguities impasses and evidences of ignorance that would bedevil those working on their part if inputs and throughputs were not so insulated. Instead their appreciative sets² usually protect them from even recognizing that such unexamined connections exist.

A sense of felt control over a problem is often attempted by laying a synthesizing effort over the separate components. In fact this usually becomes a summarizing rather than synthesizing task since little or no validated theory overarches or coordinates the insulated perspectives applied to the problem by those working on its parts.

Does the systems approach offer a way to attain control that overcomes the inadequacies of the partitioning process? When the problem or situation is a stable one or one that transforms according to known relationships then indeed the systems approach often does provide more control within whatever is designated as the system. But we do not understand the processes of social change in turbulent and complex situations that exist in our world. We discern and agree on very few stable reliable or transformational relationships and for the most part we lack concepts for describing turbulent change. The systems approach therefore does not add controllability in precisely those areas where one would most like it to. Note for example the dismal record of econometric models. Moreover if systems analysis and synthesis have any influence by that very fact they are likely to contribute still another variable to the essentially unpredictable societal emergence³.

Belief in the ability to control is also abetted by another important version of dividing up the problem turf protection. Not only do strong boundaries around subunits of organizations protect their members from the uncertainties that would otherwise arise they also reduce the risk that outsiders might detect insufficiencies in the subunits grasp on reality. In this way both insiders and outsiders can better preserve their sense of things being under control since each

knows little about how well or poorly the other actually is able to match intent to outcome

Assigning sole responsibility to the individual for what happens in his or her life also helps perpetuate the belief that control is attainable. According to this norm, an unfulfilling life is due to the individual's failure to control life situations rather than to any flaw in the concept of controllability itself. In recent years this emphasis on the individual's total responsibility has been endorsed from a new quarter. Several of the self-actualization philosophies, such as *est*, categorically assert that one is responsible for everything one is or is not. While this dogma discourages blaming others for circumstances one might in fact alter, not control, it also encourages the antisocial attitude that another's difficulties are solely their own responsibility to control. This attitude also removes the anxiety that might be aroused trying (and perhaps failing) to help another control their environment. (The other extreme is of course to explain the absence of individual fulfillment as a failure of the social system to control adverse impacts on the person.)

These conventional norms and behaviors that serve to reinforce belief in the controllability of the social world are increasingly counterproductive in times of social turbulence. Those whose competence is defined to include the capability to control find themselves caught between hubris and despair with anxiety a constant companion and burnout a frequent destiny.⁴ Others, frustrated by undesired or unexpected outcomes, seek greater control outside the law (e.g. the Watergate break in aircraft hijackings, etc.) or by recourse to single issue voting, injunctions, referenda, and endless adversarial confrontations in and out of the courts.

In a world where everything is connected to everything else, narrowing the issue according to the special preconceptions of persons, groups, or offices in the expectation that in that way control can be attained, destroys what otherwise is a constructive societal regulative process into one where increasingly everything blocks everything else. Even when the sought-for outcome is reached, the reverberating consequences eventually undermine the control attained.⁵ What is more, when partial definitions of a problem are exposed rather than hidden, they generate disagreements. This enlarges the scope of the problem, and given the present low trust of big organizations, counterclaims by proponents of each partial definition that theirs is the true description of the social problem or the true approach to solving it can only deepen distrust. Uncertainty about where to locate the problem boundaries cannot be acknowledged, so each party's

position must be put forward with great conviction. This is because acknowledging uncertainty means acknowledging that one is unsure what causes different effects and hence is unable to control the situation or solve the problem. But this posturing is becoming increasingly short-sighted. By refusing to admit uncertainty about the nature of a situation and what can be done about it, institutions and leaders are only inviting scorn and repudiation as proliferating information exposes evidence of ineffectiveness, confusion, or worse.

What is the origin of the belief that social circumstances are controllable, and when did we start defining competence as the ability to attain that control? Historically, kings, merchant princes, and the like have sometimes effected social control or the semblance of control through coercion or charisma. But here I will attend to an interlocked psychological and epistemological source of that belief because it exacerbates the special problems of living in our turbulent world, namely, the world view elaborated and reinforced by the physics of Newton, the philosophy of Descartes, and an even older legal tradition that emphasized private rights. The Newtonian/Cartesian view sees the world as comprised of separate things, particles, and of the relationships between them. Cause is separate from effect (as are the things that cause and the things that bear the effect). Subject is separate from object, fact from value. Relationships among things are linear; they begin and they end. This particulate condition was conferred on natural processes because Newtonian science showed that things behaved lawfully, their performance was repeatable and predictable, and that if one had the knowledge of causes and effects, one could control effects by controlling the causes that produced them. Knowledge for attaining such control was scientific in character, discovered in the laboratory where cause and effect could be separated and where controlled experiments could be undertaken to illuminate the relationship. (Or more revealingly, the only phenomena studied in the laboratory were those in which cause could be separated from effect.) In this way, scientific/technical information led to knowledge, which in turn led to the power to control outcomes. Most conspicuously, this world view demonstrated its utility in situations where hard technology was the controlling agency, either technology controlled causes so as to produce a specific effect or its production was the effect desired in response to a specific cause.

Since scientific knowledge was expected to dissolve all accretions of religion, ritual, and ignorance from whatever source, resulting in universal enlightenment, the Newtonian/Cartesian worldview also

served as the epistemic model for human society even though underlying causes and effects and lawful relationships had not been scientifically demonstrated. That is individual and social processes were and still are believed to be the products of the causal interactions among variables within and between person groups institutions organizations etc each of which is separate from the others. Thus the competent leader administrator or manager was one who could deal or at least endeavor to deal with the human condition in the same spirit and with the same intention to control as the technologist or engineer (This approach had the added advantage of being completely compatible with behavior based on the cruder more widely dispersed worldview that might make right.) This spirit and intention is nicely exemplified in the aspiration to solve social problems through technological fixes. That is the situation would be fixed both in the sense that it would now work and in the sense that it could be expected to remain in the desired end state. Both outcome and process would as a result be under control.

As the beliefs of the Age of Enlightenment were promulgated and disseminated ascribing to science and technology unlimited ameliorative power to free humankind from its constraints males were most exposed to these beliefs through their activities in industry business and government under circumstances that demonstrated their utility and hence their validity. Since much of what preoccupied males was directly or indirectly the result of technological applications and since these worked males came to embody these beliefs practicing them when they could and affirming them always. In such a heady atmosphere of successful efforts to control (in part successful because those who were victims rather than beneficiaries of technological control were routinely ignored or discounted) there was every reason to suppose that the same worldview and definition of competence would hold true under any and all societal circumstances a competent person could through information gain the knowledge needed to discover the causes and effects of the human condition and to control them.

Under such norms errors became failures and these are evidence of incompetence they demonstrated a failure to apply correct knowledge and through it to exercise control. In a male dominated world operating by this definition of competence one's self image is closely tied to and tested by successfully exercising control. Besides seeking to demonstrate ability to control it is also very important to deny to one's self and surely to others evidence that one is not in control. The behavior and norms described earlier embody this denial whatever else they might express.

In summary white Western males have incorporated into their definition of competence the myth that the world is fully controllable through information about cause and effect. One ironic result of this worldview has been an enormous transformation of the world into one that both is and appears to be increasingly less controllable. In today's world information undermines reliability and predictability by stimulating emergent human phenomena whether these be the secondary effects of a technological fix of an idea or of a welfare program. It is a world in which information increasingly demonstrates that things aren't going as intended. The result is two fold. On the one hand there is retrenchment by those who would control an effort to deny their impotency by more intense efforts to control. On the other there is beginning to emerge in some men another worldview and a different definition of competence one long practiced by women and in certain non Western cultures among people who have never claimed to possess certainty of control in part because they have seldom had the opportunity to do so.

Like all myths humans contrive to make sense of the mystery of being the one that defined reality as a world of particles causally related was a system of deceptions useful indeed powerful for some purposes but unavoidably arbitrary and dependent for its viability on not noticing not appreciating what else was happening that didn't fit.

What is defined as cause or effect is a highly arbitrary excerpting from a seamless web from a fuzzy image. What to differentiate as in need of control and what to characterize as being controlled are socially given they depend on the appreciative set of those doing the differentiating and those controlling from their various points of leverage. In earlier days those seeking to control could ignore with considerable impunity that which they were deliberately or inadvertently indifferent to or ignorant about pertaining to the uncontrolled consequences of their acts. When recognized at all these were the externalities. Also because knowledge and instrumentation were less sophisticated feedback from technological fixes was so slow (or so incomplete) as to give the illusion that things were indeed fixed and under control with boundaries holding (This illusion was especially strong in males whose faith in the myth of control often included a need to believe it in order to protect their self identity.)

But the human condition is to an unknown degree inherently unpredictable because it emerges unrepeatable out of itself. It is morphogenetic memory and consciousness and their consequences are irreversible contrary to the dynamics that define the behavior of Newtonian particles. This emergent quality is immediately obvious in

the arts in science in politics and in interpersonal relations (even though in the latter especially we often try to pretend it isn't so) Neither an individual nor a society can be reset at zero wiping out both what has happened and the effort to wipe it out this is especially evident in societies rich in information The human condition is to some unknown degree non-homeostatic it does not revert to equilibrium which circumstance fatally flaws extant economic theory and much theory in the behavioral sciences along with their technological fixes

What then comprises the new competence appropriate to a world where uncertainty and complexity make it counterproductive to reward the old competence?

First, we need to accept that we can seldom deliberately change things from state A to B since we really don't know what it is that we are changing States A and B are only arbitrary parts of an unknown totality we do not know what we are not attending to Since A and B are inherently fuzzy concepts so too must be the concept of what is to be changed Hence whatever we do is by ways of affecting a situation instead of changing it This term conveys an appropriately more tentative sense of capability to intervene decisively than is assumed when we imply or expect the competence to change a situation in a controlled manner Viewing existence in this way we may also avoid the despair and the fury that sometimes results from the frustration of trying to control change in a world in which it is increasingly evident that everything is connected with everything else and uncertainty grows as does information

Second, we need to live with and acknowledge uncertainty It is commonplace to observe that people can only deal with so much uncertainty before they seek security in God technology or charisma This is probably true at some level but what if uncertainty were accepted and shared as our common condition and acknowledged by leaders rather than being denied by them in order to sustain the belief that certainty is attainable through their vision and judgement? Surely we can tolerate much more uncertainty when we have other to share it with Misery loves company and when shared it can also increase capability

But why should a person or organization run the risks of sharing their uncertainty? One reason is that acknowledging and sharing uncertainty is necessary for learning Neither we ourselves nor our associates nor the publics that need to be involved if they are to learn to make responsible demands can learn what is going on and might go on if we act as if we really had the facts were really certain about all

the issues knew exactly what the outcome should/could be and were really certain that we were attaining the most preferred outcomes Moreover when addressing complex social issues acting as if we knew what we were doing simply decreases our credibility A critical requirement for effective authority public or personal is some kind of shared belief a fundamental (if qualified) trust in the capability reliability and responsibility of institutions But studies show that this is not the prevailing state of mind today and that distrust of institutions and authority figures is increasing The very act of acknowledging uncertainty could help greatly to reverse this worsening trend⁶

Third, we need to see the world as both/and rather than either/or The slack has gone out of our ethical system because of its unavoidable internal contradictions and because its injunctions become their own opposites this is the peripeteia the ancient Greeks warned of when one or another separate value (like freedom or equality) is excessively forwarded for the purpose of making it the sole controlling value of society or of a person's life In an either/or epistemology of separate things including separate values this leads to single issue voting exploitive and self-righteous adversarial tactics and frantic efforts to find salvation through emphasis on self all of which are progressively counterproductive Furthermore increased information removes the comfort of ignorance about the consequences of separate actions and about the connectedness of conditions

At the same time lacking an appropriate worldview we are left ignorant of the structure of connectedness People who perceive the world as both/and (i.e. connected) rather than either/or (i.e. separate) have the potential to express more tolerance and compassion toward themselves and others If we can see ourselves as connected yet ignorant of most of the connections then we have little choice but to be compassionate updating an observation of an earlier day There through the grace of God go I

Acting with compassion means acting with the recognition that (1) nobody including oneself really knows what they are doing certainly not in terms of the consequences of their acts which is what most doing is directed toward (2) everyone is to some profound degree living in illusions believing in the factness of what comprises their world rather than recognizing that we live in an arbitrarily constructed social reality and (3) everyone is in one way or another struggling to cope with the existential questions of life death and meaning Under these circumstances everybody needs all the clarity they can muster regarding their ignorance and finiteness and all the

support they can obtain in order to face the upsetting implications of what their clarity illuminates for them. A compassionate person is one who by accepting this situation can provide that kind of support toward self as well as toward others.

Living compassionately would also free people from the pressures to act as if they really knew what they were doing and how to do it. That is, I would know that I don't know and I would know that others who knew were ignorant would also know that I don't know. In particular, living more compassionately would reduce the need to hide errors of the sort that arise from actions intended to control, i.e. actions based on presumed knowing. Instead, actions intended to affect something would be based on shared and acknowledged ignorance that must accompany any body of knowledge. And it would reduce the need to act over cautiously and conservatively out of fear of being caught out in a mistake of being unable to control. Accepting this ignorance and its associated vulnerability would reduce the need for those defensive self-protecting interpersonal and political posturings that make it so hard to act responsibly and compassionately.

Essentially, what this means is that the way to regulate well in times of great uncertainty is by learning rather than controlling. Not learning the answers to know questions that serve the intent to control but learning what questions about balancing and optimizing now merit asking and then learning how those questions might be answered provisionally until the present moment emerges into a new context of questions.

There is increasing evidence that people feel more competent and are in fact more contributive, creative, and productive when they participate in decisions affecting their own life way. Doing so requires learning about their life way. The research jargon has it that their sense of felt control increases and that therein lies the reward of such participation. I suspect though that it is the engagement itself, the maintenance of relationships in time,⁷ that is actually the reward. At any rate, in an uncertain uncontrollable world, joint participation in creating, unfolding, and affecting that world is the precondition for engendering trust for learning and for accepting and practicing responsibility.

This mode of participation, called co-creation or co-production, is a way of affecting one's world and of learning about it and about one's self that is practiced by many mothers (and by some fathers) and by all good teachers. But its successful practice requires openness to the unexpected vulnerability. Neither process nor outcome are

controllable in the old sense; the norms of co-creation preclude individual attempts to gain control of the joint creative effort.

Individuals or organizations learn little if defenses are up if vulnerability is avoided if instead the context is controlled or if one seeks to control in order to exclude information that exposes the limits of control. Living vulnerably requires that the sense of being in control be replaced by a sense of being cared about. Nurturing and being cared about in Western culture have traditionally been the roles performed by women. However, nurturing is not an ability possessed only by women as some non-Western cultures evidence and as growing numbers of Western men demonstrate too. Men in Western society are beginning to acknowledge their need to nurture and be nurtured. I am somewhat hopeful that we can continue to move this way because the need for nurturing is also coming to be acknowledged though I do not know how widely among senior executives and administrators among those very leaders and decision makers who no longer find self-respect in pretending they are in control.

Adopting the norms and behaviors just described will not transform the turbulent world we face into one of permanent stability. But increasing awareness of the emergent quality of human life engendered by the density of information combined with a move toward and a focus on these norms and behaviors could engender something else. Some other set of circumstances could arise from adopting a different definition of competence. This something else might be a world in which at least some of the turbulence associated with the epistemology, norms, and behaviors of control gives away to other circumstances more to our liking. This would not necessarily be a more controllable world but at least it should be a more livable one in which these norms and behaviors engender and express a concern to be reliable to each other.⁸ The conventional endeavor to control might then become a special technique useful in certain contexts now unspecified.⁹

NOTES

¹Sir Geoffrey Vickers, *Ecology, Planning and the American Dream*, in *The Urban Condition*, Leonard Duhl, ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 101.

²Vickers, *The Art of Judgment* (New York: Basic Books, 1965), chapter II.

³Donald Michael, *Planning's Challenge to the Systems Approach*.

in *Futures Research New Directions* H Linstone and W Clive Simmonds eds (Reading Mass Addison Wesley 1977) For the most part turbulent processes have not been modeled even though the outcomes are often predictable In the physical sciences turbulent systems tend to self destruct to approach equilibrium or in certain instances to stabilize as more complex systems as Ilya Prigogine has shown But for humans today it is the turbulent processes per se that are crucial because we live in and by them Whether turbulent conscious processes operate or can be conceptualized in the same way as material or materially constrained phenomena remains to be seen Prigogine apparently believes they can Meanwhile Michael Polanyi's argument that the properties of the whole transcend those of the parts and can be recognized only after they emerge merits much pondering (See Polanyi's *The Tacit Dimension* New York Doubleday 1966)

⁴William Bryan Preventing Burnout in the Public Interest Community *The NRAG Papers* 3 #3 Fall 1980 (publication of the Northern Rockies Action Group 8 Placer Street Helena Montana 59601)

⁵Vickers Ecology Planning and the American Dream in Duhl (1963) p 101

⁶Michael *On Learning to Plan and Planning to Learn* (San Francisco Jossey Bass 1973) p 108 143

⁷Vickers *The Art of Judgment* (1965) p 33

⁸Vickers *Freedom in a Rocking Boat* (Middlesex U.K. Penguin Books 1970)

⁹The establishment of government regulatory agencies at the request of businesses in order to keep the free enterprise system functioning is one historical example of the emergence of limited control as a useful technique in a specific context

SERVICE, DISOBEDIENCE, AND EVERYDAY LIFE

by
MARIA MODIG

SERVICE HUMANISM DISOBEDIENCE

To care and serve other people is one of the most important tasks a human can choose I want to discuss here the difficult consequences of caring too much when dealing with problems of development

Gandhi Martin Luther King Socrates Jean D Arc Olof Palme were all caring persons who worked towards a better world and who served as examples to many people They were all martyred The martyr does not always play a constructive role although he or she might serve as *good* examples to other people in their lives

Willy Brandt in his struggle against Nazism followed another strategy He is not a martyr He escaped from Nazi Germany and built up another system outside of the evil authority He chose to serve another future

To care about others implies service Service and caring happen to be very trendy words in Sweden right now

A person developing service within the public sector of Sweden said to me

Service is to give the employees a possibility to think for themselves to know why and for what they work and to give them what they need to do things well Service is related to disobedience To dare work with service is to have the courage to try new ways in new situations without having your eyes on the rules all the time Service is often to be disobedient to old routines habits and books of rules (Gun Andersson)

To care is an instinct that is planted in all human beings I am aware that many people do not care at all for anyone other than themselves I am not concerned with these people here Instead I want to point out what can happen if you do not care about yourself when caring about others

During the Renaissance humanism was a form of

disobedience The Truth true knowledge was the guiding star for many scientists who tried to demonstrate to authority what the world was like You trusted your own reason and were critical towards trusting authorities Through reflection you could liberate yourself and others from prejudices that darken perception and understanding You could obtain true knowledge about reality This belief was part of Renaissance humanism

The truth is available for every human who searches for it independent of learned men wrote a Swedish humanist during the 16th century His name was George Stiernhjelm To him humanism was a longing for freedom and doubting of spiritual or earthy authorities

Now as I see it a new form of humanism is growing Due to pollution terror and hunger a lot of people are looking for new ways of caring and bettering things Also many care about themselves These people oppose and doubt authorities within different fields and are searching for new knowledge of caring in order to make a better world Time rescues Truth to which History bears witness

Francisco Goya

THE MARTYR POLLUTION, INNER AND OUTER

This story is based upon several interviews during two years when I studied disobedience within organizations Instead of reporting these interviews I decided to write one fictional story that demonstrates what about 30 people told me They were men and women working within various fields

A man worked in an organization that like many hierarchies contained elements of bureaucracy He was head of one of the bigger departments within the organization

One day he discovered how another department was polluting the river and clearly violated the local ordinances The consequences were immediately clear to him in a few years the whole river would be dead

He decided to do two difficult things First he would talk to the manager of this department to see if he knew his department was

polluting and how serious it was Secondly if that did not work he would go to the board of directors and get results from them to make sure that the pollution laws were obeyed

What the man did not know was that the board had secretly sanctioned the polluting of the river When he brought this to their attention they refused to do anything about it

Then he decided to tell the authorities about the violation and to quit if working conditions became intolerable because of his action

At this point this man was active and in control of what he did It is true that the man was quite alone in his actions But he was sure of his colleagues support They had discussed it many times

When the storm of publicity had blown over and the company was following the pollution guidelines he did the following

Retroactively he tried to win support for his actions

He received no support either from the board or from his colleagues In fact people even stopped looking his way He discovered that new responsibilities that should have been his were given to others

He felt almost like he did not exist

He had now landed in a situation which is among the most difficult to live with He knew that he had acted correctly morally humanly and ethically Nevertheless he started to doubt He felt despised by others The distress with which he lived turned to bitterness

Little by little and unconsciously he had let himself be changed so that at least he did not have the strength to carry through his final decision to try to find a new job to quit the organization

He stayed

The only thing that now strengthens him is that he had once chosen to do what had to be done

And the organization let him stay He was no longer considered disturbing in spite of the fact that he now and then talked about the old pollution problems

Now he has been made into a sort of comical figure who does not get any assignments who is only kept passive and harmless The vision of his colleagues has been so distorted that they now only see him as a ridiculous figure who certainly acted rightly once but is now living in the past And he surely is ridiculous with his nagging talk about how he to be sure saved the stream and the lake from destruction True but that's all very old The present is of concern now He can keep to himself his paranoid suspicions that the board is tapping his telephones

People distance themselves from the disobedient when the authority does so. Even when they realize that the disobedient action was right they ally themselves with Power especially when they see what Power can do with one single disobedient person. They will do so unless

Unless the disobedient person leaves at the right time and the right time is before he loses influence and effectiveness in his field. If he stays longer he will become like a prisoner in a cage.

Unless he continues to work and make sure that he gets support for what he is doing now and is not always seeking support for an old story.

There is an interesting pattern that people share when they act deliberately to change something unfair, unethical or wrong.

We also know from life and from Stanley Milgram's research on authority and obedience that a person who can reach the authority and communicate also can change the situation. If the authority will not listen or does not care or is evil it's much harder to change the situation.

If you stay within the influence of the authority you will go on and be an agent and only do what the authority wants you to do or alternatively you will become a prisoner in one way or the other. Instead of staying in the field of the authority and thereby becoming a martyr or a phony you can use your power to care and develop other fields.

To my knowledge no research has been made within this field. My own private research among people I have interviewed can demonstrate what can happen.

There are times when you must leave a workplace after you have done all you can to improve it. When leaving a workplace where you really made great effort to care and do things better for other people and yourself it is usual that the emptiness you leave behind will be filled up by another person who can develop what you and your colleagues started. But if you stay you might damage what you have already achieved. Your example bears a history that other people and authority will always concentrate on your person and what steps you are to take next.

You might even be your own prisoner getting cynical and bitter and demanding quick changes and telling your surroundings how little they have done and what small steps if any they have taken towards changing the world.

Working to limit nuclear weapons is very challenging. People doing this sometimes get so depressed that they have trouble working in a constructive way. Bitterness and even (in other people's eyes) paranoid behavior is common.

Women's liberation is another field where the work is trying and where progress sometimes seems slow. I know many women and men who are working hard with problems of equal rights who are prisoners of bitterness. They have made great efforts to change things. Still they do not see that things are developing or that other people really support them. The people around them only see their cynical bitterness and they will certainly not support that.

To leave to escape from a field where you no longer develop and work for good and right things is much better than to remain and give people a bad conscience. A bad conscience has never changed anything. A sense of guilt may dig itself in and may remain forever. And that does not help to create a wanted future.

On the other hand if you leave you may have several other opportunities to work for and support things that are good.

CHANGING THINGS TOGETHER THREE WAYS

There are at least three different ways you can choose when being disobedient.

One is to ridicule the authority.

Another is public or private collective action group disobedience.

A third is to escape.

When you participate and consciously work to influence the spiral of development alone or collectively you create something new. Creative people always live on the edge of disobedience and must occasionally transcend.

All humans who seek to change are creative. And they will usually meet resistance. In that work of change the most important thing is to look for support and to give support.

Stanley Milgram has pointed out some ways to go when changing an unfair situation. Frequently this results in influencing or disobeying authority.

Soldier Svejik symbolizes one method that Milgram points out. This method is to ridicule the authority.

In a bureaucracy for instance you can choose to do literally what the rules tell you. This will then show authority the impossible and ridiculous consequences of so many rigid rules.

This method is sometimes used by trade unions in Sweden. In hospitals the employees have a hard time making the employer understand the reality of their work situation. Geriatric care has low status and limited resources. Sometimes the employees have followed the rules in their manuals very thoroughly to show what an absurd situation they work in. Of course this means the patients never get up during the day and they must go to sleep with the help of a pill at 5 pm. This way of trying to make the authority understand that change is necessary works only when the authority is good.

Another way to make authority understand that change is necessary is collective action. This is powerful when authority cares. Examples are civil rights movement, women's liberation, the peace movement and Green Peace.

Trade unions and the development of democracy are other instances of getting people together and being influenced by strong examples.

Fran Peavey, author of *Heart Politics*, writes in her book about Stanley Milgram's experiments in *Disobedience*:

Psychological researcher Stanley Milgram conducted a series of experiments in which the subjects were asked to teach another person to memorize a series of paired words. When the learner made a mistake the subject was to push a button to administer electric shocks of progressively higher voltages until the shocks were clearly at a dangerous level. (No shocks were actually being administered and the learner was really an actor who would feign physical responses to electroshock.)

An overwhelming majority of the subjects continued administering shocks until the experiment ended, obeying authority in spite of their certainty that the shocks were causing the learner serious harm.

One lesson I draw from Milgram's work is that contextual pressures can cause us to override even our most basic values. None of us is incapable of doing horrible things. This seems consistent with the observations about holocaust and genocide that I heard at the conference in Tel Aviv. Ordinary people like you and me, people you'd expect to be able to think independently and take a stand, can do evil. This willingness to go along, even to the point of harming others, isn't an aberration. We are all well practiced in

doing as we are told, doing what seems appropriate to the context. As human beings we must face up to this problem and find ways to compensate for it.

Milgram's experiments also have important ramifications for my thinking about connectedness. He found that people are less likely to continue the torture if they are in the same room as the victim than if they are kept separate. So when we see our society scapegoating particular groups of people, it's important that we bring ourselves closer to them. In 1980 when I knew that Iranians in the United States were being harassed and beaten up, I found myself wondering how we could establish human connections between Iranians and others in the United States. How can we protect ourselves as a society from persecuting particular racial or cultural groups?

My third lesson from Milgram's research is: If you're going to disobey, there are more and less effective ways of doing it. In one variation of the experiment, Milgram had two people at the electroshock controls. (Both were presumably subjects, but one was actually administering shocks, leaving the subject to take over.) Milgram discovered that a crucial distinction was whether the disobedient person left the room at this point or stayed and watched. The subject was much more likely to refuse to harm the learner if the disobedient person remained present, a moral witness to the subject's actions.

(*Heart Politics*, Fran Peavey with Myra Ley & Charles Varon, New Society Publishers, USA, 1985)

A third way that can change a situation is escape.

It is desirable to be conscious of what may happen to oneself as a human when one chooses to care and tries to change an injustice. One can then choose to remain in the field one is trying to change while knowing the risks involved. One can choose the way that Socrates chose when he emptied the poison cup. One can choose the way Palme, Sweden's murdered prime minister, chose when he went to downtown

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Stockholm without security guards A martyr of this kind is never ridiculed

And if you do not want to die symbolically or in reality and you have tried every other way you can choose to escape to another field of work to another sphere of activity to another country

A dead martyr is living and an example to others a living martyr is dead ridiculed

[Thanks to Lorenzo and Ulf Landergren who helped me with the translation into English]

THE GIFTED DISADVANTAGED

by
ERIKA LANDAU

We look for wealth and natural resources but neglect the most precious and most available resource our gifted children

THE GIFTED NEED EQUAL, NOT IDENTICAL, EDUCATION

The gifted child is a child like any other but there is something in him which is his alone unique to him his giftedness And each gift and talent needs to be fostered watered like a plant Yet there is an old fashioned theory that a talented child will find a way to develop his talents under any circumstances

Research and experience in working with these children have proved that the most talented child needs the encouragement of the environment and suitable stimulation in order to activate his potential as much as or even more than the ordinary child

The educational atmosphere nowadays all over the world is one of identical education the same material and the same norms for all the pupils in the class It is not equal and not identical education in which each child can learn and react to teaching according to his potential and talents The fear of fostering the privileged at the cost of the underprivileged brings in education the result of leveling in the best of cases

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

Many gifted children if not properly encouraged withdraw and fight their talents Those talents could lead them to scientific discovery artistic creativity creative leadership or simply to a self actualizing happy personality Giftedness might also be used for antisocial purposes We believe that many inhabitants of prisons are very creative and talented people they simply used their talents for the wrong goal Fostering giftedness has an important prophylactic aspect It challenges the children who might be potential absorbers of destructive influences from their environment to use their intelligence for constructive social and individual goals

By ignoring the gifted society loses potential creative leaders in the sciences arts and politics and could multiply gifted but frustrated dropouts from school from society and even from life itself

What is a gifted child for us?

Both mystic and scientist have long tended to look upon the phenomenon of giftedness as immutable and subject to laws of nature all of its own. It has only been within the last few decades that educators have even begun to dare and look at the human mind with some trust in their own potentials to have a say in and influence on the development of this phenomenon

One of the questions that they have asked is what it is in the gifted and productive adult that can be identified predicted developed in the precocious child. They have come to two basic conclusions

- 1) that the gifted and productive adult becomes such by virtue of three concomitant and self reinforcing factors level of cognitive functioning creative capability and persistence and drive
- 2) that the potential for such productive adulthood exists in far more than the rarified sample of uniquely selected individuals as once believed that in fact giftedness can and must be nurtured if it is to develop to its fullest

Thus the emphasis has shifted from the concept of genotypic to phenotypic giftedness in which the environment has a share in its development. The emphasis shifted also from noting precocity to the systematic nurturing of potential

These changing perspectives on human potentials provided a wider basis for the servicing of all those children with extraordinary potential of one form or another those who are already demonstrating high levels of academic success as well as those who are achieving far below their levels of ability those who come from privileged environments and those whose socioeconomic base tends to retard the fulfillment of their potential. In other words we should try to foster not only manifested but uncover stimulate and develop latent giftedness

Our definition of giftedness is any child who demonstrates an extraordinary talent or ability (or the potential to realize that talent or ability) in any specific intellectual or creative pursuit. This giftedness may appear in one or more areas

It must be remembered however that giftedness is a relative concept always relates to a certain frame of reference not to

international national or regional norms. This means that an outstanding intelligent child in culturally deprived surroundings needs special servicing for his needs although he or she is not outstanding in a more privileged environment

GIFTED DISADVANTAGED

Meeting the needs of the disadvantaged in its social and educational implications should be of high priority in any caring society. The concept of cultural disadvantaged is a combination of family size low education of parents and low income. Even the brightest children of this group could not compete with their middle class counterparts in formal intelligence tests because of their limited cultural background. Therefore there are not many disadvantaged in the formal programs (special classes) for the Gifted

I would like to share here our experience in working with children in the culturally disadvantaged parts of our town. The Young Persons Institute for the Promotion of Art & Science Tel Aviv University Technical College has as its aim to challenge annually 3000 gifted children aged 5-15 from the wider area of town. It is an enrichment program after school hours because we do not believe that children should be segregated from their physical environment in special schools for the gifted. Subjects of enrichment vary from the most exact sciences to the most liberal arts (about 200 working groups)

The Institute is located in the Northern part of Tel Aviv which is populated by middle and upper middle class. The more underdeveloped parts are in the South of town. We tried to involve the children from those parts in the Institute's programs but owing to the difficulties in transportation this effort was not too successful

In the early 70s our enrichment programs initiated activities in those neighborhoods. The percentage of children who demanded the services for the Gifted depended on the priorities given to the problem by the parents who were not so involved in a better educational level for their children because of their own lower cultural background. On the other hand it also depended on the existence of appropriate educational and social resources to meet the needs of the Gifted

The success of a program depended on how much we could convey and convince by pointing out

- 1) the social and psychological importance of encouraging the potentials of those children

- 2) to emphasize the specific potential we try to challenge and nurture for the child's personal good
- 3) to convey the feeling of trust in the continuity of the existing programs and resources

Out of this insight we created several models of working with the gifted disadvantaged

- 1) enrichment programs in the neighborhood if interest resources and facilities exist This gives the inhabitants the feeling of pride that such privileges are given in their neighborhood
- 2) to take the gifted out of the neighborhood and bring them once a week to an academic center immediately after school hours We try to involve several teachers in this project so they learn how to run such enrichment programs After a year they do it on their own in their neighborhood under our supervision
- 3) to enroll them after a certain period in their own neighborhood in existing programs outside their neighborhood where the choice of subjects is wider and the children enjoy seeing new and different neighborhoods

The participants were children recommended by their teachers as outstanding within their peer group As said before we do not believe that children from culturally disadvantaged environments could measure up to the middle class children in intelligence tests

In all models the parents are invited to the first meeting in which we explain our goals and invite them to share with us the ways to reach them

We have another model which is not an alternative but an addition to other programs summer camps where children learn and create either in their own community or outside There were some very good results in cleaning and beautifying neighborhoods during summer camps as secondary gains to acquiring knowledge and enjoying creating

The general goal of these courses is to create in the participants the enjoyment of the process of learning and development of involvement in social values

The first year of our activity on this special project was followed by research in order to see the effects of the courses on the participants level of intelligence creativity and other personality factors The results were most encouraging There is a significant progress (up to 29 points) in the measured intelligence of the children

as well as in creativity and some personality factors A change in values could also be seen

In the following Table we show results We divided the first testing results into three groups the first group IQ till 100 (this again proves that children outstanding in their class record score low in intelligence tests) the second group 101-110 and the third group from 111 upwards From the literature on this topic we knew that in any frame of working with underprivileged there will be dropouts and these dropouts were our control group

After an educational intervention of three semesters we tested the children again and the results appear as follows

We can see that those who scored lowest initially have the greatest increase (up to 29 points) in IQ at the second testing In the second group we can see that the increase is up to 19 points for the attenders and with the dropouts there is no significant difference But it is the third group where there is the most dramatic difference Those who scored highest at the beginning of our courses decreased most among the dropouts We learned from this that we must challenge the gifted not only intellectually but also emotionally and socially as well If not they will follow those who might challenge them towards exciting anti social activities

Our Credo is in the prophylactic aspect of activities with culturally underprivileged gifted children if not encouraged and channelled towards constructive values those children might use their intelligence and talents for destructive delinquent goals as it is often seen in non caring societies

**FOLLOW-UP-OF CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN
(3 SEMESTERS ED, INTERVENTION)**

**CHAPTER IV
TAKING CARE OF THE FUTURE**

ATTENDERS (N 51)

DROPOUTS (N18)

1ST GROUP		2ND GROUP		3RD GROUP							
N	1ST TESTING	2ND TESTING	N	1ST TESTING	2ND TESTING	N	1ST TESTING	2ND TESTING			
2	75	+29	104	2	103	+11	114	2	113	+7	120
4	85	+8	93	1	104	+19	123	2	115	+13	128
5	93	+20	113	3	105	+9	114	2	117	+4	121
3	93	+8	101	2	107	+17	124	2	118		118
2	94	+4	98	2	110	+11	121	2	118	+3	121
2	97	+14	111	2	111	+6	117	2	123	+8	131
2	97	+17	114	6	111	+12	123	2	130	+3	133
3	84	+7	91	2	103		101	1	114	6	108
2	93	+12	105	2	105	+3	108	1	115	2	113
1	100	+7	107	2	100	5	108	1	117	4	113
								1	117	2	115
								1	118	3	115
									125	14	111

And now we come to a section which tries to look a little more directly into the future (and into futures studies as an academic discipline) than have the previous ones Zha Ruqiang (China) surveys the concept of an information society and concludes that while such a social system will almost certainly follow that of the maturing industrial societies of the last half century we should not envision this as some kind of a post industrial society Rather it is a new stage of industrialism Moreover to designate it by the word information does not imply that information is not also an important component of industrial (or even earlier) societies just that information is the most central aspect of it Zha also discounts the notion that the emergence of an information society will somehow end the distinctions between capitalism and socialism Although the information society will work itself out differently in a socialist compared to a capitalist system the contradictions within capitalist information societies will remain until they are corrected by socialism

Then how about the idea also frequently heard that a country like China should try to leapfrog ahead of currently dominant industrialized countries into an information society? Can China bypass the industrial period? It cannot The development gap must not continue however China must strive to catch up and surpass It should do so Zha concludes by using Third Wave technologies even within its Second Wave period

Anna Coen (Italy) reviews similar questions within the very different European situation Basing her conclusions on several extensive empirical studies in which she has participated in both Eastern and Western Europe she examines the ongoing trends and differing scenarios leading towards post industrial society The major trends are from growth to development from quantity to quality and the rise to pre eminence of the Third Sector Her preferred scenario would use long range planning new social indicators and a specific investment policy in the present to move towards a desirable future

Bart van Steenbergen (The Netherlands) also relies upon scenarios and especially the identification and/or creation of social

innovations to search for a preferred future. His essay is essentially a case study of three desirable social innovations he has examined: two in the United States (Silicon Valley and the Briarpatch network) and one in Holland (MeMo).

Given the great emphasis which Prof. van Steenberg gives to futures studies as a futures creating more than merely a futures forecasting activity, we hope the editors will be excused if they add the following comments. First of all, we are in complete agreement with the position van Steenberg is taking here. But we feel it is not quite as novel as he seems to imply. The concept of anticipatory democracy, which Alvin Toffler coined first in *Future Shock* and then elaborated further in *The Third Wave*, has been an integral part of many future-oriented citizens' movements in the United States, beginning probably with Hawaii 2000 in the 1970s and continuing through the present. [See also Clem Bezold (editor), *Anticipatory Democracy: People in the Politics of The Future* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978)]. Such A/D movements are thought to be social innovations in and of themselves and to have the identification and/or creation of new preferred social institutions and policies to be a primary task. We must also immodestly point out that the Alternative Futures Option within the graduate program of the Department of Political Science of the University of Hawaii specifically advertises itself as being (and tries actually to be) concerned primarily with the design and realization of alternative political institutions and systems and not merely their forecasting.

But more than this, the transnational teams of the World Order Model Project, which produced so many helpful volumes in the 1970s on alternative preferred models of global governance, took also exactly the design and search for precursor trends and movements orientation which van Steenberg also champions. [See *The World Order Models Project* (The Institute for World Order, Inc., New York, New York)].

Finally, attention is called to the Institute for Social Inventions with its quarterly journal, which has been founded in the United Kingdom. [The Institute for Social Inventions, Nicholas Albery (editor), 24 Abercorn Place, London NW8 9XP, UK].

Hazel Henderson (US) continues the identification of possible precursor institutions and innovations which van Steenberg encourages by noting that our transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial society can be understood as occurring by passage through three zones.

The first is the breakdown zone, which characterizes the present

It is out of control in the way Donald Michael described previously. Thus, says Henderson, some governments respond to Zone One conditions by reconceptualizing this new global commons, while others either rigidify, try to turn the clock back, attempt diversionary military adventures, fudge the figures, or even indulge in disinformation, often confusing their own citizens by obfuscating the issues.

The second zone is that of fibrillation, in which there is at the same time both more and better good news and more and worse bad news. This should be followed by a breakthrough zone in which positive future-trending activities, such as those identified by van Steenberg above, are more and more apparent. The really good news, says Henderson, is that so many solutions are turning out to be simple and inexpensive rather than requiring massive, costly new technologies. When crises and problems are fundamentally re-examined, solutions often arise in the rethinking process. Christopher Jones (US) does just such rethinking. *Who Cares for Mother Earth?* he wants to know. And he considers the question by taking a broad re-think, indeed, what might be the relation between a politics of abundance and a politics of scarcity in relation to human experience during and between ice ages (especially in light of the current feminism/patriarchy argument)? Since we are at the very end of the most recent interglacial period, what are the appropriate ways to care for Mother Earth now? Danuta Markowska (Poland) in a way extends the feminism/patriarchy theme by distinguishing between the linear, analytic, fragmenting policies and practices of industrial production and the cyclic, compassionate, integrating policies and practices of socio-biological reproduction.

The final two articles in this section look more specifically at futures studies per se. Wendell Bell (US) asks how can a futurist determine what a preferred future is? At one time or another, it was possible simply to rely on instructions from your client, religious authority, beliefs about human nature, rules of law, lessons from history, collective judgements, preferences derived from the observation of group behavior, what the market dictates, or the imperatives of universal values.

None of these bases is wholly satisfactory at the present time, Bell argues. And while he does not answer his question, he concludes that trying to answer it is an urgent and prior task for any responsible person who proffers to offer helpful advice about the future.

Finally, Wendy Schultz (US) compares political science and

futures studies from a hermeneutic stance What is the discourse of each? What is lost in the shadow and never discussed? What of the ground is forgotten by so much concentration on the figure ?

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE INFORMATION SOCIETY

by
ZHA RUQIANG

At present I think one of the main subjects for the study of futurology is the new industrial revolution and the future information society because it has the most far reaching influence over the future development of human society Only against this historical background can we get a good understanding of such worldwide issues as population resources and environment The international discussion on the new industrial revolution and information society has aroused great interest and different ideas among the Chinese academic circles I would like to talk about my own opinions on this topic although they are far from mature

Materials energy and information are considered three main factors of technology They alternate in significance during the development of human technology and means of production Accordingly the markings for the different stages of technological and industrial revolution also change Analyzing the course of history we can find that the revolution of materials was the first markstone of human society which marked the Stone Bronze and Iron Ages then the energy revolution came to mark the First and Second Industrial Revolutions which are featured separately by the invention of steamed engine and electricity finally with the application of electronic and computer sciences the information revolution which began shortly after the World War II marked the beginning of the Third Industrial Revolution

The development of information technology has witnessed two stages The first was distinguished by the vacuum tube and semi conductor computers electric communication and communications satellites In 1970 an American group succeeded in developing a quartz optical fiber with a loss of only 20 decibels per kilometer thereby approaching the requirements of practical application In 1971 the Intel Corporation in the United States produced the first micro processor with a large scale integrated circuit These two achievements declared the second stage of information technology

The new industrial revolution and highly advanced information technology will surely lead mankind from industrial society to an information society. So far, Western scholars have invented such new concepts as post industrial society, new industrial society, etc. But they all tend to be unified under the concept of information society.

According to many Western scholars, the information society is a concrete and comprehensive concept of social formation in terms of its production, economic and political modes. It is a new social system that will eliminate the distinction between capitalism and socialism. Some of them even developed a new theory deducing that the two systems will mingle with each other and enter the information society side by side. We can not agree with them on this concept of information society. It is true that many socialist countries now begin to stress the importance of market adjustment and that there is also some kind of planned production in capitalist countries. But as a matter of fact, different social systems that are based on different ownerships of the means of production can never be merged into one. It is only possible for them to co exist and compete peacefully.

Of course, the concept of information society has its own reasonable core and scientific contents. It shows that the human society's productive forces and industrial structure have developed into a brand new stage and thus brought some new characteristics to the society. Yet these new characteristics are not directly related to the relations of production that are defined by the ownership of the means of production. They are therefore the general characteristics of the two different social systems, capitalist and socialist.

Marxism defines different stages of social development and different social formations mainly according to their different economic systems based on different ownerships of means of production. With this criterion, the development of human society can be divided into such stages as primitive commune society, slave society, feudal society, capitalist society, and socialist communist society.

Social formation, however, is a very complicated thing. We may observe and describe it from different angles. In addition to the main criterion above, there are also some supplementary methods to define the stages of social development. According to the differences in the structure of production (the social aspect of productive forces), the development of human society may be divided into gathering society, agricultural society, industrial society, and information society. Though this method can not replace the main one, it has its own scientific significance. This is similar to the way we analyze the

present world. We not only divide it into capitalist, socialist and nationalist countries according to the different social systems, but also divide it into developed, semi developed and developing countries according to the different economic levels.

What is an information society? What are the basic distinctions between an information society and an industrial society and other social formations we have had? Some scholars suggest that the launching of the first satellite by the Soviet Union in 1957 may be the start of the information society, while some others think that the information society began when service industry or rather the tertiary sector of industry became a main productive force. I assume that an information society should be defined by the following basic criteria:

- 1) Highly advanced information technology which is featured by sophisticated computers plus optical fiber telecommunications technology and new types of communication satellites. I say sophisticated computers, they include advanced giant and micro computers, especially ones with more comprehensive artificial intelligence functions.
- 2) Highly developed automation. Automation technology is a combination of information technology and mechanical technology. Functioning as a controller, information technology has become the key part of automatic machinery. Highly developed automation refers to the wide application of all kinds of robots. It not only means the emerging of many robot factories, but also refers to automation in the whole society such as production, office management, commerce, health care, education, as well as home economy.
- 3) An advanced all society information network system has been established. This should be a two way digitalized system with comprehensive communications in sound, image and data. Connecting all places, departments and households closely together, it will be the most socialized means by which information resources can be shared by the whole society.
- 4) Information becomes more important than energy and material. Among the three main factors of technology, material and energy have always been the bases. They will remain so even in the future information society because information also needs a material carrier and an energy impetus. With human knowledge incorporated, on the other hand, information has been playing a commanding role throughout all the human societies we have

had It is not a special phenomenon of the information society When I say that information becomes more important than material and energy I mean it in three aspects (a) in the system of machinery computer controls the power supplier and the machine tool (b) some new industries feature a low consumption of and less dependence on material and energy and moreover in the leading computer industry software becomes much more important than hardware (c) from the view of resource tapping the development of information resources including human intelligence and people of talents becomes more and more significant

- 5) Among the society's gross output the value of information surpasses that of tangible materials More exactly it means that the value of information service plus the value of information products plus the value of information contained in tangible material products is more than that of the non information part of those material products Here information products refer mainly to software and the like Though they also appear in the form of tangible material such as magnetic discs their real value lies in the knowledge stored in it The value of information is a crystallization of mental work In this respect the Marxist theory on the value of labor is still applicable though it should be enriched by a careful study of the problems of the value and price of information
- 6) In the industrial structure the information industry or rather the Fourth Industry plays the most important part There are different definitions for information industry In my opinion information industry can also be called knowledge industry an industry that manufactures processes transmits and supplies information And also an industry that provides information service and information products It consists of two parts One is the new industries including those that produce software provide and process information The other is the old but computerized industries such as communication education scientific research public health TV and radio broadcasting Computer manufacturing should not be confined to the category of an information industry because it actually belongs to the old concept of a machinery industry Nor should the information manipulating part in the non information industries A component of the non information industries it belongs to the informationalized industries instead of to the industry that produces information Information industry is the Fourth Industry derived from the Third Industry

- 7) The society's industrial organization is no longer mainly in the form of a factory that produces material products but mainly in the form of an information center or station This point is in response to what I stated in Number Six

In accordance with all the criteria above the information society in my mind is a society that has been highly informationalized The informationalization of a society is an historical process from a preliminary stage to an advanced one During the process there is an overlap period of informationalization and industrialization The informationalization at a preliminary stage develops simultaneously with the industrialization at an advanced stage and the former is a main part of the latter In my opinion industrialization can be divided into two stages preliminary and highly developed The first stage was completed in capitalist countries during the first and second Industrial Revolutions before World War II The second was achieved by the developed countries in the first phase of the Third Industrial Revolution after World War II

An outstanding feature of a highly industrialized society is that both the number of laborers and the output value of the Third Industry surpasses those of the First and Second Industries and the value of service labor has outstripped the value of material products In his famous book *The Coming of Post Industrial Society* The American scholar Daniel Bell makes this an important distinction between industrial society and post industrial society I don't agree with him on this point After its first transfer from agriculture to industry society's labor force has transferred again from industry to service trades This conspicuous change in both the industrial structure and the structure of the labor force is of course a great social progress But I think this is a sign of a highly industrialized society rather than that of a post industrial society because the two labor transfers are different from each other in nature The first one was from the less advanced agricultural units to those of the more advanced better equipped industries It is a transition from an agricultural society to an industrial society The second transfer however was a result of the high productivity and low labor consumption in the industries The surplus labor force began to pour into the Third Industry not only because the social need for production and daily life services became greater and greater but also because the technical level and productivity of the service trades were much lower than those of the industries Though this transfer has made the industries a minority in the quantity of the society's labor

structure they are still the most technically advanced part in quality and the mainstay of the society

At this stage the contents of the Third Industry are involved and interwoven with each other. Though some sophisticated information technologies began to bud among the new industries the proportion of them is still very small. Those traditional service trades and such newly developed trades as tourism are relatively at a low technical level and belong to labor intensive industries. Therefore the Third Industry at this stage does not represent the new productive forces and the social formation can only be defined as a highly industrialized society. It is not until the Fourth Industry as a representative of the new productive forces becomes independent from the Third Industry and prevails in the whole society's industrial structure that we can really enter the post industrial society the information society.

What I stated above are the basic distinctions of the information society. Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 are based on the technical structure related to the productive forces while Numbers 5, 6, and 7 on the industrial structure. I would like to say something more about the general distinctions of an information society which not only regard to the other aspects of the productive forces such as the organizational formation of enterprises but also regard to those foresighted influences of the productive forces on other social phenomena in the information society. We will temporarily put aside the different influences of the capitalist and socialist production relations and just discuss the generalities instead of the specialities.

Futurists all over the world have made many beneficial explorations in this aspect. But because of the different opinions on the basic concept of information society we do not agree with them on some of their viewpoints.

Following are examples of the foreseen general features of the information society.

- 1) There will be little distinction between mental and manual labor. With the industrialization of information and the informationalization of industry the contingent of mental workers will be more and more enlarged. The mental labor consumption among the physical workers will be greatly increased. That is the practical access to eliminating the distinction between mental and manual labor.
- 2) The gap between town and country will be further narrowed. The differences between town and country have already become less distinctive in highly industrialized societies. They will be

further blurred in the information society when the information network system has bridged the information gap between town and country when the production has become more decentralized and when people have learned lessons and gained experience from the aftermath of the blind development of big metropolises.

- 3) The production will be further socialized. In the information society computer technology will make dispersed production or even family production possible though large scale mass production will still remain in some industries. This seems to be a relapse into the old mode of production yet it does not mean that the production will become less socialized. Instead the information system all over society will make the different kinds of production much more dependent on each other.
- 4) Production will be more internationalized. This is a further development in the socialization of production. The various international information network systems will further promote the international cooperation and division of labor.
- 5) By practicing the five day work system the workers in a highly industrialized society have already obtained more free time. As an inevitable outcome of a much improved productivity this tendency is irresistible and will further develop in the information society. It will be followed by a more diversified mode of consumption.
- 6) The number of small and middle sized units will be increased as the enterprises are more adaptable to the needs of a diversified life. The computer controlled system has made it possible for them to compete with big enterprises in certain fields of companies though big companies will still be the most effective organizational formation in producing some things.
- 7) A new organizational formation and working mode will appear in the fields of circulation. The formation of home purchase and non cash payment will develop rapidly while the currency's function as a means of circulation will be greatly weakened.
- 8) A new educational system and teaching method will be developed. The rapid renewal of knowledge in the information society will require a more socialized life long educational system. Education will no longer amount to routine work. More study will be made at home which will stimulate the people's initiative in study and make teaching more suitable for each individual. Teaching methods will be further aimed at cultivating students' creativity.

- 9) All kinds of new communications media will come into being and the amount of cultural information will be further increased
- 10) The social functions of each household will be strengthened

In the individual economy of the agricultural society a household had many functions. It acted as a productive and educational unit. In the industrial society however production and education have all been socialized. As a result the social functions of households have been greatly weakened. But in the future information society the information network system will extend to each household and make it possible for people to work, study, purchase, entertain, see doctors and even attend a meeting at home. We should not imagine that people of the information society will limit themselves within their own homes. Instead the scope of their activities will be actually expanded. But in comparison with the industrial society the functions of individual households will become more comprehensive and important in the information society. This may be taken as a process of negation in the historical development of household functions.

In addition to these general characteristics the information society will also show its particularities and present itself as the capitalist informationalization and information society and the socialist informationalization and information society. In reality generality and particularity always mix with each other so do information society and the different social systems. This is also applicable to each of the above general characteristics. For example the increase of workers free time in the information society as mentioned above can only be realized through workers struggle under the capitalist system.

I will not talk too much about the information society under different social systems. The following are some of my basic ideas.

In the capitalist information society the basic conflict of the capitalist system will still remain and continue to develop. The informationalization will make the production even more socialized and the conflict between socialized production and the private ownership of the means of production will thus become much sharper. First of all informationalization in itself can not eliminate class exploitation. Some Western scholars presume that in the information society the conflict between workers and capitalists will be extinct. The society will be ruled by the class of technical personnel or talented people. Professor John Galbraith even predicts that the conflict between the poor and the rich will be replaced by that

between the privileged intellectuals and the ill educated workers led and sponsored by non intellectual millionaires. While Daniel Bell thinks that the division of social classes and the establishment of social power systems are based on the ownership of the society's resources. John Galbraith concludes that the dominant factors of production are different at the different stages of social development and that whoever provides these factors possesses the social power. Landlords were the ruling class of the feudal society because land was the main factor of production then capitalists became the dominant class of the capitalist society as capital turned to be the most important factor of production. In the information society he deduces knowledge will be the dominant factor of production so intellectuals will be the most powerful class. This theory seems to be reasonable but I would like to call it a paradox. It is true that in the past the possession of land and large amounts of money (which can turn into capital) was a factor that helped to form the conflicting class relationships. But now though knowledge has become an important factor of production it can not change the capitalist system automatically. Instead it makes the irrationality of the capitalist ownership more conspicuous.

There are indeed some American electronic specialists who have become big entrepreneurs starting with a small fund. But their property has also been gained through the employment and exploitation of workers except that they have found a new access towards capitalists. In the capitalist society both knowledge and mental laborers are commercialized. Capitalists can employ intellectuals through markets and hence command or even monopolize knowledge. So the power of the capitalists will never weaken automatically simply because knowledge has become a dominant factor of production. The theory of some western counterparts is at most a utopian illusion.

Since private ownership and class exploitation will still exist in the capitalist information society it can be predicted that in the course of capitalist informationalization with the development of automation structural unemployment will become more serious. Economic depression will continue to occur. Conflict between material prosperity and lack of spiritual stimulation will remain and moral crisis will further develop in a new form. Though the problem of environmental deterioration might be eased in some areas it will be impossible to find a thorough worldwide solution. Added to the imbalanced development in world economy and technology the widening information gap will probably lead to a more serious conflict between the developing and developed countries.

Now I would like to say something about a socialist information society. In principle socialist systems and informationalization are correlative because informationalization is the most socialized technology in itself. Advanced informationalization will be the necessary material and technological bases of socialism. Socialist systems in turn are the best social conditions for the development of informationalization. Of course there are still contradictions between the socialist system in reality and the requirements of the information era. We should cope with them properly.

Here I will concentrate myself on the situation in China. The worldwide surge of the new technical and industrial revolution marked mainly by the informationalization is not only a good opportunity for China to catch up but also a great challenge for the Chinese people. As a socialist developing country China is now faced with two basic tasks reorganizing the economic structure and further developing productive forces.

The great pressure caused by the new industrial revolution has made our economic reform all the more necessary and urgent. The old economic structure has become more and more obstructive to the development of China's production and technology. But we define this clearly from our basic socialist system. In the past the wrong economic structure kept our basic socialist system from giving full play to its superiorities. Now however after summing up the lessons and experience of history our party and government have laid out a series of policies and procedures on the reform of economic structures so as to build a Chinese style socialism. This is another revolution in China. It features careful planning and strong Party leadership which in itself reflects the advantages of the socialist system. Socialist planning asserts itself not only in developing production but also in reforming the superstructure and relations of production that are no longer suited to the development of productive forces. The rural reform in our country has produced a very good result over the past three years. It is also hoped that China's present urban reform will prove to be a great success. We will create a favorable social condition for a rapid progress of industrialization and informationalization.

The second job to be done by China is to develop its productive forces. It is also the country's long term central task. We are going to fulfill it in three steps. The first is to quadruple the gross industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century. The second is to catch up with those moderately developed countries by the year 2021, the 100th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party and the third is to build China successfully into a strong prosperous and

modernized socialist country with highly developed material and spiritual civilizations by the year 2049, the 100th anniversary of the People's Republic of China.

So far most of the developed countries have already entered the new era of informationalization. But in China the course of industrialization is still far from completed. We can neither skip over the indispensable economic stages nor follow others at a fixed distance. The former will lead to a chaos resulting from oversped economic development while the latter will have China left forever behind. We will have to find a proper strategic solution and deal with this condition dialectically.

In my opinion industrialization and informationalization or rather industrial society and information society are two different stages in the development of productive forces in nature. The two concepts can not be confused. Under the present circumstances in China therefore we should not practice the skipping strategy and concentrate only on developing the new industries technology (or traditional technology) and information technology (or new sophisticated technology). They can be and should be coordinated with each other.

It is also wrong for us to take the crawling strategy which separates the traditional and information technologies mechanically and insists on developing them one by one. Instead we should mix the two together and form a compound technology. The compounding level may be upgraded gradually.

So the best solution for us is to focus on the catching and surpassing strategy and make more efforts to develop the compound technology. I have had several talks with Alvin Toffler himself. He advocates the policy of the hoe plus computer and Gandhi with satellites. He suggests that China should utilize the Third Wave technology in its Second Wave. I appreciate this idea very much.

SOME SCENARIOS OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE TOWARDS THE YEAR 2000

by
ANNA COEN

ABSTRACT

SOME SCENARIOS OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE TOWARDS THE YEAR 2000 implications for investments in European human capital in connection with the diffusion of microelectronics

The trend of development from industrial to post industrial economy going on in the most highly developed countries may become the reference for some scenarios suitable for some European countries in the year 2000. These trends seem to be from growth to development from quantity to quality as well as the possible emergence of a third sector. The hypothesis is that if the structural change going on in the most advanced countries becomes the scenario for European countries in the year 2000 also long term investment policy must be related to these ongoing structural changes.

Both the market and state economy could lead ongoing societal change through a long term perspective of development utilizing strategic planning. Strategic planning more than economic administration and budgeting is based on sociological research and on societal knowledge in order to use the strategical social indicators and start a multiplier effect.

In both the state and market economies an increasing quota of investments is raised and/or decided by the state or public organizations. Therefore it becomes of crucial importance that the direction the state gives to investments be coherent with the basic structural changes going on in our society for the next fifteen years.

1 STRUCTURAL CHANGES FACING THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The industrialized countries are facing some deep structural changes. The spreading of these changes to various fields economy society demography technology town planning etc and their

interrelationships seem to reflect the transition from industrial to post industrial economy. Besides the possibility of such a radical turning point in economic structure the extension as well as the depth of the structural changes require an analysis of both the qualitative and quantitative facets of the recent trends of development.

1.1 Ongoing Trends of Societal Structural Change

The oil crisis started not only an economic change with the decay of the central role of the car but also some deep societal changes. During the decade 1973-83 many highly industrialized countries developed their socio economic pattern of development towards information and post industrial society. The main societal developments in the highly industrialized countries during the last decade seem to be

- 1) the decrease of employment in industrial factories mainly the big ones
- 2) the increase of employment in the service sector particularly the information services
- 3) the increase of the educational level of the population employed in most sectors and especially in the information services
- 4) the increase of the percentage of women employed particularly those with a middle and high level of education engaged in the services and informational sectors
- 5) the increasing life expectancy particularly for women
- 6) the increasing number of children born in the average family following birth control and decreasing infant mortality
- 7) the decreasing number of the members of the average family in favour of small families and one component families
- 8) the decreasing attraction of the big cities in favour of medium sized towns and the decentralization of economic activities from the large enterprises to medium and small enterprises spreading in the periphery
- 9) the shift of the peak of consumption from the alimentary and basic goods to the pursuit of durable and cultural goods or services

These societal developments are linked to an extraordinary technological innovation especially in microelectronics. The increasing possibility for communications offered by microelectronics at a decreasing price changes the models of reference for the consumption

as well as for the production of goods and services and therefore lifestyles

The narrowing gap between ongoing scientific discoveries and their technological applications and diffusion means taking into account the potentialities and scientific discoveries in order to foresee the scenarios for a future social and economic organization as well as for an overall economic perspective to the year 2000

Such a foreseeable rapid and radical change may require general strategic planning which is more comprehensive and less compelling than traditional economic planning by budgeting. The real turning point at which the development of the highly industrialized countries seems to be requires that we foresee some scenarios for such development in the year 2000. In fact the societal changes going on in the highly developed countries may become cumulative and systemic as a result of the behaviour related to the differentiation in life styles allowed by an increasing income offering more room to the demand pull exerted by complementary techniques. Therefore in the highly industrialized countries the nature of socio economic change appears cumulative autonomous and organic more than mechanically induced.

A diffused belief sees social change ruled by a technological determinism. Without underestimating the technological push I see a large area of freedom from technological determinism in both (1) the different times in which technological innovations may spring off and diffuse and (2) the various ways the same technological innovation can be applied. At least two main facets indicate a residual area of freedom left besides technological determinism: cultural lag and cultural lead.

The possibility that a society may react in different ways to oncoming technological innovations allows us to foresee various futures and not only one future and therefore various scenarios. The possibility of different time perspectives for the diffusion of a technology in different ways can also explain the polarization between optimistic and pessimistic scenarios.

It seems to me that some pessimistic authors (such as in my view Jacques Ellul, Lester Brown and Alvin Toffler in his book *Future Shock* written in 1970) are worried about a cultural lag failing to keep pace with ongoing changes. On the other hand the authors I consider optimistic (Herman Kahn, Amital Etzioni, Daniel Bell, J.J. Servant Schreiber and Alvin Toffler in his book *The Third Wave* 1980) emphasize a possible cultural lead on the suitable technological changes.

12 Possible Scenarios From Growth to Development, From Quantity to Quality and the Emergence of a Third Sector

The GNP a useful indicator for measuring economic growth appears inadequate for detecting the whole of societal development. Such societal development implies qualitative analysis and more sophisticated indicators. The more developed a society is the more quantitative growth does not automatically mean development.

A possible spreading of innovative life styles may become the cultural lead for societal changes implemented by a few innovative individuals. These individuals may show the general population some alternative ways to cope with the change in a proactive rather than in a reactive way. Examples of a proactive approach becoming functional to the direction of technological innovation are found among the better educated young and the alternative ways of life they embrace. Take for instance the decreasing importance many young people give to traditional work just when the need for traditional work roles decreases and technological change allows more creative highly sophisticated professional activities.

The horizontal and vertical diffusion of innovative life styles may help us to foresee some future social scenarios. The diversification among consumption styles and the widening of social behaviours seems to move these proactive rather than reactive life styles from a first stage (of super compensation for a recently overcome scarcity) to a stage of consumer proactive choices seeking for individual self expansion.

Both the state and market mass production seem to restrain proactive individual self expansion as they both provide individualized services with decreasing efficiency. Therefore there is a need for a third sector having the necessary flexibility to face changing individual needs not only with the redistribution of revenues (state) or goods (market) but also by providing those intangible goods and services that are measured only with difficulty by economic data and statistics and therefore become unmanageable either by a state system or by a mass production market.

Many intangibles are of difficult manageability for big organizations and their treatment may become dangerous because public intervention in intangibles increases the risk of people becoming prisoners of the benevolence of public parenthood. This danger grows when public intervention is not self-restraining to the pure collective goods and services but is personalized and tailored to individuals and groups. I see a twofold risk. Public intervention

trying to satisfy social needs may increase the state's role as a supplier of goods and services on the one hand. Here the consequences may be the expansion of bureaucratic administration and a related concentration of power in the political arena. On the other side, increasing private intervention in satisfying the new social needs may increase the market role with a consequent concentration of power on individual or family wealth and an increasing social differentiation and inequality.

A possible scenario between the state and the market may be the increase of a new sector as suggested by Jacques Delors and Giorgio Ruffolo. A third sector may develop and create new organizations and agents of change diffusing as a new critical consciousness spreads among people. Such a third system may return autonomous power to people by limiting the influence of the first and the second system (the state and the market) over the destiny of people who struggle for more freedom and diversification by constituting new movements, free associations, groups of militants for participative and cultural activities, voluntary social work, etc.

1.3 New Values for European Countries

The Value of Human Time and the Quality of Life

Human time seems to become more precious in the most advanced countries; the more the increasing needs for education, work, leisure, consumption, and individual wants conflict for the same 24 hours. How human time is differently appreciated in relation to socio-economic class, status, role, age, and working position is shown by the value the different social groups give to time free from work. My hypothesis is that there is a positive correlation between better education and higher wealth and the purchase of individualized services, become the new increasing area for consumption in the highly industrialized countries and among the higher education and revenue groups.

As consumption along with higher individual opportunities for time and space is purchasing the quality of life, rough economic growth (i.e. production) seems to separate from individual consumption and well-being.

As high quality individualized services require more intangible than tangible goods and the intangible are measured only with difficulty by economic data and statistics, therefore both the state and mass production seem not efficient enough in providing such

qualitative services. The intangibles are of difficult manageability for any large organization and their treatment may become socially dangerous if the big organizations use the mass media to lead consumption towards some particular intangibles.

Such a distinction could clarify the terms of reference. A socio-economic investigation was organized into various Eastern and Western countries by the Vienna Centre on consumption patterns and the public/private ways of satisfying social needs. The results were published for the economic approach in Cao Pinna V and Shastalin S (editors) *Consumption Patterns in Eastern and Western Europe An Economic Comparative Approach* Pergamon Press Oxford 1979 190 pp and for the sociological approach in Pitrou and Dupui G and Coen A. *Les services dans les pays de l'Est et de l'Ouest* numero speciale de la *Revue d'Etudes Comparatives Est Ouest* No 12 vol X 372 pp June 1979.

This investigation into the trends of consumption and the public or private ways of satisfying social needs revealed a convergence of the consumption trends of the Eastern and Western countries instead of the different political organizations. If the convergent trends in consumption patterns are not strictly related to market or state dominance, the similarities in these European trends must spring off from other variables (cultural, demographical, technological, etc.). Therefore I consider suitable a third sector besides the dominant ones (the first sector i.e. the state in the East, the second sector i.e. the market in the West).

The economic approach of this research proved consumption patterns to be more related to the technological and economic states (i.e. steel, chemicals, the car, the tertiary cycle, etc.) than to predominant types of political organization, whether state or market centered. The parallel sociological approach of this research showed that the dominant ways of life and European life styles were influencing the ways of satisfying the social needs more than the political priorities concerning the distribution of goods and services by the market or the state.

Changes in political organization therefore may turn out to be less influential for the future than changes in values, life style, technologies, type of economical production, demography, and town planning. Consumption rather than production appeared to be understood by the Europeans as the ultimate goals for the economy and consumption patterns along with higher individual opportunities for time and space were considered to increase the quality of life.

Rough economical growth (i.e. production) was seen by many individuals as separate from personal consumption and well being

For an increasing quota of the population the growing national output does not mean necessarily the longevity of consumer goods but may reflect an increasing production of low quality commodities and/or increasing social costs or social limits related to increasing congestion and waste. Higher education and increasing revenues seem to inflate the criticism of mass production and congestion as the result of sophisticated theories of technological impact are perceived by an increasing quota of the population. In Italy for instance such a criticism of mass organization may be the decline of the population in the big cities and the development of the middle towns

These phenomena showing an increasing perception of the negative feedback of economic growth and urban congestion may become important for strategical planning in the year 2000 because many future diffused preferences may appear today in the behaviour of the leader groups as increasing criticism and information joins an increasing discretionary income (the income above that necessary to fulfill the basic needs and therefore showing the freedom to choose and a real consumer sovereignty)

2 STRATEGICAL PLANNING SUITABLE FOR BOTH THE MARKET AND THE STATE ECONOMY

The basic change facing any industrialized country requires strategic and long term planning that is broader than just economic planning and budgeting

Both the market and state economy could lead ongoing societal change through a long term perspective of development utilizing strategic planning

Strategic planning more than economic administration and budgeting is based on sociological research and on societal knowledge in order to use the strategical social indicators and start a multiplier effect

Some indicators become of strategical importance in a context of social change and their use for strategic planning requires a sociological and future oriented approach because only the observation of the social system and its ongoing changes may allow us to label a social indicator as strategical for long term planning. Strategical social indicators therefore are those that in a dynamic social system have relevant follow outs in space and in time via diffusive effects mutually reinforcing each other

Utilizing strategic indicators strategic planning may prepare the future correlating the diffusion of new technologies to the state provision of public infrastructures and to the cultural and social answers from an increasing third sector

2.1 What Type of Long Term Planning may be Coherent with an Overall Economic Perspective to the Year 2000 for Europe?

The type of strategical long term planning that may be of interest is a methodology of planning which uses the societal mechanisms to reach a declared purpose. Such a methodology is grounded in knowledge more than in power and is focused on study and research more than on administrative roles. Such a soft methodology of planning is leading society with the existing mechanisms instead of imposing on the living social system a heavy economic or bureaucratic system. This strategical planning methodology mainly based on the knowledge of the social system will utilize a political methodology soft in its means but revolutionary in its long term and large range results

The recent period of zero growth made budgeting very critical as public revenues could not increase as much as entitlements and expectations. Therefore a period of zero growth proved that planning can not mean just economic planning and especially budgeting. And the ongoing crisis of the welfare state is the open facet of the crisis of budgeting in many highly industrialized countries

Besides the material financial limits for budgeting and the welfare state there are basic intrinsic limits to economic planning and budgeting. The more a society becomes rich and complex the more its needs differentiate and change from one group to another from one person to another and also in one person in different periods of life. Indeed increasing communication characterizing the developed countries multiplies the models among which a person will choose his or her life style. With increasing information allowing more criticism and increasing discretionary income allowing the freedom to choose how better to use discretionary income there may be a diversification among consumption styles and a widening of discretionary social behaviour and life styles. These proactive rather than reactive life styles seem to move from a first stage super compensating recently overcome insufficient consumption to a stage of consumer proactive choices seeking for individual self expansion

The most interesting facet from an economic perspective

springing off from the analysis of these proactive life styles seems to be the increasing value attributed to services. Therefore services may become the basic sector for the majority of European countries in the year 2000. These new needs seeking for new types of services may be satisfied by public or private intervention or possibly by a new direction. A third direction as suggested by Delors and Ruffolo may increase the role of a third sector of organizations and agents of change that are growing where a critical consciousness is diffusing among people. Such a third system may return to people an autonomous power by limiting the influence of the first and the second systems (the state and the market) via more freedom and diversification.

Economic planning by budgeting cannot reach the changing needs seeking for sophisticated new services. Nor can planning be just economic planning seeking for the GNP as in the richest countries an increasing quota of the population sees a gap between the growing national output and a better quality of life.

The hypothesis of a social multiplier effect is based on the starter of a chain of interacting effects tested by long term trends of strategical social indicators (Coen 1977). The use of the social multiplier effect may be of interest for a long term strategical planning coherent with an overall economic perspective to the year 2000 for Europe. A social multiplier effect may be detected in the area of innovative consumption and the proactive life styles spreading in the procession from invention to diffusion translating from one sector to another and therefore showing the functional interrelations among the population sectors and society's sub systems. Some relevant externalities and functional inter relations may be detected by studying the direction and the time span taken for the innovative life styles to foresee or lead some future social scenarios. And the analysis of the social multiplier effect in the more advanced societies may help a prevision and strategical planning for late arriving societies.

Planning suitable for an economic European perspective to the year 2000 may be strategical long term planning utilizing a social multiplier effect in order to drive our societies towards a service economy.

2.2 Tools for Long Term Strategic Planning

The Social Multiplier Effect and Social Indicators

As strategic planning is conceived as a methodology speeding

up some societal mechanisms in order to reach some long term and large range effects at least two conditions allow such a methodology to work appropriately. The first one concerns the goal to which this methodology requires a goal organized around few and clearly defined priorities possibly intercoherent and supporting each other. Such a clear definition of the strategic goal and its priorities presupposes a choice of selectivity and unambiguity that only few political elites can afford. Besides this political condition also a technical condition is necessary for strategical planning. This second condition is the knowledge of societal trends based on hypotheses and utilizing social indicators and the social multiplier effect.

The knowledge of strategical societal trends may be increased by the building of scenarios. Therefore in our case an investigation of scenarios for the development of some innovative life styles may parallel the demographic projections in order to enrich the scenarios grounded in technology assessment and technology impact.

Strategical planning may get ready to face the future by correlating the markets diffusion of the new technologies the state's provision for public infrastructures and the cultural and social positive answers coming from a third sector. Such a correlation based upon the use of the social multiplier effect by strategical planning may reinforce the positive results and societal mortgages deriving from a goal seeking development.

3 THE EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE TO THE YEAR 2000 AND EUROPEAN STRATEGICAL POLICY FOR INVESTMENTS

If the scenario for the economic perspective is middle term societal development and not only short term economic growth then investments in infrastructures become of basic importance. These investments may have public and/or private origin but they must be channelled by public decision.

A public decision in investments in infrastructures is required by the nature of these investments which besides a narrow financial facet in the short term have a large societal multiplier effect in the middle and long term.

In both the state and market economies an increasing quota of investments is raised and/or decided by the state or public organizations. Therefore it becomes of crucial importance that the direction the state gives to investments will be coherent with the basic structural changes going on in our societies for the next fifteen years.

An unavoidable structural change that could increase the

imbalance between labour supply and demand during the next fifteen years is the diffusion of technological innovation and especially microelectronics. Therefore an investment policy must foresee the needs for future skills of manpower by a qualitative development of European human capital.

3.1 Investment Policy as a Tool for Strategic Planning

An investment policy does not necessarily mean only a policy for public investments but also a policy drawing private investments towards those uses having larger positive effects or starting a positive multiplier effect.

Any investment policy faces some dilemmas. Financial interest for short term profitability versus the public interest for long term rentability is one dilemma. A second dilemma is the short term urgency to subsidize the unemployed and the existing working places versus the long term needs for investment in a future labour force new enterprises and working places.

These problems appear in the public sector's borrowing. The required reduction of the public debt is a crucial prerequisite to lowering interest rate levels and consequently to strengthening the propensity to invest of the private sector as a key factor for performing the required structural adjustments and modernization of the industrial sector thereby increasing the overall competitiveness of the economy.

The preparatory expenses approach versus the preventive approach investments is the dilemma underlying all public expenses and particularly investment policy in relation to structural changes technical progress and productivity interrelationships international cooperation the constraints of energy and raw materials.

The investment policy may have a strong impact on both economic growth as well as on medium term structural changes. The impact of investments is related to the question of the degree of capital intensity in the economy of the impact of investment patterns on job creation and on the quantity and quality of employment of the rate of obsolescence of capital stock and of the interrelationship between investments and international trade.

It is of interest for strategical long term planning to clarify inside any investment policy the supposed efficiency of capital stock the trends of evolution of productive investment in relation to structural changes and the extension of productive investment capacities as well

as the evolutive pattern of productive investment in relation to structural changes and to the extension of productive capacities.

The greater share of investment policy is still public or state investment that is outweighing non state investments. In the average European country 80-90 percent of financing comes out of the State budget and credits or local councils state enterprises cooperatives etc. Only the remaining 10-20 percent of investments are financed by the population or private bodies and are mainly channelled into residential buildings.

This large amount of state investment may follow a very conservative policy through the sectorial traditional channels of public expenses without a whole strategy and missing high priority and strategic objectives. This is mirrored in the state's capital allocation too much industry (large scale industry and therefore capital intensive) and to the unproductive elements of the public sector.

There seems to be a delay in state investments towards innovative sectors or new types of infrastructures where a marked increase in gross fixed capital formation is essential even if there is a shift in sectorial structures towards less capital intensive sectors. A strategy for innovative investment for long term development requires a long term approach and persistence in putting it into practice by politicians who being elected for a few years wish to obtain rapid and achievable results from investments in order to guarantee success in the next election campaign.

Private investments in spite of their financial constraints seem to be less conservative than public ones. A good example of innovative private investment is venture capital. The most famous venture capital in history is the financing by Spain's Queen Isabella of Columbus' venture. Capital venture in the most advanced countries comes more from private than from public sources and in particular comes from small business investment companies private venture capital firms corporate subsidies (banks corporations insurance companies) successful entrepreneurs or wealthy persons.

3.2 Investment Trends and Structural Changes

Structural changes are usually paralleled by the long term transformation of a society's attitude toward the economic safeguards for the future that are immediately appearing in the changes in the private investment ratio.

The structural change which seems to be more directly influencing the recent investment trends in industrialized countries is

technological progress Technology determines the investment demand of industry and spreading innovation in the production of machinery and equipment seems to be a basic precondition for the diffusion of new technologies

The deep transformations going on in European countries may be detected by following the transfer of fixed investments

The transformation going on in our societies is also reflected by the changes of economic infrastructures In the long run for instance the increase in the share of structures in productive sectors may induce a deep development of the infrastructures And the development of infrastructures and related structural changes may induce a further demand for investments

The interrelationship between investments and the intensification of production is partially reflected by improvements in the investment process Investment ratios are related to the overall economy and determine structural changes in the economy and the pace of economic progress

The transformation going on in a society is paralleled by investment trends and other economic trends but that parallelism is not perfectly symmetrical as the change in the real economy is more complex than the changes in investments or economic indicators Therefore in a period of deep structural change the rate of business failure is less an index of economic decay than of industrial structural change Also the collocation of investments for innovation is of interest for detecting the transformation of society and the real economy Software innovations for instance are central to all the fastest growing markets Software innovations do not directly require large investments as the capital equipment they endow is cheaper than that it replaces So an economic theory interpreting investments only as a flow of demand will omit the software industry from its catalogs of capital formation But the software industry may deeply change all the surrounding industrial and the service sector and indirectly the economy and social organization

In order to detect the transformation going on in the real economy a good indicator is the quota of investments channelled toward science and technology as well as the share of new products in domestic output employment and other relevant variables the impact of new technologies on the size structure and qualifications of the labour force the share of the country in international cooperation in research and development and the trends of trade in technology intensive products

Another indicator of the real economy is the distribution of

workers For instance when the rate of employment is increasing and many workers shift from working off the books to jobs regularly paid and reported measures of labour input rise and productivity is measured as a residual of what is left over after input growth is subtracted from output growth or the amount of input obtained per unit of input So productivity is subject to measurement bias related to demographic or behavioural changes If women move out of the household sector because of demographic shifts then productivity statistics are subject to distortion Productivity measurement is deficient for social and community services whose rapid development may slow the rate of overall productivity growth in the most advanced countries

3.3 A Key Issue for Investment Policy and Strategic Planning for Overall Economic Perspective to the Year 2000 European Human Capital Improvement

Unemployment is one of the major problems for Western Europe and it may remain exceptionally grave until 1990 as demographic causes increase the labour force in the medium term This quantitative mismatch between demand and supply requires that future demand for investment will be assessed in terms of the creation of a relevant number of competitive jobs Moreover a suitable improvement in the labour market situation will lead to a renewed growth in the participation rate

The balance between labour supply and demand besides a quantitative facet has a qualitative character the balance between skill requirements and the supply of qualified manpower Such a qualitative problem may worsen in relation to two characters of demand and supply As the next 15 years may be a period of deep structural changes there will be a need for deep adaptations of future skills and adaptation of the labour force to evolving economic conditions Supply will be characterized by an increasing quota of aging workers and a rise in the female labour force of middle age This imbalance may pose problems of manpower mobility and the adjustment between labour supply and demand especially for specific sectors and declining industries where aged workers are over represented

In a context that will be characterized by an increasing pace of structural changes the future skill requirements of the labour force and their adaptation to evolving conditions re schooling and re training become important prerequisites Therefore expenditures

for retraining reschooling and education may require increasing investments. These investments are by their nature more closely related to production than other investments in infrastructures (such as dwellings) which are traditionally defined as investments by the corporate sector. In other words the expenses for education must become investments in human capital and not just social expenses such as pensions unemployment subsidies etc.

The diffusion of microelectronics may introduce such basic change in skill requirements of the labour force that three scenarios are possible (1) harmonious integration (2) dysfunctioning (3) subjection. These three scenarios may coexist in the same countries where they may involve different subregions or groups of workers. Harmonious integration means ready and proactive acceptance of the new technologies by the workers at the place of work and by the majority of consumers. Dysfunctioning may alter the distribution of income and power among subregions or groups of workers and will require organizational changes. Subjection may destabilize existing industrial or economic structures by offering radically new opportunities and may devalue skills and statuses at the work place or increase the dependence of the consumer.

The factors which will determine basic attitudes towards the diffusion of microelectronics may operate at three levels: culture, institutions, policy. Today's attitude towards technological innovation was influenced by the recent recession. The recent recession has heightened anxieties that the diffusion of new technologies will aggravate unemployment. This approach focuses on existing activities in purely technical and sectorial terms as a basis for pessimistic prognoses focusing on only what is technically feasible rather than what is economically possible such as additional jobs created by increased demand either for new products and services or due to improved quality and lower prices.

In my view there is a possibility that microelectronics could job kill and promote a bureaucratic state if there is not a higher level of information and democratic planning for such a basic societal change. Strategic planning may prepare the future by correlating the markets diffusion of the new technologies with both the state provision of public infrastructures and the cultural and social answers coming from the third sector. Such goal seeking planned development may solve the double task of investing in raising productivity and investing in human capital in order to avoid unemployment via planned development instead of via a slowdown of innovations.

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THE ROLE OF SOCIAL INNOVATIONS FOR SCENARIO WRITING

by
BART VAN STEENBERGEN

INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the possible role of social innovations for the future in general and the scenario writing in particular

Social innovations are a somewhat neglected subject in the social sciences and in future studies. There are however exceptions and in this respect the name of the futurist Robert Jungk should be mentioned explicitly. Recently he became president of the newly founded Institute for Social Inventions in England.

Nevertheless it is fair to say that innovation is generally connected with technology and if social scientists show any interest in social innovations it is mostly the diffusion process of technical innovations or the necessary social innovations as an outcome of technical renewal they are interested in.

Social innovations *sui generis* or as an expression of socio-cultural renewal is rarely a subject for research.

In the first part we'll go into the functions of scenarios and social innovations in more general terms.

In the second part three examples of social innovations are discussed. All three cases deal with a new working environment.

In the last paragraphs the relevance of these cases for our topic will be shown.

I DEVELOPMENTS AND WEAKNESSES OF MODERN FUTURE STUDIES

In the pluralistic field of future studies it is not easy to detect general trends and developments but I do think that during the seventies future studies shifted from a predominant orientation on different forms of forecasting to a growing interest in alternative designs. Forecasting is based on a push model. By push model it is meant that social developments are considered as being pushed from the past into the future. One searches for causal relations and

historical laws which hopefully will help forecast what the future will look like. In this sense there is no principal difference between forecasting the weather or social change both are subject to blind historical forces which can be studied scientifically. The pull model approach starts from the opposite angle the future itself. Society is seen as a human product which can be changed and steered in certain directions on the basis of political will. By pull is meant that society is attracted by a vision of a (better) future. The main interest is not in what will happen in the future but in what direction a society wants to develop. In this context alternative designs (or scenarios) can show possible and desirable paths of development.

This design or scenario approach has always existed in future studies but mainly as an undercurrent. It was related to the utopian tradition which made it suspect for those future researchers keen to develop their discipline into a real science. In recent years however this design approach has gained momentum partly owing to external developments. The users of future studies (governments, planners, decision makers but also social and political movements) became more and more interested in society designs which had nothing to do with forecasts or predictions but were seen as possible options for development. Examples from governments are the well known OECD report *Facing the Future* and *The Conserver Society*, the work of the Gamma group of Social Scientists for the Canadian government and the Policy oriented survey of the Future developed by the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy. Emerging out of social and political movements were the English *Blueprint for Survival*, the American *Toward a New Society*, the Danish *Revolt from the Middle* and the German *Citizens Initiatives Design their own Future*. Two other examples should also be mentioned in this respect the conferences of the World Futures Studies Federation on *Visions of Desirable Societies* and the activities of the World Council of Churches to develop a notion of a future society based on the principles of justice, participation and sustainability.

There seem to be several explanations for this development. One is that in a time of uncertainty forecasts became more or less obsolete. Another is that modern societies are going through a process of emancipation, democratization and coming of age which leads to a greater involvement of all actors in the choice process regarding future developments. Moreover it has often been argued that most forecasts hide an implicit normative element behind a facade of objectivity and if that is true it is better to make political and social preferences more explicit.

This development has led to two different intellectual styles forecasting and designing. The forecaster seeks to play a passive role vis a vis future developments; he tries to be as objective as possible and sees himself primarily as a spectator. He fits very well in the conventional social science paradigm and he is very much aware of the heaviness of past events (what Masse calls *les tendances lourdes*) and the futility of human intervention. Some forecasters may also have political reasons for sticking to pure forecasting in the sense that they have more confidence in the automatic adaptation process of the existing system (Adam Smith's invisible hand) than in conscious steering and planning on the basis of a design or scenario. This fear has been expressed in particular by Popper, Dahrendorf and Friedman.

On the other hand the designer of alternative futures will have a much more action oriented and interventionistic stance than the pure forecaster. In his opinion man can and does create and determine major elements of his future. Further some designers argue that the most important question is not whether human beings can create the future of their society but which groups and individuals are already doing it and for what purposes. The importance of their question is twofold. First designing the future can form a sort of counter balance which might lead in the direction of advocacy designing (as an addition to advocacy planning) for certain underprivileged and relatively powerless groups.

Second design illustrates that the somewhat hidden and technocratic process of creating the future should become more public and democratic. Designers strongly oppose the notion that designing is a threat to democracy; on the contrary such a coordinated effort to create a desirable future may contribute to a greater realization of democratic principles if the values and goals underlying the selection of an alternative future reflect those of the society. So several conditions have to be fulfilled: one should always deal with society designs in the plural and the process of selection should be a public and political one in which in principle the public at large could participate. Only under those conditions could society designs be prevented from becoming another tool of the power elite.

Finally it should be mentioned that most designers do not have much faith in automatic (market based) adaptive processes in existing systems. On the contrary modifications and improvements of a social system which are based on an overall design are more likely to lead to the satisfaction of human needs and desires.

In all honesty it should be stated that in the eighties the interest

in long term future studies in general and in alternative futures in particular is somewhat declining. The mood of our time can be described with catchwords like short term orientation, no nonsense, one best way solutions and what the Germans call *Sachzwang*. This is contrary to the notions of a long term approach, alternatives and choices on the basis of political will and preference.

There is little futurists can do about this mood of the time besides waiting for better times and in the mean time improving our methods for this scenario or design approach. Definitely has several weaknesses and the greatest one is probably the lack of interest in the developmental process.

A complete scenario or society design consists of three elements: a picture of one or several possible and desirable futures, an analysis of the present state of affairs and some notion of the process from here to there. The first element has been the main focus of most scenario writers or social architects as I like to call them; the second has always been an important activity of the social sciences but the third aspect has been neglected so far. Virtually none of the scenarios I know of give a satisfactory answer to the question: How do we get from here to there? In my opinion here is an important task for future studies in the near future under penalty of becoming marginalized.

This general question: how do we get there can be studied in at least three different ways:

- 1) The critical path method. This approach develops the different steps which should be taken i.e. the sequence of those steps (which one comes first, which one can wait until later), the expected barriers on the way etc.
- 2) The study of the (non) supporting forces. Which tendencies (social) movements, empirical developments, economic forces etc. support the development in the direction of the projected design and which ones are slowing down or even blocking that process.
- 3) The study and promotion of social innovations. To some extent social innovations could fit in the former category of supporting forces but they have a few typical features of their own.

In a way social innovations could be used as a test case for the desirability and possibility of our future scenario in particular since we have to do with the so called unintended (and often undesirable) consequences of our plans for the future.

Social innovations however do have more functions and features

which will be discussed in the next paragraph since we shall limit our attention here to this third method

2 WHAT ARE SOCIAL INNOVATIONS?

Although the word social innovation is often used it is remarkable how little (scientific) literature can be found about this subject. If we deal with something new in the social sciences concepts like social change reform transformation evolution are used but seldom social innovation and if we look in the handbooks the word innovation is almost exclusively used for technological innovation.

In the standard work of the American sociologist Rogers Diffusion of Innovation the terms innovation and technology are explicitly used as synonyms. The social aspects and the role of the social sciences come in the picture when the author deals with the diffusion of (technological) innovation and there is indeed an extensive literature and much research on that subject but here we are primarily interested in social innovations themselves.

In recent years however there is a growing interest in social innovations but primarily as an outcome of technological innovations. As often we deal here with an inferiority complex of the social sciences vis a vis the natural and the technical sciences in the sense that technological innovations are seen as the prime mover.

As a side remark it is typical to note that the social sciences have their cultural lag theories (Ogburn e.g.) But a social or cultural *lead* theory has never been developed. However when one comes to think of it each one of us can come up with a great many social innovations which have little or nothing to do with technological breakthroughs: the L A T (living apart together) relationship carpooling holistic health the metanoic organization the self help group a works council the basic income squatting communal living civilian defence etc could be mentioned in that respect. Naturally technology can play an important role to make certain social innovations possible. To give an example in the field of education many social innovations in this field like the Montessori school the Jenaplans school the Daltons school have little or nothing to do with technical innovation. The so called open university of course is unthinkable without the technological innovation television.

Nevertheless I am inclined to think that in general the role of technology is overestimated when it comes to social innovations.

One of the pitfalls of social innovations is that the concept often is used in a too broad and encompassing way since almost everything in

society which exists today and did not yesterday could be called a social innovation. We should narrow down its meaning. My proposal is to use the concept of social innovations primarily for those social institutions which are an expression of cultural renewal. The word cultural here refers to the world of values norms belief systems ideologies social cosmologies etc. I do think that this is fruitful for the following reasons.

In the social sciences we often make the distinction between structure and culture and as indicated before there is some bias that structural changes take place before and cause cultural ones.

However one could argue that some historical periods show great structural changes whereas in other periods the cultural changes are more dominant. The first ones are more dramatic and more fit for newspaper headlines whereas cultural changes often are more gradual under the surface and less visible but certainly no less important in their consequences.

When the American political scientist Inglehart calls the seventies (and the eighties) the period of the silent revolution he refers to a process of fundamental change in values in the Western world from a predominantly materialist to a post materialist orientation. This is an extremely important and fundamental form of social change but also a quiet and undramatic one which may never reach the mass media.

In this context the empirical findings of Daniel Yankelovich are also enlightening. He notes that during the sixties when there was so much structural and visible turmoil in American society the value pattern of the great majority was rather stable and traditional whereas since the mid seventies when the campuses were quiet the riots in the cities calmed down and the great demonstrations passed empirical studies showed dramatic changes in the values and norms of the American public.

This example is meant to show that structural and cultural changes do not necessarily have to go hand in hand that each of them has its own momentum and a relative autonomous development.

My thesis is that our decade the eighties will not go into history as the era of great structural transformation. On the other hand the past ten years are characterized by a remarkable change on the cultural level. I mentioned already the empirical studies by Inglehart and Yankelovich and I could add signals like the discussion of a paradigmatic change in the Western worldview as expressed in the work of Fritjof Capra Hija Progonne Ken Wilber Marilyn Ferguson and others the rise of new socio cultural movements like the New Age

movements of feminism and ecologism the influence of the Greens the increasing interest in the theory and practice of Asian philosophies It is admittedly true that we may be wrong and deal here with what Michael Marien has called the sandbox syndrome i.e. a rather isolated and limited change process with hardly any influence on Western culture as a whole The future will show but for the time being I intend to stick to the cultural transformation hypothesis

What is the relevance of this for our theme social innovation? We have defined social innovations as attempts to institutionalize cultural changes Here we face a problem and a challenge The problem is that many of these cultural novelties haven't found their organizational bedding yet and the challenge is to develop new institutions for the old ones often have become obsolete

Social innovations could be seen as a way to give form to the new values norms worldviews etc

After this rather general description of what is meant by social innovation we should become more precise

In his well known work *Innovation The Basis of Cultural Change* Barnett defines an innovation as any thought expression of behavior or artifact which is new because it differs qualitatively from existing forms This means that each innovation is an idea or a constellation of ideas some will remain mental constructions whereas others will get an expression in social reality

In my opinion this definition is too broad since it encompasses all sorts of new ideas which never have found and will find their way in the social world An ideal type social innovation should consist of three elements The first one is indeed the new idea design or mental model which is the expression of new emerging needs and values

The second element deals with the realisation of that idea often in the form of a social experiment I am using the word social here because it rarely is an experiment in the strict scientific sense

The third element is the diffusion process one function of social innovations is a certain radiation to the rest of society

These elements can be seen as phases in a process with a beginning (the new idea) and an end for when the diffusion process is over and the social innovation is generally accepted its stops being a real innovation

It is in particular the first element which relates social innovations with the scenario or design approach in futures studies Social innovations generally are rather concrete and have a limited scope In order to bring system and consistency in a number of seemingly unrelated social innovations it is helpful to link them to a

specific scenario or society design I'll come back to this aspect in the last paragraphs

3 INNOVATIVE WORKING ENVIRONMENTS THREE CASES

In this section we'll discuss three cases of social innovations with regard to work

At first sight it may look as if we are dealing here with very different innovations but as I'll show there are also interesting similarities Moreover these cases are of interest for the relevance of the connection between social innovations and scenarios

The Spirit of Silicon Valley

The first example is Silicon Valley a concentration of 8000 high tech companies in a valley south of San Francisco It is a typical expression of the information society since the great majority of these companies are active in the field of electronics Silicon Valley represents as Everett Rogers calls it Olympic Style Capitalism It has become America's ninth largest manufacturing center with sales over \$40 billion annually Approximately 40 000 new jobs are created there each year One of the most interesting features is the small size of these companies (measured in number of employees) Seventy percent have less than ten workers and 85 percent have fewer than 50 employees However this is not an expression of economic marginality since most of these companies are doing well Research showed that 95% of them survive the first four years the average family income in that area is over \$30 000 and there are more than 6 000 millionaires In some ways Silicon Valley seems to reflect a revival of an earlier stage of the industrial revolution the time of the entrepreneurial spirit and of the individual who started a company on his own and made it into a success

Many of these Silicon Valley companies begin in a garage with enthusiasm and technical skill as the main resources Up till recently it was generally believed in the social sciences that the structural developments pushed the technically most advanced industries more and more in the direction of the giant corporations Science based industry would be characterized by huge laboratories where hundreds of scientists would work together This structural development would also create a new ethos which would replace the traditional entrepreneurial ethos of the early industrialists This new ethos was very vividly described by William Whyte The new

organization man as he called him worked in large organizations was dedicated to groupism was loyal to the company team oriented and willing to relinquish individualistic hopes and ambitions

The new Silicon Valley worker is in many ways the opposite of the organization man he avoids conformity and is dedicated to individualism he has no loyalty to any company if he doesn't like his job any longer he'll quit and start his own business. He is very ambitious a typical high achiever and workaholic or in the words of Rogers. While Organization Man went to lengths to meet the standards important to his peers Silicon Valley Entrepreneur goes to lengths to flaunt them. Naturally we refer to ideal types but the differences are striking. As indicated before we deal here with a sort of revival of the early entrepreneurial spirit but there are also new elements. The early entrepreneurs generally were uneducated whereas it is no accident that Silicon Valley developed in the shadow of one of America's top universities Stanford. There are over 6 000 PhDs and 80 000 college educated people in this relatively small area. In short the new entrepreneur has had a top education. Another difference is that the classical American entrepreneur often spent large sums of (tax deductible) money for the public good whereas the Silicon Valley corporations when it comes to supporting charities or the arts the attitude is more what one would expect to find in the executive suite of Ebenezer Scrooge Enterprises Ltd as the San Jose News stated in a hard hitting editorial.

What is the relevance of Silicon Valley for our topic social innovations? The answer can be threefold.

In the first place we deal here with a real social innovation a new type of working environment based on high technology small scale informal and horizontal relations emphasis on personal creativity the need for autonomy and self reliance.

Secondly Silicon Valley is not an one time only phenomenon but is becoming an industrial model for the future. In the US we find now at least twelve other similar high technology complexes and many of them have either the word Silicon or the word valley in their name to show that they have borrowed the Silicon Valley model. Another typical feature is that most of these high tech complexes also developed in close relationship with a top university. Examples are Silicon Prairie near the University of Texas Silicon Desert near Arizona State Bionic Valley near the university of Utah Silicon Valley East near Albany and Route 128 near the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

It is interesting to note that Harvard and Berkeley

top universities near MIT and Stanford did not play much of a role in the development of Route 128 of Silicon Valley. They are more classical universities with an emphasis on humanistic values liberal arts and pure science and they lack an ethos favourable to technology transfer from university scientists to private firms.

Thirdly Silicon Valley is a social innovation based on a new emerging value and a new ethos. It is primarily an outcome of a cultural change and only in a secondary way a result of a technical innovation. For that reason it fits very well in our definition of a social innovation.

Surviving with Style the Briarpatch Network

Our second example is Briarpatch a network of several hundred small scale companies mostly in and around San Francisco. Briarpatch sees itself as a social survival system with an emphasis on living with less sharing with each other life long learning through new small businesses and doing it all with joy.

What we see here is that material simplicity is combined with joie de vivre and that is the difference between the Briarpatch philosophy and the protestant puritanic spirit of which Thoreau (the author of Walden) was the most prominent representative. The Briars are less influenced by Christianity and more by Asian philosophies and lifestyles. It is no accident that the Zen center in San Francisco (with its bakeries restaurants and farm) is one of the most prominent members of the Briarpatch network.

The most important motivation for Briars to set up a small business is the fun of it. In addition to that Briars find their rewards in serving people rather than in amassing large sums of money. The third basic value is sharing resources (capital knowledge legal and technical knowhow etc). The idea behind that is cooperation instead of competition for business is a non zero sum game i.e. a game in which we all can win by sharing and by cooperation.

In addition to that much emphasis is laid on values like integrity fairness honesty openness autonomy and participation of all in the business. It is however remarkable that Briarpatch has no explicit values or norms with regard to the output of the business (the product or the service). I'll come back to that later. The Briars emphasize that business based on this new philosophy is possible in an competitive and capitalist environment. Especially in a urban environment there is a growing need for small scale labor intensive businesses with a high level of personal service. The Briars are proud that this network is still growing.

Like in the case of Silicon Valley many Briars have a high level of education but they are also often drop outs people who made a career in the traditional business world stepped out and started for themselves but in a radically different way

Briarpatch also fits in our definition of a social innovation It is a network of businesses which is neither based on capitalist nor on socialist values It has some similarity with what Schumacher has called Buddhist economies The network itself is growing and there is some diffusion Briars are asked as consultants for similar networks elsewhere inside and outside the USA To give an example they stood at the cradle of the Dutch MeMo our third case

Idealist in Business "MeMo"

The foundation MeMo (stands for human and environment friendly enterprises) is a network of +/- 1500 small scale business in the Netherlands There are similarities with Briarpatch but there are also striking differences Much more than Briarpatch MeMo is part of a dual economy in the sense that it balances between the formal (money oriented) and informal economy Idealists in business the MeMo entrepreneurs are often called and this means among other things that much is accomplished with the help of volunteers and that the professional MeMo workers generally work long hours and have a relatively low income When in Briarpatch circles one talks about voluntary simplicity the emphasis is on the adjective voluntary since many Briars had well paid jobs before they dropped out In the case of the MeMo workers their simple life style is semi voluntary It is partly a free choice but since unemployment is very high in the Netherlands it is not certain that they could get a better paid job if they chose for an ordinary career Moreover MeMo is much more a product of a European welfare state society in the sense that these businesses are directly or indirectly subsidized by the government (indirectly e.g. by giving permission to start a MeMo business while keeping the unemployment allowance) Briarpatch is much more market oriented or to phrase it somewhat negatively more capitalistic (relatively speaking) Briars are more inclined to reject forms of external help for it may create new forms of dependence although it is also admitted in Briar circles that European welfare states are rather generous in this respect so in those societies the fear for dependence and strict regulations should not be exaggerated

A second important difference deals with the conditions of the output In the case of MeMo it is crucial that the products and services are ecologically sound In that sense MeMo is much more part of the environmental movement This also means that MeMo is committed to a soft or alternative technology and to handicraft

This difference can be clarified by an example Whereas Briarpatch would be willing to accept a gas station as a member as long as it is small scale based on honest business personal service oriented etc MeMo probably would not accept such a new member unless only unleaded gas is sold and even then it is doubtful Internally the differences are less outspoken although MeMo has more links with the so called alternative work movement which is to some extent a revival of the cooperative movement a product of the Left tradition in Europe

Like in the former cases MeMo is also a good example of a social innovation It represents a new form of working environment based on a mixture of new (ecological) and old (cooperative) values and ideologies The diffusion of this innovation is probably diffuse but it certainly has influenced the development of the informal and the dual economy

4 TOWARDS A HAPPY MARRIAGE OF SCENARIOS AND SOCIAL INNOVATIONS?

In this last section we'll come back to the original question The relevance is two fold On the one hand it makes sense to cluster social innovations As indicated before the concept is rather broad and it is not difficult to come up with dozens if not hundreds of social innovations Most of them cover only a very limited scope We can bring order (a typical need of social scientists) in this patchwork quilt by bringing together social innovations which express the same or similar value patterns In this context scenarios can be helpful as a sort of structural umbrella Most scenarios are rather encompassing and cover a number of social areas and some of them even pretend to cover whole societies

Concerning our cases Silicon Valley could be seen as the expression of the information society whereas MeMo and Briarpatch would fit in the scenarios of the Conserver Society based on a Buddhist economy (Schumacher) On the other hand social innovations could be used as a sort of empirical test case for certain scenarios However one should be cautious in this respect If a social innovation fails it does not necessarily mean that the related scenario is invalid or not viable One of the interesting features of our cases is that they may

correct to some extent the foundations of our future scenarios or at least question the premises

Let me clarify this

I mentioned the possible connections of the three cases and three scenarios and at first sight it looks as if we deal here with two completely different worlds. Silicon Valley on the one hand seems to express a scenario based on high technology, high economic growth, big scale secularism, professionalism, global interdependence and representative democracy.

MeMo and Briarpatch on the other hand would fit in the cluster human scale, alternative technology, self help, ecologism, participatory democracy, self reliance and post materialist values.

However if we look more closely at our cases they also have a number of characteristics in common. They are not only expressions of opposite developments and scenarios. To start with all three cases emphasize a farewell to the ethos of the organization man and a revival of the entrepreneurial spirit. In some cases this new spirit is more materialistic, in others more idealistic, but all three are expressions of an active society, in the sense of an adventurous attitude to start something new. A second common feature is a high work ethic. These cases neither reflect a leisure society nor an after work man. In particular the Briars keep emphasizing the intrinsic value of their work or in less academic terms, doing business is fun. This is also true for the Silicon Valley and the MeMo workers.

A third common feature is the strong need for a human scale working environment, for informal relations, for room for personal creativity and for self actualization.

This means that in addition to the great differences these cases can fertilize each other.

First one needs a background framework to understand the jungle of social innovations. On the other hand the study of concrete social innovations is helpful to investigate the viability of a specific scenario and to modify the basic premises of scenarios. It is this union of theory (in the form of scenario building) and practice (the cases) which may create a happy marriage between these two.

THE THREE ZONES OF TRANSITION A GUIDE TO RIDING THE TIGER OF CHANGE

by
HAZEL HENDERSON

It is hardly news to anyone that industrial societies are undergoing massive structural changes and realigning themselves in a process of economic and technological globalization. Today this planetization process is visibly accelerating and three distinct zones of this unprecedented transition can be mapped to help decision makers negotiate this unfamiliar terrain: (1) The Breakdown Zone, (2) The Fibrillation Zone and (3) The Breakthrough Zone.

Since all of us live in one or more of these zones and few forecasting methods are broad enough to capture such overall dynamics, we must shift our attention from modelling content, i.e. the daily quantification of event data to modelling the wider context of these events and the overall processes involved. Attempting this heroic modelling task makes amateurs of us all, and yet it is crucial in creating the new conceptual tools required if we are to learn to interpret these events and to ride the tiger of change. With this overall context of accelerating globalization evident in areas from banking and finance, satellite telecommunications, computerization, air transportation, militarization and the speedup of technological innovation, we can also expect increasing turbulence and new instabilities. Further, we should expect that more of the changes we see are irreversible, while taking note that most of our conceptual tools for mapping them, such as economics and conventional scientific approaches, are still based on Newton's ideas of mechanics and reversible models of locomotion in a clockwork universe. Therefore, we can also expect accelerating future shock (to use Alvin Toffler's term) even in formerly stable areas of our personal and political lives and institutions. All this will occur in the context of swifter and larger shifts in environmental conditions as new thresholds are over-ridden, as for example, where increased carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is now producing more climatic variability. Another effect to observe will be the ambivalence of these events, with more confusion and conflicting interpretation by scientists, governments and media, i.e.

the is it good news or bad news syndrome Our three zone map may help give us a pegboard to sort things out for ourselves and pinpoint where we are in the picture Since all three zones co exist simultaneously we might also remember that word maps such as this article are less effective than pictorial maps and that even then flat surface maps are less representational than a three dimensional globe the real stage on which the three transitions are occurring

ZONE 1 THE BREAKDOWN ZONE

In Zone 1 many of us feel that our lives and jobs are stultified or that we are stuck in an unresponsive bureaucratic institution or corporation This is natural in a time of change since individuals always learn faster than institutions in fact institutions often rigidify resisting change until they become brittle and shatter while others simply stagnate or decay Thus this Breakdown Zone is where society and its obsolescent institutions are de structuring We need not panic since de structuring is a natural process like composting creating a rich new soil for regeneration In fact Nature shows us how some species actually regress to an earlier larval stage in their development when their adult form has become too rigid and ill adapted The process paedomorphosis allows the younger less structured (and therefore more adaptable) to carry on the species So it may help us to see Zone 1 as containing these seeds and remember that paedomorphosis leads to the many metamorphoses we will find in Zone 3 the Breakthrough Zone

In Zone 1 it is not only institutional forms cities suburbs and rural areas that are de structuring but also cultural and political forms and value systems underlying them For example our culture and those of most other industrial societies are in a state of confusion as they shift to the not yet defined post industrial phase The Soviets and other socialist societies experiment with marketplace heresies to overcome lack of incentive and enforced cooperation while in the USA we yearn for less individualistic dog eat dog competition and retreat into our churches new religions and cults in search of community and kindness Both capitalism and communism are revealed as superficial ideologies concerned merely with methods of production and distribution rather than deeply sustaining philosophies of life Similarly imposing one or the other of these two outdated European styles of industrialism on the rest of the world is failing from Africa and Asia to South and Central America China seems to be finding a third way or as Deng Xiaoping is quoted

When there are mice in the house a black cat is as good as a white cat Enforcing industrialism as a single model for development is now inappropriate for the world's rich variety of diverse societies each with its own unique expression to offer the global melting pot

Thus Zone 1 is also a war zone as conflicting cultures ideologies and religions clash in the new global village adding to the enduring competition between nations over territory and resources Even if accidental nuclear exchanges are avoided we can expect proliferation of the proxy wars such as those in Central America and Africa and other Third World countries Such overt and covert violence together with continuing inequities and injustice will continue to fuel the revolts insurrections and terrorism while guerrilla strategies and suitcase bombs will continue to be the natural response to military might and Starwars

Zone 1 is also the accident zone and the zone of slow motion crises such as pollution Accidents from Three Mile Island Times Beach Love Canal Bhopal to the Challenger explosion are all effects to be expected as we humans attempt to manage and coordinate ever larger and more complex organizations and powerful technologies Slow motion crises to watch include increasing loss of forests due to acid rain spreading deserts in the Sahel and in over irrigated valleys in California climatic warming and variability due to the greenhouse effect of rising carbon dioxide leading to rises in the sea level as well as the lowering of the US water table and irreversible pollution of ground water with toxic wastes

The political arena of Zone 1 is best summed up as the politics of the hurrah i.e. mal adaptation to change where governments of all ideological stripes rigidify and try to defend their borders against the waves of globalization now swamping their cherished national sovereignty This is most evident in the economic sphere as somewhere between \$150 and \$500 billion (no one is sure) of footloose money sloshes around the planet every 24 hours and electronically transferred funds are deployed by the new breed of 24 hour asset managers playing such new games as program trading in today's global casino so well described in the pages of Business Week Information has become money and money has become information as I described in *The Politics of the Solar Age* (1981) As the global fast lane speeds up money loses its meaning and ceases to function as a viable means of keeping track or score of the game It is in this light that Peter Drucker's contention in *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1986) that the commodity economy has uncoupled from the industrial economy the industrial economy has uncoupled from the

employment economy and that world trade has uncoupled from world financial flows. In his otherwise insightful article Drucker does not go far enough by singling out these areas. In staying within the traditional paradigm of economic and money based analysis Drucker misses the non money denominated sectors of total productivity and fails to see the extent to which this new global funny money game (or symbol system as Drucker terms it) now has very little to do with the realities of any sector of real world production, consumption, investment or trade, nor of any real geographic region or ecosystem on the planet.

Meanwhile politicians wrestle with domestic unemployment, trade, re training and industrial policies (a hopelessly outdated concept) all of which deal with real geography and real people and implementing such policies must take years of preparation and building. Yet all such domestic plans, however well laid and executed, are destabilized daily as the currency exchange markets open each morning in London, New York and Tokyo. Treaties and economic theories alike, addressed to international competition and trade policies or to domestic unemployment, inflation, deficits or interest rates, are all swept along by this rising tide of financial flows, as well as Third World debt, bouncing currencies and oil prices. All indicators of the need for global economic cooperation and a new Bretton Woods to write the necessary win-win rules for operating the new global economic commons, i.e. as global common property of all the players. When any market expands toward globalization, it inevitably becomes a commons (a term derived from England's feudal village greens or *common* where every villager could graze their herds). In markets, competitive zero-sum win-lose games prevail, while in commons, unless cooperative win-win rules are substituted, then all players lose and the commons is destroyed for everyone (see Science Dec 13 1968 p 1243).

Some governments respond to Zone 1 conditions by reconceptualizing this new global commons, while others either rigidify, try to turn the clock back, attempt diversionary military adventures, fudge the figures, or even indulge in disinformation, often confusing their own citizens by obfuscating the issues. The least adaptive political behaviors of course are totalitarianism or anarchy. Therefore, if you find yourself in Zone 1 too much of the time, you may recognize that it is time to assess your options, recycle your skills and scan for opportunities to redeploy yourself and prepare for a well informed leap into Zone 3, the Breakthrough Zone. However, to accomplish this, you will need to explore and negotiate Zone 2.

ZONE 2 THE FIBRILLATION ZONE

Zone 2 is characterized by the term fibrillation, as when the human heart muscle temporarily vacillates under stress, either leading to a heart attack and possible death, or shifting to another regular rhythm. Thus Zone 2, which is expanding rapidly as globalization accelerates and its atmosphere is one of upping the ante and a pervasive increase in risk and uncertainty. Zone 2 is a critical mass zone of bifurcation (term used by mathematicians and those in the physical and life sciences) meaning the many modes in which a system can, or is about to change in its entirety or state. These dynamic organic models of changing systems include the models of catastrophe of French mathematician Rene Thom, who described seven different bifurcation modes of transformation, the order through fluctuation models of Nobelist chemist Ilya Prigogine of Belgium and the change through attraction models of U.S. mathematician Ralph Abraham, whose computer simulations of systems change processes exhibit three organic attractors (point attractors, periodic attractors and chaotic attractors) which pull systems into new states as do magnets. They appear very unpredictable because the minute changes they cause can give rise to very different or large results. These advances in mathematical modelling are best summed up for lay readers by Marilyn Ferguson in her scientific newsletter *Brain Mind Bulletin*, Los Angeles, CA. From these models, it is possible to see how the de structuring processes of Zone 1 give rise to the uncertainties and the maximum number of opportunities to shift gears, re conceptualize, re design and re structure, i.e. to ride the tiger of change into the third Breakthrough Zone.

Zone 2 is also characterized by flip flop processes, as whole systems enter this bifurcation zone of transformation when they are poised on the cusp of these shifts in state. For example, a corporation in a state of rapid growth is suddenly confronted with a key choice which, when made, will either propel it into bankruptcy or to new markets in a re structured form. High risk strategies are often most effective, while doing nothing can be the most dangerous action. In Zone 2, more individuals, institutions and nations must make choices because they are nearing thresholds and pushing against their margins and boundary conditions. For example, today's nation states, boundaries and nationalistic belief systems have become dysfunctional. Giving up some national sovereignty, e.g. over their domestic economies, is risky, but less risky than going it alone. Thus

in Zone 2 choices and actions are required but unless the situation is also re conceptualized and re mapped the action may be maladaptive and relegate the system or person back to Zone 1 Thus Zone 2 demands the most clear eyed and rigorous re examination of assumptions priorities goals and the very values that underly them since values are the basic driving force in all technical economic and political systems This re examination is in itself a high risk task because old verities and old institutions must be challenged which initially contributes to the de structuring process of Zone 1 Yet the price of not challenging the old forms is loss of leadership those attractors wich pull the system (in political terms those with more attractive visions of the future) into its new state For example the Democratic Party's current disarray stems from its attempt to emulate Republican policies rather than envision a new direction for packaged Keynesianism as supply side economics and flipped the malaise of the Carter Administration into the soaring deficits and fervid over optimism of the high frontier and Starwars Neither party re examined basic values but simply sloganized our traditional values of optimism entrepreneurship sharing and cooperation without re conceptualizing our geopolitical and economic dogmas of competition and our outdated worldview of the USA as Number One Fortress America dominating our rivals with military and economic superiority

Another key aspect of Zone 2 is that we should expect more and better good news and more and worse bad news This effect is evident in falling oil prices and is simply another indicator of systems reaching margins and thresholds of maximum stress conditions It helps explain why incremental changes are often ineffective Only policies addressing basic causes which underlie problems can hope to succeed while policies addressed only to ameliorating or suppressing symptoms can lead to worse results For example trying to deal with unstable domestic economies using narrowly focused and superficial remedies of traditional flat earth macroeconomic policies inflating or deflating regulating or de regulating privatizing or nationalizing raising or lowering interest rates as if the society was a hydraulic system can leave the patient worse possibly irreversibly As mentioned since globalization has changed the game only global agreements can work as well as fundamental re evaluation of all economic sectors re analysis of data and developing of new indicators of performance beyond the simplistic model of the Gross National Product such as Japan's Net National Welfare (NNW) or the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) as I have detailed elsewhere

Thus Zone 2's proliferating good news and bad news becomes also evermore ambivalent and it becomes increasingly unrealistic to view any news in such categorical either or terms Media analysts can no longer help by merely reporting the events since interpretation is everything and examining the underlying causes and assumptions of the actors and the audience becomes the key to deciphering the unfolding plot For example many futurists including myself have focused on the so called information ages good news and there is plenty of it trends to greater participation more informed citizens decentralization as well as the high touch which John Naisbitt author of Megatrends sees as balancing the less pleasant side of the high tech revolution as well as the now widely touted labor shortage However the full dimensions of the information age lead to more ambivalence more efficient computerization of the military may trigger an accidental nuclear exchange the rapid disruption of work due to automation health and privacy effects of the computer revolution and a growing glut of raw unevaluated data a US economy characterized by hollow corporations which merely label and sell ever more foreign made cars and consumer electronics and a services economy of clerks and hamburger flippers whose apparent labor shortage to fill these low paid tasks helps mask the millions of semi illiterate structurally unemployable minorities and youth all propelled by the globalization processes of the electronically speeded global casino

So if you like most of us find yourself living most of your life in Zone 2 the best course is to dig deeper for the answers to turn the issue or event (whether reported as good or bad news) around and look at all its facets while surveying the widest range of interpretations offered by politicians business leaders unionists academic forecasters or futurists summarized in such publications as Future Survey of Washington DC Zone 2 is the arena of trade offs between adaptation and adaptability If we or our institutions have become too well adapted to new vanishing conditions we will have less in our storehouse of adaptability to meet the new conditions the nothing fails like success syndrome Anthropologists call this The Law of the Retarding Lead and we see it operating today where countries which are less industrialized such as China India and Sri Lanka may be able to forge ahead by taking the best from all the earlier experimenters in Europe North America and Japan and leapfrogging to a Third Way thus entering Zone 3

ZONE 3 THE BREAKTHROUGH ZONE

This zone of breakthroughs was almost invisible during the 1960s and 1970s because they could not emerge until sufficient de structuring had occurred. As the Breakdown Zone widened and led to the expanding Fibrillation Zone so too the breakthroughs grew and became more visible. New compacts among nations such as those bordering the Mediterranean Sea to clean up their common pollution, the treaties to guard against the militarization of outer space and to protect the South Pole from exploitation as well as the many United Nations sponsored conferences on Law of the Sea and the global issues cross cutting national boundaries: food, population, health, education, habitat, renewable energy sources and science and technology for development. These brave beginnings to create new global social management technologies were coupled with new human capabilities in unlocking the basic code of life, the DNA molecule and such advances as the eradication of smallpox. A growing awareness of our human powers and responsibilities for more appropriate uses of our scientists and technologies to extend human lifespans and potentialities for ending hunger and disease led to the new dialogues between rich and poor nations of the North and Southern Hemispheres over a more just global economy.

New sensitivities emerged to appreciate the diversity and richness of ethnic cultures and at least a concrete vision of planetary identity flashed from space to a whole generation of the human family.

Zone 3 is where old problems and crises are revealed as new opportunities and the good news in the bad news become apparent. Even the nuclear bomb had indeed kept the peace for forty years and so the new rounds of proliferation forced millions of citizens to demand arms reduction treaties and a shift of resources away from the dangerously growing militarization toward finally dealing with poverty, disease, hunger and war, the four horsemen of the real apocalypse. All through the 1970 and 1980s citizen movements grew in all countries for peace, human rights, government and corporate accountability, ecological sanity. Socially responsible investments and successful mutual funds such as the Calvert Social Investment Fund of Washington, D.C. proliferated with these movements. Tyrannical regimes fell in Iran, Haiti and the Phillipines while other tottered including South Africa now reeling from citizen spurred disinvestment and the courage of its own black citizens. Similarly the outdated regimentation of the old style industrialism based on inadequate understanding of human needs and potentials and with its

limited awareness of Nature's crucial role in production is now leading to more humane participatory organizations, cooperatives, worker owned and managed businesses and the burgeoning of smaller businesses and entrepreneurship as well as production methods, recycling and recovery systems that work with Nature and within ecological tolerance. I termed this shift toward less resource intensive, sustainable forms of production, consumption and investment a shift toward a dawning Solar Age and Age of Light where humans remembered that all processes on Planet Earth are dependent on the daily flow of photons, the life giving light from the Sun, our mother Star.

Today we are already moving beyond the information age based on electronic technologies to the Age of Light and its lightwave to photovoltaics and many other thermal and chemical energy conversion processes based on a deeper understanding of Nature and modelling her processes from solar collectors based on the chloroplasts in every green leaf to biotechnologies based on the genetic code still in their moral infancy as they explore these new Faustian powers. As United Nations Assistant Secretary General Robert Muller reminds us in his *New Genesis* (1984) we are a very young species in terms of our planet's development and we have in our very brief history learned a great deal and as long as we refuse to panic or despair we may yet learn the lessons of globalization now upon us. As I have elaborated elsewhere our planet is a perfectly designed, programmed learning environment akin to one of psychologist B.F. Skinner's famous boxes providing us with all the lessons and both positive and negative feedbacks needed to nudge us along the path.

We see the learning now occurring through the crises of our costly mechanized chemical and energy dependent agriculture and its massive production of monocultured crops now glutting world markets. As agriculture re structures under the stress of globalization the same diversification and entrepreneurship now re structuring industrial sectors is at work. The future lies in lower cost, lower input forms of agriculture in smaller scale and boutique farms in new crops from jojoba and guayule to ethnic fruits and vegetables, specialty and organically grown foods, fish farms and genetically engineered varieties tolerant of poor soils, excessive salt and lack of water.

Here too we see that this planetary storehouse of genetic diversity is a commons just as are the oceans and the air we breathe. Therefore we must also conclude global compacts as rapidly

as possible to move toward win win rules to manage these precious resources cooperatively for the benefit of all the human family rather than in the obsolete self destructive competitive mode of today's biotechnology sector whose research base has been underwritten by public funding and taxes. Such technologies are too precious and potentially hazardous to be left to the mercies of a few unscrupulous or careless companies which can put others in jeopardy and foreclose the options of future generations. Similarly doctrinaire laissez faire assumptions are now hampering the wider development of the computer sector where competitive zero sum rules are creating a tower of babel of incompatibilities preventing wider use of computers in the global networking modes to which they are naturally suited based on the random access model of telephone systems as I elaborated in *Computers Hardware of Democracy* (Forum Fall 1969) and *Harvard Business Review* May/June 1971. Another global information commons has emerged. More than thirty companies have already joined a consortium the Corporation for Open Systems which is trying to promulgate the new win win rules a set of worldwide common standards while France has led the way by offering free home terminals as a common good so that all householders can benefit from access thus opening up a vast market for services.

Even the threat of global economic chaos is forcing governments and economic advisors to throw out old ideologies and address the new agenda of stabilizing currencies and financial flows and seeking more realistic niches of true comparative advantage and symbiosis. We see that head on competition to produce a narrow range of goods in already saturating markets is now a destructive exercise in putting lower wages and further ecological destruction on the marketplace's auction block and turning economic activities into a global zero sum behavioral sink.

Thus Zone 3 involves not only breakthroughs re structuring new forms and adaptations but also a broad politics of reconceptualization of all the basic assumptions and conditions underlying the problems and crises of Zone 2. Knowledge is re structured from old single disciplines such as economics into new trans disciplinary policy tools for example from macroeconomics to post economic policy studies including technology assessment environmental impact statements futures studies scenario building cross impact analyses risk assessments social impact studies and systems research all with global rather than national frameworks. This composting and re cycling of our knowledge is already leading to

new maps of such unnoticed territory as the informal non money denominated sectors of production services and investment which matches and often subsidizes the economists more familiar money denominated GNP measured half of the picture.

As these new maps clarify the new terrain new criteria for success and new indicators and measures of performance and development are emerging for example the GNP is giving way slowly in many government agencies and academic textbooks to broader indicators such as Japan's Net National Welfare (NNW) and the Overseas Development Council of Washington D C's P Q L I mentioned earlier and the Basic Human Needs (BHN) indicator developed by the United Nations Environment Program. Using such indicators a very different picture emerges and such countries as Sri Lanka and China are highlighted for achieving progress in health education shelter and environment as well as mere growth of per capita averaged money income (which often masks severe inequities in distribution). As these indicators take hold it becomes clear that countries such as China are achieving their successes partly due to re prioritizing and China's military expenditures have been reduced each of the past thirteen years. Similarly Japan's success is due in part to her concentration on serving civilian markets rather than joining the deadly costly competition of the arms race.

In Zone 3 we also see that the old either/or debate gives way to a ying/yang view of complementarity. For example the debate moves beyond the either competition or cooperation argument to the understanding that both these equally important principles are operating simultaneously and at every level in all human societies and in Nature. In many countries we see also that both politics and economics are moving beyond the one dimensional left right perspective to a more fully dimensioned debate of the major factors that now must be included (1) globalization (2) ecology (3) the non money denominated sectors of production exchange and investment (for example 25% of all world trade is now conducted in barter) as well as the cooperative voluntary sectors and our changing lifestyles and values and (4) the future long term costs benefits and trade offs and inter generational risks and rewards of our short term actions.

Already Zone 3 is replete with new concepts such ideas as a Pacific Shift of economic and cultural leadership as expounded by historian William Irwin Thompson in his 1985 book and the ubiquitous images of emerging planetary paradigms and cultural identity the concepts of sustainable forms of production renewable

resources appropriate technologies and the new economics (or ecologies as some term it) of the carrying capacities of various ecosystems not to mention the exciting new views of human nature and potentials growing out of brain and mind research summed up in Dr Jean Houston's *The Possible Human*. Zone 3 is also replete with models and examples of win-win breakthrough strategies. However they appear as to Newtonian trained scientists with single disciplined or clockwork models rather than the attractors of the new organic systems models such as those mentioned earlier. Similarly most statistical cameras are still focused for vanishing phenomena of a more discrete static orderly world of the past. For example social policy in the US is still largely based on the old model of the single breadwinner nuclear family with stay at home wife and two children even though such families now account for only about ten per cent of the total. Similarly economic statistics ignore the flows of services in world trade now enormous while economic models cannot embrace the ubiquitous new commodity information which is not scarce and therefore conforms to win-win rules rather than zero sum competition as I have described elsewhere.

Today it is well for our mental health to remember that the super charged atmosphere we are experiencing as we move further into the flip flop modes of Zone 2 is still the focus of most academics statisticians and mass media. Thus the breakthroughs are continually overlooked or drowned out by the saturation reporting of the daily shocks threats confrontations and senseless violence of Zone 1 while the opportunities and choices of Zone 2 are under reported or mis interpreted. For example the widely covered insurance crisis now being blamed on either insurance companies or lawyers and the jury system is a golden opportunity to examine the limits of inherently risky technologies to address tasks that can be accomplished in other less risky ways the Newtonian clockwork assumptions underlying most of our models for assessing risks and probabilities and the overall social values implicit in the current insurance system (see my *Risk Uncertainty and Economic Futures Bests Review* May 1978).

The quiet building and re structuring taking place in Zone 3 is slow motion good news and cannot be summed up in 30 second pictures between commercial breaks on half hour news shows and yet it is vastly more important to our future than most of today's photo opportunity journalism. For example we hear of all the giant corporations that fail or close plants while most of the 700 000 small new companies formed each year go unnoticed because the Census

Bureau does not count companies with fewer than 20 employees. As the acceleration of change increases news and Ted Koppel often performs diplomatic functions and ventilates National confrontations and hot spots on Nightline before the State Department or the UN can get to them. US Radio's Global Town Meeting broadcasts have reached many millions amplifying people to people exchanges by linking up dozens of cities around the world in live discussions of peace strategies US USSR cooperative space missions economic conversion to civilian production and citizens activities. The new models of global radio town meetings and TV telethons for hunger are expanding rapidly for example such marathons for global peace and cooperation as *The First Earth Run Hands Across America* and the UN Day of Peace as well as the TV teleconferences linking the citizens of diverse cities in face to face space bridge satellite linked meetings. The networks of the 1970s are now manifesting and the agendas for a the new planetary societies are clear in such documents as the World Resources Institute's *Global Possible* proposals Worldwatch Institute's *State of the World Reports* in the UN's Declaration of Human Rights and the programs of the World Health Organization UNICEF and other agencies and the *China 2000 Africa 2000* and some fifteen other such studies in other countries.

Here once again we find that many crises and problems are opportunities for example we find that the much bemoaned world population problem may actually be stabilized by saving lives. By preventing millions of needless early infant deaths from fatal diarrhea in many countries the World Health Organization tackled both tasks by the simple swift inexpensive remedy of administering a drinking solution of water glucose and salt. In so doing this oral rehydration therapy (ORT) has reduced birthrates rather than increasing them as Newtonian oriented studies expected. The really good news is that so many solutions are turning out to be simple and inexpensive rather than requiring massive costly new technologies. When crises and problems are fundamentally re examined solutions often arise in the re thinking process as in the lateral thinking and creativity exercises used by many organizational development and transformation theorists. For example massive costly high tech medical systems to cure disease now are giving way to less costly remedies healthier lifestyles less and better nutrition more physical activity education and prevention as well as new understanding of the beneficial effects of less stress and more positive outlooks of life.

As our mass media begin to understand their role as the nervous system of the new body politic of the human family they may also

search out and interpret the events and opportunities of Zones 2 and 3 thus reducing general stress levels and panic reactions while amplifying our knowledge of all the healthy choices open to us Clearly the human species is at a new evolutionary juncture and is undergoing the timeless drama of all species the play between adaptation and adaptability between maladaptation paedomorphosis learning transformation and metamorphosis As we deal with the heightened stakes of the Fibrillation Zone with all its unavoidable choices we can all do our part in taking the millions of necessary small steps and wise decisions most of which we know intuitively which together will amplify the attractors leading us toward the further expansion of the territory of the Breakthrough Zone The vision of successful globalization will govern the win win politics of building and equitable culturally diverse ecologically harmonious and therefore peaceful planet In this all embracing context all our individual self interests become coterminous in the self interest of our now truly interdependent human family as we emerge into The Age of Light

Note Most of the ideas discussed in this article are treated at length in my *Creating Alternative Futures* (1978) and *The Politics of the Solar Age Alternatives To Economics* (1981) and in *Post Economic Policies for Post Industrial Societies* Revision Winter 1984 Cambridge Massachussetts

WHO CARES FOR MOTHER EARTH? AND HOW? FUTURES OF CIVILIZATION AND CATASTROPHES

by
CHRISTOPHER B JONES

This paper is dedicated to Gaia the Earth Mother Goddess

I INTRODUCTION

Many people are beginning to ask either explicitly or indirectly Who cares for Mother Earth? What does caring for the Earth mean? and How would a Caring Society care for the Earth? By focusing on our individual needs (within civilization) and our social needs we have increasingly (within civilization) forgotten our need to concern ourselves with (care for) the Earth Fortunately we are reminded by many traditional cultures by womens spirituality by ecology and by recent interdisciplinary scientific research that we neglect the Earth at our own folly While we should be concerned with caring at the human level (human institutions of caring for humans) we cant neglect attitudes and institutions of caring towards inanimate and animate things not human such as plants animals and the other parts of physical reality not human (which we are taught to think of as uncaring) Furthermore it may even be the case that our increased over caring and carelessness for the Earth may force us to consider even more catastrophic and evolutionary levels of change in the next century

In the following sections I will look at the meaning of caring for the Earth at caring societies and at over caring and under caring (careless) societies I will argue that cultures of caring can be associated with periods of time under relatively little social or natural stress because environmentally benign periods have allowed for the manifestation of those values and behaviors which we would characterize as caring support concern for and nurturance of all things living In addition I will explore caring for the Earth within the context of a broad frame of analysis to provide a better perspective to understand the catastrophic consequences of neglecting our planet

II CULTURES OF CARING FOR THE EARTH

Humans have probably cared for the Earth more at some times

than at others and this has probably never been more true than for so called primitive people

Mounting evidence seems to show in opposition to Hobbes notion of primitives lives as being solitary poor nasty brutish and short' that 'primitive peoples lives were at least qualitatively if not quantitatively as rich and easy as our own While this argument is still somewhat controversial clearly traditional societies were closer to the Earth and more caring for the Earth than Industrial civilization This is most clearly evident in the mythology religion and healing practices of traditional peoples To begin with anthropological evidence indicates a variety of cross cultural differences with respect to caring for the Earth

Peggy Reeves Sandays cross cultural analysis of gender differences reveals the extent to which stress in the social and physical environment seems to influence the cosmology of a culture and subsequently the composition of male/female gender roles For example cultures with cosmogenies involving origins springing from the Earth and involving females are more apt to reflect benign conditions cosmogenies of more abstract origins (like the sky heavens) and usually favoring males exclusively are more apt to come from cultures confronted with more hostile conditions This would seem to indicate that for societies experiencing benign social and environmental conditions and widespread abundance caring is more likely to be emphasized through mythology and hence traditional peoples very way of life

Before attempting to answer the questions What should caring for the Earth mean? we should ask What has it meant for traditional cultures? It is perhaps in the contrast between traditional peoples attitudes and civilized mans that this caring for the Earth comes through the best

[T]he White people never cared for land or deer or bear When we Indians kill meat we eat it all up When we dig roots we make little holes When we build houses we make little holes When we burn grass for grasshoppers we dont ruin things We shake down acorns and pinenuts We dont chop down trees We only use dead wood But the White people plow up the ground pull down the trees kill everything The tree says Dont I am sore Dont hurt me But they chop it down and cut it up The spirit of the land hates them They blast out trees and stir it up to its depths

They saw up the trees That hurts them The Indians never hurt anything but the White people destroy them all They blast rocks and scatter them on the ground The rock says Dont You hurt me But the White people pay no attention When the Indians use rocks they take little round ones for their cooking How can the spirit of the earth like the White man? Everywhere the White man has touched it it is sore (Wintu holy woman California)

Even hunting societies under presumably more hostile conditions cared for the Earth

the earth is our mother She nourishes us that which we put into the ground she returns to us and healing plants she gives us likewise If we are wounded we go to our mother and seek to lay the wounded part against her to be healed Animals too do thus they lay their wounds to the earth When we go hunting it is not our arrow that kills the moose however powerful be the bow it is nature that kills him The arrow sticks in his hide and like all living things the moose goes to our mother to be healed He seeks to lay his wound against the earth and thus he drives the arrow farther in (Bedagi of the Wabanakis Nation Maine 1900)

Similarly as Laurens Van Der Post points out about the 'Kung Bushman in his classic *The Lost World of the Kalahari* the Bushman's relationship with the Earth despite living in one of the worlds most hostile environments was never merely one of hunter and hunted The Bushman knew the animal and plant life the rocks and stones of Africa intimately as they have never been known since says Van Der Post The Bushman seemed to know what it actually felt like to be an elephant a lion an antelope a steenbuck a lizard a striped mouse mantis baobab three yellow crested cobra or starry eyed amaryllis Van Der Post likens this relationship to a mystical experience akin to that prehistorical period in our own European development described by fairy tales as the time when all life spoke the same universal language He unmistakably sees the Bushman belonging to the Kalahari as no other human being has ever belonged Is it possible that this belonging is closer in meaning to traditional caring than any meaning our modern languages can give

to the word care? It seems increasingly clear that caring in this traditional context is far richer and more complex than all of our modern meanings of care (from our dictionaries) put together

To look even closer at the origins of our modern meanings of caring we must put it into its proper perspective. One perspective might be that of the broad climatic timeframe for example the interglacial period in which all of history has been contained. During most other interglacial periods in humans 1 000 000 year journey through the Pleistocene global climatic conditions and human populations levels were probably such that conditions were generally benign. It may have been during these interglacial periods certainly towards the end of the last glaciation that the Earth Goddess worship developed. At the very least it is clear in studies of women's spirituality that the Goddess worship rather than its characterization as a cult was widespread 15 000 to 30 000 years ago. Other forms of pagan animism were also prevalent during benign periods. I believe this type of cosmology reflects a deep caring for the Earth and all of its parts.

On the other hand over the thousands of millennia it is probably correct to assume that human attitudes generally towards Nature and the Earth have been neither caring (at a conscious level) nor uncaring as noted above. Humans took it for granted that they were a part of Nature so that care for people animate and inanimate things and the Earth was a state of undifferentiated being with or belonging.

III CULTURES THAT ARE OVER CARING AND CARELESS WITH RESPECT TO THE EARTH

As we turn to the historical period we enter into the first period where the undifferentiated being with nature gets a name and caring becomes a concept. Civilization and all its trappings language theistic religion hierarchies and complex economies all captured caring and fractured it into a multitude of meanings and many meanings also lost to modern consciousness. Caring was colonized and crammed into a hierarchy of caring for. Caring became objectified and an artificial distance was forged between the giver and receiver and imposed on its very meaning. Thus over caring and careless societies have been those which so explicitly define and subdivide meanings of caring that they not only distance but also devalue by dilution and subdivision. The caring that emerges in modernized meanings becomes the source of either obsessive objectification of the receivers of care (over caring) or a total rejection of concern due to

objectification and division of caring where it loses meaning altogether (careless)

What probably came naturally for traditional primal people in the way of caring disintegrated rapidly after the development of animal domestication and the emergence of a dominant male hierarchy Patriarchy. Shortly after or at the same time the transition marked by the emergence of mythology and the proliferation of gods polytheism language also began to proliferate. Julian Jaynes and others have also argued that this development of modern language coincides with modern consciousness particularly left brain lateralization. One feminist argument holds that this period marks a transitional period between the undifferentiated being with and belonging (Matriarchy Mother Right the Goddess religion) and civilization modern consciousness and history (Patriarchy Father Right and theisms). Caring in this context was smashed into little pieces of conscious symbolisms for the undifferentiated being with The Earth Goddess by the time of the Greeks was mythologized into various parts first the son and then the various goddesses and were transformed into their caring affective aspects and traits as well as the violent and destructive components of the dark side of caring. A large literature discusses these attributes and archetypes with respect to various Greek goddesses (other mythologies also developed along these lines) from historical psychological and religious perspectives. For example Greek goddess Demeter Persephone Ariadne Hera Atene, Aphrodite and Artemis have been assigned particular roles and/or psychological archetypes.

Caring at this transitional point met its first major division roughly between left brain and whole brain (some would argue left vs right brain) between public and private meanings and symbolism of language and between men and women.

While previously the level of attachment to and involvement with Nature and others was far more profound than all of the meanings of care put together the great dichotomizing myths arose extending across many cultures to subdivide caring. Language took belonging connecting man with women society animals and everything else in Nature and named this concrete experience into abstract parts love (mainly for women) caring (mainly for men) and compassion belonging and all the other symbolisms for feeling being sensing and thinking.

The next great change in the transition from the traditional meaning to modern meanings of caring comes in the origins of caring in the English language (if only for us English speaking folks). While

caring in the modern sense has affective overtones as in concern and solicitude the roots clearly also reflect an emphasis on anxiety and worry an aspect of the dark side of caring This may be seen in the origins of the word in its noun form from the Old English *caru* and the similar Old High German *kara* meaning lament the Latin *garrere* to chatter the Greek *geros* or voice and the Ossetic *zar* or song The first two meanings of care both as a noun and as a verb are significant suffering of mind grief and anxiety The origins in chatter voice and song may also reflect the transition from a less differentiated belonging with Nature felt by pre Industrial Northern and Central European peoples While it may be that these origins of caring reflect lamentation for the loss of value of belonging and other affective qualities from public to private life from everyone to distinctions drawn between men and women's lives it is likely that these definitions also capture the dark side of caring the fearful/suffering aspects of human experience However the modern preoccupation with worry and concern has further stressed objectification and both imposed a unidirectionality and imposed hierarchies of loving and caring on everything including people and the Earth

While the stage was set for the breakdown of caring with the beginning of modern culture and language it took the Industrial Revolution and the Enlightenment to develop a dominant philosophy of dominance and subjugation over the Earth (and women) and the further fracturing of care During the Enlightenment lies the roots of an over caring attitude towards the Earth Earth's fickle and chaotic Nature meant (for Patriarchy) that she needed taming and domestication rather than an acceptance of the dark side of caring In all of Earth's history the last few hundred years represents the period of greatest negative caring for her human cultures of concern for the Earth were completely or nearly destroyed during the colonial period and structures of power over the Earth were created and flourished extracting riches and energy without concern for the imbalances created in this process Rather than accepting the suffering that comes from being with Nature mankind was determined to expropriate violence and destruction and exercise control over the forces Men cared more for the parts of her than for the Whole Our collective will allowed care for profit to transcend our care for each other and the Earth caring has come between people and the Earth by becoming a commercialized process

The third major evolution in the meanings of caring emerged in the last century with the emergence of professions and welfare states

While previously it was the language and symbolism of caring which changed most dramatically primarily affecting roles of men and women in public and private life with the emergence of professions caring was fractured functionally and subdivided further

In modern technological society most aspects of life followed the specialization earlier perfected in religion priests cared for our spirits doctors cared for our diseased bodies psychiatrists cared for our mental illness educators cared for our education and librarians cared for our knowledge etc etc The professionalization of caring even intruded into the sphere of women caring for children's education was expropriated by teachers caring for health was expropriated by physicians and caring within the home was transformed into domestic science and home economics to fit the hyper industrialized state model of the early 1900s Who cared for the Earth? Clearly the mining lumber and agribusiness interests cared for the Earth but only to the extent that it could be used for a profit On the other hand organizations such as Interior Departments Park Services and Sierra Clubs and individuals such as Henry David Thoreau and John Muir emerged to counter the squandering manipulation of Nature the tendency to characterize the Earth's parts as resources for immediate consumption

The ecology movement of the late 1960s reemerging feminist discourses and traditional cultures submerged for most for the Industrial era and new research which all demonstrate caring attitudes towards Nature forced themselves irrevocably into the modern consciousness Caring for the Earth was on the rebound and furthermore these discourses argue that caring in the sense of belonging is necessary for the survival of our species However the discourses submerged during the course of civilization's history have for the most part been no more than devalued subcultures within a civilization characteristically over caring and careless with respect to the Earth due to this fracturing of prehistorical belonging and have always faced an uphill battle against the forces of civilization

So traditional belonging was fractured and transformed in English speaking culture beginning with origins in Greek culture and language and then cleaved into other meanings with the beginning of the world economy/Industrial civilization and the end of a farm and fen economy which still cared for the Earth and was closely tied to Nature Hyper industrialization commodified aspects of belonging into the so called caring professions and created further languages which legitimized caring at the expense of belonging Caring for

took on special meaning within the context of reductionism and objective science which helped to legitimize the artificial distinction between subject and object. Caring for imposed a hierarchy of values to put men before women, professionals before inanimate lay people, people before other life forms, and life before inanimate. Perhaps an even greater difficulty imposed by our culture's interpretation of caring upon individuals is the crisis orientation of male meanings for care compared to the suggestion that women's view of caring is in actuality an ongoing ethical principle.

IV CONSEQUENCES OF OVER CARING AND CARELESSNESS PUTTING CATASTROPHE IN PERSPECTIVE

We can't lose sight of either crises or ongoing principles (and hence even the dark side of caring) if we are to adopt a fuller, richer language of caring, particularly as it pertains to the Earth. We are clearly facing crises of events, crises of societies of caring, over and under caring societies, crisis of civilization, and a crisis of the biosphere. These collective crises are tied to the processes which have given us such words as care and love which have little positive meaning and therefore have become a part of the problem. We can't lose sight of the long term effects of the World in which we live (but try to ignore). After all, Nature is violent and destructive, and life has been hard on Earth. In the context of traditional belonging, Nature may have been neither as unpredictable as it seems to us today, nor viewed as negatively (in terms of destruction and violence) as people were more in tune with and connected with Natural cycles. In any case, traditional people afforded the Earth a great deal more respect than simply caring for it. They belonged to her (Gaia) and she to them. We are she, she is us. Storms, earthquakes, floods, and other natural violence, and even early human environmental violence, was neither good or bad, it just was. In this tradition of belonging, everything about Mother Earth and all her parts were sacred. The forces of creation and destruction were all part of the same process of life and living.

In contrast to the earlier discussion of caring societies, we should reflect on the work of Elmer Pendell, who discusses the evolution of Homo Sapiens and technological development against the backdrop of at least a few million years of glaciations. His work suggests that hostile periods may have been instrumental in hominid competition, natural selection, and technological change. However, it seems that in light of the intimacy of the relationship between traditional people

and the Earth, that the caring rarely diminished, but it may have changed over time. For at least the last million years or so, hominids faced the cyclical comings and goings of what geologists call ice cycles of 90 to 125 thousand years duration. But not all the millions of hominids which lived during that period had to cope with the pressures produced by advancing and retreating ice sheets; population and climatic pressures probably were generally benign, except for a small proportion of populations on the fringes of the ice sheets.

Clearly, some factor has been instrumental in the fairly rapid development, evolutionarily speaking, of brain size, since our ancestors of three to four million years ago roamed the Earth, and many people are convinced that glacial cycles have been somehow involved. Roughly one tenth of each cycle is a relatively ice free period which lasts on the average of ten to twelve thousand years. We are nearing the very end of such a period right now. These interglacials, as they are known, were not the only climatically benign periods, as experts have indicated that the end of each ice cycle is probably characterized by warmer global weather as well.

As Sanday has pointed out, times of environmental stress would tend to result in male dominance, which in those pockets of humans exposed to danger from the environment would change the Earth. If the Earth's climate was more threatening, it would have been in the interest of males to impose distance on their relationship to the Earth (much as naming has done to caring) and may also be a function of male spatial activity; the search for food may have taken him further in terms of distance and abstraction, tool making, and eventually primitive language, all apparently having real evolutionary survival value. Social life and power relationships in the zone approaching the continental ice sheets could be characterized as being male dominant, based on what might be called a politics of scarcity.

Each 30 to 40 thousand year period of climatic warming and interglacial allowed the worst of the ice cycle to be conveniently forgotten, and the genes at the periphery of ice sheets to be mixed into the larger hominid gene pool. These periods could be characterized as representative of a politics of abundance, where neither population nor physical environmental stresses were severe. This politics of abundance may have also been characteristic in the tropics for most, if not all, of the ice cycle itself.

If this association is true, then a politics of caring may have been characteristic for most of human existence. This realization would raise some interesting questions, if we are nearing the next ice age. For example, is liberalism/capitalism's basis in a politics of

scarcity during a period of relative climatic temperance and resource abundance during the recent interglacial an aberration or an anomaly? On the other hand wouldn't it be ironic if this recently emergent (climatically speaking) politics of scarcity were not so much the cause of the degradation of the biosphere but rather a reflection of a beginning of a regenerative cycle and of the inevitable end of a benign climatic period? While over caring and under caring societies may have had evolutionary survival value with respect to mounting environmental stress they were always peripheral to a dominant politics of abundance (Caring Society). One question is whether a cultural baseline rooted in a politics of abundance will be changed forever into a permanent politics of scarcity because of a global industrial technology and destruction of Earth's regulatory systems.

While following (unconsciously) a politics of scarcity peripheral ice cycle peoples may have had short term evolutionary success but the very process of technological innovation which allowed hominids to better survive the ice sheet advances has now accelerated and is upsetting a balancing act of Nature. James Lovelock has identified some of these natural limits or aspects of the Earth which he calls the Gaia Hypothesis. The basic message is that the Earth is like a living organism is self regulating and tends to maintain optimal conditions for life on Earth. The Gaia Hypothesis suggests that if we tamper too much with the regulating areas of the Earth estuaries continental shelves and rainforests that we will (or have) set in motion a shift in so many regulatory feedback loops of short and long (time) loop gain which may make life uninhabitable for humans.

The previously peripheral action of politics of scarcity had little global consequence until now our technological power may now have become our own worst enemy. We not only endanger the forests and marshes but we've also added new and greater amount of gases and chemicals to the biosphere that the Gaia Hypothesis suggests may alter the functions of the Earth which make conditions optimal for life. The Gaia Hypothesis also suggests that the Earth itself cares for life by virtue of its tendency to support life.

Ice cycles pose interesting questions for this theory. For example it has been argued that the Earth is sick and we should care for her by heating up the biosphere and preventing the next ice cycle (this idea seems to be working). This would favor burning all the fossils fuel we could (for heat + CO₂) and continuing the growth of power consumption. On the other hand some people argue that glaciation is itself a part of the regulatory process and essential to the processing of minerals which support life.

Efforts to prevent a glaciation would be grossly misplaced according to theorists such as John Hamaker. Hamaker goes so far as to say that our continued destruction of forests consumption of fossil fuel and demineralization of soil will bring on the next glaciation by the end of the century. The onset of such a glaciation could be very rapid once it really began and Hamaker gives evidence of previous transition periods between interglacials and the onset of the ice sheet advances which lasted only twenty years. The hypothetical continental ice sheet would require only a few summers when the snow didn't melt to begin its transformation. Canadian Scandinavian and Soviet populations could according to Hamaker's thesis feel the real effects of this very soon if recently erratic weather patterns are not already a prelude to the coming cold.

On the other hand Lovelock has noted that the one of the regulating gases in the ice cycle CO₂ has played an important role in keeping the Earth warm since a time (3.4 billion years ago) when the sun was much cooler. Evidence indicates that in later periods the Earth was somewhat warmer and CO₂ more plentiful (ie during the Carboniferous). Lovelock argues that the reduction of atmospheric CO₂ has nevertheless only a very limited geological period of time left before this mechanism will no longer be sufficient to regulate an increasingly hotter sun. Lovelock states that Gaia will at some point in the near (geological) future have to find a higher temperature steady state to which life on the planet will have to adapt. Some questions arise. Will we force the Earth to attain the next level of thermal homeostasis? and Will we be able to adapt as a species? The strongest evidence to date seems to support this latter greenhouse hypothesis as we are adding not only CO₂ but at least four other major greenhouse gases such as fluorocarbons. And of course the buildup of CO₂ is accelerating especially as we continue to destroy forests and marine plants. Rising sea levels are already creating problems and will threaten large areas in the next century if trends continue. Hamaker's theory in contrast suggests that Gaia will respond rather quickly heating is necessary to provide the heat engine to build up ice sheets (precipitation being necessary) so most of our efforts will only accelerate the eventual cooling process.

Ironically the catastrophic forces of Nature seem intrinsic to the very evolution of life on our planet and also intrinsic to a holistic meaning of caring (including aspects of the dark side of caring) for the future. For it has always been this dark side the violent creative and destructive forces in Nature which mankind has most feared and not cared for. Evidence indicates that each Earth sized

catastrophe from the oxygen poisoning of Earth's earliest (anaerobic) life forms to cometary destruction of the dinosaurs have each resulted in the proliferation of ever more numerous species and complex organisms. Thus even the ice cycles may be essential to the processes of life caring for life (as a whole) on our planet. The question is how will Homo Sapiens respond to our evolving role and our relationship to other life forms and life processes on and of the Earth? To ignore this paradox of life and death and rebirth is to lose sight of Nature of Life.

V FUTURES OF CARING CULTURES FOR GAIA (OR POST GLACIAL POLITICS)

Divine Earth mother of men and of the blessed gods
You nourish all you give all you bring all to
fruition and you destroy all Orphic hymn

In the long term the politics of scarcity threatens everyone's existence if it effects life on the Earth too much. As manifest in a over caring society objectification of the Earth compartmentalizes the connectedness of our activities to the Earth and to people. As objects they are simply to be used to be cared for and not really treated as if their existence mattered. The careless aspects of our civilization otherwise ignore the connections between all animate and inanimate forms altogether by delegitimizing the complementary but necessary affective and destructive parts of human existence. The consequences of the Industrial approach to caring may be no less than catastrophic and our reliance only on ourselves may prove to have been a big mistake. What is perhaps more frightening is that we may feel the consequences within our lifetimes.

Caring for the Earth cannot be compartmentalized and should not be a concern solely for the geologist the climatologist the ecologist but it should be the highest priority in each and every person's life. It should not be a specialized concern but the guiding ethic before everything else everything should be measured against an internalized priority which places Earth first. This should probably include a cosmology of understanding about the Earth in its evolution to consciousness through us. This requires that we be conscious which assumes a lot about our growth as a species and our ability to transcend the worst of our behavior. But by internalizing this respect for Nature and understanding of our place in the Scheme of Things we can become fully conscious at a global level. This will also require an understanding a mythology if you will of the evolutionary struggles

of our species of other species which came before and of the processes of life from its very origins on this planet.

A new mythology of Earth consciousness coupled with new technologies will be required for our survival and to carry us through the next natural cycles. If it is true that we are about to begin the next cycle of ice then as a species we will certainly have to draw upon our technological resources as well as upon our spiritual/psychological inheritance. And if we are coming full circle in our realization that all things must be reenchanting and seen as sacred then it is not paradoxical that we should also seek to develop technologies which will enhance a mythopoetic civilization and unify us as a species while bringing us at the same time closer to the Earth. It is perhaps no mistake that those very technologies whose magnitude of power over earlier developments have created moral crises of global proportions are some of the same technologies (space development communications and information processing and energy) which give us the potential of empowering our relationship once again with the Earth. We have little option but to face these crises soon if we are to salvage much of modern civilization. It is not hard to view this transformation as a sort of evolutionary experiment whose outcome could go either way but either way we are likely to learn once again collectively what it means to belong to the Earth. We have the tools either to continue to try and control the Earth at great risk to our species and the planet or to care for the Earth and her parts. The Earth is after all an open system and there is room for us to play as long as we don't lose sight for long of our responsibility as a part of Gaia to foster the diversity of life. Caring may start with our selves but because we have become powerful social animals it must extend far beyond our accepted meanings.

PRODUCTION OF MATERIAL GOODS AND HUMAN
BIO CULTURAL REPRODUCTION IN THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

by
DANUTA MARKOWSKA

The bio cultural reproduction of human beings is by its very nature a care providing activity which requires the will to understand to give to sacrifice. Therefore it offers a unique opportunity for self realization with rather than above people.

Reproduction in its broad sense is understood here to include both biological reproduction (in individual perspective parenthood and in the social one succession of generations) cultural reproduction through intergenerational transmission of values and behavioural patterns (family socialization and social systems of education) in the social one succession of generations) and cultural reproduction through intergenerational transmission of values and behavioural patterns (family socialization and social systems of education).

These care bearing activities are nowadays threatened by the paradigms and rationale of the industrial production system.

An attempt to oppose production of material goods to human reproduction would be taken by members of so called pre industrial societies as an absurdity because all their activities were integrated within a broad framework of human effectiveness. The narrow concept of economic effectiveness was fortunately unknown to them.

It is only the industrial system which made the dramatic split between these two essential processes (essential in the sense that continuation of human society in any form is dependent on both) between the sphere of material production and that of bio cultural reproduction of human beings. Each of these spheres got overgrown with different not only isolated from each other but very often also opposed organizational structures reflecting different paradigms and subordinated to different praxiological formulae.

Production of material goods and structures associated with it (those of science and technology consumption and distribution information and advertisement etc) are both subordinated to the formula of a steady in spite of all modern modifications linear

growth more quicker better or more efficiently along the same rising curve. Such activities call for participation of individuals of appropriate posture and motivations to be always at their disposal ever ready to start another round in the race for novelty.

Such a system of production and reasoning ignores deeply rooted regularities of human bio cultural reproduction which in itself is of cyclic character and resists any attempts of acceleration.

It is only within the concept of economic effectiveness and productivity that human labour has been reduced to work for pay to waged work. Housewives along with children the aged and the handicapped are classified as non working or non productive sectors of the society and treated as a burden for its productive sections.

Usually members of industrialized societies do not perceive and do not articulate the very essence of this contradiction between production oriented towards linear growth and the cyclic nature of human reproduction. Instead they feel it and depict in the form of multiple conflicts of interests e.g. between old and young (ageism) between men and women (sexism) between occupationally active people and those occupationally passive between the so called productive and the non productive branches of national economy between production requirements destructive to human reproduction and the necessity of repairing these damages in family medical services etc.

Differences between the system of production of material goods and the sphere of bio cultural reproduction of human beings can be displayed in several plans.

Let me present a list of perceptions convictions and assumptions shaping the ideology of industrialism and compare that list to an enumeration of perceptions convictions and values involved in the sphere of human bio cultural reproduction (actually or potentially).

Such a juxtaposition can be rightly criticized as it confronts an ideology already analyzed by many theoreticians with a rather hypothetical reconstruction of a set of attitudes and values never articulated in terms of ideology. This reconstruction is based on very diverse sources (anthropological findings women's literature etc). I have one excuse for doing so. The ideology of industrialism a male ideology has been clearly articulated. Women being until recently a silent class haven't yet articulated a reproduction ideology.

Clearly this above list of values and attitudes associated with human reproduction refers to the very essence of bio cultural

reproduction of human beings to its essential form as it was called by Hilary Rose. No doubt under concrete socio economic circumstances human reproduction becomes in many aspects deformed frustrated alienated

A frustrated mother doesn't enjoy the birth of an unwanted child or her integration with the cycle of nature. Support patterns can fail to create a continuum of solidarity from family to global community including all humankind they can be restricted to the narrow circle of family members while competition patterns regulate relationships with other people. The nuclear family tends to get rid of old grandparents etc

On the social level education systems are criticized as being a factory which produces the labour force rather than enables the development of personality. Modern industrialized societies try to solve the problem of contradiction between material production and human reproduction by assimilating the sphere of reproduction to that of production (gigantic hospitals gigantic homes for the aged cost benefit analyses applied to child rearing etc). These don't solve the problem although social security systems can provide a considerable help for many families

Another way arising from rank and file members of societies is to create counter solutions (experiments in alternative education alternative work medical help etc). Such islands of genuine human activity in the ocean of a technology oriented world show even more clearly the contradiction and with no doubt are a challenge to the dominating industrial system. Just as assimilating the sphere of human reproduction to that of the contemporary system of material production would be impossible and not desired so too would be the assimilation of the sphere of production to that of reproduction. To reintegrate all our activities according to the formula of human effectiveness is the great task of our times

To try to create an entirely new life affirmative and supportive culture would mean to follow an illusion. What seems to be possible is to create conditions for a shift in our cultures from carelessness to care. If so our task is to understand our culture and to examine it critically. My proposal is to treat the broad sphere of human bio cultural reproduction (at least for analytical purpose) as a specific sub culture which in spite of all deformations bears the many elements for a future caring society elements presently invisible in the public arena because they have been pushed down into privacy or remain but scattered social experiments rather than the bearers of the future which they are or should be

WHAT IS A PREFERABLE FUTURE? HOW DO WE KNOW?

by
WENDELL BELL

Most futurists would agree following Roy Amara (1981: 26) that the purposes of futuristics are to discover invent propose examine and evaluate possible probable and preferable futures. Futurists have not achieved equal success however in fulfilling these purposes. They have done better dealing with the possible that is what can happen and the probable that is what might happen than they have with the preferable that is what should or ought to happen. There are now many heuristic methodologies for forecasting or projecting alternative futures from the extrapolation of a time series and simulation to gaming and monitoring just to mention a few detailed and explicit methodologies

What is missing is some detailed codified way of deciding which futures are better than others. How do we decide what futures are preferable to others? How can we convince doubters that our judgements are right? Often the values to be served remain implicit and take for granted. When they are made explicit they are often assumed to be obvious without any particular justification as to why a particular value should be accepted as a criterion for judging what is better than something else

Thus the questions that I want to raise today deal with the philosophies and pragmatic devices by which past and present events arrangements and actions and future possibilities are evaluated as beneficial or desirable. Means can be evaluated partly by how effective they are in achieving intended ends or goals. But how can ends or goals be judged? What criteria do futurists use to judge whether some future is better than some other one? How can such criteria be justified as being a demonstrably sound basis of evaluation?

The selection of value criteria is of course not only a problem for futurists it is also a problem facing any policy or program evaluation researcher. In fact anyone involved in social action faces this problem in the decision making process selecting what action to take and what goals to seek. Decisions and actions require objectives and

goals just as they require future thinking whether they are made at the level of the nation or of the daily life of ordinary people

APPEAL TO THE GOALS OF THE CLIENT

Some futurists as other researchers solve the problem of making value judgments simply by accepting the goals or values of their clients. If their clients want to make more powerful economic and appealing widgets then some researchers accept those goals. Apart from the fact that it may be a relatively simple solution (that is assuming that the client knows what his goals are) it is hardly a justification of the goal or the values they represent. There is clearly an underlying moral commitment involved such as fulfilling a contract but the justification involved in fulfilling a contract doesn't by itself justify the aims of the research as defined by the client. That is it does not justify the value of more powerful economic and appealing widgets.

Some researchers add a safeguard to their fulfilling contracts with a client by making sure that the actions that are recommended to achieve the client's goals are also examined for their consequences for other valued ends. That is any proposed action to return to our example designed to make more powerful economic and appealing widgets should also be evaluated for other valued goals and consequences. For example do widgets cause cancer constitute a fire hazard or increase heart attacks?

Examining the consequences of proposed action for valued ends other than the client's objectives indeed makes the discussion of preferred futures more sophisticated although it does not in and of itself provide a justification of the other valued ends. How do we know they are valued and by whom? Nor does it guarantee that the client will even consider other valued ends in his decision to take action.

Most situations of course involve valued ends other than a particular goal because any action may have consequences far beyond the intended goal. Pugh (1977: 66-9) gives an example of the multiplicity of values that can be involved in achieving a single goal. For example take the effort to achieve equality of educational opportunity. This was translated into the goal of an equality in the racial composition of the classroom to be achieved by school busing based upon the belief that a balanced racial composition would have a beneficial effect on the scholastic achievements of the blacks who had been underachieving. In attempting to achieve an equality or as much

of an equal racial composition as possible given the distributions of black and white children in given areas busing plans were drawn up. Immediately it becomes obvious that different plans have consequences for other valued ends. For example some plans cost more than others some demand more total travel time than others some require many more students to be bused than do others some require additional busing without significantly contributing to increasing proportionality of racial balance some require many more miles of total busing than others and some are much more complex than others. Thus to decide on a plan to achieve a balance of racial composition in the classroom through busing requires considering a lot of other goals and such consideration has consequences for the design of the plan.

Some research seems to be so obviously related to values that no justification seems necessary. Such research directed for example at unemployment crime racial discrimination poverty mental illness establishing or maintaining peace eliminating pollution and retarding population growth. Thus when a client's aims coincide with the researchers in some subject such as these then the problem may not surface. Even here however the skeptical futurist will want to know the justification of the values defining some end as good and other ends as bad.

What is needed is some systematic rational way of justifying explicitly the values that are being served by research. (I assume that one value is always truth and that it is validated by the justification underlying the use of the scientific method. It is of course sometimes if not often violated especially where power shapes knowledge as vividly shown by Gibson (1986) in his analysis of the distortion of truth by the American war managers and their researchers during the war in Vietnam.)

APPEAL TO THE SACRED

Can appeals to the sacred that is to God or some religious faith be used convincingly today by futurists to justify the evaluation of alternative futures as desirable? Clearly in the past religion was a predominant source and justification of the values used to judge the preferable. Going back to the first utopian Sir Thomas Moore it is very clear that the justification of the values underlying Utopia comes primarily from Christian humanism. God in Utopia is the ultimate source of value judgements even though He (or she) is aided both by Nature and Reason (although for More both were largely thin veils covering the face of God).

Some of the values clearly specified by More in 1516 are still with us today. They include happiness, human life and health, the fairness of equality that reinforces an essentially classless society (although there are criminals, prisoners of war, volunteer slaves, and the subordination of women and children in Utopia), the satisfaction of natural desires and authentic human needs, learning and education (in a system of meritocracy rather than equality that predominates in most areas of life), the tranquil life, physical labor (but enough to provide a little more than the basic necessities), moderation, freedom from fear and anxiety, and good works (that is, the belief that happiness after death will come to the people who do good things for others during their lives). Premonitions of Institutes of the Christian Religion, that John Calvin, who was seven years old at the time Utopia was published, was to write twenty years later).

In 1516, yes, but can religion be convincingly used to justify values in 1986 when so many intellectuals believe that man created God to the other way around? Perhaps, yes, to some limited degree. First, from sample surveys and our everyday observation, we know that many people in many countries have strong religious beliefs. To take just one example, in a national survey in 1984, Jonathan Kelley found that 34 percent of Australians have no doubts about their belief in the existence of God, 25 percent have doubts but feel that they do believe in God, and 11 percent believe at least some of the time. That's a total of 70 percent of people who may be open to religious appeals.

Whatever else religion does, it relates a view of the ultimate nature of reality to a set of ideas of how man is well advised, even obligated, to live (Gertz 1968: 406). Thus, a futurist may convincingly justify some action on the basis of a value that is part of the religious beliefs of the people who are involved in, or who will feel the consequences of, the action. If you believe in *x*, then you should support *y*, the futurist tells them.

Second, religious prescriptions and proscriptions may have a role to play in investigations of the preconditions of social life. I'll talk about this later, but presumably the major religions of the world that have survived have done so because they have contributed some survival due to the decisions and actions of human beings as they make their way in the world. Some of these contributions to survival may have to do with defining the terms of social interaction and the way in which people should treat other people. For example, do Christian charity and doing unto others as you would have others do unto you contribute to collective well-being? The point is that religions may contain in their values much of the congealed

experience of groups and societies that have survived and thrived in this world.

Despite the mass appeal of certain religious beliefs in different parts of the world, religion nonetheless is of limited use on the forefront of establishing the philosophical foundations of the good among futurist scholars themselves. There are simply too many skeptics among the producers of ideas and culture, just as there are too many different religious beliefs and contradictory interpretations of sacred texts. Then, too, we confront the horrors that have been committed in the name of religion on the one hand, not the least of which was the Inquisition, and on the other, the view that serving God is beyond good and evil.

APPEALS TO HUMAN NATURE

There are two senses at least in which appeals have been made to the nature of man: the first dealing with man as a social being and the second dealing with man as a biological being.

The 19th-century utopian socialists, William Godwin, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and Henri Saint-Simon, upheld social harmony and individual happiness as the supreme values from which they derived instrumental values such as cooperation and good will, self-development and self-realization, love, friendship, and pleasure, knowledge, rationality, and education, compassion, humanness, and benevolence toward mankind, equality, and (except for Godwin) work. From their purported scientific analysis of human nature and also the nature of the physical world, they tried to establish empirically the nature of man and both the corresponding forms of social organization and the values to be served. Yet, as Barbara Goodwin points out, there is a basic contradiction in the thinking of the utopian socialists, and their logic breaks down. They were both naturalists and determinists. On the one hand, they believed that environmental or external forces cause human behavior and shape individuals; that is, that man is basically plastic. How else could the radical changes occur that their new social arrangements required? The contradiction is that if the model of plastic man is accepted, then how can we accept the values that are said to be deduced from human nature. As Goodwin (1978: 79) says, "The more flexible, environmentally determined, or perfectible human nature is considered to be the less possible it is to derive social standards directly from the concept."

Perhaps a more convincing appeal to human nature is to the biological nature of man. Pugh (1977) tries to derive social values from certain innate biological facts. He may underestimate, however,

the possibilities of learning and the degree to which the central nervous system is neutral. That is, people are capable of learning nearly anything even though it may be harmful to them. Yet there are certain biological constants on human life such as the need for air, water, food, shelter, and clothing, and these lead to a convergence of values at some level of abstraction if any particular human being or human group is going to continue to exist.

There are obvious connections between the biological needs of man and the work of some futurists, especially those that relate to the quality of the environment, resource depletion, food production, etc. Beyond this, it is probably true that group life contributes to the biological nature of man. I'll speak more on the prerequisites of social life later.

One well-known example of an appeal to the biological nature of man is the work of Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey and his co-workers in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948). Kinsey studied the actual sexual behavior of the human males and also specified the moral codes then dominant that described proper sexual behavior. Thus, he showed the contradiction between the actual behavior on the one hand and the moral codes or values as they describe ideal sexual behavior on the other. Kinsey's desirable future is one in which the contradiction between what people really do and what people are supposed to do according to the sex codes is eliminated. His basic argument is that the sex codes should be changed to conform to what people really do because what people really do is what genuinely reflects the biological nature of man and for that matter of many other animals too. That is, Kinsey showed that in nature it is the actual sexual behavior that is supported and not the system of values underlying repressive sex codes. He pointed out furthermore that the so-called deviant forms of human sexual behavior are found throughout nature.

No doubt, appeals to nature as appeals to religion will be with us for some time to come, but the simple argument that some behaviors or values are natural and therefore right and absolutely justified has lost much of its appeal. In a world that is largely man-made, what is considered right, what is in fact, value may be unnatural in some important sense. Survival value, given certain conditions of constructed social life, may have to be sought in the nature of social and cultural life itself.

Yet there are relationships, of course, with nature that humans can ignore only at their peril. Thus, some minimum set of values may be justified by those aspects of nature that man needs to survive. Their investigation should be encompassed within the general study of the prerequisites of social life, as I mentioned earlier.

APPEALS TO LAW

Obviously, an important source of justification of values, objectives, or goals is the law. That is, many desirable futures that futurists want to deal with may be so defined in existing social legislation. In this case, the actual behavior or existing social structure may be contrary to the description of what is lawful. Thus, Kinsey's method is turned around in some sense. If you think of the law as defining what's right, that is, what people should do, it can be used to judge any given behavior as desirable or undesirable in the sense of lawful or not. For example, one can look into the civil rights legislation in the United States from 1865 through 1967 and find ample justification for open housing, representative juries, equal access to the vote, equal access to public accommodations, antidiscrimination on the job, equal justice before the law, etc. The law, thus, not only can become a way of justifying goals in social situations that do not live up to the law, but it can also become the basis of moral outrage in condemning the present and defining a more desirable future and justifying the changes necessary to bring it about.

Just as with the other kinds of appeals, the appeal to the law may not work in every case. That is, there are cases where the law itself may be defined by some other criterion of the good as undesirable. For example, in Jamaica before political independence in 1964, there was a number of bastardy laws in existence that limited the legal claims on estates in the inheritance system to legal offspring. The function of these laws, of course, was to uphold a system of racial stratification in a society in which there were many illegitimate children of the wealthy classes, who under a different system of law might have challenged the legal offspring of members of these classes for the wealth of their parent. Thus, there are times when the futurist might be unwilling to adopt the current legal codes as a definition of the preferable. For example, this would be the case for many futurists in judging the various laws of South Africa demanding racial separation.

Yet where the law can be used, it is a powerful argument since in many societies that are characterized by a legitimate state and legal system, people are willing to be persuaded that what is legal is what is desirable.

APPEALS TO HISTORY AND CHARTER MYTHS

Another form of appeal that can justify values and goals can be found in the use of history or charter myths in which the very

meaning and purpose of some group or society can be exemplified by some particular value or sets of values. For example Menno Boldt in his study of Canadian Indians made a series of recommendations aimed at creating more equal treatment for the Indians on the part of the Canadian government. He justified these recommendations with the argument that it was the basic value of equality of the various Indian tribes deep into their traditional past that motivated their desire in the present for full equal treatment as Canadian citizens. Thus one justification for a future of equality had to do with showing the commitment to and continuity with the traditional value of equality on the part of the Canadian Indians.

John Porter also justified his value of equality in his book *The Vertical Mosaic*. His argument was that the realities of social stratification in Canadian society are that the society is divided into unequal sections by ethnicity and social class. Here Porter tried to show that the charter myths and documents of Canadian society during its founding period clearly demonstrated the predominance of a commitment to the idea that equality defined social justice. Thus he recommended that the government begin designing policies to create more ethnic and class equality in Canada. Clearly his image of the desirable future was one in which there were fewer unfair inequalities and more fair equalities. Furthermore he justified his image of the future by contrasting the charter myths supporting equality to which he gave precedence with the present realities of inequality.

APPEALS TO THOUGHT EXPERIMENTS

Thought experiments to determine what is right may go back to Plato's *Republic* in which rational analysis is used to define justice. A recent example of a thought experiment in trying to justify the good in this case justice can be found in the work of John Rawls. Rawls begins with the assumption that there are rational choosers (or at least one rational chooser) in an original position that is before entering the social structure of society with a veil of ignorance over their coming social positions in the system of societal inequality. Then his rational choosers using Rawlsian logical deduction construct a society with what might be argued are fair equalities or inequalities and design a social contract.

The idea of course is quite simple. If you don't know where you're going to end up in some system of inequality how will you hedge your bets in designing the system of inequality itself? Among other things Rawls concludes that the amount of inequality that will

be created under such conditions will be only so great as to redound to the benefit of the least advantaged. If Rawls's argument is right then real social systems with real degrees of inequality can be evaluated as good or bad according to whether or not existing inequalities do in fact redound to the benefit of the disadvantaged.

Rawls of course is a more modern version of contractarianism or contract theory that goes back to Locke, Rousseau and Kant among others.

APPEALS TO THE COLLECTIVE JUDGMENTS AND BEHAVIORS OF GROUP MEMBERS

The justification of goals and values according to appeals to the collective judgments and behaviors of group members rests on the principle that within any particular culture or subculture norms exist that define the moral principles applicable to its members. It turns out that this approach takes into account both the possibility of situational variation and the existence of certain universal principles. In any particular case then the futurist can attempt to justify his evaluation of alternative futures as more or less desirable by using as standards of judgments the values, choices and behaviors of the relevant groups involved.

There are at least two major lines of research that provide bases for the futurists' definition of the preferable by the referring to the collective judgments and behaviors of group members. The first are laboratory or small group researches sometimes summarized as equity theory and research. For example Walster et al (1978) summarized such research that has been focused primarily on the question of "what is fair?" A fundamental definition of equity that has been formulated as a result of such research is that "An equitable relationship exists if a person scrutinizing the relationship concludes that all participants are receiving equal relative gains from the relationship." (Walster et al 1978: 10)

Human subjects in laboratory experiments apparently use a process of evaluating participants' inputs in relationship to rewards on the one hand and costs or punishments on the other in their judgments of fairness. Thus there may be great inequalities of outcome that is in rewards of one kind or another that are judged as fair as long as they are commensurate with the inequalities of inputs. For example people who have more skills or work harder or do more dangerous work than others would be judged as being treated fairly if they received commensurately larger incomes than others.

Inequalities of reward however that are not compensated for by inequalities of inputs result in judgments of unfairness. People are defined as overbenefited or underbenefited (exploited). The results of this research show that it is the equality or inequality in relative gains that determines whether or not a relationship is equitable (Walster et al 1978 14)

Individuals feel distressed when they find themselves in an inequitable relationship even when they are overbenefited but especially when they are exploited. There appears to be a general tendency for people to attempt to restore equity to a relationship either by actually changing the costs and rewards that people pay or receive or at least to redefine the relationship to restore psychological equity. The latter of course may distort reality and permit the continuation of relationships that others would judge as unfair. It seems clear that the norms of equity may derive from some of the prerequisite conditions of social life which is why one may find general and universal principles in different cultures that may otherwise appear to be very diverse. Some of the diversity however that is the variety of ways in which equity is achieved may be more apparent than real in that the basic principles of evaluation and judgement may be quite similar. That is everywhere inputs and outputs may be seen in relative terms. Everywhere there are overbenefited persons and underbenefited persons. Inequitable relationships may everywhere produce some degree of distress. And everywhere there may be fears of retaliation of the part of exploiters and self concept distress when persons perform acts that their society defines as unethical. As Walster et al (1978 15) say Societies develop norms of equity and teach these systems to their members. Thus in any society there will be a general consensus as to what constitutes an equitable relationship. In the end however equity is in the eye of the beholder. That is to say equity ultimately depends upon some individuals assessment of the relative inputs and outcomes of different individuals involved in a particular set of relationships.

A second set of studies dealing with collective judgements and behaviors of group members is found in field studies of various kinds especially survey research. Every developed country today and many less developed countries have various national survey research agencies that regularly sample the opinion of people in the society. Occasionally such studies deal with questions of goals and values and can be used to construct standards of evaluation of the preferable for particular regions or countries.

To give just two example of such research from my own work in Jamaica I and my associates had done studies of elites opinion before political independence in August 1962. Among the questions that we asked were several dealing with the images of the future of the new national leaders and goals they hoped to achieve and the values underlying them. One such goal had to do with the creation of more social equality within the society after independence.

Twelve years after independence I did an analysis of the social legislation that the new national leaders had actually passed after they came to power and evaluated it with respect to the preferable using as the standard of evaluation what they had said before independence about the goals and values they hoped to achieve. Additionally I analyzed social and economic indicators to see if in fact the social legislation really resulted in the social changes that had been intended. This is a small and oversimplified example from what is a larger and more complex study but for purpose of illustration I can say that the leaders for the most part in fact did pass social legislation that was aimed at achieving the preferable as they had defined it themselves twelve years earlier. But one also has to add that there was much less actual social change than they intended. There was change toward equality in access to public places and to some extent in education and health but there was relatively little change toward more equality of income and wealth. This simply illustrates how the values of the participants themselves can be used as a basis for establishing criteria of the preferable. In turn such criteria can be used as a standard of evaluation of their actual performance.

Taking another example from my own work jointly with Robert V. Robinson we constructed an index to measure how much inequality of what particular kind people in the United States and England judged to be fair. I won't try to summarize these findings here except to say first that there was a good deal of similarity between England and the United States. For example in both countries people were more likely to judge equality of treatment by police and courts as being fair than equality of income. Second having established for each country how much inequality of what kind is considered fair or unfair we have also established a standard of criteria that we could use to judge particular social situations and behaviors in each country as fair or unfair to the extent to which such behavior had been defined within the index of the evaluation we constructed.

Such systematic construction of the preferable from the collective judgments of group members themselves using modern social

scientific methods seems a most promising way to establish explicit justifications for judging alternative futures as more or less desirable

APPEALS TO THE MARKET

Appeals to the market are partly based upon the justification that people within many societies prefer market justice to political justice and partly based on thought experiments in that theoretical justifications and philosophical arguments exist to justify the market as an argument for justifying the preferable could be used as an illustration of these other two appeals yet it seems important enough to warrant its own category in that there are a number of objective reasons why the market may provide more justice than governmental intervention. This is an argument that probably runs against the thinking of most futurists. I won't try to summarize these arguments here because the literature has been analyzed recently by Robert E. Lane. A general principle is that the market may let people control their own lives more than politics does. In some sense if people work hard so the argument goes the market responds more directly and justly than does politics. That is the various governmental schemes that may intervene in the market operations to alter the distributions of cost on the one hand and rewards on the other distort the connection between inputs and outcomes. For example if you work hard the market usually rewards you with money. However under a political justice system if you work hard you may pay more taxes. At least that is the way most people other than intellectuals view the situation even if they are deprived by it.

The futurist should pay attention to this argument because there is a sense in which people view the market as providing an open future for them while planning is perceived as closing options for individuals. This is just opposite to what many futurists believe.

APPEALS TO UNIVERSAL OR CONVERGENT VALUES

Ever since the anthropologists launched their attack on ethnocentrism and substituted a theory of cultural relativism it has been unpopular to suggest that in fact there are certain universal or convergent values that can be used to evaluate behavior and social arrangements in any culture or human group. Stanley Lieberman recently pointed in his book *Making it Count* that using the typical social scientific approach to studying differences and explaining the variation would never lead if applied in the physical world to the formulation of the law of gravity. That is a social scientist typically

would study the differences in the acceleration and speed by which different objects fell to the ground and would formulate a series of explanatory propositions that explained the differences. They would never come to what was common or universal in all objects falling to the ground that is gravity.

In like manner have we neglected the universal and convergent values? Some of these I've already mentioned that derive directly from the biological needs of individuals if they are going to survive. Others derive from the conditions of social life itself. For example Donald T. Campbell has suggested that values such as trust, honesty, industriousness, cooperation and obligations to share with others are necessary for society to exist. Given the tremendous payoffs of group life compared to individual social isolation such values can be found wherever functioning human groups exist. Can you imagine for example any society existing without a certain amount of trustworthiness? It seems clear that society would be totally impossible without some degree of trust and trustworthiness. Without trust we could not learn from others or enter into interdependent relationships.

Other universal values that have been suggested of course include happiness, human dignity or respect, maximizing individual choice or freedom or social justice. Harold D. Lasswell derives eight values from the overall general value of human dignity. Using Lasswell's value scheme R. C. Snyder and others have proposed a global monitoring system for human rights justified also by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. The point is that such human rights are proposed as a standard of judging the preferable in societies and cultures everywhere no matter how they may otherwise vary.

Many other examples of efforts to see whether some universal values exist can be cited. Lawrence Kohlberg following John Dewey and Jean Piaget suggests universal stages of moral development with the highest being the universal ethical principle orientation. He says further (1980: 57) that morality represents a set of rational principles of judgement and decision valid for every culture, the principles of human welfare and justice. Thus he contends that such principles are free from culturally defined content.

Two recent world histories for example have used such principles. Hugh Thomas asserts the universal of freedom and William H. McNeil in his *A World History* claims that the civilized societies that have flourished in the past all accepted ethical systems that emphasized kindness and love and that the adherence to those beliefs is an advantage to survival.

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CONCLUSION

Clearly we've come a long way from simply adopting a client's goals as the criteria by which we judge the preferable. If there are universal or convergent values, then obviously a great deal of additional research needs to be done to specify exactly what they are and to empirically document that they really exist wherever organized group life exists. There may be cases of groups that are disorganized and disintegrating and on their way to extinction where such values do not exist. If such is the case, then the fact that there are universal values is directly tied to the fact that some values underlying group life lead to certain individual behaviors and social arrangements that have survival value.

This brings us to an ultimate judgement which to me seems reasonable to make. Ultimately what is good is that which contributes to the greater quantity and quality of life.

What I mean by quantity is simply the life expectancy of people already living. Average life expectancies range from about 40 in some societies up to about 80 in others. In other words, in some societies today people live twice as long as people do in other societies. Life expectancy then is a key measure that futurists might use in defining the preferable, an ultimate criterion that can be used to judge the desirability of alternative futures.

Finally, by quality of life I refer to a variety of measures that have to do with the health, happiness, and life satisfaction of individuals. Living a long time is one thing, but living a happy, healthy, and satisfied life is another. Fortunately, there are a number of studies that have attempted to measure the subjective assessment of individuals regarding their own lives and the lives of others in their society. For example, there is the work of Angus Campbell on life satisfaction or subjective well-being, and there are the United Nations attempts at objective assessment using social indicators of health, education, and welfare.

In conclusion, I hasten to add that I'm not proposing an answer to the preferable in this paper. Rather, I am proposing that it is a problem to which futurists should direct their attention. In my opinion, it's not enough simply to take the desirable for granted without making explicit efforts to justify and document evaluative judgments. Eventually, I'm reasonably sure we will develop some set of criteria defining the good life that are justified by social research in societies throughout earth. They will be general enough to apply everywhere and specific enough to be of help in judging which futures are more preferable than others in concrete decision situations.

SILENCES, SHADOWS, REFLECTIONS ON FUTURES
INITIAL THOUGHTS ON INTRODUCTION TO HERMENEUTIC
ANALYSIS

by
WENDY SCHULTZ

While pursuing an alternative futures degree in a department of political science, I am frequently challenged by the question, "What makes futures studies political science?" More confirmed skeptics simply ask, "What makes futures studies anything?" For the moment, I'll beg the second question, assuming that futures studies, while ill-defined, is indeed something and treat only the first question. But it would be more accurately restated as, "What is futures studies' relation to political science?"

I happen to think that the two complement each other effectively. Hence my puzzlement when political science colleagues profess themselves unable to see the usefulness of futures studies. Political scientists often neglect to consider alternative futures for political systems and their possible roots in sudden, disjunctive social change. Incorporating alternative futures theories and concepts into the political dialogue would open up immense theoretical and practical possibilities for research and praxis.

Of course, I am equally bemused by those U.S. futurists who neglect the political dimension in their scenarios. In their case, conscious articulation of the political ramifications of social and technical change, particularly in scenarios purporting to represent preferred futures, would not only enrich those scenarios but link futures studies to a long tradition in philosophy and political design. As a discipline with more than its share of idealists and dreamers, perhaps futures, as it is often practiced and discussed within America, eschews pragmatic questions of societal power distribution because such would constrain the creative dialogue in the field. Yet without articulating and incorporating such pragmatism into preferred futures, those scenarios will be terminally flawed before they are even realized.

I have talked about these two fields as if each were a child watching the other play and secretly wishing to join. The metaphor is one of exclusion, of being outside a boundary constituted by a professional language and dialogue. This image prompted me to recall recent readings in the perniciously seductive field of hermeneutics.

and the following essay emerged as an experiment in using that analytic approach to express some of my concerns as a professional in these two fields

SILENCES THE DISCOURSE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Adopting a political science persona and considering that field first I must begin by asking what ground political science covers as a discipline as a debate and as an inquiring discourse Unfortunately political scientists haven't resolved amongst themselves exactly what comprises the boundaries and topography of their discipline Many subfields compete for recognition within political science each with its own mode of discourse not necessarily intelligible to the others A near approximation of political science's boundaries as perceived by observers and expressed by Webster's International Dictionary is

political science n blah blah blah a field of enquiry devoted to an analysis of power in society¹

Taking this as a rough outline of the discourse within political science and the outer boundary for its subdiscourses I can then pose a variation of the visual figure/ground question what do we miss in the shape of the background as we concentrate on the central figure?

The emerging figure of political science leaves outside its boundaries the ground that it takes for granted or prefers not to discuss In this way it imposes limits on the dimensions of political discourse dominating those who become involved in it In Outline of a General Theory of Practice Pierre Bourdieu constructs a similar analogy for use in analyzing text and discourse Applying it to political science Bourdieu suggests that orthodoxy and heterodoxy constitute the debate itself in this case the political debate What lies outside that debate is doxa In reference to the field of doxa of that which is taken for granted Bourdieu comments

the stabler the objective structures and the more fully they reproduce themselves in the agents' dispositions the greater the extent of the field of doxa²

He posits that the greater the fit between the objective and the internalized the more likely it is that the established order will be seen as natural and self-evident

He goes on to describe the structures of reinforcement maintaining that illusion of self-evidence

The self-evidence of the world is re-duplicated by the instituted discourses about the world in which the whole group's adherence to that self-evidence is affirmed³

In the case of political science the world discussed is the world of material and symbolic power over human interactions the economic political and social networks that order people's relationships with each other

The terms and boundaries of the discussion the symbols traded within political discourse constitute the reality of that world for the speakers As Bourdieu suggests

the theory of knowledge is a dimension of political theory because the specifically symbolic power to impose the principles of the construction of reality⁴

Political scientists maintain that the objects of their discussion as named and constituted by that discussion are the true real objects of study possibly the only objects worthy of study Using the terms and theoretical frameworks of political science they control political discourse focussing it on their concerns and thus control the real limiting it to their expertise They control the imposition of silences the figure consists of that which is spoken which is illuminated and the ground that which is silent and dark

What then are the silences and shadows within the discourse of US political science? I have already mentioned the plethora of subdiscourses available to analyze in political science difficulties arise in choosing one for an example over others Instead let me choose as the discourse for analysis the public perception of the political discourse regarding optimum forms of government After all each of the subdiscourses in professional political science affects the public discourse to some extent Within the US republican democratic ideals welded onto a quasi-laissez-faire economic structure represent orthodoxy our system All the bureaucratic pseudo-democracies welded onto centrally planned economies represent heterodoxy the them of the discourse in the perception of the major portion of the public The debate between orthodoxy and heterodoxy to remain within Bourdieu's framework thus emerges as different interpretations of the agreed-upon universe of debate the objective world of individuals the economy and power over the structure of the polity

At this point in the experiment I choose to create what Hofstadter

would call a strange loop and steal my analytic metaphor from the discourse of hermeneutic analysis itself. A conceptual thread running through the metatheoretical network of hermeneutic analysis is the dichotomy of singularity vs multiplicity: the one, the true, the real, the ideology constituted by a given discourse vs the multiple interpretations offered by critical analysis in its process of deconstruction and reconstruction. Turning this dichotomy towards the political discourse as it occurs in the public's perceptions illuminates some major differences between the orthodoxy of the US system and the heterodoxy of the communist CPEs (centrally planned economies) systems.

Within the United States we understand the usefulness of multiplicity of variety in personal styles enhancing the creative productive forces within the economy. But we miss the threat of emerging singularity, the threat posed by the probability of entrepreneurs consolidating, incorporating and transforming business into monolithic blocks of capital. The growth in this century of mammoth transnational corporations even after the institution of the anti-trust laws illustrates this. By this error the US perspective loses freedom within the economy for individuals in the polity.

On the other hand, they who manage the CPEs clearly recognize the threat of capital as singularity, the tendency for it to organize itself into a monolith. They counter with the worker as one as monolith. The bas-reliefs and statuary of the USSR and the wall posters of the PRC confirm this reinterpretation of their citizens into the worker. In so reinterpreting people in order to restrain capital, they who run the CPEs lose the creative force of multiplicity of individuality.

From an observer's standpoint both the orthodoxy of this discourse and the heterodoxy offer a program of aspirations to legitimate their respective political systems. These aspirations are communicated via what Althusser calls the Ideological State Apparatuses: the family, church, education, communications and culture.⁵ These apparatuses aim to produce free subjects, that is, citizens whose aspirations and goal so closely coincide with the state's that they cheerfully acquiesce to their assigned roles, thinking those roles the natural order of the world. Although Althusser critiques capitalist social dynamics with regard to people's aspirations, his analyses also suit the communist CPEs as currently constituted.

Althusser suggests that the educational apparatus exerts the most force in supporting ideologically based aspirations in the age of telecommunication; it is more likely to be the apparatus of

communication and mass culture which most deeply influences people's goals. The communist CPEs transmit only one overarching image of the future: the eventual communist transformation of society into a worker's paradise of material affluence and leisure. Indeed, that is their strength and their weakness. The US allows for multiple visions of the future, yet its society currently produces only one primary dream. It too is a vision of material affluence, a vision of hyper-consumption best expressed by the commercial ideologues of Madison Avenue. That is our great weakness and our strength.

This is only a beginner's sketch of the political discourse as it emerges in public perception. It includes the expected basics: the role of individuals, of capital, the structure of the economy and styles of consumption and the structure of government. These basic subjects are within the field of discussion, are open to debate, to disagreement; they are not taken for granted. In terms of this discourse, then, what is taken for granted, left for the most part in shadow, unnoticed? For long time women were in shadow; for a long time the intuitive, the empathic, the mythic and the mystic; for a long time the planet Earth itself. What does that say about silences existing within political science as a profession? Yet still small voices, growing louder with the years, have broken those silences in the last decade. The consideration of alternative futures belongs in that group.

More pertinently for futures studies, the practical reduction to one image of the future within the political discourse streamlines the debate among political science professionals as well as they, orthodox or heterodox. They can comfortably invest their expertise, careers and tenure in wrangling over present crises and corruptions, in learning the names of the major actors of the present, the data for the trends of the present and the dynamics of the interpretations of the present. Few uncertainties will creep into the field of discourse to rattle their expertise.

What finally shakes this complacency? Bourdieu answers: objective crisis, which breaks the perceived congruence between subjective belief structures and the objective structures of reality, thus destroying self-evidence. Crisis is a necessary condition for the questioning of doxa.⁶ The great silence in political science covers the diversity of possible social changes and the possibilities of alternative futures. The study of alternative futures, shut out of the political discourse, exists in the ground, in the background, as doxa. Only crisis awakens the practitioners and their audience to the constraints of the political discourse. After completing a dissertation

critiquing Philippine bureaucracy one recent graduate went home to the Philippines in time for the Aquino presidency In corresponding with a colleague he wryly commented Nobody taught us what to do after the revolution

Of course not in actual fact professional critics of corrupt regimes and exploitive businesses need those institutions to continue working Critical theorists would be unemployed in a utopia But Marcos absence does not in itself create utopia reaching a preferred future requires community agreement and hard work That recent graduate's statement demonstrates that he studied and now works within a dialogue poor in envisioning considering and planning to realize alternative scenarios for the Philippines future

It is less risky for experts to assume that the world will continue as they know it and that trends of change as well will continue unchanged This holds for political scientists who assure their audience that it is vital to consider today's problems and only daydreamers dabble in the fantasy problems of tomorrow Hence futures and the improbable but possible are silenced Bourdieu states this as an underlying antagonism

The field of opinion the universe of discourse involves exchanges between orthodoxy and heterodoxy and in that exchange masks the fundamental opposition between the universe of things that can be stated and hence thought and the universe of that which is taken for granted⁷

This discourse leaves unstated and ignored the fact that history is full of cases where the improbable and the unlikely have enjoyed a reverse of fortunes and overturned more likely and probable futures Social and technological innovations and just the general unpredictability of people guarantee that such cases will recur Intensifications of the present and more of the same may be devoutly wished for by political scientists but such hopes are not supported by history

The discourse of political science trivializes marginalizes and externalizes aleatory scenarios of the future It prefers to anchor its present to a grand systematic sweep of history to the broad unfolding of systems This differs greatly from perspectives such as Arthur Koestler's voiced in *The Sleepwalkers* which portrays Western science as stumbling blindly upon its discoveries In discussing Nietzsche Foucault describes effective history which turns on the dynamic of chance reversals on slips in relations that invert power structures

History becomes effective to the degree that it introduces discontinuity into our very being Effective history deprives the self of the reassuring stability of life and nature and it will not permit itself to be transported toward a millennial ending The world of effective history knows only one kingdom where there is only the iron hand of necessity shaking the dice box of chance The world we know is a profusion of entangled events it began and continues its secret existence through a host of errors and phantasms it unearths the periods of decadence and if it chances upon lofty epochs it is with the suspicion not vindictive but joyous of finding a barbarous and shameful confusion The final trait of effective history is its affirmation of knowledge as perspective⁸

This is the perspective of history which serves to anchor futurists explorations into alternative futures from emerging trends of the present Practitioners of alternative futures studies gleefully plunge into the possibilities emergent from confusion These leaps affirm the usefulness even of seemingly nonsensical data

Political science privileges the probabilities and data of the past and the present It is focussed on current relations among individuals and institutions acting in the networks of power embedded in the economy and the polity and on how those relations emerged from the past In contrast studies of alternative futures privilege low probability emerging trends and portents of change perceived by visionaries artists religious fanatics and similar socially marginal types Futures researchers look at the multiple regressions of statistical models and ask themselves What major innovation would turn this prediction upside down? History surprises good futures research tries to imitate history in that respect It looks for the roots of the unpredictable

These are not habits likely to endear futurists to social science scholars working from traditions of teleological assumptions or myopic scientism In addition US futurists are often accused at the least of being apolitical At the worst they are suspected of producing forecasts used to underpin inimical policy decisions It is true they often ignore opportunities to critique the structures of dominance past present or future on which critical theory focusses But for those futures studies that emerge alongside the political debate this is because structures of dominance are not a

silence within the political discourse what happens after the revolution is

SHADOWS THE DISCOURSE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The preceding argument focussed on shadows within political science pointing out areas which studies of alternative futures might illuminate. Initiating the argument with alternative futures as the other alienated from political science points a searchlight of a certain frequency at political discourse. At the same time it conveniently shrouds the discourse of alternative futures. But that too conceals power structures often they are either unexamined or heavily rationalized.

Futures studies as practiced in the United States can still benefit from the self reflection implied by critical theory and hermeneutic analysis. As is often the case with artificially composed comparisons the strength of the first case is the weakness of the second. In devising alternative futures futurists entranced with interesting social or technical details can forget the ties that bind those details to the economic and political structures of the present. Or having altered the flow of change and the direction of events sufficiently to cut ties with awkward corporate systems regimes or international orders they then fail to consider what form the drive to power in human nature will take in future societies.

Perhaps equity and fairness are universal human goals but the technical economic and natural parameters of social systems generate inequalities even as they admit more possibilities for equality. High technology will cause ever more rapid and extreme changes in those parameters. Even now the computer literati have an advantage over mere readers of type how much more advantage will the biotechnicians of the future have? What social costs will the economies of the future externalize as they adapt to social and technical changes? How will the technical changes pushing and pulling us into different futures affect both the implicit and formal power structures of our cultures? These are questions often ignored dismissed or wished away by futurists.

Like political science futures studies contains many subfields which constitute subdiscourses within its universe of debate like political science futures studies is an untidy meta discourse. Thus I shall again choose as the discourse for analysis the public perception of the futures discourse regarding US futures rather than any of the subdiscourses in the field. After all futures studies has its coterie of

high profile authors as political science does whose ideas drift into wide public circulation.

Futures studies is in many ways intellectually richer in other countries yet critics have commented that futures research produces many scenarios that resemble North America writ large. Certainly some of the most popular futures authors postulate the most possible US future as one of post industrial hypertechnological development with varying social economic and political consequences. Kahn and Toffler are examples of this. While they address issues of political change they do not discuss how the current political structure will fight those changes and they certainly do not discuss implicit power structures that could arise in the circumstances of their scenarios. Similar visions of technologically based optimism are often generated to support policy and planning in government and business decisions. Hence let us call this the orthodox viewpoint in the futures discourse. It is probably the vision of preference for the greater part of the public.

Heterodoxy in the public perception of the futures discourse might be well represented by both the scenarios of tender austerity and the scenarios of anarchic resource poverty. The first group includes much of the new age literature which concerns itself with optimizing human potential as a path to solving material and sociopolitical problems. An early example is the late E F Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* that suggests restructuring economic priorities based on a new understanding of human nature. These works are more normative than predictive their authors suggest they must occur because humans will be forced into these paths for survival.

The trends forcing us are sketched by the authors envisioning anarchic resource poverty. This second group of scenarios includes the Club of Rome reports as well as forecasts by Harrison Brown Robert Heilbroner and others that are loosely classified as descriptions of the global problematique. These present dark portraits of the global povert and international squabbling that will arise when population densities is the Third World coupled with national debt global scarcity of natural resources and the West's continued material extravagance finally exceed some worldwide envelope of tolerance. This falls within the field of the public futures discourse because these catastrophic changes are seen as permanently affecting the American way of life.

These heterodoxies contain warnings of authoritarian political systems that might crystallize as catalyzed by the imperatives of the global problematique and in some cases offer normative models of

alternative paths people should choose now a return to spirituality or a more participatory government or a more decentralized community base political system This is where scenarios of anarchic resource poverty shade into scenarios of tender austerity Yet while they often describe the political systems of the future or where appropriate the political decay of the future they frequently neglect the transition mechanisms and do not usually offer deep analyses regarding implicit power structures that might arise Further they rarely treat the political actions occurring today in response to these cataclysmic changes whether they be the positive changes envisioned by the likes of Kahn and Toffler or the negative trends about which Brown Heilbroner and others warn us

In an essay on the ideologies of futurists Ian Miles has made these points more eloquently and in greater detail than I have in this hermeneutic fly by He roughly classifies the worst weaknesses of the futures discourse as historicism (in Popper's rather than Meinecke's sense) ethnocentrism tech fixes and technological determinism and mystification and elitism⁹ To which I would add a blindness to the reactions of the current implicit and formal power structures to disjunctive change a failure to elaborate or speculate on possible stages of political transition to alternative futures and a blindness the implicit power structures that might arise in envisioned futures

REFLECTIONS ON FUTURES

PROFESSIONAL USE OF INTERPRETIVE THEORY

Using critical interpretive theory or hermeneutics analysts restructure everyday communication the texts of mass and high culture professional debates and the acts of individuals in their surrounding society This restructuring illuminates the network of power relations and structures of dominance it unveils the subtle mechanisms of reinforcement used to buttress primary belief systems How can this process of restructuring be useful for futurists?

To return to the initial figure/ground metaphor imagine futures studies as a field of opinion or universe of debate Its outer boundaries although ill defined are marked by interfaces with many other fields of study Those other fields of study should represent doxa to futurists but futures studies is so multidisciplinary by nature that it requires their contributions In order fully to articulate an alternative future researchers should be able to limn many of its characteristics in good detail Futures studies cannot exist at all if it must block certain topics off into the shadows of doxa This is its advantage over political science it incorporates political science as one of its subdiscourses Political science cannot as yet say the same

Futurists then must often use the language interpretations and data of other disciplines In this sense the ground analogy is especially useful just as a figure has little shape or meaning without ground without context studies of alternative futures also mean nothing outside their social technical and natural context Hermeneutic interpretation provides a means to uncover the structure of impositions used to reinforce the beliefs of other disciplines and thus could help futurists avoid superimposing those structures on their own field

At the same time critical interpretation demands a constant self assessment so that futures studies as the figure also undergoes continual reinterpretation Futurists can practice reinterpretation on two levels They can constantly monitor the literature of futures studies to see what limits and structures its discourse imposes They can also constantly reinterpret themselves Individuals practicing futures studies constitute a figure of individual activity against the ground of futures studies as a community of action At the individual level critical interpretation becomes praxis becomes action

Hermeneutics renames human activity so that all acts are communication are discourse or text In this context questions of its use become questions of internalization People must ask themselves before they write speak or act what they dominate with the form style and content of their communication Yet it is important to remember that this critical self reflective perspective has limits and should not be pushed beyond them Hermeneutic analysis is a tool to aid social researchers in honing their patterns of thought It should not be elevated to a religion

In this regard hermeneutics sets traps some perhaps more treacherous to studies of alternative futures and futures praxis than to other fields The constant practice of deconstructing social reality followed by multiple reconstructions can escalate to an extreme subjective relativism leading to what Clifford Geertz among others has called the Cartesian anxiety In immoderate doses hermeneutic analysis paralyzes action

Theodore Adorno's writing represents yet another pitfall of critical analysis taken to its extreme a malaise which might be termed hermeneutic fatalism

Concrete and positive suggestions for change merely strengthen social blocks against reform either as ways of administering the unadministratable or by calling down repression from the monstrous totality itself The

concept and theory of society are legitimate only when they do not allow themselves to be attracted by either of these solutions when they merely hold in negative fashion to the basic possibility inherent in them ¹⁰

This is a man too lost to hope to work for change. Although power structures and relations of dominance transform themselves and so perniciously reappear in new social formations I do not think we should give up envisioning and trying to realize new social futures. We can hope that each successive vision will reduce the effectiveness of structures of dominance and enhance the fairness of cooperative structures of community governance. This will require however constantly pruning back actions of dominance when they crop up in our own lives. I am hopeful of this to paraphrase Foucault I prefer to think that networks of power open up possibilities while they close doors. We can take advantage of the possibilities and we can unlock the doors.

NOTES

¹ political science n a social science concerned chiefly with the description and analysis of political and esp governmental institutions and processes and making use of factual material and methods selected from other social sciences (as sociology psychology economics and history) a study of the phenomena of politics a science dealing with the political rather than the social ethical or economic relations of man a field of enquiry devoted to an analysis of power in society from Webster's Third New International Dictionary Unabridged (Springfield MA G & C Merriam Company 1976)

²Pierre Bourdieu *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press 1977) pp 165 166

³Bourdieu p 167

⁴Bourdieu p 165

⁵Louis Althusser *Lenin and Philosophy And Other Essays* pp 141 147

⁶Bourdieu p 169

⁷Bourdieu pp 169 170

⁸Michel Foucault *The Foucault Reader* ed Rabinow (New York Pantheon Books 1984) pp 87 90

⁹Ian Miles *The Ideologies of Futurists* in *Handbook of Futures Research* ed Fowles (Westport CT Greenwood Press 1978) pp 67 97

¹⁰Theodore Adorno *Society* in *Salmagundi* Fall 1969 No 10
The final sessions of the WFSF Conference on Who Cares? and How? were held outdoors in Andrews Amphitheatre on the campus of the University of Hawaii Kathleen Redd (US) and Albert Oliva (Spain) gave a helpful summary of the discussions of the various working groups which operated throughout the conference Eleonora Masini (Italy) President of the WFSF offered reflections in conclusion as well

CHAPTER V
WHO CARES FOR TOMORROW?

The final sessions of the WFSF Conference on Who Cares? and How? were held outdoors in Andrews Amphitheatre on the campus of the University of Hawaii. Kathleen Maloney (US) and Albert Oliva (Spain) gave a helpful summary of the discussions of the various working groups which operated throughout the conference. Eleonora Masini (Italy) President of the WFSF offered reflections in conclusion as well.

But in many ways the highlight of the Conference and certainly the most futuristic vision of all the sessions was the speech by Spark M. Matsunaga, United States Senator from Hawaii. Sen. Matsunaga has had a distinguished career as one of the few true statesmen in the US Congress. He was largely responsible for the creation of the United States Institute for Peace. He also introduced legislation which led to the creation of a post in the United States similar to that of the Poet Laureate in England. And he has been a towering figure in support of an international program for manned spaceflight.

In the final talk before the WFSF, Sen. Matsunaga painted a clear and challenging picture of the practical political value of a cooperative Mars landing program between the United States and the Soviet Union. A long range joint program of this nature means the two nations are more likely to want to seek for quick and peaceful solutions to problems they might have in other spheres. Through cooperation they will learn to demystify and to trust each other better. Since science is an inherently democratizing process characterized by free and open exchange of information, they will mutually democratize each other. Manned exploration of Mars is in and of itself a worthy goal, and it certainly is a fit way to celebrate in 1992 the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' voyage to the New World, the 75th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and the 35th anniversary of the launching of Sputnik.

As noted pages ago in the introduction to this volume, Simon Nicholson and Sue MacLennan consistently sought to bring more

explicitly esthetic non verbal modes of apprehending care before the participants In the final contribution to this volume they resort to words to recollect some of the sounds and movement with which they enriched the proceedings

SUMMARY OF WORKING GROUPS' REPORTS

by

KATHLEEN MALONEY

As part of the closing ceremonies Albert Oliva of Spain and Kathleen Maloney of the United States summarized reports from the working groups Topics of these groups included the following health and welfare architecture/landscapes/settlements education for peace and care ethical aspects of development care and self reliance caring for Mother Earth welfare states or farewell states communication and telecommunication futures of future studies cultural roots of peace and caring leadership and participation

The reports from seven working groups focusing on different topics and using different group processes and methodologies had a number of common themes and threads running throughout These themes and threads were expressed in varied ways but seemed to cluster around several concepts

One of the major themes was an admonition to avoid or diminish dependency Each of the groups seemed to be concerned that many human societies have in the past served as the controlling forces limiting the ability of individuals and groups to develop their full potential

On a more positive note each of the seven working groups seemed in its own way to focus on responsibility values and decentralized centralism

Finding mechanisms for individuals to develop deepened senses of responsibilities was a concern expressed in each groups report Of course the means for this varied depending on the thematic focus of the group All human beings can play a role in shaping the futures we are to experience These futures will be increasingly positive and humane as more of us learn to be responsible for ourselves and for our actions This is the corollary of reduced dependency as well as being a way of celebrating the unique potential and spirit of each of us This increased sense of responsibility suggests a kind of empowerment but one tempered by a respectful and sensitive attitude and approach toward others

Crucial to this respectful and sensitive attitude and approach is an understanding of values In unique ways each working group

touched on the importance of cultural values and individual preferences or needs. The traditions and values of each culture need to be cherished at the same time some of these traditions may limit our potential as humans to create alternative futures that are rich in spirit humane in quality and growth full in context. Therefore some suggestions were made that occasionally cultural traditions may be adapted by members of that culture to better serve and support their emerging futures.

Better understanding of responsibility and values is likely to come through decentralized centralism. This paradoxical term seems to be suggesting the importance of local or community action whereby individuals working in small highly personalized groups can develop the skills talents and personal power to shape the future they prefer. Decentralization is important because these activities must be centered in people and in bureaucracies. It is centralized in that individuals working in groups create a synergistic energy greater than any of us acting alone.

Individual working groups developed these themes differently. The particular focus of a working group shaped the specifics of the discussions and the recommendations (when given). Individual working groups reports represent a rich resource on a micro level and a springboard to a macro perspective emphasizing responsibility values and decentralized centralism.

WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

by

MIHAILO MARKOVIC

I would like to make a few remarks about the issues discussed in this Conference. These are my personal views and they do not oblige the Federation in any way.

1

It was characteristic of this World Conference that in addition to true dialogues among participants we have occasionally had very sharp confrontations. Therefore the following question must inevitably be asked. If we are serious and mean what we are saying how can we and why should we stay in the same organization? For the participants from the Third World who have strong reasons to condemn advanced industrial countries for all the evils done to them from the beginning of civilization till the present day abuse and arrogance does it make any sense to stay together in the same organization with Westerners who refuse to dissociate themselves from what their governments have done in the past and are still doing now? It would seem reasonable to decouple and create a Future Studies Federation of the vast majority of the world without people from the West. On the other hand for those people from the West who condemn all those past and present injustices and who are among the most resolute critics of the sicknesses of their own civilization it would seem masochistic to stay together in the same organization with anybody who identifies them with their governments and who holds them responsible for all the Western sins over the centuries.

The truth is however that one is responsible only for those acts which could have been otherwise had we freely chosen to act otherwise. The truth is also that the natural allies of the Third World engaged intellectuals are Western critical intellectuals in the same way in which the natural allies of oppressed women are men who are critical of male chauvinism. And in the same way in which women must not forget that Margaret Thatcher and Imelda Marcos belong to their gender Third World intellectuals must accept what Tech Gee Lim said in his talk namely that in addition to Western arrogance and domination at least a part of the blame must go to the Third World elites.

Under those conditions when all of us disassociate ourselves from the vicious powers in our countries when our minds become free and independent the targets of the critique will be the same for all of us inspite of differences in tasks and priorities. And under those conditions when we all share the compassion for all human beings who suffer it makes sense to work together in the same world organization and to search for the implicit common elements in our motives and underlying values. On the other hand if we become spokesmen for national and any other particular exclusive interest our organization will be doomed and have no reason to exist

2

After this conference we understand better what is involved in a well interpreted concept of social care

First a caring society is a culture of mutuality and solidarity a culture which cares about the weak sick disadvantaged very young and the old as one of its basic values. In the structure of human needs that such a culture fosters and maintains concern about other persons existence and well being is one of the primary characteristics

Second a precondition of social care is the rational understanding arrive at in the very process of education of each individual that a careless society is a self destructive society a society that tends to fall apart as a consequence of the excessive egoism of its citizens

Third we must overcome the obsolete linkage of social respect and self respect to success in material economic terms which results in the opposite extreme of self blame and social disrespect for those who lack success in daily competition. Society can no longer be a laissez faire economic jungle. There are too many social factors on which success or failure stable income or unemployment wealth or material poverty depend. People are no longer jobless because they are incompetent poor because they are lazy homeless because of their bad luck. Certain social structures inevitably produce unemployment low incomes homelessness. Human dignity must not depend on those blind forces. Moreover victims of those forces must not be put into the position of feeling that their already badly impaired dignity and self respect are completely destroyed when they become objects of social care

Fourth democracy is a necessary condition of a caring society. A culture of solidarity a rational understanding of the benefits of strong social cohesion and social care that preserves personal dignity and self respect are possible only under conditions of democracy and the full realization of human rights. However the concept of democracy

and human rights must be generalized in two ways. First democracy must be extended from the sphere of politics to the economy and culture. There are societies in which liberal institutions have existed for centuries and in which civil rights are reasonably well respected but in which millions are unemployed homeless illiterate deprived of any health services. It was totally forgotten that freedom is important in work and culture as well in politics. It fell into oblivion that five decades ago Roosevelt promised a job and a home to each American and that the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights embraces both civil and socio economic rights. Second the concept of democracy must be generalized in such a way as to embrace both representative and participatory democracy. Without the broad participation of citizens in both building and implementing policies of caring these will almost entirely end up in the hands of the state bureaucracy. Then caring become costly wasteful reified arrogant infected with corruption and abuse destructive of dignity and self respect of the objects of social care

3

If we want to make our societies more caring we must transform the existing universally accepted and imitated model of development. A basic characteristic of that model is the use of all knowledge and technical skill in a frantic effort to increase material output and to secure accelerated exponential economic growth. A lion's share of accumulated wealth goes into reinvestment. Too many needs are artificial instrumental to consumption and not to human development. Natural and human resources are being quickly depleted

A higher level of social care is possible only within an entirely different paradigm of social development one that would be less materialistic less competitive and possessive less wasteful more concerned with social and cultural needs of all people and with the preservation of a healthy national and social environment

4

In every sense caring is incompatible with the growing militarization of our societies

For many participants in this conference data about nuclear tests in the Pacific and their consequences came as a deeply disturbing revelation. It sounds ironic to speak about caring or even over caring societies while in the islands around us deformed babies are born and increasing numbers of people die of cancer as a consequence of the military arrogance of distant superpowers. Any defense of that arrogance (of the kind that was attempted by some at this conference) is intolerable in any decent civilized society

Another aspect of militarism is very relevant to practical problems of care in contemporary society. The primary practical problem is where to find the money in order to create jobs for all citizens housing for homeless people good schools for all children decent hospitals the necessary care and a meaningful life for the old and the handicapped?

Money is there in the budgets of the monstrous contemporary Leviathans and the overstuffed overcostly underefficient departments of state bureaucracy. All the useful and necessary functions of the modern state such a protection of human rights maintaining basic social order coordination of various public activities and mediation in conflicts could be performed much more efficiently and much less costly with a radical reduction the state apparatus and with the transfer of many social tasks into the hands of regional and local self governing non professional agencies.

Especially huge reserves of money are in the military budgets. First we build several hundred times more weapons than is necessary to destroy all humanity all civilization all life on the planet. Then we negotiate about destroying them all and building new more destructive and more costly ones. Someone from another planet who discredited that all this madness coming from our leaders has been met with approval by the majority of the population could easily conclude that all humanity deserved to be put into a mental asylum.

Fortunately there are individuals groups and entire organizations including our World Futures Studies Federation which resist and raise the voice of reason against this most malignant sickness of our historical epoch. It is important in this struggle not get frustrated not to fall into the trap of terrorism. The real match for big scale violence is not small scale violence but patient hard work organized to informing people getting publicity in major mass media internationalizing issues getting support all over the world creating powerful international public opinion that will increasingly demystify and prevent the present day war games.

Many insights and ideas from this conference will certainly be further discussed in our future World and Regional Conferences. We will obviously continue to differ in many details. And yet I would like to hope that we will stay united in our critique of all social forces that perpetuate human suffering and in our practical commitment to a higher level of social care in our future societies.

CLOSING REMARKS
by
ELEONORA BARBIERI MASINI

Coming to the end of this very lively and in many ways future oriented conference with thanks to the participants and Jim Dator as major organizer I wish to stress a few points.

- 1) The WFSF has tried in its short history to capture the meaning of the historical movement in which its members live and to look ahead in relation to the topics specific to that moment. In 1973 WFSF members discussed human needs in relation to new emerging societies. This topic is still valid and unresolved if we look at the developing countries. In 1978 the members discussed the ambivalence between the growing awareness of cultural identity on the part of many and different people in the world becoming more and more interdependent. This topic is still very crucial although many people are more aware of it than others. In 1984 the importance for the future of culturally different roots of peace to be understood and probed was the topic discussed in Costa Rica. In Honolulu 1986 the discussion has been on the different ways of caring at the various levels personal and structural whether local national or global. But although difficult to define care was felt by all to be very important today and probably more so in the future.

One thing emerged very clearly that social structures seem to constrain to passivity rather than actively in caring to the point of even destroying traditional ways of caring which have so much importance in societies. Caring has hence appeared in the discussions as a contradiction as a disguise for other priorities at the structural social or economic level which must be challenged by the growing and often different needs of people. Futures of support need to be present as seeds of what might occur. Such is the case of the islands of peace described in one group as experiences of education building peace or living in peace against nuclear energy. Such islands of peace have to be reinforced or revitalized if already existing in the past in what are often called traditional societies.

2) In observing ourselves as people of today but looking into the future we realized that we are living in two worlds in relation to caring both at a personal and at a social level. This was shown clearly by our friend Puanani from the Hawaiian people living at the same time in a world of caring and in a world of competition. This double life takes many faces in social structure also at the global level. But we have now reached a historical turning point in this contradiction we are heading either toward destruction or towards life and we have to choose. As in all crucial moments whether personal or political we have to decide and take a position and choose clear action. We cannot avoid the choice anymore.

This was very clear during the whole Honolulu conference which I shall remember exactly for the following: the need to take a position for the future and not just let the future happen. We have had confrontation but confrontation means also tolerance.

What is important in confrontation is a clear position even if it provokes a crisis as this is the turning point: a position means also tolerance which though has a limit in the damage to life. WFSF constitutes a learning process in this difficult path which is both historically bounded and future oriented as it has members from different cultures, different ideologies with different visions of the future.

THE MARS PROJECT
by
SPARK MATSUNAGA

Distinguished members of the World Futures Studies Federation Ladies and Gentlemen ALOHA! I am delighted and honored to address the closing session of your very important conference. Jim Dator has asked me to discuss my efforts at incorporating a true sense of the future into United States space policies. Let me say first it hasn't been easy. Politics in Washington is too often ruled by a process of short term action and reaction that only seems able to address the future when it has nothing to offer because the encroaching present has already violated its potential. In fact my book *The Mars Project* was conceived in an effort to take a long term issue to the public while also developing it in a broad policy context that might awaken our nation's leaders to its unexploited opportunities.

The title of the book is from an obscure 1952 treatise by Wernher von Braun that lays out the technical requirements for a manned mission to Mars. But as the subtitle *Journeys Beyond the Cold War* indicates the book is mainly a political account. It describes how I became involved in the space cooperation issue, how I attempted to advance it in Congress, the resistance I encountered and most of all how this long effort deeply affected my political perceptions on a number of issues.

I first began reflecting upon the potential of the international scientific community as a force for unity on the space frontier in the late 1970s. My inspiration was a visit to the internationally manned astronomical observatory complex on the summit of Mauna Kea on the Big Island of Hawaii. There I discovered a purposeful community transcending culture and nation that was bound together by a shared commitment to certain practical objectives.

For a practical politician as I later wrote in my book, the unity of those working scientists held a special appeal. It wasn't romantic idealism that united them. They didn't think of their activities as an Experiment in International Living. They weren't trying to build bridges of intercultural communication. They were too busy for any

of that And yet merely by pursuing a profession whose very character was international they had created something that politicians sought in vain or rejected as impossibly idealistic a working community that transcended national borders

My legislative activity on behalf of that community grew out of a concern arising in 1982 that the steady growth of their efforts would be blocked by an arms race in space My concern was prompted by articles in technical journals far removed from the mainstream of public attention about plans for laser battle stations in space I wrote an article for the Washington Post which appeared in July 1982 suggesting that the arms race didnt need a new dimension and proposing that the first permanently manned space station be an international project I sent copies to the White House and the Secretaries of State and Defense for comment Everyone wondered what I was worried about Dr George Keyworth the President's Science Adviser and Caspar Weinberger the Secretary of Defense wrote to me that the United States had no plans for space weapons But at the same time both of them said that the Soviets had a large and accelerating space weapons program

It became clear very quickly that as usual we were backing into another phase of the arms race We would wait until the Soviet threat seemed imminent, and then we would launch a crash program to catch up We would of course succeed But meanwhile the arms race would go into orbit literally and figuratively I submitted a congressional resolution that began whereas the United States and the Soviet Union are on a course leading toward an arms race in space which is in the interest of no one The resolution was virtually ignored An arms race in space? Absurd

During the recess I researched the issue further and it was at this point that I began to develop a sense of its complexity and its potential First I found that most international minded space scientists opposed that idea of an international space station or for that matter any kind of space station They saw it as another giant space project conceived to keep the NASA bureaucracy in business a follow on to the space shuttle that had bled space science dry during its development stages So I shifted my focus and drafted a resolution calling for renewal of the five year U S U S S R space cooperation agreement that was first negotiated by Nixon and Brezhnev in 1972 renewed by Carter and Brezhnev in 1977 and allowed to lapse by Reagan in 1982 in reaction to Soviet behavior in Poland The resolution was entitled relating to East West cooperation in space as an alternative to a space arms race I introduced it on March 10

1983 with Claiborne Pell as its co sponsor and with a series of written endorsements from leading space scientists Again no interest No one in the political mainstream at the time could admit the possibility of a space arms race All that changed two weeks later on March 23 when President Reagan delivered his famous Star Wars speech Now I thought I would finally find a sympathetic audience at least among liberals But that did not prove to be the case Arms control liberals argued for arms control negotiations Scientist liberals focussed on the cost of Star Wars All of them told me politely but firmly that my resolution would dilute efforts to avert a space arms race I tried to argue that a policy of cooperation might serve as a complement to arms control That it would create facts in space that could have a cumulative effect But I was talking to an empty room

It was at this point paradoxically that I began to recognize that I was onto something People were not so much against it as unable to see it The problem was contextual The full significance and potential of space cooperation could be recognized only by moving outside our everyday political context

Consider for instance the 1975 Apollo Soyuz mission when manned U S and Soviet spacecraft linked up in space Most of you are familiar with the standard arguments against Apollo Soyuz it was an empty publicity stunt a \$250 million handshake in space that failed to influence Soviet policy elsewhere in the world Those arguments may have validity in one context but from another angle the mission appears in an entirely different light Apollo Soyuz may not have influenced Soviet behavior in Angola or Mozambique but it had a major influence on Soviet behavior in space Under the technical imperatives of a shared deadline the Soviet space program opened up to an unprecedented extent By the time Apollo Soyuz was completed with a successful docking Americans had been admitted to previously top secret Soviet facilities and the two sides had negotiated and signed 133 working documents an unprecedented achievement The major success of Apollo Soyuz was the establishment of procedures for large scale U S U S S R joint activities in space Its major failure was an absence of follow up

That failure can be traced to the shortsightedness of Washington policymakers In May 1977 the U S and U S S R signed a special agreement on Cooperation in the Area of Manned Space Flight The agreement called for a Shuttle Salyut Program and an International Space Platform program I queried members of the American team that met with Soviets scientists in November 1977 to begin implementing the Shuttle Salyut program They were uniformly

impressed with the quality of Soviet proposals in which the shuttle would have transported experiments to the long duration Salyut. A series of joint implementation meetings were scheduled for 1978. But the two sides never met again. The U.S. unilaterally pulled out of the program primarily in reaction to Soviet behavior in Africa.

Now I ask you to imagine the effect of a possible space arms race if our shuttle and the Soviet Salyut were now engaged in joint exercises on a regular basis and if the U.S. and U.S.S.R. were deep into plans for an International Space Station with additional contributions from other space-faring nations. We would literally be constructing a whole new reality in space.

Deke Slayton, one of the astronauts on Apollo Soyuz, offered a glimpse of that reality when he responded to my request to comment on reports of technology transfer during Apollo Soyuz. Like everyone in the program, I queried; he denied it. Then he went on to state, and here I quote: "In my opinion, the major thing the Soviets could have learned (from Apollo Soyuz) to their everlasting benefit is how to construct major technical programs efficiently through use of free lateral and vertical communications among all participants. This would also have been to our major benefit because it is called democracy. Unfortunately, they have not opted to purloin these lessons yet, but we should not give up hope."

In other words, the process of Apollo Soyuz was inherently democratizing. It pushed the Soviet space program toward greater openness and, conversely, it prevented our own program from drifting into ever greater secrecy in response to Soviet behavior. That drive toward openness, which is inherent to cooperative activity, is extremely important for humanity's future in space. If civilization doesn't destroy itself on earth, it will advance into space on a major scale, probably within a generation. And the nature of government in space will be determined by the nature of the relationships established on space, regardless of the political systems of the nations involved. To the extent that space activity is ruled by cold-war confrontation, all parties will succumb to totalitarian secrecy and repressive government controls. To the extent that space activity is ruled by decongealing cooperation, all parties will move toward democratic openness. That choice, which will ultimately determine the future of democratic values and institutions, will be decided during our generation, and it will be decided in space. Space exploration thus offers us an unprecedented opportunity to use democratic values and institutions as a positive force for change rather than merely reacting to Soviet behavior.

But first we must develop policies that respond to the unique character of space. Under current U.S. policies, East-West cooperative activities of every kind, from exchanging dance troupes to space cooperation, are lumped in the same basket. Our level of involvement in those activities is determined by the overall state of East-West relations. If there is progress in arms control, if Soviet behavior in Africa and the Middle East meets with our approval, then we permit cooperation. But if, after cooperation is established, the Soviet Union behaves disagreeably in Poland or Angola, we scale down or break off cooperation across the board. That simply won't do. It's not in our interest. Space is big. Cosmic is no metaphor out there. Distances are measured in millions of miles, missions take years and decades from conception to execution, time zones as we understand them no longer apply. We cannot begin to exploit the immense democratic potential of space while our space policy is ruled by short-term considerations that are related only incidentally to space. We need a Space Age frame of reference.

That's one reason I have emphasized an international manned mission to Mars as a long-term policy goal. Such a mission is unlikely to take place before the turn of the century under the best of circumstances, and some may claim it may even be premature to discuss it with other nations today. Nonetheless, its establishment as a long-term policy goal opens us to the Space Age perspective that is missing from current U.S. policy. We begin to recognize, for instance, that the sheer immensity of the challenge posed by interplanetary exploration and settlement requires a coordinated approach. It is irrational to anticipate racing the Soviets to Mars, Neptune, Pluto, and on and on out into intergalactic space. Once that's recognized, our perception of near-term activities also begins to change. We are planning a space station for around 1993. The Soviets already have a space station that they are steadily upgrading to a permanent multi-pod facility. We should begin talking now in order to insure that the two space stations are built with communications and docking compatibilities that will permit coordinated activity, since space stations will be the launchpads for interplanetary exploration. We can also begin talking now about coordinating a whole host of space science missions of a complementary nature being planned by the U.S., U.S.S.R., Europe, and Japan during the next few years.

Last year I introduced a congressional resolution calling attention to an unusual convergence in the year 1992. 1992 is the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. It is also the 35th anniversary of the International Geophysical Year, or

IGY which launched the Space Age with the first orbiting manmade satellites and that means it's the 35th anniversary of Sputnik which was launched during the IGY. Finally 1992 is the 75th anniversary of the Russian revolution. It would be astonishing if the Soviets were not planning major space activities for 1992 while we are celebrating the discovery of America with replicas of the Nina, Pinta and Santa Maria in extravagant pageants featuring 15th century costumes. To avert such embarrassment I proposed that we approach the Soviets now and say "1992? This time no Sputniks. No surprises. This time we coordinate in advance." My resolution calls for a sequel to the IGY in 1992 to be called an International Space Year or ISY. The ISY resolution passed the Senate unanimously and was written into the 1986 NASA Authorization Act. Already NASA has initiated interagency and international discussions for an ISY and President Reagan is prepared to respond favorably to my resolution's request that he formally endorse the event. Other nations are also moving to support it and other international organizations, including the International Council for Scientific Unions which coordinated the IGY. The ISY seems on the way to becoming a reality.

Until now the United States has been cautious about involvement in coordinated space activities initiated by the United Nations but an International Space Year could provide an important breakthrough in that regard. To achieve it ISY activities might be divided into two categories: space exploration and global habitability. In the first category would fall missions that probe outward into deep space. Only a few nations have capabilities for such missions today and they would probably want to coordinate among themselves. The second category would involve so-called earth-looking activities principally with satellites in near earth and geosynchronous orbit. The second category might in turn be divided into two sub-categories: international security monitoring and environmental protection monitoring. International security monitoring which I strongly support is from a practical standpoint a difficult objective on which to reach the near-term unanimity required for planning a meaningful ISY. But environmental protection is another matter. An ISY could serve as a catalyst for worldwide satellite-aided programs many of them under UN auspices for crop prediction, desertification analysis, forest monitoring, pollution monitoring and a host of related activities of immense significance for global development. These non-controversial but as yet incomplete organized activities could through the medium of an ISY acquire a permanent institutional identity that might in turn pave the way for international security monitoring.

The key is world support. The character and success of an ISY will be determined by the number and variety of organizations that participate in it. A major underlying purpose of the ISY is to introduce a long-range, future-oriented perspective into day-to-day policymaking and place that perspective in a dramatic global context. For that purpose to succeed the support of organizations such as the World Futures Studies Federation is necessary. You can contribute greatly to the development of the required future-oriented perspective and benefit from its successful application. If the ISY realizes its potential it will open up a whole new range of exciting possibilities extending well into the next century and provide a legacy of incalculable value for future generations.

SUMMARY

We began with a concern about a space arms race almost a year before President Reagan's Star Wars speech. It triggered an evolving series of initiatives aimed at developing a more hopeful alternative including proposals for an international space station, renewed East-West cooperation in space science, a program of coordinated activities building toward a manned mission to Mars at the turn of the century, and a crucial intermediary activity: an International Space Year in 1992. These proposals come out of a future-oriented policy context that employs democratic values and institutions as active forces for constructive change on the space frontier and on earth as well by substituting policies of cooperation which promote democratic openness for policies of secretive confrontation which ultimately impose totalitarian values on all those ensnared in them. Organizations such as yours can and should help our political leaders make the right choice so that even within our own lifetime peoples of all nations will realize that we are all one kind: humankind, and will dwell and work together in the aloha spirit: in peace.

THE DANCE
by
SIMON NICHOLSON

LIFE PART I

Consists of words and sounds generated by students at Dartington Hall December 1985 forming part of the Open University futures project

We would now like to present Life Part II

LIFE PART II In the Year of the Tiger

- 1) SO HOW IS THE LIFE? Concerning isolation clinical indifference and lack of contact
- 2) YOU CANNOT CROSS THE SAME RIVER ONCE Concerning vulnerability and the great power of softness
- 3) THE UNIVERSE IS A FREE LUNCH Concerning celebration

Conception across the Atlantic Simon Nicholson and Sue MacLennan
Choreographed and danced by Sue MacLennan
Music by Jane Wells

We feel that in coming together to take part in the future it is important to spend time without talking. Some things (especially about the concept of caring) simply cannot be said with words. Hence our dance and music which we share with you today.

One small step

LIFE PART III

FLYING FORWARD

These notes are not intended to explain Life Part III least of all

the dance but we would like to share with you a few thoughts and ideas coming out of Life Part II

What do we really care about Life? Beauty? Truth? Adventure? Ideas? Peace? Probably all of these and more varying in some ways from culture to culture and changing in space and time. Nevertheless however much we *rationalize the list* there still remains an underlying structure that is an implicate order involving the interconnectedness of ideas about caring across different cultures.

The ideas for Life Part I II and III each came out of the blue out of nothing. This is where ideas (and incidentally the universe) come from suddenly the ideas.

Some people say that ideas unfold and that what comes into being is a projection of the whole. According to this concept our dance is like a wave forming in the ocean of time then sinking back into it. Certainly this has a nice feel to it making waves or The wave.

The notion of wave making implies that the future (at least partly) may be understood as the past affecting the present for example via morphic resonance. Accordingly Life Parts I and II each have an instant effect everywhere. Put another way when you return home the ideas about caring inherent in the dance will already be there the future is changed by resonances from Andrews Amphitheatre a morphogenetic field with radioactive cows. But beware physicists would say that there is no past present or future that Life Part III simply is the cows simply are.

At a cultural level we would like to share with you our profound belief that we cannot be involved in the concept of caring without involving first of all our feelings and secondly our awareness of the importance of developing new personal and social relationships. Life is not just intellect or just intuition it is both (and we are glad that this conference has not made the division). It is also a mixture of choice (you and us dynamically inventing and building new futures) and chance. In the English language in art and equally in physics this is called chance. It is by chance that we can build a more caring peaceful and magical world.

On this note on the magical (even on the possibility that chance unfolds) we would like to thank you for joining in Life Part III to thank also Lisa Yoshihara Wayne Kawamoto and fellow graduate students of the University of Hawaii at Manoa the British Council London and Washington DC and the Federation without which Life Part III would have been very very different.

We wish you an enjoyable and creative journey on Oahu and

340 Who Cares? And How? Futures of Caring Societies

across the Pacific with a quick reminder that you are not flying back you are flying forward!

If it rains this morning please note this in Hawaii is considered a special blessing

Aloha

Simon Nicholson and Sue MacLennan Score for the opening non verbal multi media presentation on caring consisting of sculpture performance art music and dance See Fig 1

CREDITS

The United Kingdom presentations were made possible by a generous grant from the British Council in London and Washington DC and the collaboration of graduate students in sculpture at the University of Hawaii at Manoa

Figs 1 and 2 Photos Simon Nicholson



**APPENDICES
APPENDIX A**

**RESOLUTION
by
JIM ANTHONY**

WHEREAS the World Futures Studies Federation's headquarters are now located in Oceania and

WHEREAS at this IXth World Conference of the WFSF a number of issues of great concern to the people of the island states of Oceania have been raised and

WHEREAS such issues are of great importance to the future of the people of this region particularly as the Pacific becomes the new growth center of the capitalist world economy a region where great power rivalry is likely to intensify and the survival of indigenous people and others will continue to be threatened by radioactivity generated by nuclear testing in French occupied Polynesia

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT at the next world Conference of the WFSF at least one full day of conference time shall be allocated to further discussing issues pertinent to the concerns of the people of the island states of the Pacific and that the planning of this segment of the next conference be entrusted to Professor Lim Teck Ghee and a sub committee to be appointed by him in consultation with the Director of the WFSF Secretariat

APPENDIX B
PROGRAMME

WHO CARES? AND HOW?
THE FUTURES OF SUPPORT IN
DIFFERENT CULTURES

Hosted by the
University of Hawaii

World
Futures
Studies
Federation

WHO CARES? AND HOW? THE SUPPORT IN DIFFERENT
CULTURES

There has never been a time where so much opportunity yet so much doubt surround the futures of support in our world. Both traditional and modern systems of support are in jeopardy. For example traditional avenues of care which relied on the family or the local community have become moribund in much of the industrialized world. Newer systems such as those institutionalized in the welfare state are contracting at a rapid rate. In much of the Third World long standing problems of population growth inadequate food land water housing and the flood of immigrants to crowded urban areas continue to overburden traditional ways of human support and care.

Some people view these conditions as offering splendid opportunities for greater self help self reliance and creativity. People may find it easier to renew their commitment to assisting other people if they are freed from the bureaucratic inefficient an obsolete rules and procedures of an **over caring** society.

In other parts of the world though reliance on organized and spontaneous physical violence and on religious political economic and ideological fundamentals seems to be growing. Human traits of selfishness and greed are elevated as virtues while empathy sharing and caring are said to be debilitating and foolish. In these societies survival of the fittest dominated the landscape and rules the minds of those who shape **careless societies**.

This conference will seek to explore the contours of properly **caring societies** and to distinguish them from **over caring** and **careless societies**. The questions of **what is happening** and **what is needed** at the individual group national and global levels will be explored from the perspectives of different cultural and economic systems.

The World Futures Studies Federation

The Federation is an association of institutes and individuals from 70 countries around the world. It serves as a forum for the exchange of information ideas opinions and research activities in all fields of futures studies. The Federation promotes the awareness of the need for futures studies in governmental educational problem solving and international organizations.

The University of Hawaii

In 1983 Dr Fujio Matsuda then president of the University of Hawaii and others within both the University and the community proposed that the University support the Office of the Secretariat of the World Futures Studies Federation. This proposal was endorsed and accepted by the Executive Council of the Federation which transferred the Office of the Secretariat to Hawaii from its previous base in Sweden. Since that time the University and the community have provided financial and logistical support to the Secretariat under a relationship that has mutually benefited all parties. As part of its continuing commitment the University of Hawaii is hosting the IXth World Conference of the World Futures Studies Federation with the assistance of individual and community sponsors.

Sunday, May 25

6 00 p m **OPENING SESSION** (Campus Center Ballroom)

*Opening Chant Pua Keala Mann Halau Hula O
Maiki

*Greeting President Albert J Simone
University of Hawaii

*Address The Honorable George R
Ariyoshi
Governor of Hawaii

*Response Eleonora Masini President of
WFSF
Magda McHale Vice President
WFSF

**PLENARY PANEL CARING, CARELESS, AND
OVERCARING SOCIETIES**

Chairman Herb Addo (Trinidad)

Panelists Hidetoshi Kato (Japan)
Mihailo Markovic (Yugoslavia)
Ashis Nandy (India)
Andrzej Sicinski (Poland)

Refreshments to follow

Monday, May 26

8 30 to **PLENARY PANEL CARE FOR LIFE THE FAMILY,**
11 00 a m **EDUCATION, LIFESTYLES** (Campus Center Ballroom)

Chairman Lin Zheng Qin (China)

Panelists Teck Ghee Lim (Malaysia)
Danuta Markowska (Poland)
Eleonora Masini (Italy)
Magda McHale (USA)

11 30 to **Lunch (Dormitory Cafeteria)**
1 00 p m

1 30 to
4 00 p m

SMALL GROUPS DISCUSSING PLENARY THEMES

*Hidetoshi Kato Campus Center 306

*Mihailo Markovic Campus Center 307

*Donald Michael Campus Center 308

*Ashis Nandy Campus Center 309

*Andrzej Sicinski Campus Center 310

*Teck Ghee Lim Hemenway 203

*Danuta Markowska Hemenway 204

*Eleonora Masini Hemenway 215

*Madga McHale Hemenway 216

4 30 to
6 00 p m

WORKING GROUPS

Health and Welfare
Stanley Lesse (USA) Campus Center 306

Architecture/Landscapes/Settlements
Katrin Gillwald (West Germany) Campus Center 307

Education for Peace and Care
Radmila Nakarada (Yugoslavia) Campus Center 308

Ethical Aspects of Development
Gisele Girgis Musy (Switzerland) Campus Center 309

Care and Self Reliance
Rolf Homann (Switzerland) Campus Center 310

Caring for Mother Earth
Christopher Jones (Hawaii) Hemenway 203

Welfare States of Farewell States?
Bart van Steenberg (Holland) Hemenway 204

Communication and Telecommunication
Uvais Ahamed (Sri Lanka) Hemenway 215

Future of Futures Studies
Thomas Furth (Sweden) Hemenway 216

Cultural Roots of Peace
Eleonora Masini (Italy) Hemenway 217

Caring Leadership and Participation
Glenn Paige (USA) Campus Center
Ballroom

6 30 p m

Reception College Hill

8 00 p m

Supper (Dormitory)

Tuesday, May 27

8 30 to 11 00 p m **PLENARY PANEL HEALTH AND HUMAN WELFARE** (Campus Center Ballroom)

Chairman Mochtar Lubis (Indonesia)
Panelists Clem Bezold (USA)
Mårten Lagergren (Sweden)
Stanley Lesse (USA)
Michel Salomon (France)

11 30 to 1 00 p m **Lunch** (Dormitory Cafeteria)

1 00 to 1 30 p m **DISCUSSION** (Campus Center Ballroom)

Mutual Aid and Interacting Minds by
John Morse (USA)

1 30 to 4 00 p m **SMALL GROUPS DISCUSSING PLENARY THEMES**

*Clem Bezold	Campus Center 306
*Mårten Lagergren	Campus Center 307
*Stanley Lesse	Campus Center 308
*Michel Salomon	Campus Center 309
*Jonathan Peck	Hemenway 203
*Gene Williams	Hemenway 204
*John Morse	Hemenway 215

4 30 to 7 00 p m **WORKING GROUPS** Continuation

Conveners and rooms remain the same as
Monday, May 26

8 00 p m **Supper** (Dormitory Cafeteria)

Wednesday, May 28

8 30 to **PLENARY PANEL PEOPLE BEYOND CARE?**

11 00 a m **MARGINALIZED PEOPLE AND THREATENED CULTURES** (Campus Center Ballroom)

Chairman Mochtar Lubis (Indonesia)
Panelists Puanani Burgess (Hawaii USA)
Raimondo Cagiano (Italy)
Joe Dupris (Lummi Indian Council USA)
Erika Landau (Israel)
Bridget Roberts (UK)
Zohilde Ashtar (UK)

11 30 to 1 00 p m **Lunch** (Taro Patch)

Afternoon and evening open for working groups,
discussions, and meetings

Thursday, May 29

8 30 to 11 00 a m **PLENARY PANEL THE FUTURE OF CARING LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION (CALVARY BY THE SEA)**

Chairman	Glenn Paige (USA)
Panelists	Jose Abueva (The Philippines) John Burton (USA) Maria Modig (Sweden) Erika Landau (Israel)

11 30 to 1 00 p m **Picnic lunch** (on beach)

1 00 to 1 30 p m **DISCUSSION** (Campus Center Ballroom)

Multiple Perspectives by
Harold Linstone (USA)

1 30 to 4 00 p m **SMALL GROUPS DISCUSSING PLENARY THEMES**

*Joe Dupris	Campus Center 307
*Erika Landau	Campus Center 308

*Raimondo Cagiano Campus Center 309
 *Jose Abueva Campus Center 310
 *John Burton Hemenway 203
 *Harold Linstone Hemenway 204
 *Maria Modig Hemenway 215

4 30 to **GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR MEMBERS OF THE
 WORLD**
 7 00 **FUTURES STUDIES FEDERATION** (Art Auditorium)

8 00 p m **Dinner Cruise**

Friday, May 30

8 30 to **CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS,
 EVALUATIONS**

11 00 a m **CLOSING CEREMONIES** (Andrews Amphitheater)

*Reports of the Working Groups
 Chairmen Albert Oliva (Spain)
 Kathleen Maloney (USA)

*Discussion and Recommendations
 Chairman Mihailo Markovic

*Address
 The Honorable Spark M
 Matsunaga U S Senator

*Closing Remarks
 Anthony Marsella
 Vice President University of
 Hawaii

*Closing Remarks
 Eleonora Masini President WFSF

*Dance Presentation
 Sue MacLennan (UK)
 Simon Nicholson (UK)

*Closing Chant

Pua Keala Mann Halau Hula O
 Maki

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 University of Hawaii/Community Relations
 *Anne Witebsky Graduate Assistant
 University of Hawaii WFSF
 *Wayne K Yasutomi Program Specialist
 Community Long Term Care Services
 DSSH

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Future Environments

Springboard to the Future by
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 Lisa Yoshihara Jacqueline Mild
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 Ann Walenta Mary Ann Tokars

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 Life Parts II and III by Simon Nicholson and Sue McLennan
 Original Music by Neil McKay
 Architectural Design by Elmer Botsai and Gerald Lum

Volunteers

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Jim Brock	Wendy Schultz
Bill Buevens	Christa Slaton
Cathy Callahan	David Smith
Gaye Christoffersen	Noe Tanigawa
Tim Dolan	Joanne Tachibana
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