Futurewatch*

Jennifer Coote
New Zealand Futures Trust
New Zealand

Social

On Diversity of Cultures-especially Maori

S. Hope explores the roots and reach of *tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty)*, a commonly-used Maori word, *Political Science Vo 56/1, June 04*, whose multiplicities of significant meanings aggravate the NZ political debate. He peels back the onion-like layers, using a rights based framework. Origins need to be identified to justify rights. While many assume that there is common agreement about this, deeper analysis indicates that the there are differing justifications and that the phrase is essentially contested.

Various justifying origins are examined, such the Treaty of Waitangi (but that only recognized pre-existing authority), or the inherent, universal concept of indigenous rights, or the unique kinship ethic in *whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (custom)* and *marae (meeting place)*, of each kin group.

Contested concepts are unsuitable for positive law, and while there may be a common reference point for these, the ordinary usages can only be uncovered by leaving the definition unsettled. The reach of the term, its family of meanings and usages include:- indigenous rights, *mana* Maori, sovereignty, self -determination. Since its appears to be exercised as well as possessed, it constrains other agents. The domain, the scope and the magnitude of each instance are relevant, variously covering *hapu (family)* and *iwi* (wide kin group), or the ethnic group, or absolute control or covering all citizens within the country or only Maori. Maori sovereignty appears to involve plurality of Maori sovereigns. Internal tribal affairs may be its limit, or it may be linked to the UN discourse on indigenous rights, or distinctly Maori values, and culture.

Indigenous rights are not commonly enshrined in national laws, but the they could be. At present they are moral rights. If *tino rangatiratanga* is considered not as an indigenous but a moral right is has been given quasi-legal specification in the Treaty of Waitangi, despite the arguments about the Treaty term *kawanatangna* (governorship) which was ceded to the Crown In fact both may constitute sovereignty, neither overriding the other. Rangatiratanga could therefore be considered as the assertion of a fundamentally Maori sphere in the national affairs, where Maori have the right to be authors of their own words and actions and have a degree of control.

If claims of *rangatiratanga* are linked to a loose but settled concept of justice in national affairs then both concepts can be enriched.

E. Rata, Political Science (NZ), 56/1, 04, examines the theory of neotribal capitalism in relation to NZ public policy. It is a "glocal" reaction to the contemporary global conditions, the decline of Western hegemony and the spread of privatisation , capitalization of national resources and their brokerage into global capitalism The result is not a return to traditional redistribution systems but an altered relationship of people to resources. It promotes the "culturalist" discourse, with leadership of elites who form an aristocracy which brokers policy dealings with other powerful interests.

By claiming inheritance from a traditional social structure, based on physical lineage, it is anti-democratic, countering the right of individuals to break with bonds of hierarchy and inequality, as they enter free association within a universalist, democratic society. The cultural discourse is entering many areas of NZ policy development, without fundamental philosophical examination of its constitutional implications, but referring to the Treaty of Waitangi as an oracular reference point.

E. Rata also examines "brokerage politics," as the political elites of the Treaty partners make deals behind closed doors, *NZ Political Review, Spring, 04.*

Globalization and Culture: Global Melange, J. N. Pieterse, Rowman & Littlefield, 04, is a multicultural sociologist's perspective on the alternatives of either growing global cultural uniformity or increasing fragmentation and conflict. Hybridization of territorial and translocal cultures is another option. Aspects of this are already occurring in many parts of societies.

Cultural Defense, A. D. Renteln, O.U.P, 04, engages the reader in the courtroom dilemmas posed by differing cultural demands. By assuming that there is a human right to culture, if valid, it should be respected, unless the this causes irreparable harm to others.

Z. Sadar notes recent developments in India, Morocco and Malaysia which suggests that the Muslim world is changing; and a more humane interpretation of Islam is emerging. The challenge of the hard-line rationalists is galvanizing the more moderate thinkers, followers and political leaders to change. *New Statesman, 13 September, 04, pp24-27*. See also *The No-nonsense Guide to Islam, Z. Sadar, M W. Davies*, Verso, 03 includes deeper studies of present day Islam and the reform movements.

Demographic Transition

Demographics professor *R. Lee, Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol 17/4, Fall 03*, examines prospects for the last stage of the global demographic transition (the two centuries of global population expansion). There are divergent views regarding trends beyond the period when the developing countries' life expectancy increases catch up and their birth rates fall, later this century. Africa and E. Europe/Russia both show increasing mortality rates. In much of the world fertility has fallen to below 2.1 births per women, barely replacing each generation and the trend is uncertain. Globally, both fertility and mortality have generally converged over the past 50 years although per capita GDP levels have markedly diverged. A US National Research Council analysis concludes that there is 95% possibility that actual population will fall massively by 2050. The relative share of the global population among the More Developed, Less Developed and Least Developed nations will change markedly in the same period.

The last stage of the demographic transition is the shift in age distribution. India, for example, should increase its population 60% in the twenty first century, leveling out at zero by 2100. Its bonus of higher levels of working age people to dependents occurs in 1970-2015, but thereafter an aging society increases the dependency ratio towards 2060. While low fertility and longer life span contribute to an aging population, the former may impose greater burdens on the total population. Declining mortality, generally associated with better heath and improving functionality, may impose pension costs but this is not a fundamental societal resource problem.

A. Sen, British Medial Journal, 6 Dec 03, reports on important, radical changes in the gender imbalances reported over the past decade for E. and S. Asia. "Missing women", the imbalance of female to male ratios, has continued to increase, as population levels overall have increased, particularly in China and less so in S. Asia. Female mortality disadvantage has declined, but is countered by female, sex-specific abortions. India shows a sharp cleavage geographically with marked disadvantage in the north and west, for which no specific reason can be inferred unless it is in deep cultural values which need researching.

Older and Younger Generations

A natural reason for the post-reproductive survival levels of women, compared with men, has been elucidated using centuries of data

from Finland and Canada. Here, a woman gained two extra grandchildren for every decade she survived. Such female survival appears to have evolved rather than being a consequence of better living conditions, since not only may a woman have more children but they are more likely to survive to adulthood and in turn raise higher proportions of adult offspring. *The Economist, 13 March, 04, p 7.*

Britain's Tomorrow Project addresses a wide range of future issues affecting peoples' lives, mostly recently retirement, *Opportunity of a Lifetime: Reshaping Retirement, www. tomorrowproject.net*, summarized in *The Futurist, Sept-Oct, 04*. There is a great opportunity to rethink retirement and to improve the quality of life for older people, through a wider range of choices for the work-retirement transition. Greater work flexibility, facilitated by rising skill shortages, altered expectation from older workers, may overcome the deeply entrenched focus on present concepts. Two scenarios:- Retirement Postponed, continued adherence to old attitudes and practices. Retirement Reshaped, a transformation of attitudes and practices taking full effect by 2025.

Pensions are complex and options contested. Two scenarios:- More of the Same, with an increase to the qualifying age, or Flexible State Pension, phased in from 2030, universal, flat rate just above the poverty line, with choice for take up from 60-80 years but adjusted at lower level if taken up prior to age 70. Lifetime savings, two scenarios:- Compulsion plus Matched Contributions from workers and employers, 5%-9% or Lifetime Savings Accounts, bundling all current government-supported savings schemes, redesigned around lifecycles. Individuals have Lifetime Savings Accounts, contributing when they can and withdrawing for either:- property, work related learning or a pension, Government and employers add support.

The accumulated scenarios can be summed up as Putting it Off, or Liquid Lives, whose foundations are laid in the first quarter of this century, taking full effect thereafter.

C. Wallis, Time (NZ),10 May, 04 reports on research revealing just why teenagers behave in those risk-prone and at times irrational ways. During the teen-years their brains are changing, with some neural growth proliferating while other growth is pruned. The final areas to be modified are in the prefrontal cortex, which governs the executive functions of planning, setting priorities, restricting impulses and considering consequences, and these are not fully shaped until age 25.

"Thrivals" is a new term, according to *N. Irvin II, The Futurist, Mar-April 04*, for the younger generation of Black Americans who are moving beyond "victim" to "thrival" consciousness, with a strong sense of being able to shape their destiny. Dramatic advances in educational achievement, in economic clout, with recognition of the declining dominance of the Caucasian population, and impacts of globalisation are shaping this confidence which is shared with many black people internationally, through mass media, the hip-hop culture and international study and travel.

A. Sinfield, UK Child Poverty Action Group, reported to a Wellington audience, 4 May 04, that UK has already, in five years, reduced levels of child poverty by 25%. It aims to end such poverty in twenty years. Low income families are receiving much more financial assistance with a package of other measures aiming to raise levels of employment, promote family friendly jobs, and much greater emphasis on social inclusion.

Brazil has launched a *Zero Hunger Project*, to provide 10 million undernourished families with three good meals a day, an ambitious target which may be achieved by 2012. Such families use an electronic card to purchase food, but the card holders must enroll in adult literacy programmes if illiterate, send their children to school, enrol in a health programme and receive training in microcredit and co-operative schemes. *Many to Many Newsletter, Operation Peace Through Unity (NZ) September 04.*

Urban and Rural Spaces

US geographer / planner, *R. H. Platt* provides an authoritative approach to *Land Use and Society*, Island Press, 04, summarized in *Environment, June 04*. US urban planning is

evolving an ecological approach variously called green urbanism, green infrastructure, natural cities, emphasizing respect for, and restoration of, natural systems in urban spaces and their utilisation as being more cost-effective than technological fixes. Major US metropolitan areas, such as New York, Boston, Chicago are all applying this approach to watershed restoration, large scale structural projects and many neighbourhood areas. Smaller urban initiatives are diverse in goals, means, participants, disciplines and viewpoints. Local leadership involves partnerships of governments, private sector and NGOs. Though this, a new kind of ecological citizenship is emerging as serendipitous contact helps overcome the sense of helplessness many find in metropolitan growth.

Cities in the International Marketplace: The Political Economy of Urban Development in North America and Western Europe, H. V. Savitch, P. Kantor, Princeton Univ Press, 02, a highly recommended treatment of rival urban development theories, tested against ten cities. Economic logic, political logic or extreme positions (debunked) are part of the overall logic that cities compete to have choices, not just to grow.

S. Jowett outlines the need for forward thinking to cater for housing the elderly in cities; secondary dwellings and residential elderly friendly zones are possibilities. *Planning Quarterly(NZ), March 04.*

The Future of Rural Policy: From Sectorial to Place-based Policies in Rural Areas, OECD 03, explores experience from many parts of OECD where rural policy is undergoing significant change. Agriculture is no longer the major feature, regional policies are important but there is need for sub-regional approaches with local rather than top-down as the favored approach. *Environmental Planning and Management of the Peri-urban Interface: Perspectives on an Emerging Field, A. Allen, Environment and Urbanisation, April 03.* A UK expert strongly involved in Agenda 21 argues that the approaches for the urban or rural environment each require their own specific policies.

Peace/War/World Affairs

After The Third World?

A. Escobar, Third World Quarterly, Vol 25/1, 04, proposes that this paradigm belongs to a modernity which has passed, with its romantic views of pre-colonial traditions, Marxist utopianism, and Western ideas of modernisation and development. Imaging "after the Third World" is challenging in face of an oppressive globalisation, hyper technical and hyper market, which uses diverse forms of violence to regulate peoples, politics and environment, with many cruel "little wars". Two emerging aspects of a new paradigm beyond modernity are:- the assertion of diverse ways of knowing enshrined in post-modernism, and current social movements. In Asia, Africa and Latin America a form of social fascism coexists with democracies, where many groups are excluded from participation because of insecurity, financial marginalisation, displacement, oppression. An alternative framework takes local experience seriously, based on the Otherness of marginalised groups, building on the politics of colonial difference especially in knowledge and culture. "Other worlds are possible" was the slogan of Porto Alegre's World Social Forum. The social movements constituting this are anti-globalisation in that they do not seek to regulate it, but rather question its essential validity, and to advance goals of equality and difference. While emphasising the politics of place, specific localities, they are also constituting meshworks, which might form confederations of autonomous regions, possibly based on cultural-ecological features rather than the geographical, or partially delinked regionally from the global economy.

M. Boas, Current History, May 04, notes that horror stories of mindless, savage violence by young armed warriors, usually with a charismatic leader, is part of the havoc civil, or resource, wars are creating in Africa. These come from a generation brutalized and marginalised by the crumbling of their society and economies in the post-Cold War era, aggravated by corrupt leadership.

Since its inauguration 2002, the *African Union* has successfully laid foundations for constructive Pan-African leadership. It has established a Pan-African Parliament, currently consultative, but eventually to have governance responsibilities. A Peer Review mechanism has been established to encourage member states to improve their quality of governance. A New Partnership for African Development and recently, a Peace and Security Council have been established and a Stand-by force is to be phased in by 2010 for peace-keeping operations. Finance for these projects is supposed to come from the African governments as well as overseas, but there are fears that the former will plead poverty while maintaining forces who are more threat than defence.

New Africa, July, 04, pp12-15.

UN adviser *J. Sachs* notes that official western investment in Africa would pay off handsomely for reducing security threats. The present trap of poverty, disease, and violence could be turned around into self-sustaining growth. A starting point could be with the nations where better or levels of governance and responsible leadership exist :- Ghana, Senegal, Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique, using a needs assessment approach, never applied before to Africa. A recent assessment on this basis suggest that application of a small portion of US expenditure on Iraq and Afghanistan could hugely benefit hundreds of millions in Africa and elsewhere. *The Economist, 22 May, pp 21-23.*

Refugees and Forced Displacement: International Security, Human Vulnerability and the State, Eds E. Newman, J. van Selm, UN Univ Press, 03. These peoples are now part of the human security framework on international security. Their miserable situation breeds radical political movements and terrorism. A protection regime for the 25 million displaced persons, the obligations of states and problems of resettlement, etc, are covered.

K. Collins examines the logic of clan politics, *World Politics, Jan 04*, testing this against the experience of the post-Soviet Central Asian States. Clans are informal kin-based systems, which have existed over long periods. They have survived a variety of political regimes, being able to self-survive adversity. In transitional regimes, their influence remains, they penetrate the system for patronage, by gaining control of assets for their own network and by crowding out other mechanisms of representation. As they weaken the regime, the clan system reasserts control. Transition theories need reappraisal.

Asian Prospects

China's Democratic Future: How It will Happen and Where It Will Lead, B. Gilley, Colombia Univ Press, 04, is a well-researched study. He argues that economic reforms have unleashed social changes impacting politically, eg in village elections. Political reform may come by protests and unrest or reformers can modify the party dominance internally. The latter is more likely.

M. S. Tanner (RAND), *Washington Quarterly, Summer*, reports on the unprecedented waves of social protest in China, sufficiently severe to create a major policy debate in the security service. New leader Hu Jintao is trying to balance reform and social control which is complicating the external relationships, and requires a corresponding adjustment from global political leaders.

The police admit to huge numbers of incidents since 1993, increasing by 9% annually but spiking in 1997-8. Unrest continues in the industrial northeast where there are large state owned enterprises. Especially significant is the level of organization of the incidents, peaceful, usually focused on local issues, a form of rightful resistance, but the demonstrations have involved thousands of people, with public spokespersons, underground core groups, and more sophisticated structures, as well as technical resources. Officially it is conceded that economic restructuring, especially of state owned enterprises, or managerial abuses, is valid excuse, but the police analysis notes imperfect political structures that are failing to provide suitable channels to vent, or respond to, social concerns. The security system has a difficult bal-

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ancing act to perform. Negotiations with North Korea are also likely reveal divergent interest between China, which wants stability rather than denuclearisation, and the US.

Peace and War

Veteran Canadian Senator and anti-nuclear campaigner *D. Roche, The Human Right to Peace*, Novalis, 03, affirms and examines the culture of peace, as the work of true realists for out times. Topics covered include violence, its origins and effects, "just wars", disarmament and development, nuclear weapons and terrorism and the culture of peace.

G. Youngs promotes greater awareness of the significance of women in International Relations, *International Affairs, Jan, 04.* Feminist International Relations thinking has proceeded apart from the mainstream but it is time to merge the two. Feminist analysis has provided new insights into the world in which we live, in issues of gender and in dominant paradigm thinking. Feminist International Affairs has likewise revealed new understanding on war, militarism, and security, sovereignty and the state, and globalisation. Its bottom-up approach is especially important.

War No More: Eliminating Conflict In The Nuclear Age, R. Hinde, J. Rotblat, Pluto, 03, in the face of the overwhelming horrors likely from present and future wars, two scientists provide a comprehensive overview of alternative conflict resolution methods:- democracy, deterrence, sanctions, international law, arms control , promotion of international well-being, peace education, peacemaking organizations, and intervention and conflict resolution.

B. Ramberg, ex US State Dept, examines the possibilities for a Middle-Eastern Nuclear-Free Zone, to defuse some of the proliferation tensions. The International Atomic Energy Agency's inspection capability would need extending, there would be no withdrawal right, economic and diplomatic incentives would be needed and Israel could become a NATO member to enhance its security. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, May/June 04.*

M. Moore, Editor, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Nov 03, examines the possibilities for

nuclear weapons in space, as the neo-conservatives in the Bush administration crusade for maintaining overwhelming US military supremacy, while overturning the dominance of the liberal internationalists and realists in US policy. Expansion of current policy includes the space sanctuary, where military satellites exist but not weapons, .. unless they could be low yield nuclear weapons. As the US economy faces the economic squeeze to provide for the retiring baby-boomers, defence planners may prefer such weapons to more expensive conventional security systems.

Generation Kill, E. Wright, Bantam , 04, is a reporter's account of young American soldiers in Iraq, their the interaction of the reality of war-making and this generation's obsession with violence. The virtual world transposes seamlessly, a dark perspective to the war on terror and the need to win hearts and minds abroad.

Muslim Issues in Mediterranean Security

T. M. Savage, Washington Quarterly, Summer 04, considers that Europe faces a dual challenge which will reshape its collective identity. It must integrate a large, rapidly growing Muslim minority, which is becoming frustrated and marginalized, and develop a workable relationship with volatile, primarily Muslim, states from Morocco to the Caucasus which are significant to its security. Present reactions and attitudes among the dominant European societies demand that Muslim migrants embrace European mores and values, but this minority, while strongly divided on many issues, is united, especially in the younger generations, with Islam as a badge of identity. Longer term, if they become politically involved, economically stronger and socially mobile they will have greater clout. As Europe move its broader EU agenda forward, its external relationship with the Muslim countries could be used to leverage greater reform, provided it can deal with its own internal cultural conflicts. Otherwise it faces increasing volatility and insecurity.

The Future Security Environment in the Middle East: Conflict, Stability and Political Change, Eds N. Bensahel, D. L. Byman, RAND, March 04, provides an even-handed overview of

issues and prospects for a volatile area. Destabilising trends:- slow liberalisation, stronger Asian links based on energy demand; new and possibly weaker leaders; possible increase in public demand for participation in decision making based in IT; Weapons of Mass Destruction continue to increase. Uncertianties: - the price of oil; future of Iraq; Arab-Israeli conflict; Russian and Chinese policies: the nature of regime change.