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# Letter from the Editors

*When you walk into the classroom of the Martin Institute in the Administration Building here on campus, you will see two beautiful portraits of a man and a woman hanging on the wall: Boyd and Grace Martin, the founders of the Martin Institute. The institute was founded in 1979 by the Idahoan couple, who had already accomplished much by this time in their lives. The idea of the Martin Institute came into being as the Martins watched WWII envelope their world and they knew they needed to do something to help educate people. So, they began the institute with the goal of studying war and peace. Since then, the Martin Institute has become an important fixture here at the university. In the 1990s, the institute took over the International Studies degree program, and in 2009, the Journal of the Martin Institute (JMSIS) was introduced as a way to showcase outstanding research from affiliated undergraduate researchers.*

*Under the administration of the Martin Institute, the International Studies degree provides undergraduate students with the opportunity to study the international community and the dynamics within it from an interdisciplinary angle, meaning that the “lenses” of multiple fields, such as anthropology, political science, and economics, are used in critical analysis. The degree also allows for students to choose two emphases on which to base their studies: the issue emphasis and the regional emphasis. Traditionally, students participate in a four-year program that mandates the completion of core International Studies courses, namely the introductory IS 195, the United Nations-focused IS 310, and the senior capstone IS 495. But, of course, this degree is not only concerned with passing the required classes. Throughout their time in the program, students are presented with numerous opportunities to gain experience in international fields. For example, students can elect to take part in the National Model United Nations conference in New York City. And finally, a defining feature of the International Studies degree program is the requirement for students to spend some time abroad, whether that be for studying, an internship, or something else, in order to truly get a feel for the international community.*

*Every senior in the International Studies program is required to take a senior capstone seminar class, where they bring everything that they have learned in the past four years as International Studies majors and put together papers and presentations centered on their emphases. This class is where they write their capstone papers, the most well-written of which we have put into the JMSIS this year. For these papers, the authors pick an international issue in their region of emphasis, and they research and describe their issue and some possible solutions to it. A great deal of effort, planning, and passion from the authors go into these papers to make them the best that they can be. After all, these papers are a culmination of four years’ worth of hard work and dedication in the International Studies program.*

*As co-editors of the journal, throughout the summer it was our job to read fifteen submissions from the senior capstone students, evaluate them, and choose the eight we would like to see featured in this latest issue of the JMSIS. Several different aspects were considered during this evaluation, including but not limited to: the significance of the issue presented, a distinct and implementable policy recommendation, completeness of research, and originality of the issue. Since we are only able to select about half of the submissions sent to us, our job proved to be quite the challenge, as we could see that each brought something unique to the table and were clearly the products of maximal effort. But after careful reading and thorough discussion, we eventually selected the eight you see presented here.*

*Without further ado, it is our pleasure to present the works of last year’s International Studies 495 students. We hope that readers of this issue not only enjoy the papers featured, but also are inspired to start conversations with their peers about some of today’s most pressing topics.*

Many thanks,



Senna Pankopf



Hailey Stewart

*It now becomes necessary for us to put our major global problems into a socially relevant global framework. Our world has become too complex, too interdependent, to answer these questions by simplistic answers.*

*These problems call for creative thinking...*

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– Boyd A. Martin, founder of the Martin Institute and namesake of the Martin School, at the Institute's inauguration, 1980



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# Improving Human Waste Management in South Asia

– Caitlin Jacobshagen

## ABSTRACT:

*The people of South Asia have inadequate access to improved sanitation facilities, which is hugely detrimental to their health, safety, and living standards. Unimproved sanitation can lead to a number of diseases, such as diarrhea, and can also increase the risk of attacks on women and girls. The possible solutions for improving access to sanitation in South Asia described in this paper are 1) increasing awareness of cultural and geographic aspects surrounding sanitation, 2) community-led total sanitation, 3) increasing demand for sanitation through education and marketing, 4) ecological sanitation systems, and 5) including shared sanitation in the definition of improved sanitation. After exploring these solutions, a recommended solution is put forth. Increased cultural and geographic awareness of aspects surrounding sanitation within governments, non-government organizations, and international organizations combined with community-led total sanitation is the most effective means of increasing access to sanitation in South Asia.*

## OVERVIEW:

Of the 2.4 billion people worldwide who do not use improved sanitation facilities, 40% live in South Asia.<sup>1</sup> 610 million people in South Asia still practice open defecation.<sup>2</sup> In every nation in South Asia, with the exception of Sri Lanka and the Maldives, less than 60% of the population has access to improved sanitation. Bangladesh has the highest rate at 55% and Afghanistan has the lowest rate at 29%.<sup>3</sup> Since 1990, there has been progress in increasing access to sanitation in South Asia, with 42% of the population having access in 2012, compared to 23% in 1990.<sup>4</sup> Despite these improvements, Southern Asia, along with sub-Saharan Africa, continues to have some of the lowest levels of sanitation

1 World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund. *25 Years Progress on Sanitation and Drinking Water 2015 Update and MDG Assessment*. (pg. 13)

2 *Ibid.*, 17.

3 *Ibid.*, 6.

4 World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund. *Progress on Drinking Water and Sanitation 2014 Update*. (pg. 18)

coverage in the world.<sup>5</sup> Sanitation programs in South Asia often fail to provide access to sustainable improved sanitation.<sup>6</sup>

There are currently two main methods of managing human waste: flush and discharge systems and drop and store systems. The former is more common in urban or developed regions.<sup>7</sup> 2.8 billion people use pit latrines, a drop and store system, which, if unimproved, can leak sewage into ground water, causing health and environmental problems.<sup>8</sup> Typical sewer and wastewater treatment is quite expensive – too expensive for many developing countries.<sup>9</sup> This expense results in sewers being built for the most part only in commercial and high income areas.<sup>10</sup> Low income and middle income areas often use septic tanks and community toilet blocks which are cheaper.<sup>11</sup> Different types of latrines are used in rural areas.<sup>12</sup>

Improved sanitation technologies include flush toilets, piped sewer systems, septic tanks, various types of pit latrines, and composting toilets.<sup>13</sup> Unimproved sanitation includes latrines and toilets that are not piped to a sewer system, septic tank, or pit, pit latrines without a slab, buckets, hanging latrines, shared sanitation, and no facilities.<sup>14</sup>

Inadequate sanitation contributes to many diseases, which leads to a population's diminished ability to work and higher need for

healthcare.<sup>15</sup> 1.6-2.5 million people, many of whom are younger than 5 and live in developing countries, die each year from diarrheal diseases.<sup>16</sup> Improving sanitation can lessen the rates of diarrheal diseases by 32%-37%, and improving sewer systems can lessen the prevalence of diarrhea anywhere from 30% to 60%.<sup>17</sup> Sanitation could help prevent many other diseases such as trachoma, soil-transmitted helminthiases, and schistosomiasis.<sup>18</sup> Ending the practice of open defecation would be particularly beneficial as the practice of open defecation provides places for parasites and flies to breed and transmit diseases, and can also lead to fecal contamination of drinking water.<sup>19</sup> A lack of access to sanitation can be particularly detrimental to women and girls. Women often must take precautions when practicing open defecation, such as going to the bush in a group and/or at unpredictable times, to avoid being attacked or raped.<sup>20</sup> Girls are more likely to go to school during menstruation if they have access to sanitation at school.<sup>21</sup> The following solutions aim to increase access to sanitation in order to raise the health, safety, and standard of living of the people of South Asia.

## SOLUTIONS:

### **1. Increase Awareness of Cultural and Geographic Aspects Surrounding Sanitation**

Many sanitation programs often focus exclusively on building as many latrines as possible in as many communities as possible.<sup>22</sup> There is relatively little data collected on whether these latrines are used or not, whether the solution

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5 Ibid., 16. See Appendix A

6 Kevin Sansom. "Complementary Roles? Ngo-Government Relations For Community-Based Sanitation In South Asia" *Public Administration and Development* 31:4 (2011), 283.

7 Sarah Jewitt. "Geographies of shit: Spatial and temporal variations in attitudes towards human waste" *Progress in Human Geography* 35:5 (2011), 612.

8 Louise Emilia Dellström Rosenquist. "A psychosocial analysis of the human-sanitation nexus" *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 25 (2009), 336.

9 Sansom, 284.

10 Ibid., 284.

11 Ibid., 284.

12 Ibid., 284.

13 "Improved and unimproved water sources and sanitation facilities." WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme (JMP) for Water Supply and Sanitation <http://www.wssinfo.org/definitions-methods/watsan-categories/>

14 Ibid. See Appendix B

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15 Sansom, 284.

16 Duncan Mara, Jon Lane, Beth Scott, David Trouba. "Sanitation and Health" *PLOS Medicine* (2010) <http://journals.plos.org/plosmedicine/article?id=10.1371/journal.pmed.1000363>

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Jewitt, 615-616.

20 Ibid., 616.

21 Mara.

22 Jayati Chourey, Anjal Prakash. *Interlacing Water and Human Health: Case Studies from South Asia*. (New Delhi. SAGE India, 2011), 37.



is sustainable, or other aspects of sanitation.<sup>23</sup> Conventional sanitation interventions tend to focus on practical aspects of improving sanitation without considering local politics, culture, physical geography, or socio-economic status.<sup>24</sup> There is a need for sanitation interventions that are conscious of these aspects and the impacts they have.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, there has been less research on the behavior, habits, and technologies surrounding defecation compared to other human behaviors such as eating and reproduction.<sup>26</sup> A deeper understanding of different cultural aspects of defecation and human waste is necessary for successful sanitation interventions. The preference many people have for open defecation is a good example. In South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa there is no traditional use for human excrement, nor is there any long-standing tradition of constructing permanent wells or toilets.<sup>27</sup> As such, open defecation is established and socially acceptable in many communities in South Asia.<sup>28</sup> Geographically, open defecation is generally preferred in hot, rural areas where toilets are often not maintained, dirty, and smelly and there is enough space to find privacy.<sup>29</sup> Open defecation also does not require funding for construction and maintenance.<sup>30</sup> In such areas, it is important for sanitation to address these cultural, economic, and geographical aspects in order for the community to consider improved sanitation worth their money and change of habits.<sup>31</sup>

## 2. Community-Led Total Sanitation

Governments often do not invest as much in sanitation in low-income communities. NGOs work to fill this gap by focusing more on poor communities and local communities have had successes in increasing access and improving

sanitation themselves.<sup>32</sup> In order to provide access to improved sanitation, governments need to work with non-state providers and communities and form policies that recognize the importance of NGOs and the communities when it comes to sanitation.<sup>33</sup> Examples of successful NGO and local government cooperation in community-based sanitation projects include the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) in Karachi, Pakistan, Shelter Associates in Sangli and Pune, India, and Unnayan Shahojogy Team's (UST) partnership with Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) in Bangladesh.<sup>34</sup> The Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) mobilized the community of Karachi in Pakistan to invest in and build their own sewage system at a sixth of the cost of what the Karachi Municipal Corporation would have charged. 96,000 households have since put in sewerer toilets.<sup>35</sup> Another example of a community-based sanitation project is the Ahmedabad Slum Networking Project, which used the physical geography of the area to drain sewage out of the slums and into the city's sewers.<sup>36</sup> USAID funded Afghan Sustainable Water Supply and Sanitation (SWSS) which enabled local communities to build 42,129 improved latrines and trained 4,166 people to lead, promote, and train others in Community-Led Total Sanitation.<sup>37</sup> The success of SWSS led to CLTS becoming a part of the Afghan Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development's policy strategy.<sup>38</sup>

## 3. Increase Demand for Sanitation Through Education and Marketing

In the past, programs have successfully built toilets or latrines, but large portions of the community did not use the facilities. This was,

23 Ibid., 37.

24 Jewitt, 609.

25 Ibid., 609.

26 Ibid., 609.

27 Rosenquist, 338.

28 Sansom, 284. See Appendix C

29 Jewitt, 615.

30 Ibid., 616.

31 Ibid., 617.

32 Sansom, 283.

33 Ibid., 284.

34 Ibid., 283.

35 Jewitt, 618.

36 Ibid., 618.

37 "Afghan Sustainable Water Supply and Sanitation (SWSS)." United States Agency for International Development. <https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/fact-sheets/afghan-sustainable-water-supply-and-sanitation-swss>

38 "Sustainable Water Supply and Sanitation (SWSS) Project." Management Sciences for Health. <https://www.msh.org/blog-tags/sustainable-water-supply-and-sanitation-swss-project>

in part, due to a lack of demand for improved sanitation amongst the locals.<sup>39</sup> Demand is one of the most important prerequisites for expanding access to improved sanitation.<sup>40</sup> Building sanitation infrastructure alone is not as successful without community collaboration and promotion.<sup>41</sup> In South Asia, one reason there is less demand for improved sanitation is that households already keep their homes free from human excreta, making management more of a public concern than a private one.<sup>42</sup> Indians, for example, often value personal cleanliness and cleanliness within their homes but care less so about the cleanliness of public spaces. This has led to a tendency for people to use public lands for defecation and a resistance to privately owned toilets. In order to successfully market sanitation to communities, it is important to address this issue of public versus private and to know what communities value. The health benefits of improved sanitation are numerous, yet demand for toilets is often centered on a desire for privacy and personal and environmental cleanliness rather than human health.<sup>43</sup> It has been argued that educating people on the health risks of poor sanitation has led to more hand washing, but has done little to encourage the development and use of improved sanitation. Health messages are more effective if they also focus on other, more direct benefits such as personal cleanliness.<sup>44</sup> Communities may also ascribe a sense of prestige in association with the ownership of toilets.<sup>45</sup>

#### **4. Ecological Sanitation Systems – Using Human Excreta as an Agricultural Fertilizer**

Flush and discharge systems are expensive, costing around 30 billion USD just to construct. These systems also use large amounts of water. Using a flush and discharge toilet, one person generally flushes 5-50 liters of feces, 400-500 liters of urine, and 15,000 liters of water annually.

39 Sansom, 284.

40 Jewitt, 616.

41 Sansom, 284.

42 World Bank Group, 8.

43 Jewitt, 617.

44 Ibid., 615.

45 Ibid., 617.

With a rising population and an increasing demand for clean water, a sanitation system that allows small amounts of feces to contaminate large amounts of water is not sustainable.<sup>46 47</sup> Ecological sanitation systems are an alternative. Human excreta contains nutrients such as nitrogen, phosphorous, and potassium.<sup>48</sup> Ecological sanitation uses composting or dehydrating toilets to prepare human excreta to be recycled as agricultural fertilizer, taking advantage of the nutrients human excreta contains.<sup>49 50</sup> This creates a closed-loop system that does not use water and reduces risks to human health and the environment.<sup>51</sup> Ecological sanitation systems are cheaper and can lead to increased soil fertility, which can increase crop yields.<sup>52</sup> These systems have already been built in parts of China, southern India, South Africa, and Central America.<sup>53</sup> Despite the advantages of ecological sanitation systems, most people, especially those who live in faecophobic societies, prefer or aspire to have flush and discharge sanitation systems.<sup>54</sup> One reason for this is water minimizes smells. Ecological sanitation systems also require users to cast urine and feces to different parts of the toilet to insure that urine and feces remain separated – a requirement for human waste to be used as a fertilizer.<sup>55</sup> If resistance towards ecological sanitation is overcome, it would be a good, sustainable option in South Asia.

#### **5. Include Shared Sanitation in the Definition of Improved Sanitation**

Shared sanitation is considered unimproved because it is generally less hygienic and less

46 Ibid., 612.

47 Rosenquist, 336.

48 Ibid., 336.

49 Ibid., 337.

50 Jewitt, 613.

51 Ibid., 613. See Appendix D

52 Ibid., 613.

53 Ibid., 613.

54 Ibid., 614.

55 Ibid., 614.

accessible than private facilities.<sup>56</sup> However, in high-density areas such as slums, shared sanitation is often the most realistic sanitation option.<sup>57</sup> South Asia is home to 27% of the world's slum dwellers where land availability and cost constraints prevent building sanitation infrastructure for each household.<sup>58</sup> Recently, the Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply and Sanitation (JMP) considered changing its policy to include shared sanitation that meets certain criteria, such as not being used by more than five households.<sup>60</sup> Currently, about half of the world's shared latrines could be considered improved if they were not shared. 56% of improved shared facilities are shared by no more than five households, thereby meeting the JMP's possible new definition of improved sanitation.<sup>61</sup> The JMP has yet to change the definition of improved sanitation, though advocates continue to argue the benefits. Full sanitation coverage may not be possible if there is no change in how we approach shared sanitation.<sup>62</sup> Policymakers are coming to endorse shared sanitation as a viable option in specific situations.<sup>63</sup> However, there is evidence of increased health risks associated with shared sanitation.<sup>64</sup> The fewer number of people or households sharing a facility, the lower the risks.<sup>65</sup> There is also evidence that the farther a facility is from a household, its use will decrease and open defecation will increase.<sup>66</sup> Including shared facilities in the definition of improved sanitation would increase many country's

sanitation coverage, which would in turn, impact government focus, funding, and policies.<sup>67</sup>

## RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION

All of the solutions explained in this paper have viability, depending on the situation. However, an approach that integrates Solution 1 – Increase Awareness of Cultural and Geographic Aspects Surrounding Sanitation – and Solution 2 – Community-led Total Sanitation is the recommended course of action. Together, these approaches have the potential incorporate other solutions, including but not limited to the ones presented here, when the occasion calls for it. This integrated approach also has the potential to benefit more communities than the other solutions would on their own.

There are one billion people in South Asia who do not have access to improved sanitation.<sup>68</sup> All of these people face slightly different challenges to increasing access to sanitation. Most people without access to improved sanitation are poor and live in rural areas, though there are many that live in urban slums as well.<sup>69</sup> Generally, marginalized groups also often have less access.<sup>70</sup> All of these aspects, plus local taboos and cultural norms surrounding defecation and human excreta management influence the viability of different sanitation solutions. Local communities know their own needs best and, with the collaboration and support of NGOs, and local and foreign governments, communities can promote, construct, and maintain their own sanitation systems in accordance with their unique situations. NGOs, and local and foreign governments can provide facilitation resources such as research, and funding in order to empower communities. The focus of Community-Led Total Sanitation is on mobilizing community members and encouraging changes in behavior as opposed to the more

56 Marieke Heijnen, Ghislaine Rosa, James Fuller, Joseph N. S. Eisenberg, Thomas Clasen. "The geographic and demographic scope of shared sanitation: an analysis of national survey data from low- and middle-income countries" *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 19:11 (2014), 1335.

57 Ibid., 1335.

58 UN-Habitat. *Slum trends in Asia*. (pg. 1).

59 Roland S. Kabange, Andrews Nkansah. "Shared Sanitation Facilities: A Reality or Mirage?" *American Scientific Research Journal for Engineering, Technology, and Sciences* 14:1 (2015), 174.

60 Heijnen, 1335.

61 Ibid., 1336.

62 Roland, 174.

63 Heijnen, 1343.

64 Ibid., 1343.

65 Roland, 173.

66 Ibid., 175.

67 Heijnen, 1344.


68 World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund. *Progress on Drinking Water and Sanitation 2014 Update*. (pg. 20)

69 Ibid., 31.

70 Ibid., 33.

conventional, state-led, top-down approach.<sup>71</sup>  
The key to this is to create local awareness of the problem; awareness that will lead to action.<sup>72</sup>

Since its inception in 1999 in Bangladesh, community-led total sanitation has spread to over 20 countries in Asia (including Southwest Asia), Africa, and Latin America.<sup>73</sup> This success would not be possible without an understanding of local culture. Creating awareness of the problems of unimproved sanitation will not automatically lead to action if cultural norms and practices are not taken into account.<sup>74</sup>

The recommended course of community-led total sanitation sets a new standard for building and developing access to sanitation by empowering communities to engage, and find and implement their own solutions. 

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71 Synne Movik, Lyla Mehta. “The Dynamics And Sustainability Of Community-led Total Sanitation: Mapping Challenges And Pathways.” *STEPS Working Paper 37* (2010), 1.

72 Ibid., 1.

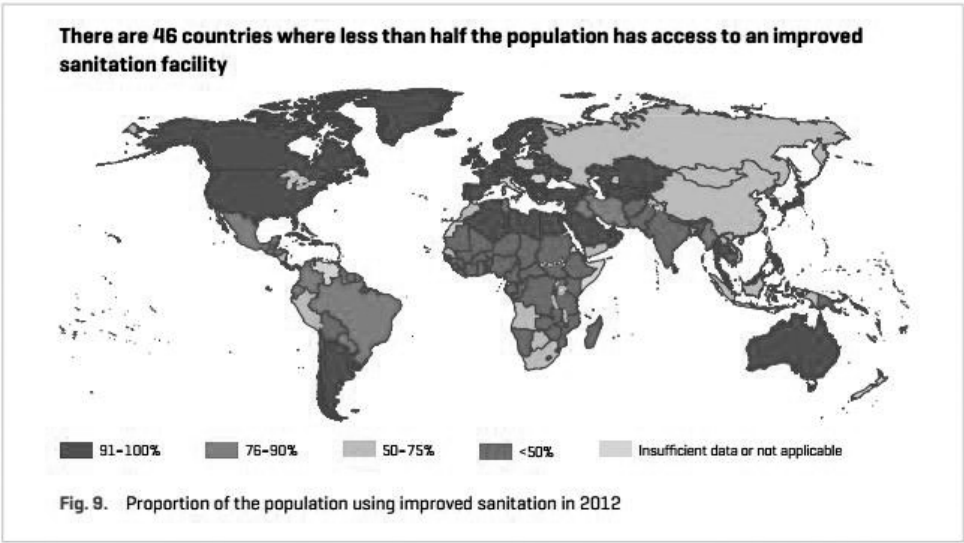
73 Ibid., 2.

74 Ibid., 6.

## APPENDIXES:

### APPENDIX A:

Global Access to Improved Sanitation<sup>75</sup>



### APPENDIX B:

Improved and Unimproved Sanitation<sup>76</sup>

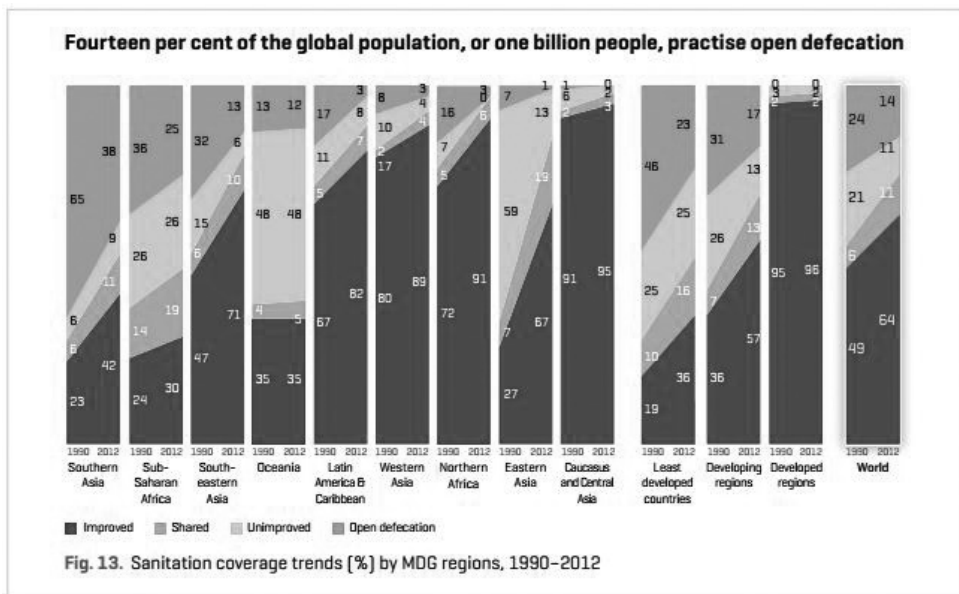


75 World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund. *Progress on Drinking Water and Sanitation 2014 Update*. (pg. 17)

76 "Improved and unimproved water sources and sanitation facilities." WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme (JMP) for Water Supply and Sanitation <http://www.wssinfo.org/definitions-methods/watsan-categories/>

**APPENDIX C:**

Open Defecation Prevalence by Region<sup>77</sup>



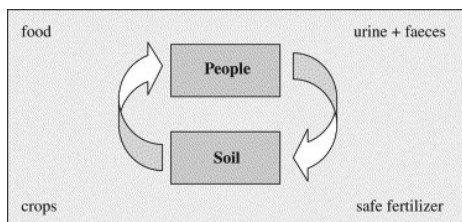
**APPENDIX D:**

Contemporary Sanitation Systems versus Ecological Sanitation Systems<sup>78</sup>

**Contemporary Sanitation**

CROPS → FOOD + PEOPLE → URINE + FAECES

**Ecological Sanitation**



**ADDITIONAL WORKS CONSULTED**

“Rural Water Supply, Sanitation & Irrigation Programme (Ru-WatSIP).” Afghan Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation & Development. <http://mrrd.gov.af/en/page/69/220>

Julie Beauséjour. “Managing delivery of sanitation infrastructures for poor communities: Decentralizing without penalizing.” International Journal of Managing Projects in Business 2:3 (2009), 355-369.

S. Cairncross. “Sanitation In The Developing World: Current Status And Future Solutions.” International Journal Of Environmental Health Research 13 (2003), 123-131.

“Empowering individuals” WaterAid <http://www.wateraid.org/us/what-we-do/our-approach/empowering-individuals>

77 World Health Organization, United Nations Children’s Fund. *Progress on Drinking Water and Sanitation 2014 Update*. (pg. 19)

78 Louise Emilia Dellström Rosenquist. “A psychosocial analysis of the human-sanitation nexus” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 25 (2009), 337.



## Revamping the European Union's Common European Asylum System

– Alyssa Shankel

### ABSTRACT:

*Increases in the number of protection seekers entering the European Union (EU) has drawn international attention to the necessity of policy reform. United Nations and EU policies were assessed, and resolving main issues was used to guide while assessing potential solutions. Solutions were selected on grounds of political feasibility and assessed on their ability to offer economic benefit to protection seekers as well as EU Member States while ensuring the protection of human rights. After considering Amending the Dublin Regulation, Writing a New Common European Asylum System, Joint Processing Programs, as well as Increased Connection and Responsibility given to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania, a final recommended course of action was constructed; Collaborating with states of Eastern Europe in Tandem with a List of Safe Countries of Origin. The final recommendation provided potential for political and economic development within the EU and surrounding regions while tangentially addressing the interests of protection seekers.*

### OVERVIEW AND HISTORY: EUROPEAN UNION POLICY AND REFUGEES

The European Union (EU), founded on unifying economic need, consists of a conglomerate of 28 Member States located within the European subcontinent. Since its creation in 1993, the EU has grown in political jurisdiction. Founded on the principle of a common European culture and value system that unites all Member States,<sup>1</sup> the EU's common culture lead to the development of non-economic policies; including the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). As it was originally written, CEAS created migration management, security, risk analysis, personal data processing, inter-agency info sharing, maritime security, cooperative border and coast guard agencies, as well as an external relations program that facilitated and encouraged

1 Lavenex, S. "“Passing the Buck”: European Union Refugee Policies towards Central and Eastern Europe." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 11.2 (1998): 126-45. Hein Online: University of Idaho Law Library. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

cooperation between Member States and third countries.<sup>2</sup>

CEAS works cooperatively with an agreement known as the Dublin Regulation (DR). The DR is meant to “contribute to the harmonization of asylum policies, guarantee protection in line with international obligations and humanitarian tradition, promote free movement, ensure efficiency, prevent ‘multiple applications for asylum submitted ... by the same person...’ and preserve family unity...”<sup>3</sup> Together, the CEAS and DR are meant to establish a clear, workable mechanism for determining state responsibility through primary stages of asylum applications.

While the DR sets concrete expectations of Member States, the lack of EU accountability measures has led to haphazard and inefficient implementation of the costly program an issue that has led to questionable human rights practices and economic turmoil.<sup>4</sup> Minimum standards and procedures for the treatment of both asylum seekers and those granted refugee status,<sup>5</sup> known as protection seekers,<sup>6</sup> is clearly defined in the CEAS and DR. However, many Member States have not implemented these standards in the ongoing ‘Syrian refugee

crisis.’<sup>7</sup> This lack of adherence to CEAS has exacerbated issues with the Schengen Agreement; an alliance amongst 26 of the 28 EU Member States allowing for an international open border visa policy.<sup>8</sup> This agreement is integral to further economic development as it allows for importation and exportation of goods as well as the movement of people, without border inspections or customs within the EU.

Inconsistencies in the enforcement of CEAS and DR as well as complications within internal EU states, have led to failures of national systems. In response, the EU has revised the European Agenda on Migration (EAM) in an attempt to improve the host situations of protection seekers in European countries. The European Commission (EC) has launched inquiries into Member States who have violated regulations and is aspiring to immediately address the issue at hand through policy adjustments.<sup>9</sup> However, Member States continue to resist these adaptations and thus strain the relations of the Schengen Agreement further.<sup>10</sup> Some EU Member States are seeking individualized solutions in response to criticism. However, it has become evident to the international community that CEAS and DR must be analyzed, and that reformed policy would ensure improved processing and increased efforts to maintain family structures of protection seekers, as well as serve the interests of EU states with lower policy implementation costs.<sup>11</sup>

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2 Council of the European Union. Secretary-General of the European Commission. Proposal for a REGULATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL on the European Border and Coast Guard and Repealing Regulation (EC) No 2007/2004, Regulation (EC) No 863/2007 and Council Decision 2005/267/EC. 0310 ed. Vol. 2015. Print. COD.

3 “Sharing Responsibility for Refugee Protection in Europe: Dublin Reconsidered.” European Council on Refugees and Exiles. ECRE, Mar. 2008. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

4 Ibid.

5 Council of the European Union. European Economic and Social Committee. Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing a Crisis Relocation Mechanism and Amending Regulation (EU) No 604/2013. 0208 ed. Vol. 2015. Print. COD.

6 The term *protection seekers* includes groups of persons categorized as refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons.

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7 The Syrian refugee crisis in Europe, while not the most alarming migration of refugees in the international system, has put definitive pressure on systems in place. This crisis will not be implicitly referred to often throughout this paper, however, this analysis and following recommendations will be made within the context of the current political climate.

8 See Appendix 1.

9 “EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.” European Commission. 26 Oct. 2012. Web. 03 Apr. 2016. “EU: Leaders Duck Responsibilities on Refugees.” Human Rights Watch. Human Rights Watch, 24 Sept. 2015. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

10 Magyar. “The EU Has a Solidarity Crisis. Not a Refugee Crisis.” Open Society Foundations. Open Society Initiative for Europe, Oct. 2015. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

11 Ibid.



## APPROACH ONE:

### *Amending the Dublin Regulation*

Amendments to the CEAS and DR as a reactive measure have been smiled upon by human rights advocacy groups as well as Member States of the EU.<sup>12</sup> Suggested amendments would be applied to safeguard protection standards and fundamental rights of protection seekers, respect family unity and interests of children and other vulnerable groups, ensure processing clarity and efficiency, and improving solidarity and sharing resources. These amendments in tandem with a “Common List of Safe Countries of Origin” as proposed by the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) are a short term solution to allow the EU to deal with its current refugee crisis until a more permanent solution can be addressed in a time of less urgency.<sup>13</sup>

Amendments proposed by NGOs with human rights focuses include the creation of appeal measures to challenge transfer orders, full and fair hearings in response to applicants sent back to their home countries, in-depth background searches, and attempts to avoid refoulement. Further main amendments emphasize the need to maintain family structures, protect children, and avoid detainment of protection seekers, as well as provide state officials with guidance and advanced training on the inner-workings of the DR. These amendments are proposed along with the creation of a “Common List of Safe Countries of Origin” which would diminish the vetting process of key populations of protection seekers. This solution is viable as a short term response but there is a resounding need for a more permanent solution.

## APPROACH TWO:

### *Writing a New ‘European Union Common Asylum System’*

Due to major issues within the DR and CEAS, there has also been a push for the drafting of a completely new policy. A new system would

need to set an absolute requirement of respect for protection seekers rights, true responsibility sharing amongst EU member states, as well as focus on integration and solidarity. Shared financial costs and collaboration in carrying out asylum responsibilities have also been emphasized. Main differences between current policy and proposed policy focus on connecting individuals with Member States based on linguistic, cultural and community ties known as common connection criteria.<sup>14</sup>

Proposed systems should also take into consideration amendments with measures to create a smooth integration process and take the opportunity to utilize professional and educational qualifications of protection seekers when determining placement.<sup>15</sup> Focusing on common connection criteria would allow for dispersion of protection seekers rather than having focused populations within external EU Member States. New ideas to facilitate transfers and prevent the abuse of the system include implementing a laissez-passer or a temporary travel document. The laissez-passer system would allow protection seekers the right to travel to their future Member-State and avoid repeat applications while enabling effective screening of moving populations. Sharing financial and administrative responsibility amongst Member States would allow for distribution of any economic and resource burdens throughout the EU.<sup>16</sup>

## APPROACH THREE:

### *Joint Processing Programs*

In 2003 the United Kingdom (UK) proposed a joint processing plan; “New Vision for Refugees.” This plan includes moving protection seekers to

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14 Ibid.

15 Tamas, Kristof, and Alessandra Venturini. “Moving Beyond Demographics: Perspectives for a Common European Migration Policy.” *Moving Beyond Demographics: Perspectives for a Common European Migration Policy*. Swedish Ministry of Justice and Global Utmaning, Nov. 2011. Web. 03 Apr. 2016. See Appendix 3.

16 Kaunert, Christian. “Liberty versus Security? EU Asylum Policy and the European Commission.” *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 5.2 (2009): Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

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12 Peers, Steve. “Steve Peers: The Refugee Crisis: What Should the EU Do Next?” *MIGRANTS AT SEA*. Migrants at Sea, 10 Sept. 2015. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

13 Ibid; See Appendix 2.

centers outside the EU for claim assessment. Similarly, the UNHCR proposed the “EU’s Prong” plan that placed emphasis on protection seeker’s rights with similarly centralized processing centers located within the EU.<sup>17</sup>

The UK’s proposed plan moves the processing of protection seekers within their region of origin. It encourages placing processing centers along transit routes, or strategically closer to home states outside the EU, to allow for more manageable dispersion of protection seekers within the EU.<sup>18</sup>

The UNHCR’s “EU’s Prong” plan outlines Europe progressing towards a common asylum system defined by its emphasis on mechanisms ensuring that states with fledgling asylum systems are not overwhelmed by too vast a number of claimants.<sup>19</sup> The three pronged program would focus on new approaches within regions of origin, joint-initiatives within the EU, (including pooling of processing and reception), as well as the effective functioning of Member State’s individual national asylum systems.<sup>20</sup> While the joint processing approach addresses issues of overwhelming population influx, there is widespread concern that these proposals will undermine existing, effective protection policies and lack the implicit enforcement of human rights needed in new policy.

## APPROACH FOUR:

### ***Increased Connection and Responsibility given to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania***

Many current resettlement issues have amplified struggles with cultural integration.<sup>21</sup> However, there are proposals to avoid integration concerns by involving new nations with the EU. Bosnia-Herzegovina (Bosnia) and Albania, two nations being considered for EU membership,<sup>22</sup> are mostly Muslim and have shared histories with much of the Middle East.<sup>23</sup> Bosnia is a candidate for NATO<sup>24</sup> and is about to be given official candidacy for the EU. Albania is already a NATO member and an official EU candidate as of 2014. Further, both Bosnia and Albania have high human development indicators giving them the ability to meet human rights standards.

Unfortunately, Albania and Bosnia’s weak economies have impeded their ability to offer asylum to protection seekers, or to even appear appealing to protection seekers.<sup>25</sup> However, if the EU were to offer economic incentives similar to those currently being offered to Turkey, then economic concerns could be appeased to an extent. A proposed collaboration between Albania, Bosnia, and the EU in serving protection seekers would benefit the EU by diminishing issues of islamophobia, economic stress, and population control while simultaneously helping Bosnia and Albania in promoting their states to

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17 Ibid.

18 “Asylum Seekers and Refugees Will Be Subjected to Ineffective Protection in Processing Centers: Human Rights Watch Commentary on the U.K.’s “New Vision” Proposal for the Establishment of Refugee Processing Centers Abroad (June, 2003).” Asylum Seekers and Refugees Will Be Subjected to Ineffective Protection in Processing Centers: Human Rights Watch Commentary on the U.K.’s “New Vision” Proposal for the Establishment of Refugee Processing Centers Abroad (June, 2003). Human Rights Watch, 17 June 2003. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

19 “Bullet Point Summary of the Strategic Presentation on UNHCR’s Operations in Europe.” Bullet Point Summary of the Strategic Presentation on UNHCR’s Operations in Europe (2004): United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. United Nations, 11 Mar. 2004. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

20 “Lubbers Proposes New Approaches on Asylum-migration Issues in EU.” UNHCR News. United Nations, 28 Mar. 2003. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

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21 Holmes, Seth M., and Heide Castañeda. “Representing the “European Refugee Crisis” in Germany and Beyond: Deservingness and Difference, Life and Death.” *American Ethnologist* 43.1 (2016): 12-24. Web.

22 See Appendix 4.

23 It is important to note the recent influx of Syrian refugees as making up a large percentage of a recent surge in Muslim protection seekers with in the European Union. While Syrians are not the only protection seekers within the EU, the overwhelming nature of their migration patterns are shaping short term considerations in regards to policy and political action. While this crisis is not the focus of this paper, consideration in regards to recommended policy must be acknowledged. See Appendix 5.

24 See Appendix 6.

25 Moghul, Haroon. “It’s Time for Bosnia and Albania to Step Forward and Host Syrian Refugees.” *Quartz*. Quartz, 15 Mar. 2016. Web. 04 Apr. 2016. See Appendix 7.

be accepted as EU Member States.<sup>26</sup> While there are some concerns, it is reasonable to assume common connection criteria would diminish the challenge of accepting protection seekers within Albania and Bosnia as opposed to the current struggles of Member States.

## **RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION: COLLABORATION WITH STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE<sup>27</sup> IN TANDEM WITH LIST OF SAFE COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN**

The recommended course of action to the EU in revamping the CEAS and DR is opening communications and economic cooperation with countries of the states of Eastern Europe such as Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo. In cooperation with expansion, the EU should continue in creating a “Common List of Safe Countries of Origin.”

The main problems the EU currently faces in regards to the influx of persons seeking protection is citizen opposition towards mandatory EU and United Nations (UN) agreements. These oppositions appear to be founded on widespread security and economic concerns. Subliminal demarcation of protection seekers separates the seemingly “deserving” from the “undeserving” protection seeker which is fueled in large part by fear of cultural, religious, and ethnic differences. Studies show that placing protection seekers in nations where anthropological commonalities exist increases the odds of enculturation of protection seekers and willingness to assist from protection-providing states.<sup>28</sup>

The issues of cultural, religious and language barriers to integrating protection seekers into the EU, particularly those of Muslim majority nations, would be effectively solved by opening collaboration with the states of Eastern Europe. The primary differences for marking protection

seekers as risks in all current EU member states would become uniting features, encouraging assimilation and healthy relations between protection providing states and protection seekers in Eastern Europe.<sup>29</sup> Further, the economic struggles facing many of the Eastern European states could be alleviated by deals similar to that offered to Turkey by the EU or by increasing current funding mechanisms between the EU and states of Eastern Europe.<sup>30</sup>

In coordination with the opening of relations, the EU should continue forward with the “Common List of Safe Countries of Origin” proposed by the EESC. The Common EU List “seeks to offset some of the current differences between Member State’s national lists of ‘safe’ countries of origin.”<sup>31</sup> The compilation of such a list must follow recommendations that it include specific, practical and precise indicators and criteria to make determinants of safe countries of origin. Partnerships with The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), the Council of Europe (CoE), and other human rights organizations would further ensure the integrity of The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.<sup>32</sup> The currently proposed preliminary list includes Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey; encompassing all countries proposed for cooperation within the states of Eastern Europe. Not only would this eliminate differences in Member States asylum systems in tandem with collaboration with the states of Eastern Europe, this list would assure Member States of the preservation of their own interests through safety measures being adhered to in processing protection seekers arriving in the EU.



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29 Ibid.

30 See Appendix 9; See Appendix 10.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid; Council of the European Union. European Economic and Social Committee. EESC. Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing an EU Common List of Safe Countries of Origin for the Purposes of Directive 2013/32/EU. 0211 ed. Vol. 2015. Print. COD.

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26 Ibid.

27 Definition of terms “Eastern European States” and “states of Eastern Europe” and “Eastern Europe” for the purpose of this paper includes the states of; Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo. See Appendix 8.

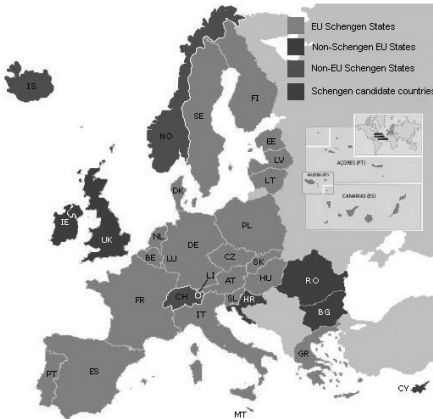
28 Ibid.

## APPENDIXES:

### APPENDIX 1: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S SCHENGEN AGREEMENT

“The free movement of persons is a fundamental right guaranteed by the EU to its citizens. It entitles every EU citizen to travel, work and live in any EU country without special formalities. Schengen cooperation enhances this freedom by enabling citizens to cross internal borders without being subjected to border checks. The border-free Schengen Area guarantees free movement to more than 400 million EU citizens, as well as to many non-EU nationals, businessmen, tourists or other persons legally present on the EU territory.”

Schengen Area as of 1/7/2013



“Schengen Area.” Migration and Home Affairs. The European Commission, 29 Jan. 2016. Web. 24 Apr. 2016.

### APPENDIX 2: INFLUX OF REFUGEES INTO EUROPE, JULY-SEPTEMBER 2015

July 2015



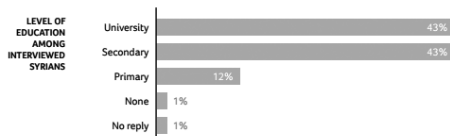
September 2015



“The Crisis of the Common Asylum Policy in the European Union.” European Union: European Issues and Interviews. Robert Schuman Foundation, 10 Dec. 2015. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

## APPENDIX 3: EDUCATION LEVELS OF SYRIAN REFUGEES

### EDUCATION



86% of interviewed Syrians have secondary or university level education.

“Syrian Refugee Arrivals in Greece: Preliminary Questionnaire Findings.” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. United Nations, 2015. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

## APPENDIX 4: UNITED NATIONS COUNTRY CANDIDACY

### Candidate countries

*Still negotiating – or waiting to start.*

Country	Membership negotiations started?
Albania	
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	
Montenegro	Negotiations status – January 2016
Serbia	Negotiations status – January 2016
Turkey	Negotiations status – January 2016

### Potential candidates

*They were promised the prospect of joining when they are ready.*

Country
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Kosovo*

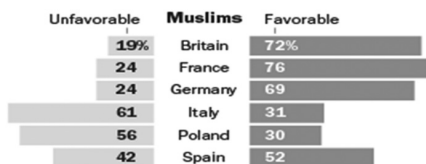
\*This designation is without prejudice to positions on status, and is in line with UNSCR 1244 and the ICJ Opinion on the Kosovo Declaration of Independence.

“European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement.” European Commission. 27 Jan. 2016. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

## APPENDIX 5: PERCEIVED PROBLEMS WITH MUSLIM INDIVIDUALS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

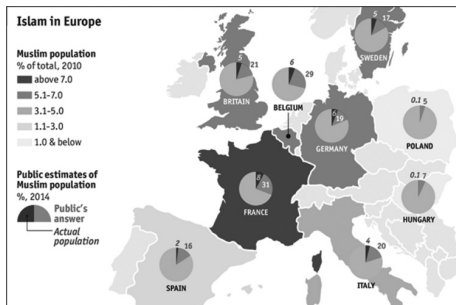
### How Europe views Muslims

*% in each country who have ... views of Muslims*



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q45c.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER



Hackett, Conrad. “5 Facts about the Muslim Population in Europe.” Pew Research Center RSS. Pew Research, 17 Nov. 2015. Web. 11 May 2016.

“Solidarity, for Now.” The Economist Newspaper. The Economist. The Economist Newspaper, 17 Jan. 2015. Web. 11 May 2016.

## APPENDIX 6: NATO COUNTRY CANDIDACY AND NEGOTIATIONS

### The Current Situation

**Montenegro** joined NATO's Partnership for Peace in 2006, and was invited to join the Membership Action Plan in 2009. At the Wales Summit in September 2014, Allied leaders announced that NATO would open intensified and focused talks with Montenegro. In December 2015, NATO Foreign Ministers decided to invite Montenegro to start accession talks to become the 29th member of the Alliance.

Three further countries currently aspire for membership:

**Bosnia and Herzegovina** began intensified dialogue with NATO on membership aspirations in 2008. The country has been invited to join the Membership Action Plan, pending the resolution of a key issue concerning immovable defence property.

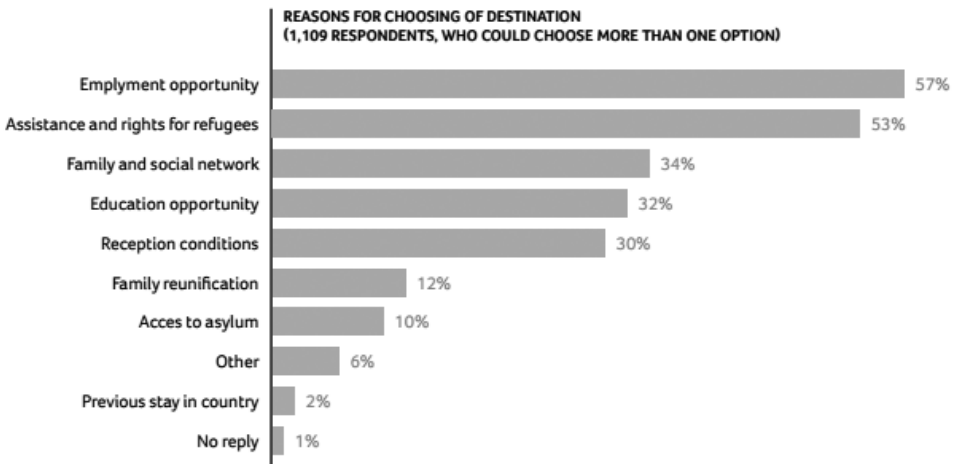
**Georgia** At the Bucharest Summit in 2008, Allied leaders decided that Georgia will become a member of NATO provided it meets all necessary requirements. This decision was reconfirmed at NATO Summits in 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2014. Since late 2014, NATO and Georgia have been working together to implement the Substantial NATO-Georgia Package. The measures in this Package aim to strengthen Georgia's defence and interoperability capabilities with the Alliance, which will help Georgia advance in its preparations towards membership.

**The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**<sup>1</sup> joined NATO's Partnership for Peace in 1995, and joined the Membership Action Plan in 1999. The country must find a mutually acceptable solution with Greece to the issue over its name before it can be invited to join NATO.

"NATO Enlargement & Open Door." North Atlantic Treaty Organization Fact Sheet (2016): NATO. Jan. 2016. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

## APPENDIX 7: REFUGEE ASYLUM DECISION FACTORS

### REASON FOR CHOOSING ANOTHER COUNTRY TO APPLY FOR ASYLUM:

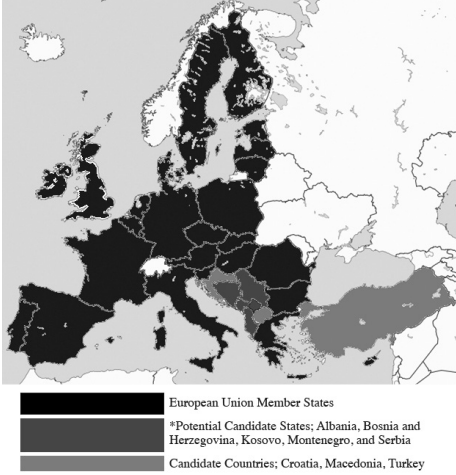


Employment opportunities and ability to enjoy assistance for refugees were the options cited by most respondents. Family and social network, education opportunities and conditions of reception in a specific country also impacted the choice of country of intended destination. (Respondents could choose more than one reason.)

"Syrian Refugee Arrivals in Greece: Preliminary Questionnaire Findings." United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. United Nations, 2015. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

## APPENDIX 8: EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES

Definition of terms “Eastern European States”<sup>\*\*</sup> and “states of Eastern Europe”<sup>\*\*</sup> and “Eastern Europe”<sup>\*\*</sup> for the purpose of this paper includes the states of; Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo.



Map independently built, original information derived from; “Schengen Visa Countries List - Schengen Area.” Schengen VISA Information RSS. Schengen VISA Info, 2016. Web. 12 May 2016.

## APPENDIX 9: STANDING VOLUNTARY MONETARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES

Voluntary contributions to South-Eastern Europe (USD)				
Formwork	Donor	Annual budget	Supplementary budget	Total
South-Eastern Europe subregion	Sweden	1,903,070		1,903,070
	United States of America	8,860,000		8,860,000
South-Eastern Europe subtotal		12,763,070		12,763,070
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Council of Europe Development Bank	168,598		168,598
	European Commission	432,762		432,762
	Switzerland	261,674		261,674
Bosnia and Herzegovina subtotal		862,934		862,934
Croatia	European Commission	456,081		456,081
	UN Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund	439,236		439,236
Croatia subtotal		895,317		895,317
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	European Commission	15,325		15,325
	Español con ACNUR (Spain)	35,000		35,000
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia subtotal		160,325		160,325
Montenegro	European Commission	198,765		198,765
Montenegro subtotal		198,765		198,765
Serbia	Council of Europe Development Bank	382,255		382,255
	Disc. Foundation (Serbia)	219,924		219,924
	European Commission	1,915,585		1,915,585
	Greece	100,000	8,600	108,600
	Japan	330,579		330,579
	Romania		9150	9150
	United States of America	300,000	930,000	1,230,000
	World Food Programme	300,000		300,000
Serbia subtotal		3,086,643	1,040,381	4,127,024
Total		17,858,793	1,040,381	18,899,174

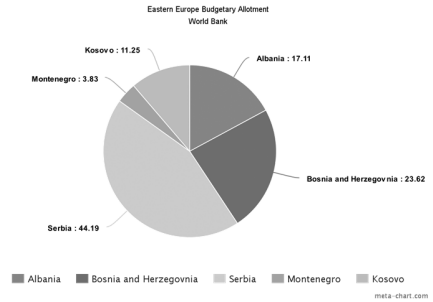
\*Note: Contributions listed above exclude indirect support costs that are recovered from contributions against supplementary projects and for "time or additional activities outside of UNHCR's mandate."

“South Eastern Europe.” UNHCR Global Report (2009): United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. United Nations, 2009. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

## APPENDIX 10: DISPERSION OF FUNDING CURRENTLY OFFERED TO TURKEY, BASED OFF POPULATION

Information independently calculated, original information derived from; “EU-Turkey Agreement: Questions and Answers.” European Commission. 19 Mar. 2016. Web. 12 May 2016.

Country	Serbia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Albania	Kosovo	Montenegro
% Budget	44.19	23.62	17.11	11.25	3.83
€ Total (in Billion)	1.5-2.9	78-1.56	.66-1.13	.37-75	.13-0.25



## ADDITIONAL WORKS CONSULTED

"The Crisis of the Common Asylum Policy in the European Union." European Union: European Issues and Interviews. Robert Schuman Foundation, 10 Dec. 2015. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

"Europe : Bosnia and Herzegovina." Central Intelligence Agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 17 Mar. 2016. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

"European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement." European Commission. 27 Jan. 2016. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

Juss, Satvinder S. "The Decline and Decay of European Refugee Policy." Oxford Journal of Law Studies 25.4 (2005): 749-92. Oxford Journals [Oxford UP]. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

"NATO Enlargement & Open Door." North Atlantic Treaty Organization Fact Sheet (2016): NATO. Jan. 2016. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

"South Eastern Europe." UNHCR Global Report (2009): United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. United Nations, 2009. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

"Syrian Refugee Arrivals in Greece: Preliminary Questionnaire Findings." United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. United Nations, 2015. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

Thielemann, Eiko R. "Towards a Common EU Immigration and Asylum Policy." West African Mobility and Migration Policies of OECD Countries West African Studies (2008): 63-87. University of Texas. Department of Government & European Institute London School of Economics and Political Science & Center for Comparative Immigration Studies University of California, San Diego, Mar. 2006. Web. 3 Apr. 2016.

"UNHCR Says Most of Syrians Arriving in Greece Are Students." UNHCR News. United Nations, 8 Dec. 2015. Web. 03 Apr. 2016.

"Why Is EU Struggling with Migrants and Asylum? - BBC News." BBC News. British Broadcasting Company, 3 Mar. 2016. Web. 04 Apr. 2016.





# Mitigating Separatist Tendencies in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region of China

– Sarah Platt

Photo source: Wikimedia Commons

## ABSTRACT:

*The relationship between the People's Republic of China and Xinjiang Autonomous Region remains trapped in its crucible of tension and discrimination. Over the years, this asymmetrical relationship lead to threats of separatism and acts of terrorism in a desperate attempt to have grievances heard. The future does not look bright, should the region continue on their current path. This essay proposes five possible solutions to alleviate tensions. The first encompasses the reformation of Xinjiang's Bilingual school systems; treating Mandarin Chinese as a secondary language rather than the primary language in efforts to preserve the historical Uyghur language and cultural integrity. Others include pushes for economic ethnic equality, amendment of preferential ethnic policies and the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, as well as the adoption and application of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The PRC can no longer ignore the grievances of the Uyghur people.*

## OVERVIEW, HISTORY AND DEFINITION OF THE ISSUE:

The Xinjiang Autonomous Region (Xinjiang) engulfs a majority of the northwestern quadrant of the People's Republic of China (PRC) (Appendix A). Over the last century, this multi-ethnic yet predominantly Muslim region has battled for a chance at independence, and seeks to establish itself as the sovereign state of East Turkestan.<sup>1</sup> However, following Mao's rise to power in 1945, the PRC has kept a suffocating grip on the region in an effort to reap its seemingly limitless strategic benefits. The resulting crucible became a breeding ground for deep-seeded tensions between Xinjiang and the PRC, drenched in ethnic stratification, religious and cultural oppression, discrimination and acts of violence committed by both parties.

Xinjiang gained international recognition in the last decade as the epicenter of what the PRC

1 Jungmin Seo and Young Chul Cho. "Rethinking Beijing's Geostrategic Sensibilities to Tibet and Xinjiang: Images and Interests." *Pacific Focus: Inha Journal of International Studies* 28.2 (2013): 301.

deems to be a growing threat of ‘terrorism’ and ‘extremism,’ with the blame for numerous bombings and attacks befalling the region’s most prominent minority group, the Uyghur. These highly publicized allegations have begun grabbing the attention of Islamic Fundamentalist groups such as ISIS, and resulting in public protests by the PRC’s majority ethnic group, the Han Chinese, who grow weary of the government’s inability to bring about stability. Regardless of the perceived danger posed by Xinjiang, the PRC remains resolute, almost revitalized, in their efforts to maintain and strengthen control of the region. Energy resources, such as oil, iron and the PRC’s always sought after commodity, coal, along with massive expanses of land and access to eight Central and South Asian states keep China coming back for more.<sup>2</sup>

The national push for a ‘Unified China’ adds fuel to the fire, with any hint of separatist sentiments quickly and harshly snuffed out on site, a variety of economic policies and programs put into place, the PRC made every effort to assimilate the Uyghur and other Xinjiang minority groups as deeply into the Eastern Chinese culture and mindset as possible.<sup>3</sup> To lose Xinjiang would most likely obliterate that all-important unified façade, incurring serious political and economic costs for the PRC, such as losing control of other autonomous regions like Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia Hui and Guangxi Zhuang, each inspired to follow suit.

Keeping Xinjiang is paramount to the PRC on a wide variety of levels, but they cannot sit back and ignore the complaints of the people. Reform and compromises both need to occur if China has any chance of one day living harmoniously with Xinjiang, and truly developing a ‘Unified China.’ The Han Chinese and those in the Beijing government can no longer hold the only positions on the political playing field. The Uyghur people will continue to fight and persevere for their

freedom and autonomy, cultural and religious heritage, and for respect from the rest of the state. This respect and compromise are key to mitigating tensions in Xinjiang.

## POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS:

### APPROACH 1:

#### ***Preservation of the Uyghur Language in Xinjiang’s ‘Bilingual’ Schools***

After the Han Chinese began to migrate into Xinjiang back in the late 1950s and early 60s, the ratio of Han to Uyghur grew increasingly disproportionate (Appendix B). In 1945, Han Chinese only made up 6.2% of the 3.6 million in Xinjiang whereas Uyghur’s made up 82.7%. Fast forward to 2008, Han Chinese made up 39.2% of Xinjiang’s 21.3 million residents, and only 46.1% Uyghur.<sup>4</sup> Because of this massive influx of millions of Han Chinese who brought along their own language and culture, there was a gradual need for school to begin integrating Mandarin Chinese into their curriculums. Learning to communicate with those around you was imperative, but a prominent reason the government wanted to integrate Mandarin into the school system aimed to condition Uyghur youth to the ‘Chinese Way.’ This school system, as it stands today, lacks much support from the Uyghur community and serves as a catalysis for ethnic tensions.

According to a survey of Uyghur university students on the topic of these ‘bilingual schools,’ 82% believed that learning Mandarin gave them a distinct advantage when looking for work. 70% stated there were not enough policies or regulations in place to promote linguistic equality, and 83% believed the current system marginalizes minority people.<sup>5</sup> Uyghurs recognize the economic importance of learning Mandarin, but their culture tightly winds around their Turkish decent, and their language. The

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2 Wu Xiaogang and Xi Song, “Ethnic Stratification amid China’s Economic Transition: Evidence from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.” *Social Science Research*, Volume 44, (2014): 166.

3 Anthony Howell and C. Cindy Fan. “Migration and Inequality in Xinjiang: A Survey of Han and Uyghur Migrants in Urumqi.” *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 2011, 52, No. 1, pp. 125.

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4 Ibid.

5 “A Survey on the Attitudes of Uyghurs University Students in Beijing towards the Bilingual Education Policy in Xinjiang.” Beijing University. <http://www.peacehall.com/news/gb/china/2011/04/201104290545.shtml>.

process of mitigating animosity between each other starts with incorporating each other's culture and views rather than trying to block out the other.

## APPROACH 2:

### ***Push for Greater Economic Equality between Ethnicities***

The PRC covets the resources that come out of Xinjiang. Programs to allocate fossil fuels, water and land have these resources scattered across China and Central Asia. The resulting boom in economic prosperity spread across the region, but never made it much farther than the Han Chinese population.<sup>6</sup> When they came over to Xinjiang 40-50 years ago, they brought with them skills in business and management. Their elite status within the region creates distributional equality between the ethnic groups, and in turn creates animosity and resentment. This phenomenon, known by some as the "Natural Resources Curse,"<sup>7</sup> exists when the people of a resource rich region do not benefit from resource production or the economic benefits that come with it. The move to improve resource development began following the PRC's 1990s "Develop the West" movement, whereby a 'one black, one white' economic strategy came about, focusing on exploiting Xinjiang's oil (black) and cotton (white) industries.<sup>8</sup> (Appendix C)

Even with successful program implementation, rarely have the minority groups benefited. The earnings of Han migrants in the region average around 2.5 times higher than Uyghur native (Appendix D), and 3 times higher in agricultural occupations (Appendix E). This came with a growing GDP almost identical to the PRC itself.<sup>9</sup> Such a wealth gap creates a substantial amount of tension between minorities and Han

6 Duan Jinhui, Shuying Wei, Ming Zeng, and Yanfang Ju. "The Energy Industry in Xinjiang, China: Potential, Problems, and Solutions." *Power* 160.1 (2016): 52.

7 Yin Weiwen. "The Natural Resource Curse in Xinjiang". The University of Tokyo (2014).

8 Ibid. p 17.

9 Wu Xiaogang and Xi Song. "Ethnicity, Migration, and Social Stratification in China: Evidence from Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region" *Population Studies Center Research Report* 13-810 (2013): 7, 27, and 32.

Chinese, as well as perpetuating discrimination and inequality between the different ethnic groups. Finding a way to distribute the wealth more evenly could relieve much of the tension between the two groups.

## APPROACH #3:

### ***Amendment of Preferential Policies for Minorities***

The Beijing government developed Preferential Ethnic Policies to promote the growth and development of minorities within the PRC. These range from educational admission priorities to leniency of family planning, allowing minority families to have multiple children.<sup>10</sup> These policies have created a rift in the West between the Han Chinese and the regions minority groups. The Han feel as if the minorities have a completely unwarranted advantage, similar to the negative sentiments held by some regarding affirmative action programs within the United States of America. These angry sentiments perpetuate discrimination within the region, and studies show that regardless of these preferential policies, there is still a statistically significant gap in the wellbeing of minority groups within West and Central China (Appendix F)

The preferential policies usually only affect minorities in rural areas, and the 91% of Han Chinese that live outside these rural areas have little issue to take up with these policies, but that 9% living in close proximity to rural minority groups take great issue with the matter, which have led to riots within Xinjiang. After the 2009 terrorist attacks within the capital city of Urumqi, the push to "de-politicize" ethnicity became a viable proposal.<sup>11</sup> Any amendments made need to not only promote equality of wellbeing but also address the Han dissatisfaction of the current system. The mindset of the government needs to become more attentive towards balance between the Han and minorities when

10 Shan Wei and Chen Gang. "The Urumqi Riots and China's Ethnic Policy in Xinjiang." *East Asian Policy Journal of the National University of Singapore*, July 5, 2009, 14-22

11 Barry Sautman. "Scaling Back Minority Rights: The Debate about China's Ethnic Policies." *Stanford Journal of International Law* 46.1 (2010): 53-54.

addressing issues of discrimination and regional tension.

#### APPROACH 4:

##### **Reformation of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC)**

The XPCC acts as a major government, military, and production actor for Xinjiang. Developed after the rise of Mao in order to reap the resource benefits of the region, the XPCC also acted as the main driving factor for the migration of Han into the area. The development of housing complexes, even entire towns, created areas of Xinjiang that were desirable for Eastern Hans to migrate. Although the PRC regards the XPCC as one of their most successful development programs, the effects they are having in Xinjiang could possibly turn dangerous.

In order to develop better towns for Hans to live in, the XPCC on several occasions have redirected rivers to draw water supplies towards those cities. Consequently, the water no longer benefits the many minority farms and cities within the area.<sup>12</sup> This construction of more cities also puts a potential future strain on the economy and environment. A 2015 estimate showed that in just one small Han minority district of 100,000 people, the population would more than triple its size to 350,000 by 2030, comprised of 95% Han.<sup>13</sup> Where would the water or food needed to sustain that much growth come from?

The PRC needs to consider establishing limitations to control the growth and spread of the XCPP. Their projects and programs have adverse effects on the environment and the people around areas where their projects take place. The development of Han migrate housing propagates the disproportionality of ethnicity and the elitist Han mentality.

#### APPROACH 5:

##### **Stricter Adherence to Xinjiang's Status as an Autonomous Region**

Chinese law dictates that Xinjiang has the right to act autonomously from China in how they handle local governments, economics, relationships with international states, etc. However, the PRCs government tends to say one thing and act differently.<sup>14</sup> This lack of self-determination and freedom is to integrate and address the problems in Xinjiang.

A way to begin developing a strategy to alleviate the oppression on Xinjiang's minorities would be to follow the guidelines set forth by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People<sup>15</sup> (UNDRIP) (Appendix G). Signed by China in 2007, this declaration illustrated the guidelines for how a country should go about respecting the indigenous peoples within their territory. A couple things that using these guidelines would do is that the PRC would finally need to admit that the Uyghur people are the Indigenous People of Xinjiang, and it would alleviate most of the tension built up through cultural and religious oppression.

The PRC has fought tooth and nail to find some evidence to connect ancient Chinese history to Xinjiang, with little to no avail. By agreeing to the Uyghur status as an indigenous people, and respecting them as such, there's a good to fair chance that many of the separatist movement supported would ease up, and the people of Xinjiang would be more accepting of the integration of Han into the community.

#### RECOMMENDED SOLUTION:

While economic and government reforms could potentially help alleviate tension in the long-run, attention needs to be focused towards the social aspects of this issue. Violence continues to fester between the Han and the Uyghur people,

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12 Yi Wei (2011). Sovereignty and The Power of Governance: A Case Study of Xinjiang Production And Construction Corps (Order No. 3514535).

13 Circling the Wagons; Settlers in Xinjiang. (2013, May 25). *The Economist*, 407, 45-46.

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14 Gardner Bovington, "Autonomy in Xinjiang: Han Nationalist Imperatives and Uyghur Discontent." East West Center (2004).

15 Uyghur Human Rights Project. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People and the Uyghurs of East Turkestan. <http://docs.uyghuramerican.org/UNDRIP10-2-09.pdf>


and it is possible that serious acts of terrorism could come out of Xinjiang, in a desperate attempt to escape the PRC's iron grasp.

A recommended solution for mitigating tensions within Xinjiang starts with giving the people their autonomy back. The utter disrespect for the Uyghur culture, and a refusal to accept that these people's differences shouldn't be hindered, oppressed, and dealt away with, but rather that they should be accepted and respected for the diversity it brings to the country. So often, you read articles in the news about Uyghurs committing 'terrorist attacks' or participating in protests because they feel so culturally oppressed. What they yearn for so desperately is the ability to keep their self-identity, to be allowed to participate in religious events, wear traditional clothing, and continue to teach their children the language of their ancestors.

The PRC accepting the UNDRIP and confirming the Uyghur people's rightful place as indigenous peoples would be a great way to start pushing towards a point where they felt free to be who they are. The document encompasses several guidelines on the proper way to treat indigenous populations ranging from culture, religion, and language to self-governance and resource allocation. The points outlined in the UNDRIP match almost line for line with the grievances the Uyghur people have with the current system. Although the PRC could have some hesitations with giving more leeway to the Uyghur, compromising and cultural respect might persuade Xinjiang to more freely buy into the concept of a 'Unified China'.

Restructuring the 'bilingual' school system within the region would also help alleviate tension. Language remains so deeply intertwined with their culture and should be respected as such. So many young people are worried about how schools focus so heavily on Mandarin, and treat it as more of a primary language than as a secondary language. Recognition of the importance of Mandarin in modern day Xinjiang as a tool for social and economic advancements of minority people, should not be ignored, but neither should to cultural and historical significance of the Uyghur language. Both should be equally respected within the school

system, or Mandarin should be treated more as a secondary language.

It is imperative that the PRC take action in easing the complaints of the Uyghur people. They cannot simply ignore or brush it aside. The threat of separatist groups continues to grow, and with groups like ISIS beginning to take interest in the region, issues of increased terrorist violence and ethnic disputes are a very real possibility. Should Xinjiang eventually manage to separate from the PRC, the impact this would have on China's economic status, as well as on the status of peace within other autonomous region, could have detrimental costs. In order to fulfill the dream of a 'Unified China,' the PRC must recognize that the first step requires an acceptance of different cultures within the state. 

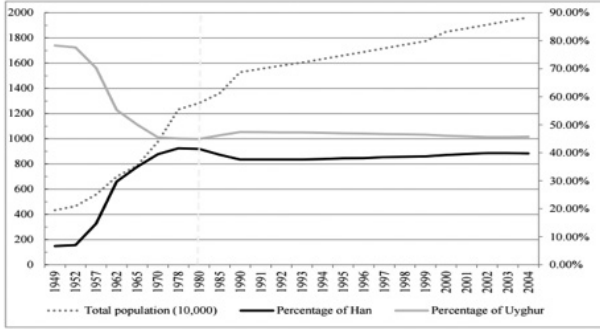
**APPENDIXES:**

**APPENDIX A: HIGHLIGHTED MAP OF XINJIANG AUTONOMOUS REGION**



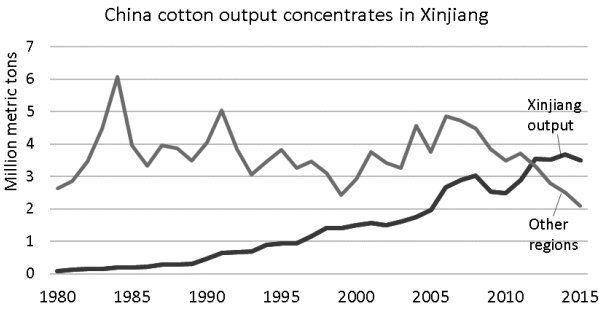
<https://www.wsws.org/en/media/photos/legacy/2009jul/j09-xinj-480.jpg>

**APPENDIX B: CHANGES IN ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF XINJIANG**



<http://www.psc.isr.umich.edu/pubs/pdf/rr13-810.pdf>

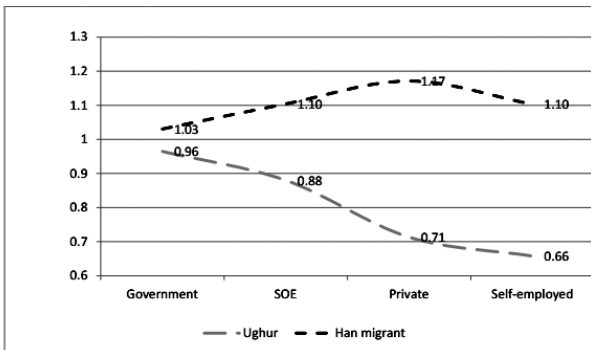
**APPENDIX C: COTTON OUTPUT WITHIN XINJIANG COMPARED TO OTHER CHINESE REGIONS**



[http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-oJFdCkdrODM/VoJ6BpTEIcI/AAAAAAACKI/9tM79oa8Bh4/s1600/xinjiang%2Bshare%2Bof%2Bproduction\\_26697\\_image001.png](http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-oJFdCkdrODM/VoJ6BpTEIcI/AAAAAAACKI/9tM79oa8Bh4/s1600/xinjiang%2Bshare%2Bof%2Bproduction_26697_image001.png)

**APPENDIX D:**

**Figure 5. Relative Earnings of Uyghur and Han Migrants Relative to Han Locals among Non-agricultural Workers in Xinjiang, 2005**



## APPENDIX E: ETHNIC WEALTH GAP WITHIN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

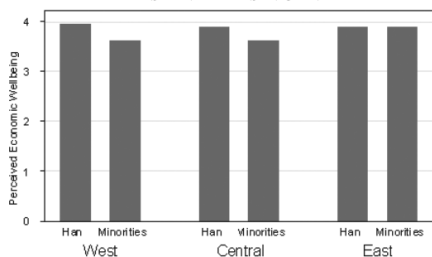
Table 2. Descriptive Statistics Aged 16-59, Xinjiang, 2005

Full Sample	Han locals	Han migrants	Uyghur
<b>Agricultural Sample</b>			
Mean income	543.8	603.3	246.2

<http://www.psc.isr.umich.edu/pubs/pdf/rr13-810.pdf>

## APPENDIX F:

FIGURE 1 PERCEIVED FAMILY ECONOMIC WELLBEING IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS IN CHINA



The question in the survey is “in comparison with five years ago, what is the economic situation of your family?” The answers provide a 1-5 scale of measure: much better (5), better (4), not changed (3), worse (2), or much worse (1). [The gaps in the central and west regions are statistically significant]

[http://www.eai.nus.edu.sg/publications/files/Vol1No3\\_ShanweiChenGang.pdf](http://www.eai.nus.edu.sg/publications/files/Vol1No3_ShanweiChenGang.pdf)

## APPENDIX G: EXCERPTS FROM THE UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

- ...the right to **autonomy** or **self-government** in matters relating to their internal and local affairs.
- ...the right not to be subjected to **forced assimilation** or destruction of their culture
- ...Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practice, develop and teach their **spiritual and religious traditions**, customs and ceremonies
- ...Indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalize their **cultural traditions** and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures
- ...the right to establish and control their **educational systems** and institutions providing education in their **own languages**

[http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS\\_en.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf)

## ADDITIONAL WORKS CONSULTED:

Bovingdon, G. (2010). *Uyghurs : Strangers in Their Own Land*. New York, NY, USA: Columbia University Press





# Towards a Sustainable Transnational Security Apparatus on the African Continent

– Edwin Latrell

## ABSTRACT:

*Today there exist five distinct threats to the stability of Africa: radicalized ideological extremism, porous borders, economic and resource exploitation by third party actors, internal political collapse followed by the installation of illegitimate governments, and religious or ethnic sectarian conflicts that destroy existing national infrastructure. Each of these threats serves to challenge the continued existence of individual African nations; however, the respective ability of each country to resist these threats remains limited by the relatively weak foundations present within African countries. As a result, the transnational security situation throughout the continent of Africa remains dubious at best. Failure to develop robust national infrastructures precipitated the present conditions threatening the stability of every African nation. Africa needs a proactive solution to combat these threats under a sustainable, transnational security apparatus in order to ensure the stability necessary for each country to develop and further their respective national infrastructures.*

## BACKGROUND:

Africa formed into a collection of fifty-four separate nations over the last half century.<sup>1</sup> Known as the postcolonial period, it began after World War II following appeals for self-determination by the African colonies, the United States, and the United Nations.<sup>2</sup> The Decolonization of the continent by European powers led to the formation of over forty-five fledgling African states that arose from former European colonial possessions. The new nations of Africa emerged from the remnants of their former colonial administrations; however, this birth was not without pain as the nascent states soon discovered their own relative inability to navigate the troubled waters of the international community, especially during the height of the Cold War.

- 1 Peyi Soyinka-Airewele and Rita Kiki Edozie, "Reframing Contemporary Africa: Beyond Global Imaginaries," in *Reframing Contemporary Africa: Politics, Culture and Society in the Global Era*, (2010), 4-33.
- 2 "The United Nations and Decolonization." UN News Center. Accessed April 07, 2016. <http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml>.

Life after colonization represented a time of discovery for the new states trying to engage as sovereign nations at both the domestic level and within the international system. During the period of Decolonization, the young nations struggled to maintain a level of security necessary for the burgeoning political structures, and emergent economies to develop their full potential.<sup>3</sup> Interstate and intrastate wars erupted as newly formed regimes sought to consolidate power and territory.<sup>4</sup> These conflicts limited the ability of the new nations to focus their political resources and human capital on further development of what little infrastructure existed within the respective states.<sup>5</sup> The longstanding lack of infrastructure remains the greatest challenge African countries seek to overcome.

Threats to the new countries remain immediate and existential, and the virtual inability of individual states to resist these threats lead to the recognition that in order to survive they must work together. Mutual appreciation for the relative vulnerability and need for collective security led the new nations to form the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.<sup>6</sup> The OAU provided the first example of African nations coming together in recognition of their shared limitations and relative weakness in order to establish a framework within which each nation would benefit from the assistance of the others (Appendix A). Likewise, the Abuja Treaty established the African Economic Community and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as an apparatus to achieve the goal of pan-African economic integration (Appendix B).

Africa was left bereft of the most basic infrastructures necessary for countries to

succeed in the current international system. Yet over the last half-century, many of these countries advanced; some becoming prosperous developed nations. The development of the OAU, which later became the African Union (AU), and the creation of the RECs demonstrate a shared desire by the nations of Africa to come together in solidarity in order to develop national level resiliency to existential threats. Despite the progress, Africa remains vulnerable to radicalized ideological extremism, pandemic disease through porous borders, economic and resource exploitation by neo-colonial agendas, internal power struggles and sectarian violence between hostile ethnic and religious groups.

## APPROACH 1:

### *The Status Quo*

The development of African countries, from their emergence into statehood to the present day, remains a testament to what fledgling nations can accomplish despite an extreme disadvantage in the International Political Economy and the established international regime. Most recently, from 2005 to 2012, African nations experienced continental per capita income growth of approximately 15 percent.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, the overall income of the average person in Africa rose by nearly 48 percent from 1998 to 2015.<sup>8</sup> The boon is argued by some economic pundits as providing a sort of stimulus for African economies; making it possible for average citizens to spend a little more, thereby increasing their local and national economies.<sup>9</sup> The success of the recent economic development across Africa represents the collective efforts of the nations to come together and work through their respective RECs and the African Economic Community to cooperatively develop their national economic infrastructure. However, critical evaluation of the numbers is necessary in order to avoid falling victim to the tyranny of the anecdote that Africa

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3 Nancy Annan. "Stability: International Journal of Security and Development." *Violent Conflicts and Civil Strife in West Africa: Causes, Challenges and Prospects*. Accessed April 07, 2016. <http://www.stabilityjournal.org/articles/10.5334/sta.da/>.

4 Richard Jackson, "Violent Internal Conflict and the African State: Towards a Framework of Analysis." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 20, no. 1 (2002): 29-52.

5 Felix M. Edoho, "Globalization and Marginalization of Africa: Contextualization of China—Africa Relations." *Africa Today* 58 (1). Indiana University Press: (2011) 103–24.

6 Deen K. Chatterjee. "Organization for African Unity (OAU)." *Encyclopedia of Global Justice*, 2011, 785.

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7 Jeffery Herbst and Greg Mills, "Emerging Risks and Opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa," *PRISM*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (2015), 15-29.

8 Ibid.

9 Jonathan Rosenthal, "A Revolution from Below," *The Economist: The World in 2016*, March 2016, 81-82.

is successfully developing. These figures should be regarded skeptically as they are reflections of Africa's economic development as a whole and not by RECs or by individual states (Appendix C). The nations of Africa remain economically, and in some cases, politically stunted after more than half a century of developmental efforts. The inability to bring a nation's industries to their full potential similarly stunted the ability of those countries to defend against the current threats facing African nations.

## APPROACH 2:

### ***Neo-Colonialism (NC)***

Africa remains a resource rich continent that lacks the infrastructure and development necessary to exploit its natural resources. Historically, third party actors seized upon the opportunity to provide the nations of Africa with a means to extract their resources.<sup>10</sup> The primary way this occurs today is via foreign direct investment (FDI) in order to improve a state's capacity to exploit their own natural resources and foster development.<sup>11</sup> Neo-Colonialism (NC) seeks to provide the benefits of FDI while also bringing greater stability by going beyond and fully integrating the local economy into a larger economic system. While the history of colonialism in Africa remains a stark example of the damage wrought by colonialism, NC posits that a state can remain sovereign and independent while relying upon an economically superior nation's ability to develop the client country's infrastructures in order to exploit the natural resources present within the less developed country. The interdependence of this relationship engenders special interest by the NC power to invest in the protection and defense of the client nation as an extension of the NC power's economic interest. However, what is required is the defection of African nations from the Abuja Treaty; undermining the progress of the last half-century of collective movement towards pan-African integration and

interdependence. While the benefits of being a client state for a NC power entail the ability to resist the majority of the current threats, the security carries with it the threat of abuse by economic power whose primary interest remains is to itself.

## APPROACH 3:

### ***Creation of a Federated States of Africa***

The increasing consolidation of African nations in order to improve their economic, political, and military capacities is a hallmark of postcolonial development in Africa. The Abuja Treaty is the aegis that directs economic interdependence between African nations.<sup>12</sup> It called for the creation of the African Central Bank, which would then create and be the sole issuer of a single African currency, the Afriq.<sup>13</sup> A single continental currency seeks improve every national economy by hedging against devaluation and inflation for every country that participates in its implementation and uses the single currency. The use of a single currency furthers the process towards federalizing the sovereign states of Africa, giving greater centralized power to the AU. A centralized monetary system would strengthen the ability of the AU to call for compliance from states that seek to defect from the pan-African system. The ability to counter instances of political collapse due to military coups or political power vacuums arises from a robust ability of the AU to intervene. Member nations who remain interested in the preservation of peace and stability within the African Economic Community bolsters the AU's ability to establish peacekeeping operations and solidify the borders of wayward nations. Member nations motivated by their national self-interest work to preserve other states as the loss of another member would directly influence the economies of all of the other states. The interconnected nature of a Federalized Africa consolidates the resources of the continent in order to defeat the threats that challenge individual African States.

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10 Paul Collier, "Security Threats Facing Africa and its Capacity to Respond," PRISM, Vol. 5, No.2, (2015), 31-41.

11 "Ey in Africa," *Ey's Attractiveness Survey in Africa 2015: Making Choices*, (2014), 5.

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12 "Abuja Treaty," The Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community, Chapter 2, Article 3 (1991).

13 Paul Masson and Catherine Pattillo, "A Single Currency for Africa?" *Finance & Development* 41, no. 4 (12, 2004): 8-15.

## APPROACH 4:

### ***International Stewardship***

The countries of Africa continue to make great strides towards development of national political, economic, and military capacities; however, the distance remaining to achieve resiliency against the threats facing Africa today is too great for the countries to cross on their own. International stewardship of the African countries by the United Nations is an option where by the international community could work together to ensure that the nations of Africa achieve their full political and economic potentials in order to enable each country to participate meaningfully in the international system. Many non-African nations already engage in the international system with internationalist doctrines, and actively seek to improve the situation in African countries while simultaneously furthering the interests of intervening countries by such intervention. The Albright and Obama Doctrines are internationalist in their scope and application; however, the limitation to this course of action remains political resolve of the United States.<sup>14</sup> The current US administration is on record stating that the United States will act militarily only when its national interests are directly threatened.<sup>15</sup> The Rwandan Genocide is a clear example of the international community holding the right and responsibility to do something for the innocent people who were under direct threat Génocidaires, yet failed to act.<sup>16</sup> International stewardship requires the collective effort and buy-in from the vast majority of UN member nations, and would redirect assets that member countries would likely seek go towards furthering their own national interests.

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14 George R. Lucas, "Ethical Issues in the Use of Military Force in Irregular Warfare," in *Ethics and the Military Profession: The Moral Foundations of Leadership*, (2015) 336-338.

15

16 Clark, Janine. "Learning from the Past: Three Lessons from the Rwandan Genocide." *African Studies* 68, no. 1 (2009): 1-28. doi:10.1080/00020180902827340.

## APPROACH 5:

### ***Economic Bloc Dominance***

The Regional Economic Communities currently lead their respective state blocs towards development, albeit some better than others.<sup>17</sup> As a product of the Abuja Treaty, the RECs are legitimately established entities that direct the economic development of the member nations that represent their respective constituencies.<sup>18</sup> Acting as local level agents, RECs directly focus on the region specific economic development of each member country. The REC's regional level influence enables expedient intervention into political, economic, and conflict emergencies that arise within their area of influence. Member states benefit from aligned national self-interest of other members as a threat to one represents a direct threat to all other members. Achieving consensus within an existing economic community is easier as the voting members remain sensitive to key issues that directly affect them. Additionally, the REC could establish regional currencies, giving the REC more ability to regulate national economies of the member nations without affecting every African nation. However, Economic Bloc Dominance would break with the Abuja Treaty's establishment of the African Economic Community and destroy the achievement of progressive interdependent development in the pan-African system.

## RECOMMENDATION


Africa is distinctive in that it is at once a collection of nations working towards political, economic, and military development in the interest of collective security against the five paramount threats, while at the same time it remains an abstract concept that represents little more than a collection of geographically related nation states; each with its own national agenda and priorities. The uniqueness that Africa represents requires a similarly unique approach to meeting and defeating the challenges that threaten the

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17 "AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK: Focus on Regional Economic Communities." *Africa Research Bulletin: Economic, Financial and Technical Series* 50, no. 10 (2013): 20168A-20169B. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6346.2013.05457.x.

18 Ibid.

existence of individual African nations. Such an approach would require buy-in from 54 potential defectors to any one solution. With so much at stake, it is imperative that these nations come together to establish a sustainable, transnational security apparatus throughout Africa in order to preserve the gains made by African nations over the last half century.

The current threats to the countries of Africa are representative of two types: internal and external. In order to defeat each threat, African nations must identify how they can best approach and counter it. The key lies in the ability to engage the issue directly through prioritization and appropriate level intervention. The creation of a formal process between the AU and the RECs is required in order to effect a multi-level approach to counter the threats to African countries. Such a process would enable the AU and the RECs to work in concert to recognize the primacy of RECs in addressing internal threats while also recognizing the primacy of the AU in addressing and defeating external threats. In this system, the AU would become directly involved in the solution to transnational threats to security and stability. The United Nations Convention against Transnational Crime, of which all but one member nation of the AU is a signatory, supports the legitimacy of the AU to act on behalf of the member nations in order to combat transnational threats.<sup>19</sup> As a counterpoint, the RECs would work with their constituent members in order to address internal threats that seek to destabilize the relative security of the region. REC's possess an inherent ability to address local level problems with greater speed and appreciation for the dynamics that each regionally specific issue entails. Conversely, the AU is an established intergovernmental player that possesses a record for effectively combating threats to transnational security in Africa. The nature of each of the agencies is such that they are complementary and working in concert they can achieve more than any one single solution for addressing the threats facing Africa today could. 

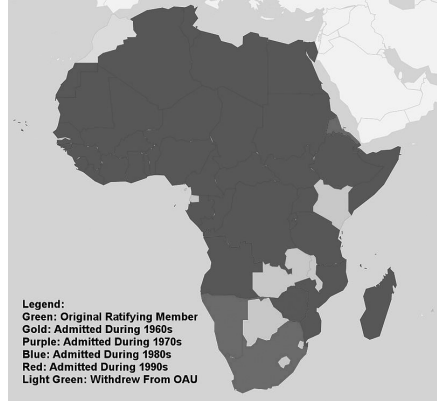
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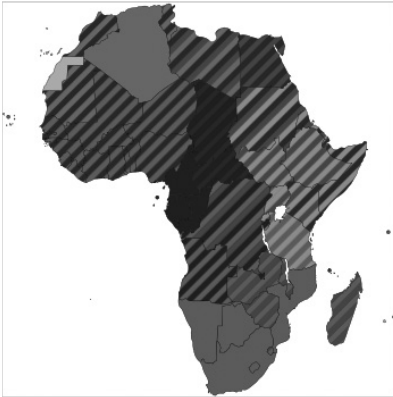
19 "III.M.11 UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION AGAINST TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME." International Law & World Order: Weston's & Carlson's Basic Documents (n.d.). doi:10.1163/2211-4394\_rwilwo\_sim\_032132.

## APPENDIXES:

### APPENDIX A: THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN STATES (1963-2002) AND THE AFRICAN UNION (PRESENT)



### APPENDIX B: REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES



### APPENDIX C

1	Somalia	11	Iraq	21	Syria	31	Mauritania
2	Congo (D. R.)	12	Cote d'Ivoire	22	Uganda	32	Timor-Leste
3	Sudan	13	Pakistan	23	N Korea	33	Sierra Leone
4	South Sudan	14	Guinea	23	Liberia	34	Egypt
5	Chad	15	Guinea-B	25	Eritrea	35	Burkina Faso
6	Yemen	16	Nigeria	26	Myanmar	36	Congo (Rep)
7	Afghanistan	17	Kenya	27	Cameroon	37	Iran
8	Haiti	18	Niger	28	Sri Lanka	38	Mali
9	CAR	19	Ethiopia	29	Bangladesh	38	Rwanda
10	Zimbabwe	20	Burundi	30	Nepal	40	Malawi

Table 2. Forty Most Vulnerable Countries



# Transnational Water Governance in South Asia

– Anushka Karki

## ABSTRACT

*Transnational rivers are strongly linked with the overall development of a country; however, the absence of proper water governance along the Brahmaputra River and lack of cooperation among the riparian states constitutes an ongoing threat to the future development of the South Asian region. This paper analyzes the current status of Brahmaputra River and examines some of the international, regional and local challenges that arise from the conflict over water resources. It also identifies the opportunities for benefit sharing and regional development through different water governance approaches as China initiates massive water diversion projects. It is essential to develop proper water governance approaches involving all riparian countries to foster regional development and overcome the prospect of severe water conflict along the Brahmaputra River basin. My recommended solution encompasses the cooperation agreement and adaptation plans and strategies as the water diversion projects can hinder overall peace and stability of the riparian countries involved.*

## OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND

As China and India struggle to grow and expand their respective roles on the world stage, the two countries are facing water constraints<sup>1</sup>. Additionally, most of the rivers that flow in India and Bangladesh originate in China, including Brahmaputra. Brahmaputra is one of the most important rivers in Asia. It originates in Tibet as Yarlung Tsangpo, enters India, flows through northeastern states, enters Bangladesh and empties in the Bay of Bengal (see appendix A). Its annual transboundary runoff volume almost equals the total cross-border flows of all the other rivers flowing directly into India from Tibet<sup>2</sup>. Large population with rising demand for middle class calls for a stable source of water. Ineffective water sharing and water shortage is the main problem faced by all three countries. The challenge for sustainable management of

1 Mark Christopher. "Water Wars: The Brahmaputra River and Sino-Indian Relations", "Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Group" 2013. 9

2 Ibid, 14

the Brahmaputra conflict is between two Asian giants, more specifically the conflict is over sustained growth in water and energy demand, interference with natural river flows from dams, and water diversions<sup>3</sup>. However, China proposed for the water diversion projects called the South-North Water Diversion Project and the Great Western Route Diversion Project. There are two main components behind the Yarlung project, firstly, to generate hydro power and secondly, to reroute Brahmaputra's water to the Yellow River in the northwestern provinces of Xinjiang and Gansu<sup>4</sup> (See appendix B). By 2025, China hopes to move 45 billion cubic meters of water per year through a series of tunnels, aqueducts, and canals. The government of China claims that the projects are safe, avoid pollution, address future climate change and enhance human life. They will further help in better water management and also generate enough electricity to reduce the use of fossil power and greenhouse emission, hence, enhancing human life.

As China initiates the diversion cum hydro power project, it raises concerns to the two riparian states: India and Bangladesh, because the project could potentially reduce the volume of water flowing in these two countries. Currently, both India and Bangladesh depend heavily on foreign-originating river, especially Bangladesh where almost the entire country is dependent on cross-boundary water flow, mainly Brahmaputra for its supply<sup>5</sup>. The South Asian region is experiencing a rapid decrease in physical water availability due to the expanding economic activities, rapid urbanization, changing demographics, and changing consumption patterns. Furthermore, technology, institutional structure, and pricing policy also play a significant role in determining water demand and usage<sup>6</sup>. The effects of the large-scales dam construction are well understood, which

includes: holding back of nutrient- rich sediment, disruption of natural flooding cycle, decreased volume of water available for downstream use, effects on marine and fishery ecology as well as economy. The ongoing hydropower and water diversion projects, combined with water security will have a greater impact on the relationship between China and its downstream neighbors as the effect of these changes could reduce the water availability and the flow of water which will have serious effects on over one billion people. To minimize the effects that the projects can cause, China, India and Bangladesh should adopt policies that will be suitable for all three countries. The most feasible options are as follows:

## POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS APPROACH

### APPROACH 1:

#### *Determining Adaptive Capacity*

Adaptation can be described as the ability of a system to modify or change its characteristics so as to cope with existing or anticipated stresses<sup>7</sup>. The adaptation process can be determined by the nature of hazard to which a system must adapt. Given that the Himalayas are prone to seismic activities and after a Chinese study revealed that the Three Gorges Dam has triggered more than 3,000 earthquakes and numerous landslides<sup>8</sup>, assessment of the area's general vulnerability and adaptive capacity should be identified before completing the major water diversion project in the Brahmaputra River. The presence of an early warning system that detects the risks such as decreasing the volume of water available for downstream countries will enable people to adapt to the changes that it creates. The identification of the hazards that have previously occurred and the Himalayas' vulnerability to them, is essential in the assessment of outcome risk. For example,

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3 Sushant Kumar Mahapatra, Keshab Chandra Ratha. "Sovereign States and Surging Water: Brahmaputra River between China and India", 'Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei' 46.2015

4 Ibid, 6.

5 Chistopher, Water Wars, 12.

6 Climate Change, Hydropolitics, and Transboundary Resources, "South Asian Perspective on Climate Change and Water Policy" 'STIMSON Regional Voices, Pragmatic Steps for Global Security

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7 South Asian Perspective on Climate Change and Water Policy, 40

8 Patricia Adams. "Dam fever threatens viability of Three Gorges Dam" 'Probe International', 2012. <https://journal.probeinternational.org/2012/06/06/dam-fever-threatens-viability-of-three-gorges-dam/>



if we were to perform a national assessment for China's water divergence project, we should begin by assessing China's general vulnerability and its adaptive capacity through which we can identify its needs and its ability to cope with a range of hazards. Identifying the existing hazards which have significant impacts on the community might help in the identification of the future hazards, which might be a threat to human life as well as economic development. There is also a need to set up mutual scientific and technological partnership to help optimize water efficiency, environmental protection and conservation strategies.

## APPROACH 2:

### *Benefit Sharing*

Benefit sharing in terms of water conflict is an appealing solution for China, India and Bangladesh because it shifts away from the volume-driven approach to more ecological approach, which specifies the benefits derived from the water resources<sup>9</sup>. It also stresses the importance of water demand and expresses an objective to manage water by hydrological boundaries rather than political borders. For China to participate in the cooperative framework of benefit sharing, both India and Bangladesh should identify the benefits and interest accruing from a shared water source. The mutual benefits can eventually be identified through trade-offs among participating countries. However, the benefits from a transnational river system should include mitigation of floods and droughts, agricultural productivity, enhanced water resource management, and potential hydro power generation<sup>10</sup>. Also the implications for developmental activities, technology, employment patterns, and health vulnerabilities of the population should be considered. Even though benefits vary across time, the framework should focus on long term gain for development and integrated regional agricultural sector<sup>11</sup>. The legal authority that

is capable of enforcing decision should also be included in the agreement<sup>12</sup>. It should also include other institutional performance criteria, such as impartial decisions for international and local priorities, considering the alternatives, incorporation for externalities, and expeditious movement from planning to implementation,<sup>13</sup> similar to the policies that are adopted by India and Bangladesh for the transnational water governance.

## APPROACH 3:

### *Mediation*

Even though The Helsinki Rules on the Uses of the Water of International Rivers and the UN convention on the Law of the Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses, state that the countries are allowed to use the water that flows within their borders, China is neither a party nor a signatory to this treaty<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, China is not a part of any water sharing treaties with either India or Bangladesh, so a compromised agreement, similar to Nile water agreement, between China, India and Bangladesh aided by a neutral third party can be a viable alternative in this case. As there will be multiple factors to be considered, such as demographic, socio-economic pressure, resource scarcity, and environmental degradation, public participating and negotiation<sup>15</sup> can be one of the tools to maximize the agreement of the Brahmaputra, and other transnational rivers, for the desirability of a specific outcome.

Furthermore, mediation will also help to establish specific rules, institution and practices in the water sharing process. It also stresses the importance of managing water by hydrological boundaries rather than just by political borders, through voluntary and cooperative agreements, it minimizes the external incentives such as foreign investment or even threat by the dominant country in the region, China. As

9 South Asian Perspective on Climate Change and Water Policy, 10

10 Ibid, 10

11 Mohamed Abdel Raouf Abdel Hamid. "Climate Change in the Arab", 'Regional Voices', 44.

12 European Commission Water Framework, "Water: A Shared Responsibility", 382. [http://waterfootprint.org/media/downloads/wwd2\\_ch\\_11\\_1.pdf](http://waterfootprint.org/media/downloads/wwd2_ch_11_1.pdf)

13 Ibid, 382.

14 Chistopher, Water Wars, 18.

15 "Water A Shared Responsibility", 386.

water conflict is also intertwined with socio-political and developmental issues, relying on the international and bi-lateral administrative institute, including mediation might be able to bring a beneficial and fair agreement<sup>16</sup>, especially to Bangladesh, while negotiating with powerful countries like China and India.

## APPROACH 4:

### *Tibet as a Water Capita*

China is a source of many transnational rivers in Asia. However, it ignores the fact that all the important rivers that cross other countries originate in the Chinese minority region. The high altitude of the Himalayas and the huge glaciers that makes Asia's great river system, which pass through 11 countries and nourish around 2 billion people, all originate in Tibet<sup>17</sup>. Control of the Tibetan Plateau allows China to remain a water-independent country, but due to the unjust treatment Tibet has faced and charismatic leaders such as Dalai Lama, many policy makers state that the importance of Tibet's issues centers on rights for Tibetans<sup>18</sup>. Knowing the importance of Tibet, includes an understanding of the water related issues, which presents India as a potential option for leverage because of India's relationship with China's Tibetan population. Dalai Lama has made the Dharamsalal in India his home. Thus, this has made the relationship between India and the Tibetan population stronger. India's relationship with Dalai Lama and Beijing's treatment to Tibet could be a focal point for India, deeming it worthy to provoke China, if it decides to press for greater water usage rights. Organizing campaigns as well as different peaceful movements can also help to persuade Tibetan opposition to dam-building and water diversion projects which might help India, as India can easily get support from Tibetans. Additionally, if China continues to build dams and divert water until accessing water becomes an existential concern for India, its status with Tibet may become an important factor in Sino-Indian relations<sup>19</sup>.

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16 Ibid, 384.

17 Christopher, Water Wars, 23.

18 Ibid, 24.

19 Ibid, 28.

## APPROACH 5:

### *Water Governance – International and Domestic*

The water consumption choices are most often made by the upper riparian states which affect the downriver states in the transnational system. Likewise, in a country, water consumption decisions are generally made either at the local level or by the central government. In the case of China's water diversion and dam-building projects, which is meant to provide water for the regions that are currently facing water scarcity, the central government does not include the regional government in any of the decision making processes. For this reason, the regional and domestic politics can play an equal or even greater role than international governance when it comes to how water resources are utilized.

In China, all the major decisions are made in Beijing, without consulting the local residents and politicians. A similar economic model was placed by Beijing for the Three Gorges Dam, which flooded important cultural and archeological sites, affected local and downstream ecology, and even forced the relocation of 1.3 million people<sup>20</sup>. Even after this catastrophic situation, China aims to build enormous water diversion and dam building projects, without any investigation of the construction areas. People within China and abroad can object with protests and opposition to the water diversion projects. Especially the people from Tibet, who will mostly be affected by the projects, the national and international ecological groups, and INGOs that oppose large scale hydro works. For this reason, India and Bangladesh should ally itself with the locals in opposition to the construction of dams and water diversion projects.


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20 Peter H. Gleick. "Three Gorges Dam Project, Yangtze", Water Brief 146. <http://worldwater.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2013/07/WB03.pdf>

## RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION, COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT

Both India and China are facing drought and a shortage of drinking water, which will get worse as the population increases. Adaptation plans and strategies need to be undertaken collectively by all the three countries in order to develop water sharing agreements. Currently, there is no treaty in effect or any practical enforcement mechanisms available to prevent any country from altering transnational river flows through dam building or water diversion projects. Hence, it is important to build co-operational agreement between countries by managing a hydro-politics with China through its co-operative approach and institutional mechanism<sup>21</sup>. Similarly, a joint hydroelectricity dam and a comprehensive river basin plan to minimize the impacts of the hydroelectric projects and to control geological disaster should be established. In the Brahmaputra region, the proposed dams and water diversion projects are in the area with high seismic assessments, where the failure of the construction projects due to excessive and unanticipated earthquakes may occur. Therefore, appropriate measures need to be taken in terms of earthquake resistant designs, maintenance, and construction and rehabilitation should be considered in advance<sup>22</sup>. These types of cooperation are necessary to maintain sustainability of basin resources as well as aid in ecological protection. Furthermore, internationally accepted transnational water resources management principles such as principle of equitable and reasonable utilization, obligation not to cause significant harm<sup>23</sup>, principle of cooperation, information sharing, and peaceful settlement of disputes, can serve as a guideline for ensuring effective integrated water resources management of the Brahmaputra River.

As the management of the Brahmaputra River touches on crucial and complicated issues such

as food security, territorial integrity, international law, intersection of domestic and foreign policies and asymmetric power of neighboring states with huge populations, instead of competition, these countries should work on building value-based cooperation and institutional mechanisms by identifying the importance of water security<sup>24</sup>. The increased water scarcity as a result of the construction of dams and water diversion projects will not only have negative implications on the affected region's socio-economic development and poverty, but also hinders overall peace and political stability of all three countries. Rather than treating water as a tradable commodity, countries should acknowledge water as a significant element in sustaining natural and human systems<sup>25</sup>. It is time for the riparian states to have a water treaty by developing trust through mutual agreements and sharing of necessary information. Such cooperation should be transparent and have mutual commitment to refrain from exploiting the transnational rivers as the effectiveness of transnational water agreements depends largely on the accuracy and availability of data. Furthermore, future trends in assisting adaptation, water availability and flow patterns, should also be incorporated into the planning process. However, if the benefit sharing and cooperation agreement fails, the issue should be raised at the UN Security Council as the lives of millions will be in danger<sup>26</sup>. 

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21 Sushant Kumar Mahapatra, Keshab Chandra Ratha. "Sovereign States and Surging Water", 10.

22 Muhammad Mizanur Rahaman, Olli Varis. "Natural Resources Forum", 'Integrated water management of the Brahmaputra basin', 75.

23 Ibid, 73.

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24 The University of Texas, "Water Resource Cooperation in the Ganges- Brahmaputra River Basin" 1993. 40.

25 South Asian Perspective on Climate Change and Water Policy, 26.

26 Sushant Kumar Mahapatra, Keshab Chandra Ratha. "Sovereign States and Surging Water", 11.

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

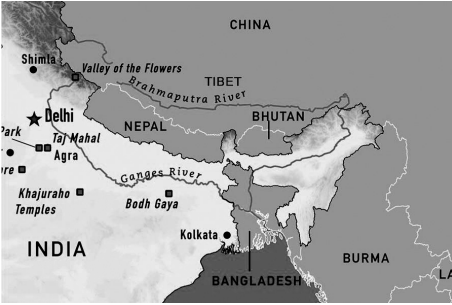


Image from [www.wmersonkent.com](http://www.wmersonkent.com)

Brahmaputra originates in Tibet as Yarlung Tsangpo, flows through southern Tibet, makes a U-turn called Great Bend (where china is planning the diversion project) and then enters India, flows through northeastern states and enters Bangladesh and empties in the Bay of Bengal

### APPENDIX B

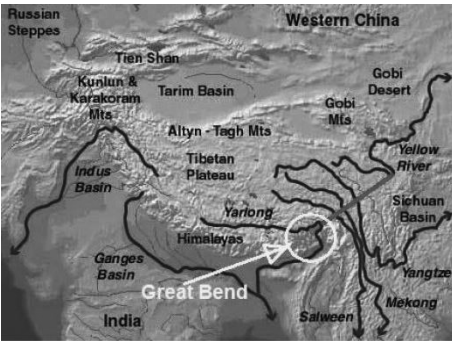


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# Improving Favelas in Brazil through Integrated Urban Development Programs

– Amaya Amigo

## ABSTRACT

According to the United Nations HABITAT, housing is one of the basic social conditions that determines quality of life and connects societies to the environment. Unfortunately, adequate housing is a luxury for habitants across the globe, while in some cities, up to eighty percent of the population live in slums.<sup>1</sup> Today, Brazil houses eleven million two hundred fifty thousand individuals in favelas or urban slums who remain afflicted by unstable housing, land reform issues, lack of urban infrastructure, risk of environmental disasters, and segregation from the formal cities. This research suggests certain development initiatives that will improve the quality of life in Brazilian favelas.

## OVERVIEW HISTORY AND DEFINITION OF THE ISSUE

Brazil's economy outweighs that of all other South American countries, and with this growth comes an urbanization rating at 1.17 percent.<sup>2</sup> As industries grow, the impact on Brazil's urban poor increases. The large presence of favelas or slums in Brazil's cities emerged when former slaves migrated from rural areas after abolition. Favelas continue to grow more rapidly than the cities as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

The current status of Brazil's marginalized urban neighborhoods remain afflicted by unstable housing, land reform issues, lack of urban infrastructure, risk of environmental disasters, and segregation from the formal cities. Social problems such as poverty, crime, quality of education, and lack of access to water and sanitation are consequences of these neglected neighborhoods.<sup>4</sup> "A study conducted by Brazil's Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) estimated that 28.5 percent of the urban population does not have access to public water, sewage, and garbage collection

- 1 "Housing & Slum Upgrading." – *UN-Habitat*. Web. 11 May 2016.
- 2 "South America: Brazil." *The World Factbook*. Central Intelligence Agency, 2016.
- 3 Heather Boyer. "Urban Land and Housing Challenges in Brazil." *Land Lines* 17.4 (October 2005). *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*.
- 4 Heather, 1.

services.”<sup>5</sup> Since favelas stand densely populated, sometimes holding over 60,000 people, retrofitting can be particularly difficult.

Extreme environmental transformations pose a large threat to the safety and quality of life in these urban communities. Those at greatest risk of being affected by climate change are the urban poor, located in the most vulnerable boroughs in cities where a much higher risk of flooding, storms, and landslides occur. Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro border the coastline and dense favelas exist on steep land, making now more than ever a critical moment for the importance of adequate infrastructure.<sup>6</sup>

Repeated attempts to eradicate residences rather than examining solutions to improve living conditions occurred in the 1950s and 1960s during Brazil’s military dictatorship. These actions for addressing informal housing consisted of temporarily relocating residents in order to construct housing on the site.<sup>7</sup> During the 1980s, a shift from eradicating slums to improving the living conditions emerged as funding agencies including the World Bank and the Inter-American Development bank accompanied urban policies. Municipalities began assessing and planning for design execution procedures paralleled to development organizations contributing to slum upgrading. Over the past decade, Brazil has made important progress in ensuring stability in urban slums. However, according to a new study by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Cities Alliance, the Ministry of Cities, and the Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF), “the technical capabilities of Brazilian municipal governments need to be strengthened if improvements are to be integrated into housing and urban policies that can be implemented in the city as a whole.”<sup>8</sup>

## POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

### APPROACH 1:

#### ***Communities as agents for Change:***

Development projects which stem from the local level would ensure long-term sustainability through institutional recollection. A bottom up approach would highlight community needs and create collaboration between grassroots and local organizations with municipal or city governments. This type of engagement emphasizes the needs of community members and creates a dialogue between different organizations working toward the same goal. “Slum upgrading measures that incorporate local knowledge and

participation have shown to be more successful.”

<sup>9</sup> Recognizing that projects may be more location-specific, local citizens are essential actors to share knowledge and customized solutions through diverse perspectives. As one of the 1988, Right Livelihood Award winners John F. C. Turner states, “When dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contributions in the design, construction or management of their housing, both this process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social well-being. When people have no control over nor responsibility for key decisions in the housing process on the other hand, dwelling environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfillment and a burden to the economy.”<sup>10</sup> When local authorities have independence to manage and implement infrastructure more citizens stay involved throughout the upgrading process which could create jobs and incentivize an increase in mobility.

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5 Ibid, 1.

6 “Cities and Climate Change: An Urgent Agenda.” *The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank*. 25 Jan. 2015.

7 Anne Boran. “Popular Movements in Brazil: A Case Study of the Movement for the Defence of Favelados in São Paulo.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 8.1 (1989): pg. 90.

8 5 Sept. 2012. “Upgrading Slums in Brazil - Where More Can Be Done More Efficiently”. Inter-American Development Bank.

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9 Koen Olthuis, Jiya Benni, Kristin Eichwede, and Chris Zevenbergen. “Slum Upgrading: Assessing the Importance of Location and a Plea for a Spatial Approach.” *Habitat International* 50 (2015): pg. 276.

10 John F. C. Turner, and Fichter, Robert. *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*. New York: Macmillan, 1972, pg. 241.

## APPROACH 2:

### **Land Tenure**

Currently, land in Brazil is held under a system of ownership where the federal government owns mineral interest. National defense, public security, public relief or public health allow for the land to be used if needed. Favelados, or those living in favelas, are not recognized by governments through land rights, excluding them from urban planning.<sup>11</sup> Many of those living in favelas do not hold ownership to land, making settlement illegal and at risk of alteration or eradication. One way to transform favelas into more recognized neighborhoods is by providing habitants the security of land tenure or the right to occupy a piece of land through lease or ownership. The issue of land tenure is a controversial one with authorities often neglecting these informal urban areas altogether. Obtaining land rights gives people a sense of security and safety from potential eviction. Indications show habitants increase investment in their housing or community the more they feel a sense of entitlement or security. Ownership also correlates to improved infrastructure, removal of hazardous waste, increased public facilities and new construction on a community level. Men and women should always be ensured equal opportunity to land rights, and no group should be discriminated against in that process of obtaining land.<sup>12</sup>

## APPROACH 3:

### **Development of Public Transportation**

Mobility through favelas provide challenges when it comes to gaining easy access to facilities such as hospitals and schools or for receiving water. According to Brazil's Institute for Transportation and Development, the streetscape should be considered before the development of any new infrastructure within urban slums. Giving access to public transport,

pedestrians and bikes should be at the forefront in tackling accessibility issues. Providing an adaptive reuse to existing streets would cut down on costs for implementing entire new street designs. In order to ensure that neighborhoods reduce negative contribution to climate change, a focus on mass transportation such as cable cars would provide transportation while also minimizing carbon emissions in the air.<sup>13</sup> A cable car or teleferico in Rio de Janeiro's Complexo do Alemão favela has made accessing homes safer and easier for residents. This cable car can transport up to 30,000 passengers each day stopping in six community locations and limiting travel time by forty minutes. Funded by the federal government, the Brazil's Accelerated Growth program implemented the teleferico since it falls into the program's focus of social development, logistics and energy. Additional teleferico proposals throughout Rio's slums and other major cities in Brazil would enhance the quality of life and increase economies by bringing tourists to the neighborhoods.<sup>14</sup>

## APPROACH 4:

### **Sustainable Infrastructure and living condition improvement**

Brazil's clustered favelas stand with inadequate materials to provide long term safety and security to threats of natural disasters. It has been widely recognized that upgrading is a long term and better solution than the physical removal of slums.<sup>15</sup> As slums continue to grow and populations increase, designers and urban planners must seek out sustainable solutions to house thousands of new residents. A small scale infrastructure approach through interventions which improve homes and provide public services allow for community involvement and long term sustainability. A program called Morar Carioca does just this in

11 Inter-American Development Bank. Magalhães, F., & Di Villarosa, F. (2012). *Slum Upgrading: Lessons Learned from Latin America*. (pg. Introduction XV)

12 United Nations Human Settlements Programme: "Enhancing Urban Safety and Security." *Global Report on Human Settlement* (2007). (pg. XXX)

13 The World Bank. Hook, Walter, and John Howe. "Transport and the Millennium Development Goals." (2005). (pg. 4)

14 *A Cable Car Ride Gives Insight Into Rio's 'Pacified' Favelas*. All Things Considered 18 Sept. 2013 National Public Radio, 2013.

15 The World Bank. Imparato, I., & Ruster, J. (n.d.). *Slum Upgrading and Participation: Lessons from Latin America*.

Rio de Janeiro's slums. Their holistic approach engages community members and with each new development carefully considers building materials, accessibility, rainwater catchment systems and sewage collection through the use of greywater.<sup>16</sup> Housing is a determining factor of quality of life and a central aspect to sustainable development.<sup>17</sup> Retrofitting existing homes improves the quality of life but can be a hard approach due to interrupting residents' current lifestyle.<sup>18</sup> Some ways to make improvements on an individual basis include increasing natural ventilation by adding windows in homes to lower energy use, waterproofing roofs and walls as well as sanitary advances and electrical installations.<sup>19</sup> Improving existing neighborhoods for sustainability increases the quality of life for residents and helps provide ownership.

## RECOMMENDED SOLUTION

Solving the issue of urban land regulation in Brazil's favelas will not succeed by utilizing just one solution; however, combining sustainable infrastructure and living condition improvement as well as land ownership constructs a holistic approach. Although there are many organizations working to improve slums in Brazil's urban neighborhoods, there are still challenges to overcome before integrated and efficient housing triumphs. The key to success in this solution depends on permanence.<sup>20</sup> For continuity of programs, local and national governments must prioritize these issues. Creating an integrated urban development method ensures accountability from all communities, identifying key issues and establishing main priorities. This

method links community based initiatives to the city as a whole, linking successful projects as precedents anywhere and not just within urban slums.

There is no avoiding development as masses of people continue to move to these regions with lack of appropriate living quarters. As projects continue to grow on both an individual and community basis, city amenities and public services will expand to reach homes. This includes access to waste disposal, water and sanitation, and transportation. Building standard procedures or codes on new development guarantees the careful consideration of durability, accessibility, environmental impact, efficiency and cohesion. However, in order for mobilization to increase on the community level, permanence is a key solution to do so. Skepticism over favelas still exists, where eradication is justified because they do not comply with building standards and are considered illegal land-use.

Legalizing would give favelados entitlement to their own land through access to credit, long term loans or other assistance for the purchase of their homes. This provides residents with validity, ownership, and empowerment to further improve living conditions and expand access to resources. Community based initiatives have become more impressive in other parts of the world after granting land tenure to residents.<sup>21</sup> This strategy provides an adaptation to the mindset of local residents and city officials. Legalizing land brings focus to the importance of improving social and economic issues prevalent in favelas today. Any new development must focus not only on the price but the quality to confirm permanence and livability. While this procedure requires investment, it would address the current living conditions of Brazil's urban slums and improve development on a small and large scale. Over time favelas will evolve and become fully integrated into the city. Urbanization is a complex and diverse issue that increases every day. To mitigate social issues occurring in urban slums, measures must be implemented to ensure environmental sustainability as well as safety and security to the residents in these neighborhoods. Ensuring

16 Fernando Luiz Lara. "Favela Upgrade in Brazil: A Reverse of Participatory Processes." *Journal of Urban Design* 18.4 (2013): 558

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18 Rydin, Yvonne, Bleahu, Ana, Davies, Michael, Dávila, Julio D, Friel, Sharon, De Grandis, Giovanni, Groce, Nora, Hallal, Pedro C, Hamilton, Ian, Howden-Chapman, Philippa, Lai, Ka-Man, Lim, CJ, Martins, Juliana, Osrin, David, Ridley, Ian, Scott, Ian, Taylor, Myfanwy, Wilkinson, Paul, and Wilson, James. "Shaping Cities for Health: Complexity and the Planning of Urban Environments in the 21st Century." *The Lancet* 379.9831 (2012): 295

19 *Ibid.*, 293

20 "Upgrading Slums in Brazil - Where More Can Be Done More Efficiently"

21 United Nations Human Settlements Programme: "Enhancing Urban Safety and Security." (pg. 237, 263)



land ownership, improving living conditions and increasing sustainable infrastructure offers an inclusive approach. 

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# Strengthening the Capacity of Smallholders in the ASEAN Oil Palm Industry

– Courtney Stoker

## ABSTRACT

*The current state of the ASEAN oil palm industry is rife with controversy predominantly surrounding its uncontested tie with deforestation and social injustice. The economic system strongly favors plantation systems that take little care to involve local participation, and work against the frameworks laid out in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Smallholders are believed to be best suited to address these issues of sustainability and social justice if given the education and economic capacity to flourish. Through comprehensive restructuring of the industry's economic foundation and the creation of checks and balances throughout the supply chain, cultural and environmental sustainability can become an industry norm rather than an exception. With the aid of the Asian Development Bank, and the creation of a Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries, the ASEAN palm oil industry can set new standards for smallholder empowerment that will respect all stakeholders whilst sustainably meeting the global demand for cooking oils.*

## INTRODUCTION

The palm oil industry is an integral part of the ASEAN export economy. Indonesia and Malaysia produce a combined 84% of the world's supply, 75% of which is traded globally.<sup>1</sup> Palm oil is a crop that produces Fresh Fruit Bunches (FFB) year round that can be pressed into Crude Palm Oil (CPO) which is widely used in processed foods, in cosmetics, as cooking oil, or converted into biodiesel (see Appendix D). As an oil crop, palm produces 4 times the amount of oil per hectare than rapeseed, and over 10 times that of soy, all while producing over 3 times the amount of energy output per hectare as a fuel source (see Appendix B).<sup>2</sup> These production rates make palm oil the most efficient cooking oil available. When adopted as a traditional smallholder

- 1 Birka Wicke. "Palm Oil as a Case Study of Distal Land Connections" In *Rethinking Global Land Use in an Urban Era*. Karen C. Seto and Anette Reenberg (Cambridge. MIT Press. 2014). 163-180.
- 2 K.T. Tan, K. T. Lee, A.R. Mohamed, and S. Bhatia. "Palm Oil: Addressing Issues and Towards Sustainable Development" *Renewable & Sustainable Energy Reviews* 13 (2009), 420-427.

'jungle-crop' rather than a mono-crop, palm oil produces its own ecosystem pesticide.<sup>3</sup> The empty FFB can then be combined with Palm Oil Mill Effluent (POME) to make an incredibly rich fertilizer. This means a smallholder palm oil crop requires less agro-chemicals than their plantation counterpart. Despite negative press the industry has received due to encroachment into High Conservation Value Forests (HCVF) and peat lands<sup>4</sup>, the sustainable biological characteristics of palm oil make it suitable for land reclamation projects and independent smallholder adoption.

In the last two decades Indonesia and Malaysia have seen the biggest increase in land allocated to oil palm production, from 0.7 to 5.0 Mha and 1.8 to 4 Mha respectively<sup>5</sup>. In 2005, 55-59% of Malaysian oil palm expansion, and 56% of Indonesian expansion, occurred at the expense of natural forest cover<sup>6</sup> almost entirely at the hands of plantations. The lack of plantation accountability and transparency has allowed the continued expansion into HCVF and peatlands, which is greatly contributing to climate change as removing crucial carbon sinks (see Appendix C). The current economic system favors plantation structures due to their tie with state income, but smallholder production has a lesser impact on the environment and employs more workers over a larger array of jobs. While having a solid environmental foundation, Western boycotts such as 'Say No to Palm Oil' campaigns calling for labeling of palm oil in processed food products often cause smallholders to pay the price<sup>7</sup> of plantation environmental destruction.

The plantation system, with the help of Asian Development Bank (ADB) loans establishing Nucleus Estate Schemes (NES),

has systematically violated the rights of smallholders and indigenous communities by striping communal land under the pretense of development.<sup>8</sup> One report stated: "I have frequently heard stories from community leaders whose lands have been taken over by oil palm companies that the first time they realized their customary lands had been given to a plantation company was when the bulldozers arrived to start clearing their forests and gardens."<sup>9</sup> In order to reconcile sustainable development and social justice, capacities of smallholders must be increased to mitigate adverse environmental and social effects of plantations.

## SOLUTION 1:

### **Subsidize Smallholder Palm Oil Production**

In 1995, the Asian Development Bank gave The Republic of Indonesia a USD\$70 million loan to continue Loan No.687-INO Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Oil Palm Project<sup>10</sup> which aimed to increase production with a focus on rural development and maximum exploitation of land resources (see Appendix F). While this policy was aimed at increasing smallholder production, the Nucleus Estate Scheme has systematically stripped smallholders' production capacity by relocating them far from ancestral land, and greatly diminishing land allocated for subsistence use.<sup>11</sup> In this system, smallholders must pay rent for plasma land, which is rarely covered by the subsequent CPO yield, locking smallholders in a dependent poverty cycle in a

3 Nigel Smith. *Tropical Forests and Their Crops*. (Auburn. Comstock. 1992).

4 Ibid. 445.

5 Wicke, 176.

6 Douglas Sheil, Anne Casson, et. al. *The impacts and opportunities of oil palm in Southeast Asia: What we know and what we need to know?* (Bogor. CIFOR. 2009). Pg. 21.

7 Clara Brandi, Tobia Cabani, Christoph Hosang, Sonja Schrimbeck, Lotte Westermann, and Hannah Wiese. "Sustainability Standards for Palm Oil: Challenges for Smallholder Certification Under the RSPO" *Journal of Environment & Development* 0:0 (2015).

8 Hasnah, Euan Fleming and Time Coelli. "Assessing the performance of *nucleus estate and smallholder* scheme for oil palm production in West Sumatra: a stochastic frontier analysis." *Agricultural Systems* 70 (2004), 17-30.

9 Patrick Anderson. "Free, Prior, and Informed Consent? Indigenous People and the Palm Oil Boom in Indonesia" In *The Palm Oil Controversy in Southeast Asia: A Transnational Perspective*. (Web. Project MUSE. 2016). Pg. 248.

10 Asian Development Bank. Project Completion Report on the Second Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Oil Palm Project (Loan No 789-INO). (pg. 1-11).

11 Anderson, 248-250.

severely inelastic market.<sup>12</sup> The ADB Nucleus Estate Scheme increased the threat of loss of communal and ancestral land, limited the ability of smallholders to continue subsistence practices, and infringed on traditional cultures all while promoting economic growth over environmental or indigenous sustainability.

Thus, the ADB should immediately abolish their NES program and reallocate these funds to the creation of state subsidy programs for palm oil producing countries. Similar to the United States wheat subsidies, state governments would set a market price to purchase palm oil from smallholders, ensuring a guaranteed sale price set at a living wage. The subsidy programs would provide assistance for the first 2-3 year unproductive period, and guarantee smallholder sale in a stable competitive market. This would create market security that would encourage independent smallholder production of oil palm.

## SOLUTION 2:

### **Realization of a Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries**

Toward the end of 2015, the Indonesian president and Malaysian Prime Minister agreed to spearhead efforts to create a Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries (CPOPC).<sup>13</sup> This council would work toward developing a stable global market and addressing barriers to international acceptance of palm oil as a commodity. The creation of a CPOPC would be able to address anti palm oil campaigns by educating consumers throughout the supply chain of the economics of food oil production (see Appendix E for top consumers). By boycotting palm oil, consumers purchase food items made with vegetable oils from rapeseed or soy, which, as previously discussed, have lower land-use efficiencies (see Appendix B).<sup>14</sup> Although in the current state of

production oil palm causes mass deforestation and habitat loss, it biologically lends itself toward a sustainable crop, and proves to be the best use of resources for food oil production.<sup>15</sup>

The CPOPC would also be able to enact comparable media campaigns to educate Western consumers at the end of the supply chain of the sustainable characteristics of palm oil as compared to alternatives. Such media campaigns would also incentivize sustainable certification of oil palm to increase value on the global market. The recent adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) will lend a helping hand to the sustainable realities of palm oil by encouraging research and development into deforestation as well as biofuel production. The CPOPC would be able to better manage private investment, and refocus the industry on national production schemes.

## SOLUTION 3

### **Global Adoption of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)**

The Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil was created in 2004 to create a non binding framework for sustainable palm oil production, combining seven key areas of the global supply chain, and creating feedback structures throughout.<sup>16</sup> The RSPO has been the object of much harsh critique from various environmental NGOs because it is seen as not incentivizing the end of the supply chain to pay adequate premiums for CSPO, having too lenient of sustainability standards, and using bureaucracy as an excuse to avoid contentious issues.<sup>17</sup> Both Indonesia and Malaysia have since developed their own sustainability certification schemes, but many see these to be self-fulfilling and favor plantations over independent producers.

The global adoption of the RSPO as the third party sustainability certifier would incentivize

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12 Oetami Dewi. "Reconciling Development, Conservation, and Social Justice in West Kalimantan" In *The Palm Oil Controversy in Southeast Asia: A Transnational Perspective*. (Web. Project MUSE. 2016).

13 "Malaysia, Indonesia To Establish Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries" Economic Transformation Programme. *Media Room* (2015).

14 Tan, 424.

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15 Sheil, 11.

16 Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil.

17 Denis Ruysschaert and Denis Salles. "Towards Global Voluntary Standards: Questioning the Effectiveness in Attaining Conservation Goals: The Case of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)" *Ecological Economics* 107 (2014), 441-444.

states to satisfy environmental NGO requests, as well as continue to empower smallholders. The Roundtable Smallholder Support Fund (RSSF) created by the RSPO provides funding for audit costs, capacity building, training, and is accessible to smallholders through an online application. The main barrier to certification is simply educating smallholders about how, and why they should become certified, which should be addressed on a community level. Land titles are often not recognized or legitimized by state entities, but the RSPO acknowledges village, community, and indigenous customary land rights.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the global adoption of the RSPO would give efficacy and support to indigenous groups fighting the state for their land rights, as well as encourage community engagement, participation, and unity in the industry.

## SOLUTION 4

### ***Adoption of the Moratorium on Forests into ASEAN Haze policy***

One of the main barriers to smallholder participation, outside of the market structure, is the plantation structure. Large plantations are typically international corporations, or formed from Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in smaller local production schemes. While plantation companies are required to conduct land assessments including community participation in their new projects, this is rarely adequate and often discussed as coercion resulting in villages unknowingly signing their lands away.<sup>19</sup> Forest dwelling communities, however, are not so lucky. Indonesia has demarcated their land as either inhabited, forest, or HCVF with great haste, often ignoring and excluding forest dwelling and indigenous communities. If communities are residing in state sanctioned forest area, they have no right to the land, and it can be, and often is, turned over to plantation

companies for conversion.<sup>20</sup> Due to increased GDP from the increased FDI, state governments are often economically incentivized to take the side of the plantation company, particularly in Indonesia where the government “still claims all Indonesians are indigenous and that therefore there are no indigenous people in Indonesia.”<sup>21</sup>

Thus, in order to halt plantation land grabbing and expansion, a non-state entity, such as ASEAN, must step in. The 2002 ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution<sup>22</sup> should be amended to include specific clauses to address palm oil plantation expansion by reinforcing the Moratorium on Forests, and shifting industry focus to sustainability for yield increase.

## SOLUTION 5

### ***Increase Capacity for Smallholders to Meet RSPO Standards***

Although the RSSF provides a significant amount of support to smallholders who are striving toward sustainable development, national policy must be adopted to aid in RSPO certification of smallholders. As previously mentioned land rights struggles between the state and the smallholders must be addressed in order for smallholders to be competitive in the palm oil market. In addition to recognizing the rights of indigenous people, states should focus on infrastructure building, particularly rural roads and bridges to allow for ease of access to smallholder crops, education, and ease of reporting and tracking for the RSPO. This would not only diminish overall transportation costs, but it would also allow for better RSSF outreach and subsequent reporting.

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18 Anderson, 245.

19 Piers Gillespie. “Participation and Power in Indonesia Oil Palm Plantations” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 53:3 (2012), pg. 265.

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20 Mariko Urano. “Impacts of Newly Liberalised Policies on Customary Land Rights of Forest-Dwelling Populations: A Case Study from East Kalimantan, Indonesia” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 55:1 (2014), 6-23.

21 Anderson, 245.

22 Koh Kheng-Lian and Nicholas A. Robinson. “Strengthening Sustainable Development in Regional Inter-Governmental Governance: Lessons from the ‘ASEAN Way’” *Singapore Journal of International & Comparative Law* 6 (2002), 620-682.

Smallholders are naturally inclined toward sustainable practices, especially when given the education to adequately manage 'forest-crop' systems.<sup>23</sup> Thus improved infrastructure will also aid in improving the yields of the 40% of industry smallholders. A main barrier to high smallholder yields is the lack of access to high quality seeds.<sup>24</sup> The improvement of infrastructure would aid in the acquisition of high quality farming technology, as well as access to education on sustainable practices such as cradle to grave philosophies of waste (see Appendix D). Programs such as container return to pesticide manufacturer for discounted refill could be realized given the adequate state infrastructure.

## RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION

The palm oil industry has suffered from decades of unchecked economic development that has largely been at the expense of HCVF and indigenous communities. In order to mitigate damage plantations have already caused, and to preserve cultural heritage through community empowerment, the first four recommendations should be enacted in tandem. The main barrier toward a sustainable palm oil industry lies in the economic structure underlying the industry. As is, the palm plantations are favored by state policy because of the perceived profit potential. However, if space were created for smallholders to flourish in the markets, sustainable development would become an industry norm and communities the archipelago over would have the participatory power to lift themselves out of poverty.

Solution 1 is vital in opening up the market to smallholders and making it an attractive industry for independent farmers. Solution 2 is necessary to create a body to handle consumer lobbying down the supply chain, and advocate for nationalization of the crop to allow for ease in home market manipulation. Solution 3 is key to ensuring a transparent and sustainable industry through a third party organization. Finally,

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23 Hasnah, 27.

24 Branid, 14.

solution 4 is essential in halting the conversion of HCVF into plantations, and ensuring transnational adherence to a Moratorium on Forests.

The combination of these four solutions can be implemented as an economic restructuring plan of the oil palm industry, aided by third party sustainable certification, and the leading regional development bank. States first must acknowledge customary land tenure as a legitimate form of land governance that cannot be stripped away at the will of the state. The legal recognition of customary land use will create a foundation of community empowerment to support the proposed economic restructuring. The empowerment of the customary land culture hak waris bukan hak milik saya<sup>25</sup> (my heritage is not my property) will help to mitigate large village co-optations or monopolizations by greedy heads of household.


This policy quad would also address the large number of migrant laborers working on plantations in Malaysia. Malaysian plantations are currently being supported by Indonesian migrant workers. The proposed industry restructuring would allow for an increase in Malaysian independent smallholders, while encouraging the 70% of Indonesian migrants to return to their ancestral land.<sup>26</sup> By opening up local markets to smallholder participation and working to grant customary land rights, migrant plantation workers will be incentivized to return to their ancestral land to set up their own palm oil community with the help of the RSSF and ADB.

International concern about deforestation linked to palm oil is quite valid, but the boycott of the industry as a whole is discouraging rather than encouraging sustainable production. By restructuring the economic system to create space for independent smallholders,

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25 Genevieve Michone, Hubert de Foresta, Kusworo, and Patrice Levang. "The Damar Agroforests of Krui, Indonesia: Justice for Forest Farmers." In *People, Plants, & Justice: The Politics of Nature Conservation*. (New York: (Columbia University Press, 2000), 188.

26 Wicke, 168.

and transmitting that information down the supply chain, efficient oil can be produced that encourages local and community empowerment, while promoting sustainability as an industry norm. 

**APPENDIXES:**

**APPENDIX A**

**List of Relevant Acronyms:**

**ADB:** Asian Development Bank

**ASEAN:** Association of SouthEast Asian Nations

**CPO:** Crude Palm Oil

**CPOPC:** Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries

**FDI:** Foreign Direct Investment

**FFB:** Fresh Fruit Bunches

**Ha:** Hectare- unite of land measurement about equal to 2.2 acres

**HCVF:** High Conservation Value Forests

**NES:** Nucleus Estate Scheme

**POME:** Palm Oil Mill Effluent

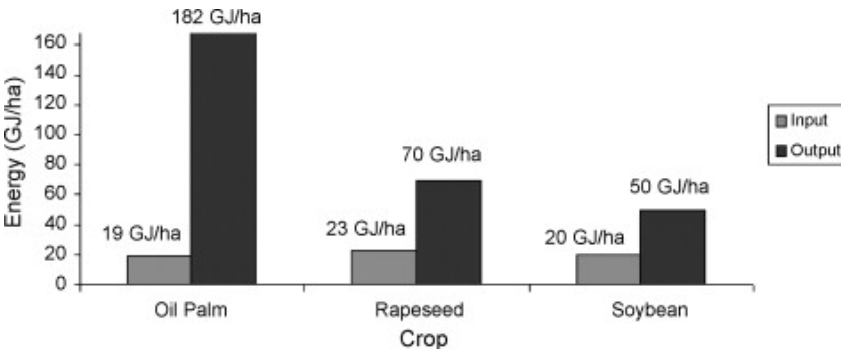
**RSPO:** Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil

**RSSF:** Roundtable Smallholder Support Fund

**SDGs:** Sustainable Development Goals

**APPENDIX B<sup>27</sup>**

As compared to other oil crops, palm has the highest energy output, as well as lowest crop inputs, making it a highly sustainable and efficient oil to produce.



Output/Input Ratio (O/I)	Oil Palm	Repeseed	Soybean
GJ/ha	9.6	3.0	2.5

27 Tan, 424.

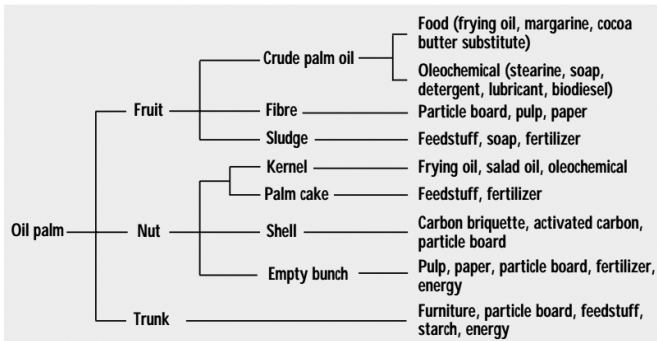


## APPENDIX C- HCVF AND CLIMATE CHANGE

High Conservation Value Forests are forest areas that have been deemed of high importance in terms of conservation due to their high rates of biodiversity, and essential ecosystem services. Forests in tropical Southeast Asia are of particular importance because many exist on peatlands, or serve as crucial habitat for endangered species such as the Orangutan. When these forests are converted into plantations, the peatlands are opened up, removing plant life that was previously storing and using the carbon, and allowing the stored GHGs to release into the atmosphere. Such conversion of HCVF to plantations has skyrocketed Indonesia to the 3rd largest GHG emitter globally.<sup>28</sup>

## APPENDIX D<sup>29</sup>-

Cradle to Grave possibilities



## APPENDIX E<sup>30</sup>

2015 palm oil imports broken down by country and listed in MegaTons (MT) of CPO.

Rank	Country	Imports (1000 MT)
1	India	9,525.00
2	EU-27	6,950.00
3	China	5,700.00
4	Pakistan	3,200.00
5	Egypt	1,500.00
6	Bangladesh	1,400.00
7	United States	1,135.00
8	Myanmar	850.00
9	Russian Federation	770.00
10	Viet Nam	740.00

28 Ruyschaert, 440.

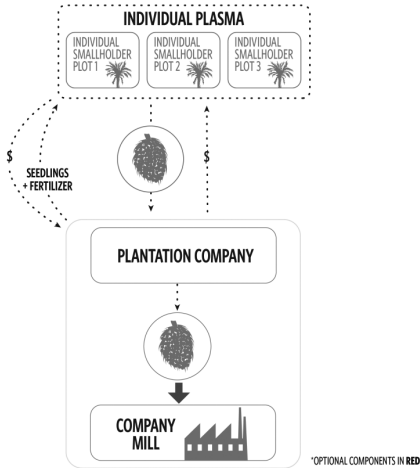
29 Sheil, 12.

30 Palm Oil Imports by Country in 1000 MT. *Index Mundi*. 2015.

## APPENDIX F

A visual representation of the Nucleus Estate Scheme implemented by the Asian Development Bank. The plasma land is first bought by plantation companies, and then sold back to the people under the plantation estate.

### INDIVIDUAL PARTNERSHIP MODEL



CLIMATE  
POLICY  
INITIATIVE

## ADDITIONAL WORKS CONSULTED

Anne Casson. "The Political Economy of Indonesia's Oil Palm Subsector" In *Which Way Forward: People, Forests, and Policymaking in Indonesia..* Carol J Pierce Colfer and Ida Aju Pradnja Resosudarmo (D.C. RFF Press. 2002). 221-245.

Gina Koczberski. "Loose Fruit Mamas: Creating Incentives for Smallholder Women in Oil Palm Production in Papua New Guinea" *World Development* 35:7 (2007), 1172-1185.

Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells. "The Implications of Plantations Agriculture for Biodiversity in Peninsular Malaysia: A Historical Analysis" In *Beyond Sacred Forests: Complicating Conservation in Southeast Asia.* Michael R. Dove, Percy E. Sajise, and Amity A. Doolittle. (Durham and London. Duke University Press. 2011). 62-90.

Justus von Geibler. "Market-Based Governance for Sustainability in Value Chains: Conditions for Successful Standard Setting in the Palm Oil Sector" *Journal of Cleaner Production* 56 (2013), 39-53.

Peter Oosterveer. "Promoting Sustainable Palm Oil: from a Global Networks and Flows Perspective" *Journal of Cleaner Production* 107 (2015), 146-153.

Kwasi Poku. "Small-Scale Palm Oil Processing in Africa" *FAO Agricultural Services Bulletin* 148. (Ghana. FAO. 2002). 3.1-4.5.

United Nations Environment Programme. *UNEP and Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil Sign New Agreement.*



# The Proper Development of Armed Forces for Counterterrorism

– Riley England

## ABSTRACT

*This white paper addresses the need for the United States and its allies to adapt their armed forces in order to position themselves for long-term success against terrorism. It brings several options to the table for policymakers, including an increased reliance on UAV strike capabilities, further development of DA/SR capabilities, a stronger focus on FID, the creation of an international CT task force, and the development of an ATLAS-style international network. The document concludes by expounding on the importance of multilateralism and BPC and by recommending a combination of a stronger focus on FID and the development of the ATLAS-style network.*

## OVERVIEW

For well over a decade now, the United States (US; see Appendix A for full list of abbreviations) and its allies have been engaged in counterterrorism (CT) activities around the globe. Despite some initial hopes, by almost all official accounts, the so-called Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) does not appear to be a traditional sort of war with any future climactic cessation of hostilities.<sup>1</sup> In fact, in spite of all the efforts aimed at containing and derailing terrorist activity, it appears to be rapidly picking up speed. The number of deaths caused by terrorism has gone up exponentially, increasing by 4,000% between 2002 and 2014.<sup>2</sup> In addition, in 2014 alone 33 more groups were identified as committing acts of terrorism.<sup>3</sup> Even more recently, the Islamic State (ISIS) and Boko Haram have created major issues for the US and its allies in the Middle East and Africa, both through their activities in those respective locations and activities inspired by them in other areas around the world.

- 1 Micah Zenko. “America’s Virulent, Extremist Counterterrorism Ideology” *Foreign Policy* (2015). <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/21/americas-virulent-extremist-counterterrorism-ideology-perpetual-war-islamic-state/>
- 2 Micah Zenko. “Terrorism Is Booming Almost Everywhere But in the United States” *Foreign Policy* (2015). <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/06/19/terrorism-is-booming-almost-everywhere-but-in-the-united-states-state-department-report/>
- 3 Ibid.

Terrorism represents a grave threat that cannot be defeated by employing the same methods that once proved successful against the enemies of the past. It has no borders, wears no uniform, and contains no central hierarchy. In order to be successful in the long run, efforts at CT must be made on a number of levels. Progress must be made in countering the religious, economic, and other social roots of terrorism. Effective measures for de-radicalizing members of terrorist organizations and for winning the hearts and minds of populations sympathetic to their causes need to be discovered and applied. Success in cutting off terrorist organizations from their sources of funding, whether governments or otherwise, will also prove vital to the CT cause. Central to the ultimate success of all of these CT efforts, however, will be the proper application of the armed forces of the US and its allies in this common fight.

Ever since the official beginning of the GWOT following the terrorist attacks in September of 2001, the US, along with many of its allies, have recognized the necessary role that armed forces have in CT efforts. It was soon discovered that conventional large, slow-moving ground forces were not ideal for use against the sort of targets that terrorist organizations presented, and the use of armed forces began to be adapted. Small elite units of special operations forces (SOF) troops, able to move quickly in and out of target areas, began to be utilized, as did new technologies including Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV).<sup>4</sup> Despite these adaptations and advances, however, there is still much progress to be made in properly applying armed forces in CT efforts. Current strategies must continue to be adapted in order to be sustainable in the long run, beneficial to relationships with existing and potential allies, and effective against the terrorist organizations themselves.

## POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

### OPTION A:

#### ***Increased Reliance on UAV Strike Capabilities***

One potential solution is to continue to increase the utilization of UAV as weapons in the fight against terrorism. Their usefulness for the task has certainly been noted, as their usage has greatly increased in the years since the beginning of the GWOT.<sup>5</sup> These deadly eyes in the skies are seen by many as an effective means of hunting down terrorist leaders. They represent a cheaper option than putting boots on the ground<sup>6</sup>, they have been proven effective at taking out targets in areas that are difficult to reach, and they neutralize the risk of taking any casualties<sup>7</sup>. For these reasons, UAV have been utilized in a weaponized capacity in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia.<sup>8</sup>

While they represent an attractive option in terms of short-term loss aversion, the use of UAV for CT purposes in this way has not come without cost. Their use in Pakistan and Yemen in particular has undermined the authority of the governments there, as such strikes are well-understood to be unilateral actions taken by a foreign government.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the missiles fired from UAV are known to have caused some civilian casualties, leading to a deep-seated fear in the hearts of local populations<sup>10</sup> and an up-tick in recruitment for terrorist organizations<sup>11</sup>. Increasing the weaponized use of UAV for CT purposes, while it would almost certainly be effective at meeting the short-term goals of eliminating more terrorists, would likely lead to an expansion of existing terrorist organizations and contribute to a loss of “hearts and minds” in the long-term.

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5 Ibid, 2.

6 Ibid, 4.

7 Strategic Studies Institute. *The Effectiveness of Drone Strikes in Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism Campaigns*. (pg. 7) <http://permanent.access.gpo.gov/gpo46372/PDF%20version/pub1167.pdf>

8 Boyle, 2.

9 Ibid, 3.

10 Shakeel Ahmad. “A Legal Assessment of the US Drone Strikes in Pakistan” *International Criminal Law Review* 13:4 (2013), 929.

11 Boyle, 13.

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4 Michael J. Boyle. “The Costs and Consequences of Drone Warfare” *International Affairs* 89:1 (2013), 2.

## OPTION B:

### **Further Development of DA/SR Capabilities**

The Direct Action (DA) designation encompasses missions that revolve around military units engaging directly with an enemy target, such as a raid on a terrorist base or the capture of a terrorist leader.<sup>12</sup> The Special Reconnaissance (SR) designation is reserved for missions that center on a more indirect form of engagement known as reconnaissance. These missions usually consist of small military units covertly observing enemy targets in dangerous areas in order to gain intelligence.<sup>13</sup> What DA and SR operations have in common is that the use of a country's own armed forces to engage more or less directly with terrorists, in this case, is fundamental to both of them.

The United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) has clearly demonstrated the strong capabilities of its operators to carry out such operations almost anywhere in the world.<sup>14</sup> Relying on such a way of doing things that has proved to be successful in the past represents a secure option in many ways, and one that excludes having to deal with the unknown factors involved in more multilateral options. An overreliance on such a strategy for combatting an enemy like terrorism, however, can have serious negative consequences. Terrorism represents a global threat, and relying primarily on its own forces to combat that threat has proven quite costly to the US.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the execution of unilateral DA operations especially can increase tension between allies or potential allies, as was demonstrated between the US and Pakistan following the Bin Laden raid.<sup>16</sup>

## OPTION C:

### **A Stronger Focus on FID**

A good case can easily be made for placing a higher premium on Foreign Internal Defense (FID)<sup>17</sup> operations in foreign policy. Defined by the US Army as "participation by civilian and military agencies of a government in any of the action programs taken by another government... to free and protect its society from...terrorism,"<sup>18</sup> FID differs from DA and SR in that it consists of working by, with, and through local forces. Its efficacy has been demonstrated recently in the Philippines, where local, US-trained SOF units have conducted successful missions against violent extremists,<sup>19</sup> and in Colombia, where similar US-trained units have not only had great success against local FARC terrorists, but have gone on to train other SOF units throughout Central America for similar missions<sup>20</sup>.

FID operations provide Western governments with a financially efficient opportunity to combat terrorism multilaterally by, with, and through the armed forces of the governments presiding over the areas that many terrorist organizations call their home turf.<sup>21</sup> Of course, such operations are not undertaken without some measure of risk. Efforts in Afghanistan have suffered from several setbacks due to sabotage by violent extremists who managed to infiltrate the units being trained by US special operators<sup>22</sup>, and recently, some members of a US-trained SOF unit in Mali joined the terrorist group they were supposed to be fighting against<sup>23</sup>. FID operations have a lot of potential, but they require careful analysis and effective security measures.

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12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 "Operations and Maintenance, Defense Wide Budget Activity 01, Operating Forces." USSOCOM Subactivity Group. [http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2008/fy2007\\_supplemental/fy2008\\_global\\_war\\_on\\_terror\\_request/pdfs/operation/03\\_SOCOM\\_%20Supp\\_OP-5.pdf](http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2008/fy2007_supplemental/fy2008_global_war_on_terror_request/pdfs/operation/03_SOCOM_%20Supp_OP-5.pdf)

15 Linda Robinson. "The Future of Special Operations: Beyond Kill and Capture" *Foreign Affairs* 91:6 (2012), 110.

16 Ahmad, 918.

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17 Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Joint Publication 3-22: Foreign Internal Defense*. (pg. ix)

18 Ibid, ix.

19 Robinson, 116-117

20 Ibid, 115-116

21 Ibid, 111-112.

22 Eric Schmitt. "U.S. Training Elite Antiterror Troops in Four African Nations" *The New York Times* (2014). [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/27/world/africa/us-trains-african-commandos-to-fight-terrorism.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/27/world/africa/us-trains-african-commandos-to-fight-terrorism.html?_r=0)

23 Ibid.

## OPTION D:

### ***The Creation of an International CT Task Force***

Another solution that has been suggested is for the US to partner with fellow NATO states and others in order to create an international CT task force for the execution of DA and SR operations.<sup>24</sup> The task force would have a centralized command and control element and would be capable of operating across borders with bases of operation around the world. The international composition of the task force and its ability to act transnationally would reflect the similar nature of many terrorist networks in existence today and would bring to the table for the task force many of the benefits that the terrorists themselves now enjoy.<sup>25</sup>

Bringing together elements of the CT networks of various Western states in this way would allow them to share many of the valuable lessons learned in terms of tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP) from over a decade of experience in the GWOT.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, the ability to operate out of the existing bases of operation belonging to participating states around the world would enable timely transportation of assets and execution of operations, both of which are highly desirable in the ever-changing environment of CT. This option is not without its challenges, however. The creation of this type of CT task force would require an unprecedented level of intergovernmental trust. In addition to forsaking sole control of some of their top CT assets, participating governments would have to share sensitive intelligence and information concerning their own capabilities and weaknesses.<sup>27</sup> Many questions concerning operational oversight and mission overlap with preexisting CT forces would have to be answered as well.

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24 Jack Murphy. "Does Kenya Prove It's Time for a Real Life Rainbow Six?" *SOFREP* (2013). <https://sofrep.com/27821/time-for-a-real-life-rainbow-six-al-shabaab/>

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

## OPTION E:

### ***The Development of an ATLAS- Style International Network***

The ATLAS network is an organization within the European Union (EU) that has existed in its current form since 2001, when it became a priority following the terrorist attacks of 11 September.<sup>28</sup> It was developed in order to increase the CT capabilities of both the EU as a whole and each of its member states. Rather than creating a new CT unit, ATLAS served and continues to serve as a platform for the sharing of TTP, equipment, experience, and training opportunities between the many existing special operations units specializing in CT throughout the EU.<sup>29</sup> As they undergo various CT simulations, share ideas, and even develop standard operating procedures (SOP) for how they would support each other in the event of any number of CT situations, the units from smaller states are able to develop far faster than they ever would have been able to on their own and those from larger states are able to stay on top of their game<sup>30</sup>.

The ATLAS network of the EU represents a potential model for the US and other states involved in the fight against terrorism. The groundwork has already been laid; the NATO Special Operations Headquarters (NSHQ), an organization established in 2010 for the purpose of developing common operational principles<sup>31</sup> and streamlining the integration of different units for potential operations<sup>32</sup>, could be expanded to fill this role. At least three non-NATO states have already been integrated into NSHQ<sup>33</sup>, and if more states already engaged in the fight

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28 NA. "EU police special forces network to become 'more and more useful' and to receive increased financial support" *Statewatch News Online* (2013). <http://www.statewatch.org/news/2013/aug/eu-atlas.htm>

29 European Commission. *The ATLAS Network prepares for the biggest anti-terrorism exercise at EU level*. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-13-335\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-335_en.htm)

30 Statewatch News Online

31 NA. "About" NSHQ Powered Sites (2016). <https://www.nshq.nato.int/nshq/about/>

32 David C. Isby. "Worldwide SOF: Evolving to Meet Emerging Threats" *The Year in Special Operations* (2013/2014), 84.

33 Ibid, 85.


against terrorism were added, the opportunities for joint training and the further development of more advanced CT capabilities would increase exponentially.

## RECOMMENDED SOLUTION

Any strategy that relies solely on a unilateral application of armed forces to counter terrorism is highly unlikely to succeed. As terrorism continues to expand over the globe, the overall cost of fighting it will go up exponentially. As it does, the organizations utilizing it will diversify, as will their methods. While similarities will certainly abound, key differences will exist between the terrorism happening in one region and that which is occurring in another. These realities all point to the absolute necessity for cooperation between the armed forces of the US and its allies when it comes to CT. The proficiency of US armed forces in conducting drone strikes and DA or SR operations will almost certainly continue to be valuable, but its limitations will likely become more apparent as well.

The focus needs to shift away from those unilateral operations and towards multilateral ones. Some of these should be centered on strengthening the interoperability and professional relationships between the armed CT forces of the US and her major allies. Others, perhaps even more importantly, should revolve around providing the assistance necessary for allies with less advanced capabilities to create and develop effective CT forces of their own so that they can independently combat terrorism in their own regions. This is known as Building Partner Capacity (BPC), an umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of support activity and frequently includes the execution of FID operations.<sup>34</sup>

The development of an international network similar to the ATLAS of the EU, combined with an increased focus on FID operations, represents the best possible solution for the US and its allies in terms of meeting these goals for the CT cause. The creation of the international network will facilitate the sharing of TTP, experience, and

other valuable knowledge between the existing CT units of the US and its allies, which will lead to a greater overall preparedness by those forces to effectively combat terrorism in the various forms in which it may appear. The importance of an increased focus on FID operations has already been noted by USSOCOM, which has already called for increased funding for those specific endeavors.<sup>35</sup> Once realized, the result will be stronger allies all around the world that will be able to successfully contain and neutralize terrorism, if and when they face it, with minimal intervention from foreign governments. Once in such a posture, the US and all her allies around the world would have the best possible chance of success in the long run in the fight against terrorism. 

34 Harry R. Yarger. "Building Partner Capacity" JSOU Report 15:1 (2015), 111.

35 USSOCOM Subactivity Group

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BPC:** *Building Partner Capacity*
- CT:** *Counterterrorism*
- DA:** *Direct Action*
- EU:** *European Union*
- FID:** *Foreign Internal Defense*
- GWOT:** *Global War on Terrorism*
- ISIS:** *Islamic State*
- NATO:** *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*
- NSHQ:** *NATO Special Operations Headquarters*
- SOF:** *Special Operations Forces*
- SOP:** *Standard Operating Procedure(s)*
- SR:** *Special Reconnaissance*
- TTP:** *Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures*
- UAV:** *Unmanned Aerial Vehicle(s)*
- US:** *United States*
- USSOCOM:** *United States Special Operations Command*

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