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Inayatullah has authored/edited over thirty books (including: What Works; Questioning the Future; CLA 2.0; The University in Transformation; Youth Futures; Macrohistory and Macrohistorians; Understanding Sarkar; Youth Futures; Transcending Boundaries; Situating Sarkar; and, Neohumanist Educational Futures), journal special issues, and cd-roms as well as over 350 journal articles and book chapters. He was theme editor for the UNESCO Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems and has contributed to the Oxford Encyclopedia of Peace, the Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, and the Macmillan Encyclopedia of the Future.

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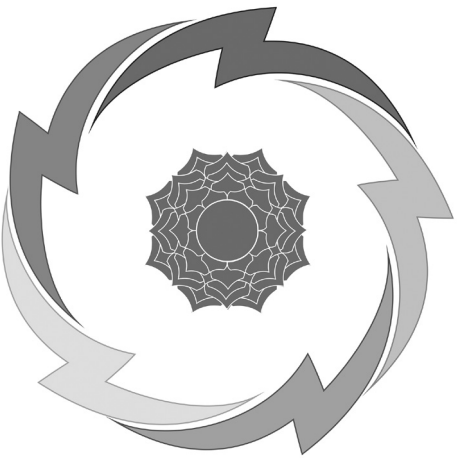

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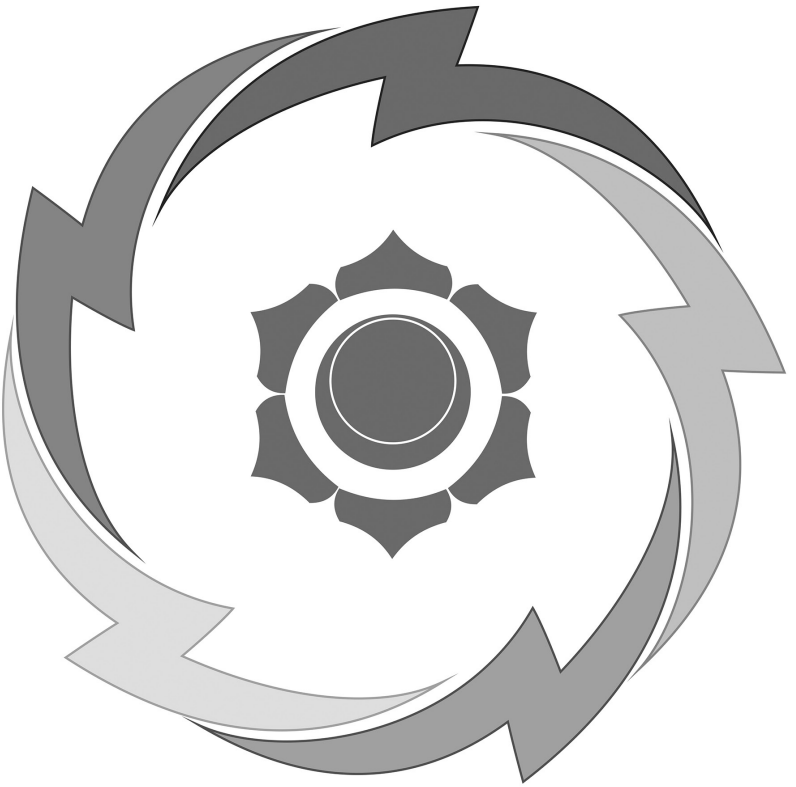

Preface

PREFACE

WE ARE POLICY

Created in the late 1950s by the Indian philosopher, mystic, and social activist P.R. Sarkar, Prout or the Progressive Utilization Theory is not only a theory of social change and transformed leadership, but an alternative political-economy; an emergent alternative to capitalism, a vision and comprehensive model of a new future for humanity and the planet. Sarkar's intent was and is (his organizations continue his work) to create a global spiritual cooperative revolution, a new renaissance. His goal is to infuse individuals with a spiritual presence, the necessary first step in changing the way that we know and order our world. Unlike the socialists of the past who merely sought to capture state power – forgetting that the economy was global and thus in the long run strengthening the world capitalist system – or the utopian idealists who merely wished for perfect places that could not practically exist or spiritualists who only sought individual transformation at the expense of structural change, Sarkar has a far more comprehensive view of transformation of which Prout provides the core.

Divided into six sections – Prout and policy-making; geopolitics; education, social issues, political-economy; and the conclusion – this book moves from theoretical comparisons of Prout and other macro perspectives on the nature of reality to policy and policy-making. In a series of books in the late '90s and early 2000s, along with colleagues, we sought to understand the works of P. R. Sarkar. These included, *Macrohistory and Macrohistorians, Situating Sarkar, Transcending Boundaries, Understanding Sarkar* and *Neohumanist Educational Futures*. These efforts sought to compare and contrast Sarkar and his

works with other grand thinkers and ideologies such as Ibn Khaldun, Arnold Toynbee, Pitirim Sorokin, Karl Marx, and many others. They were not empirically - so much as epistemologically-based - seeking to understand the worldviews, the nominations of reality, the contextual frameworks that made Sarkar, Sarkar; that allowed him to critique the world and to envision the preferred future.

This book is different. Imaging a future, where Prout is in 'power', it moves from macro to meso theory, focused less on comparisons and far more on articulating Prout perspectives, policy perspectives, on the issues of the time. Drawing from the works of Sarkar, we ask, for example, what should Prout policy be toward prisons, or higher education, or eHealth? While Sarkar gives us clues and frameworks, it is still up to the policy-maker to make decisions as to what should be funded, what should be favoured and, more importantly, what the process of decision-making ought to be.

While the initial chapters 'Prout and policy-making' and 'Sarkar and macrohistory' frame this discussion, subsequent chapters are generally case studies, drawn from live workshop situations where decision-makers have attempted to develop scenarios and strategies as to the future of a particular issue: university reform and eHealth strategy, for example. Others are more theoretical, focused on understanding how the world is changing and how Prout might respond to this changing world. Chapters in the section 'Beyond Geopolitics' in particular focus on this area, though the chapter 'Democratic governance in Asia 2030' is based on an Oxfam sponsored workshop that brought together civil society leaders to imagine alternative futures of Asia.

Prout policy-making, of course, as the first chapters explore, is based on the key tenets of Prout: the theory of macrohistory, spirituality, neo-humanism, global governance and political-economy. Prout policy-making, however, is truly futures-oriented as it challenges the present, unpacking the power relations embedded in today's world and seeking to create an alternative politics of reality. It uses the future – scenarios, visions, and strategies – to open up the present, and allows for new worlds to appear. These worlds not only challenge the deep culture of the modern episteme, but they also challenge how we measure the

world. The chapter 'Using Prout to question' develops a checklist of questions for Prout activists and policy-makers to use as they ponder Prout responses to particular issues. 'Spirituality as the fourth bottom line' challenges the economic determinism and the single bottom line model that is considered the rule today. This meso level approach thus eschews grand debates on the nature of capitalism, and moves to how we measure the good in societies. Of course the nature of value is not lost sight of, as in the chapter that compares Amartya Sen and P. R. Sarkar.

Most of these chapters have appeared in *Prout Journal*. I am thankful to the editors, Dada Santosananda and Arun Bhattacarya, for their permission to reprint these articles in this book. The true inspiration for this work comes from a Prout Conference held in Denmark in 2010. At that conference, participants such as Dada Dhyaneshananda, Govinda, Roar Bjonnes, and Dada Maheshvarananda all suggested that we need a journal to develop Prout perspectives on futures issues. This journal, as it turned out, did not get off the ground. Indeed, we were unable to decide on a title, such was the newness of Prout policy-making ventures. However, I was inspired by them and decided that in my writing, in my workshops, I would always conclude by asking: what is the Prout view on this topic? How would Sarkar approach the problem of the global financial crisis, for example, or climate change, or even the Olympic Games? Of concern was not just what might be Sarkar's perspective, but what needs to be deliberated prior to articulating Prout policy, that is, what is the policy framework? Much of this book is about that. What do we need to think about when considering Prout policy? Even if you – the reader – disagree with the suggestions offered, I recommend that you ask yourself why. What might be your policy recommendations? If, for example, you were the Minister of Higher Education or Minister of Health or head of an international bank, how would you approach the problems in front of you? How would you deal with competing interests? How would you ensure representation and participation? How would you ensure that there was maximum productivity as well as a rising floor to protect the most vulnerable?

These are tough questions; they invite us to reflect, but also to act.

Many of the solutions articulated were developed in workshop/strategy sessions that involved hundreds of leaders. Prout became an asset to these global leaders to reflect on what they needed to do differently. One way, I have done this is through the Sarkar Game. Invented by Professors Hayward and Voros, the Sarkar Game creates a situation in which participants experience world history, experience the problems of their organisation in real time. They then use the experience to search for solutions – do they need more warrior power to protect workers? Or is more economic innovation required from capitalists? Or new ideas from intellectuals? Or more work from workers? Or as it often turns out, is a new leadership style and indeed ontology needed? And if so, what is the guiding worldview for this framework? This in turn leads to discussions on neo-humanism and policy-making, on deep inclusion and the role of the leader and leadership team who transform the present to create the alternative future.

All books lie at the end of long trails and, certainly along with words and worlds of Sarkar, I would like to thank those who taught me how to think differently about policy: in particular, from the University of Hawai'i, James Dator, Deane Neubauer and Michael Shapiro. Jose Ramos, Bruce Dyer, Steve Gould and Marcus Bussey provided useful editorial advice on particular chapters. I am doubly thankful to Marcus Bussey not only for his comments on earlier drafts but also for arranging funding from the University of the Sunshine Coast through Professor Joanne Scott so that the invaluable editing services of Walter Leggett, and Lynda Windsor could be secured. I would also like to thank the hundreds of organisations and thousands of leaders who have been stakeholders in policy-making futures workshops. Their ideas and strategies travel throughout this book. I hope you enjoy travelling with them.

I hope you will be inspired by these issues to appreciate Prout, what it can offer individuals and the world. Said differently, we don't *make* policy, we *are* policy! The question this book raises: are there economic, social, administrative, and political policies that might be more satisfying, for the good of all? If so, what are the processes and strategies we can use to create them? What would the world look like if Prout framed policy solutions, if Prout was in power?

Introduction

ONE
PROUT AND POLICY-MAKING

PILLARS OF PROUT

To articulate a Proutist view of policy-making that uses the conceptual categories of Prout, we first need to summarise key aspects of Prout. PROUT (Progressive Utilisation Theory) is a theory of value and a social and economic movement based on spiritual culture. It is a model of an ideal socio-economic system, a vision of the good society, and a practice. There is no road to Prout, is the road. It is a unique epistemology and methodology, generally derived from Tantra but integrating other social and economic traditions as well.

While there are many ways to understand Prout, one approach is to divide it into five pillars: (1) Spiritual practice, (2) Neo-humanism, (3) the Social cycle, (4) Governance and (5) Political-Economy

The first pillar, spiritual practice, acknowledges that there is an inner dimension to the external world – meditation and other similar practices are central to a successful Proutist society. This inner dimension flows through the other aspects of Prout – from ethics to economy, society to science.

Second is Neo-humanism. Neo-humanism is both equal opportunity legislation and inner mindfulness – an ethics that expands our identity from ego to family to territory to religion to society to humanism and eventually to all living beings. Neo-humanism thus challenges geo-sentiments (nationalism), religious sentiments, divisions along ethnic lines, and even humanism, as it is also inclusive of plants and

animals. Spiritual practice without neo-humanism merely creates a type of enlightened fascism – inner bliss in the context of a steep hierarchy where the other is excluded. Furthermore, neo-humanism is predicated on coordinated cooperation – that is, on transcending the current male dominator model and moving toward gender cooperation.

Third is the social cycle. Prout provides a theory of macrohistory and future. There are four stages of history and four ways of knowing: the worker, the warrior, the intellectual and the merchant. History is cyclical. However, we are not doomed to the cycle. There is a way out. At the centre of the cycle, argues Sarkar, are *sadvipra*s, ethical and transparent leaders, who can access these four potentials and ensure that the cycle becomes progressive, that each wave of change continues the rotation of the cycle but at ever higher and ever more progressive levels.

Fourth is governance. Prout works in a world governance structure. It imagines a federalist world system and seeks to create "glocal" social movements that challenge the current capitalist world economy. Beside the democratic system are parallel *sadvipra* policy boards that inform and guide. Prout seeks to reconcile the two grand traditions in political theory: democracy and wisdom.

Fifth is the socio-economic system. Prout challenges the current corporatist model, focusing instead on the cooperative model (along with private small scale enterprises and state-run public utilities). A Proutist society provides a safety net with incentives for innovation. Wealth increases are linked to so that the minimum rises with the maximum. This ensures we do not have a situation like today where the richest sixty-two people are worth as much as the poorest three and a half billion, as reported by the 2015 Oxfam international report. Productivity increases, indeed even inequity, should benefit all instead of the few. Productivity is increased through (1) enhanced equity; (2) enhanced innovation through new material and social technologies; and (3) decreased wastage of physical and material resources, as with the emerging sharing economy. Prout seeks a third way, progressing beyond communist and capitalist models of ownership and resolving

the dichotomy of global and local. In this schema economic units are in the first place local but, of course, become increasingly global – increasing flows of capital, labour, technology and ideas – once the equity and dignity of local environmental and employment concerns are achieved.

The modern world has died; we are in the midst of the postmodern, the era of multiplicity. Working with innovative movements all over the world, Prout provides the epistemology, methodology and vision for a different future, and, thereby, present.

PROUT POLICY-MAKING

To create this alternative future, not only is direct action important, but Prout also needs to be able to evaluate and make sense of this world. This sense-making is based on deeper epistemological issues – the problem of inquiry. In *Situating Sarkar*[1], I argued that there are multiple ways to understand Prout itself. This includes: (1) *the applied*, wherein the categories of Prout are used to make sense of the empirical world, i.e. history is revised to align with Sarkar's categories of worker-warrior-intellectual-capitalist; (2) *the empirical*, wherein evidence is brought to bear to prove or falsify Sarkar's claims as to the superiority of Prout in reducing poverty and enhancing global wealth and generally creating a more inclusive, balanced and equitable world system; (3) *the comparative,* wherein Prout is compared to other world systems such as capitalism, localism and communism; (4) *the translation*, wherein Sarkar's meanings are rearranged so as to be more accessible to different groups, for example, critique, eschatology and strategy; (5) *the framing*, wherein Prout is reframed within different disciplines, for example, futures studies wherein the vision of the future is explored in depth and contrasted with other visions; (6) *the phenomenological,* wherein Prout is seen as if through the eyes of Sarkar himself, how Prout theorises theory; thus we avail ourselves of Sarkar's typology of theories from those that are developed to "dupe the people" into those strategies that are difficult to implement, to those that are based on "intellectual extravaganza", to those that can transform inner and outer conditions; and (7) *the poststructural,*

wherein we historicise Prout, seeing it within its genealogical context, and thus, by being able to situate Sarkar and Prout, we can use both as assets for transformation. Fidelity to the real, as in the empirical, is far less important, than the capacity to transform empirical reality. These seven approaches all challenge how we know the world, and invite us to a politics of reflection, of situating the researcher within the domain of inquiry, within policy-making.

PROUT POLICY-MAKING IS NEO-HUMANISM IN ACTION

Linking action and theory is policy-making, the process of articulating Prout perspectives on phenomena. To begin with, Prout policy-making must be built on a process of deep engagement with those affected by the policy, by policy-makers, by theory, by evidence, indeed, on a deep process of inner and outer participation. At heart, therefore, Prout policy-making is about engaged neo-humanism. Neo-humanism supplies the rationale for Prout policy. Without this approach, policies tend to fail as bureaucracies ensure that business-as-usual continues.

Traditional policy-making frames tend to be dichotomously divided into concerns over equity (is the policy fair? who will it benefit?) and growth (will the policy lead to economic growth? will it lead to innovation?). While this positioning, which also correlates, more or less, with left versus right, is certainly an important policy lens, it tends to limit policy analysis. Of equal relevance are the issues of:

- Temporality: short-term, immediate concerns versus long-term future generational concerns;
- Participation: policy developed by expert elites versus policy developed through broader stakeholder engagement to increase the likelihood of implementation; and
- Implementation: is implementation designed into the policy process or is it an after-thought.

Deeper still are issues of definitional power. Is the policy process neutral, merely an issue of finding the most effective outcomes using

cost-benefit analysis? Or is policy, by its very nature, structurally partisan, even subjective, constituted by gender, *varna*, class, institutional and linguistic biases? That is, are one's political and epistemic frames of reference complicit in how policy solutions and the entire policy process is defined? Each policy frame has its own interests. For examples, organisations may seek to develop policy for the good of citizens but over time institutional and bureaucratic interests tend to take precedence.

In the past fifty to sixty years, policy-making has gone from a neutral cost-benefit analytic approach to one where the class interests of the policy and policy-makers have been questioned. More recently critiques have been based on the language interests of policy-makers and policies. Critique has focused on the question of does policy privilege a particular way of seeing the world? Thus the economic rationalist, for example, has been deconstructed as gender and class-biased. More recently, policy-making has sought to free itself from claims of neutrality, resituating itself as a process that includes within it multiplicity and complexity.

As the world becomes more complex, policy-making has followed suit. It is now considered to be:

- Complex and chaotic (multi-variable-based with initial conditions critical) layered (i.e. policy does not change because of more information or better logic but by changing the framework of the debate, by creating a new narrative);
- Futures-oriented (time is moving far more quickly, and thus the long-term must be part of all policy discussions);
- Global/local, i.e. space is also changing daily; and
- Person-based (policy-making must be aware of the worldview biases of the policy-maker him- or herself).

It is in this context that Prout *qua* neo-humanism enters the debate. Articulated by P. R. Sarkar, neo-humanism seeks to increase the number of lenses we use to examine the world. It intends to move

beyond egoist, territorial, national, racial, religious, ideological and even humanistic frames of reference. For example, neo-humanism challenges analyses that reify nation-states (geo-sentiment) or that uphold the power of a particular gender (patriarchy or matriarchy), or religion (particular, special access to God).

Questions asked include: does the policy create more or less gender cooperation? Is the methodology used, as well as its implementation and evaluation, gender-balanced? And: does the policy move us away from narrow national/religious identities to broader global, planetary and humanistic identities? How will nature be affected by the policy? Does nature have standing in committee hearings or is the process based on human exceptionalism? Are spiritual concerns articulated, or are these concerns seen as less important than strictly economic concerns? Are future generations considered, or is the immediate context (the business quarter) of sole concern? Does the policy favour any particular class or *varna*, or is it integrated?

Prout expands conventional policy-making through its neo-humanistic framework. This means seeking solutions, frames and practices that move outside narrow formulations (good for a particular nation, religion, class) and methods that reinscribe these frames. Solutions to today's problems thus require policy approaches that challenge how we frame these problems. The neo-humanist perspective recognises that solutions are not to be found at the level of the problem but at deeper and broader levels.

Practically this means, for example, ensuring that public and organisational policy move away from the single bottom line (usually prosperity as measured by gross domestic product) to the triple bottom line (prosperity plus social equity plus the environment) and then to a quadruple bottom line (wherein spirituality is the foundational consideration).

PILLARS OF PROUT AND POLICY-MAKING

While neo-humanism is central to Prout policy-making, the other pillars of Prout are also significant. Each pillar suggests sets of

questions to interrogate policy and policy-making processes and biases. Thus, there is Prout's theory of political-economy. Through this lens we can evaluate and question economic policies, asking: do they lead to *prama*, a balanced and dynamic economy? Does the minimum wage move with the maximum wage, ensuring gains for all?

Macrohistory and Sarkar's theory of the social cycle are also foundational assets. With these we can analyse organisations, institutions and revolutions to judge if the revolution is authentic or actually a counter revolution. We can ask if it will be short lived or long lived. We can use Sarkar's theory of history as a lens through which to better understand the future. The 'Sarkar Game' invented by Hayward and Voros* is an excellent simulation exercise to audit the leadership style of organisations and movements.

Governance following Proutist principles can also be used to understand policy discussions asking, for example, if the policy-making process is transparent and inclusive not just of humans but of nature. Finally, the spiritual dimensions of Prout are also a powerful way of analysing policy-making. We can ask if the policy process is purpose-based and if the inner dimensions of human life are honoured. Further, are decisions made only in the context of rational decision-making or are other modes of knowing, for example intuition, used?

The broader point is to shift one's gaze from a conventional reading of policy to one informed by Prout.

Methodologically this means moving policy debates outside of the particular problem to the system that defines or causes the problem, to the ideological positions that support the system, and finally to the unconscious identity myths that give meaning to the entire hierarchy of worldview, system and problem. This means moving away from, for example, transportation planning strategies that suggest that the

* See Inayatullah, S. (2013). Using gaming to understand the patterns of the future - The Sarkar Game in action. *Journal of Futures Studies*, *18*(1), 1-12. Retrieved 05 January 2016 from http://www.jfs.tku.edu.tw/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/181-A01.pdf.

solution to gridlock is simply more roads and cars to systemic issues of social equity and access to transport alternatives. Going deeper is to challenge the framing of the issue, moving from modernist notions of transport - the car and the individual – to the postmodern, wherein liveability, the community and nature are considered to be equally important. By exploring alternatives, egoistic notions of speed and ownership are questioned and debates can shift from simple propositions, such as "my car at any speed", to broader and deeper matters, such as transport choices and their impact on nature, equity and prosperity - that is, on "our community". In this shift there is a neo-humanist expansion of how the problem and solution are constituted.

Finally, Proutist policy analysis, while sensitive to systems, culture and myths, includes the quality of the consciousness of the policy-maker and stakeholders. This necessary reflexivity acknowledges that who we are is not separate from what we do and how we organise power, economy and mythology.

Prout policy analysis challenges traditional modes of policy-making, offering new theory and methods to the analysis of policy and policy-making.

PROUT IS FUTURES-FOCUSED

As an alternative worldview, Prout challenges the present and offers a different view of the future. Prout, as a theory and movement, is futures focused, seeking to open up the future and articulate a different direction for humanity. Prout's futures focus assumes that:

1. There is not one future but alternative futures;
2. Policy-making needs to move from forecasting to exploring depth, that is to an interrogation of the worldviews and narratives that interest groups use to make sense of the world and construct reality;
3. The future is essentially about changing the present. The future, thus defined, is an asset used to open up the present,

allowing it to be seen as remarkable, and thus malleable. This allows agency to be incorporated structurally, with the hope of personal, organisational and institutional change;

4. Structure emerges in the Prout perspective through the deep patterns of change – Sarkar's social cycle. These patterns can be used not only to forecast alternative futures but to assist in determining appropriate modes and points of intervention, ensuring agency is leveraged; and

5. Agency is not just more effectively leveraged through more effective forecasting but through visioning desired futures. As a movement with a decidedly spiritual focus, creating a different world means individuals and social groups need to "find their bliss", to discover and create their vision.

The Prout policy framework is about change and transformation. It is about using Prout to create better worlds: other worlds.

THE INTENTION

The chapters that follow investigate particular issues facing a nation or institution and articulate alternative futures. Most of the chapters conclude with a discussion of Prout policy implications; some chapters have Prout policy implications built into them. The implications serve as guidelines for the reader. They are not there to close the policy debate but to shift the policy perspective toward Prout. Hopefully in the near future these will become not theoretical implications but real political choices that Prout citizen groups and leaders will make. We imagine that alternative future and begin with the opening up of the realities of today.

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TWO
REREADING HISTORY
Power and policy-making*

Though Indian philosopher P.R Sarkar will be remembered for many contributions to the knowledge base of humanity†, among the most notable is his theory of history and alternative reading of historiography. Sarkar is unique in his articulation of a structural-epistemic theory of history that is inclusive of the role of the transcendental.

In Sarkar's theory of history there are four classes: workers (*shudra*s), warriors (*ksattriyas*), intellectuals (*vipras*), and accumulators of capital (*vaeshyas*). Each class can be perceived not merely as a power configuration, but as a way of knowing the world, as a paradigm, episteme or deep structure, if you will. In Sarkar's language this is collective psychology or *varna*. Each *varna* comes into power, bringing in positive, necessary changes, but over time exploits the next *varna* and then dialectically creates the conditions for the rise of the next *varna*.

While the parallel to caste is there (*shudra*, *ksattriya, brahmin* and *vaeshya*), Sarkar redefines them, locating the four as broader social categories that have, historically, evolved through interaction with the environment. Caste, on the other hand, developed with the conquest

*This essay is a much abridged version of a chapter in Galtung, J., & Inayatullah, S. (Eds.). (1997). *Macrohistory and Macrohistorians*. New York: Praeger.

† See Inayatullah, S., & Fitzgerald, J. (Eds.). (1999). *Transcending the Knowledge Base of Humanity: Prabhat Rainjan Sarkar's Theories of Individual and Social Transformation*. Maleny, Queensland: Gurukul.

of the local Indians by the Aryans and was later reinscribed by the Vedic priestly classes*.

Sarkar believes that while history must always move through these four classes it is possible, through spiritually-oriented moral leadership, to accelerate the stages of history and remove the periods of exploitation. Thus Sarkar would place the *sadvipra*, the compassionate and courageous servant leader, at the centre of the cycle, at the centre of society (though not necessarily at the centre of government).

Sarkar's theory allows for a future that, while historically patterned, can still dramatically change. For Sarkar, there are long periods of pause and then periods of dramatic social, technological and biological revolution - punctuated disequilibrium.

Sarkar's theoretical framework is not only spiritual, nor is it concerned solely with the material world; rather his perspective argues that the real is physical, mental and spiritual. Concomitantly, the motives for historical change are struggle with the environment (the move from the worker-*shudra* era to the warrior-*ksattriya* era), struggle with and between ideas (the move from the warrior-*ksattriya* to the intellectual-*vipra*), struggle with the environment and/between ideas (the move from the intellectual-*vipra* era to the capitalist-*vaeshya* eras) and the spiritual attraction of the Great (the call of the infinite). Thus physical, mental and spiritual challenges create change.

Table 1. Sarkar's Stages

Shudra	**Worker**	**Dominated by Environment**
Ksattriya	**Warrior**	**Struggles with and dominates Environment**
Vipra	**Intellectual**	**Struggles with and dominates Ideas**
Vaeshya	**Capitalist**	**Struggles with and dominates Environment/Ideas**

*For various interpretations of caste in Indian history and politics, see Dirks, N. (1987). *The Hollow Crown*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Kothari, R. (1970). *Caste in Indian Politics*. New Delhi: Orient Longman; Dumont, L. (1979). *Homo Hierarchicus*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; and Thapar, R. (1966). *A History of India*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Significantly – and this is important in terms of developing a rich theory of macrohistory – Sarkar does not resort to external variables to explain the transition from one era to the next. For example, it is not new technologies that create a new wealthy elite that can control the *vipra*s, rather it is a fault within the *viprans* themselves. Moreover, it is not that they did not meet a new challenge, or respond appropriately, as Toynbee would argue; Sarkar's reasoning on this question is closer to that of Ibn Khaldun and other classical philosophers. They create a privileged ideological world or conquer a material world, use this expansion to take care of their needs, but when changes come, they are unprepared, for they themselves have degenerated. While changes are often technological (new inventions and the discovery of new resources) that is not the significant variable, rather it is the mindset of the social class, individually and as a group, that leads to their downfall.

Sarkar, however, develops individual and social ways out of the cycle. In contrast, Orientalist interpreters like Mircea Eliade believe that the theory of eternal cycles is "invigorating and consoling for man under the terror of history,"[1] as now man knows under which eras he must suffer and he knows that the only escape is spiritual salvation. Sarkar finds this view repugnant, for people suffer differently and differentially in each era, those at the centre of power do better than those at the outskirts, labourers always do poorly. Indeed throughout history different classes do better than their contemporaries, but the elite always manage quite well.

Oftentimes, some people have lagged behind, exhausted, and collapsed on the ground, their hands and knees bruised and their clothes stained with mud. Such people have been thrown aside with hatred and have become the outcasts of society. They have been forced to remain isolated from the mainstream of social life. This is the kind of treatment they have received. Few have cared enough to lift up those who lagged behind, to help them forward[2].

The hope lies not in resignation, but in transformation of the cycle. It is here that Sarkar, most likely influenced by fraternal Islamic concepts, liberal notions of individual will and by Marxist notions of

class struggle, moves away from the classic Hindu model of the real – of caste, fatalism, and mentalism.

For Sarkar there are different kinds of time: there is cosmic time, the degeneration and regeneration of *dharma*. There is individual liberation from time itself through entrance into infinite time, and there is the social level of time wherein the periods of exploitation are reduced through social transformation, thus creating a time of dynamic balance – a balance between the physical, the social and the spiritual.

THEORIES OF INDIAN AND WORLD HISTORY

Sarkar's view differs significantly from other views of Indian and World history. In the 'idealistic' view, history is but the play or sport of Consciousness, the divine drama[3]. In this view the individual has no agency and suffering is an illusion. In the 'dynastic' view, history is but the succeeding rise and fall of dynasties and rulers; it is only the powerful that have will, agency. In contrast is Sri Aurobindo's interpretation, influenced by Hegel, in which instrumentality is assigned to historical world leaders and to nations[4]. Successful nations are so because they express the will of the spirit, the *geist*. God enters history. But for Sarkar, making nationalism into a spiritual necessity is an unnecessary reading. God does not prefer one particular structure over another.

Following Aurobindo, Buddha Prakash has taken the classical Hindu stages of gold, silver, copper and iron and applied them concretely to modern history. India, for Prakash, with nation-hood and industrialism, has now awakened to a golden age that "reveals the jazz and buzz of a new age of activity"*. But for Sarkar, the present is not an age of awakening, but an age "where on the basis of various arguments a handful of parasites have gorged themselves on the blood of millions of people, while countless people have been reduced to living skeletons"[5].

* See Prakash, B. (1958). The Hindu philosophy of history. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *16*(4).

Sarkar also rejects the modern 'linear' view of history in which history is divided into ancient (Hindu), medieval (Muslim), and modern (British-Nationalistic) periods. In this view, England is modern and India is backward; if only India can adopt rational, secular and capitalist or socialist perspectives and institutions, that is, "modern" policies, it too can join the western world. India then has to move from an ahistorical society – people lost in spiritual fantasy and caste but without a state – to a modern society†. Sarkar's views are closer to those of Jawaharlal Nehru, in which history is about how humans have overcame challenges and struggled against the elements and inequity[6]. It is the history of the "heart" of humanity. Sarkar's views are also similar to the recent Subaltern project; which intends to write history from the viewpoint of the dominated classes, not of the elite or the colonisers[7]. However, unlike the Subaltern project which eschews meta-narratives, Sarkar's social cycle provides a new grand theory. Finally, even while Sarkar exalts humanity, he does not forget the role of animals and plants, indeed, he calls for a neo-humanism, a deep ecology which includes the role of Gaia in human evolution.

SARKAR'S HISTORIOGRAPHY

Sarkar's social stages can be used to contextualise Indian and world history‡. Just as there are four kinds of mentality, structures or types, we can construct four kinds of history. There is the *shudra* history, the project of the Subaltern group. However, their history is not written by the workers themselves but clearly by intellectuals. There is then *ksattriyan* history; the history of kings and emperors, of nations and conquests, of politics and economics. This is the history of the State. This is the history of great men and women. Most history is *vipran* history, for most history is written and told by intellectuals, whatever their claims for the groups they represent. *Vipran* history is also the philosophy of history: the development of typologies, of categories of thought, of the recital of genealogies, of the search for evidence,

† See Inden, R. (1986). Orientalist Constructions of India. *Modern Asian Studies. 20*(3).

‡See also Bhattacharya, S., & Thapar, R. (Eds.). (1986). *Situating Indian History,* Delhi: Oxford University Press.

of the development of the field of history itself. This is the attempt to undo the intellectual constructions of others and to create one's own, of asking: is their only one possible theory of history or can there be many theories? Finally, there is *vaeshyan* history. This is the history of wealth, of economic cycles, of the development of the world capitalist system, of the rise of Europe and the fall of India. Marxist history is unique in that it is written by intellectuals for workers but used by warriors to gain power over merchants. Sarkar attempts to write a history that includes all four types of power: workers', military, intellectual and economic.

Table 2. Stages of History and Historiography

***Shudra* History**	**The daily struggle of ordinary women and men**
***Ksattriyan* History**	**Dynastic history, of the grand and powerful**
***Vipran* History**	**History of ideas, of philosophy**
***Vaeshyan* History**	**Economic history, business cycle**

According to Sarkar, most history is written to validate a particular mentality. Each *varna* writes a history to glorify its conquests, its philosophical realisations, or its technological breakthroughs; but rarely is history written about the common woman or man. For Sarkar, history should be written about how humans surmount challenges, how prosperity was gained. "History ... should maintain special records of the trials and tribulations which confronted human beings, how those trials and tribulations were overcome, how human beings tackled the numerous obstacles to affect great social development."[8] History then needs to aid in mobilising people, personally and collectively, toward internal exploration and external transformation. Thus history should be a "resplendent reflection of collective life whose study will be of immense inspiration for future generations"[9]. History, then, is an interpretive asset rather than a simplistic factual account. Here Sarkar moves to a post-structural understanding of the true. Truth is interpretive, not *rta* (the facts) but *satya* (that truth

which leads to human welfare).

Sarkar's history is meant to show the challenges humans faced: the defeats and the victories. His history shows how humans were dominated by particular eras, how they struggled and developed new technologies, new ideas, and how they realised the *atman*, the self, how they gained enlightenment. It is an attempt to write a history that is true to the victims but does not oppress them again by providing no escape from history itself, no vision of the future. His history is clearly ideological, but not in the sense of supporting a particular class, but rather in that it gives weight to all classes and yet attempts to move them outside of class, outside of ego and toward neo-humanism.

HISTORY CREATING NEW

History, then, is the natural evolutionary flow of this cycle. At every point there is a range of choices; once made the choice becomes a habit, a structure of the collective or group mind. Each mentality with an associated leadership class comes into power, makes changes and administers government, but eventually pursues its own class ends and exploits the other groups. This has continued throughout history. Sarkar's unit of analysis begins with all of humanity, it is a history of humanity, but he often refers to countries and nations. The relationship to the previous era is a dialectical one; a new era emerges out of the old era. History moves not because of external forces, although the environment certainly is a factor, but because of internal organic forces. Each era gains power – military, normative, economic or chaotic – and then accumulates it until the current elite is dislodged by the next. The metaphysic behind this movement is, says Sarkar, the wave motion. There is a rise and then a fall. In addition, this wave motion is pulsative: that is, the speed of change fluctuates over time. The driving force for this change is first the dialectical interaction with the environment, second the dialectical interaction in the mind and between ideologies, and third the dialectical interaction between the environment and ideas. But there is another motivation: this is the attraction toward the Great – the attraction felt by the individual toward the supreme. This is the ultimate desire that frees humans of all desires.

While clash, conflict and cohesion with the natural and social environment drive the cycle, it is the attraction to the Great, the infinite, that is the solution or the answer to the problem of history. The attraction to the Great results in progress. For Sarkar, the cycle must continue, for it is a basic structure in mind, but exploitation is not a necessity. Through the *sadvipra*, the virtuous leader, exploitation can be minimised.

Sarkar's theory uses the metaphor of the human life cycle *and* the ancient wheel, that is, technology. There is the natural and there is human intervention. There is a structure and there is choice. It is Sarkar's theory and movements that are intended to provide this intervention; an intervention that will lead, Sarkar believed, to humanity as a whole finally taking its first deep breath of fresh air.

FROM THEORY TO ACTION

Sarkar's work is important to us for many reasons. Not only did he redefine rationality, seeing it in spiritual and social justice terms, he placed the subtleness of inner love at the centre of his cosmology. But while love was the base, he did not neglect the harsh realities of the world system. While certainly his work can be seen as part of the larger global project of creating a strong civil society to counter the waves of corporatist globalism, his movements are unique in that while most social movements are Western, highly participatory, goal-oriented, short-term, and single issue-based, Sarkar's offer a genuine post-Western future. His movements are:

1. Third World-oriented, hoping to be the carriers of the oppressed yet also seeing the oppressors in humanist terms, focusing on the practice not on the person;

2. Tantric, focused on reinvigorating mystical culture (the experience of bliss) and not necessarily on immediate efficiency;

3. Multi-issue, working on many issues (and not just on the issue of the day), from women's rights and workers' rights to

the prevention of cruelty to animals and plants;

4. Very, very long-term-oriented, hundreds of years, that is, structures and processes that cannot fulfil their goals for generations ahead;

5. Committed to leadership creation and not just to organisational development, thus avoiding the tendency toward bureaucracy;

6. Trans-state-oriented, not solely concerned with nation-states and ego-power but acknowledging that there are four conventional types of power – worker, warrior, intellectual, merchant – and that the challenge is to develop processes that create a fifth type that can balance the existing four.

7. Comprehensive, inclusive of different ways of knowing the world, including the entrepreneurial, the intellectual, the warrior and the worker. Sarkar understood that social movements need to embrace wise economics, idea innovation, social justice and service to the world.

Underneath these projects has been Sarkar's effort to create and use a new language (*samaj, prama, microvita, samadhi, sadhana*) and new metaphors (Shiva dancing between life and death) to help be the vehicles of the good society he envisioned. But it was not perfection Sarkar was after. Influenced by Indian thought, he understood that there are deep evolutionary structures that cannot be changed, but also that the periods of exploitation can certainly be minimised. Perfection for Sarkar was only possible for individuals in the spiritual inner sphere, in timeless time.

Sarkar's, as well as the many other Non-Western, indeed, Post-Western, perspectives hope to create not just a global civil society as with normal Western social movements, but a "Gaia of cultures". Moving beyond West and Non-West requires a bridge to a new world. For Sarkar, this bridge is the concept and practice of Neo-humanism, requiring external institutional change (global governance) and inner change (personal consciousness). It becomes the path (and practice)

forward. In neo-humanism, other forms of identity – ego, family, tribe – are understood and transcended, creating a new global ecumene. West and Non-West are seen in a concluding dance leading to a Gaia of civilisations, of cultures.

Sarkar's mission was to reframe the debate of the future, to focus on liberating the intellect from the boundaries of self, nation, religion, and even of humanism. His work provides a macro-frame within which to view the policy debates of the time, indeed, even challenging the nature of time.

POLICY-MAKING

While Sarkar's work is grand and policy-making more routine, the links are crucial. First, policy-making is not immune to Sarkar's social cycle. The play of the four types of power – worker, regulatory (warrior), intellectual and economic – take place in all organisations. The policy-making process needs to ensure that there is awareness of which type of power is influencing the policy-making process. As with class, awareness of the dominant mode of power allows, to some extent, the creation of processes by which to reduce the particular mode and allows voices to speak the other perspectives.

Second, organisations tend to be at different power stages: some are dramatically influenced by the role of capitalists in the policy process, wherein economic development is primary; others are concerned with regulating, with protecting the careers and the security of officials: others engaged in broad-based community engagement, moving the policy process out of the purview of economic and regulatory power to citizens' (read: workers') power; and still others develop refined models of policy-making, focusing on the intellectual integrity of the process.

Third, and most significantly, Sarkar's theory of *varna* suggests that the policy-making process is not neutral but partisan, with power rotating between the four groups. In organisations, ensuring that there are *sadvipra* processes of leadership that balance the different modes of power is critical. This can be done by ensuring that each group gets a turn or that decision-making processes include input by

all groups. This process takes the *sadvipra* from being a person or persons to a process.

The next chapter illustrates a similar exercise, the Sarkar Game, where the politics of *varna* and leadership are played out, allowing for enhanced insight.

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THREE

THE SARKAR GAME IN ACTION

Transforming leadership through understanding and embodying power

Invented by academics Peter Hayward and Joe Voros, the 'Sarkar Game' is based on the theories of social change of Indian macrohistorian, and spiritual mystic, P. R. Sarkar. While chapter two articulated his theory extensively, it is worth noting that for Sarkar the purpose of understanding history is to enhance agency so that an alternative future can be created. Even while he posited a cyclical theory of social change, his intent was to create a new form of leadership that could transform the cyclical to the spiral, in which the patterns of the past are transformed for a progressive future.

In Sarkar's conception, the goal is to create a new class – the *sadvipra* – who can use aspects of each of the other classes in progressive ways; these other classes are service-based, protective, innovators and wealth-creators, respectively. By having a sense of the whole, the integrated, *sadvipra*s can judge which skills are required for the good of all. They thus cannot be beholden to either their own personal, ego needs, or to religious, nation-state or other identity needs, but rather they must think and act for the entire planet. This expanded sense of identity Sarkar called neo-humanism. Neo-humanism, for Sarkar, liberates the intellect, allowing for deeper ways of knowing and the inclusion of the other. It is an escape route to ensure that the *sadvipra*s do not slip into one of the other, existing classes, which would ensure continued stagnation. While Sarkar framed his theory in planetary terms, it is equally applicable to organisations and institutions. Thus, participants can ask, in a workshop setting, is a particular type of power dominant?

Has a group stayed too long and thus not allowed the other ways of knowing to be expressed? What can be done to keep the cycle moving? Can the cycle be transformed into a spiral?

Write Voros and Hayward:

> P. R. Sarkar's 'Social Cycle' elegantly demonstrates how easily 'social roles' are adopted and how these roles bring forth partial and limited understandings of change and change processes. As a macrohistorical model of social change and as an embodiment the process of social construction, it is a pivotal learning element[1].

The intent of the Sarkar Game is to take theoretical ideals and embody them in role-playing situations so that individuals experience the "reality" of social change and discover more of their inner selves and the strengths and weaknesses of the organisations and institutions they inhabit.

THE SCRIPT

The game begins by dividing the participants into four groups. Each group is given a script and tools. Workers get tools for labour, with the following script (adapted from Hayward and Voros)[2]:

> *I am a worker or a simple peasant. I have individual wants: first – safety, security, food (to be free of my environment). When these are met I want belief, inspiration, faith (to be free from my suffering and fear of death). When these are met I want material comfort and wealth (to be free from want, work, discomfort and struggle). My power is chaos, the ability to disrupt. When satisfied I am quiet (for a while) and then I want, and demand, more from the system. I can stand against the system and bring it, or myself, down.*

Warriors are given plastic guns, and the following script:

> *We are the warriors. We honour loyalty, courage and unity.*

> *We serve to protect the system from danger and chaos. We bring order where there is none. We enforce the wishes of the system. Our power is the ability to dominate the environment. Only we have the weapons.*

Intellectuals are given books, and the following script:

> *We are the intellectuals. We search for the truth. We remove error and confusion. We use words and speech to convey ideas that give knowledge. We value ideas. Some of us have knowledge of scientific reality and some of us have knowledge of spiritual reality. Some of us also use art, poetry and story to understand the past and present and create different futures. Our power is ideational. Only we can create ideas to believe in. We create the enlightenment.*

Capitalists are given cash, and the following script:

> *We are the capitalists. We seek to apply ideas to create material growth. We seek opportunities to be successful. The more we have the more power we have. Our power is economic. Only we can create material wealth.*

The workers are asked to begin the game. As they work – build, clean, type (or not), after a few minutes, the warriors are invited into the game. They may suggest improvements, for the workers to work harder or with more honour, or they may construct the workers as lazy and shoot them. As a discussion between workers and warriors begins, after five minutes or so, depending on whether there is "regression", the intellectuals are brought in. They may engage in dialogue directly with the workers or with the warriors. After another five minutes or so, the capitalists are brought in. They can negotiate with any of the other three groups. At this stage, all four groups are active in playing out the dynamics of power. The game can then conclude, either with a resolution or a total system collapse. Timing when the next group is brought in and when the game should be concluded is somewhat intuitive; it is important for the facilitator to allow individuals to role-

play and not judge, i.e. "this is how the game is meant to be played." It is best to bring in the next group if there is a natural lull in the action or conversation, or if it appears that there is a deadlock; a new type of power or energy is required. After the game ends, it is crucial that there is a reflection period for the four groups and for the individuals in each group. What did they experience? How did they experience the other groups? What was their self-learning? What does this tell them about their own organisation? What is needed in terms of governance at the planetary level? After reflections, the game is complete.

CASE STUDIES

The game can go a number of ways. Sometimes there is extensive negotiation between all parties and attempts are made to move toward consensus. Other times, violence is used to make a point. While warriors begin with the guns they do not always end up keeping them – guns can be sold or simply taken away. Recently, I have used water pistols, so that in case there is a shooting, the person who has been "killed" is visibly marked (and usually lies or sits down on the floor) so everyone can see that she or he is no longer an active player (though "dead" players do attempt to speak from beyond the grave). And there are times when, once a number of players have been killed, participants reflect and negotiate until a solution is reached.

While it may appear that the warriors have the real power, this is not the case. All have power, just of different types.

At one workshop, a worker lay on a nearby couch, resting. Although there was bloodshed around her, her refusal to commit to any solution that did not respect her human rights led to a protracted negotiation through which she won the right to rest. She did not actively engage the others; instead she removed herself. My conclusion is that non-violent creative resistance can work, as Otpor clearly showed in the downfall of Slobodan Milosevic in the late 1990s. However, for capitalists this is not an option. Capitalists are least successful when they do not spend their money, and instead only show it. When they spend their cash, they can

quickly move to a dominant position. They can use their cash to purchase weapons, to hire intellectuals to create more effective productivity schemes, or give workers incentives to keep on producing. Intellectuals, to some extent, have the most challenging task. When they inquire into the conditions of others, they tend to be successful. However, when they claim exclusivity of knowledge, then they are either ignored by the other classes or eliminated rather quickly by the warriors.

Warriors that are overly prone to use their weapons ensure that the entire system fails. In a recent game with a regional department of health in Australia, the warriors first shot the workers, then the intellectuals and then the capitalists. I had earlier asked three players to judge the process, to give an award to the person they felt had won the game, the person who was the most effective. The evaluators gave the award to one of the intellectuals, who they felt had attempted to work for the system as a whole. The warriors, having eliminated their labour force, and their sources of ideas and capital, had reached a dead-end. I then asked the entire group to reflect on the outcome. They suggested that the health system was reactive, short-term-oriented, risk averse and that it acted as if threats were everywhere, within and outside the system. Thus, the immediate response was to eliminate all potential threats; the result was that the entire system fell apart.

An international policing group followed a similar pattern, though the warriors in this workshop did attempt to negotiate with the other parties before eliminating them. Wisely, the warriors kept two of the capitalists alive so that cash would keep coming to them. Again, the evaluators judged that the intellectuals had won since they attempted to create win-win solutions.

Recently, at a course for senior executives in Australia at the Mt Eliza Executive Education Centre, the warriors quickly bullied the other classes, eventually killing quite a few. However, one of the intellectuals convinced the warriors to put down their weapons and negotiate with the other classes to create a productive economic system for all parties. However, this was only possible once it dawned on participants that they were eliminating the very people they needed to succeed. Thus, quite swiftly, a learning cycle emerged in which those who survived

realised – in real-time – that the victory of one group was occurring at the cost of other groups; indeed, of the system as a whole. They adapted and optimised conditions so that it became possible to move to a higher order level. Through *sadvipra* leadership, the cycle had become progressive, creating a spiral.

With one group of deans in Southeast Asia, over time (almost 20 minutes) almost everyone sat down in one group. All weapons had been put away and a shared vision created. When I asked for the secret to their success, they said, "In the West, people agree to disagree. We, here, agree to agree." This was quite remarkable and showed the power of deliberation, of trust and of a few taking a leadership position and convincing others that the good of all was primary.

In a Sarkar Game held in Italy for a UNESCO project, the workers managed to hold centre stage by literally camping out in the middle space. Like Occupy Wall Street protesters, they moved chairs into the middle of the game space and refused to move. They negotiated with the warriors to create win-win solutions, listened to intellectuals and discussed financial incentives with the capitalists. Even when they were threatened they were unwilling to move from centre stage, where they were resting after a long day's work. The others groups became hesitant, uncertain of their strategy. A capitalist did attempt to purchase a gun from a warrior, but she refused to give up her weapon as she suspected that her honour and integrity would be compromised. The intellectuals were successful in selling their ideas to the capitalists: in total, two books were sold. However, beyond that, the intellectuals reflected that they were the most marginalised.

In a Sarkar Game held for a Southeast Asian government, participants chose to work with each other. Warriors protected the workers. Intellectuals offered ideas to increase productivity and capitalists offered seed money for innovation. The game appeared to be moving towards a successful conclusion as all modes of power were working for the system as a whole. However, suddenly one of the warriors moved from systemic strategy to ensuring that he would win. He proceeded to shoot workers and threaten the other groups. Eventually, the workers hired the intellectuals to develop a weapon of mass destruction, as did the

rogue warrior. Ultimately, success eluded participants as geo-politics and paranoia won the day.

ORGANISATIONAL INSIGHTS

Insights vary post-game. Scientists at one federal-level agriculture department understood that, while they saw themselves as intellectuals, the executives in the Ministry – senior bureaucrats –, the "owners" of the Ministry, had adopted a capitalist worldview, and saw them as workers. The insight allowed them to understand why they felt undervalued. As one senior scientist said, "Now I understand. I see myself as an international scientist. But the Minister sees me as his lackey worker." This insight helped the scientist to rethink his strategy when approaching the Minister and his staff.

In one national department of statistics, the Sarkar Game helped the participants to understand that those who collect field data, while seeing themselves as workers, wished to be warriors. Field workers – data collectors – asked for warrior-like uniforms and titles like "Data Force". They believed that they needed the uniforms to protect them from rude citizens, untethered dogs and other obstacles. Managers in the Statistics Department began to understand that they needed to see field data collectors through their own lens, and not the lenses that they had been using; i.e. not as intellectuals but as "data warriors".

While from the outside it may appear that certain groups were given more resources, this is not the case. Each group had resources that they could use and resources they could decide not to use. While certainly the warriors could quickly ensure that there were no winners, they could also negotiate. In one game, for a national policing board, the warriors refused to use their weapons, even when provoked. Later, on reflection, these police officers argued that the National Police Service is meant to negotiate first; weapons are a last resort, a strategy which, they argue, differentiates them from their south-of-the-border neighbours.

In a Sarkar Game held in a Confucian country, one intellectual took the money he had been offered by the capitalists (to engage in activities

to help the capitalists to control the other groups) and threw it on the ground, stating: "I cannot be bought." The power of his declaration swung the game dramatically and allowed the intellectuals to frame the discussion.

In the same country, in a different year with different students, the Sarkar Game was held twice. The first time, there was fractured politics with no systemic solutions in sight. Then, after considerably collective reflections on the roles of individuals and the modes of power, the game was re-started. The warriors protected, the intellectuals provided ideas and the capitalists finance. All was working well until the warriors felt that they were missing out on capital infusions. They believed that the other groups were getting a better deal. Ultimately, the inner story of "it is not fair" prevailed even though everyone understood the meta-rules and goal of the game.

INDIVIDUAL INSIGHTS

While this is a collective game, insights for individual players are also possible. One worker regretted that he let the leader of his own group take over, saying to me afterward that it wasn't a fun game, because X had taken over. For this disgruntled participant, the game became an opportunity to explore his passivity. Another warrior, pre-game, had constructed herself as a practitioner of *ahmisa*. She was serene, pregnant and very much the Gaian mother; but during the game, she quickly used her weapons to eliminate all who resisted. On reflection, she could see that, in her day-to-day life, she had disowned her aggressive or warrior self. Having done so, instead of owning or asserting power – commanding power – she *demanded* power, and, when unable to do so, "killed" others. A gentle CEO, as well, quickly became a "killer" during the Sarkar Game. It was obvious on reflection that he was tired of always being the pleasant negotiator. He needed to learn warrior-like skills to become a better leader. Monks playing this game commented that they failed at the capitalist role because they did not spend the funds they had been given. They felt uneasy in the merchant role and thus did poorly. This alerted them to the skill development required, not in order to become capitalists, but to better understand money and the economy.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

For organisations, the Sarkar Game aids in exploring what aspects of leadership are weak or missing, and what aspects need to be nurtured and integrated. It offers an understanding of the dynamics of power. Most significantly, the Sarkar Game offers a way forward in changing history and the future.

The Sarkar Game thus allows not just for an understanding of the deep structures of power, but creates the possibility of new forms of leadership, of a transformation of history and self.

It leads to a number of insights. First, it helps individuals understand how patterns of power operate in organisations and society. Their own preferences can emerge, as well as what they have disowned. From this process, they can seek to integrate power types that are yet undeveloped. Second, it helps organisations to understood what aspects of power they are missing, what they have not fully developed. Third, it helps individuals and organisations to move toward a *sadvipra* and neo-humanistic space, creating a possible spiral from the cycle of history.

While it could be argued that this is just a "game" and that Sarkar's intent was to transform the future not just to role-play, my experience suggests that these two frames are not in contradiction. One can play and change, and change and play.

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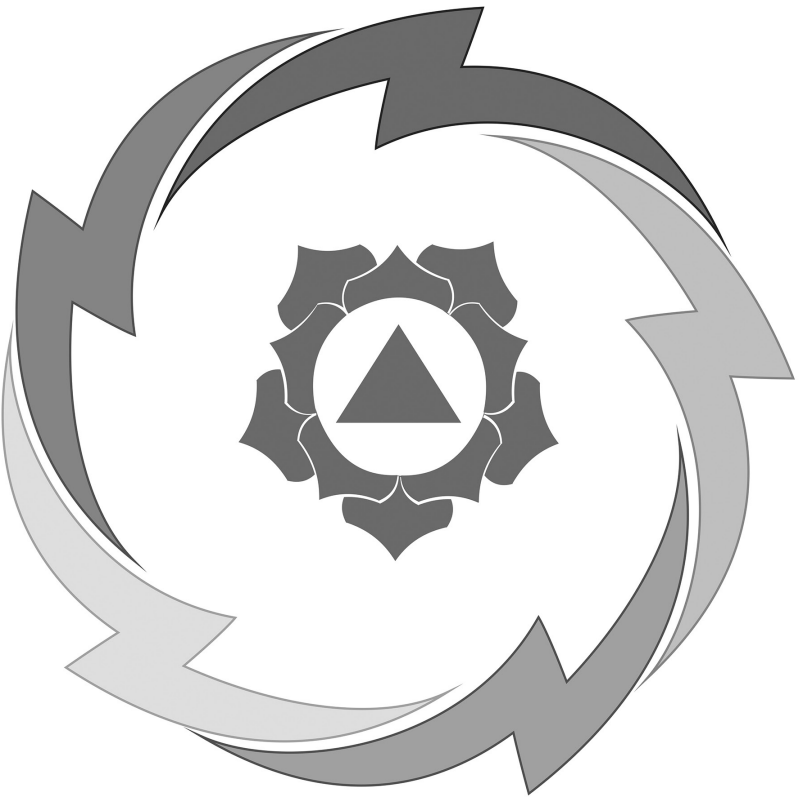

Beyond Geopolitics

FOUR
THE ARAB SPRING
What's next?

TRIGGER EVENTS

Whether catalysed by the self-immolation of Mohamed Abouzizi in Tunisia on 17 December, 2010, by the earlier Wikileaks cables describing Tunisia as run by a mafia-esque elite[1] or by the rap music of Hamada Ben Amor – known as El Général – the Middle East has, in the long-run, irrevocably changed, even if in the short-term citizens feel despair for opportunities lost. Dictators in Tunisia and Libya have been overthrown and the stage is set for potential deeper economic and cultural change or civil war. Bahrain's leadership continues to survive through mercenary violence, renting the armed forces of Saudi Arabia; Yemen has undergone a regime change, with Al Saleh stepping down, though now the nation is mired in a larger regional power struggle between Saudi Arabia and Iran; the Kuwaiti opposition demands elections, challenging the power of the ruling class. Syria remains in the midst of a bloody civil war that will likely lead to the removal of Bashar Al-Assad, although he continues to increase the political and economic cost of his removal, ensuring inter-generational trauma. Egypt is already in a second round of revolution as the spectre of the deep myth of the Pharaoh has returned with the military and the masses removing Mohamed Morsi, after earlier removing Hosni Mubarak. Morsi's removal has deepened the divide between the "liberal progressives" (the university) and the "traditionalists" (the mosque). The recent emergence of Daesh has challenged both.

The start of this change was in Iran, in 2010,* when the rule of Ali Khamenei appeared to be ending. But by using bullets and the fascism of the Revolutionary Guards, surveillance technologies provided by European corporations, and shutting down the internet, Khamenei prevailed. The Iranian spring, it appears will need to wait for many more winters. However, if macrohistorians Ibn Khaldun, Pitrim Sorokin[2] and P. R. Sarkar are correct, the rot has already set in, and Khamenei's successor will find it far more difficult to keep the young at bay. A pendulum swing is likely in progress, moving away from the religious right in Iran, and most likely leading to an integrated modern and ideational society, albeit with a uniquely Iranian face – that is, an alternative modernity.

But before we can speculate on alternative trajectories, we need to ask: what types of revolutionary changes are these? Using the tools given to us by macrohistorian, P. R. Sarkar, we analyse the nature of these revolutions and forecast possible futures.

LIBERTY

Citizens have commented that the nature of the new leadership is not crucial as long as the government is democratically elected. Says Egyptian student Khaled Kamel, "I don't care who ends up running the country, as long as I have the ability to change them if I don't like them."[3] The issue is not just electoral reform but the desire to influence the future, to recover personal agency.

What has been surprising is that the old narratives used by long time leaders, such as imperialism, re-colonisation and westernisation, have not stuck. While these were important to the post-WW2 generation, they are now considered tired excuses being used by ageing tyrants to stay in power. Conspiracy theories – the ever-powerful distant "foreign hand", – suddenly have no traction even though some leaders continue to spout them.

More swaying are the demands for liberty, freedom and autonomy – the

*Dada Krsnasevananda argues that the Arab spring began with the Cedar revolution in Lebanon in 2005. Email, 17 April, 2011.

ideals of the American revolution. A few decades ago it was a replica of the Statue of Liberty that stood tall in Tiananmen Square. The sacrifice of young people has been made possible by the new social media. Facebook, assert many young people in the Arab world, has made peaceful protest possible. Al-Jazeera, the Arab cable station, has been instrumental in making daily Arab politics more transparent. Governments are far less able to control not just the litany of news events, but the meanings people give to them. Social media has allowed the revolution to avoid a quick death, since regimes can no longer so easily target individual leaders for assassination. As with the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic by, among others, the youth group Otpor, by having no clear leadership, no specific person could be targeted. Social media have made what in the past took years of careful planning occur in weekends, accelerating the rate of change.

These have also been moral revolutions – fights against corruption and cronyism that have become entangled in Arab economies. Individuals have sought a better life. Globalisation via the internet has exposed young people in the Arab world to another world that is near but far. Possible, but not quite. This is the classic "revolution of rising expectations". And while Syria, Bahrain and Iran engage in the torture of protesters, they are unable to hide their actions. The world's eyes are on them.

Along with a new vision of the future, supportive technologies, dramatic individual sacrifice, there is demographic destiny. Writes social commentator Fareed Zakaria: "The central, underlying feature of the Middle-East's crisis is a massive youth bulge. About 60% of the region's population is under 30. These millions of young people have aspirations that need to be fulfilled, and the regimes in place right now show little ability to do so."[4]

The "Youth Quake" has led Iranian futurist Vahid Motlagh[5] to argue that the dam has burst. No amount of buttressing the old dam can stop the flow of water. With young people jobless, climate change affecting food prices,[6] the global financial crisis reducing the possibility of jobs overseas (and consequently of remittances sent home), and crony capitalism ensuring wealth is not spread, except through State handouts, something had to give.

The democratic impulse was not the only possibility. More cynical observers expected the young to migrate to Bin Laden; but the Arab spring has been Al-Qaeda's worst nightmare. Instead of an attack on the West and its technologies, the West is admired for its transparency. Hidden politics has reached its dead-end in the Arab world. Mass Islamic extremism has not eventuated; instead, young people want what everyone wants – health, education, housing, clean air and water, and the possibility of meaningful employment or income generation – a better life for their children; and traditional, closeted Arab governments have not been able to provide this future.

WHAT'S NEXT

While tyrants have been overthrown, many Arab leaders have decided to use force to quell the disturbances. A politics of fear has entered the great game, and the conspiring of nations against each other – Iran against Saudi Arabia; European values against Islam – returns as an overarching reading of events, and as a potential future. Others such as Daesh see the democratic opening as a movement not toward a new renaissance but as a way to position their fundamentalist politics, to challenge the nation-state through narrow religious readings of history and future.

In Sarkar's work, the Arab spring is a *vipran* – an intellectual, idea-based – revolution. Instead of the *vipran* religious revolution, this has been the *vipran* "Magna Carta revolution" with a focus on more rights for more people. Young people are inspired by the European enlightenment in reducing the power of the monarch – to begin with. Warrior power has stayed far too long; instead of protecting the weak it has become carnivorous, eating its own children. While it was important in the initial decolonisation process, it is now decrepit. The honour-clan warrior-based culture in the Middle East is nearing its end. However, what is unique in this phase of history is that there is a struggle within the *vipran*, those focused on religiosity and tradition and those focused more on inclusion and the rights of minorities – the mosque versus the university, to oversimplify.

While there is certainly a back and forth over which type of *vipran* leadership will become dominant, over time, under Sarkar's theory* the *vipran* will give way to the *vaeshyan*, to an economic revolution. However, given that these *vipran* revolutions are occurring in the global context of a world *vaeshyan* system, a world capitalist system, the social cycle will move rapidly. We can thus anticipate a flourishing of entrepreneurship in the Arab world. Whether these enterprises will use cooperative notions of economy from the Islamic paradigm or more competitive Western notions, it is too soon to tell. But we can anticipate, in this future, more civil society, more positive market reforms, more electoral democracy. Social media have created platforms for protest, the next phase, as in the African "silicon savannah", is to use the web (2.0, peer-to-peer and 3.0, wherein everything is a hyperlink) to create innovation and wealth.[7] For Maryam Jamshidi, this is a revolution of civil entrepreneurship,[8] linking citizenship with the economy.

Overtime, in an ideal scenario, all the social classes will transform† creating a global, simultaneous revolution of equity and aspiration, a better life for all – in a word, Prout – prosperity that does not harm others: a world economy in which basic needs are met and there are incentives to create innovation.‡

In the meantime, though, along with resistance from Arab rulers – the old men – we can expect a renaissance of art and culture, of music, and particularly hybrid forms of art – melding east and west.§ One of the inspiring figures of the Tunisian revolution has been the rapper El Général. He challenged the old story. Listen to his lyrics:

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* See Inayatullah, S. (2002). *Understanding Sarkar*. Leiden: Brill.

† This for Sarkar is the *sadvipra* transformation: individuals enhancing their leadership qualities through the ability to serve others, protect others, innovate and create economic value. See Dada Maheshvarananda. (2003). After Capitalism: Prout's vision of a new world. Washington, DC: Proutist Universal Publications. See as well, Taylor, G. (2008). Evolution's Edge: the coming collapse and transformation of our world. Gabriola Island, Canada: New Society Publishers.

‡ I am indebted to Dada Krsnasevananda for this term. Personal communication. March 9, 2011.

§ Sarkar placing the head of Renaissance University in Istanbul certainly seems, as ever, prescient.

"Mr President, your people are dying/People are eating rubbish/ Look at what is happening/Miseries everywhere, Mr. President/I talk with no fear/Although I know I will get only trouble/I see injustice everywhere."[9]

Now is the time to create the new story, before the system congeals again and change becomes difficult once again.

NEO-HUMANISM AS AN INTERVENTION

But taking a broader macro view, according to the Proutist perspective positive change will come. In addition to the idea of the social cycle, the natural evolutionary movement from worker (labour, chaotic power) to warrior (disciplined heroic power) to intellectual (ideational power, of religious and scientific types) to economic (innovation and accumulation) eras, Sarkar offers his theory of neo-humanism.[10]

In this approach, a revolution can have a greater degree of longer lasting success, meeting deeper and broader needs, if it moves from egoic to familial to religious to national to humanistic and then to neo-humanistic sentiments. For the Arab revolutions to endure in the long-run, they must not revert from their nation-state sentiments to older ethnic (clan-based) and religious divisions (Sunni versus Shia) nor can they even stay confined to the national level; they must move to a global and planetary level – not just a revolution *against* tyranny but a revolution *for* Gaia, for the planet. This is longer term and more subtle, a revolution of the spirit. Certainly the new social media technologies make such a change possible by globalising the self, but more than technology is required – a broadening of the mind. Merely adding more information to one's database is not enough; the "hard drive" must be expanded. Old pathways in the brain need to be reconstructed and new paths that bring light to the parts of the brain related to compassion need to be opened up. This involves daily meditative practice, an inner revolution.

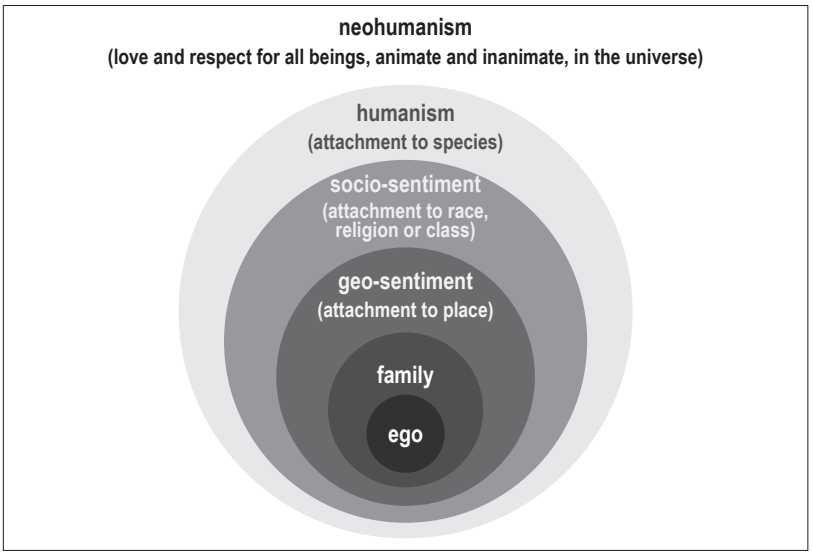

Figure 1. Neo-humanism

If a neo-humanistic approach does not develop, then we anticipate the maintenance of the current Iranian model: freedom dramatically curtailed and the use of foreign threats and the infamous fifth column by the rulers to hold onto their power. Spirituality descends to religion, used by the *vipra*s as a weapon to stay in political control. After all, the current defining narrative is that of the Arab "spring". Spring turns to summer, then to autumn and then winter returns. There is no progress, only the endless cycle of nature, of the battle between good and evil. As one possible future of Syria, writes commentator Rania Abouzeid from Aleppo:

> Syrians in the opposition, whether armed or not, have often said that there may be a revolution after the revolution to unseat Assad. The fault lines differ depending on whom you talk to. Some envision a fight between Islamist and secular rebels; others between defectors and armed civilians; some say it will be ethnic, between Kurds and Arabs; others simply territorial, between rebel commanders in a particular territory, irrespective of ideology… Somalias in every province.[11]

ECONOMIC CHANGE OR DEEPER TRANSFORMATION?

Another future – and reading of the Arab spring – is the Philippine People Power Revolution of 1986. While Ferdinand Marcos is long gone, the crony capitalism he engineered on the foundation of feudalism has not been dismantled. The person was removed, but economic mismanagement and the deep culture ("bow down to the Great Man") remained. The next phases of the revolution in the Arab world must thus move from a desire to end tyranny to an inner and outer renaissance of culture. More so, new economic organisations need to be created.[12] These can be agencies that lend money to Arab young people, that engage in regional infrastructure development, vocational education, microcredit loans, and that reduce the size of the defence forces and, over time, move towards regional economic cooperation. While external investment is welcome, the cooperative structure is the wisest. Traditional clan-based society already excels at emotional intelligence, thus making cooperatives likely to succeed. Cooperatives would enhance wealth and ensure that it is shared, that money keeps on rolling instead of being stuck with the few, unable to catalyse wealth creation. Cooperatives would also protect against the worst effects of external crises. Without an economic revolution, political freedom may simply lead to underdevelopment as in some Eastern European countries, which threw off the chokehold of communism only to find their communities becoming increasingly impoverished.

Prior to entering the *Vaeshyan* era, if the Arab world can move to a neo-humanistic approach or at least soften the divisions of nations, ethnicities and religious fundamentalism, then it will have a major competitive advantage, because social inclusion leads to higher productivity. In this potential ideational renaissance, the goal must be economic experimentation and institutional innovation, using the new technologies to create alternative models of wealth generation.

But none of this will be possible without gender equity. Women played a pivotal role in the Arab spring. Unfortunately, writes Carla Power, women have now been told to "go home".[13] For Sarkar, a

bird cannot fly without two wings, nor can a revolution. As gender cooperation and equity is enhanced – through cultural and political opportunities – productivity will increase: more jobs, more wealth and more freedom of movement. The pervasive tyranny of the Arab world has been patriarchy. While we are far from ending that deep civilisational code, the next steps will not occur without women and men both playing major roles.*

But will real-politics – the great game (Iran versus Saudi Arabia, the role of Israel, not to mention Turkey and the Great Powers, in particular, Russia) – intervene, making idealism a zero-sum position? Can the negative sides of globalisation – corporate irresponsibility and the race to the bottom – be challenged through the recognition of a quadruple bottom line: prosperity plus environment plus social inclusion plus spirituality?†

In this future, real politics, while ever-present, exists in the context of other forms of power: the smart and soft power of the intellectuals; the disruptive and innovative power of the young and of social entrepreneurs; and the guiding power of those with a spiritual ethical approach to life. Real politics is bracketed by idealism, by the desired vision of the regional future.

The move to economic democracy, not just political democracy, is likely to lead to dramatic economic productivity in the Arab world. In this future, the youth quake that is occurring there will unleash energies that will spread neo-humanism and lead to an eventual system in which prosperity is not just for the few but for all. In terms of macrohistory, this is "the spiral", using tradition critically – borrowing from Islamic and other religions of the Arab world – but transforming it, creating an alternative modernity, or the trans-modern.

* For frameworks that are possible within the Islamic paradigm, see the works of the late Fatima Mernissi.

† See Inayatullah, S. (2005). Spirituality and the future bottom line?. *Futures, 27*, 573-579.

GALLOPING TIME, EXPONENTIAL INFLUENCE

Which future will result, we cannot know; we are in a period of flux, of bifurcation, with a number of possibilities, similar in many ways to the French Revolution, where time was plastic and all powers and classes were challenged.[14] Even as the weight of history holds back transformation, the aspirations to greater freedom and expansion are there. The pull of the future beckons and the drivers are favourable.

Sarkar commented that we have entered an era when time no longer moves like a slow cart but rather gallops,[15] and each action does not lead to mere linear consequences but to exponential impacts. History is being made. The societies of the Middle East and North Africa, let us hope, will never be the same. Many of these nations already guarantee basic minimum necessities, but often only for the ruling clan, the rulers' group. Regime change means a loss of income for some and a gain for others, thus the fight to the death to remain in power. Further, the treatment of foreign workers remains feudal. Over time, let us hope that the youth quake that is occurring there will unleash energies that will spread neo-humanism and lead to an eventual system where prosperity is not just for the few but for all.

As El Général says in his "Ode to Arab Revolution": "Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Morocco, all must be liberated/Long live Free Tunisia."[16] Or, as the Prout approach would say: Long live a free planet.

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FIVE

AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF THE FUTURES OF SOUTH ASIA

Steps to a Confederation

While we are all aware of the reasons why we do not have peace in South Asia, there is a paucity of explorations of how to create a better future in that region. The lack of peace, defined as individual peace (inner contentment), social-psychological peace (how we see the Other), structural peace (issues of justice, particularly territorial justice) and epistemological peace (toward a plurality of ways of knowing), is among the major factors contributing to poverty in South Asia. Government expenditure in each nation, especially India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, go to military purposes and not to education or health. Every time a positive economic cycle begins, yet one more confrontation sends military expenditures higher. Only military leaders – and a few corporations (mostly foreign) – benefit from this escalation. Indeed, the entire system is now war-based, from the military-industrial complex to the worldview of citizens and leaders.

LACK OF VISIONS

Part of the reason for this vicious cycle of confrontation and poverty is that South Asia has been unable to move outside of colonial and partition (or liberation) narratives. Conceptual travel outside of British influence is difficult, and cultural, economic, military and psychological colonialism and categories of thought remain in South Asian internal structures and representations of the self.

Intellectuals in South Asia also do not help matters, in fact we are often part of the problem. Focused on historical investigations and

mired in feudal social relations, academic discourse in general, and discourse on the future in particular, has become fugitive and, when apprehended, made trivial. This is largely because of the style, content and structure of South Asian intellectual/State relations. By and large, appeasing the chief minister (as evidenced by the centre stage taken by the minister at book launches and public lectures) is far more important to the civil service than independent intellectual inquiry. It is the State that gives academic discourse legitimacy, since it is the State that has captured civil society. The paucity of economic, social and political resources for the Academy exacerbates, if it does not cause, this situation. The social sciences remain undeveloped.

NATION, STATE AND REAL-POLITICS

Colonial history has produced an overarching paradigm to which even the interpreters of the hadith and Vedanta must relinquish their authority. This is the neo-realist model of international relations and national development. Caught in a battle of ego expansion, of self-interest, nations function as self-interested individuals. Economic development can only take place at the national level, with communities absent from participation, thus making peace at the local level impossible. Security is defined in terms of safety from the neighbouring aggressor nation, not in terms of local access to water, technology and justice. Only real politics, with hidden motives behind every actor and action, makes sense in this neo-realist discourse. The task then for theorists is to explain the actions of a given nation or of the functionaries of the State. Envisioning other possibilities for "nations" or "states" and their interrelationships, that is, the assumptions that are considered to define what is eligible for academic discourse, remains unattempted, thus the absence of communities, non-governmental organisations, class and other transnational categories, such as gender, from the realm of importance. Moreover, structural analysis such as centre/periphery theory (a step beyond conspiracy theory) is intelligible, but only with respect to the West, not with respect to structures internal to South Asia. Finally, visions of the future, attempts to reinvent the paradigm of international relations, strategic studies and development theory through women's

studies, world system research, historical social change analysis, peace studies, participatory action research or the social movements are considered to be naïve and too idealistic. Worse, it is believed that this naïveté and idealism threatens security on the home front; thus it is fine if class and gender are issues that challenge mainstream politics in the neighbouring nation, just not in "our perfect country". What results is at best static peace – that is, the diplomatic accommodation of official differences and not what P. R. Sarkar calls "sentient peace", or the creation of a mutual ecology of destiny based on shared moral principles.

However, even with the dominance of real-politics, idealism still exists but, in the quest for modernity, it has been marginalised. Visions remain limited to evening prayer or meditation (for personal peace), but these practices have no place in politics or in structural peace except at the level of the State, which uses religious practices to buttress its own power and its control of competing classes; that is, it appropriates vision into its own strategic discourse.

Again, the dominance of neo-realism and the loss of mutual trust can be explained by many variables. The most important of these is the event of partition – the alleged break from colonialism – that has dominated intellectual efforts. With more than a generation of mistrust, hate and fear, creating alternative futures not dominated by the partition discourse is indeed challenging. The disappointment of post-colonial society has weighed heavy on the South Asian psyche – betrayals by leaders and calls for more sacrifices from the people for yet another promised plan is unlikely to lessen the weight of the past or to transcend the abyss of the present. The future that we have arrived at is not the final destination for South Asia, it is a dystopia. As Faiz has written: "The time for the liberation of heart and mind has not come yet. Continue your arduous journey. This is not your destination."[1]

POSSIBLE STRATEGIES

Given this history, what are some possible strategies outside of the

partition and nation-state discourse, and how can social and other movements desirous of a different future help in these strategies, in creating new visions and realities for South Asia?

The short-run strategy for social movements would be to attempt to encourage peaceful citizen-to-citizen meetings between Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, Pakistanis and Indians (and, of course the multiplicity within these nations). Their effort in creating links between intellectuals, writers and artists across national boundaries would be critical to this strategy. Unfortunately, South Asian intellectuals are often beholden to the bureaucracy. Rarely are they independent. Moreover, intellectuals tend, in general, to adopt nationalistic lines, seeing history only from a nationalistic perspective, thinking that the other nation's history is propaganda and that one's own nation's historiography is the real objective truth. This propensity has worsened in recent times with the rise of the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) in India and of rightist Islamic parties.

Intellectuals who have left the "homeland" for the West are not immune to this intellectual cancer. While South Asians may unite in critique of the West, when it comes to the home front they remain attached to nation. Religion, as well, has increasingly become a weapon of identity, used not to create a higher level of consciousness but to create distance from the other. In this sense, the neo-humanist paradigm has yet to emerge. Instead, identity is based on sentiments about geography, nationality and religion.

The continued war in Afghanistan (and in the Middle East) has further hardened identity, forcing individuals to be either (especially in Pakistan) strict Muslims or Western-oriented. Layered identity, that is, the idea that we are primarily human beings and secondarily national citizens or members of a particular religion, is more difficult to achieve. Indeed, neo-humanism should not be seen solely as a theory but as a practice. We must live day to day through neo-humanism, asking ourselves how, in our conversations, our views, our teaching of children, we can refashion historical identities, or help create inclusive identities.

Nonetheless, it is vital that we find ways to encourage citizen-to-citizen interaction through sport, art, music and literature, to begin with. To do this, of course, there needs to be travel between the various South Asian nations, but given the intervention of each nation in the Other (Pakistan in India, India in Sri Lanka), and given secession movements in each country, suspicion is natural and travel difficult. Normalisation of borders appears to be unlikely while the nation-state is under threat, especially as violence has become routine in local and national politics.

One way out of this situation is to begin to focus on ideal futures instead of dis-unifying pasts; that is, instead of asking who actually attacked whom, or whether should Kashmir be a part of Pakistan or of India or independent, we need to practice compassion and forgiveness towards the Other, to stop seeing the gaining of territory as central to the national and personal ego. What is needed are meetings among artists, intellectuals, and even bureaucrats to stress areas and points of unity – Sufis who are Hindu, yogis who are Sufi, for example. We need to remember stories of how difference has led to mutual benefit, to glorify how intimacy with the other can create sources of cultural vitality. The usefulness in this citizen-to-citizen contact is that it will build amity among people who feel the other is distant, who fear the Other. While citizen-to-citizen contact did not markedly change the policies of the US or the Soviet Union towards one another, it did generate peace forces in each nation, and these created dissension when the governments insisted on arguing that the other nation was the evil empire. Ideally citizen-to-citizen contact will develop into contact between non-governmental organisations that are committed to the same ideals, for example: serving the poor, empowering women, caring for the environment.

The nuclear tests in Pakistan and India have led to numerous interactions between Indians and Pakistanis, largely through the medium of the internet – for example, a dynamic, loose association called South Asians Against Nukes (SAAN) has taken off. It intends to lobby governments in both countries to take steps to develop dialogues of peace, of shared futures, as well as to set in place fail safe measures to avoid nuclear accidents and provocation by nationalists

on all sides.

But most important are not specific issues but the hope that such NGOs as SAAN (or SABI, the South Asia Bridge Initiative) and many others may be able to strengthen civil society in each nation thus putting pressure on politicians to choose more rational strategies, strategies that place humans and the environment above geo-sentiments and geo-politics. Currently the politician who wants to negotiate with the leaders of the other nation is forced to take hard-line, aggressive positions ("we will never give up Kashmir") lest he or she lose power to the Opposition. By having an ecological, transnational peace movement pressuring each nation's leaders these leaders will have more room to negotiate and pursue policies that are to the collective good and security of the region.

Of course, NGOs can also distort local civil society, as they are financed by external sources. Trade associations, professional groups and other forms of community need to be activated along neo-humanist lines as well.

While it would be ideal to reduce the likelihood of local leaders pursuing aggressive/nationalistic strategies positive change, paradoxically enough, will most likely come from the globalising forces of privatisation. Irrespective of how privatisation harms labour and small business, it does create a wave of faith in the emerging bourgeoisie who, in their search for profits, are transnational. The rationale ceases to be the nation and becomes profit. Profit motivation might begin to increase trade and commercial contacts between the various nations of South Asia. Mobility, the free flow of people, products and communication across borders is the key to the expansion of capital. Historical feuds only limit its accumulation, they cannot prevent it entirely. For South Asia, unless there are increased economic ties, the capital that accumulates because of privatisation will largely go to overseas destinations, Tokyo and New York. Beginning the process of developing a South Asian economic zone, even if it is created by people and groups which have little concern for the environment and for social justice, in the long-run will help create more peaceful futures for the region. At the level of the individual,

businessmen and women who make deals will have to face each other, will have to see that they have common interests. Moreover, they are less likely to be branded as spies by opportunistic political leaders since businesses can always claim they are only working for national productivity. Of course, creating economic and cultural vitality through social/people's movements, particularly transnational cooperative movements, or increasing the rights of labour throughout South Asia is even more important; it is creating a more fair society, not the rise of the bourgeoisie that is crucial.

In the meantime, labour, unfortunately, has far less mobility than does capital. Labour leaders who are transnational will certainly be branded as unpatriotic, in fact, in contrast to business leaders, labour leaders will be seen as spies who are attempting to stifle national growth. Arguing for local economic democracy by contesting the power of the federal bureaucracy and of outside economic interests will also not leave social movements beholden to the power of government and capital. Indeed, decentralisation will be misconstrued as secessionism in some cases.

However, we can hope, at the regional level, that as the Other becomes less distant, or because of the pressure of external forces, that a time when national policy leaders meet to create a South Asian confederation of sorts will be conceivable. To develop such an expanded South Asian trade association or confederation, there needs to be agreement or negotiation in the following areas:

1. Water regulations. The problems here are associated with the use of water for the short term instead of the long term, for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. Should water, then, become a joint resource?

2. Human rights. The problems in reaching agreement in this area should be obvious, since each stakeholder will claim that the others violate human rights while its own record is perfect. Action from global human rights organisations can help to exert pressure at the local level. Any human rights regime will need to focus not just on individual rights

but on the right to purchasing power. Rights to religious freedom and language will also have to be central. We must remember that the debate on human rights in Asia is about expanding the Western notion of liberal individual rights to include economic rights and collective rights. It is not about the restriction of rights but their augmentation.

3. Nuclear non-proliferation. This is problematic since India believes that it has to fear China as well as Pakistan. China sees itself as a global power and thus will not be party to any nuclear agreement, especially given the inequitable structure of the present global nuclear and arms regimes. However, nuclear proliferation promises, as with the USA-USSR case, to bankrupt first one nation and then the other – Pakistan is already on the verge of financial calamity. Given the lack of safety of nuclear installations, it might take a meltdown before some agreement is reached. Pakistan's leaders believe that it must have a dramatic deterrent since on the basis that most Indians have yet to truly accept partition, independence. Indeed, Indians generally see Pakistanis as double traitors, first for having converted from Hinduism to Islam and second for having carved Pakistan from India.

4. UN peacekeeping forces in troubled areas. This step, while impinging on national sovereignty, could ease tensions throughout South Asia. For one, it recognises that there is a crisis that the leaders of each nation, particularly Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and India, have failed to resolve. Will we see blue helmets throughout South Asia in the near future? However, peacekeeping should not be restricted to armed officers but rather should include community builders – therapists and healers.

5. Regional conferences at the Cabinet level. While governments often obscure truth, more meetings might begin a thawing process and yet, unfortunately, if not properly structured, they might further reinscribe half-truths and vicious stereotypes of the Other. Still, meetings

on specific points where there is a high probability of agreement are a great place to begin: start slow, reach agreement, and build from there.

6. Regional conferences of NGOs (environmental groups, feminist groups, peace movement, universal spiritual groups, artists, human rights activists). This is perhaps most important as it helps to build relationships among like-minded individuals who are tired of the merely symbolic efforts of their own governments, who crave a different South Asia.

While all of these steps begin the process, the long-run strategy would be to encourage a rethinking of identity and an alternative economic and political structure.

LONG TERM STEPS

In the long term, the following changes are needed:

1. Denationalise self, economy and identity. This is the larger project of decoupling the idea of the nation, whether India or Pakistan, from our mental landscapes and replacing it with a more local – community – regional, and global concept; that of the planet itself.

2. Essentially this means a rewriting of textbooks in South Asia. Moving away from the neo-realist, real-politics paradigm and toward the neo-humanist educational perspective; rewriting history as well as rethinking the future.

3. Create people's movements centred on bioregions and linguistic and cultural zones; that is, begin the process of rethinking the boundaries of South Asia along lines other than those that were hammered out by Indian political parties and the British in the mid-20th Century. This is Sarkar's notion of *samaj* movements.[2]

4. Encourage self-reliance and localism in each zone through

cooperatives. While trade between nations and the economic zones is central, it should not be done at the expense of local economies. This is not to say that poor quality products should be encouraged, rather that between non-essential items there should be competition. The State should not give preferential treatment to a few businesses at the expense of others.

5. Barter trade between zones is one way to stop inflation. In addition, it leads to a productive cycle between zones, especially helping poorer zones to increase in wealth.

6. Promote the universal dimensions of the many religions and cultures of the region. While this is much easier said than done, if achieved it would mean that individuals had freedom of conscience and expression with the role of the State being to ensure non-interference from local, national and regional leaders who desire to use religion and its strong emotive content to garner support.

7. Develop legal structures that can ensure respect for the rights of women, children, the aged and the environment. The last is especially important given that environmental issues are frequently transnational. Indeed, the disastrous climatic after effects of the Fukushima nuclear disaster shows that the environment is a genuinely global rights issue. Eventually, while this is a long way off, we need to consider the creation of an Asian Court of Justice.

8. Transparency. Government decisions need to be deliberated upon and made openly. Ideally meetings should be televised and streamed on the internet. Promises made by politicians need to become legal documents so that citizen groups can bring litigation against corruption and misinformation. The same level of transparency should be expected of corporations and NGOs.

What this means is that we need visions of the future of South Asia that are based on the possibility of dynamic peaceful coexistence –

what Sarkar called *prama*.[3] The task, while seemingly impossible, must begin with a few small steps; Indians and Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans, Nepalese and Bhutanese and other historically-constructed groups in South Asia finding ways to realise some unity amongst differences.

The challenge is to use local categories but outside traditional frames, to move, in other words, through the traditional and the modern to the trans-modern.

Certainly with the day-to-day violence throughout South Asia, whether Gujarat or Kashmir, it is difficult to imagine a better future. But by staying within current identities and politics, we doom future generations to poverty.

Future generations will remember that there were those that did not accede to narrow sentiments, that kept alive the idea of South Asia as an historical civilisation, and created regional peace and prosperity.

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SIX

FUSION AND INNOVATION OR COPY-CAT AND SNAKES & LADDERS

Alternative scenarios for Asia

ASIAN FUSIONS

Is a new Asia emerging? Growth rates are important. Even with the European debt crisis, long-term expansion is expected to continue and foreign reserves (over US$6 trillion for East Asia alone) continue to accumulate. Equally significant are changing frames of reference: the rise of China and India [1] or Chindia. In 1990, bilateral trade between India and China was just $US270 million; by the end of 2012 it had reached $US66 billion.[21] And it is not just the trade that is significant but the fact that the US dollar is no longer the sole intermediary currency. For instance, as one sign of the coming future, the Bank of India is offering direct settlement between the Rupee and the Yuan.[3] With China and India likely to have the first and third largest GDPs by 2050,[4] the political, economic and cultural shape of the world will certainly be dramatically different. While the economic trajectories are clear, the question remains: will Asia be transformed as well, creating a unique alternative modernity?

A new fusion Asia – traditional but far flatter than Confucian (or Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist) hierarchy – may be possible. This Asia would continue to learn from others, but instead of only copying, innovation, even creative destruction, would lay the path forward. Instead of relying on traditional "dirty" energy sources, Asia in this future explores, invests in and invents newer clean, green and glocal technologies. With over US$35 trillion in assets at risk from climate

change, a great deal is at stake.[5] But solving challenges such as global warming and sea level rise requires a foundational change in culture and creativity. Prior to changing energy regimes, mind regimes have to shift. We can see hints of this in South Korea, where there is already heavy investment in the creative industries – connectivity through the eyes of the artist, not just of the corporate executive or the appropriate Minister.[6] They have rightly understood that there is a direct correlation between culture, creativity and economic growth, what has been called by commentators the "Gross National Cool"[7] and the "Dream Society".[8] And with South Korea having quickly moved up, nearly to the top of the ladder of new patents[9] – joining the USA and Japan – new futures are indeed possible. More recently, and not surprisingly, China leads the world in patent filings.[10] Asia may be able to innovate by using tradition, being not weighed down by history, but uplifted by the past. Having noted that the USA and Europe do not have answers to the global financial crisis, South Korea, and other nations, seek to imagine a new future that is no longer solely based on "catching up" to the West.

Along with green investments and cultural change is the primacy of education. Learning, in the sense of capacity building, is the key component in the transformation of Asia. Education and culture in Asia[11] can become the new growth engine, joining manufacturing and high-tech industries. Yoga is already a $27 billion industry in the USA.* The rediscovery of Asian thought (in its all its varieties) in almost every field – biotech, management, mind/body, transpersonal health, IT – provides renewed confidence. It is thus in tradition, critically reconstructed, that the future of Asia lies. Meditation, yoga, tai-chi, feng shui, Jain paradoxical logic, future generations thinking: all are part of achieving a sustainable and transformed Asia and planet.

Yoga is now not only linked to enhanced wellbeing but to productivity: Yoganomics.† For example, in a recent study using

* See: Wild, R. Yoga, Inc. Retrieved 22 June 2014 from http://www.yogajournal.com/views/769_1.cfm

† Thanks to the film maker Abe Heisler for this term.

magnetic resonance spectroscopic imaging (MRSI), regular Yoga practitioners exhibited higher levels of the amino acid GABA, which is linked to a reduction in anxiety.[12] Meditation, too, can lead to dramatic reductions in health costs; indeed extensive scientific studies tell us that regular meditators experience 87% less heart disease, 55.4% fewer tumours, 50.2% less hospitalisation, 30.6% fewer mental disorders, and 30.4% fewer infectious diseases.[13] If citizens were willing to meditate on a regular basis the potential cost savings are enormous.*

Researchers have found that meditation can alter the physical structure of the brain, leading to increased density in the parts of the brain that deal with attention and processing sensory input.[14] MRI scans of experienced meditators show increased activity in the temporal parietal juncture, particularly the right hemisphere; an area linked to processing empathy. There also appears to be a direct relationship between the practice of meditation and the demonstration of compassion. Research published in *Public Library of Science One* suggests that individuals – from children who may engage in bullying to people prone to recurring depression – and society in general could benefit from such meditative practices, according to study director Richard Davidson, Professor of psychiatry at UW-Madison.[15] Indeed, recent studies suggest that regular meditation changes gene expression: "Altered levels of gene-regulating machinery and reduced levels of pro-inflammatory genes, which in turn correlated with faster physical recovery from a stressful situation. "[16] In India, meditation has been used successfully in prisons, decreasing prison violence[17] and recidivism.[18] In the USA, Ananda Marga yoga and meditation in prisons has reduced recidivism, drug use, drug and alcohol-related consequences, depression and hostility.[19]

As important as inner changes are external changes, such as micro-credit. Grameen Bank's micro-lending program was a dramatic

* Related to this is the potential savings in resources for hospitals. In one study, those who practiced relaxation response techniques used health care services 43% less frequently. See Puiu, T. (2015). Mindfulness techniques reduced the need for health care services by 43%. Retrieved 7 January 2015. http://www.zmescience.com/medicine/meditation-relaxation-less-health-care-04234/

innovation and yet at the root of it was a deep understanding of community, the local village economy, and Muhammad Yunus' realisation that the dignity of the poor and their desire for a better material life were both necessary factors for change.

In this future, along with changes in inner health and community economic power, green cities and buildings would become the norm, enhancing productivity and reducing illness. Health innovation would emerge from using the best from all medical traditions, Western to Chinese to Ayurvedic, and always with the patient at the centre.

DIVIDED ASIAS

The "Asia Fusion" scenario, however, disowns geopolitics – hard state power. An alternative scenario – the "great game" of statecraft – is the "Divided Asia" future. In this future, conflicts between the two Koreas, between China and Japan, China and Taiwan, India and Pakistan, to mention the most crucial fault lines, will continue, if not expand. China's moves to control naval routes in the Asia-Pacific suggest the rise of hard realist politics.

Internally, for many states, it is the military and bureaucracy that continue to dominate. They suck up resources and capacity, leaving the markets a wasteland. It is red tape that rules not green tape – the latter being regulation that creates innovation. Entrepreneurial spirit dries up and the best leave for the West. To keep national coherence the Other of the West is used. Take away this bogey man and the likely future becomes endless conflicts between the many Asias. In this future, the deeper problems – the geopolitical and ethnic fault lines, the traumas of the past – facing Asia (s) keep the region from realising its cultural and economic potential.

CONFEDERATION OF ASIA

A way forward is likely not just bilateral cooperation but a full move to a confederation of Asia, an Asian Union. Aspects of the European model may be instructive. First, find a core group of nations and

develop regionalism, and then, as rules (trade, standards, energy and water regimes) begin to yield positive results, invite other nations. And if an Asian currency develops, the European experience is a cautionary tale – fiscal discipline is required!

Of course this will be difficult, if not impossible, but the "Divided Asia" scenario leading to endless wars is far worse, and an Asian Union or some similar sort of governance structure may be a way forward for Taiwan, Tibet, Kashmir.

ASIA AS SECOND BEST – THE COPY-CAT FUTURE

While an Asian Union will certainly resolve the inability of the nation-state to deal with global and regional territorial, financial, health and environmental conflicts, Asia still needs to rid itself of the used and often discarded future of the West – the big city, endless growth future. If it is unable to do so, then bigger buildings, endless shopping malls, obesity, and the attendant problems of pollution, congestion (billion dollar problems), and water shortages will continue. The used future of "Asia as second best, as copy-cat," will continue. With more and more evidence demonstrating that car exhaust and the other effects of suburbanisation are bad for your heart, for your breathing and for your immune system generally, something has to give.[20]

It is thus not sustainability that captures the Asian imagination but endless growth and the resultant "slumisation" of Asia. But the cost of that growth is a population that is getting fatter and sicker. For example, China and India already represent 15% (around 315 million) of the world's obese population.[21] In India, the share of deaths from chronic disease is expected to increase from 40% in 1990 to 67% in 2020, and spending on cardiac-related treatments is expected to grow annually by 13%."[22] Even today "India has the largest and fastest-growing diabetic population in the world, and obesity is believed to be one of the causes. The number of diabetes sufferers in India has grown tenfold since 1971."[23]

And far worse than obesity is the number one killer of Asia's future: smoking and tobacco-related illnesses. The World Health

Organization has estimated that one billion people will die this century from smoking-related illnesses[24] – making it the most effective weapon of mass destruction ever invented. Most of these will be Chinese, Indian (and Africans). Three-quarters of Chinese men are smokers, and studies predict that one third of young Chinese men will be killed by smoking-related illnesses such as tuberculosis, emphysema, heart disease and lung, stomach and liver cancers. And the system does not support change: 10% of national revenues come from tobacco-related taxes.[25] That said, the cost to the health system in the next decades will be enormous. Not only will the public system be strained, but the Asian "family health system" will not have enough young people to care for seriously ill elders. Worse, in China, 66% of people do not believe that smoking can cause any harm.[26]

SNAKES AND LADDERS

The problems likely to beset Asia may lead to a fall. After all, the demographic dividend – many economically active adults with fewer young and elderly people – will not go up forever; indeed, it has now nearly ended, with the ageing society beginning to emerge. The dependency ratio, which has been low in China and other parts of Asia, is now reversing.[27] By 2025, 300 million Chinese will be 65 or older and, by 2020, instead of the earlier seven, there will be two workers for every retiree.[28] By 2029, for the first time in China's history, the elderly population will exceed the child population.[29]

As the problems of patriarchy (men first), environment (growth first), and feudalism (the big man first) have not been resolved, the snake is next – the slippery road back to poverty.

STRATEGIES AND NEXT STEPS

For Asia to avoid the Divided worst case scenario and move towards the Fusion transformational future, the following suggestions, drawn from Sarkar's theory of progressive utilisation, will be pivotal:

1. Design cities that are green, that create community, that are

soft on the earth, that recycle at every level and, even as they grow financially, retain equity.[30]

2. Move towards resource taxes in order to promote sustainability. This means making the transition to sustainable energy regimes and becoming carbon neutral.

3. Develop a dynamic maxi-mini wage structure, so that all benefit as Asia rises.

4. Transform bureaucracy from red tape to green tape – rules that help innovation. To do this, good governance is required – transparency, fairness and the legitimacy of institutions, especially an independent Judiciary.

5. At the institutional level, new Asian financial and energy agencies need to be created. Asian nations and communities need far more representation in current global institutions.

6. New forms of governance are required. Crucial elements include deep democracy[31] (not just voting, but using new technologies to bring more inclusiveness to decision-making) and civil liberties and rights (including economic rights) – essentially moving towards the peer-to-peer model of governance and economy.[32]

7. Move towards increasing cooperative enterprises of all sorts (academic co-ops, food co-ops, for example).

8. Globalising but enhancing local and regional economies to protect local food, bio- and cultural diversity – glocalisation.

9. Integrate consciousness technologies into education – meditation and yoga for primary and secondary schools, in government, and certainly in business.

10. Heal the wounds of past genocides – focus on desired futures, not on who was right or wrong – Transcend[33] peace solutions, as in South Africa.

11. Create reflective learning in universities and in organisational culture, not just efficiency but learning about learning.

12. Create free trade zones for consumable commodities, and as regionalization and digital technologies continue to shrink distances, create a united Asian trade zone.

13. Create gender partnerships – women and men working together.

Without this last point, nothing will be possible.

If change can move in this direction then an alternative Asia is possible. 2032 may look wonderful indeed – financially, ecologically, socially and spiritually. Asia will have made the transition.

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SEVEN

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN ASIA 2030

A Proutist Perspective

"Democratic governance will thrive in Asia, once Asian narratives – myths and metaphors – are used to provide support and give meaning to it."

"Democratic governance in 2030 will be radically different from how we see it today. We need new lenses to see the future."

"Democratic governance will keep on changing as new technologies, demographic shifts and geopolitical transitions challenge reality – prepare for flux!"

Organised by Oxfam, Chulalongkorn University (Thailand) and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (Singapore), with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, these and other perspectives were suggested at a two-day forum in Bangkok on Visions of Democratic Governance in Asia 2030. While there were certainly key influence-makers from around Asia – a minister from Pakistan, leading civil society figures from Thailand and Cambodia, intellectuals from India and Singapore, the meeting in itself was not a typical conference full of long speeches and irrelevant questions; rather it was an interactive workshop that used methods and tools from the field of Futures Studies to explore how democracy mighty look in 2030 and how those visions might be realised. A variety of methods and tools, such as the futures triangle, scenario planning, causal layered analysis and

backcasting, were used, and the process was in itself democratic – participants worked and voted on the futures they wished to see.

And what did they wish?

FIVE VISIONS OF THE FUTURE

Five powerful visions of the future emerged. The vision of the first group was titled 'Contribution, Inclusion and Empowerment'. By this the participants meant that citizens needed to contribute to governance, that everyone needed to be included, and that, by doing so, empowerment would emerge. But this was not empowerment, in the sense of power over others; rather, it was empowerment that contributed to everyone's lot. The core metaphor for this group was "the ant" – a small but powerful creature that understands the empowerment born from working together. Ants work as a cohesive unit and are able to achieve so much more in this way than they would as individuals. Understanding that any true democracy requires participation, this group rallied around the ideas of bringing more people to the forefront of democratic governance and giving them a meaningful way to participate. This was a vision of less government and more participatory governance – government as facilitator and guide rather than government as teacher or parent.

The second group took inclusion even more seriously. They argued that to have better democratic governance by 2030, a set of indicators would need to focus on social inclusion. Indices to measure how nations and/or cities include the voices and perspectives of their citizens would need to be created. These indices would also offer awards to those who demonstrated institutional practices that enhanced inclusion. In the dystopian scenario that this group explored in counter-valence to their preferred future, the current lack of inclusion in politics could lead to a future in which a charismatic leader with extreme viewpoints rallied the masses who have for far too long felt excluded and marginalised.

The third group agreed that there should be inclusion, but wished to factor in the reality of the environment. There could be no democratic

governance if nature was not a part of it, and ultimately built into society. This meant nature at every level – green design for cities, green design for buildings – indeed, nature could not be an externality, but had to be internalised and accounted for. Green democracy was their vision of the future. They imagined Green political parties rising up throughout Asia. This was logical as Asian development had, while creating a middle class, been "cement"-heavy; nature had been pushed away. As more and more research has demonstrated that productivity is enhanced in green buildings, and the immune systems of individuals are strengthened when the forest enters the city, democratic governance in 2030 rests on the platform of green politics – gender equity, nature inclusion, smart design, and deep diversity. This group's metaphor for the future was a healthy body – the body politic was smart and green, using the best from science to create a healthy environment so that the people of Asia could enjoy the gains of sound economic development.

The fourth group agreed with the others but added the power of the digital citizen. By 2030 dramatic new interactive evaluative Big Data technologies would be embedded in everything citizens did. While certainly this challenges our current notions of privacy, by 2030, with digital natives as the dominant demographic, everyone is a "friend". Politics is daily, immediate and interactive. There are new public spaces where engagement occurs. Ratemymayor.com and many other applications would be the norm, many of them predictive, solving problems of sanitation, safety and security before they become severe. Citizens play a direct role in the polity: indeed, they *are* the polity. Politicians are seen far less as daily legislators but instead as last resort custodians of decisions, most of the time they work with citizens to facilitate desired futures. The metaphor for this future was the co-scripted text. Democracy is not a book authored by others; rather, it is written daily in the actions and choices – the "likes" – of citizens.

To create any of these visions, a narrative platform is required. The fifth group offered "the Asian marketplace", the fresh food market, as the guiding story. In this market, buyers and sellers interact daily, their choices creating the political-economy. No one group dominates: this is not an oligarchy, nor a corporatist monopoly; rather, citizens own

the future. Democracy is owned by all and thus loved by all. In this way democracy is engaged, participative, inclusive, and creates results that benefit the market as a whole as well as the citizens who live in that market.

DRIVERS AND STRATEGIES

To get to these visions, changes clearly have to occur. Already, however, the drivers are there:

1. Generational shift from the independence generation to the digital natives, who expect far more embedded technologies and inclusion.

2. Digital, 3D printing, holograms, Big Data technologies that can make democracy as a daily practice far more real.

3. The move from vertically sociality organised by seniority to more peer-to-peer organisations in which the capacity to share information, to be nodes in the network, to cooperate and work together – and this can be slow – is creating a new narrative that can lead to more productivity. This does not mean the end of hierarchy but situational hierarchy, where in times of emergency tough decisions do need to be made by leadership to ensure the favouring of the long term over the short term and of all groups instead of the few or the individual.

4. Climate change leading to crisis throughout Asia – US$35 trillion of assets are at risk, mostly in large Asian cities – forcing innovation to meet its challenges. While there is a scenario in which crises enforce the "big man" metaphor, there is also the possibility that innovation is social, leading to a future in which the actions of each individual enhance the ability of the society to pass this mega test.

5. Asia becoming wealthier and basic needs being met, will make the needs of freedom, the desire to enhance agency, to influence the future, more pronounced. This means more

> economic democracy – cooperatives – but also political democracy. While phase one means regular, fair and transparent elections in the nations of Asia, its citizens and organisations, phase two means direct democracy using new digital technologies. Direct democracy by 2030 may not be relevant to every issue, but there may be many issues about which citizens can either offer consultative, legislative or, indeed, executive advice.

Given the power of these drivers, it would not be a surprise if the visions outlined by the fifty or so participants became reality by 2030. Participants, even as they remained idealistic, did articulate the outlier scenarios – one in which autocratic or charismatic religious leaders used new technologies to influence people toward their religion or nation-state? Or where climate change led to Eco-fascism? Or where there was dramatically greater fragmentation as China fell apart. But there were also positive outliers. In one scenario participants imagined a confederation of Asian states, an Asian Union, with extensive trade, a security regime, and institutional networks and high order organisations to promote democracy.

While the alternative scenarios explore possible futures, the strength and power of the workshop was in its articulation of desired visions of the future. Visions pull us forward toward the future, even as there are weights – mindsets, institutional blockages, resource constraints – that impinge upon the realisation of the preferred. What participants were certain about was that democratic governance in Asia would be transformed by 2030.

PROUT POLICY

The Proutist approach to the futures of democratic governance in Asia by 2030 is focused in three areas:

First, economic democracy is foundational. Instead of Asian multinational corporations spreading wealth, it is far more important to create legislation throughout Asia to support cooperatives. Asia's people need to own the future they wish to see. Ownership comes

from having a say not just in the polity but in the economy. The use of digital networks that can create peer-to-peer cooperatives should be strengthened Asia-wide. The economic benefits will be enormous, ensuring that wages for labour keep up with productivity, that equity is enhanced.

Second, while as much as possible democratic forms of government are required – equality before the law, regular elections, an independent judiciary and press, enhanced electoral education for voters – it is developing leadership that is neither beholden to financial interests nor to any particular religious interests that is paramount. The leader needs to see the alternative future, protect the weak, serve the poor, innovate through ideas and ensure that productivity is enhanced.

Third, the context of current democracy is the nation-state; Prout envisages a shift to a confederation of Asia. This can be accomplished by an increased flow of goods, services and the ideas of neo-humanism/universalism. The challenges of climate change, organised crime, inequity within and between economies all create conditions where more Asian glocalisation is required, not less. Harmonisation of laws is necessary to protect minorities, the poor and refugees from war and climate change. Asia-wide financial, cultural, environmental and regulatory institutions are a must.

Asia needs to continue to move forward, becoming a place where identity is far less based on ethnicity, religion and the nation-state and far more on our common humanity. Governance – at local, national and regional levels – that can create conditions for the free movement of people, ideas, good and services can help to create a transformed Asia.

EIGHT

BEYOND GOLD

*Future options for the Olympic Games**

Like others, Asians and Africans love watching the Olympics, and are inspired by athletic and organisational excellence. However, the Olympics are not a neutral venue. Every medal is based on a stream of money, power, genes and deep culture. In this essay, we unpack the political-economy of the Olympics.

BECOMING AN OLYMPIC SUPERSTAR

So, you want to be an Olympic Superstar. How should you plan your career to best ensure success? Three factors stand out in deciding which teams get Olympic medals. First is the size of the population: the more people, the larger the pool of talent there is to draw on. However, size by itself is meaningless. Two other factors are far more important: wealth and organisation. Wealthier nations can afford better training facilities, better managers and scientific techniques. Organisational excellence ensures that the entire weight of State and Market (corporate sponsorships) works for the national goal of winning. This means ignoring economic rationalism, and instead developing state support for athletes, marshalling resources for national victory. China is the most recent successful example of this formula.

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* An earlier version of this essay appeared as "Cultural Imperatives of Olympics", *The Guardian*, 15 September 1996, A10 (with Levi Obijiofor); and as "Beyond the gold: Should we create new futures for the Olympics", *New Renaissance*, Spring 2002, 9-11. Dr Levi Obijiofor is a Senior Lecturer in Journalism at The University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.

Generally, this means that the majority of the poorer nations (and the poor citizens of rich nations) will lag on the medal count. Well, why should this matter? Aren't the Olympics just sports, a fun television extravaganza? Yes and no. First, they are about marketing your city, hoping that the billions spent lead to future investments. Ahead of the 2000 Olympics, Sydney spent AU$8 billion on the hope of becoming a future trade and financial centre. The host of the 2012 Olympics, London, has spent in excess of £15 billion. Sometimes it does not work out so well: Spain is still reeling from its US$6.1 billion debt; it took Montreal nearly 30 years – until 2005 – to pay off the CA$2.7 billion it owed after the 1976 Summer Games.[1]

The Olympics are also about marketing culture – showing others that one's nation is modern. Second, they are about imagining the future, exhibiting to the self and the world what values the nation aspires to. England is declaring to the world that it is not a declining power; with every medal, it announces that a different future is possible. Sunset is not destiny.

The Olympics are thus filled with symbolic politics. The dark side of the Olympic equation is that the games re-inscribe the rank ordering of nations and peoples. The strong and mighty and beautiful walk with heads held high, while losers continue the slide down the path, eventually becoming persons and nations that do not matter. This partly occurs because the Olympics are seen (and marketed) as part of humanity's global heritage instead of as a uniquely Western construct. The Olympic flame passing on unblemished from ancient Athens to the modern era is about the "natural" transmission of Hellenic values to global culture: the Olympics is partly about the ascension of the West even as China challenges for position.

TYPE OF SPORTS

The dominance of the rich is also maintained by the type of sports that are conducted. The contest therefore is not only about sport,

but about valuing certain sports, histories and cultures over others. If this is not the case, why do we have the Winter Olympics, games that are arguably designed for the West and the countries "blessed" with white winters? No one remembered to design another Olympics for those countries that, due to geography, have only dry and rainy seasons. Can't we have a Steaming Olympics or Dry Olympics also?

By promoting the Summer Olympics as a triumph of globalisation and by ensuring that every country participates in the events determined by predominantly Western authorities, through the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the West indirectly promotes its own values. Although the IOC has many members from the non-West, its decisions about the Summer Olympics almost always seem to leave the non-West with no viable alternatives. Of course there are always options, such as boycotting future Olympic Games if the IOC rejects traditional sports from the non-West, but these have so far been eschewed in favour of participation.

The dilemma here is that non-participation in the Olympics means to be marginalised in the international economic and political spheres. If one plays and loses badly, as most of the non-West countries do, a deep-seated cultural inferiority complex can arise. All that is left to do is to join, to be "developmentalised". And if one plays and wins, beating the West at their own game, there are two common responses: "They are drug cheats," or, the more well-known, "They have better genes." Hard work, excellence, sacrifice are assumed to be uniquely Western values.

So, to invest resources in preparation for the Games every four years is to play catch-up with the West. Instead of spending money on developing traditional sports, non-Western nations buy into the existing sports development model. This devalues local culture, creating a further first world in the third.

In these global times, there is no space for not playing the game; the challenge is to redefine the terms in which games are played as well as the actual games that are played.

GENUINE SPORTS?

Traditional sports from the non-West are kept out of the Olympics because the West has not decreed them to be genuine sports. But what if non-Western nations began to focus on sports in which they have a comparative advantage? How, for example, would the IOC react to including traditional non-Western sporting skills such as drum dancing, hand fishing, tree climbing with bare hands, a 100 metre sprint with disused car tyres or wheels, running with an egg delicately balanced on the head, sack races, trap shooting with slings/catapults instead of guns, wood chopping, and so on? Or *kabadi*, the traditional wrestling of Pakistan? What about camel riding to accommodate the people of the Maghreb? With all these included in a redefined Olympics, will the West continue to dominate? As a Somali proverb states: "What you lose in the fire you must seek in the ashes."

Is such a level playing field possible? The future options for the non-West in the Olympics must be to either build on its own model of traditional sports or to utilise its numbers in the IOC to force a change. The non-West cannot continue to participate in an Olympics of which the essence is winning on Western terms. To do so will promote financial inequity and help the rich Western nations to market their products (i.e., athletics, culture and a linear view of history and future).

More significant even than winning on Western terms has been the emphasis on winning itself (not cultural exchange and the refinement of the human spirit, as Olympic propaganda proclaims). This theme was evident in the wording of advertisements during the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games, as recorded by Roy MacGregor of *The Ottawa Citizen*. Here are a few: "You don't win silver, you lose gold;" "If you're not here to win, you're a tourist;" "Second place is the first loser;" and "No one trains for second place." By promoting these views, the Olympic Games are saying that winners are superior; winners are from the West; the non-West are losers and are therefore inferior to the West. The 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, as shown in Australia, focused exclusively on those who won gold, except for the occasional hero story of the loser still finishing ("My country sent me here not

to start but to finish"). This Australian story has continued at the London Olympics, though success in Sydney 2000 and Beijing 2008 was replaced with "failure" in London.

Each culture has its own sports. Some are individualistic, some competitive, and some based on ancient myths. By only giving official credence to the sports of a particular culture, our sporting "bio-diversity" is lost; a particular view of sport wins over other nominations of health and excellence.

BEYOND THE NATION AS SOVEREIGN

In the 20th and 21st Century Olympics, only winning matters. Winning boosts a nation's image, turns winners into instant millionaires and mollifies internal animosities. More than that, it re-inscribes the nation as the natural and only form of government. Can we imagine an Olympics with different sorts of territoriality, perhaps a line-up of ethnicities, individuals, geographical and virtual communities, transnational corporations, and even civilisations? Can we imagine a postmodern Olympics focused on difference?

Can we imagine a situation where there is excellence and challenge but not in the context of "winning"? The desire to win, particularly on unfamiliar turf, also encourages men and women to cheat, to bypass the most sophisticated drug testing regimes available, ultimately harming their own bodies. In the near future, what will the IOC do with athletes who receive gene enhancement therapy? In a generation, will we have three Olympics: one for the gene-enhanced, one for the drug-enhanced, and one for the "natural" (meaning, finance-enhanced)?

WOMEN AND SPORTS

Aside from the problematic non-West, the Olympics are primarily about traditional male values. The (former) Yugoslav girl's game of *lastis*, where girls play with an elastic rope, jumping up and down in infinite variations, is one example of a traditionally female sport not

recognised by the Olympic family. Many women might also prefer a negotiated score which leaves all parties happy instead of the "sudden death" and all the metaphorical meanings behind it.

At a deeper level, even the division of time between leisure and work reflects a division of the world, since women are, to a large extent, excluded both from paid employment and from leisure. Olympic sport reinforces this division. Olympic sport, as feminists see it, either developed from a warrior tradition, such as fencing, or during leisure time (i.e., when women were busy taking care of the home economy). Indeed, the origin of the Olympics lay in preparing men for war. As with the non-West, the inclusion of women has been on the terms and values of male Western games.

Still there is a beauty to seeing athletes run faster, harder and stronger. Competition and keeping score does lead to excellence. A "Tao of sport", where the process is more important than the outcome, is only part of the story. Outcomes are important. There is a charm to seeing individuals of many cultures mingle together for two weeks, of seeing the two Koreas unite for a brief moment, of Cathy Freeman carrying the Australian Aboriginal flag at the Sydney Olympic Games. And even if the flags of the nation-states reinforce the ugliness of nationalism, the Olympics do create internationalism (though not a global universalism).

TRANSFORMING THE OLYMPICS

Thus, we argue for a transformed Olympics. In generations ahead, we need a re-definition of the concept of the Olympics. New indicators instead of the simplistic medal tally might be useful. For example, Bruce Wilson argues that chatter about Australia surpassing its 1956 record in 1996 should be seen in the context of a AU$32 million sports investment, nearly a million dollars per medal.[2] And inflation has set in. For 2012, it is likely to be AU$50 million per gold medal, argues David Salter, former head of TV Sport at ABC Australia and at Channel Seven,[3] AU$10 million per medal when silver and bronze are included. For Britain, it will be £7 million per gold.[4] Perhaps we need to show a ratio after the medal tally, i.e. medals/investment in sport. On that basis,

Burundi or Namibia might have won the 1996 Atlanta Games. Perhaps also an indicator such as medals/GDP, or maybe we should only allow nations whose budgets focus on education, health and housing to participate?

Those who lead the world in military spending – the USA, China, and others – should not be allowed to participate, or should have points deducted for military spending. Or perhaps, if we take the equity argument seriously, overall national obesity should be factored in. Is funding an elite sports person smart if everyone else is getting fatter? While these suggestions may be too radical, certainly spending on the Olympics needs to translate into greater health equity for all citizens – more sporting facilities and access to playgrounds.

One way forward is an alternative Olympics where traditional games and the cultural stories behind them are enshrined. Hawai'i already has a day for traditional Hawaiian sports. These events are critical because they teach the young ancient ways of knowing, of relating to the environment. Sports teach us about one another, about our myths. They create inner and outer discipline. They concentrate the mind. They are also a path to inter-generational solidarity, where the old teach the young. Above all, sports should promote a culture of peaceful co-existence and friendliness.

MEDIA SPONSORSHIP

But would these alternative Olympics, where the mystique of Athens – the sexist, slave-dependent, brutal city-state that it was – be globally televised? Of course not! However, with the advent of social media and flatter media structures as well as the rise of Asian and African media, alternatives gaining attention is now possible.

But even in situations of asymmetrical power, positive steps are always possible. As Tim Lang, professor of food policy at City University in London, points out: "I was opposed to the Olympics... But, that said, the achievements of the London Food Board and Rosie Boycott [the board's chairperson] in getting the Games to be as sustainable as possible is brilliant."

Challenging the Olympics is ultimately about taking back one's history, one's body, from the nation as well as from the giant media-savvy firms that can effectively "own" athletes. This is also about fighting media imperialism and all forms of imperialism thrown up by multinational sponsor organisations. It is about fighting patriarchy and the modern nation-state system. Finally, it is about creating a new future, a planetary civilisation beyond West and non-West.

PROUT POLICY AND THE OLYMPICS

Prout certainly does not lead to a position that advocates disbanding the Olympics. Prout is sympathetic to the focus on excellence; the pursuit of one's best is encouraged in Proutist thought.

However, Prout would refocus the Olympics, creating an ecology of sports, sponsorship and excellence.

First, Prout would insist that the Olympics be more sustainable in terms of energy use – a truly Green Olympics.

Second, Prout would, as much as possible, encourage vegetarian food at the Olympics and link food to local organic food suppliers.

Third, Prout would link investments in the Olympics to providing long-term infrastructural advantages to the local citizens of the city or nation hosting the Games. Investments need to promote equity – health and energy – and not just growth. Investment decisions would need expert and citizen input. Money should not leak out but truly enhance the wealth and innovation of those residing where the Olympics are held.

Fourth, Prout would seek sponsors (not just corporations but other associations as well) that more closely matched the goals of the Olympics; that is, sponsors that focused on health equity, poverty alleviation, and all-round excellence in physical, mental and spiritual arenas.

Fifth, Prout would expand and include sports from around the world. This could be a two-fold strategy. In the beginning this would

consist of creating a global Alternative Games – firstly indigenous, feminist, cooperative – that honoured each culture's history.

Over time, the alternative Olympics would merge with the traditional Olympics.

Sixth, a Prout approach would insist on new measurements for the success of the Olympics. Merely counting medals would not be enough. The impact on the environment, on local economies, and on health equity could be used as well. Indeed, that would be the paramount goal: to remeasure what counts as success.

Seventh, over time Prout would continue to celebrate the internationalism of the Olympics while also seeking to move beyond the nation-state as the definer of eligibility. The Olympics would need to go beyond a miniature, athletic United Nations to become a true representation of humanity's historical successes and ability to overcome future challenges.

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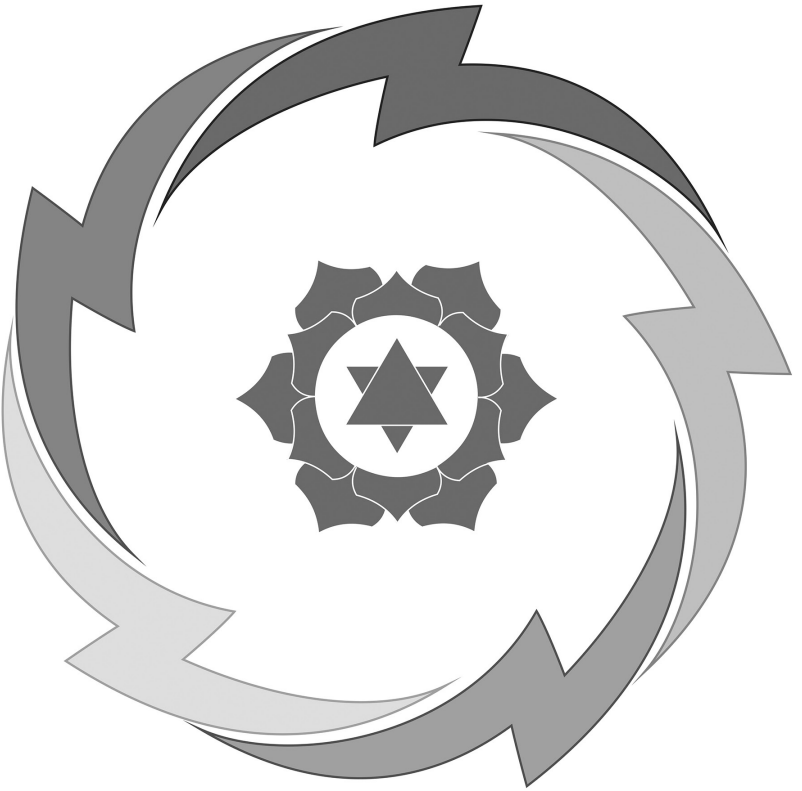

Education

NINE
IS NEO-HUMANISTIC AND PROUTIST EDUCATION PLAUSIBLE?

Is neo-humanist and Proutist education a plausible future? The weights of past and present are certainly stacked against an alternative future that challenges the *status quo* of student preparation for global competitive capitalism or nation-based economic development and identity creation. Indeed, that education can successfully prepare students for any future with qualities other than the conservatism and standardisation of the feudal and industrial templates remains questionable.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Education, as Foucault and many others have argued,* while claiming to be preparation for the future is essentially about social control, creating disciplined bodies and ordered minds to reinforce the present. And even where there is change in other aspects of society (such as new technologies), education lags behind. It does so because, among other reasons, schools, in many nations, are citizen-controlled. Citizens seek to replicate their historical learning experiences (it was good enough for them), assuming that the world they grew up in is still relevant. And even where Ministries of Education define curricula, they are still responsible to parents, who seek to influence the educational agenda. While citizens are willing to sacrifice their evaluative power to experts in the areas of health, economic policy,

* See Milojević, I. (2005). *Educational Futures: dominant and contesting visions*, London, Routledge, 10. See also Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/ Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon.

and defence, in education, everyone is an expert. They think they have expertise not only in their own learning styles and ways of knowing – which is fine – but in the learning styles and ways of knowing of others.

But it is not only citizens who seek hegemony. Education has multiple stakeholders attempting to influence its content, process and structure. Along with parents, there are principals, teachers, Ministries, the press and students who have interests. As Milojević argues, summarising Larry Cuban, schools "are multipurpose, many-layered, labour intensive, relationship-dependent and profoundly conservative."[1]

THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

The context for education currently – the Global situation– does not look promising either; four areas of concern are pivotal:

1. Environmental catastrophes (mass extinctions; global warming with a possible Ice Age to come; massive pollution and congestion in large global, particularly Asian, cities);

2. Instability in international relations, with the relative decline of one hegemon (the USA) and the rise of another (Chindia - China + India), with all the tensions and deep conflicts that are likely to ensue;

3. A move to the political Right throughout the world, with the "other" increasingly being the object of fear (the politics of the gaze where those who look different are blamed for social ills); and,

4. Politics moving toward border and boundary protectionism – with the nation-state as fortress.

While neo-humanism and neo-humanist education seek openness and expansion, in opposition are four types of protectionism. In the North and South there is (1) economic protectionism, the fear of

the rise of Chindia and thus loss of jobs; (2) social protectionism, the fear of the migrant; (3) religious protectionism – fear of other religions and the assumption that one's own is the best; and (4) spiritual protectionism, the Left's fear of a post-secular world;

In contrast, neo-humanism seeks to break out of current borders and boundaries, creating a softer self (and a dialogue of inner selves) and an ethics of love and devotion for all the inanimate and animate beings of the universe. It seeks to protect the tender dimension of what it means to be human, to help to create a gentler society, in the words of Elise Boulding and Ivana Milojević.* Indeed Sarkar, the founder of neo-humanism, argued that love/devotion is not just a sentiment but a way of knowing the world. Neo-humanist education seeks to create a pedagogy of partnership and cooperation in a world where recent memory is dominated by "survival of the fittest." A partnership society is thus certainly a tall order in a world where hyper-masculinity has become ever more the norm. Dominator-style hierarchy instead of functional hierarchy remains standard.

WHY HAS NEO-HUMANISTIC EDUCATION NOT YET TAKEN OFF GLOBALLY?

While neo-humanistic thought runs counter to dominant history, it certainly does not contradict what is required for successfully meeting the environmental, economic and cultural challenges outlined above. But why is neo-humanist education yet to take off in educational and organisational settings.[2] The reasons are varied, but they include:

1. Educators (in common with professionals in other fields) face strong disciplinary boundaries and resist information that they did not help create. Why then would they accept anything as personally demanding as neo-humanism (challenging religion, humanism in favour of spirituality and universalism)?

* See Milojević, I & Inayatullah, S. (1998). "Feminist critiques and visions of the future". Retrieved 22 June 2014 from http://www.metafuture.org/Articles/FeministvisionsandCritiquesoftheFuture.htm. Also in *Futures Research Quarterly*, 14(1), 1998, 35-46.

2. The future is discounted and educators are overwhelmed. They seek how-to workbooks not dramatic changes in ethos; those who do change ethos still have to negotiate the treacheries of governmental bureaucracies and university hierarchies.

3. Education infrastructure, both physical and in terms of imagined/envisioned development, is 19th Century-based. Classes are still designed with the image of teacher as fount of information and student as empty glass or clay to be moulded by authority. Mutual co-evolutionary learning, as in neo-humanism, is considered too difficult to achieve as it requires inner reflection and expanded responsibility by all learners (students, teachers, administrators and parents).

4. The digital era may have begun, but our organising principles are still from earlier epochs. Thus, even with digital technologies the structure of the classroom – desks all in a line – remains largely intact. And even when digital technologies are used, the pedagogical culture remains industrial (strong hierarchy, standardised and uniform). If the digital revolution is considered challenging, how will neo-humanism find a home (given that it is oriented toward Gaia spirit tech – sustainability, spirituality plus digitalisation)? And, finally;

5. Organisations focus only on efficiency instead of on the required learning and healing culture (neo-humanism) to create higher productivity and effectiveness. A learning culture requires reflection, and that reflection can often create anxiety and thus resistance to change. For this reason, organisations create plans that suggest change but practice policies that ensure that no change occurs.

But neo-humanism and Prout are about the desired future –

about what is possible. They lead us to a different world. Writes Fred Polak:

> Many utopian themes, arising in fantasy, find their way to reality. Scientific management, full employment, and social security were all once figments of a utopia-writer's imagination. So were parliamentary democracy, universal suffrage, planning, and the trade union movement. The tremendous concern for child-rearing and universal education, for eugenics, and for garden cities all emanated from the utopia. The utopia stood for the emancipation of women long before the existence of the feminist movement. All the current concepts concerning labour, from the length of the work week to profit-sharing, are found in the utopia. Thanks to the utopianists, the twentieth century did not catch man totally unprepared.* [3]

Thus if we wish for a different future, another vision of education is pivotal. Writes Giroux:

> Radical pedagogy needs to be informed by a passionate faith in the necessity of struggling to create a better world. In other words, radical pedagogy needs a vision – one that celebrates not what is but what could be, that looks beyond the immediate to the future and links struggle to new human possibilities. This is a call for a concrete utopianism.[4]

Neo-humanism is one such utopian vision. And, as Giroux wonders, how can it become a concrete vision – inspiring and real?

PROUT AND THE HISTORICAL SHIFT

For neo-humanistic education to move toward reality not only must it become a practice, almost a habit, but the external world needs to shift as well. A dramatic change is required.

Oliver Markley, among others, argued that we are in the middle of

* For more on utopianism and futures studies, see Milojević, op cit.

an historical shift.[5] An alternative image of the future is emerging – essentially the Prout vision – and reality will soon catch up.

The emerging image is more and more about:

1. Sustainability instead of industrial expansionism;
2. Global governance instead of the nation-state;
3. Gender partnership instead of male domination;
4. Respect for nature and the rights of nature instead of for humanity over nature;
5. Spirituality instead of religion;
6. Communication and understanding as central to solving problems instead of the search for the techno-fix; and
7. Technology as embedded in nature and evolution instead of being used as a neutral tool.

And, most significantly, it is the move from a dominator model of the self to a gestalt holistic model of identity. In the dominator model,† the ego is king and other identities are expected to blindly follow. In the gestalt model as developed by Hal and Sidra Stone, there are multiple selves. Some may be mature and developed, others may be traumatised and hidden.[6] Moving the identities together toward bliss becomes the new image of the future.

And yet our current reality remains feudal and industrial – it is this tension between the aspirational (the future we can almost see) and the unnecessary brutality of what we have seen that creates our current anxieties and despair. Like all movements, Prout and neo-humanism embody these tensions, since they are aspects of the relative world. For Prout activists, it is crucial to understand these tensions and to keep an eye on the desired future. In the middle of the politics of the globe and the nation-state or the spiritual and the religious,

† See the works of Riane Eisler and David Loye, www.partnershipway.org.

while acknowledging the tensions, it is critical to stay focused on the desired future.

Thus, while history weighs us down and globalisation, digitalisation, geneticisation, global demographic shifts push us into the unknown, alternative images of the future fight for our attention. Will global digitalisation *qua* capitalism succeed? Will the current nation-state system, with education used for national development and to provide skills for competition, maintain its dominance? Will we revert back to the religious protectionism of the Caliphate or the Church, or will neo-humanism and other similar movements based on spirituality and sustainability transform the world?

The future is uncertain. The best way to predict the future is to create it.

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TEN

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES OF NEO-HUMANISM

Neo-humanism as the pathway to Prout

What are the futures of neo-humanism? In the previous chapter, I asked: is neo-humanist education a plausible future? While this chapter explores the alternative futures of neo-humanism, it notes that the weights of the past and present are certainly stacked against an alternative future that challenges the status quo of student preparation for global competitive capitalism or nation-based economic development and identity creation. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, that education can successfully prepare students for any future with qualities other than the conservatism and standardisation of the feudal and industrial templates remains questionable.

PROFOUND CHANGE

The first and most hopeful future involves a profound paradigm change leading to neo-humanism becoming the norm. Neo-humanist education would thus become desired – the yardstick by which other educational systems are measured, if we wish to measure them at all.

It is possible to see the visible signs of neo-humanism in schools – instead of a national flag there may be a Gaian flag, or perhaps there would be no need for a flag at the school entrance at all; education would not be about identities that could be so easily captured.

At the systemic level, the school would be electronically linked to other schools; however, the technology would be invisible. There would not be a separate computer room, rather communications

technology would be ubiquitous. Perhaps there would be webcams in the gardens helping monitor the organically grown vegetables. Technology would not be the defining feature – communication among students, between students and teachers and between students and others around the world would be far more important. "Calm dynamism" might best describe the school.

The dominant worldview would be spiritual – not ascetic or religious but an understanding that each person had a unique relationship with a deeper dimension of themselves or the transcendent. The spiritual self, however, would not domineer but guide the other selves within each person's gestalt. There may be morning meditations or prayers or perhaps just silent time for reflection. Yoga, tai-chi, martial arts would likely be part of school life as well. As would sport – the sports chosen may be traditional but generally they would be far less competitive, games designed to produce individual and collective partnership and excellence. The body, mind and spirit of each person would be the focus.

The underlying myth of the school would be "a garden of many individual cultures" – with teachers a part of the garden, their educational practices perhaps analogous to nutrients, perhaps to water. Parents too would be part of this garden, as supporters rather than slayers of innovation. The world economy would be far more cooperative and sharing (leaving out the middle man) and far less corporatist or state-run. Productivity would flourish as individuals would be true stakeholders. The Ministry of Education would only be one node.

NICHE ELITE SCHOOL

A second future more aligned with the present would see neo-humanist education become a niche system. Particular communities prefer this type of education, but generally the state and national communities focus more on broader secular (or religious) education. Education continues business as usual activities in support of the nation-state and global capitalism. Neo-humanist education is a

niche for the different (intentional spiritual communities, those desiring a different, softer world). It is expensive and only the select few can afford it. Capitalism continues, but there are pockets of different measurement regimes including triple bottom line (profit, social inclusion and environmentalism). An example of change in this direction is the new system of measurement of universities by the University of Indonesia,[1] focusing on how sustainable and environmentally friendly a University is, instead of merely on its rate of research publications, value of grants received or student satisfaction. Universiti Sains Malaysia goes further and measures sustainability and the percentage of research that goes to assisting the bottom billion of the world's population.

The process of change is slow and painful, but over time neo-humanist education filters through to public schools and to the general public.

BACKLASH

A third future is where neo-humanistic type schools (Steiner, Montessori, Ananda Marga, for example) are considered detrimental to national development. They are seen as promoting values that create a fifth column, that do not train young boys and girls (but especially boys) for the tough world of capitalism and the even tougher world of a planet in strife (terrorism, ecological wars and catastrophes, China-USA wars, for example). Moreover, they challenge the national religion, be it Christianity, Hinduism, Islam etc. Alternative education is seen as dangerous. Funding is not denied but systemic blocks are created so that funding is nearly impossible.

MARGINALISED

Another future is characterised by marginalisation, wherein funding is allowed as long as alternative schools and education stay restricted to a few elite schools. As part of the general debate on the nature of identity, of diet and of the good life, neo-humanism

does not make inroads. Neo-humanism, as a broader vision of the planet stays idealistic, an ethos people discuss in e-communities but know full well is impossible. It also remains marginalised as neo-humanist practitioners themselves do not make the transition to neo-humanism. While one self may become neo-humanist, other sub-personalities may remain feudal, sexist or racist, hidden in the unconscious until a stressful event occurs. Students and others seeing the newly risen snake of nationalism (or other -isms) may give up hope and come to believe that neo-humanism and neo-humanist education is impossible. Realism remains definitional; after all it is power that matters most!

WHICH FUTURE?

Which future then is likely? Indeed, is neo-humanism plausible? Answering this question depends on at least two factors. First, practitioners need to move from the ideal of neo-humanism to its day-to-day practice. This requires inner reflection, an engagement with our multiple selves. Second, there needs to be a worldview transition from feudal industrialism to Gaian sustainability.

Fortunately there is some data that suggests that the profound change scenario is possible, at least in parts of the world, especially in the USA, Northern Europe, Japan and Australia. Focused on values that predict future actions, Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson have noticed a shift away from traditional values (socially and religiously conservative) going from 50% in the 1960s to less than 25% now.[2] They argue that –ferocity of the traditional worldview in public debate is based on the loss of numbers. Moderns – those focused on personal success and financial gain – have moved from around 50% to around 40%.

The group gaining momentum are the cultural creatives, who, in the USA, have gone from a few percent in the 1970s to the mid-twenties in the 1990s to over 40% by 2008.[3]

Table 1: Demographic Shifts

Year	Cultural Creatives	Moderns	Traditionals	Total
1995	24.0%	47.0%	29.0%	100%
1999	27.0%	48.0%	25.0%	100%
2008	44.9%	39.7%	15.4%	100%

Writes Ray:

> Their [cultural creatives'] most important values include: ecological sustainability and concern for the planet (not just environmentalism); liking what is foreign and exotic in other cultures; what are often called 'women's issues' by politicians and the media (i.e., concern about the condition of women and children both at home and around the world, concern for better health care and education, desire to rebuild neighbourhoods and community, desire to improve caring relationships and family life); social conscience, a demand for authenticity in social life and a guarded social optimism; and giving importance to altruism, self-actualisation and spirituality as a single complex of values.[4]

Also important is their link to new technologies, argues Ray:

> The other major influence on their growth has been the growing information saturation of the world since the 1950s. In fact the Cultural Creatives are simply the best informed people. They take in more of every kind of information through all the media, and are more discriminating about it as a result. Many successfully blend their personal experience with new views about how the world works, and why – their new values and commitments have rather organically grown out of their synthesis of all the information.[5]

And two key dimensions of values are more important to cultural creatives than to others: (1) having green and socially responsible values, and (2) personal development values, including spirituality and new lifestyles.

Hardin Tibbs, in his interpretation of Ray's data, suggests that there could be a shift in values by around 2020 as cultural creatives become the majority in certain parts of the world.

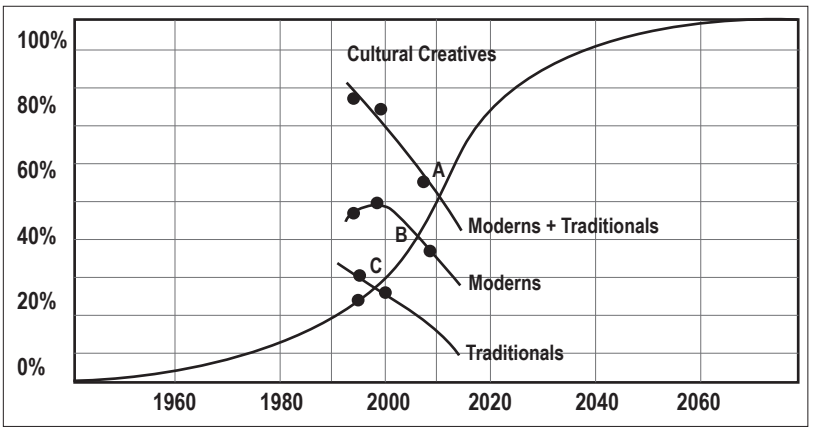

Figure 1. Rise of the Cultural Creatives[6]

If Ray and others are correct, then this demographic shift could lead to a politics wherein neo-humanist education moves suddenly from being marginal to centre stage.

PROUT POLICY

Neo-humanism is the jewel in Prout's vision of an alternative future, but the focus on Prout policy and strategy is to ensure that neo-humanism becomes an actual practice, not just an ideal. What this means is that in conditions of chaos and fear, instead of a politics of blaming the other, Prout stays focused on universalism – the idea that everyone is a citizen of the planet. Cheap slogans and political arguments against any particular group, however convenient, must be avoided.

It is worth remembering that "there is no road to Prout; Prout in itself is the road."

In terms of strategy, to avoid the backlash scenario, the focus of Prout, neo-humanism and neo-humanist education needs to be to frame global and local policy debates in its own terms and within its vision

of the future. This means pedagogy that remains focused on vistara, the expansion of the mind, instead of pedagogy that is nation-state-focused or which uses the categories of the nation-state (i.e. China, India, Pakistan and the realist politics of Machiavelli or Kautilya).

Instead of the fear of the other, of the unknown, neo-humanism reminds us that we are first humans (not nations or religions) and that we are with nature (not over or against it) on a collective journey toward self-realisation and collective economic and social prosperity.

Practically, in terms of transition, this means that Prout needs to communicate universalism and, at the same time, localism. If it is overly universalistic, then local people will not identify with it. They will fear that jobs will go to migrants, that Prout is not in touch with the day-to-day realities of the world. However, if Prout policies are overly localistic, then even if local economies are protected, poor treatment of "others" – ethnic minorities, women, the marginal – will result; the approach that is correct for the economy alone will lead to social problems and minds will shrink – vistara in reverse.

The way out for Prout is to think and act globally and locally, spiritually and realistically – or glocally!

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ELEVEN
CAN PROUT TRANSFORM UNIVERSITIES?

More than a decade ago, in a book titled *The University in Transformation*[1] we – Jennifer Gidley, president of the world futures studies federation, and I – identified four drivers creating new futures of the university. These drivers were globalisation, virtualisation, democratisation and multicultural (neo-humanist) pedagogy. In this chapter, I ask: are these drivers still relevant, active? The essay concludes with recommendations for Prout policy on the futures and politics of the university.

GLOBALISATION OF EDUCATION

The first driver identified was globalisation. While in its current neo-liberal form globalisation is focused solely on the free movement of goods and services, there are many types of globalisation. Indeed Sarkar's Prout is a type of globalisation, as are the utopian sentiments of the ecological Gaian movement. However, for universities globalisation has expressed itself in the resistance of states against continuing to subsidise education. More and more students are expected to pay full fees and universities have been asked to cut back to core areas.

This has meant a mindset shift from considering education to be less an investment and more a cost. Specifically it has meant categorising parts of education as an export (in Australia, for example, for both Brisbane and Melbourne, education is the largest export, surpassing tourism) and aspects of it as an expense. In the USA, Europe and Australia, the curriculum areas that are export–based, seeking to

bring in students from the Asia-Pacific (particularly India) tend to be in the "real-world" areas of engineering, business, information technology and vocational skill development. These have grown (especially when they are coordinated with migration policy) while other areas of knowledge, such as philosophy, and even languages, have been subjected to immediate market forces and cutbacks and thus have declined. The overall purpose of education – to act as a civilising force, as the right to dissent against conventional paradigms, as part of humanity's treasure and as a long term investment in children – has been put aside in favour of shorter term market concerns. In the last ten years, this trend – and the drivers, creating it – has not in any way slowed.

And the trend is likely to continue; though, what is most likely to change is the direction of the exports. With the rise of Chindia, we can easily imagine a future where Chinese and Indian students stay at home, learning from local outposts of western universities and from Chindia's own rapidly improving educational institutions. Over a period of twenty years we can even imagine Western students migrating to the Asia-Pacific for higher education (and not just for language learning or culture). While this may seem difficult to imagine now, if we go back twenty years, it would have been difficult to imagine the colossal economic rise of China (for the first time having more millionaires than Europe) and certain segments of India (having 103 billionaires in 2013).[2] While equity remains a critical issue, especially in India, education for the people of Chindia remains an investment, not a cost; education, for the people of Asia, is first.

VIRTUALISATION

The second trend we identified was the virtualisation of education. With less funding available for bricks and mortar and the financial needs to increase the number of students, universities and Ministries of education (with India, Indonesia, China, Turkey and other Asian nations leading the way) have focused on using the Web to deliver education. While the savings are large and outreach stunning, what has hampered the success of distance delivery has been the mindset

of university administrators and academics, who still, in general, remain committed to the expert-driven feudal model. By this I mean that there is an unquestioning dominator hierarchical system with the orders coming down from the Minister to the Vice-chancellor to the Dean to the professor to the lecturer to the student. While functional hierarchy leads to efficiency, dominator hierarchy leads to the death of innovation; each generation copies blindly from the last. Academics are the experts, seeing others as unable to provide solutions to problems.

That said, new applications, indeed "an app for everything" is the new analogy for the futures of instruction, are changing the nature of pedagogy, and with exponential technological advancement we can easily see the virtual becoming more like face-to-face. And costs will continue to fall. Innovation will continue to find ways for academics and students to become more comfortable in future virtualised classrooms. Indeed, the founder of the Khan Academy, a one person virtual university, has delivered over 148 million lectures since it was created in 2006,[3] foundationally challenging the traditional notion of the university. Over the long term the current distinctions between virtual and real will disappear and we, particularly digital and genomic natives, will become comfortable with different types of reality. The important shift will be from merely more technology in the class room (technology as the silver bullet), and classrooms created by technology, to digital pedagogy, wherein students, teachers, apps and university leaders make the difference. Students, particularly digital natives, will more and more be seen as critical stakeholders.

DEMOCRATISATION: PEER-TO-PEER

The third trend we identified was the democratisation of education. By this we meant enhanced student participation as well as a general flattening of the university. Over the last ten years, this has come about, but not in the ways we expected. The peer-to-peer web platform has been the greatest flattening process: from Wikipedia to Wikileaks to ratemyprofessor.com, even the cynical must admit that the world has changed. I remember well one foresight workshop I ran in Singapore for the Raffles Institution with forty 14 year olds. All used Wikipedia,

and over 50% claimed to have contributed content to Wikipedia. A few, one or two, had heard of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Most had heard of the United Kingdom. They understood the latest technologies and social movements, and in one scenario they imagined using social movements and nano-technologies to create environmental sustainability in the Ganges by 2040, a clean, green, socially innovative India! In the ideal peer-to-peer world it is the user who adds value, not the producer (the university dean or professor, as in the traditional hierarchical university).

However, and this is crucial, democratisation, while partially recasting the creators of knowledge, has not empowered students or academics in formal university or high school settings. In fact, the opposite has occurred.

First, there has been a backlash against the increased power of those below; a desire to return to the good old days of authority and domination. Second, as universities have adopted the neo-liberal globalisation model, creating profits or merely surviving has meant retiring expensive professors and hiring the far cheaper, younger PhDs. And, critically, this hiring has not been of full-time employees but of casual instructors. Experimental courses (new, web-based courses, in particular) especially in futures studies, gender studies, peace studies and consciousness studies, for example, have gotten up by paying academics near-minimum wages. For those at the bottom of the pay scale, the problem becomes one of loyalty, not just to the particular university ("Why should I stay loyal when I am paid peanuts?") but to the university model of education itself; that is, "Why should I not globalise myself and receive the benefits of globalisation?" In this regard, we can anticipate that as loyalty breaks down, there will be far more innovation in the tertiary sector, new, academic-run cooperative universities and alternative universities (with either particular ideological leanings or broader missions, or Gurukul*, which combines

* Based on neo-humanism, Sarkar's Gurukul is a global association of schools and institutes engaged in teaching, research and social service. The network spans over fifty countries with over 1,000 kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools, colleges and children's homes. Retrieved 9 January 2016 from http://gurukul.edu/about-amgk/about-us/.

both) will arise. Along with some able to innovate, there will be many who will prefer (and rightly, if not wisely, so) a politics of grievance in and to the university itself. As cutbacks continue, we can expect a far more challenging labour environment.

Returning from globalisation to the good old days – when education was solely about national development and nationalistic strong national regulation – is unlikely, but this does not necessarily mean retreating from the dignity of the academic and the nobility of the academic profession; alternative futures are still possible. For elite professors, the walls of the university and particular university branding will be far less important. In terms of the academic labour landscape, we can see the development of three types of academics: the lower rung casual academic, the portfolio academic approach (being linked to a number of universities) and finally to a model in which the professor becomes a brand unto him- or herself.

WAYS OF KNOWING KNOWLEDGE ON THE EDGES

Our fourth driver or trend was multiculturalism generally, and neo-humanist education in particular, becoming an acceptable part of pedagogy. There is no easy way to measure this, but certainly the rise of the web, with multiple languages and platforms has created more spaces than traditional hierarchies of knowledge. The rise of Chindia (China's foreign currency reserves recently hit US$3.8 trillion, for example)[4] is also slowly changing the game as the West's position as an economic centre is undergoing relative decline. With economic rise will come cultural change. Already China has set up hundreds of Confucius Institutes throughout the world (the goal is to establish 1,000 by 2020). Indian culture, too, is being exported to the West with Yoga, for example, becoming a multi-billion industry in the USA alone.

Multiculturalism and neo-humanism have infiltrated the university through the broader sustainability agenda. This has seen a focus on solving global problems, such as climate change,

through trans-disciplinary approaches to knowledge management. Non-western, indigenous and Gaian ways of knowing have not been marginal to these concerns but central to finding solutions to greed and overconsumption – the problems of cultural and economic obesity.

But far more impressive has been the role of technology itself as a way of mediating reality. While diverse ways of knowing continue to blossom, it is technology as a way of knowing that has been the disruptive, if not transformative, factor. With at least six billion mobile phones now in global circulation and more and more phones becoming "smart", pedagogy will keep on jumping the boundaries of the real into the "differently real". However, in the short run, universities and high schools are still not using smart phones as ways to make pedagogy far more interactive. Fact checking can be done via Google; the role of the professor becomes that of inner motivator, mentor and facilitator, enabling students rather than providing them with more data.

THE DISRUPTION

As always, leaving behind factory models of learning and teaching will be crucial as we move to a more 24/7 virtualised and globalised world. Focusing on ensuring equity and life-wide and life-long learning for those academics who do not become brands unto themselves or who lack portfolio careers will be critical.

And, if national accreditation does break down or become porous, certainly the trillion dollar education industry will be ripe for major creative destruction. It will not be Google or Facebook that become the new Nalanda, Nanjing, Al-Azhar, Al Karaouine, Bologna, or Oxford, but someone will create the new platform for the pedagogies of the future. Is it wiser for nation-states to hold on to national accreditation, to regionalise, as with the EU, or to attempt to create something truly novel and lead the world, to create an institutional jump? Or…?

PROUT POLICY AND STRATEGY RECOMMENDATIONS

For Prout, the focus, needs to be on:

1. Helping lower level causal academics keep their dignity through negotiating better wages and conditions.

2. Helping all academics to globalise in the sense of helping them break the expert-driven feudal knowledge and university structure and narrative. This means wisely embracing parts of economic globalisation without allowing the true purpose of the university – to dissent, to continue to carry the cultural treasures of humanity and to stay focused on past and future generations – to be lost. This means moving ahead without losing sight of the mission of the university.

3. Resisting attempts to retain national university regulatory structures or to focus the university on national development. Prout is focused on human, spiritual and ecological development and not on the narrow dimensions of the nation-state. Regulations should help universities become more ecological, more neo-humanist, more global, not less.

4. Working with *vipran* academics to integrate other aspects of their personalities; this includes a focus on the body (exercise, diet, Yoga, for example), a focus on the economy (not being dependent on the state for income but developing entrepreneurial skills, creating value), a focus on social justice (challenging oppressive structures) and a service orientation (particularly serving the needs of students). This is crucial as *vipran* approaches to reality, while strong at theorising, disown the practicalities of the economy, and thus intellectuals remain at the mercy of others, be it the State or the corporate sector.

5. Over time, Prout needs to develop academic cooperatives and to work to create new university structures that are

> planetary, neo-humanist and inclusive of many ways of knowing the world. Cooperation is not easy for academics, however, because the current university structure rewards individual excellence not community excellence. Cooperation is a learned behaviour requiring enhanced emotional intelligence, and is challenging given that the current university structure favours the intellect, not the heart.

Developing universities and academics with strong intellects and open hearts that learn from doing, from engaging with all types of communities, can become the value added by Prout to the futures of the university. Globalisation is tearing apart the traditional university, as are virtualisation and democratisation. While some will miss the good old days of the protected campus subsidised by the state, with its deep hierarchical structures – along with the neck tie to bifurcate the mind from the heart – others will see this as a chance to innovate and create new universities. These new universities, to succeed, will need to balance the practicalities of wealth generation with social justice with service to community with ideas that inspire. Prout can help in this process of creating the new university for the new future.

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TWELVE

WIKIPEDIA INC., CORE-PERIPHERY REVERSED OR INCREMENTAL MANAGERIALISM

Which future for higher education?

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

Five trends are changing the futures of the university. The first is globalisation, particularly neoliberalism and the reduction of state subsidies for public education. The second is virtualisation, particularly distance education via the web. The third is the flattening of the university, with far less hierarchy and the development of co-evolutionary peer-to-peer models of teaching and learning. The fourth is the rise of the Asia-Pacific generally as a global economic actor, and of Chindia in particular. And the fifth is knowledge on the edges, new fields of thought developing which are likely to significantly transform current boundaries of knowledge. Taking these drivers together, what do they mean for the futures of higher education? Three scenarios are offered: Wikipedia Uni, Core-periphery Reversed and Incremental Managerialism. The essay concludes with recommendations for responses based on Prout and Gurukul.

WIKIPEDIA UNI

In the first scenario, two shifts are central. First is a far greater flattening of the university – its structure, as well as who teaches and the nature of teaching. While this future includes tremendous global educational diversity, one apt phrase is "the return of Bologna." In the original University of Bologna model, the students hired the professors. Instructors even needed permission to leave the city. The

second shift is the reduction of national accreditation by a select group of nations. While many nations refuse to follow – citing national security, economic development, and a fear of being overwhelmed by new entrants – still a few nations experiment.

This creates a major disruption with "flat" global universities; essentially Wikipedia University networks. There is still room for elite professors who ensure quality control and provide prestige value. Dominator hierarchy is replaced by functional hierarchy. Quality gains are dramatic as the wisdom of the crowd plus guidance by elite professors – encouraged by salaries, innovation – lead the way. Income takes the form of fees and advertising revenue. Large corporate information providers such as Google jump in. Apple and Android apps play a dramatic role in localising the global Wikipedia University. App developers migrate in droves to this new educational platform. New technologies develop that make the virtual closer and closer to face-to-face. These include holograms and group sharing of information beyond our current understanding – learning becomes dynamic and evolves quickly.

This does not mean that space for traditional universities has disappeared. If anything this world can be characterised, particularly in the first 20 years, as a social ecology in flux. However, the traditional universities are the dinosaurs. The ability to adapt, to determine the nature of the new ecological landscape, to reinvent one's core functions, to allow for emergence, and to allow stakeholders – students, in particular – to help mould the emerging future is a great advantage.

By 2050, the feudal nature of university education is finally overthrown and, along with it, the factory model of learning. Universities by 2050 would appear unrecognizable to a visitor from the 20th Century.

CORE-PERIPHERY REVERSED

In the second scenario, core-periphery relationships are reversed. The first phase of this process is currently occurring in China and

India with a reverse brain drain. Phase two is comprised of massive investments in education in China in particular, but also throughout Asia (in Japan, Singapore, South Korea, India, etc.). Over time, research leads to a positive and creative cycle; China is already the world's leader in patent filings.[1] Eventually tiring of rising fees overseas, and with local Asian success stories, Asian students "stay home". and European and American students join them studying in Asia. Initially this is in the areas of business, science and languages, but over time education in other fields also become major exports. As the Asian Union moves beyond East Asian nations – the Chinese diaspora – to include other still developing nations, Asia becomes an educational powerhouse. An Asian credit transfer regime is instituted, similar to the EU's Bologna Process. Traditional rote learning paradigms for students and the factory model for professors are replaced by diverse learning styles. Elite western professors flock to Asia for the higher salaries. The West begins to experience its own brain drain as students and academics flock to the Asia-Pacific. However, hubris does not allow strategic reactions until it's too late. Of course, many Western universities already have local branches throughout Asia, but over time these are purchased by large Asian universities seeking to export their services back to "the empire". By 2050, Asian universities have branch campuses throughout Europe, Australia, and even the United States. Success creates success. Innovation creates Innovation. Power creates reality.

INCREMENTAL MANAGERIALISM – BUSINESS AS USUAL

The new web and beyond (web 3.0+, mobile, holograms), globalisation, flattening (democratisation) and the rise of Asia do not dramatically change the nature of the university. There is incremental change but this does not lead to a tipping over into a new future. Yes, more Asian universities rise in the rankings. Yes, there is far more content delivery over the web. Yes, mobility becomes central to pedagogy. Yes, universities accommodate globalisation and states reduce investment in them, except in those courses that attract export money. Yes, many universities become more sustainable, changing how they use energy and the type of courses they teach (far more climate change

sensitive). And yes, there is a new world ranking of green universities. But, over time, the university's one thousand year tradition continues. Cautious deans are proven correct – squeeze below, attract high-paying students, remain connected to the alumni and find researchers who can bring in large grants. Three zones emerge: (1) the zone of elite universities that have historical brand recognition – high fees, huge endowments and alumni networks, and the world's leading thinkers leaders continue to be associated with them; (2) the zone of mass education. While this becomes more and more Asia-based – demographic dividends in terms of the ratio of young people to old – life-long and life-wide (formal and informal and creative mixes) learning in the West allows Western universities to grow as well. (3) Zone of experimentation. Even within the business-as-usual model, niche universities continue to thrive. Technological and economic disruptions and value changes create spaces for new entrants but only in niche areas. These include Islamic universities or programs teaching Islamic banking, for example, not to mention the new ecological universities. Some of these experiments move to the mass market and become routine while others stay on the cutting edge, challenging the current paradigm.

Which future will turn out? Perhaps this is the wrong question. Which future does my university desire to create? What support – intellectual, technological, human and values – do we need to create this desired future? And finally, in a changing social ecology, what do we maintain, sustain and what do we innovate, transform?

PROUT-GURUKUL

For Prout and Gurukul, these changes are generally positive. Because the social landscape of the higher education system changes, this means that there are possibilities for new entrants. Prout/Gurukul can potentially become one of these entrants.

However, while the contents of Prout/Gurukul are novel (they both employ Sarkar's theories of individual and social change), the way they are conventionally taught are often not. Pedagogy needs to transform

and more accurately reflect the ideals of Prout. The pedagogy cannot/ should not be in the "sage on stage" "having all the answers" or the rote-learning of fundamental principles or "bureaugogy" frameworks – ministry-led education – ; rather, the approach, given the changes above, needs to be:

1. Localised: based on local learning needs. What works in the USA may not work in India. What works in Punjab may not work in Tamil Nadu or Kerala.

2. Action learning–based; that is, based on students learning by doing followed by cycles of reflection. By practicing Prout's neo-humanist principles, students can appreciate how they actually work in daily life. Merely hearing lectures does not engage all of the different faculties of the mind-body. However, action learning requires weekly reflection – asking what is working, what is not, and how I – the learner – can change my narrative, my story, around learning and teaching. I, the learner, must also ask: what in my narrative is preventing me for being an active agent of change?

3. Even while Prout imagines a different future, it needs to link learning to projects that are income/wealth-producing. Students, even those that imagine a more spiritual world and a radical restructuring of the global political economy, remain in the world of conventional credentials, needing degrees that lead to either employment or the capacity to earn income through entrepreneurial activities (happy clients!). Prout needs to link the vision of the long term future – a *sadvipra*-guided democracy – to the shorter term realities of local economies and polities. If students cannot see the link between the two, they will still engage in Prout, but it will be only with their idealist selves – their realist selves will continue as before, even engaging in subconscious sabotage of their idealism.

4. Structurally, a world where nation-based accreditation breaks down allows Prout to create its own degree-

conferring colleges. However, for this to become more than a diploma mill, the university needs to (a) attract the best and brightest, (b) link its degrees with income generation capacity, (c) demonstrate innovative teaching (including peer-to-peer teaching, i.e. challenging the expert model), and (d) create a transformative university structure.

This means moving away from the feudal department- and dean-based university dominator model. This does not mean eliminating functional expertise – in particular content areas (sciences, social sciences, arts) or in styles of teaching (novel facilitation) or in administration (green tape, rules that enable) or in spiritual awareness – but in reducing the "zamindar" (feudal) model of knowledge. This is often challenging for experts, particularly in traditional societies where prestige takes the place of low salaries.

With these points, among others, Prout/Gurukul, as the university landscape changes, can create its own ecological niche, and over time utilise that niche to become one of the attractive paradigms of knowledge. Of course, it is success that creates success – the images of the future, the images of how others see Prout, are definitional – not necessarily any specific formula.

Nevertheless, the conditions that can create Prout/Gurukul universities are becoming more favourable. The landscape has changed.

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THIRTEEN

UNIVERSITIES IN MALAYSIA IN TRANSFORMATION

A PROUT Perspective

CAN HIGHER EDUCATION TRANSFORM?

Will higher education in Malaysia transition from the factory model to a student-centred "Café" approach, the "*à la carte*" university? Will lecturers remain mired in bureaucratic form or will they be able to focus on teaching and learning? Will blended learning platforms succeed? Will the current pushes of the future – new digital technologies, an ageing society, changing paradigms in learning, heightened globalisation – overwhelm higher education in Malaysia or can the system respond to these critical drivers in ways that meet student, professor, university, industry and community needs?

These and other questions were debated in Melaka from 24-28 September, 2012 by academic leaders. Sponsored by the Ministry of Higher Education and organised by Universiti Teknikal Malaysia Melaka (UTeM), 32 Malaysian academic leaders – deans, deputy deans, and deputy vice-chancellors – from over eighteen different universities met in Melaka to develop scenarios and strategies for the futures of Malaysian higher education. Their future-oriented discussions were framed by the six pillars futures approach, which is inspired by the works of P. R. Sarkar.

OVERALL RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE HIGHER EDUCATION MINISTRY

The overall recommendations and conclusions of the academic leaders were as follows.

First, the Malaysian higher education system needs to move from being a regimented system to a flexible, adaptive one. This means a challenge to the factory model of education where rote-learning, force-feeding and surveillance are considered more important than quality, critical reflection, and academic freedom. The factory model places Malaysia at an economic disadvantage because it hampers innovation. The system, argued academic leaders, had to change – business-as-usual has become untenable.

Along with systemic changes, new metaphors – narratives – are required. One suggestion was a "Café in the library". This metaphor combines the importance of structured knowledge (the library) with informal peer-to-peer learning – fun, discussion and friendship (the café). Another equally provocative metaphor was the symphony orchestra, where coordination and proper direction lead to heightened creativity. In both cases, the regimented factory model was considered to be the used future – no longer useful for the nation's economic, scientific and cultural development. A third powerful metaphor was "*à la carte*" wherein students had a more central role in co-designing their education.

The second set of conclusions and recommendations: the lecturer, while remaining multi-task-oriented needs to be freed from administrative documentation and other red tape administrative procedures that take them away from reflection, teaching and community pedagogy. "Green tape" measures that encourage productivity are needed. The academic leaders imagined the lecturer moving from being "scattered and exhausted" to "focused and motivated."

However, given that lecturers are being squeezed from above (university administrators demanding that they work harder and

increase their productivity) and from below (students expecting instantaneous responses to their queries), the future is far from certain for them. To map the unknowns, the leaders imagined four futures. In the first, the preferred, lecturers are high paid and autonomous, focused multi-taskers. This was contrasted with low paid lecturers who were caught between two masters (government and private interests). In the integrated scenario, their salary is based on performance. This was considered a likely scenario given industry demand, especially for elite lecturers. Finally, in the outlier scenario, lecturers and the higher education system are unable to adapt – students go overseas, international students avoid Malaysia, industry no longer values university degrees – and the lecturers lose their jobs. They wished for the support needed to avoid the outlier and the contrast scenario and to help create the preferred or the integrated future.

Third, the Malaysian university system needed to wisely address the digital gap between older professors and younger digital natives (both lecturers and students). New learning platforms that placed the student first needed to be developed. While the leaders felt that adapting to new technological platforms was pivotal, face-to-face interaction was still required – blended learning.

Fourth, the disconnection that academics feel needs to be challenged. Academics need to connect with nature, with students, with industry and with the broader community. Instead of the "ivory tower" or "the enclosed castle", new, more open narratives were sought in which systems were integrated and connected, creating an ecology of learning.

Fifth, the student needed to be at the centre of the Malaysian higher education system. In the "Café in the Library" and "*à la carte*" models of education, the curriculum is modular, flexible, with course content delivered by digital apps. The curriculum also quickly adapts to changing student needs. Face-to-face discussions are used for assessments and for group learning. Also, flexibility of course duration is required. University degrees need to be tailored to students, designed for mobility, flexibility and the individual. This

means a major switch in mindset, moving away from the factory-style, one age-group model to a life-long and life-wide (formal and informal) model.

Sixth, for the futures of learning, change would be targeted in three areas: (1) for elite students, the "*à la carte*" model would work perfectly as these students had demonstrated the capacity to design their own education. However, for the middle of the road and bottom level students – the majority – the blended learning model – the "Café in the library" – where there was some hand-holding was more appropriate. However, given the pressure from parents, who remember a different way of learning, and other stakeholders, who generally have more conservative views of learning, it was important to ensure that what was offered in the café (or indeed, on the *à la carte* menu) was a "Nutritious Buffet". In this approach, the Ministry and the university leadership, in consultation with the student body, would develop a healthy range of courses and possibilities. Quality control would ensure that "junk food" did not creep into the buffet. They would thus ensure that content, even while student-focused, still met the needs of Malaysia's changing job market and cultural framework.

In addition, the approaches outlined were time-based. Even though it is still prevalent, the previous factory force-feed model has expired, its use-by date having passed long ago. Knowledge poisoning is the result. The "*à la carte*", student-led, totally flexible and mobile person-based model is the long term future – 2025-2030 possibly. While the technology is rapidly developing, culture lags behind. The weights of history are numerous (mindsets of academics, hierarchal nature of the university, the parent-child relationship between the Ministry and universities). The "café in the library", the blended model, is the emerging future, as it is has a mix of top-down and bottom-up, digital and face-to-face learning. However, this future, even as it emerges, may not be appropriate to Malaysia's cultural needs. Thus, the primary recommendation is the move to a model of education with the metaphor of "Nutritious Learning"; neither force-fed, nor "all you can eat" but rather healthy eating for a healthy Malaysia: prosperity, community and sustainability.

Table 1. Malaysia Teaching and Learning, 2025

Lecture	Learning from Everywhere	Smart Pedagogy	Wisdom of Choice
Conformance	Self-Directed	Partnerships	Directed Partnerships
Certification	Democratisation	Blended Learning	Wholesome
Force-feed	All you can eat	Omnivore	Nutritious Buffet

Seventh, all of the leaders agreed that the system had to adapt to changing conditions. Among those changes is the marketisation of higher education. New actors are likely to enter the education market, as it is already a US$2.5 trillion global industry, and demand for higher education is likely to expand from 97 million students in 2000 to 262 million students in 2025. Along with public higher education there is the private higher education market, which is estimated to be worth around US$400 billion globally.

To respond to these changes, the leaders articulated four aggregate scenarios of the Malaysian University of 2025. They integrated the ideal type, preferred scenario of an industry-based university with the needs of the community. This created an industry-community future by 2025, using the metaphor of "Café in the library". The outlier was a return to the "ivory tower" with an eventual loss of relevance because of new actors in the university market.

Eighth, whichever future resulted, it was important to stay true to the Malay cultural narrative of "agreeing to agree"; that is, all stakeholders needed to be consulted and authentic win-win solutions developed.

FROM OVERALL TO CONCLUSIONS TO CRUCIAL DETAILS

These recommendations and conclusions were derived through the six pillars foresight process. This process is structured to create alternative

futures and articulate related strategies. Each pillar has a number of methods to elucidate alternative futures. Most relevant for this report is the Sarkar Game.

Table 2. Malaysian University, 2025

Preferred:Industry-based University	Disowned: Community needs
➢ Researcch-led University ➢ Industry-funded research ➢ University produces industry-ready students ➢ Win-win situation	➢ Community is ignored ➢ Lack of support/funds from government and industy ➢ University does not solve community problems ➢ You can't have the cake and eat it too
Intergrated: Industry-Community-based University	**Outlier: Back to the Ivory Tower**
➢ Clobal recognition ➢ University within industry supporting community needs ➢ University grows together with community ➢ Café in the library	➢ University continues, but the best students do not enrol ➢ Knowledge is not community- nor industry-based. ➢ University is not relevant and new actors enter the market - Goodgle for example

Through the Sarkar Game, university academics experienced how the university had moved from being run and organised by intellectuals to now being owned by the State for the purpose of national economic development. Thus, there are consistent calls from the Ministry for universities to be industry-relevant; pure research for the sake of knowledge is considered to be far less important. In addition, students have now moved from being the *shudra*s of the system to the customers. This has meant more and more that lecturers have to teach with an eye to keeping the student and the Ministry happy.

The warriors in the university tend to have become the administrators, within the university and externally through the

Ministry, who maintain the traditional rules and procedures of the system. The integrity of the overall system is primary, and thus they are generally resistant to new models of learning – the *à la carte*, for example, or global digital learning – as this challenges the "traditional" paradigm of how people learn. The main lesson for participants playing the Sarkar Game was that, as leaders, they needed to acquire the skill sets of each group – the worker, the warrior, the intellectual and the entrepreneur. In effect, they needed to listen, and adapt, to the changing needs of students, administrators, lecturers/professors and the Ministry, as influenced by the world market. As for the participants, they kept on playing the game until all groups reached agreement, until in effect, in Sarkar's language, there was a collective *sadvipra* transformation, and all worked for the higher good. This was a remarkable achievement, explained by the Malay saying: they worked until "all agreed to agree."

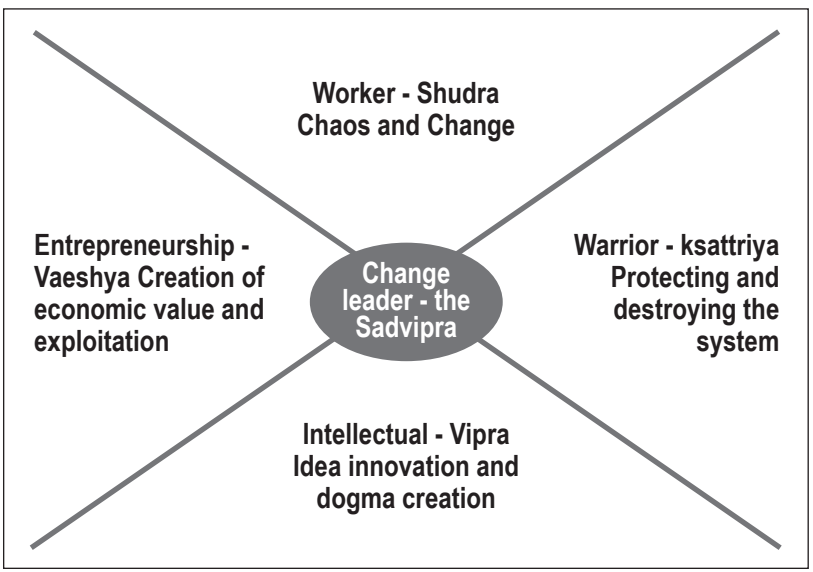

Figure 1. The Sarkar Game

SHARED VISION OF MALAYSIA, 2025

After considerable deliberation, through the use of the Sarkar Game and scenarios, participants developed a shared vision of the Malaysian University in 2025.

1. The vision had the following characteristics:
2. The university was sustainable in terms of financing and energy use.
3. It was student-centred, focused on the Café in the library. There was blended learning – student flexibility and, indeed, students playing an important role in pedagogy design.
4. Lecturers had far more autonomy and were freed from administrative tasks so they could innovate in teaching and learning.
5. Measurements of success were balanced, including quality of research, student satisfaction, industry relevance and sustainability.

Getting to this future did not seem difficult given the pushes from new technologies, digital migrants, the advent of the world knowledge economy, new apps etc. Indeed, the leaders saw five intervening steps to get to this new future. Figure 3, below, illustrates the logic of their thinking.

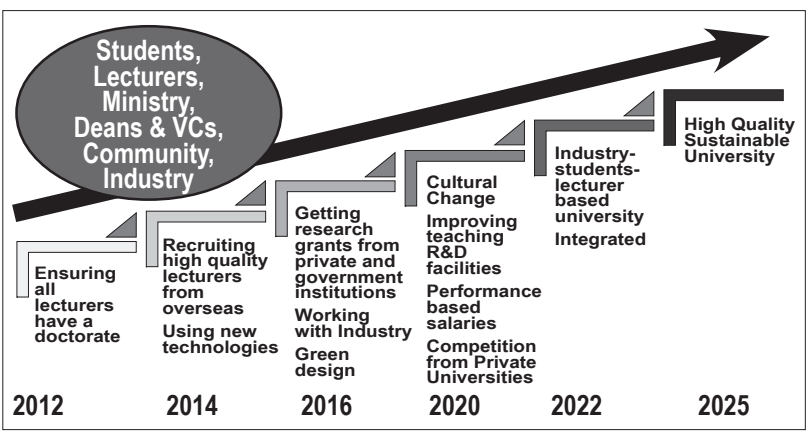

Figure 2. Steps to realising the preferred future: backcasting

PROUT POLICY

From a Prout policy perspective, a number of points are crucial.

First, it is important to use Sarkar's theories to understand possible futures. The Sarkar Game is an excellent way to help groups to understand the roles they are unconsciously playing and then, through a reflection of their leadership strengths and weaknesses, to move toward *sadvipra* status. The game environment allows an authentic but safe, embodied experience of the different structures. It also provides a framework for actors – lecturers, deans, deputy vice-chancellors, students, in the case of this report – to audit their leadership style, and assess what they and their team are missing, and to move toward *sadvipra* leadership.

Second, as much as possible, the university needs to move away from regimented "force-fed" education to other more neo-humanistic alternatives. New digital technologies allow for more peer-to-peer learning, reducing the power of often exploitive hierarchies.

Third, Prout would support the "nutritious buffet" model of the future. This future allows increased democratisation of the university, affording students far more rights. However, given that the young mind is still learning, and given resource constraints, it is important for elders to structure (with peer-to-peer advice) some limits as to what individuals can eat. Also, given the conservative nature of the education system, it should be noted that the "nutritious buffet" scenario is the next step prior to the more radical "*à la carte*" future.

Fourth, and finally, from the Prout view most important is that the university - Malaysia or elsewhere - focus on knowledge that helps humanity make the transition to a future that is based on greater prosperity, environmentally sustainability, neo-humanism, and spirituality.

FOURTEEN

THE MURABBI, ACADEMIC COOPERATIVES AND AUGUMENTED REALITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Can lecturers and professors move from the lecture/exam model to a more holistic pedagogy, helping to transform the whole person? Can they become *murabbis** by 2025? Can professors become income self-generating, moving from an approach of "begging for money" to one where – while keeping their ideals of autonomy and scholarship – they are global knowledge entrepreneurs working through professorial cooperatives? Can the university system move from being place-based to augmented virtual reality with knowledge no longer restricted by time and space but rather available 24/7?

The questions posed above were debated at AKEPT (Akademi Kepimpinan Pengajian Tinggi "Higher Education Leadership Academy", the Malaysian Ministry of Higher Education) between 25-29 March, 2013 by nearly fifty lecturers and deans.

The overall context for foresight work in Malaysia is that the nation has recognised that it cannot keep on playing catch-up with the West, and western universities, and thus must innovate, creating new visions and new measurements for these visions. Naturally, it has little desire to become stuck in the middle-income trap.

SCENARIOS AND STRATEGIES

Lecturers and deans challenged the current direction of the

* A holistic educator committed to the mastery of the self and to deeper and broader learning, who, in the academic context, would remain sensitive to the employment needs of graduates.

university and articulated alternative and preferred futures. While many issues were debated, the core of the recommendations was a shift from the lecturer to the *murabbi*; from the state-run factory model to the professorial cooperative; and from a focus on how things were to an embrace of new technologies and educational paradigms.

THE NATURE OF THE *MURABBI*

The primary focus of the five day meeting was the imagination of a new kind of academic – the *murabbi*. Fortunately, this image of a different type of professor is supported, and was even defined, by Prime Minister Najib Razak. As he said in a 2013 speech:

> I am using the Arabic term "*Murabbi*" to depict a team of highly motivated and excellent educators cum researchers, who consist of lecturers at universities. *Murabbi*s are visionary academics with high integrity, possessing knowledge that contributes to the well-being of others, thinkers who mould and influence the shape of the future. *Murabbi*s are educators who possess a strong belief in the acquisition of knowledge and the quest for continuous learning. [1]

The participants could clearly see a bright future in which educators were noble and the *murabbi* was a role model; however, this was contrasted with the current reality, where educators had to multi-task and were losing hope. They were tired. In the integrated scenario – the one that was plausible, that linked the future with the present – participants saw that *murabbis* would be part of a balanced education system, thus fulfilling their needs and those of other stakeholders.

Once participants had found a way to link the future with the current reality, they developed four alternative futures for 2025. In the outlier future, there was a return to the traditional mindset. Possible, but given the dramatic needs of Malaysia they deemed it unlikely.

Table 1. The Future Academic as Murabbi

	View of lecturers	Current Reality	Integrated scenario
Litany	***Murabbis* are noble educators**	**Lecturers' jobs are becoming more complex**	**Knowledge-sharing is caring**
Systemic	**In order for *murabbis* to produce excellent students, the system should allow *murabbis* to exercise flexibility and freedom**	**The system sets the direction for lecturers' job descriptions**	**Synergised student-*murabbi* interaction**
Worldview	***Murabbis* only perform expertise-related tasks in multi-disciplinary fields; not saddled with unnecessary celerical work**	**Multi-tasking lecturers**	**Customising *murabbis'* expertise to suit students' interest in a resilient, competitive and sustainable society**
Myth-Metaphor	***Murabbi* as role model**	**Buy one, get one free**	**A balanced academic exo-system**

The disowned, or what the preferred is unable to deal with, is the reality of the depressed lecturer – the day-to-day grind of meetings, academic politics and disgruntled students. Their preferred future was the lecturer as *murabbi*. They then integrated the preferred with the disowned, and imagined the *murabbi* as part of an educational ecosystem – the "enhanced *murabbi*". The *murabbi* existed in a community of other practitioners, ideally in cooperatives.

THE ACADEMIC AND SELF-GENERATING INCOME

However, for the *murabbi* to become reality, issues of funding had to be resolved. Given the likely decrease in government support for academia, a central topic was developing new opportunities for the futures of the research professor. A core idea was the income self-generating professor who is no longer funded solely by the Ministry; rather, funding may come from industry, NGOs, professional

associations, and other interested parties. The goal is to increase commercialisation through productive research and intellectual property creation. High impact research is more likely when there is collaboration with the intention being to serve all humankind.

In their analysis, the participants argued that the push towards income self-generating professors came from the needs of industry, a globalised economy and the advent of global knowledge-based networks. To strengthen these pushes, a supportive government policy was required. Government policy could enable a research-conducive environment which would lead to high impact research. However, certain 'weights' worked against the desired vision of the income self-generating professor as well as against the 'pushes' towards it. These weights and obstacles include: a lack of expertise, incentives; unhealthy competition between academics and between universities; lecturers overburdened with unrelated tasks; and research funds being segmented between private and public universities.

After considerable debate, a number of scenarios for research professors in 2025 were created. The best case scenario or the preferred future for the research professor is that of a income self- generating professor who is ultimately recognised as a Nobel laureate or with some other, similar award. A day in the life of a research professor in 2025 centres on being a *murabbi* in the university, having a proper work-life balance and ensuring that they have a research apprentice, so that their skills could be handed on to the next generation. To support this vision, systemic changes are needed, such as policy-makers and academics working hand in hand and in an environment that is research-conducive. Research needed to become a lifestyle and focused on making the world a better place, through sustainability and liveability.

While it was clear that the differed from today's factory-caged academic, there was the issue of how to ensure the was not tradition-based but futures-oriented. The question was: How should academics adapt to emerging technologies in 2025? That is, while the notion of a was desirable, and it was thought that it was crucial that academics

find ways to generate their own income, it was important that the holistic, neo-humanistic educator embrace new technologies.

While they developed many scenarios of the academic and new digital and brain technologies, their preferred future was identified as "whole person neuro-orientated programs – virtual reality plus artificial intelligence".

The supporting story for such a future was the "academic as wizard". While it was important to strategize the transition from lecturer/professor to *murabbi*, it was also important to note that the *murabbi* gained his or her strength from sharing knowledge synergistically with students in the context of dramatic new technologies. Thus, they could imagine the "virtual *murabbi*" or even the "*murabbi* as hologram".

However, just as there are pushes that can help create this future, there are barriers as well. The pushes of the present included: new technologies, greater interaction, the demand for a sustainable environment; while the weights of the past included: traditional policies and attitudes of academics (resistance to change); anti-social students, and; a lack university autonomy. The following strategies were then suggested as ways to minimise the above-mentioned problems.

Table 3. Strategies to redefine the future academy

PROBLEMS	SOLUTIONS
Over emphasis on technologies in teaching and learning	Humanising teaching and learning while using new technologies
Top-down policy	Bottom-up approach and top-down transparency
Generation gap - digital divide	Lecturer-student buddy relationship
Connotations of 'lecturer'	Re-definition of 'lecturer'
Anti-social student population	Classroom as social platform

They developed a three stage process to achieve the future. The first stage was to challenge the current rigid system. The second was to create a fully virtual, flexible system. The third stage was to create academic-run universities as cooperatives with the *murabbi* as the centre of an ecology (not a factory) of learning.

LEADERSHIP AND THE FUTURE

Was the *murabbi* elitist or critically how could everyone could become a *murabbi*; or more broadly, how to create and nurture emerging leaders? How could innovation that would result in holistic leaders be achieved? The concern of the participants was that if current trends continued, leadership would come to be based on the maxim: "What should others do for me?" the cry of the "me generation."

Their preferred future had the following five characteristics:

1. Self-empowered leaders;
2. Self-actualised leaders;
3. Monetary reward is secondary;
4. Doing good for others and self; and,
5. Holistic leader (well-rounded, charismatic, dynamic, people person, knowledgeable and a role model).

Along with the preferred future, they developed three additional scenarios. They argued that the current model of leadership was overly self-centred: "I know everything"; with knowledge growing rapidly, this perspective was untenable. The traditional model – "I know who is important" –, too, was not sustainable, given the expansion of globalisation and research networks. The worst case – "Follow me or else" – was the top-down approach. Their preferred future was a collaborative model – "Lead with me to innovate" – that could eventually lead to great gains for Malaysia and the world. The chart below explains these different types of leadership.

Table 4. Leadership Scenarios

	Current trends continue	Traditional	Worst Case	Preferred
Litany	Self-centred leaders	Node leaders	Top down leaders	Holistic leaders
Systemic	KPI Rigid systems Competitve environment	Culture of collegiality	Standard operating procedures KPI Rewards/ Punishment	Job Satisfaction Non-monetary rewards
Worldview	I, me, myself	Who's who, the power of conneting	I am in charge with lots of 'yes men' around	Work with me Everyone is leader
Myth-Metaphor	"I know everything"	"I know who is in the league"	"Follow me or else"	"Lead with me to create"

RECOMMENDATIONS

From their analysis of the present, and emerging trends, the participants articulated the following recommendations to the Ministry of Higher Education.

First, the Ministry needs to think outside the box and establish, as a pilot project, a professor-based university or a cooperative of professors. This would be a non-conventional university based on the exceptional skill set of a single professor, or of a few professors. To do this, high impact research needs to be commercialised and talent agencies would be employed to raise the profile of leading academics. Senior academics would need to mentor younger lecturers in creating an innovative research culture. To create space for this alternative, outlier future, clerical and other duties of lecturers need to be curtailed.

Second, the Ministry needs to make the jump towards creating virtual or augmented reality (holograms, neural learning, and virtual

learning). This means taking seriously the rise of digital natives (students raised in digital environments, who see virtual learning as the norm) and designing digital pedagogy platforms for their needs and aspirations. This also means moving away from place/time-based universities to digital universities. To do this, investment in new technologies is a necessity, as is developing new modes of learning and teaching – virtual pedagogy. New technologies create new learning modes. New cohorts of students – being raised in different technological environments – have different expectations of learning and teaching. Structurally, this means customised education, being able to select courses from various universities in Malaysia and globally. In this model, the Ministry can (and should) still set general core educational requirements to ensure relevance for Malaysia's national development needs.

Third, the Ministry needs to ensure that Malaysian graduates learn skills that enhance their ability to be globally marketable. If this is not done, then Malaysia will be unable to move up the global economic value chain into knowledge and finance industries. To create this marketability, it is not enough to focus only on today's industries; instead the Ministry must anticipate tomorrow's emerging industries and focus on *them*.

Fourth, instead of adopting linguistic and knowledge frames that reference the West, the lecturers suggested that the Ministry, following the advice of the Prime Minister, redefine the lecturer and professor in terms of the 21st Century *murabbi*. The *murabbi*, in their minds, was far more holistic, not just focusing on material needs, but on a balance of the physical, mental and spiritual. For lecturers to become *murabbis*, far more flexibility and freedom was required. The system needed to be less rigid, allowing *murabbis* and students to chart their own educational pathways. In this sense, the vision of the future was the "Nutritious Buffet" (discussed in the previous chapter), where, in cooperation with the Ministry, lecturers and parents, students set out their own careers and university curricula. Through collaboration, the students themselves articulate their preferred courses and futures.

What was clear to the lecturers and deans was that the current model

of higher education, while excellent for the previous generation, could not meet the needs of Malaysia's digital natives, who sought to travel and work globally, who preferred far more flexibility in how, when and where they learned and worked. In the move towards virtual and augmented universities, it was crucial to create the new type of lecturer and professor – the *murabbi* – and, pivotally, for the Ministry to ensure transparency, trust, incentives and platforms that allowed for the university-as-professor model and for other possible futures. As the lecturers and deans asserted, it is time for a major overhaul. If this cannot be achieved, the drivers of change – digital and neural technologies, the rise of digital natives, the challenge of climate change, and global education – will overhaul the university anyway, but perhaps in less desirable ways. The question was: Should Malaysia follow the old rules or create the new rules; purchase the inventions of others or create its own novel future?

Recommendations, of course, are not just to others or to the Ministry. Rather, it was understood that each academic had to act, to become a future leader him or herself. The path and the goal must be one.

PROUT COMPARISONS

Clearly the analysis and recommendations of the Malaysian leaders are in line with Prout and neo-humanistic analysis. Their analysis was focused on Malaysia but is relevant for universities throughout the world. The forces affecting them are global. In terms of policy:

1. Prout, too, imagines a future for universities where the core metaphor shifts from factory to ecology.

2. Prout, too, desires to empower academics to move away from state-factory models and corporatist finance-driven models and towards cooperative modes of organisation, in which the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, where income is self-generated through research and entrepreneurial contributions to the local and world economies.

3. Prout and neo-humanism, too, desire to liberate the intellect of the academic from the ego, so that the worldview becomes one of neo-humanism: holistic, diverse, focused on the mastery of the self, and on contributing to others.

4. Prout, too, does not wish the holistic educator to be past-based, that is, resistant to revolutions in science and technology, but rather progressive, embracing new technologies and ensuring that they benefit all.

5. Prout wishes to ensure that leadership skills are passed on, that older holistic educators mentor younger educators, sharing not just their theoretical and technical knowledge, but life lessons. And,

6. Prout, too, is equally focused on the idea that the path is the goal; that path and goal is neo-humanism.

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FIFTEEN

BRAC UNIVERSITY INNOVATES – BANGLADESH LEADS THE WAY*

You can't teach anything to someone
who is stuck in the prison of the past."

– Lee Kuan Yew

This chapter explores the alternative futures of a particular university in Bangladesh – BRAC University. It develops visions of the future and strategies to achieve those visions. Neo-humanism is the implicit base for the alternative futures envisioned.

BRAC UNIVERSITY 2030 - BANGLADESH LEADS THE WAY

Will BRAC University still exist in 2030? And if so, what will be its place in Bangladesh, in the Asian region and in the world? What will the physical campus look like and where will it be located? Who will lead the university and constitute its faculty, student body and curricula and methods of learning? What will be its contribution to Bangladesh and to the world?

These and other questions were explored by deans, professors, lecturers, researchers and development practitioners at the BRAC Management Development Center in Rajendrapur, Bangladesh from 25-26th June 2012. In this two-day meeting participants developed alternative futures for BRAC University in 2030.

* With Shakil Ahmed, Pushpita Alam, Susan Davis and Syed Hashemi

BRAC University was established in 2001 in Dhaka by the non-governmental organisation BRAC or Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee. From a humble beginning as a relief organisation BRAC has become the largest development organisation in the world, and it is one of the few that is based in the South. BRAC university grew out of BRAC – founded in 2001 – as a "not for profit" institution accredited by the University Grants Commission and approved by the Ministry of Education, Government of Bangladesh.*

To initiate the foresight process, participants explored emerging futures such as "Bangla rise", i.e. Bangladesh becoming a middle income country by 2030, if not earlier; new social disruptions, such as demographic shifts – the youth eruption – technological change and state of the art technologies triggering a knowledge and health revolution.

By exploring these disruptions, BRAC University leaders intended to become proactive by taking advantage of technological possibilities for new types of pedagogy. They also sought to use the future to prevent negative consequences of emerging issues. For example, participants strategised how to avoid possible social chaos by proactively creating and designing social spaces for dialogue on emerging social problems, between, for example, those who embraced the new virtual worlds and those who saw virtuality as a threat to traditional Bangladeshi views of hierarchy. Indeed, clearly thinking outside the box, "rowdiness" of future students need not be disruptive, argued the professors, but could, in fact, be a source of creativity if spaces were designed intelligently.

Participants thus understood that the future of the University would not be static. Indeed, they asked: Can the peer-to-peer networking revolution play a role in transforming higher education in Bangladesh? Can BRAC University's leverage of the non-governmental organisation BRAC create a new learning niche? That is, can BRAC's contributions in social and economic development – microfinance, women's empowerment, public health and social

* See www.bracuniversity.net.

enterprises – create a new glocalised university focused on the bottom billion and on pro-poor foresight? Can BRAC University seed a new type of student: glocal, green and real-world savvy?

The assumption was that the world is ever-changing. BRAC University could possibly do nothing, miss opportunities and then pine for the past and wasted moments, or it could assess global trends in higher education and adapt accordingly: digitalisation, gaming as learning, peer-to-peer student learning and wikis, corporatisation and reduced subsidies from Ministries.

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES OF BRAC UNIVERSITY

To invent a new future, it is crucial to explore alternative scenarios and create compelling visions. The final session of the workshop used foresight methods to produce three visions of the future with associated strategies.

Advancing Knowledge

"Advancing Knowledge with a Human Face" was a mix of liberal arts and specialised curricula. Systemically, this future began with liberal arts as compulsory and with specialisation to follow. The pedagogy was not the factory model but rather peer-to-peer interactive. Admissions would be based on best fit with the core vision of BRAC University, not just on grades. Alumni and the private sector would be engaged to comment on the curriculum to ensure relevance to market realities and social needs. Ideally this would lead to community service and private sector internships.

The worldview was certainly idealistic: "Community service and private sector engagement leading to creativity and social responsiveness."

Their core metaphor was: "Fazle Abed: real-world savvy with a human face."

This was in reference to the founder of BRAC, winner of the Qatar WISE prize for education and global icon for social entrepreneurship, Fazle Abed.

To make the future more real, tangible, participants developed a narrative of a day in the life a new student at BRACU in 2030.

The new student at BRACU, 2030

Rokeya from Piaraband has just heard the good news – BRAC University has not only admitted her, but awarded her a full tuition scholarship. She turns to her mother, who has returned from the little shop that she herself has set up, to ask: "But what about living expenses?"

"Not to worry," Mother replies. "Your father and I have always put aside a little for your future – now is the time to spend it."

With excitement mingled with apprehension, Rokeya and her mother make the long bus journey to Dhaka. "What a beautiful campus!" exclaims Rokeya, but her heart is still heavy with the thought of living expenses.

Approaching the student affairs kiosk, she picks up the necessary forms. She is surprised to see students working there, and while they congratulate her on her scholarship, she blurts out her financial worries.

"We will look for a solution to that," says a young man called Abed. "As you can see, students can find work on campus. When the admission process is over, we will talk to the student counsellor and see whether you can work towards meeting some of your expenses. I've just heard that a professor in the biotechnology department is looking for student assistants."

Rokeya picks up her bags, and thinks, as she walks towards the student dormitory, about how wonderful life is being to her! As she enters the small neat room that awaits her, she looks ahead – still with excitement, but with less trepidation – to the 4-year adventure upon which she is about to embark.

This is the place where her dreams will come true. To begin with: she had always dreamt of expanding her mother's shop; further on in time, she imagines a series of organic farms, supplying vegetables to her native Rangpur. And – why stop there? – to the whole country someday.

Table 1. Scenario 2030: BRACU – Advancing Knowledge with a Human Face

Litany	**A mix of liberal arts and specialised curricula**
Systemic	**• Compulsory courses in a range of disciplines • Specialisation in a major and minor or double major • Admission system reflecting not just grades but also creativity, diversity and aspirations • Faculty recruitment reflecting diversity in specialisation and student mentoring: faculty training • Interactive pedagogy • Systems and incentives for faculty and student research • Systems for developing think tanks and for the public and private sectors • Responsive governanve structures that include space for students' guardians and other stakeholders**
Worldview	**Combining creativity and social responsibility**
Myth-Metaphor	**Sir Fazle Hasan Abed - icon; a person with real-world savvy and human values**

BRAC to the Future: An Eco-system of Leaders

The second future was titled, "BRAC to the Future: An Eco-system of Leaders". This future was transformative, moving from the traditional ego-centric model of the leader to the ecological, linked, and synergetic model of leadership, wherein difference strengthens the overall system. In its essence, "leaders" includes everyone within the university "eco-system": students, teachers, researchers, alumni, administrators and even stakeholders in society who are connected to the university – private companies, institutes, etc. BRAC University, by 2030, has been able to create an infrastructure that provides these stakeholders with the medium for effective communication and exchange.

However, in order for the ecosystem to thrive, BRAC University has been able to capitalise on its comparative advantage vis-à-vis other universities; its worldview of creating a social laboratory for innovation, which has the track record of turning problems into opportunities. But what was pushing this future? First was the return

of the diaspora and second the likely increase in potential students because of the increase in the youth population. Third, continued dramatic advances in technology, particularly geared towards changing how we learn and communicate. Fourth, an increase in material and human resources. Fifth, because of globalisation there would be increased pressure to link elite universities around the world, and; sixth, a desire to return to community because of the alienating effects of urbanisation.

The image showed the "excelling student" was not alone but connected to the community. Moreover, s/he embraced technology, social justice even as s/he pursued her/his higher degree. Pro-vice-Chancellor Samdani Fakir articulated three core elements of the ideal student: competence, being value-driven and being a globally responsive citizen. Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Architecture Fuad Mallick insisted that campus and curricula be open architect-based.

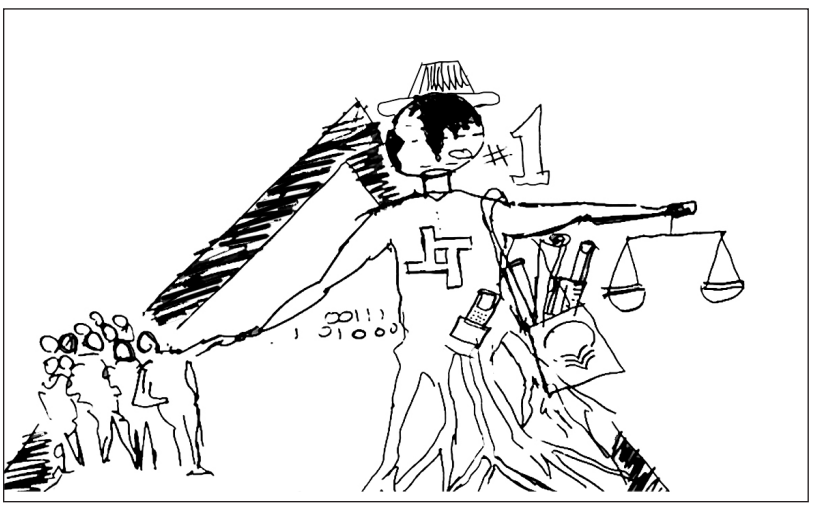


Figure 1. The Ideal Student at BRACU, 2030

The headline for this future was "50,000 alumni support BRAC University". From 2012 to 2030 it was anticipated that more than 3,000 people would graduate annually and that 90% of them would

be working in leadership positions in at least ten different fields. Faculty, inspired by this future, would remain, leading to 90% faculty retention; indeed, participants imagined the faculty being widely and internationally respected in their fields.

At the systemic causes level, participants were clear that curriculum was contextual. A "no one size fits all" curriculum needed to reflect cultural and temporal context – cultures are different and the world changes.

Four aspects of the system that would enable this new future were critical. First, there would be an expansion of e-learning; second, there would be an expansion of demand for more experiential learning, as inspired by the experiential nature at the Savar campus; and third, faculty across disciplines would see opportunities to integrate development and climate adaptation experiences and narratives of social, economic and environmental development into compelling courses that create a comparative advantage for BRAC University. Systemically, supporting this litany would be development tourists and students coming to BRAC University because of BRAC's success in gender equality, climate change resilience and social empowerment. This was the niche that allowed BRAC itself to flourish and create a physical campus.

Given the need for experiential learning and the increased exposure of the development narrative, Dhaka may not necessarily be the central location for the University, giving students learning opportunities by allowing them to study and work in different parts of the country. The increased exposure of the development narrative also gives support to the need for a physical location in Bangladesh to which students can come, instead of the whole University going virtual. Suitable physical sites would be where nature is more accessible.

The worldview, or deep institutional culture, was that BRAC University had become a social laboratory for innovation – BRAC had created a culture for turning problems into opportunities.

An appropriate metaphor for this future was the "Little Engine

that Could"; The little engine was always telling itself, "I think I can, I think I can…."

And how about a day in the life of a learner in 2030 – the "whole person"? What would such a day look like?

The Life of a Learner in 2030

Essentially this person has multiple choices throughout the day. Along with being online, there is time for yoga and exercise, meditation and writing poetry; working in the community; classroom discussion; eating self-grown, organic food; and contemplation. Lectures are not in classrooms and students thrive by engaging in the network of knowledge and people, even kissing a few. Before sleep, there would be more organic food, and time for personal leisure. The day in the life of the student in 2030 is thus one that integrates knowledge, community, personal, health and spiritual needs.

But what would need to change to realise this future? The group identified that at least three things would be crucial. First, poverty would need to be reduced by 15% by 2025 to continue to make Bangladesh a "showcase" or success story; second, major investments in advanced technologies should start immediately, from 2013-2015, and; finally, there needed to be increased energy available. An energy crisis could certainly delay the realisation of this future.

The metaphor used for this future is the "Little Engine that Could", which depicts the journey of BRAC University (and Bangladesh) from a small entity to a large ecosystem, by rising to the challenge of creating a network of competent, values-driven, globally responsible students and overcoming numerous obstacles in the process.

Table 2. Scenario 2030: BRAC to the Future – An Eco-system of Leaders

Litany	**50,000 Alumni - 90% in leadership positions in 10 fields and in ground-breaking research, 90% faculty retention**
Systemic	**• Context-driven curriculum • E-learning platforms • Expansion of experiential learning (inspired by the Savar campus) • Intergrating the history of development and resilience against climate change and natural disasters into the curriculum**
Worldview	**A social laboratory for innovation, where problems are turned into opportunities**
Myth-Metaphor	**The Little Engine that Could**

BUG – BRAC University Global

The third future was the BUG. BUG is no insect, but BRAC University Global. BRAC University would be franchised globally as a development university.

What factors might drive this future? First, as expected, advances in technologies that allow for distance learning and connectivity. Second, there would be the desire of students to be mobile, seeing the globe and learning from other cultures. Third, there would be global problems leading to the development of systems of global knowledge and university accreditation. Fourth, there would be a global faculty desiring multiple appointments throughout the world and, last but perhaps most significant, BRAC as an NGO would be supporting and sharing, if not imposing, its development model with the BRAC University. While this did raise the issue of loss of autonomy, Pushpita Alam, BRAC's Education Manager, argued that BRAC University could in fact lead the way and use its traditional links with BRAC as a dramatic competitive advantage by attracting students and faculty and by providing the thought leadership to BRAC's "save and serve the world" approach. The image of the future

was the world brain.

In this future, perhaps too far off for some, participants believed that technological growth in digital and learning technologies would be exponential and not linear.

The litany or headline in this future was: "Education without Borders". Systemically, this was the networked model of education. This meant virtual, green and online. Second there would be multiple BRACU hubs – physical locations for a place-based world. Curricula would be wiki-based, open source to a large extent – "Wiki-curric," said Alam. The model was thus à la carte, with students co-designing the curriculum and professors lecturing sometimes but, more often than not, acting as knowledge navigators and models of the future.

Participants pushed the notion of teaching in new spaces by asserting that whether under the sea, on the land or in outer space, BRAC University should be there. Indeed, the outer space version they called the "BUG Hub Chandro-bot" (a BRAC University robot).

The dominant worldview was that education is global and local at the same time, or glocal. The core metaphor was the "wiki-bug", or "Wikipedia University based on BRAC values".

To realise this future, three events and processes were required. First, global accreditation; second, the bridging of the digital divide, and; third, creating and offering BUG franchising in the glocal development community.

A student takes a course in 2030

> *A day in the life of a student taking a course called "Introduction to Global Development" consisted of three main parts: first, a global virtual gaming wiki to solve complex development challenges; second, local experiential learning, working, perhaps, for a few hours in a local slum, and; third, a group assignment focused on global inequity: five students in five countries with professors such as Amartya Sen, Joseph Stiglitz and BRAC's own Professor Syed Hashemi.*

Table 3. Scenario 2030: BRAC University Global – Education is Glocal; No Brain Drain

Litany	Education with borders
Systemic	• Networked model of education • Green: virtual/paper;ess/online classrooms • Clocal: multiple BUG hubs - physical locations for location/ community-based teaching, learning and research • Wiki: wiki-curriculum, crowd-sourced knowledge creation, multi-lingual, a la carte degrees designed by students • BUG hub campuses: land based, submarine and extra-terrestrial (BUG Hub Chondrobot)
Worldview	Education is glocal
Myth-Metaphor	Wiki BUG

TRANSFORMATION: NEXT STEPS

The workshop concluded with a guided visualisation exercise using an encounter with an "oracle" to ask about the University in 2030. Each participant was asked to visualise her- or himself in 2030. S/he was handed a message. What did it say? Several participants received the simple words: "Thank you." Others felt connected and engaged with students, their peers and with nature. A few articulated that "life is beautiful" and "life is good".

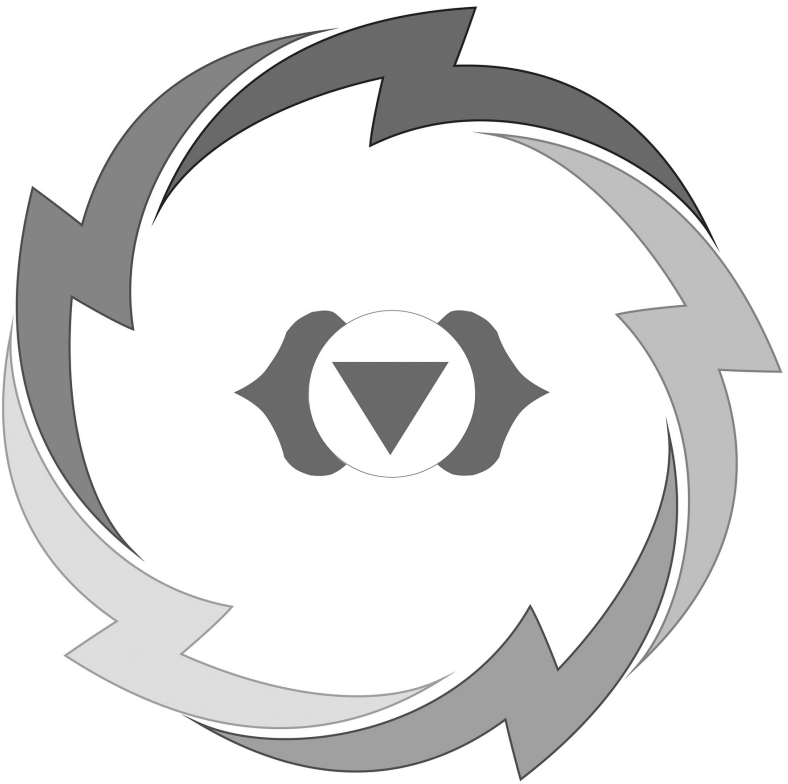
After visualising their personal futures – institutional futures always have a personal context, as Professor Riaz Khan of the Department of English and Humanities asserted: "Institutional transformation requires personal transformation," – participants brainstormed a list of practical next steps.

A journey begins with a first step; BRAC University's participants believed that they had already walked a mile. While many universities are going global and digital, what makes BRAC truly unique is their focus on pro-poor foresight, on theories and practices that create authentic human and social development. Certainly, the world will

be a much better place if the visions of these thought leaders in Bangladesh are realised.

Ainun Nishat, the Vice-Chancellor, closed the meeting, paraphrasing Tagore, by challenging participants "to keep the head held high and the mind fearless."*

* The university is now undergoing the linking of the foresight process with their strategic plan. Already, based on the strength of the visioning efforts, a major international donor has committed to a partnership to build the new campus. Moreover, there is a now an informal committee focused on creating alternative futures for BRACU.



Social Issues

SIXTEEN

CRIME AND PRISONS

Beyond The Rehabilitation and Punishment Debate

While the rest of the world is undergoing dynamic change – genomics, democratisation in Southwest Asia, digitalisation, the rise of Chindia, the development of alternative sources of energy, such as solar – prisons are often considered static. They are hidden from the eyes of the public unless there is an escape or someone released on parole re-offends. However, prisons and policing are also in the process of radical restructuring. Generally the debate over this restructuring has been between rehabilitation, humanising the prisons, and punishment, seeking stricter and longer punishment for offenders. But the external changes through the field of genomics, ecological design and soft technologies, such as meditation, yoga and biopsychology, are affecting prisons as well. Moreover, prisons themselves are being seen as organisations and thus as in need of strategic planning and, indeed, some correctional facilities are attempting to become learning organisations, reflecting on their alternative futures and their desired visions. Based on literature on prisons and on foresight workshops with correctional and police leaders, in this chapter alternative futures of prisons are explored.

POPULAR CULTURE AND THE FUTURES OF CRIME AND PRISONS

What are the futures of crime and prisons? One way to understand these futures corrections is through popular movies. In the 1976 American film *Logan's Run*, for example, living past the age of 30 was in effect a crime. Population and the consumption of resources are maintained

at a steady state through policing. Demography is the primary issue. And, as we rapidly age throughout the world, criminal activity towards the ageing will likely increase and new categories of crime, unthinkable today, will be created.

In the 1982 *Blade Runner*, the criminals were replicants – bioengineered individuals who performed tasks humans found distasteful. They were banned from Earth, and if they secretly returned they were hunted down and "retired" (permanently deactivated) by "Blade Runners" (police specialists). Crime was associated with the undesirability of co-existing with a new species (one that, ironically, we had created). As the Science and technology revolution continues, it seems certain that wildly new crimes associated with out-of-control robots and vicious digital viruses are likely to increase in number and severity, becoming far more serious threats than they are today.[1]

Not only the dangers are evolving; the science and technology revolution is also giving us new tools with which to address crime. For example, new forms of lie detection, based not on anxiety but on brain scanning, are likely to increase the chance of apprehending criminals. In 2008 a woman in India has been found guilty of murder on the basis of brain scan evidence.* *Minority Report* (2002) takes this much further. When a number of psychics gain the ability to predict crime, police are able to appear at a crime scene just *before* the criminal act is actually committed. However, and not surprisingly, mistakes are made. Eventually the program must be abandoned, but not before considerable harm is done. Increasingly, we can expect very varied attempts to intervene earlier in the crime cycle. These will likely be in the form of enhanced surveillance technologies: from cameras in the sky to bio-monitoring cameras in the body.

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* See Silberman, S. (2006). Don't even think about lying: How brain scans are reinventing the science of lie detection. Retrieved 23 February 2011 from http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/14.01/lying.html. Also see Robinson, E. (2010). Brain scan lie detection. Retrieved 23 February 2011 from http://www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/briefings/data/000172. While the evidence remains mixed, certainly neuroscience information carries with it the allure of certainty. See Weisberg, D., et al. (2008). The seductive allure of neuroscience explanations, *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, *20*(3), 470-477. Retrieved 23 February 2011 from http://www.yale.edu/cogdevlab/aarticles/The%20Seductive%20Allure.pdf.

As climate change continues to disrupt the planet – creating droughts, floods, tidal waves, typhoons – the move toward sustainability will no longer be merely a feel good green option; rather, it will become mandatory and need to be policed. Environmental crime – crimes that make an eco-system more vulnerable – at the national, corporate and personal levels, will grow. As regulation thickens and expands, the police and other branches of law enforcement will be called in to ensure compliance. However, given that policing tends to be reactive – waiting for legislatures and judiciaries at the nation-state level – they are unlikely to have the necessary skill sets to proactively and transparently police new arenas (aging, environment, cyberspace, global, genomics, etc.). In any case, prisons within the current paradigm are likely to grow as the variety of crimes expands.

FUTURES OF CRIME

What then are the futures of crime? First we need to challenge how crime is defined. Postmodernists, such as philosopher Michel Foucault, suggest that we consider "crime" as a social construct, historically defined, and not as an *a priori* universal.[2] Laws are invented. For example, thirty years ago, in developed parts of the world, forecasts of water scarcity and water crimes were dismissed. However, because of water scarcity, watering lawns in many cities is already a punishable activity. Will a "water mafia" develop in the near future? In poorer countries, electricity theft is common. Policing energy, however, is challenging, as corruption ensures that offenders merely pay a personal fine to the local police or electricity company. Energy "thieves" are certainly not yet seen as criminals.

Or imagine a future vegetarian society where those who eat meat are sent to prison. What would our prisons look like then? What would be an appropriate sentence for a meat eater? What would early intervention be like? Given the link between our diet choices and climate change, is this really a far-fetched scenario?[3] And if the meat industry becomes a criminal enterprise, how will those who skirt around meat prohibition be treated? If environmental sustainability (how green are you?) is the emerging future, should the police of 2011 move toward carbon-neutral

police stations, cars? Should prisons become totally green? Should police and correction facilities engage in green audits? Become vegetarian? In what ways should police and prisons be representative of a changing society? And as we continue to globalise, what is the appropriate jurisdiction for these types of questions? While there are certainly some geographical distinctions, as we continue to move toward a fully global society (capital, technologies, climate and crime do not respect national boundaries!), can we create laws and policies around policing and prisons that are shared at the planetary level?

As Foucault suggested, to understand the futures of prisons and the futures of crime we need to understand the nature of society: what is most important? What do we value today? What might we value tomorrow?

REHABILITATION

In the USA, and most developed nations, the main debate as to the futures of justice is between rehabilitation and punishment. Those on the rehabilitation side believe crimes are generally committed as a result of social and economic factors. They also argue that crime and criminality is socially constructed, and thus not a "god-given" universal concept but one that is created through historical practice.

The argument runs as follows: born into a poor family, or a single parent family, a person goes to a second-rate public school that labels them an under-achiever. Over time, the person comes to see themselves as not very worthwhile. Eventually (and especially if there is a nominal increase in their wealth) the person notices their relative deprivation – that others are driving fancier cars, have more "perfect" partners, live in beautiful estates – and, following the right trigger event, they steal, or commit some other crime.

Imprisoning someone like that merely adds to the problem. In jail, offenders rarely learn new skills, except how to be a more successful criminal. Their peer group consists of other prisoners, with similar stories. When they are released from prison, they stay within their[4] learned behaviour and thus are likely to commit crimes again. For

police, it becomes the story of arresting the "usual suspects".

If you accept this argument – the foundation of pro-rehabilitation position – the reforming interventions needed are numerous:

1. Remove class barriers. Ensure that the possibility of moving from the lower to the middle class and even to the upper class is there for all. Society should be based on merit. Equity. Equity. Equity.

2. Help single parent families. By ensuring that children of single parent families do not fall into the poverty trap, the chance of future crimes being committed is reduced. Funding can come through various programs: ensuring a nutritious breakfast for children (for physical and mental development); providing housing allowance; unemployment insurance; counselling; indeed, any intervention that helps those outside of the merit system to get the benefits afforded to others, and that increase the possibility of them feeling that they are a part of society is to be encouraged. It is crucial, also, that a dependency trap is not created such that there is resentment on both sides – the state providing the benefits and the recipient who now becomes a welfare victim. Social justice should not be confused with psychological entitlement.

3. Promote better peer groups. As children grow and develop peer groups, interventions come in the form of job training, sport and community clubs – again, anything to ensure that children do not start on paths of crime, and that they remain integrated with the family and the broader community.

4. Create learning and healing communities. Ultimately intervention is about healing communities, reweaving the fabric of friendship, helping peers see that we are all in this together.*

* For more on this, see Inayatullah, S. (2003-2004). The Learning and Healing Organization, Executive Excellence, 19(12), 20.

5. Rehabilitate by transforming the prison. The rehabilitation model in prisons, as well, works to ensure that when the prisoner is released s/he will leave behind his or her previous behaviour and start afresh. Interventions go from the simple step of changing diet (research suggests that diets rich in fruits and vegetables and low in refined sugar reduce prison violence), or the colours of prison cells, to giving prisoners meaningful work, prison gardens (so inmates can connect with nature), and work training.[5]

6. Use alternative sentencing. As much as possible, and where appropriate, keep those who have committed crimes *out* of prisons: whether through electronic surveillance or half-way houses or volunteering, ensure that those sentenced find ways to reconnect, to psychologically earn their way back into society.† European nations, especially, have had success with this approach. In this model – aspects of which are now called the "What works" model in the social policy profession – the goal is to ensure that the prisoner (and the victim and community) is healed, that connections between self, nature, god, and community are remade, *restored*. Once balance has been restored, the chances of the prisoner re-offending are diminished. The scientific evidence suggests that this model *does* indeed work.[6]

7. Finally, if the offender or the person on the margin is from a non-dominant ethnic background there are many instances where culturally appropriate dispute resolution is important. Re-integrating back into the community may mean not using the dominant legal system but instead using restorative justice that is more culturally attuned. This is not universally applicable but there are cases where culture is crucial in policing and sentencing.

† See research publications at the Willem Pompe Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology, Utrecht University, December 1996.

PUNISHMENT

In clear contrast is the punishment model. The argument for punishment is that all the rights are given to the offender and to the marginal, and that the victim – who may have been raped, or maimed – has none. In this approach, the best way to reduce present and future crimes is to keep serious offenders in jail. And there is evidence that backs this up – 25% of criminal activity can be reduced by imposing lengthy prison sentences.[7]

Beneath this approach is the view that if we do something wrong, we should be punished. We have sinned, whether against our community, ourselves, or our understanding of God. Merely focusing on rehabilitation sends a message of weakness to potential criminals. It also frustrates police, who tire of repeat offenders. Thus, we come to the most extreme form of punishment: the death penalty. Although most Western nations have eliminated it – seeing it as a repugnant form of state-sanctioned murder – the USA maintains this ancient practice, as do most traditional feudal nations (some of which would have an adulterous woman stoned to death, a punishment generally protested by other nations, including the USA).

The punishment model also supports: (1) the war on drugs, (2) the transformation of the prison through new surveillance technologies (making it safer, particularly for guards), (3) restorative justice for victims, and (4) privatisation of prisons to make them more efficient and cost-effective.

GENOMICS – A NEW VARIABLE?

The grounds of the debate between rehabilitation and punishment are being challenged on multiple fronts, especially as a result of revolutions in science and technology, both hard and soft. Three are pivotal: genomics, digital technologies and soft technologies – behaviour modification methods such as meditation, yoga and diet.

The genetics revolution, for one, is searching for the seeds of crime in our DNA. If certain individuals are more inclined toward committing

crimes – by their risk-taking proclivities, for example – should we not intervene to ensure they do not behave in this way in the future? This means mapping our genes as well as our theories of the factors of crime. Intervention could take the form of gene therapy (healing the damaged genes) or germ line intervention (ensuring the faulty gene is eliminated so that future generations do not inherit it).

Thus, the science of genetics allies itself with criminology in a search for genetic solutions to crimes. These solutions can be attempted at various phases in the "chain" of crime, even after the crime has occurred (in rape cases, for example, judges have been given the authority to sentence offenders to "chemical castration").

As mapping the human genome becomes cheaper, from a million US dollars to $50,000 per genome to $5,000[8] – and very soon to less than a $1,000 – in wealthy nations every child will, at birth, most likely be given a diagnostic map revealing their main risks factors. While currently genome diagnostics are health-focused – disease probability – we can well imagine "tough-on-crime" parliaments legislating that police use genetic analysis to identify those at high-risk of offending, for example, young males who drive and are prone to over-consumption of alcohol.[9]

There is already initial evidence for an aggression or "warrior" gene.[10] Biosocial criminologist Kevin Beaver of Florida State University's College of Criminology and Criminal Justice argues that young males who carry the MAOA gene are more likely to join gangs and engage in violence.[11]

> While gangs typically have been regarded as a sociological phenomenon, our investigation shows that variants of a specific MAOA gene, known as a 'low-activity 3-repeat allele,' play a significant role… Previous research has linked low-activity MAOA variants to a wide range of antisocial, even violent, behaviour, but our study confirms that these variants can predict gang membership. Moreover, we found that variants of this gene could distinguish gang members who were markedly more likely to behave violently and use weapons from members who were less likely to do either.[12]

As the genome becomes cheaper to sequence – a map for all – and as the technology becomes more available – an app for all – not only will genomics be used after the fact – forensics – but also as part of social policy, as central to the rehabilitation and punishment debate. If we know that an offender has the genetic variation that increases his or her likelihood for criminal behaviour, is more punishment warranted or does it behove society to enhance rehabilitation? Or is genetic modification the next route?

DIGITALISATION

Digitalisation is important largely in the prevention of current and future crimes. With increased video surveillance, poorly lit or secluded areas can be made safer. Kidnapping is far less likely as the likelihood of a surveillance camera capturing a picture of the abductor acts as a deterrent. Over time, bio-digital devices linked to GPS could be fitted to most humans such that the ability to prevent crimes is dramatically increased (and new types of crime invented). Bio-devices are already being used in court-ordered electronic surveillance. For crimes that do not hurt others – such as drug possession – home sentencing is already gaining prevalence.

Overtime, certain parts of the city could be seen as digital no-go areas. A paedophile could have a device implanted that warns the local prison/police station that s/he is nearing a primary school. In this sense the new technologies allow us to place the prisoner in a limited form of exile. Instead of being sent far away, his or her capacity to move is limited. This enhances his or her chances of being rehabilitated, as well as reducing his or her opportunities to re-offend. Of course, many fear that with these "all-seeing eyes" the State could become too powerful, not only intervening in crime, but in private non-criminal behaviour. Corruption amongst the police could increase. The balance between civil liberties and state power would certainly shift towards the latter.

SOFT TECHNOLOGIES

Just as important as hard technologies, such as bio-monitoring devices linked to GPS, are soft technologies. India, for example, has found prison violence is reduced and offenders rehabilitated far more effectively if meditation is used as an intervention. Prisoners find themselves calming down, centring themselves, having increased clarity on their present and futures. Yoga masters and social philosophers, like P. R. Sarkar, argue that there are four reasons for crime: (1) Snap judgment – based on a single emotional event; (2) Hormonal factors – an imbalanced body-mind system; (3) Genetic factors, and; (4) Social and Economic structures. For the first and second causes, Sarkar recommended Yoga, meditation, dietary change – soft "technologies". For the third, prison is often best (but with the goal of rehabilitation). For the fourth, social and community intervention (economic opportunities, responsibility setting, peer pressure).[13]

The work of Kiran Bedi, former director general of the Indian Bureau of Police Research and Development, is also worth noting. She has concluded, and demonstrated, that meditation in prisons reduces violence and reduces the probability that prisoners will commit further crimes when released.[14] Steven Landau has reported similar success for re-incarceration rates in North Carolina, USA. [15]

CRIME AND ITS FUTURES BASED ON OUR VIEWS OF JUSTICE

Crime and corrections are based on our deeply held, unconscious view of criminality.* While science and technology, hard and soft,

* Definitions of crime and the kinds of punishment employed are also based on the type of society. In a warrior-dominated society, where issues of loyalty, honour and courage are foremost, punishment can be extreme. In warrior societies, as in Saudi Arabia or Afghanistan, hands or heads are cut off for certain offenses. In modern societies, where bureaucratic rules are foremost, the *process* of law has become most important. While we can never know for sure if someone committed a particular crime, we do our best to ensure that the process of justice is fair. Thus, the rights of the alleged criminal are read. To those who can't afford an attorney, the State provides a lawyer and a group of peer judges. The maxim here is that it is far worse to punish one innocent than to let a thousand of the guilty go free.

race ahead, many penal institutions remain lost in time. The ideas that govern them remain based on traditional notions of crime and punishment (sin and hell) and of imprisonment (the prison, the cell, the jailer, the watchful eye).

If we wish to transform these places, we need to ask: what is our preferred view of justice and policing, crime and corrections? Which would be the most serious crimes? Which less serious? Would we still have prisons? If so, how would they be designed? What are the appropriate roles of other stakeholders such as police, courts, legislators, communities and others. Seen this way, the futures of crime and corrections are less about forecasting new technologies, the effects of climate change, levels of globalisation, demographic shifts, or social movements, and more about asking what type of world we really want to live in. And, to that end, what steps can we take today to help create that world?

PROUT POLICY AND CORRECTIONS

Prout policy on prisons is focused on differentiating the types of offender.[16] Generally "criminals by instinct" require a team approach: a medical doctor, a psychologist, a counsellor, a geneticist and, also, Sarkar suggests, a teacher of yoga and meditation. Quarantining such an offender from others is crucial, as they can harm others directly and indirectly. Other types of offenders, such as "criminals by habit" require far more caution as they are well organised in their criminal activities. On the other hand, for "criminals by necessity" changing the socio-economic system so that there is social support (provision of basic necessities) is far more important. Placing this type of offender in prisons is nonsensical from a Proutist viewpoint. Indeed, Sarkar recommends social revolution in this case.

Generally speaking, Prout policy on prisons has seven prongs.

First, Prout supports the meditation in prison program and suggests it move from its trial phase to nation-wide, indeed, global adoption.

Second, along with meditation, Prout recommends the use of

scientific research to alter the physical and social environment of prisons, including the introduction of vegetarian food, regular exercise and yoga.

Third, Prout recommends early intervention as much as possible. This means financial support for at-risk groups: vulnerable families, single mothers and others who may resort to crime for opportunistic reasons.

Fourth, Prout suggests that we need to be tough on the causes of crime: poverty, injustice, alienation and lack of meaning. Social change is required.

Fifth, Prout focuses on city design. Cities need to be designed to enhance equity and prosperity, to include nature, for example, thus enhancing well-being. Lighting in cities is crucial, creating well-lit green spaces. And, as much as impossible, industry should be decentralised so that cities are less burdened by large populations. Decentralisation is crucial to reducing crime.

Sixth, Prout recommends rethinking prison design. Intelligent use of space can reduce violence in prisons. Enhancing biodiversity through gardens can enhance the psychological well-being of inmates. Feng shui, too, can assist in making prisons places where those that wish to be healed can be so.

Seventh, for repeat offenders, prisons are important. But even there, the purpose of the prison is not so much to punish as to ensure that when released the offender can build a healthy life. Leading the world in number of offenders, as the USA currently does, is not indicative of a successful society.

Prout, then, would focus on changing the social and economic conditions so that fewer enter prison; and while in prison, Prout would have us focus on using spiritual, bio-psychological and ecological practices to increase the chances of rehabilitation. Once offenders leave prison, Prout would have us continue to monitor the person released, offering support and direction so there is every possibility of their successful reintegration with society.

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SEVENTEEN

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES OF CRIME AND PRISONS

The previous chapter explored the grand debate between rehabilitation and punishment, and the drivers that may change the terms of that debate. This chapter looks toward the future and explores the alternative futures of crime and prisons.

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

Alternative futures are posited because even though we may know the drivers of the future – globalisation of law, dramatic revolutions through genomics and digitalisation, climate change and the quest for sustainability, an ageing population in the developed world and a youth quake in Southwest Asia and Africa – their trajectories are uncertain. Many unforeseen variables may affect the actual future that emerges. Indeed, the future is uncertain, created by complex dynamic and adaptive conditions, including the agency of humans desiring to create a better world.

The four initial scenarios explored are "Prisons Forever", "Prisons Transformed", "Community Alternatives", and "Prevention".

PRISONS FOREVER

This scenario forecasts still more prisons, more overcrowding, more

law and order measures, with only minor and occasional swings towards rehabilitation. Generally the focus is on the victim, crime prevention through increased policing and incarceration. Legislatures are expected to pass tough laws and reduce the flexibility of both police and courts. Police are expected to use less mediation and more force. Judiciaries are expected to increase the length of sentences. The end result is probably increased crime, as offenders are not effectively rehabilitated.

The drivers creating this future are the "Law and Order" paradigm, the needs of the prison-industrial complex, the media, politicians and political rhetoric (winning elections tends to require a peace-through-strength approach with a promise of more funding for security forces and a tougher stance on offenders).

PRISONS TRANSFORMED

In this scenario, stakeholders intend to achieve better outcomes within prisons through (a) better prison design, (b) cognitive and yoga therapy for inmates, (c) a concern for the long term health, education and human rights of prisoners, and (d) other positive interventions. Prisons are considered to be correctional facilities. The goal is to reintegrate, as much as possible, offenders with their society. All stakeholders are consulted in this process, from citizen groups to the Judiciary, from the police to NGOs and victim advocacy organisations.

The drivers here include overcrowding in prisons, violence in prisons, the cost of prisons, a rapidly ageing society, the globalisation of human rights and human rights organisations, and the "what works" prison policy approach.

COMMUNITY ALTERNATIVES

A third scenario focuses on community alternatives, including restorative justice and community building. Electronic surveillance and bio-monitoring allow increased offender mobility and observation. Through the use of digital tagging, safe zones are

created. Surveillance is by neighbourhood residents and police. As much as possible, community reintegration is practiced. This occurs because the worldview has shifted from punishment to correction. A small percentage of highly violent offenders still end up in prison, but generally the expectation is that the "punishment" model of justice is too costly and ultimately ineffective especially in an ageing society.

The drivers here include the impact of pro-rehabilitation criminology; the rise of East Asian collectivism; the professional ideology of "what works"; the search for "community" in an increasingly fragmented world; the need for financial savings; demographic changes, and; new technologies. While the "Prisons Transformed" scenario changes the nature of prisons, in this scenario, interventions occur pre-prison and post-prison.

PREVENTION

A fourth scenario ensures societal conditions are changed so that rarely must individuals go to prison. Prevention has numerous dimensions, such as keeping families together, counselling for abused adolescents, better policing and digital surveillance (reducing the opportunities for crime), transforming prisons using bioscience intervention through identifying high risk individuals, and creating a more equitable society. Finally, the number of individuals in prison is seen as a sign of societal mal-development. Prevention is rigorously measured in policing and in prisons.

The drivers here include a swing away from punishment, evidence-based criminology, a social welfare state, the Human Genome Project, and other breakthroughs in the life sciences.

PUNISHMENT PLUS, AND PRISONS (AND JUSTICE) AS LEARNING ORGANISATIONS

Along with the four scenarios above, there are other possibilities; for example, "Punishment Plus?" In this integrated future, the correctional system has elements of punishment, as well as strong

rehabilitative elements. In this system, instead of being swayed at all times by politicians, scientific policy studies inform prison design and correctional policies. Thus, along with the prison, the system focuses on cognitive skills and on a rehabilitative behavioural program. It would be restorative and yet also preventative. It would be punishment-focused enough for the rhetoric of political leaders to allow professionals in policing and corrections to "get on with their job."

While these scenarios are based on external conditions, it is important for organisations to consider futures where they "own" the agency, where they create their desired futures. One could thus imagine Policing, a Corrections system or an entire Justice system that was smart, adaptive, and a learning organisation, working not only to ensure that crime was prevented but also that community was being restored. In this proactive future, the Department of Justice, with extensive stakeholder consultation (citizens, and all citizen sub-systems, the clients, media), instead of being the recipient of external change, would create its desired future. The challenge would be ensure that humane and ethical innovation were made central to prisons and policing, instead of giving ongoing latitude to a laggard institution stuck back in the medieval and pre-industrial era. Prisons and correctional facilities are thus transformed into learning organisations instead of being walled-off cities, ghettoes, for the least desirable.

PROUT'S VISION OF THE FUTURE OF PRISONS

In Prout thought, first it is crucial to move the debate away from the national level (though prison reform in each nation-state is important) to imagine and create a world penal code. Such a code would facilitate police in their work of apprehending offenders globally, and not allowing criminals to escape through porous jurisdictional borders.

Second, any global penal system needs to move to becoming a correctional system. Thus, capital punishment would be banned throughout the world. Moreover, in many cases, criminality would be

recognised as a mental disease, and thus curing the disease should be the goal instead of killing the patient.

Third, the head of prisons must have the same level of ethics and professionalism as the judge (and be paid accordingly). Prisons need to be as respectable as the Judiciary.

Fourth, as much as possible, prisons themselves need to be reformed: (a) the buildings and gardens designed with the principles of ecology and neo-humanism, (b) yoga and meditation classes would be the norm; (c) diets designed to increase harmony and reduce anger; (d) mediation and non-violent communication as the bedrock of prison pedagogy; (e) practical training so that after prison, offenders can build better lives for themselves, and; (f) use of new biomedical technologies to better diagnose prisoners, as well as digital technologies (surveillance, GPS, radio frequency identification devices) so that offenders can be safely returned to their respective communities as soon as possible.

Ultimately, in the Prout vision/scenario of the future, writes Sarkar: "A person, whether s/he is a sinner, a sufferer, a thief, a criminal or characterless, is so quite superficially; inherently s/he vibrates with the potentiality of being purified."[1] Prout policy, as developed in the steps above, would design prisons and prison policy so as to increase the possibility of moving away from superficial interventions and towards deep transformations.

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EIGHTEEN

E-HEALTH FUTURES FOR BANGLADESH

Implications for Prout e-health policy*

Can e-health – consisting of e-records to track patients and carers; e-pharmacy to monitor medicines; telemedicine, using web-links for remote diagnosis and surgery; and e-patients, to empower patients to create their desired health futures via apps for smart phones and diagnostic devices – transform the nature of the Bangladeshi health system? If so, how? And who can deliver this vision? To answer this question, the Bangladesh Ministry of Health, and Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (BEI) in collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation promoted a three-day foresight workshop on the futures of digital or e-health. Participants had varied backgrounds – e-health start-up managers, hospital directors, leading physicians, professors of public health, e-health practitioners, international e-health experts, Ministry of Health directors and digital information/ business providers.

The methodological framework employed was the six pillars approach.[1]

The six pillars approach is a step-by-step futures method that seeks to identify, map, and create alternative and preferred futures. Alternative futures thinking ensures that "more of the same" mentalities are challenged and that technological adoption is contextual and culturally appropriate. Moreover, the six pillars

* With **Ali Shah**

approach is focused on visions of desired change – in terms of the workshop in question, how would the participants like to see e-health develop in Bangladesh? Finally, an investigation of the weights that need to be overcome to achieve these visions is equally critical. These weights are physical (in terms of infrastructure) but also take the form of narratives or mindsets that do not allow new futures to be created. Thus, futures are tested for robustness and resilience through a number of other methods, specifically scenario planning, the futures wheel, and the futures triangle.

Three visions of the futures of e-health were articulated by participants.

LEAP-FROG 2025

The first was the Leap-frog. In 2025, the smart use of technology through low-cost diagnostic devices such as medical apps and bio-sensors has created a dramatic transformation in healthcare. The traditional (modern Western) health system was leap-frogged. People throughout Bangladesh gained access to inexpensive interactive technologies. The e-health infrastructure has been developed from the bottom up. The Ministry of Health provides the standards and other rules to ensure integration and interoperability.

The metaphor used by the Leap-frog group was the "fly-over". Given traffic congestion in Bangladesh and the inability of more roads to sate demand, the guiding metaphor was fittingly named. The leap-frog was possible as through an integration of extensive stakeholders, a "fly-over" from the current state of affairs (politicisation of health, high demand, but inability to meet health needs, lack of penetration of new ICTs, and high penetration of mobile phones*) to a desired e-health future was created.

* Estimates are that 50% of Bangladeshi citizens use mobile phones: Rahman, A. New rules to take services to the poor. *Gulfnews.com*. Retrieved 4 October 2011 from http://gulfnews.com/business/banking/new-rules-to-take-services-to-the-poor-1.882078.

A day in the life of a case worker in this future might consist of the following: (1) Rupa (the case-worker) receives an alert on her mobile device; (2) she then retrieves past patient information from the EHR (electronic health records database); (3) Rupa collects recent patient vital statistics using mobile medical devices and bio-sensors; (4) she then forwards the information to the doctors' technology platform for remote diagnosis; (5) she facilitates a healthy and meaningful relationship between doctor and patient through quality service provision; and (6) she proactively helps to keep the geo-mapping and profiling of patients and diseases up to date. There is combination of the high-tech with meaningful human contact.

In the Leap-frog/fly-over future, new, mobile, smart technologies are used instead of the landline; the service provider is the key in this future. The rural or urban community worker is the knowledge health navigator who bridges the gap between the world of the patient and the medical system. New apps are created. The health worker is not a passive recipient of new technologies but an active creator.

THE HEALTH CLOUD 2025[2, 3]

In this vision of the future, the guiding metaphor is the "cloud", referring here to cloud computing, wherein health information and diagnostic applications are available ubiquitously to all. However, for administrative purposes, the "cloud" is a public space. Health is organised through upazilas (a Bangladeshi word for a "sub-district", of which there are currently 500 in Bangladesh). The beginning of the cloud health network is in the tracking of the birth of every child in Bangladesh. Once the births are registered, each person's health life-cycle can be tracked and monitored and their life stages health-enhanced.

For example, a day in the life of an end-user could look like this:

Rahima Begum just delivered a baby boy in Shadullapur health complex. Within 25 minutes, she and her family received a birth certificate and national registration number. Baby Zahir receives a baby bracelet with an embedded RFID tag that will allow any health worker to check and update his health record. When baby Zahir's vaccinations are due, his family, and his community health worker will receive an SMS notifying them of the vaccination and the nearest health centre where the vaccine is in stock. After the first week, Rahima Begum receives a visit from the health extension worker who delivers her postpartum vitamin A, which is registered, using the RFID bracelet, to update the cloud health record. The district civil surgeon's statistical database is updated; now he can plan with the District Education Officer the probable size of the upcoming primary school class in that village. Rahima Begum's husband, who is a migrant worker in Dubai, can access, on the internet, with a password, the updated health record of his family, and motivate them to ensure that they get vaccines on time, and to make sure that baby Zahir receives only exclusive baby formula. He has used the Cloud Learning function to learn about infant nutrition, and insists that Zahir's grandmother not feed him any animal milk.

In the cloud, people do not need to move; only data does. Health information, expertise and wisdom come to the patient. Multiple stakeholders support the system.

SUSTAINABLE PUBLIC PAYMENT FOR HEALTH 2025[4]

In this third vision of the future, the other scenarios are accepted, but the question remains of how future systems are to be paid for, their financial sustainability.

This future is centralised, with individuals offered financial incentives to stay healthy via public disbursements. This system had already seen use by 2009.[5] Thus, prevention as a worldview

has become dominant.* Donors and insurance agencies, along with the government and health professionals, have a major role to play in this future. Information is not just one way, i.e., giving citizens health education, but has become two-way through financial incentives and new mobile technologies. Citizens use new digital devices or work with local health case workers to enhance their own understanding of their personally tailored health futures. They are empowered and thus costs are lowered.† While inequity may become a problem, the system does not discriminate against those that are unhealthy due to genetic or environmental factors. These are taken into account.

A day in the life of Hassan may look like this in 2025:

Hassan gets up in the morning with a stomach ache. The e-health bracelet on his arm is buzzing, notifying him about an anomaly in his body chemistry and that an automated interview has been set up with his doctor, complete with his bio-data and current symptoms. Hassan can sense trouble; the overdose of samosas last night is going to cost him a hike in his insurance premium, which also means another visit by the insurance guys shortly. As he gets out of bed, he also realises that he has to notify his landlady to receive the medications, which will be automatically sent over to his house immediately after his visit to the doctor. The phone rings; it's his HR manager at the office, who has requisitioned a half-day's leave for him because his sickness has been reported to his workplace. As his health costs have gone up, Hassan has been far more careful about over-eating. And he knows he should have used the apps on his phone to monitor his diet but, well, he didn't. In the future, he will be more careful.

* See Inayatullah, S. (2010). "Changing the health story from passive acceptance to active foresight", *Futures*, *42*, 641-647.

† For an example of this in terms of health literacy, see Jahan, R.A. (2000). Promoting health literacy: a case study of prevention of diarrhoeal disease from Bangladesh. *Health promotion international*, *15*(4), 285-291. Retrieved 2 October 2011 from http://heapro.oxfordjournals.org/content/15/4/285.full.

Employers thus provide incentives to workers to stay healthy via wellness programs and mobile health solutions. Employees monitor their own health, and thus have incentives to stay empowered.

Table 1. E-Health Scenarios 2025

	Leap Frog	Health cloud	Sustainable public payment for health
Litany	Smart use of technology Use of low-cast diagnostic services	Every birth in Bangladesh registered	Paying people to stay healthy through public disbursement of health expense funds
System	Integrated and interoperable universal e-health system	Shared Public Utility Cloud	Data collection and data management for public disbursement
Main Stakeholders	Public health sector, private firms, NGOs, donors, citizen associations, rural and urban citizens	Government, ICT companies, digital natives, public health NGOs, interational agencies and donors	Governmnet, insurance agencies, donors, patients and health professionals
Dominant Worldview	Combining creativity and social responsibility	Universal right to health and information	Welfare-based model for inducing health consciousness in people
Myth-Metaphor	Sir Fazle Hasan Abed - icon; a person with real-world savvy and human values	Connectivity cloud	Raise the price of vice, lower the cost of virtue

DIGITAL HEALTH SUCCEEDS – Data comes to the patient

Digital health in Bangladesh is likely to succeed because of technological advances and because the current health system

is faltering (low doctor/patient ratio, low public access to health services) and the leadership exhibited by the numerous stakeholders. E-health visions promise futures in which patients are more empowered; community health workers use health diagnostic devices to monitor, to link with medical professionals and to keep up to date with people individually; revolutions in e-records, e-pharmacy, e-diagnosis and e-prevention transform Bangladesh health, leading to greater wellbeing and economic productivity; the Ministry of Health provides the standards and safeguards to ensure public health benefits; medicine – as well as data, information and wisdom – comes to the patient. This system is especially important given potential future shocks such as dramatic climate change, and the slow shift to an ageing society.[6]

Because of the success of e-health initiatives, the health of Bangladeshis has, in this future, been transformed. Specific outcomes are: (1) increased life expectancy, (2) lower mortality, (3) the virtual elimination of maternal and infant mortality, (4) universal healthcare, (5) economic growth and (6) increased wellness.

PROUT HEALTH POLICY AND IMPLICATIONS

Prout, unlike many other spiritual movements, takes a progressive view of technology and considers health to be a basic human right. Health is defined broadly to include physical, mental and spiritual health. In the Prout model of the health system, the patient is first. As Sarkar writes: "The object of the art of healing is to cure a patient, both physically and mentally. The question is not to uphold any particular school of medicine; rather, the key task is the welfare of the patient."[7]

Prout thus:

1. Encourages the use of new technologies in the health sector in all arenas (information storage, diagnostics and health monitoring).

2. Encourages local-specific solutions, as in the Bangladesh

scenarios above, that use local health workers as bridges between rural citizens and the medical system. Solutions must not be "one size fits all" but designed for local conditions.

3. Over time Prout encourages citizens to use health diagnostic systems themselves. New technologies are deemed to be progressive when they enhance equity and create cycles of innovation.

4. However, and this is crucial, Prout does not support the reduction of wages as new technologies are adopted; rather, more time with family or pursuing personal interests, striking a better work/life balance is recommended for medical professionals. This aids in overall service quality and safety for patients and medical professionals.

5. Prout supports a multi-door health system where a number of traditions have voice: the western, traditional Ayurvedic, Chinese medicine, as well as local traditions. But the centrepiece is the empowered patient, who can use technologies and the advice of medical professionals to take charge of their own health.

6. Prout considers health to be a foundational human right, and a part of the responsibility of the collective to the individual. However, the responsibility of the individual is prevention, to engage in behaviour that does not bankrupt the medical system. Thus Prout supports a general prevention health strategy: for example, high taxation of tobacco, the encouragement of diets consisting of vegetables and fruits, creating supportive systems for exercise, ensuring vaccination against major diseases, and creating health equity. And, with rates of cardio-vascular disease dramatically rising in the developing world, lifestyle changes are paramount for a broader strategy of prevention.

7. Finally, even though Prout encourages multiple health traditions, the base of health is the spiritual. A society that is balanced, physically (diet, yoga, exercise, ensuring basic health services for all), mentally (meditation, work/life balance) and spiritually (inner purpose), is a healthy society.

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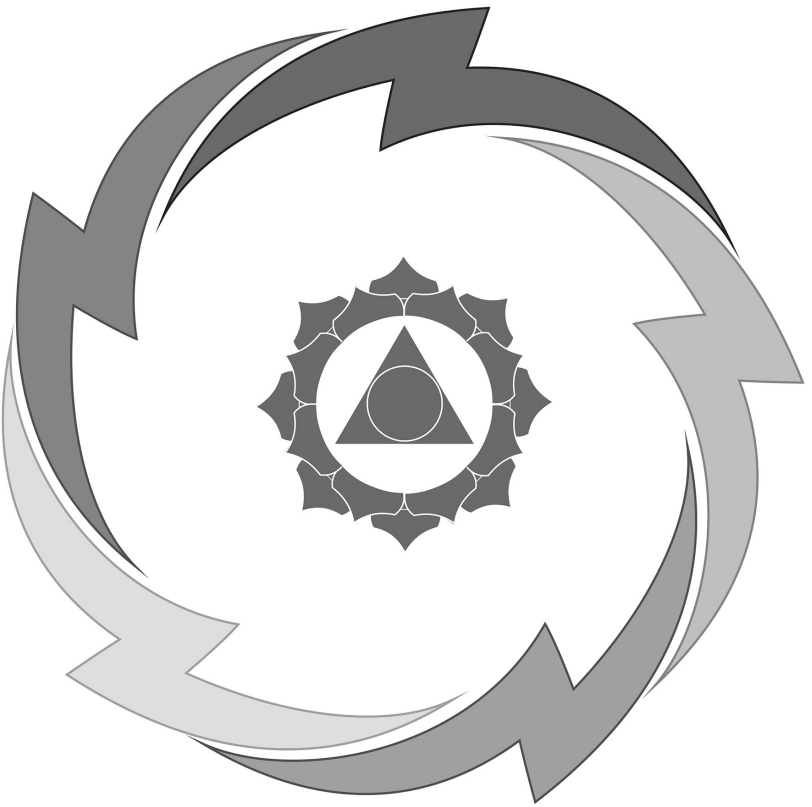

Political Economy

NINETEEN
DECONSTRUCTING AND RECONSTRUCTING THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

In this chapter, the underlying stories of the global financial crisis (GFC) are explored. The six narratives presented are the GFC as: (1) a mortgage crisis, (2) a global banking crisis, (3) creative destruction, (4) a geopolitical shift, (5) a symptom of the inequity of capitalism, and (6) a window of opportunity to a different, greener, more peaceful world. Prout policy recommendations conclude this chapter.

NARRATIVES THAT DEFINE

While most believe the global financial crisis is definitely over ("We're in the money: it's party time again"[1]); others are far less certain as the crisis appears to now be challenging China. With sovereign default hanging over the PIIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain), crippling debt may still lead to a systemic collapse. In 2009, economics professor Nouriel Roubini, one of the few to accurately forecast the financial crisis, argued that "the outlook is precarious under the best of circumstances."[2] More recently, Walker writes that even though the markets have recovered "excess liquidity is flowing to the financial sector rather than the real economy"[3] leading to yet another bubble and thus another crash. Further stimulation is challenged as conservative groups demand tax relief. Lena Komileva, an economist with British firm Tullett Prebon, writes "the foundation of the global economy remains unstable even if the cracks have been smoothed over and we are happy to forget what lies beneath the heavy layer of public sector's liquidity insurance."[4] Paul Krugman argues that the recovery has only

exacerbated the causes of the GFC: increased inequity. While the wealthy did lose income during the GFC, Krugman informs us that "95 percent of the gains from economic recovery since 2009 have gone to the famous one percent. In fact, more than 60 percent of the gains went to the top 0.1 percent, people with annual incomes of more than $1.9 million. Basically, while the great majority of Americans are still living in a depressed economy, the rich have recovered just about all of their losses and are powering ahead."[5] At the global level, a 2015 Oxfam report claims that the "85 richest people own the same wealth as the 3.5 billion poorest people."[6] Of course, others are more hopeful. UBS analysts, while mindful of the challenges facing the world economy, argue that a slow recovery is ahead even if it is unlikely to be a "normal" recovery.[7] With the causes unresolved, the prognosis for the patient is obvious.

Uncertainty and complexity are ahead of us. This chapter does not forecast the future of the GFC; rather, it analyses the myths underlying how we perceive this crisis, with the intention of creating policy contexts for alternative futures.

The methodology used to understand the global financial crisis is narrative-based. Writes Daniel Yergin, chairman of IHS Cambridge Energy Associates: "Narrative goes beyond the dramatic stories of how it unfolded. It provides the explanation of what happened and the framework for organizing thinking for the future."[8] This approach is called Causal Layered Analysis (CLA).[9] In this approach there are four overlapping levels of reality: (1) the day-to-day visible and objective presentation of data, or the litany; (2) the systemic – the interrelated parts that comprise the issue under analysis; (3) the worldview, or the interests and perspectives of stakeholders, and, finally,(4) the underlying, often unconscious, myths and metaphors that support and provide meaning to the entire framework. Myths and worldviews shape the data we are able to see and thus the systemic solutions that we offer.

By stepping back and deconstructing the underlying stories of the global financial crisis, causal layered analysis helps reconstruct alternative, deeper policy options. The stories that explain the global financial crisis are multi-fold, but a set of six are foundational: (1) a mortgage crisis, (2) a global banking crisis, (3) creative destruction, part

of natural cycles, (4) geopolitical shift, (5) a symptom of capitalism, and (6) a window of opportunity on a different, greener, transformed world.

MORTGAGE CRISIS

The narrow view is that this was, is, just a mortgage crisis; there was a lack of regulation as to who banks could lend money to – the famous "sub-prime" crunch. Rising stock and house prices inflated a bubble.[10] Banks were caught in this bubble, as were stockholders. During speculative bubbles, few people act on the assumption that the bubble will end, but, as to all bubbles, the end comes in a swift and shocking way.

Within this narrative, the solutions are simple: (1) more oversight, and (2) more rules – covering levels of borrowing, down-payment requirements, sustainable debt/net capital ratios (the long-standing rules were that for every $15 of debt, lenders needed to have $1 of equity),[11] and use of money during the good times to ward off problems during the bad.

The underlying story of this story is that people ought to live within their means. Systemic rules need to be in place to ensure this. Further, a new story needs to be told – especially in America – of purpose. The foundational story "I shop therefore I am" needs to be challenged and replaced with "living within one's means".

Table 1. CLA – The mortgage crisis story

	Deconstruction - theproblem	Reconstruction - Solutions
The litany	Mortgage crisis	Down-payment, job required. Lend to those who can pay back
Systemic causes	Lack of regulation	Save those who may default but generally regulate banks and other lenders. Stricter national and international rule.
Worldview	Consumer debt-based Capitalism	Responsible spending, savings; even frugality
Myth-Metaphor	I shop therefore I am	Live within one's means

GLOBAL BANKING CRISIS

Even if one believes that the core issue is the mortgage crisis, the sub-prime debacle has been contagious, spreading throughout the banking and broader financial systems. Indeed, the mortgage crisis has led to a financial crisis which has, in turn, caused an overall economic crisis.

Given the contagion, it is not just the USA that has to "set its house in order" but the entire world. While Americans may need to save more, Asian nations may need to rethink nirvana as defined as the rapacious American consumer. Global regulation and a change in global values are required. Prime Minister of the UK Gordon Brown went so far as to say that a new global organisation is needed to supplant both the World Bank and the IMF, creating a new financial world order.[12] It is not less globalisation – protecting one's financial boundaries – but *more* (effective) globalisation that is the solution. The key is to restore trust in the system. Credit, as Gordon Brown reminds us, comes from the Latin root *credo.*

Those adhering to this narrative argue that since inequity was foundational in the creation of the problem (wages did not keep up with corporate profits) more equity is the solution. Finding ways to enhance equity will restore confidence. Capitalism has its ills but these can be controlled through sound governance. In an age of global capitalism, smarter and wiser global governance is required.

At the structural level, specific projects that are part of the solution include: (1) infrastructure development – roads and other grand projects; (2) the protection of jobs through job sharing, and; (3) limiting the salaries of those corporations that receive government hand-outs. Without a doubt Keynes is the hero, and the guiding story is that "we are all in the same boat". Luckily we can see a beautiful future ahead; a city with jobs and a shopping centre… so let's spend, spend, spend! The state-as-parent will dole out the money to make this possible.

Table 2. CLA – The global banking crisis story

	Deconstruction - theproblem	Reconstruction - Solutions
The litany	Stock prices in decline	Government intervention
Systemic	Bank Failures	New banking rules; purchase toxic assets and work on a new, international banking regulation structure
Worldview	Untamed unruly globalisation	Mature and equitable globalisation
Myth-Metaphor	Loss of trust	Restore faith and trust int he system - *credo*

CREATIVE DESTRUCTION – WHAT CRISIS?

In contrast are the true blue capitalists. For them, the global financial crisis is just a normal (if extreme) part of the business cycle. Yes, some more regulation is required, but endless stimulus packages are not the solution as they only transform private debt into public debt. Inflation is the likely result. The underlying story: "The patient is ill and he needs bitter medicine". While the entire financial system needs to be rescued, particular banks should be allowed to fail. "Let the weak fail and the strong emerge", is another underlying myth. Destruction followed by consolidation is a normal process in business and technology cycles. It should never be forgotten, in this story, that the market is always right. And the market, quite correctly, is punishing those who have "sinned" (the corrupt or, like Detroit car companies and large financial institutions, those who have not understood the changing business landscape). Bail-outs rarely work as they allow the weak to survive, thus putting the entire herd in jeopardy.

In this process of creative destruction, it is crucial not to prop up the losers but instead to let them disappear; new winners will emerge from the wreck. These winners will innovate, create new products, find new markets and all will be well again. Saving those who have lost their homes merely rewards the lazy. Indeed, major crises lead to opportunities; for many the 2008/9 market devaluation (like the 1987 market crash) has been the best buying opportunity in a century.

For those ready to take risks and find good, undervalued companies (for example, those which embrace ideas on the edge, who have great products, little competition in their field, lots of cash, research budgets that lead to innovation, and a vision of the future), everything will work out fine.

Table 3. CLA – The creative destruction story

	Deconstruction - theproblem	Reconstruction - Solutions
The litany	Prices dropping, recession, perhaps depression	Buy low, new opportunities
Systemic causes	Banks are being propped up	Let banks fail, house ownership is not a right. Allow risk
Worldview	Markets are being distorted by governments and central banks	Creative destruction - true markets
Myth-Metaphor	Natural cycle of events	Time for strong medicine, invisible hand, no pain, no gain

GEOPOLITICAL SHIFT

Others see the GFC as not merely a crisis of housing and banking but as also signalling change in the geopolitics of the world economy. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao (now former) squarely sees the global financial crisis as American-created, based on incorrect macro-economic policies and on a lack of savings. But in a deeply interconnected world, the American problem is everyone's. Says the Chinese leader:

> The crisis is attributable to a variety of factors and the major ones are: inappropriate macro-economic policies of some economies and their unsustainable model of development characterised by prolonged low savings and high

> consumption; excessive expansion of financial institutions in the blind pursuit of profit; lack of self-discipline among financial institutions and rating agencies and the ensuing distortion of risk information and asset pricing; and the failure of financial supervision and regulation to keep up with financial innovations, which allowed the risks of financial derivatives to build and spread.[13]

In contrast, by the end of December 2009 China had US$2.4 trillion in foreign reserves reports the *Financial Times*[14] and, by 2014, US$3.8 trillion.[15] A number of factors explain China's economic rise. These include an ethic of hard work and savings, low cost labour, the lack of a regulatory framework to protect workers and the environment, an under-valued currency, and an efficient mix of State control and free market principles. Metaphorically, China is the world's factory. Indeed, in 2009 China overtook Germany as the world's biggest exporter and reported a near US$200 billion trade surplus for that year.[16]

With the "day of reckoning" for the American economy having arrived[17] it appears that a China-led Asia can save the day and, in the process, Asia can rediscover itself. In the 18th Century, China and India accounted for nearly 50% of the world's wealth[18] and it appears that we are moving in that direction again. By 2032, if current trends continue, China will be the largest economy in the world and by 2050 it will be 20% larger than the USA. India's GDP is expected by many analysts to go from US$1.1 trillion in 2009 to US$17.8 trillion in 2050. Jointly, China and India's GDP is projected to increase by nearly US$60 trillion.[19] In this scenario, the USA would remain a major player but its relative power would certainly have declined.

The new system would remain capitalist but with an Asian face. It would display more collectivism and family focus, more concern for equity, have a more authoritarian (as in Singapore: "You will be Creative!") style, as well as far more government intervention by endless ministries (of trade, investment, innovation, bio- technology, nano-technology, genomics). Productivity would grow because of wise technocrats guiding a market, instead of the market guiding the

state. Chindia will be like "Japan Inc.", but without the Japanese fear of immigration, and with a smaller ageing-related burden.

It is important to note that better control of inflation, lower deficits, increasing productivity, a demographic dividend, richer social programs and greater political stability have given the emerging giants greater room for error at a time when the macro-economic environment in rich countries has been deteriorating.[20] Thus conditions favour Chindia at this stage of the world's economic history. Their future is bright.

Table 4. CLA – The geopolitical shift story

	Deconstruction - theproblem	Reconstruction - Solutions
The litany	High debt ratios	Low debt, US$2+ trillion in savings; East Asia $4.5 trillion in savings
Systemic causes	Lack of regulationAgeing society, lack of savings	Savings + hard work + low cost labour + demographic dividend
Worldview	Western corporate capitalism	Capitalism with an Asian face
Myth-Metaphor	Day of Reckoning for West	Peaceful rise of Asia

SYMPTOMS OF CAPITALISM - EVEN BROADER

But while there may be a changing of the guard, of the global elite, a fifth story is that the mortgage and banking crisis is a reflection – a symptom – of the deeper problems of world capitalism. Essentially the issue is a lack of equity, the worst it has been since before the great depression.[21] Instead of increased wages, debt has been the solution in the USA. This strategy worked in the short-run but – as the GFC testifies – also enhanced economic imbalances.[22] Moreover, valuable resources have been lost in the US$1-3 trillion war in Iraq.[23]

But this is predictable behaviour as the nations at the core of the world system spend their treasure on weapons of war, seeing enemies everywhere, potential challengers to their hegemony. They tend to become the global police and to use their military and financial power to remain at the core of the system.[24] In the case of the US this has been accomplished through the military-industrial-think tank complex on the one hand and by having the US dollar as the world currency, thus allowing the country to print its way out of crises, on the other. In response, leftist organisations, such as the world social forum, make the claim that the end is in sight and that a new world system will emerge from this and subsequent crises ahead.[25]

Thus a worldview shift from capitalism to some other sort of economic system is required. This could be a democratic, global, socialist system or a progressive cooperative system as advocated in the works of Sarkar[26] and Johan Galtung[27]. What is needed are ways to enhance equity, to move from the corporatist model to a cooperative model far more focused on sustainability; that is, on a guaranteed basic, constitutional right to food, to clothes, health, education and housing, plus an innovative incentive-based economy.

In this narrative the system does not work for the majority of people on the planet, even if from time to time there are huge gains for the elite in rich and poor nations. To keep the world secure, as in Roman times, military force is used on one hand and *panis et circenses* ("bread and circuses") on the other[28]. This is not to say that poor nations should continue business as usual. Inequity cannot be an excuse for avoiding endogenous change. Poorer developing nations must become more transparent, encourage gender equity, focus on sustainability, use tradition to innovate, create governance structures where green tape, not endless red tape, rules the day, and invest in educational systems that are person- and earth-tailored, not poor copies of the West. Challenging feudal oligarchies and communist hierarchies is equally important. Economic democracy and global governance are necessary to overcome this crisis and to make the transition to a new world system.

Table 5. CLA – The symptoms of capitalism story

	Deconstruction - theproblem	Reconstruction - Solutions
The litany	Mortgage and banking crisis	Mortgage and banking crisis is the tip of the iceberg
Systemic causes	War economy, highly centralised, inequity	Economy needs to become localised, expenditures on innovation and education - re-focus on the social
Worldview	Imperial over-reach, neo-liberalism	Democratic socialism, globalism with a human face
Myth-Metaphor	It's not fair	Fair go for all

ECO-SPIRITUAL – A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY

The last narrative combines aspects of the work of Eckhart Tolle, Sarkar and Galtung, integrating the spiritual with equity, sustainability, peace and worldview change.

Historically 9/11 is seen as a window of opportunity that was wasted. No real change in the Islamic or Western worlds occurred; the right wing carried the day throughout the world. Terrorism became an excuse to retreat from the positive aspects of globalisation, to create a clash of civilisations. The main result has been clarity on who it is that we think is evil – Them.

As in the leftist view, capitalism is the problem; less that it creates wealth but that it creates inequity. Higher inequity leads to increased unhappiness and bad health outcomes. Capitalism is important for innovation but not for creating a good society. Wealth should be spread differently: investments should be made in peace and conflict resolution initiatives; on evidence–based, preventive approaches, such as teaching mediation and meditation in schools, on reducing meat consumption, for example. War represents a failure of creativity, of the human spirit. However, in contrast to the position of the left, the focus in this scenario is less on what is wrong with the current

system and more on how to create a new system. Spiritual practice is central here, as is an ethics of neo-humanism, going beyond identification with the nation-state, religion or even humanism.[29] In this future, policy is neither left nor right but balances inner and outer, what Sarkar called *prama*, or "dynamic balance".[30] This is only possible through deep inner presence.[31]

There is a strong link between the global financial crisis and sustainability. The crisis has shown that companies that are not energy efficient will be punished by markets. All nations, cities, corporations need to make the transition to a greener world economy. The sooner there are global regulations for making the transition to renewable energy the better.

Some specific grand reforms include:

1. The reduction or taxation of speculation. Hazel Henderson argues that we should either terminate the US$3 trillion of daily currency trading or tax all such activities by less than 1%, using the revenue to meet global millennial goals.[32]

2. The introduction of a new global currency and governance rules. This is an opportunity to do something different. James Robertson has suggested the creation of a new currency called the Earth.[33] We need to start from scratch. Amazingly, while Robertson is a left-oriented humanist thinker, China has also called for a new global currency.[34]

3. A shift from the corporatist model to the cooperative model with stakeholders having a greater say, if not controlling their company. Moreover, if bankrupt companies require federal funding, they would need to change their ownership structure.

4. The use of new measures to account for progress, not just GDP but triple bottom line measurements that take into account prosperity plus social inclusion (all important for health and wealth generation) and nature (the base of the economy). Even, over time, a fourth bottom line of inclusive spirituality.[35]

The metaphor is the great transition to another type of world economic system. After five centuries, the world capitalist system has spread all over the world and led to incredible innovation but it has not solved the challenges of nature and equity. A more democratic economic system is needed. Fortunately technologies like the web enable peer-to-peer networks challenging feudal structures and allowing the possibility of a new world. The GFC is a potential trigger for this transition.

Table 6. CLA – The eco-spiritual story

	Deconstruction - theproblem	Reconstruction - Solutions
The litany	Individualism, disowning the collective	Individual and society
Systemic causes	The US Dollar, unfair trading rules, energy inefficiency	New currency, new global trading rules
Worldview	Capitalism, the nation-state, modernity and patriarchy	Progressive Utilisation Theory - Sarkar, Hazel Henderson, Galtung
Myth-Metaphor	The endless rise to progress	The grand transition, Gaia tech

CONCLUSION: DEEPENING AND BROADENING OUR FOCUS

These six narratives provide an overall explanation of the crisis (and there are others, not covered here, such as the "God's plan" and "inner transformation" narratives). While for some commentators there is only one explanation, a case can be made that parts of each story are true or that each provides a useful understanding of the global financial crisis. If the image of concentric expanding circles is used, the smallest circle represents the story that the crisis is only a housing crisis. The next circle, the story of a banking and financial crisis. There

is certainly some truth to the story of creative destruction, but, given that the entire system was unstable and that massive suffering would result if it fell apart, stimulus packages have certainly made sense. There is truth, too, in the narrative that there is a much broader shift to Chindia. The problem of inequity, as well, cannot be denied, and nor can the need for a more equitable system. Finally, the broadest circle, representing the need for a foundational, peaceful transition to a greener more peaceful world, with major transformations in currency, global governance and our measurement of success, holds lessons beyond valuation.

The main argument is that the lenses we use to look at the real world can be narrow and shallow or broad and deep. The challenge is to use simultaneous strategies and tactics, meeting the needs of future generations and the needs of the present. Broadening our focus changes the possibilities of the future, expands what is possible. Deepening our focus by moving from litany to inner story, myth, allows for more potent and transformative change to occur. As we go broader and deeper, the mistakes that created the current crisis can be understood and alternative futures created.

PROUT POLICY

Prout policy for this crisis, and the other, emerging crises is multi-fold. The following areas are particularly relevant:

5. Encourage people in every way possible to see the crisis as a way to develop global governance, neo-humanism, gender partnership and alternative economics.

6. In the medium run, encourage investment in renewable energy systems; encourage the shift from corporatist to cooperative economic structures.

7. Encourage a more balanced or *prama* economy, specifically one in which even as the standard of living increases, equity does not diminish – wages for workers increase; that is, reduce the gap between the richest and the poorest.

8. Enhance the power and capacity of all the people of the world

to create economic futures – deep economic democracy.

9. During crises ensure that the most vulnerable are protected.

10. Move in every way possible toward the ecological sustainability model while not losing sight of the need to move billions out of poverty.

11. Ensure that new economic models have corresponding new ways to measure progress; that is, the quadruple bottom line, measuring prosperity (standard of living), social inclusion (neo-humanism), the environment (walking gently on the Earth) and spirituality (creating a reflective and purposeful global civilisation).

In the short run, stimulus packages are sensible but they need to be directly linked to the medium and long term, i.e. in a shift to green technologies, in an institutional shift to different organisational structures (the cooperative) and in a governmental shift to increased global governance and, where appropriate, localisation and regionalisation of economies while remaining cognisant of the positive globalising and peer-to-peer effects of new information and communication technologies and other scientific advances.

In crisis, humans can revert to nationalistic tendencies or, with appropriate leadership (that serves others, that is courageous, that innovates and that creates financial value, wealth), humans can become the best they can be – in a word: neo-humanist.

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TWENTY

EXPANDING ECONOMIC THINKING

P.R. Sarkar & Amartya Sen

In this chapter, we use the work of Amartya Sen to gain insight into Proutist economics.

In the late 1990s there was a general sense of exuberance that, with the Nobel Prize going to a social welfare economist, the trend away from treating financial markets as primary had been validated by the economics profession. It was thus heartening that the Nobel Committee had finally discovered the "people's economy".

We say "finally" because it has been, for thousands of years, the people's economy that has nourished us, that has kept us alive. Whatever the historical era – *shudra*, *ksattriya*, *vipra* or *vaeshya* – it is this economy that has been most crucial, and it is this economy that those in power have been most concerned about dominating.

When capitalists are in power, they want to ensure that the informal dimensions of barter, of small markets, of localism are monetised. They want to ensure that corporatisation expands to the furthest reaches, to the most remote village, so that there can be paying customers for their products; customers who can pay in cash, and not in kind through bartering.

When *vipra*s are in power, they too want to ensure that there is surplus at the bottom level so their welfare can be taken care of. They want to ensure that every last bit of the market is appropriately taxed.

So too in *ksattriyan* eras, when warriors take from the poor to fund their dreams of conquering neighbours. Indeed, history can be understood from the perspective of who is taking from the people's economy and what ways have been found to draw wealth upward. Is it through donations to priests and monks? Is it calls to globalise? Is it through monetisation? By analysing in which ways the people are removed from direct economic activities we can gauge the level of exploitation.

DEFINED

But what, specifically, *is* the People's economy? Sarkar defines it as follows: "[the] people's economy deals with the essential needs of the people – the production, distribution, marketing... and all related activities of such essential needs. Most importantly, it is directly concerned with the guaranteed provision of minimum requirements such as food, clothing, housing, medical treatment, education, transportation, energy and irrigation water. [1]" In essence, it is about survival. With a vibrant peoples' economy, people live; without it, as Sen has argued, famines can result. And yet, it is this economy that the state tries to regulate. Again, as Sen has shown, famines result partly because of state intervention, especially in immoral dictatorships where there is no opposition, where people have no way to express their frustrations, where information is kept secret. In contrast, a people's economy is decentralised, local, and, ideally, based on the cooperative economic model, wherein individuals exist in communities, in relationship with each other.

This message of localism has been the most recent wave of economic thinking. Thinkers such as Hazel Henderson and James Robertson, and representatives of indigenous communities, have consistently argued that the opposite of capitalism is not communism but localism – that to survive we need to focus on: (1) the environment – have concern for animals and plants, (2) just distribution – on the ratio of wealth between the richest and poorest, (3) local forms of exchange, including local currencies, (4) the most vulnerable – often women and children, and (5) finding ways to empower these groups not by

"developing" them but by removing the barriers that *vipra*s, *ksattriya*s and *vaeshya*s place in front of them. The goal is not to help these people become rich (as defined by those in power) but to ensure their dignity and their survival; to empower them. While emergency help though social relief organisations is important, far more crucial is removing the power of the landlords, of the courts, the police, and larger corporations. Doing both, of course, is what states find problematic.

WHY?

Feeding the poor is admired, but asking why the poor are hungry, and then taking steps to eliminate the barriers of poverty that lead to that hunger, taken to threaten governments; it exposes the fact that those in power are unwilling to transform the structural bases of violence, of poverty. It is for precisely this reason that Sarkar and his social movements – Ananda Marga and Prout – have been on the receiving end of brutality from state and national governments in India and elsewhere. Sen wins an award because he theorises on poverty, Mother Teresa because she relieved human suffering – and both are deserving winners – but Sarkar, who theorises on poverty, works to relieve human suffering and initiates powerful movements to expose and end poverty, is vilified. Of course, we should not be surprised by this. As Sarkar himself said, whenever truth has been spoken to power, the response has been an attack on truth. This is the natural cycle that transformative movements must endure if they are to create the conditions for a better life for future generations.

Finally, and this is crucial, and again problematic from a reductionist modernist perspective, Shrii Sarkar included inner, personal transformation as part of the solution to poverty and injustice. Unless humans begin the moral inner purification process themselves, as well as the mental expansionary process – through meditation – they, over time, will also become part of the problem. The structures of exploitation – that is, of the institutions, values and persons who legitimise and validate it – have too deeply infected society. Only by enhancing one's morality and expanding the inclusiveness of

one's mind is it possible to avoid the dis-ease of an unjust system. It is this combination that makes Sarkar both utterly unique and fundamentally problematic to grasp. It might even have been enough, as mentioned above, to theorise about, relieve and challenge poverty but then to investigate inner poverty, the lack of spiritual nourishment; this immediately relocates poverty not only as a food issue for the poor but as a global moral and spiritual issue as well. The solution thus becomes not just to have a less authoritarian system, and a better framework for distributive justice – Sen's argument – but to achieve inner and outer systemic and epistemic transformation. It is this grand sweep of self and society that Sarkar brings to economic thinking, and in so doing fundamentally redefines the field.

OTHER SYSTEMS

Returning to the more specific issue of the people's economy, it is important to note that communism also spoke of the people's economy; indeed, the entire philosophy was based on protecting the people, on ending wage-based exploitation of workers, but there were three problems: (1) Politics, instead of being landlord-worker-based, became party apparatchik-worker-based; (2) Violence was systematically used against localism so that there could be massive industrialisation, and; (3) Dignity, in terms of local religions, customs and ways of knowing, was jettisoned for the sake of progress. While in some cases this can be justified, for example, where religion and other systems are conducive to violence against the other, in many cases localism was quickly replaced with allegiance to party, ideology and the "great leader". Thus one dogma was replaced by another.

Confucianism, too, has attempted to end the people's economy, but in a far more benign way. The trade-off for ending local systems in Confucianism is the paternal state in which "father knows best". While this has had its merits – safety, security, survival, education, a concern for the family and future generations, transparent politics – the loss has been of cultural pluralism, of the right to dissent. While certainly in a "well-knit social order" – to use Sarkar's language – dissent should only come with responsibility, it appears that in Confucian societies

the spirit of difference, the very sweetness of culture, has been lost.

Globalism, while absolutely brilliant at the continuous movement of money, its endless rolling, has been less concerned about where the money is going, the ethical inputs and outputs. It has been excellent at achieving economic growth but less so at distribution. Moreover, the rolling of money has been based not on productive investment but on short-term speculation, leading to a delinking of the financial economy from the real economy of goods and services.

It is this concern for inappropriate economic practices that Sarkar's other branch of economics, the psycho-economy, attends to.

PSYCHO-ECONOMY

The psycho-economy has two branches, the first of which, will never deliver a Nobel in our present world, but the second should be fundamental in the coming generations. The first branch consists of exposing and eradicating "unjust economic practices, behaviours and structures"[2]. This is generally well-represented in the Marxist literature, and more or less consistent with the intentions of radical political-economy. Current thinkers such as Immanuel Wallerstein and Johan Galtung have both excelled in this approach.

The second branch is concerned with a post-scarcity society that has solved its mundane economic problems, has worked out how to deal with pressing issues such as the relationship between technology/automation and work/employment. These post-industrial issues also include: how employees feel about their lives, about their jobs, and what is important to them.

Psycho-economy is not an attempt to create a theory of information (Sarkar is not a reductionist), but to ask: what are the values behind our economy, what are our aspirations? It acknowledges that life is not about economics and economistic (reducing life to materialistic principles) thinking. As Sarkar wrote, the purpose of "the psycho-economy is to develop and enhance the psychic pabula of the individual and collective minds"[3]. What does this mean? At heart this

is about inclusion, about reframing our identity not as consumers (I shop therefore I am) or as competitors (I have to increase my wealth by eliminating others) but as spiritual human beings. This means seeing the exchange of goods, services and ideas not as a process in which others are harmed, stolen from or maligned, but creating an economic process that allows each participant to prosper. At heart, this is about spiritual cooperative economics, about including others in how we do business, how we produce, how we consume, how we live. It is about understanding our desires and their relationship to the physical world. Capitalist economics, however, ignores social costs such as the drudgery of much work or the social problems caused by unemployment. Capitalist economics does not ask the crucial question: is what is being produced that which should be produced for the health and happiness of all?

Conventional economics thus defines values, impact on the environment, impact on future generations, as external to the economic process. Indeed, critics of globalisation have called for full pricing, where externals are internalised by economic actions. The goal is to thus increase access to information for buyers and sellers and to determine the effects of specific economic activity on society. While this is important, it does not go nearly far enough for Sarkar.

INFORMATION ECONOMICS AND OTHER PARTS OF THE ECONOMY

Information economic theory has made the mistake of further dividing reality into tiny bits with the goal of quantifying each further subdivision; Sarkar argues that the opposite is needed – an expansion of what we allow in our minds, or how we construct our minds. With Sarkar, information theory thus moves to communication theory, with reality being a co-evolutionary process between self, others, the transcendent and the natural world. This synthetic approach will not win Nobel Prizes or other awards, since it does not give any specific additive knowledge (what science excels at), instead it creates a new framework in which to understand current knowledge – it is, in other words, transformative knowledge.

But Sarkar's redefinition of economics does not avoid current commercial issues. Indeed, he also writes on the commercial economy. This branch of Sarkar's work is generally similar to our present understanding of economics, which is concerned with how to develop scientific, productive and efficient processes "which will not incur loss,"[4] and which ensure that "output will exceed input"[5]. Although an idealist, Sarkar never ignored the reality of the physical world. Indeed, he asserted that we are not properly using our current resources, that we are instead either misusing them or mal-appropriating them. The majority of problems in the world have come about because the commercial economy has been seen as the totality of economics instead of as just one dimension of it. While Sen brings values into economics, he still does this largely in the context of the commercial economy; it is left to others to point out that the general tools of economic theory cannot deal with the household, village or indigenous economies.

Finally, Sarkar adds the general economy to his model. This last part is his idealised vision of the economy. In this vision, there is a three-tiered economic structure (state-run, cooperatives and individual/family-run). Thus, while earlier parts of the economy focused on the minimum requirements of life (that is, on the needs of the South), on the structural problems of exploitation (the global problematique), on a post-scarcity, inclusive economy (the concerns of a post-industrial economy), and on issues of production and the international monetary system (the world economy), the last section of his theory of economics focuses on what an ideal economic structure should look like.

These categories he gives us – the four parts of the economy – are not only descriptions of the economy, but also analytic tools; they serve to describe and reveal the world in front of us.

For economics students, much of this is not economics as they know it, concerned only with production and not with the values behind the system. Inflation and depression, concerns of conventional economics, are not Sarkar's direct concern except in so far as they lead to system transformation – the end of capitalism – or increase human suffering.

Proutist Economics is not, then, about debating economic trends or pinpoint prediction of depressions but rather about using the analytic tools Sarkar has given us to better understand the world, to change the world, to relieve human suffering, to transform the self, to create a moral economy and, ultimately, to create a spiritual, cooperative society.

Will Sarkar ever win a Nobel Prize? Most likely never and, of course, this was never his aim. His prize will be the creation of a new planetary society, a prize that can be bestowed by no committee, only by the hard work of women and men working collectively, and by the pull, the attraction, of the transcendent.

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[4] Ibid., 20.

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TWENTY ONE

YOGANOMICS

The yoga of economics

Yoga, defined alternatively, as "to unite with the infinite" or as a series of poses used to regulate the body's glandular system[1] is not usually linked to the economy. However, in creating more effective business strategy and a more balanced world economy there is much we can learn from the practice of Yoga.

As a physical exercise (or "innercise"), Yoga is linked to enhanced well-being. In a study using ageing MRSI, regular Yoga practitioners exhibited higher levels of the amino acid GABA, which is linked to a reduction in anxiety[2]. GABA helps fight off depression and is essential for a healthy and relaxed mind. Yoga has also become a big business in the West (courses, clothes, mats, for example) valued at US$42 billion[3]. Indeed, business strategist and futurist Sudhir Desai of Boston, Massachusetts. humorously comments that perhaps it is time to outsource Yoga to India[4].

However, what I wish to explore is how the principles of Yoga can be used to transform our current world economy as well as to strategically help organisations to manoeuvre and create alternative futures.

FLEXIBILITY

First, Yoga is about flexibility. Enhanced flexibility is gained by holding postures. Done daily and slowly, harmonised with breathing, Yoga increases flexibility over time. Those who don't practice Yoga find

themselves becoming rigid. Metaphorically, they are unable to adapt to changing conditions. They cannot bend to the changing wind. Thus, when there are changes in the world economy or in one's personal economy, they remain unyielding. The Yogic principle of flexibility suggests that we always need to be able to bend and bow. This does not mean, however, letting the wind carry us where it will, as Yoga postures are held with inner strength.

One strategy to negotiate dramatic changes is to develop scenarios with which to reduce risk. A deeper approach is individual and organisational flexibility so, irrespective of which scenario occurs, the person/organisation does not break. Flexibility in organisations is about enhancing capacity and to some extent can be operationalised into policies that ensure that employees do not experience conflict between work and family. This leads to cost savings and higher productivity as family life is not sacrificed for work[5]. Other measures could deal with how employees respond to stressful situations.

BREATHE IN, BREATHE OUT

Second, Yoga is about breath, *prana*. Breathe in, breathe out. Yoga is about slowing the heart rate down, slowing the mind down. Yoga is about being present. As economic or social crises result, the lesson from Yoga is to breathe, to slow down, to reflect and not be carried away by the challenge at hand. By being present, relaxed, often an answer to the problem can emerge from the intuitive part of the mind, from another self. By slowing down, we can see the problem anew as panic and fear either disappear or are decreased. The "fight or flight" reaction does not dominate.

PAUSE

Third, yoga is based on pauses – fits and starts. It is not a continuous linear pattern of endless growth. Rather, like the breath, there are pauses. This stopping allows for reflection, for gathering energy, before the next speeding up. P. R. Sarkar suggested that life is like a series of rolling hills. There are pauses between climbs – what he calls "systaltic

pauses"[6]. We rest, regain focus, and then move forward. Even if one believes that life is like climbing a ladder, or a race, it is important to rest between rungs or after each stage of the race, to gather energy and momentum.

As with economics, this means that that there are natural cycles in the life of a person or organisation. Pauses need not be thought of as negative growth but as chances to evaluate what parts of the business or organisation are worth maintaining, what parts need to be jettisoned and what parts transformed. This is true at the personal level as well. One can ask: what aspects of my life – behaviours, attitudes and assumptions – need to be pruned, what aspects need to grow and what parts need to transform?

CONCENTRATION AND MEDITATION

While Yoga may begin with external exercises it tends to conclude with innercises – the most powerful are concentration and meditation. The benefits are overwhelming.

Meditation can increase the density of regions of the brain that control attention and process sensory signals from the outside world. In a program that neuroscientist Amishi Jha of the University of Miami calls "mindfulness-based mind-fitness training", participants build concentration by focusing on one object, such as a particular body sensation. The training, she says, has shown success in enhancing mental agility and attention "by changing brain structure and function so that brain processes are more efficient," qualities associated with higher intelligence[7].

Meditation can also switch genes on and off. In a recent study on the effects of meditation on the body, researchers concluded that:

> …meditators showed a range of genetic and molecular differences, including altered levels of gene-regulating machinery and reduced levels of pro-inflammatory genes, which in turn correlated with faster physical recovery from a stressful situation[8].

Specifically:

> The results show a down-regulation of genes that have been implicated in inflammation. The affected genes include the pro-inflammatory genes RIPK2 and COX2 as well as several histone deacetylase (HDAC) genes, which regulate the activity of other genes epigenetically by removing a type of chemical tag. What's more, the extent to which some of those genes were down-regulated was associated with faster cortisol recovery to a social stress test involving an impromptu speech and tasks requiring mental calculations performed in front of an audience and video camera[9].

This is important as there is a direct correlation, argue the authors, between chronic low-grade inflammation and the most common problems of the modern world, including cardiovascular and metabolic diseases, cancer and neuropsychiatric disorders[10]. Meditation can make the person and the nation healthier. By reducing national health care costs, debt can be reduced and capital reinvested in prevention. And by increasing well-being and purpose, meditation can enhance productivity, increasing the quality of life.

TANDAVA, CREATIVE DESTRUCTION

Fifth, associated with Yoga is a dance called *tandava.* This is the dance of Shiva, wherein Shiva dances between life and death, infinite and finite, the eternal and the temporal. The narrative is that Shiva is not just the creator and the maintainer but also the destroyer. Without over-emphasising the link to Joseph Schumpeter's notion of creative destructive as one of the hallmark strengths of capitalism, it is important to note that Yoga is not just about stretching and feeling good. Yoga also highlights the need for the destruction of behaviours, attitudes and assumptions about self, economy and planet. Certainly the Occupy Wall Street movement made it clear that the inequity built into capitalism needs to end. The delinking of the financial system from the real economy needs to end. Others, more radically, assert that Shiva needs to dance the *tandava* on capitalism itself. Five

hundred years of one system is more than enough. Time for a change? Time for Shiva's *tandava*?

THE ETHICAL CONTEXT

Sixth, whether exercise or spiritual unification, Yoga also has a critical ethical context. This context is called *Yama* and *Niyama*. *Yama*, writes Yogi Dada Vedaprajinananda, means "that which controls" and the practice of *Yama* means to control actions related to the external world[11]. *Niyama*, in contrast, is focused on self-regulation. Both are crucial for creating a context for the expansion of goods, services, ideas and purpose. In this section, I explore five aspects of *Yama* and *Niyama*, specifically the implications of *ahmisa*, *aparigraha*, *tapah*, *asteya*, and *santosh* for economics.

The first *Yama* is *ahmisa* or "least violence", even "non-violence". For the Yoga practitioner, the simple question is: Am I partaking in aspects of the economy that lead directly to violence (person to person, person to nature, person to animal) or indirectly through structural violence, where the system creates violence, as in the Indian caste system. Applied to the economy, this would mean moving away from the Big M (or Big Meat) industry. In the USA, a conservative estimate places the number of land animals slaughtered annually at 10 billion[12]. Globally the number is around 58 billion farmed animals.

In a switch to a vegetarian economy, certainly there would be many losers and many winners, and it is only fair that Big Meat would get a decade or so to start to switch over to vegetarian options or to move toward meat options that involve less cruelty – the organic free range approach (the "happy" farm) or to in-vitro 3D printed meat. This might be difficult for many yogis to stomach, but the deep narrative for many is that meat is needed for protein or that God has given animals to humans – we have dominion over them. Structurally, this means the end of subsidies for the meat industry and the support of education and policies that move towards a vegetarian society. Over time the goal would be an economy rooted in *ahmisa*.

Big Tobacco would also be directly affected. The World Health

Organization estimated that one billion people will die this century from tobacco related illnesses and that over 165,000 children die annually from complications of second hand smoke[13].

An *ahmisa*-based economy would also support anti-bullying legislation in workplaces and create legislation where there was none. Programs that reduce bullying such as meditation programs would also be encouraged[14]. Essentially, instead of a focus on social Darwinism, *ahmisa* would create, as Riane Eisler argues, a caring economics[15]. The question asked by regulatory authorities would be: does this economic activity create violence or peace? Where there are conflicts, are there harm reduction policies? That we spend US$1.62 trillion globally on the military tells us that our world economy does not follow *ahmisa*[16].

As relevant as *ahmisa* is *aparigraha* which is essentially about voluntary simplicity. It is the ecological principle of asking before acquisition of a physical, as well as a mental, object: do I need this in my life? Am I purchasing it because I can use it or because I wish to demonstrate to my neighbours and others that I am important? What I am truly purchasing is the yogic question. Am I purchasing the object or is at issue is the inferiority I feel?

While the implication of *aparigraha* is to some extent an economics of austerity, this does not mean a reduction in standard of living. There are billions of objects – the basic needs of education, health, clothes, housing, food, communication and connectivity – that need purchasing. *Aparigraha* is about intent. It is also about full information. Who made the product, and how much did the worker make? How much did the middle man make? The trader? Was anyone (or was nature) harmed in its production? *Aparigraha* leads to a questioning of consumption. *Aparigraha* is also contextual: each epoch and each region has different levels of appropriate technologies and consumption. But one can reduce material items but still collect unnecessary thoughts or reduce material items but secretly desire them. *Aparigraha* is an economics of wise consumption not repressed asceticism. Yoga teacher Dada Vedaprajinanda writes that *aparigraha* means to "not hoard wealth which is superfluous to our actual

needs"[17], or, as Sarkar expressed it, "keep the money rolling"[18].

Applied to the world economy, *aparigraha* suggests that if one person or nation hoards wealth, it may lead to others having less; it certainly slows down the movement of goods and services. Fluidity and flexibility disappear as trust and legitimacy decrease in the overall system. The results of hoarding are obvious throughout the global economy. At the external level, hoarding decreases when there are regulations that create a maximum income. At the inner level, hoarding decreases when individuals trust their own capacity to earn wealth, and they trust the rules of the game – when there is transparency, a fair judiciary and accountability. And when the maximum and minimum are linked to each other (as the maximum goes up so does the minimum), then wealth and equity can increase.

Tapah, a yogic principle suggesting that one must undergo some physical hardship to attain their goal, counters much of New Age thinking, which often asserts that hard work is not necessary. In Yoga, there is great value placed on persistence and perspiration. Every successful individual, organisation or nation knows this. Short term desires are sacrificed for the long term. Children who say no to the doughnut in front of them in exchange for two doughnuts later do much better in life[19]. Delayed gratification, putting in the hours, and taking "no short cuts" are all crucial for success (within our contemporary worldview). And the hard work may be simply thinking different – examining one's narratives and seeing if they are sabotaging one's goal-orientation, thereby closing off neural pathways that are not productive.

Asteya, too, the yogic principle of not stealing or of renouncing the desire to acquire or retain the wealth of others, is crucial if we wish to ensure that the economy has legitimacy and trust. If there is theft at the top – senior government ministers, corporate CEOs or civil social society leaders – then the system loses legitimacy. Those closer to the bottom feel that if the elite can get away with it, why can't they also take short cuts or engage in micro-corruption. Good governance is essentially about ensuring that the political-economy is transparent, that at every level of society there is no theft. Laws thus must be fair

and there must be equality before the law. With *asteya* as an operating principle, trust increases, legitimacy expands and wealth can grow and circulate[20]. It is not siphoned off every step of the way, rather it moves and moves, allowing all to benefit. Thus higher ethics leads to stronger economies[21].

There are other important ethical guidelines in Yoga, but I will conclude with *santosh* or "contentment for things received". This is a principle of acceptance, of "enoughness". In spiritual traditions, this is similar to "allowing", to appreciation of what is. While seemingly in contradiction with other principles of expansion of the mind, in Yoga there is a "both-and" approach, of being present to the dialectics of the present, of both tandava (destroying or deconstructing what is) and *santosh* (accepting and appreciating what is). Behind this is the notion that happiness is viral*,[22]. The happier I am, the happier others will be; contentment radiates from person to person. Like money, which needs to keep rolling, happiness needs to keep moving, from person to person, economic system to ecosystem, flower to planet.

In conclusion, Yoga leads to *prama*[23] or dynamic equilibrium, to appreciating what is and creating more wealth and equity for all – locally and globally, for self and planet, inner and outer.

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TWENTY TWO

SPIRITUALITY AS THE FOURTH BOTTOM LINE

Invariably, at the end of any lecture on paradigm change, new visions or community capacity, there is always someone in the audience who asks: "But what is the bottom line?" This is especially so at technical universities and in business organisations.

This "bottom line" question asserts that argument, visions and language are all interesting but ultimately unimportant. What is important is that which can be counted, that which leads to economic wealth; measurability and profit. Such questions are also a challenge to the capacity to transform; the world is considered to be a tough place and only ego-maximising real politics (money and territory) is possible – everything else is illusion.

For any speaker focused on gender, community, health, cultural or spiritual issues suddenly there is very little to say, since, well, it is not about the bottom line but about *everything* else. The audience walks away unmoved – save for a few who are thrilled and now desire to save the world, either through community building, learning meditation, or maybe just by recycling bottles.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED

In 2002 in Australia, Westpac Bank issued an expanded approach to traditional accountability standards. Westpac now measures its progress through three criteria: prosperity, social justice and the environment.

Their annual corporate report includes claims of ethical business, transparency, human rights, environmental concerns, caring for employees, and more[1]. Suddenly the bottom line is not so simple – it has become the triple bottom line. Organisations have their own interests – profit, survival – but they also live in a local and global community, to which they are increasingly being forced to become accountable. These demands by shareholder groups and social movements have led to a need for social justice and social measurements. And organisations and communities live with and in a natural world, and believe that they have a responsibility for planetary sustainability – the environment is no longer something "out there" for others to solve, an economic externality, rather it has become defining for the success of an organisation.

The triple bottom line movement has taken off, indeed 45% of the world's top companies publish triple bottom line reports[2]. This change has not come about because of the graciousness of organisations but for a variety of other reasons. The first reason is changing values among stakeholders (and the notion that multiple stakeholders define the organisation. This includes not just stockholders, but employees, managers and the larger community, indeed, the environment itself!). Employees want to work in an organisation that they can be proud of. Along with profit, organisations are expected to consider human rights, to evaluate their impact on the environment, and on future generations. Jennifer Johnston of Bristol-Myers Squibb writes:

> Work is such a large part of life that employees increasingly want to work for organizations which reflect their values, and for us, it's also an issue of attracting and retaining talent[3].

Second, CEOs are part of this value shift. This has partly come about because of internal contradictions – heart attacks, cancer and other lifestyle diseases – and because when they look out of their windows they don't want to see angry protestors, often their own children. It has also come about because of external contradictions, such as stock prices falling because of investor campaigns. Ethical investments instruments, as with Calvert, championed by alternative economist Hazel Henderson, have also done well. Moreover, as John Renesch argues, leaders and organisations themselves are becoming more conscious – self-aware

and reflective[4]. We are moving from the command-control, ego-driven organisation to the learning organisation, and from there to a learning and healing organisation. Each step involves seeing the organisation less in mechanical terms and more in Gaian, living terms. An organisation's key assets become its people, its collective memory and its shared vision.

Even nations are following suit. Bhutan has developed a "gross national happiness" index. While OECD nations have not gone this far, the UK is taking happiness seriously:

> …the Cabinet Office has held a string of seminars on life satisfaction... [publishing] a paper recommending policies that might increase the nation's happiness*. These include quality of life indicators when making decisions about health and education, and finding an alternative to gross domestic product as a measure of how well the country is doing – one that reflects happiness as well as welfare, education and human rights[5].

There are even journals† and professors of happiness.

Happiness thus becomes an internal measure of quality of life, moving away from the quantity of things. As nations move to postmodern economies, other issues are becoming more important; among them is the spiritual. Spirituality is losing its associations with mediums and feudal religions, and is now seen as being about life meaning, and about ananda, the bliss beyond pleasure and pain.

But while there may be a subtle shift toward the spiritual, can it become the fourth bottom line? We certainly don't see stakeholders holding long meditations outside corporate offices and government buildings. And, writes Johnston, "corporations are already challenged trying to incorporate social indicators"[6]. Certainly, more measurement burdens should not be the purpose of a fourth bottom line. It must be deeper than that.

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* https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/national-wellbeing

† See the *Journal of Happiness and Well-Being* at: http://www.journalofhappiness.net/ and the Journal of Happiness Studies at http://link.springer.com/journal/10902

By spiritual four interrelated factors are meant:

1. A relationship with the transcendent, generally seen as both immanent and transcendental. This relationship is focused on trust, surrender or submission.

2. A practice, either regular meditation or some type of prayer (but not prayer where the goal is to ask for particular products or for the train to come quicker).

3. A physical practice to transform or harmonise the body – yoga, tai chi, chi gong, and other similar practices.

4. A relationship with the community, global, or local; a caring for others‡.

This differs from a debate on whose God is true and whose is false – it is an epistemology of depths and shallows, of inclusion and openness toward others.

Thus there are two apparently external factors – the transcendental and the social (but of course, the transcendental and social are both within) – and two internal factors – mind and body (of course also external and interdependent).

Are there any indicators that spirituality can become a bottom line? There are two immediate issues. First, can the immeasurable be measured? I remember well the words of spiritual master P. R. Sarkar on the nature of the transcendent: it cannot be expressed in language[7], that is, it cannot be measured. There are therefore some clear risks here. By measuring we step onto tricky ground. We know all historical attempts to place the transcendent have led to disaster; every collective that desires empire evokes God, claiming that "He" has bestowed "His"

‡ Riane Eisler argues in *The Power of Partnership* that this caring for others is central to creating a partnership spirituality – with nature, society, family, and self. "Partnership spirituality is both transcendent and immanent. It informs our day-to-day lives with caring and empathy. It provides ethical and moral standards for partnership relations as alternatives to both lack of ethical standards and the misuse of "morality" to justify oppression and violence." Eisler, R. (2003). *The Power of Partnership*. Novato, New World Library, 185.

grace on them. Verbalising the transcendent more often than not leads to genderising it, and thus immediately disenfranchises half the world's population. Along with the problem of patriarchy, comes the problem of caste/class, elite groups claiming it is they who can best interpret the transcendent. The transcendent becomes a weapon: linguistic, political, economic; it becomes a source of power and territory, of control.

And yet this is the nature of our world. All concepts can be utilised, turned into tools, especially profound ones. The key, as Ashis Nandy[8] points out, is that there be escape ways from our visions, that contradictions be built into all of our measures and that competing views of the spiritual be included, lest one perception become official.

Is there any evidence that interest in spirituality as an issue is growing? It seems so. As anecdotal personal experiences, in workshop after workshop (in Croatia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Australia, Taiwan, New Zealand, Hawaii, for example) the spiritual future comes out as desirable. This future is generally constructed as having the following characteristics:

1. Individual spirituality.
2. Gender partnership or cooperation.
3. Strong ecological communities.
4. Technology embedded in society but not as the driver.
5. Economic alternatives to capitalism.
6. Global governance.

Of course, other futures also emerge, particularly of societal collapse and "global tech" – a digitalised, geneticised, abundant and globally governed world.

Interestingly, the spiritual vision of the future confirms the qualitative and quantitative research work of Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson. They document a new phenomenon, the rise of the co-called "cultural creatives". This new kind of person challenges the modernist interpretation of the world (nation-state-centric, technology

and progress will solve the problems of the day, the environment is important but security more so) and the traditional view of the world (strong patriarchy, strong religion and strong culture, agriculture-based and -derived). Ray and Anderson go so far as to say that up to 25% of people in OECD nations now subscribe to the spiritual/eco/gender partnership/global governance/alternative to capitalism position[9]. However, they also clearly state that cultural creatives do not associate themselves with or as a political or social movement; instead, they represent a paradigm change, a change in values.

It is this change in values that Oliver Markley, Willis Harmon and Duane Elgin and others have been spearheading[10]. They have argued that we are between images: the traditional image of "man" as worker (the modernist image) has reached a point of fatigue, materialism is being questioned. Internal contradictions (breakdown of family, lifestyle diseases) and external contradictions (biodiversity loss, global warming) and systemic contradictions (global poverty and inequity) lead to the conclusion that the current system cannot maintain its legitimacy. The problem, especially for rich nations, has become a hunger for meaning and a desire for bliss.

Data confirm that materialism does not lead to happiness:

> One study, by Tim Kasser of Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, found that young adults who focus on money, image and fame tend to be more depressed, have less enthusiasm for life and suffer more physical symptoms such as headaches and sore throats than others[11].

Indeed, Kasser believes that advertising, central to the "desire machine", should be considered a form of pollution, and be taxed, or that advertisers should be forced to include warning messages that materialism can damage your health.

Spirituality, though it enhances economic productivity, social connectivity, and inner and outer health, should not be confused with economic materialism or indeed with any type of materialism (even the spiritual variety; that is, collecting gurus or mantras, or using the spiritual to accumulate ego).

Spirituality and educational-life transformation

However, the emerging image of cultural creatives may not have enough staying power as it seems to be largely associated with the baby boomer generation*. While the spiritual is linked to health, it is yet to be linked to economic prosperity/justice and social inclusion. Spiritual practices often lead to an escape from the material world. Moreover, the verbalising of the spiritual remains nationalistic or groupist, and not neo-humanistic (i.e. outside the dogma of class, *varna*, nation and gender).

But, as Sarkar has argued, a new theory of economics would make the spiritual central[12]. This is partly evidenced by reports from the TM organisation, which documents hundreds of scientific studies claiming increased IQ, productivity and even increased community peace as a result of meditation[13]. But for Sarkar, spiritual practices lead to *clarity*. It is this clarity, argues Ivana Milojević[14], that can enhance productivity. Most of our time is spent uncertain of our mission, uncertain as to how to do what we need to do. Spiritual practices allow clarity of intent (and a slowing of time) thus enhancing productivity. Sarkar's model of political-economy, Prout, is based on this – increasingly using intellectual and spiritual resources for the good of all. Of course, along with the progressive use of resources is a clear ceiling and floor of wealth – a progressively linked top and bottom.

However, educator Marcus Bussey† argues that the pedagogy of meditation must be in stages. Schools clearly should not push spirituality for productivity purposes. Primary is the creation of a more balanced, integrated and holistic individual and community. Children have dreamlike phases in their development and these should be supported, not quickly framed in bottom-line language. Of course, as they move to adulthood, their work practices and outcomes should benefit from regular spiritual practices and approaches. There cannot be one measure applied the same way for everyone.

* And the research is far from established!

† See www.futuresevocative.com.

Part of the challenge in the future is to transform the very template of our lives, which is currently birth, study, work, retirement and death. In the Indian system it is study, family life, service to society and then spiritual practice (as a monk, for example). In a spiritual model, spirituality would travel with individuals through all these stages. "Study", too, would never terminate but rather continue throughout each person's entire life – true life-long learning. In addition, the worker phase would be permanent, transformed into striving to achieve each person's mission, doing what is most important, and into life-long earning. Service to society would be daily; finding some way, every day, to contribute to others. Thus, seeing spirituality as the fourth bottom line means transforming the foundational template we have of our lifecycle. This is especially crucial as the ageing of society changes our formerly stable age pyramid.

HEALTH CHANGES

The rise of the spiritual paradigm comes from the health field as well. This is partly because the contradictions of modern humanity are in the health area – civilisational diseases are rampant, and not just as a result of lifestyle but of structure. A recent study reports that city design, as in suburbanisation, is directly connected to obesity, and thus to cancer and heart disease rates[15]. Thus the paradigm of modernity – the big city outlook, faster – becomes the site of weakness, and transformation.

As a sign of public acceptance, the issue of *Time* magazine of 4 August, 2003, was titled 'The Science of Meditation': "Meditation is being recommended by more and more physicians as a way to prevent, slow or at least control the pain of chronic diseases"[16].

An article in the *Medical Journal of Australia* reported the finding that over 80% of general practitioners (GPs) in Victoria have referred patients to alternative therapies, that 34% are trained in meditation, 23% in acupuncture and 20% in herbal medicine. Of particular interest is that nearly all GPs agreed that the federal government should fund/subsidise acupuncture, that 91% believe hypnosis should be funded, and that 77% support government

funding of meditation. Ninety-three percent believe that meditation should be part of the undergraduate core medical curriculum[17]. Many doctors, of course, only accept practices for which there is an evidence-base, and meditation continues to build an impressive evidence-base. A study published in the early 2000s, reported Time magazine, showed that "women who meditate and use guided imagery have higher levels of the immune cells known to combat tumours in the breast"[18]. Even almost-President of the United States Al Gore meditates. And the effects of meditation stick even at the "bottom" of society, with meditation leading to decreased recidivism among prisoners.

GRAND PATTERNS

For those who study macrohistory, the grand patterns of change, this paradigm shift is not surprising. Modernity has brought about the nation-state, stunning technology, material progress, but the pendulum has shifted so far toward sensate civilisation that it would be surprising if the spiritual as a foundational civilisational perspective did not return. In this sense, spirituality as fourth bottom line should not be seen as selling out to global "corporatopia" but as in fact ensuring that the pendulum does not swing us back to medieval times but instead loops forward. This means keeping the scientific, inclusionary and mystical parts of spirituality but not acceding to its dogmatic, sexist and feudal dimensions. All traditions grow up in certain historical conditions; once history changes, there is no need to keep the trappings of the past – the message retains its importance but there is no need to retreat to a cave.

It is also not surprising that it is gender that defines cultural creatives. Modernity has been defined by male values, as were earlier eras, and there is likely a gender dialectic at work. Patriarchy has reached its limits. It is often those outside the current system who are the torch bearers for the new image of the future. In this case, gender is crucial. Of course, the system remains patriarchy-laden. Individuals may change but the system (city design, for example), remains faulty.

However, the triple bottom line, and spirituality as the fourth, may be a way to start to change the system so that it is spiritual-friendly, instead of ridiculing and marginalizing it. This could be the very simple use

of feng shui to a rethinking of shopping to suburban planning. And, individuals want this change. Phillip Daffara in his research on the future of the Sunshine Coast reported that over 30% of people desire a Gaian Coast – a living Coast where technology and spirit are embedded in the design and policies of the area. Others preferred the triple bottom line sustainability model and the "linked villages" model. Only a few percent desired business as usual[19].

Evidence does suggest a desire for a spiritual future throughout the world. Indeed, sociologist Riaz Hussain writes that this desire has complicated matters for Al-Qaeda; they become ever more radicalised as the rest of the Islamic world is in the process of a religious renewal. However, religiosity is not necessarily spirituality; they overlap, but one is exclusive, text-based and generally closed to other systems and worldviews. The spiritual is not linked to race or nation, or to scriptures, though it is certainly the deep heart of every religion.

For spirituality to become part of the global solution it will have to become trans-modern, moving through modernity, not rejecting the scientific and technological revolution and the Enlightenment, nor acceding to postmodernism (where all values and perspectives are relativised) or to the pre-modern (where feudal relations are supreme).

Measures

For spirituality to become associated with the quadruple bottom line, it will need to be measurable. However, measuring the immeasurable will not be an easy task.

We need to ensure that measures match the four dimensions – transcendental, mind practice, body practice and relationship, the neo-humanistic dimension of inclusion, an expanded sense of identity.

Measurements would also need to be layered, touching on the easiest and most obvious physical practices (the percentage of people in a locale engaged in regular meditation or disciplined prayer) as well as making systemic (city design) and worldview measurements (descriptions of neo-humanism in educational textbooks). Of course, this is for spirituality generally; for organisations, we would need

measures that showed movement from the command-control model to the learning organisation model, to a vision of a living, learning and healing, conscious organisation.

New measurements might include the tracking of:

- Lifestyle diseases to reveal system- and worldview-level contradictions, and of suicide to indicate societal failure.
- Hate-crime and bullying rates to help to determine levels of inclusion.
- Economic partnerships and the emergence of new economic models to reveal cooperative growth.
- The treatment of animals as an indicator of ethical standards more generally.

These are just a few.

This process of measuring is not easy at any level. For example, some believe that enhanced spirituality in itself can lead to a reduction in automobile fatalities[20]. It seems more likely that the cause of this change is not driver education but a change in the nature of transportation, though the proponents of the meditation = decreased road deaths would argue that the reduction is because of meditation since the practice leads to less road rage, less drunken driving, and enhanced focus.

One way to move towards these indicators is to ask foundational questions of society or organisations. These might include:

1. Is the organisation/society neo-humanistic (that is, expanding its identities beyond nation-state, race, religion and even humanism)?
2. Is there a link between the highest and lowest income (that is, are they progressively related, as the top goes up, does the bottom go up as well)?
3. Is the prosperity ratio rational, sensible, especially in terms of the purchasing power of the people at the bottom?

4. Does gender, social and environmental inclusion go beyond representation (number of women or minorities on a leadership board) to including ways of knowing (construction of time, significance, learning, for example)?

5. Does the leadership of the organisation demonstrate by example the spiritual principle (and the other three bottom lines)?

Finally, there is an additional challenge. In spiritual life there can be dark nights of the soul, in which one wrestles with one's own contradictions – it is this deeper dimension of the spiritual that cannot be measured, nor can the experience of *ananda*. Moreover, after the experience of bliss, there is the issue of translating it into the creation a better world.

Even with a world drowning in weapons, engulfed by killing, by rampant materialism, by unhappiness, and even in communities beset by trauma, it is clear that the spiritual is becoming part of a new world paradigm of what is real, of what is important. What is needed now is a debate on the indicators that can evaluate the progress of this new paradigm.

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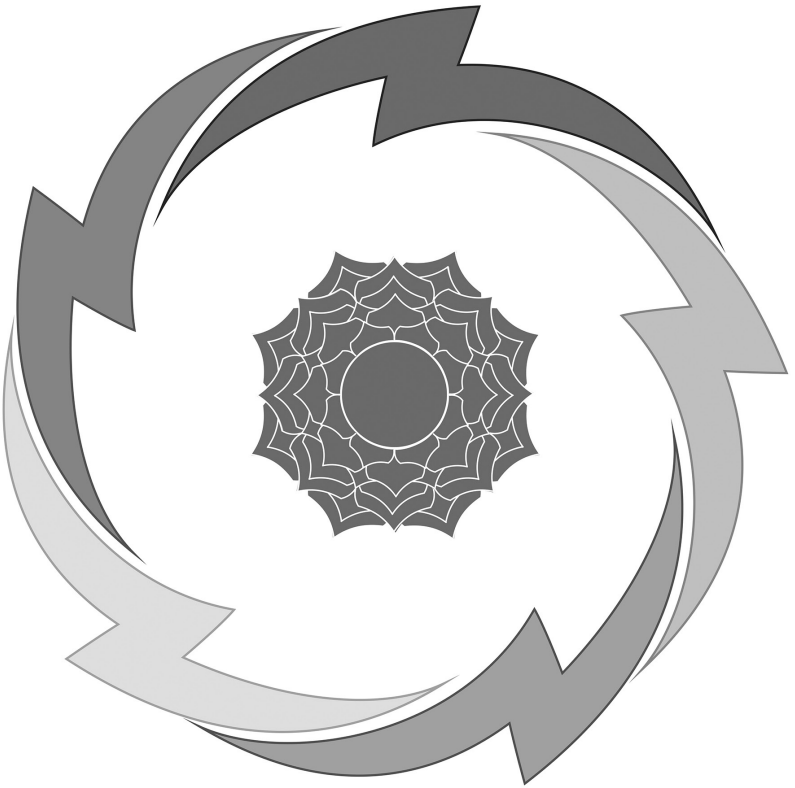

Conclusion

TWENTY THREE
USING PROUT TO QUESTION

As earlier chapters have explored, not only is Prout both a theory of political economy and a vision of the future, it is also a method for policy development and evaluation. It can be used to assess the policies of states, corporations and non-governmental organisations. It can also be used to evaluate revolutions, social movements and institutions. To do so, Proutist theory is transformed from a comprehensive vision of an alternative tomorrow into a series of questions; indeed, a checklist.

The assumption behind a checklist is that there are parts of the Proutist discourse that tend to use conventional modes of understanding (neo-realism – that the world is primarily understood through the interests of nation-states – for example) or their own narrow sentiments (based on culture, religion, or ego-needs) to judge social and political phenomena. A checklist thus can help each person aligned or familiar with the Proutist framework to move beyond their own limits and become truly neo-humanistic. A checklist disciplines thought.

Using Sarkar's theory of what constitutes successful civilisations, broad questions are articulated to initiate this discussion. The argument is then narrowed to five focused areas.

BROAD TRANSFORMATION – guiding questions

In Sarkar's work, along with a grand theory of macrohistory (his theory of *varna*), he identified factors that determine the long term

success of a civilisation. These factors are: 1) an authoritative text, 2) a progressive theory of socio-economic value, 3) a founding leader, preceptor, 4) a spiritual theory of life, 5) spiritual practice and 6) a universal, inclusive outlook. While Sarkar uses these points with broad panoramic lenses, we employ them to better understand the possible trajectory of specific social and political movements or revolutions. In this way we can ask whether the movement/revolution succeeds in changing the ideas that govern society or is consigned to the dust bin of ideologies that did not aid humanity in solving critical challenges.

We can inquire, for example, if social movements such as the New Age, the ecological, the consumer and the anti-capitalist movements (or in fact any movement), exhibit the range of characteristics needed to create a coherent new system challenging the current mode of rationality and value distribution.

At this broad level, the guiding questions are:

1. Does the movement have an authoritative text that assists in negotiating conflicting interpretations?

2. Is there a theory of political-economy that defines the world of power and money? Often movements are fully cognisant of the injustices they are against. However, while able to take away wealth from others, they are often unable to create wealth themselves, to enhance innovation, to increase productivity within an equitable system so that poverty is truly reduced.

3. Is the leadership inclusive, visionary and transformational? Does the leadership help develop capacity? Does it ennoble? Does it ensure best practice governance? The last point is crucial, as many leaders do not create succession plans. Thus, as they age, a wide gap grows between them and the young. The old leadership stays in power too long, often leading to revolts and protests. Enabling leadership knows when to step aside and enhance the capacity of others. In addition, as Steve Gould argues, leaders often

leave irresponsibly early and thus avoid accountability for the processes they have initiated.

4. Is there an overall theory of Being/Consciousness? Such a theory needs to address why we are here, and our purpose. This is important because in the long "march" to the future it is easy to lose sight of the goal, of the vision. A sense of purpose ensures that during times of difficulty, focus and alignment remain. Instead of the "fight or flight" syndrome, wisdom takes root. The quick fix and collusion with the status quo is avoided.

5. Are there clear spiritual practices that demonstrate how to expand, concentrate and cultivate the mind and refine the body? Movements are often focused only on the external world or, when they are inward looking, they provide inspirational texts but lack a scientifically validated method of inner development. Scientific validation means that the work is reproducible and empirically verifiable. Such validation needs to show, for example, that meditation or a similar practice leads to enhanced health, to enhanced compassion, to human betterment.

6. Is there a universal outlook, a deep inclusion of others? Often movements rise because of their ability to create an external enemy – a "they" who are the "problem". Once in power, or after the founder passes away, as "they" disappear, so does unity. Unity thus needs be based not on an external enemy but on a higher order ideal, as Sarkar argued.

These criteria provide an overall, general perspective on the phenomenon or movement being evaluated. What follows in this chapter are more specific questions. While we should not expect a movement or policy document to score perfectly on all of the points, by using the following checklist we can determine by comparison which are closer to Prout and which are in ideology or in practice opposed to Prout ideals.

SPECIFIC QUESTIONS AND CRITERIA

While the above focuses on broad issues of social change, a more focused checklist for those aligned with Prout, divided into five subjects, will now be articulated. The five subjects are: 1) leadership, 2) governance, 3) political-economy, 4) neo-humanism and 5) spiritual transformation.

1. LEADERSHIP

Organisational and movement success often begins and ends with leadership. Indeed, through Sarkar's theory of the *sadvipra*, his work offers an entire theory of leadership. For our checklist, the key issues are:

1.1 Does the leadership have *sadvipra* qualities, that is, is the team or person:

- Service-oriented,
- Protective,
- Using knowledge to liberate from material, cultural or historical weights, and
- Creating economic innovation and wealth?

1.2 Is leadership ethical? This links leadership to the classical guidelines of *Yama* and *Niyama*. And:

1.3 Do leaders lead by example? Or are there two rules: one for the leader and another for the followers?

While it is too much to expect perfect fidelity to the above criteria, one can ask: is leadership moving toward these qualities? Are these attributes official goals? Is there some aspect of leadership that is missing?

Related to leadership is the question of governance.

2. GOVERNANCE

While the idealism of anti-systemic movements is to be lauded, they often fail because of issues of governance, the necessary rules which bind leadership. While often cumbersome, these rules ensure that a personality cult is not created.

Governance is an often forgotten aspect of organisational and social renewal. Governance ensures the equitable rule of law. Some operating questions from a Proutist perspective include:

2.1 Is the political system transparent or are there hidden meetings and agendas?

2.2 Are finances transparent?

On a broader level, we can ask:

2.3 Are politicians and other leaders held accountable to the promises they make when they seek election? And:

2.4 Does the constitution include a right to a certain level of purchasing power, as well as rights for plants and animals?

3. POLITICAL-ECONOMY: USE AND DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

However, good leadership and governance is meaningless in the absence of an economy that ensures productivity and security. The following questions can help evaluate the nature of the economic thinking being used by the ideology or organisation.

3.1 Are economic strategies balanced between distribution and incentive, ensuring that as the top, the elite, gain because of productivity increases, the bottom follows them up, that wealth ceilings and floors are linked?

3.2 Are only material things considered to be "resources", or are intellectual and spiritual abilities also valued?

3.3 Does the economic ideology and practice ensure that basic needs are met (housing, education, health, clothing and food)? Or is this true only at the level of ideology/rhetoric; said but not done?

3.4 Does money leak out of local areas to be absorbed by larger regions?

3.5 Is nature included in the accounting cycle?

3.6 Does money continuously flow, "roll", or is there fear of scarcity and thus hoarding or excessive saving?

3.7 Is there investment in and use of new technologies or is the past constantly evoked as the best of times?

4. NEO-HUMANISM – TOWARD A CULTURE OF DEEP INCLUSIVENESS

Neo-humanism takes the checklist on from governance rules and systems of wealth allocation to the realm of culture. We can thus ask: is the organisation, institution or movement neo-humanistic in terms of ideology, practice and overall culture? This is crucial, as without a supporting culture, movements can become their own worst enemies or, in pursuit of the task of making a better world, can create far worse conditions than they began with. Crucial questions include:

4.1 Is the movement expanding from geo-sentiment to socio-sentiment toward humanism or does it remain – in analysis and behaviour – locked into nation-state-centric or religion-based analyses?

4.2 What comes first, the principle of social equality or the principle of social hierarchy? For example, is the guiding metaphor "survival of the fittest" or "the human family".

4.3 Are women and others disadvantaged by the current system or given equal opportunities in every facet of

public life? That is, is there true coordinated partnership, or merely "subordinated cooperation" – gender equity is critical.

4.4 Are local languages supported? Is diversity representation and training built into the day-to-day of organisational and institutional behaviour, helping to create the neo-humanist organisation? Cultural equity is important.

4.5 Are not just the core ideas but also organisational policies and day-to-day behaviour moving towards neo-humanism? This asks, concretely: is there demonstrated respect of all humans, plants and animals, a Gaian, nature-friendly ethic and practice? Or, as neo-humanist educator, Marcus Bussey puts it: "Is the natural world embraced as part of organisational and human function? Are culture and nature understood as symbiotic?"

5. SPIRITUAL TRANSFORMATION

5.1 While many movements may excel in leadership, governance and even neo-humanism, for Sarkar, the critical questions to ask pertained to the spiritual.

5.2 Do ideas for change go beyond consciousness-raising to consciousness transformation? That is, is there a spiritual dimension to social change? Or is social change at the organisational and institutional level the only goal?

5.3 As mentioned earlier, are there evidence-based spiritual practices that are recommended and followed by movement activists and supporters?

5.5 Is the approach universal, or are some groups considered to be better or higher than others – is there an implicit code of elitism that hurts all?

ANALYSIS AND EXAMPLES

Clearly no organisation or movement fits all of the above criteria, but we can use the checklist to evaluate and explore gaps. And, we need to include Sarkar's principle of time-pace-person, that is, the checklist while universal needs to be applied differently to local situations. But we can assess ideologies and political events based on these goals. For example, the Taliban clearly violates the principle of gender equity and partnership, even if their leadership claims to practice a type of simple morality. The United States argues for an international human rights protocol but refuses to allow its citizens to be tried by international courts; it claims exceptionalism instead of acting in co-ordinated cooperation. Environmental groups who wish to create a better world for animals are to be lauded, but what of their personal dietary practices? Claiming human exceptionalism, they draw a line that differs from Sarkar's as to the animals one saves and the ones that can be eaten.

These points can also help to tease out contradictions between ideology and practice. For example, during the 1997 Asian financial crisis, while it was innovative for Malaysia to engage in currency controls so as to protect national wealth and fifty years of economic development, generally those who gained the most were not the poor, but the elite (local) billionaires. They were thus saved from currency speculation. While the argument can be made that the salvation of the very rich meant that the local poor were saved by trickle-down effects, by and large, taking the long-view, equity in Malaysia has not been enhanced. In contrast, South Korea used the 1997 crisis to break up the power of large corporations, leading to enhanced and more equitable economic development. During the Global Financial Crisis that began in 2008, while there were calls to protect local householders from collapse, generally it was banks that were privileged and saved. Certainly the focus was to keep the money rolling; this was, however, a shallow intervention. A deeper measure would have been to challenge the stranglehold of the financial economy over other parts of the economy. Similarly, the Chinese economic miracle continues but at the cost of enormous environmental damage; and with US$3.8

trillion in reserves, money certainly isn't rolling.

Political events can be analysed as well. The 2000 Fiji coup was justified by the claim that it was for local people; but even if one accepts that, it was still predicated on racism. Instead of challenging global capital, revolutionaries chose the far more visible and problematic path of attacking other local people. Race was used for political gain, thus violating neo-humanism. Similarly with the One Nation Party in Australia in the 1990s, and right wing parties throughout Europe in the first decade of the 21st Century – while they wrap themselves in the mantle of anti-globalisation, in practice they select particular ethnic groups over others to be privileged or attacked. They too fail the test of neo-humanism.

The refugee policies of successive Australian governments in the late 1990s and into the first two decades of the 21st Century not only violate international law, they transgress neo-humanism and transparent governance ideals.

Actions by the leadership in Iran, while claiming to challenge US hegemony, only replace one geo-sentiment with another. Moreover, the rule of the Ayatollahs is not aligned with the syncretic neo-humanistic traditions of Islam but with exclusionary traumas.

The Arab Spring, though certainly progressive in challenging the role of the despot – the tyranny of one – has not yet been successful in articulating a universal outlook for all linguistic and ethnic groups. And furthermore, attempts to enhance the role of ideas and intellectuals, the social entrepreneurs, have met with a returned warrior, the military.

Localism can be progressive in some ways because it fosters concern for protecting the local economy, yet it can often be a guise for nationalism. Australia, New Zealand and numerous other nations have embarked on a "Buy Australia" or "Buy New Zealand" promotional policy. However, this first shows no solidarity with labour in other countries (Indonesia, for example), from the Proutist perspective, it also ignores the fact that the issue is not national but rather deals with the question of whether the product to be consumed

is nature- (neo-humanism and the global environment), gender- (gender partnership) and labour- (fair value) friendly. In reality, "Buy Local" strategies often help local large corporations, which then use the additional sales capital as a way to become multinationals; "Buy Local" thus becomes a vehicle for competitive advantage.

USING THE CHECKLIST

The checklist can be used to help organisations and social movements that are undergoing divisions. Which is the correct group to support, a person might ask? Using the checklist, this person can ask: are elections fair with all included or are some excluded for gender, ethnic or linguistic reasons? That is, is best practice governance eschewed? Does the make-up of the board of directors demonstrate equity? Are finances transparent or secretive? Are the texts of the founder used for neo-humanism or for domination through an appeal to hierarchy?

Certainly, for a movement, an ideology, a revolution or even an organisation to fulfil all of these criteria is near impossible. However, Prout sets the benchmark, defining what is expected of the balanced and dynamic society: the *prama* civilisation. Through Prout, Sarkar has given questions to evaluate social and economic reality so we can enable the good society.

TWENTY FOUR

SEVEN POSITIVE TRENDS AMIDST THE DOOM AND GLOOM

While there is a great deal of bad, indeed, horrendous, news in the world – global warming, terrorism, the global financial crisis, water shortages, worsening inequity – there are also signs of positive change. These include discoveries and developments in genomics, meditation, spirituality, city design, peer-to-peer networking and new ways to measure progress.

GENOMICS

The revolution of tailoring health advice has begun. Among other websites, 23andme.com provides, for US$400 or less, detailed personal genetic information to consumers. It provides: "The latest research on how your genes may affect risk for common diseases and conditions such as heart attack, arthritis and cancers." Once your genome is analysed, you will also be able to "discover your ancestral origins and trace your lineage."[1] This development in genomics is good news in that more information about individuals' personal health future is now available. Of course, these are just probabilities and should be used wisely, helping each person to make better health choices today. Avoiding creating self-fulfilling prophecies of potential future illnesses should be a priority in teaching individuals to understand their genome map. Bringing wisdom through the provision of more information is crucial, especially given the increasing likelihood that forecasts that in the next ten to twenty years 2025 every baby born in Australia will be given a complete genome map at birth

MEDITATION

Study after study has shown the potential of meditation, as part of a national strategy and in concert with exercise, low-fat vegetarian diets and close community engagement, to reduce public health costs. This is of particular benefit given the ongoing increase in health expenditure. For example, studies show that regular meditators exhibit 87% less heart disease, 55.4% fewer tumours, 50.2% less hospitalisation, 30.6% fewer mental disorders and 30.4% fewer infectious diseases[2]. There are even reports on the benefits of meditation for military care providers[3] not a sector known for spiritual development. Meditation has even been shown to change the structure of the brain. Researchers at Harvard, Yale and MIT have found that brain scans reveal that experienced meditators boasted increased thickness in parts of the brain that dealt with attention and the processing of sensory input. The structure of the adult brain can be changed in this way, suggests the research[4]. Indeed, research also suggests that through meditation we can train ourselves to be more compassionate toward others. It appears that cultivating compassion and kindness through meditation affects brain regions that can make a person more empathetic to other people's mental states, claim researchers at the University of Wisconsin-Madison[5].

While we have previously had anecdotal evidence of the importance of meditation, developments in MRI scanning have taken the research to new levels, providing us with visible evidence and repeatable (scientific) results.

SPIRITUALITY

We are currently witnessing a rise in the significance of spirituality as a worldview and as a practice. Spirituality is defined broadly as any practice that brings inner peace and love for self and the transcendent as well inclusiveness of others; that is, it does not claim to be exclusive or hierarchical. In their book *The Cultural Creatives*, Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson go so far as to say that up to 25% of those in OECD nations now subscribe to a new worldview with spirituality as a central

feature*. Over time this worldview will likely have increasingly tangible effects on economic, transport and governance systems.

In their book, *A Spiritual Audit of Corporate America* (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1999), Ian Mitroff and Elizabeth Denton argued for "spirituality as one of the most important determinants of performance." Of the 200 corporate leaders surveyed, 60% believed that spirituality was a benefit, provided no particular view of religion was pushed.

Georgeanne Lamont's research in the UK at "soul-friendly" companies – including Happy Computers, Bayer UK, Natwest, Microsoft UK, Scott Bader, Peach Personnel – found lower than average rates of absenteeism, illness and staff turnover, all of which saved the businesses money. In one example, Broadway Tyres introduced spiritual practices and absenteeism dropped from 25-30% to two percent.

Furthermore, research shows a positive correlation between spiritual organisations and the bottom line – organisations that can inspire employees to a "higher cause" tend to have enhanced performance because of the increased motivation and commitment such a cause may generate[6].

HEALTHY AND GREEN CITIES

We are now seeing that while many problems are thought to be too big for national governments, local governance is thriving. Many cities are taking the future to heart. In Australia, for example, Future 2030 city projects are slowly becoming part of the norm (Brisbane, the Gold and Sunshine Coasts and Logan City, for example). Cities are broadening democracy to include visioning: citizens are asked about their desired image of their city – transport, skyline, design and community – and are working with political leaders and professionals to create their desired futures. This leads not only to cities changing in ways that citizens

* See www.culturalcreatives.org.

authentically prefer, but it enhances the capacity of citizens to make a difference. Democracy becomes not only strengthened but the long-term becomes part of decision-making – a type of anticipatory democracy is being created. Those politicians who prefer to keep power to themselves and to not engage in the visioning tend to be voted out, suggests some research[7].

And what type of futures do citizens prefer? They tend to want more greenery (gardens on rooftops, for example), far fewer cars (more public transport), technology embedded in their day-to-day lives (a seamless integration of nature, the built environment and high technologies) and far more community spaces. They want to work from home, and many imagine new community centres where people of different professions can work individually but also share costs (and avoid loneliness). Imagine the saving in transport costs as well as greenhouse gas emissions – and in time! Instead of expensive new infrastructure, creating flexible home-work-community-time options could save billions, not to mention ending the bane of traffic jams.

On a practical level, solid social science research demonstrates that cities can develop policies that enhance public health. For example in Australia, Rockhampton's 10,000 Steps program has attempted to increase the physical activity of citizens. Given the volumes of epidemiological evidence that shows that regular physical activity promotes and improves health in endless ways, the promotion of physical activity is a "best buy"[8].

And it is not just physical health that planners are beginning to consider but psychological health. Research shows that green spaces in the context of cities have a pronounced effect on the emotional health of residents[9], and that the higher the biodiversity of green spaces, the more numerous the benefits. Thus, keeping green spaces helps in promoting physical and mental health. Enhancing green spaces can also reduce drought as there is considerable evidence that the suburban/strip mall model of development blocks billions of litres of rainwater from seeping into the soil and replenishing ground water[10].

As part of this rethinking of the city, planners are starting to see transport alternatives as being linked to community health. For example, we now know that air pollution is linked to heart disease; that clogged roads lead to clogged arteries (the amount of time spent in traffic increases the risk of heart attack[11]). And if city officials do not design for health, it is likely that citizens who have been hospitalised or made ill by such factors will litigate against those officials for not designing with well-being in mind.

NEW MEASUREMENTS

Nations, cities, corporations and non-governmental organisations are creating new ways of measuring success. While earlier indicators of progress were all about the dollar, now triple bottom line measurements have taken off, and will probably continue to gain popularity in the future. Instead of only measuring the single bottom line of profit, effects on nature (sustainability) and on society (social inclusion) are becoming increasingly important, even in times of financial crisis such as the one that began in 2008.

This enlargement of what counts towards the bottom line is occurring because more and more evidence points to the fact that the economy rests on society, which rests on nature. All three have to do well for us to survive and thrive, to move toward individual and collective happiness. Focus on one works in the short–run, but in the long-run a dynamic balance works best. Even the President of the European Commission, Manuel Barroso, has argued that it is time to go beyond GDP, as this traditional indicator only measures market activity, and not well-being. Says Barroso, writing about GDP: "We cannot face the challenges of the future with the tools of the past[12]". Confirming this new approach, Hans-Gert Pöttering, the President of the European Parliament, writes that: "Well-being is not just growth; it is also health, environment, spirit and culture[13]". There are now even calls for spirituality to become the fourth bottom line[14].

PEER-TO-PEER AND SOCIAL NETWORKING

Sixth, while there are many benefits of the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) revolution, one of the key positive outcomes is the development of peer-to-peer power*. Traditional hierarchical relations – top-down models of relating to each other – are being challenged. And while it is far too early to say the dominator model of social relations will disappear in this generation, slowly, over time, there are indications that there will be far more balance in emerging futures. Hierarchy will become only one of the ways we engage with each other; the role of partnerships (through cooperatives) will continue to increase as new social technologies via the web make that possible. For example, Wikipedia has already challenged traditional modes of knowledge authority. Websites such as kiva.org allow – though at a small level – direct person-to-person lending. This could begin to have dramatic effects on the big banks. Social peer-to-peer networking also reduces the ability of states to use ICT for surveillance. Power moves from rigid hierarchies to far more fluid and socially inventive networks.

With the availability of information increasing exponentially, the challenge will be to use information about our genome, our inner lives, and our localities in ways that empower and create harmony. New technologies such as the Bodybugg and, over time, health- and eco-bots will help a great deal by giving us immediate, interactive and tailored information on the futures we wish for (as does the newly invented smart toilet with its likely web links to health providers)[15]. Health- and eco-bots will be able to help us to decide which products to buy ("Do they fit into my value structure?" "Are they triple or quadruple bottom line?"), how intense a form of exercise to do and for how long and, through social networking, to enlist communities of support to help us achieve our desired futures.

HAPPINESS IS VIRAL

All of this good news is infectious. Harvard social scientist Nicholas

* See www.p2pfoundation.net.

Christakis and his political science colleague James Fowler at the University of California at San Diego argue "that emotions can pass among a network of people up to three degrees of separation away, so your joy may be [partly] determined by how cheerful your friends' friends are, even if some of the people in this chain are total strangers to you. This means that health and happiness is not just created by individual behaviour but by how they feed into the larger social network[16]". Happiness can thus be seen as viral, what Sarkar called the "*Microvita* Effect".

All this does not mean that we should dismiss attempts to overcome social injustice but that we, in fact, need to appreciate how far we have come and focus on ways to improve material, intellectual and spiritual reality. As Sarkar wrote:

> Humanity is now at the threshold of a new era. Ours is the age of neo-humanism – humanity supplying the elixir of life to one and all. We are for all, and with everything in existence, we have to build a human society. So we must not waste our time – there must be maximum utilization of all human potentials. If we are late in doing our duty, the dark shadow of complete destruction will overpower our existence… We have a bright future – the crimson light of that future is breaking through the dark horizon of the present. We must welcome it[17].

Positive steps forward can create more positive futures, for individuals and for societies.

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TWENTY FIVE

PROUT POLICY ON CLIMATE CHANGE

Leadership and governance in transition

While climate change can be framed as a scientific and environmental issue, from the Prout perspective it is a leadership issue – solving the implications of climate change requires coordinated governance of an unprecedented nature.

First, Prout Policy is positive about the future. Humans continuously face challenges, and have, historically, met them. However, meeting these challenges requires:

1. The expression of all of our potentialities, i.e. physical, mental and spiritual resources;

2. Women and men working together; and

3. Global governance, not in the interests of particular nation-states but in support of the long term needs of the planet – Gaia – first.

If, however, we remain fragmented, along national lines, or do not use all of our resources, or forget that in major crises the most vulnerable suffer the most – women, children, the poor, the aged – then the challenge may not be overcome. History is made by actions, not determined by external factors.

Second, it is imperative that humanity move away from high carbon technologies – oil, coal – to renewable technologies (and accompanying infrastructure) with solar and wind being the most important. Nuclear energy is too dangerous for the planet as there is no

way to safely store the spent fuel for the long periods needed, whereas although solar energy is plentiful, technological breakthroughs are still crucial to reduce its cost.

Third, given the reality that 15-50% of greenhouse gas emissions come from the livestock industry, it is crucial that humanity, nation by nation, city by city, community by community adopt as much as possible a vegetarian diet[1]. This can be accomplished through raising consciousness about the health benefits of vegetarianism, by dramatically increasing the price of meat, or by a technological breakthrough such as "in-vitro meat" (animal flesh grown in a laboratory)[2]. A realist target would be an increase in the proportion of the world vegetarian population by 1% per year. However, and this is crucial, the burden of moving to a low carbon diet would be on those, in rich and poor nations, who can afford to, not on people in poorer areas. It may be even possible to develop an emissions trading scheme that factored in the effect of diet on climate change.

Fourth, climate change can potentially help the world move toward global governance. Prout is not just the goal, Prout is the path as well. Thus the process of dealing with climate change creates the global governance structure that Prout sees as foundational to a better future for all. Thus, climate change is a symptom of the larger problem of governance and the need for long term policies.

Fifth, new energy technologies require huge investments. Our present economic system expects governments or multinational corporations to guide, control and create incentive schemes for this. However, given the need for energy self-reliance, local energy self-reliance of communities should be encouraged as much as possible, even though there may be many situations where a regional energy grid is required. Furthermore, the structure of energy companies should be cooperative when possible, with citizens having a share in their ownership. When size does not allow this, other structures can be pursued.

Sixth, Prout Policy supports the right of those who have been structurally disadvantaged by the rise of the world capitalist system

to not be further disadvantaged because of the "repricing of nature" through emissions trading schemes, such as cap and trade systems. Those that have benefited the most, the rich in rich nations and the rich in poor nations, should be subject to differentiated schemes. Indeed, Prout encourages differentiated markets, even the possibility of a personal energy unit card; Prout does not support a "one size fits all" scheme, rather, new digital technologies allow for person-tailored climate change schemes. Prout would encourage energy policy that remembers that diversity is foundational.

Seventh, Prout supports the implementation of policies that are empirically verifiable. This can be best accomplished by global-local cooperative strategies, including developing a global police force to deal with carbon crimes.

Finally, Prout sees climate change as a pressing and urgent global problem. Up to 50% of the world's cities will most likely be dramatically affected by sea level rise, as the Maldives and Tuvalu already have been[3]. For port cities US$28 trillion worth of assets are currently at risk[4]. The process of dealing with climate change will create new types of leaders, leaders who will hopefully usher in a new model of cooperative global governance and a new era for energy, as well as of earth- and people-friendly economic and social development.

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TWENTY-SIX

*TRANSFORMATIVE STRATEGIES AND THE FUTURES OF THE PROUT MOVEMENT**

In this final chapter, we move from a focus on Prout Policy on external issues, to analysing the futures of Prout itself.

Understanding the futures of any movement is by definition problematic. The future, for one thing, does not yet exist (except from perhaps an absolute spiritual perspective wherein past, present and future exist simultaneously). Yet it is possible to identify certain patterns within all movements. Charles Paprocki has analysed the rise and fall of social movements based on Sarkar's "Wave Theory". He argues that new movements appear once old movements (cosmologies, ideologies and the institutions that support them) can no longer sustain their legitimacy. The old movement dies because of its own internal contradictions; that is, its inability to maintain agreement or belief. By providing a more coherent analysis and explanation of reality, the new movement challenges the past and, if it is successful, becomes the new thesis[1].

WORLDVIEW/PARADIGM CHANGE

Thomas Kuhn echoed this approach in his classic *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*[2]. However, his work adds a demographic dimension to Paprocki's. Knowledge revolutions occur when a

* The first part of this essay was excerpted from Inayatullah, S. (1999) Conclusion: The Lamp that Illuminates Countless Other Lamps. In *Situating Sarkar: Tantra, Macrohistory and Alternative Futures*, Maleny, Queensland: Gurukul Press. See www.metafuture.org.

particular age cohort retires or dies off, thus allowing a new batch of scientists with different assumptions of reality to gain hegemony. What is studied, what is considered the norm, then shifts.

Educationalist Richard Slaughter sees this through the lenses of the "Transformative Cycle". In phase one of this cycle, traditional meanings break down and are referred to as problems. In phase two, new ideas emerge that reconceptualise or renew meanings. In phase three, there is conflict between the new and old meanings. Out of this conflict, a few proposals, new ideas, and new movements gain legitimacy. This is the fourth phase. These new ideas then become the paradigm through which we view the world[3].

Prout asserts that we are in the midst of a transition from an old paradigm to a new one. Recent intellectual history has attempted to explain the world from the position of mechanistic Newtonian physics and materialistic liberal capitalism. While the world has numerous specific problems, many of these are a result of the larger paradigms that we use to construct and explain empirical reality. For example, the breakdown of the family, crime, desertification, global warming, and the global financial crisis appear to be unrelated problems, a litany of unconnected events and trends. But, in fact, they are outcomes of a materialistic worldview that places the individual first and society second, that disowns nature as it focuses solely on technological progress. Moreover, social divisions are blamed on the individual and the family instead of on the inequitable structure of the economy. This worldview is also short-term-oriented, mortgaging the future to achieve present gains.

EMERGING ISSUES

Many of the ideas of Sarkar and the Prout movement can be thought of as emerging issues†. Emerging issues are at the bottom of the s-curve of events. They have a small following, their frequency of mention in journal articles is low and the issues are not considered

† For more on the methodological framework in this paper, see Inayatullah, S. (2007). Questioning the future: Tools and methods for organizational and societal transformation. Tamsui: Tamkang University.

urgent for world leaders to attend to. Over time, some of these issues become trends – there is more and more data to confirm their reality and importance – and eventually a few become global problems. At this stage, the window of opportunity to make foundational or deep changes has shrunk since the issue has now become politicised in the tar pit of party politics. It is earlier, in the emerging issues phase, where transformative possibilities abound.

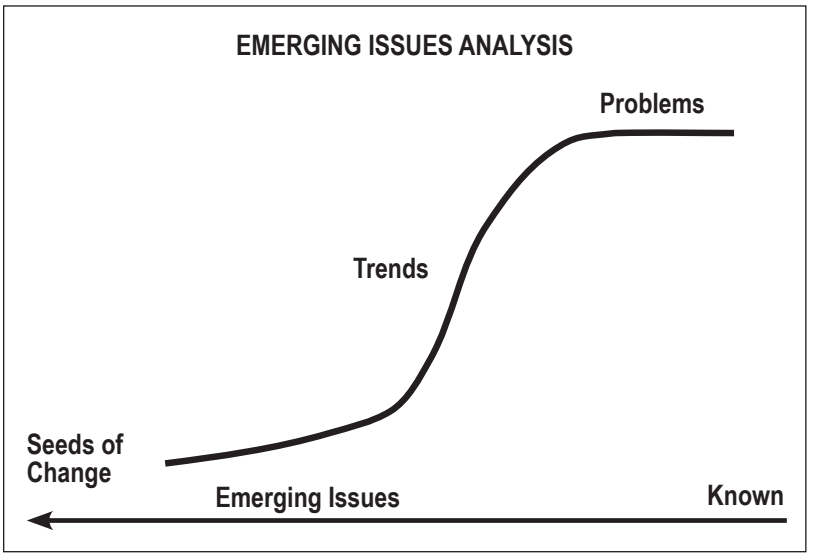

Figure 1: Emerging Issues Analysis

From a Proutist viewpoint, many of Sarkar's ideas – vegetarianism, the rights of animals and plants, meditation as part of daily practice, world government, the theory of *Microvita*, cooperatives as a model for a national economies – will move up the s-curve, eventually shifting from fantasy to reality.

In this sense, the Prout movement may be at the same stage, in many parts of the world, as the ecological movement was a generation ago. From Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* to Earth Day to electoral victories in a few nations to Al Gore's Nobel Peace Prize for his documentary *An Inconvenient Truth,* environmentalism has become normalised. Seen with this perspective, Prout, and its core ideas, is an emerging

intellectual force. Like the ecological movement, its ideas are likely to become quickly popular. It will then possibly become a trend and eventually a movement that will have to be grappled with by academia, civil society, business and government.

At present, in any discussion of the futures of humanity, the Green alternative is always raised. In the near future, through publications, movements and social services, Prout too may be in that position. Once Sarkar's movement enters the mainstream press, it will challenge old movements. Then there will be a tussle for legitimacy. Proutists, like the Greens or the socialists of the past, will argue that their image of the world and future is more compelling, elegant and realisable in the real world of material and emotional suffering. At this stage, the strength of Prout will be tested. Can it provide a new paradigm, surpassing liberal capitalism or environmentalism? Can its image of the world provide people with new meaning?

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

A number of alternative futures are possible.

In the first scenario, Prout succeeds because it meets foundational needs for survival, growth, identity and purpose. Like other successful social and economic movements, Prout and its core ideas becomes the dominant framework. This occurs because: 1) through its alternative economic framework (focused on guaranteeing basic needs) issues of survival for the global population are resolved; 2) growth is realised through increased productivity, healthier lifestyles and higher quality of life (work becomes more efficient and meaningful, higher equity leads to stronger and healthier communities and more social and economic integration); 3) issues of identity are resolved as every language and culture is honoured even as more and more humans become truly planetary, accepting that as the only way forward (other identity formations – patriarchy, dogmatic religion, and conflicting nation-states – point the way to civilisational collapse), and; 4) issues of purpose and direction are addressed through Prout's focus on consciousness raising, integrating the spiritual and material, personal

growth and collective welfare, nature and technology.

It is important to note that while Prout is spiritual in its outlook, enhanced productivity or an increased standard of living are also key. In this future, these are achieved because:

1. Employee satisfaction is higher as a result of more ownership and far superior the working conditions. Research suggests that "healthy employees are three times more productive than unhealthy employees, working 143 effective hours per month compared with 49," and that "workers who report their own health as poor take an average 18 days sick leave a year, compared to two days for those in self-reported good health[4]". While there is still lost productivity due to illness, there is also a new term: "presenteeism" – attending work though unwell. Research from the USA and Australia shows that presenteeism is two to three times more costly to companies than absenteeism. A 2007 Medibank Private study put the annual cost of presenteeism to Australia at AU$25.7 billion[5].

2. Second is employee ownership. In the Proutist approach it is not enough just to increase the wellness of employees; rather, it is important to make structural changes so that they partake in ownership. Prout goes further than attempts such as Deepak Chopra's to create an inclusive triangle of influences (employees, the board and shareholders); it seeks to make the employees owners. However, to create this situation, inner work is required. Many employees enjoy not being responsible. In this situation, they still have an excuse to complain when things go bad. They do not have accountability, and they can disown their own power. After becoming employee owners, there will no longer be anyone to blame. A new story is told and productivity increases. However, more than ownership is at issue – playing a role in decision-making is equally important; employee and worker consultation in strategy is crucial. The logic here is that financial incentives will increase productivity and increased identification with the company will reduce absenteeism

and turnover[6]. The challenge in Prout is to ensure that the gains from a "psychology of ownership" include a service and "other" dimension otherwise a "psychology of 'us first' will dominate." While there are certainly many models of employee ownership, for Prout the more participation and decision-making the better. However, this cannot be done without an educative dimension. Working in cooperatives requires emotional intelligence, not just market intelligence. Emotional intelligence for some may be natural, for others it must be learned.

3. Third, productivity can be improved by the greater inclusion of women in the formal workforce and more generally. As Sarkar wrote: "A bird cannot fly on one wing.'" With women in the workforce, productivity is likely to go up, as new ideas, new perspectives enter organisations[7]. A different way of seeing things emerges. New ideas, different ways of thinking, higher intelligence and varied intelligence all conspire to increase productivity. Essentially this is the neo-humanist education revolution.

4. Fourth, as mentioned in earlier chapters, with meditation and spirituality enhancing purpose, productivity is likely to increase.

5. And, as mentioned in the chapter on "Yoganomics", productivity also increases in tandem with ethics and good governance.

In the second scenario, Prout as a movement remains marginal but its ideas succeed. Prout's main contribution is in helping to create a new worldview that leads to foundational shifts in survival, growth, identity and purpose. Prout organisations do not become global political players (for example, a world Prout political party does not eventuate). Another group that has had an impact disproportionate to its small number is the Quakers (the Religious Society of Friends), who, in the USA, number just 250,000 (0.0008% of the population)

* See http://www.proutwomen.org/.

and yet the movement has significantly influenced many social justice changes, including the abolition of slavery, education reform, women's suffrage, the civil rights movement, penal reform, environmental protection and the peace movement.

In the third scenario, Prout is unable to play a social or political role and its ideas do not captivate leading thinkers, policy think-tanks and decision-makers. Instead, world capitalism continues moving forward, purchasing and co-opting dissenters every step of the way, and at every bottleneck of accumulation, every world crisis, it adapts. World capitalism appropriates a few slogans and ideas from Prout and other movements, making the capitalist system even stronger and more durable.

Of course Proutist thinkers and activists prefer the first two scenarios and not the third. The first assumes a strong hierarchical organisational structure with clear lines of discipline, thus allowing political-institutional success. In the second scenario, it is the reproducibility of the effects of Prout projects that is crucial. Instead of a strong organisational structure, it is the peer-to-peer inspiration and the decentralisation of projects and ideas that creates a wave of transformational change.

Which scenario will become reality depends on individual and collective images of the future. What individuals and groups prefer to happen, and believe will happen, is likely to happen.

Using Prout's theory of the social cycle, a change in the system of capitalism, the worldview underneath it (individualism, a linear theory of progress, externalisation of nature and the Other) and its deep defining story (greed is good) is likely to occur. It is because capitalism has been able to adapt and reinvent itself that the current economic crisis has become so overwhelming, affecting almost every facet of life (global governance, climate change, terrorism, change in the images of what it means to be human); thus the system is likely either to collapse or to transform, with the continuation of business as usual being very unlikely.

To contribute to global transformation, Prout requires a successful strategy.

STRATEGIC SUCCESS

The success of Prout's challenge requires strategy at four levels, moving from the most visible, the empirical litany, to the least visible, the realm of myths and metaphors.

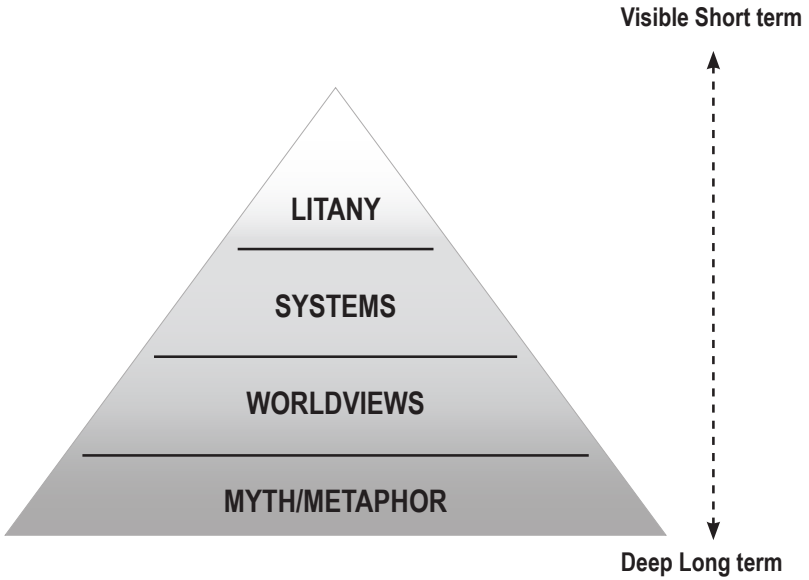

Figure 2: Strategy at four levels

The first level of change is the empirical litany, repeating the daily headlines over and over until we see them as official reality. Changing these measurable indicators means that Prout must offer new measurements that better reflect its vision of the future. These would measure core areas:

1. Neo-humanism (equal opportunity, no discrimination, rights of nature and animals, movement towards a vegetarian society);

2. Political-economy (movement of money, ratio of maximum to minimum income);

3. Spirituality (seen as not only a legitimate way of organising

society but as a preferred measurement, the percentage of individuals who adopt a spiritual practice);

4. Coordinated cooperation (between genders, nationalities, workers and management); and,

5. Governance (a legal contract between political leaders and citizens, constitutional guarantees of purchasing power, increased movement – conferences, binding treaties, laws – towards regionalism and world federalism).

The second level of change is systemic change. Systemic change ensures that new ideas prosper. Each nation-state creates systems that support its values. For example, governments can change energy use by choosing to subsidise alternatives like wind and solar power instead of oil. They can provide home loans for first time home owners that require solar energy to be used to access the grant. For a new system such as Prout to become the norm, numerous systemic changes are required. First, in schooling, a space and time for quiet meditation would slowly change the nature of what students value. Given the relationship between regular meditation and enhanced IQ as well as decreased illness, we can expect to see productivity gains and decreased social health costs. Second, in the economic structure, governments can create legislation that favours the cooperative model instead of the corporatist model. This would allow a flourishing of new types of enterprises. Governments can also promote employee-managed and employee-owned businesses by changing taxation strategy as well as pension-superannuation funding. Third, creating new global organisations and programs to solve problems that states are unable to handle (a global tax on speculation, a world peace insurance scheme to reduce the military costs to individual nations, a world currency), as well as reform of the United Nations, would enhance federalism.

The third level of change is the worldview. We are currently in a transition in which the modernist worldview, focused on shopping (I shop therefore I am), the nation-state (my nation is better than yours), patriarchy (rule of the strongest male) and externalising all

costs (nature in particular), is giving way to a new worldview. What this new worldview will be is still up for grabs. Will it be trans-modern, that is, going beyond the modern (by including other ways of knowing) but keeping the progressive nature of rights that modernity brought? Will it be postmodern, with new core values allowing all perspectives? Or will it be a return to the fundamentalism of the nation-state or religion? For Prout, not only are new indicators and systemic changes crucial, but so is being part of the debate on creating a new worldview. This debate is not just intellectual but part of our unconscious – essentially how we see the self, others, and the transcendent. Prout views this as an essentially *spiritual* transition, an awakening of the self linked to a new planetary ethical framework. Currently, the emerging image is ahead of present-day reality (which is still defined by the narrow boundaries of nation-statism and economic short-termism). Many individuals believe that a new spiritual future is possible but that they are unable to reconcile their desired future with the often brutal realities of the present. However, more and more there is evidence that reality itself is undergoing a transition.*

The final level of change is the mythic and metaphorical. This is about reframing issues at the deepest level. Instead of debating which system is truer or better, this is telling a new compelling story about what it means to be human. Sarkar offers the analogy of humanity being on a journey together, moving forward like a family and ensuring that no one falls behind. This is very different from the modern capitalist story of technological progress and survival of the fittest. For Prout, the new story includes a worldview of evolution that is not only about physical survival, but also an intellectual struggle, a battle of memes, and, most importantly, spiritually directed. Life is more than just the economy or society, it is about individually and collectively moving towards *ananda*, bliss. As Joseph Campbell said, "Follow your bliss."† Prout offers this new mythology as well as a practical way to achieve it. But ultimately this is not a path to bliss – Prout is the path, bliss is the path.

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* For example, see Graeme Taylor, *Evolution's Edge*. Bagriola Island, Canada, New Society Publishers, 2008; Bill Halal, *Technology's Promise*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008

† See the works of Joseph Campbell at the Joseph Campbell Foundation: http://www.jcf.org/new/index.php.

The way will certainly be very difficult and full of struggles, as Sarkar often reminded us. Humans can always quit, choosing the easier downhill path that moves away from our bliss. For this reason, it is crucial to imagine and feel that the future has already arrived – it is not distant; we are living it today.

As Sarkar said: "Even a half hour before your success, you will not know it."

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