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DIALOGUES ON SUSTAINABLE PATHS FOR THE FUTURE

Ethics, Welfare and Responsibility

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FOR THE FUTURE

Ethics, Welfare and Responsibility

Seminar Report 2008

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FOREWORD

Ea Blomqvist and David Korpela

This publication is one contribution from the seminar: “Dialogues on sustainable paths for the future: ethics, welfare and responsibility” held on May 7–8 2008 at Turku School of Economics in Turku, Finland.

The topics of the seminar were: global ethics (in terms of having, being and social values), how to promote decision making towards global sustainability, and on how to fit together sustainable development and liberal markets. The keynotes along with the comments and discussions during the different workshops were focusing on ethical values, responsible business ethics, social sustainability and livelihood, the complexity of welfare and globalisation in an unequal world, social capital and sustainability, sustainable environmental resource management and education for global responsibility and sustainability.

The seminar was organised as a joint event by the Finnish National ESD-resource centre coordinated by Åbo Akademi University (www.bup.fi) and the Finnish Universities' Partnership for International Development (UniPID) coordinated by the University of Jyväskylä (www.jyu.fi/hallinto/unipid/en). Both organisers are receiving funding for their activities via the Finnish Ministry of Education.

The seminar programme was planned by: MSc Ea Maria Blomqvist, Professor Emeritus Reijo E. Heinenon, Professor Liisa Laakso, MSc Pia Nurmi and PhD Anne Pylvänäinen. The seminar programme together with some of the lectures and this publication is available at www.bup.fi.

On behalf of the organisers, we wish to thank MSc Pia Nurmi, project director at the Centre for Responsible Business, Turku School of Economics, and her co-workers for the professional administration and successful practical arrangements of the seminar.

The realisation of this publication was possible only through the engaging work by our experienced editor PhD Johanna Kohl who along with the other authors – in spite of many more important duties - took time and effort to contribute to these seminar proceedings.

Background and Presentations of the Organising Networks

The National Resource Centre for Education for Sustainable Development in Higher Education is coordinated and led by PhD Paula Lindroos at the Centre for Continuing Education at Åbo Akademi University (www.bup.fi). The project is funded via the Finnish Ministry of Education 2007–2009) to support the implementation of national, regional (Baltic 21 E) and international (UNECE & UN) sustainability

strategies for higher education and contribute to the international DESD-process (UN's Decade for Education for Sustainable Development 2005–2014). Åbo Akademi University (ÅA) has acted as national centre for the international Baltic University Programme Network (BUP) since this co-operation started in 1991. The BUP-network (www.balticuniv.uu.se) consists of more than 200 universities and institutes of higher education in 14 countries in the Baltic Sea Region. The central contribution by ÅA to the BUP-network has been to arrange yearly international university teachers training seminars on ESD. This task was co-funded by the Finnish Ministry of Education during 2004–2006, when the centre also started to develop the web platforms: www.bup.fi & www.balticuniv.uu.se/esd/index.htm.

The Finnish Universities' Partnership for International Development (UniPID) is a partnership network between universities. Fourteen member universities participate in this network that was established in response to the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, where institutional partnerships for development were encouraged. This partnership aims to establish long-standing research and development co-operation based on partnerships and durable contacts between universities in Finland and abroad to support sustainable development around the world. Universities offer unique potential for sustainable development as a range of specialists and experts in various fields amalgamate their resources to serve the global community. This is the innovative platform for the launching of the UniPID project.

The plans for coordinated approaches were articulated after the Johannesburg Summit, when representatives from eleven Finnish universities assembled at the University of Jyväskylä on December 2, 2002. Inspired by keynote speaker, Dr. John Mugabe, Director of Science and Technology for the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the universities decided to include international development as a part of their international strategies. Institutional involvement in international development would require strategic coordination to build ties and increased co-operation between the institutions. UniPID is the culmination of this process.

In 2005, a coordination unit was established for UniPID at the University of Jyväskylä as part of a project led by Professor Liisa Laakso (who was also elected UniPID Chair). This project was (and still is) funded by the Finnish Ministry of Education. Since 2006, the UniPID network has been coordinated by a full-time project coordinator. UniPID's mandate is not only as a network to support and provide information for development researchers in Finnish Universities, it is also a unified body capable of both formulating and implementing Finnish development co-operation policy through independent action.

Since its conception, UniPID has been working to strengthen institutional partnerships between actors in development research both in Finland and partner institutions in the South. This includes partnership building at the national level among different stakeholders to facilitate an inclusive and participatory approach to capacity building in the fields of research and education.

Both networks foster the exchange of knowledge sharing between Finnish universities, universities in developing and transition countries, and other scientific and development communities by engaging them in partnership. As joint actors they also link Finnish universities to national, European and global sustainable development networks.

Universities are entrusted with a unique role as centres of research and higher education. These institutions pave the way for new information and are involved in the formation of new generations of responsible global citizens. This network of specialists is one of the most important ways to tackle capacity building through the sharing of scientific knowledge, cooperation on common interests, understanding of impacts, gathering and dissemination of information, and support through long-term exchange and cooperation. These activities are a focal point in accomplishing true sustainable development both regionally and between North and South.

The existence and the work of both networks serves the development objectives of the global community and to meet the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially in helping to attain the UNESCO-coordinated Education for All (EFA) targets. UniPID directly contributes to EFA objective number 6, which is to improve the quality of education in all aspects.

The United Nations has raised the profile and highlighted the importance of education institutions in declaring 2005-2014 the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD). In its 2007 Development Policy Programme, "Towards a Sustainable and Just World Community", the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland expresses Finland's commitment to long-term development partnerships and the achievement of the MDGs. The national Resource Centre for ESD in higher Education and UniPID are expressions of these objectives and are facilitating their realisation.

The Dialogues on Sustainable Development Seminar organised jointly by the two networks opens the discussion on the meaning and practical realisation of sustainable development. These issues are being brought to the attention of the public as Finnish universities working together play their part in accomplishing the goals set by the global community. A unified, partnership-oriented approach is essential to begin to meet the challenges of sustainable development.

December 2008

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DIALOGUES ON SUSTAINABLE PATHS FOR THE FUTURE: SUMMARY

Johanna Kohl

Openings of the Future Paths of Sustainability

One of the aims of Finnish information society policy has been to increase direct democracy in local affairs. Empowerment and participation require many skills and much information. The enormous amount of information available in society today has made information management more important than ever. One must know where to look for information, how to evaluate it, and how to choose the right information quickly from an almost limitless number of possibilities. (Kuosa et al., 2006) This is a challenging task for sustainability thinking and action. Sustainable development is not just a concern for the environmental sector, it runs across the entire spectrum of society. It is an issue that needs to be addressed horizontally, where sectoral administration and organisations are under pressure to change. If we are to be able to recognise and understand the various aspects of sustainable development simultaneously, we need to move from vertical to cross-sectoral thinking.

What is needed is "sustainability literacy" that enables one to assess the sustainability of actions or information in a temporal, spatial as well as societal context (Kohl, 2005). Sustainability denotes the ability to read, identify and understand issues from the various perspectives of sustainable development, such as identifying the temporal and spatial effects of land use in the planning of a new municipal centre. Information about traffic routes, services, schools, noise areas, species surveys or the results of emission measurements are all gathered together on the same map.

Sustainable development in this summary is understood as:

1. not exceeding the critical limits (tolerances) of ecological, technological, economic, social and cultural systems;
2. harmonising ecological, technological, economic, social and cultural needs, aims and practices (after Heinonen *et al.*, 2003);
3. and the interlocking and overlapping of ecological, technological, economic, social and cultural dimensions in thinking as well as action.

Sustainable development is seen to permeate the ecological, economic, social, cultural and technological dimensions and areas of expertise. Consequently, there are many tools available for teaching sustainable development, or at least there ought to be. The notion of sustainable development is contextualised: it changes from one time and place to the next, and we cannot always discuss the same concept.

The debate on sustainable development in general, also addressed in this seminar, has strong links with societal discourse which results in discrete arenas where experts meet and co-operate to various degrees (cf. Nowotny et al., 2001). Sustainable development is permeating the entire spectrum of education (from technological to social) in at least some degree. Polytechnics, in particular, have integrated sustainable development throughout their curriculum; alternatively, sustainable development is an independent subject in its own right (Kuosa et al., 2006). Adult education, in particular, faces challenges: How will it respond to the needs of working life in a sustainable way (ageing, lifelong learning)? How do you devise sustainable education policies and anticipate the needs of the future? What needs will there be for specialised expertise in which areas of general knowledge and skills? Will the business and administrative sectors need people with specialised training in sustainable development, or will they prefer generalised sustainability skills and thinking acquired through supplementary education (Kohl et al., 2007)? These are challenges for the quantitative and qualitative assessment of future education needs (Kuosa et al., 2006.). We need different scenarios about the future needs of education and a new way of thinking, where ideas about the educational needs and work placement of both specialists and generalists is discussed with the labour market. One issue in this discourse is the number and placement of people with Master's and Doctoral degrees in administration, scientific communities and the business sector (see Tapio et al. 2007).

Vague Sustainability

Themes for sustainable development are varied and systemic: human rights, peace and safety, cultural diversity, cross-cultural understanding, health and well-being, natural resources, democracy, developing responsibility and trust, sustainable urbanization and so on. These foci are very real, borne of the concerns we now read about regularly. This was the main content of this seminar on sustainable development.

Sustainability and sustainable development hold significance to various people through a plethora of ideas, threats, collective challenges and daily practices. Governmental boundaries do not stop environmental concerns, or even concerns for physical and emotional safety. Moreover, the environmental concerns are intricately linked to the issues of well-being, people's experiences and our way of interacting with people within and from other cultures (Antola-Crowe & Kohl, 2007.)

Although the whole issue of sustainability is very complex and many actors are concerned and greatly affected by ecological and economic sustainability, the cultural and social sustainability issues are losing out (alternatively: are being cast aside). All of these issues are intertwined through the values that socially sustainable communities embrace: respecting nature and life, responsibility, physical and mental health, the wellbeing of teachers and students, global, national and cross-generational justice, equality and tolerance, diversity, cross-cultural capacities and democracy (Antola-Crowe & Kohl, 2007).

Linking sustainable development to world politics I pick out the awarding of the 2004 Nobel peace prize to Wangari Maathai¹ (BBC 2004). Her work follows the principles of sustainable development, where the main pillars are social, economic, ecological and cultural dimensions. Large entities can only be understood if experts of different disciplines come together to consider sustainable development from the perspective of NGOs, researchers, authorities and industry. Due to the fact that sustainable development is linked with societal discourse, the result is different co-operation forums where experts engage with each other to varying extents (cf. Nowotny et al., 2001).

Another example of sustainable development politics is the appointment of President Tarja Halonen of Finland and President Benjamin William Mkapa of Tanzania as co-chairs of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. The purpose of the Commission is to explore the social dimension and opportunities of globalisation around the world, from the perspective of different people, communities and societies. The two Presidents emphasise the importance of taking a broad perspective on globalisation; not only an economic perspective but also including human and local viewpoints. In the introduction to its report, the Commission emphasised the shared understanding of its members, which was not easy to accomplish. Listening patiently and respectfully enabled them to find common ground (A fair..., 2004, ix). The Commission's work is an example of the value and power of dialogue as an instrument for change (see Antola-Crowe & Kohl 2007; Kohl 2005).

The strong social dimension in the Commission's work brought about universally accepted values, respect for human rights and human dignity. Some of the challenges concerning the Commission's vision of change centred on the following:

1. Focus on people. The demands of all people must be met in the following areas: respect for their rights, cultural identity and autonomy, decent work, the empowerment of local communities and gender equality.
2. A democratic state. The state must be able to integrate into the global economy, providing social and economic opportunity and security.
3. Greater accountability.
4. Deeper partnerships. Dialogue and partnership between international organisations, governments and parliaments, business, labour, and civic society are essential tools of democracy.

¹ Wangari Maathai (born 1940) is a Kenyan environmental activist. She is currently the Assistant Minister for Environment and Natural Resources of Kenya. She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004 for her contribution to sustainable development, democracy and peace. In 1977 Maathai founded the Green Belt Movement to combat soil erosion by planting trees. To date the organisation has planted millions of trees in Africa. Maathai is the first East African woman to earn a Ph.D. She has studied and taught biology in universities in Africa and the West. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wangari_Maathai)

Interactive Future

Everyone knows about their own environment. One might say we are all experts of our environment, as long as we define the expertise and the context. According to Saaristo (2000: 31), expertise has traditionally been constructed on the basis of science, professions and institutions. An expert is usually a person with scientific education specialised in some particular discipline. In his thesis, however, Saaristo goes on to state that we should not determine expertise in advance, but instead be open to local and contextual forms of expertise that do not preclude sectoral expertise or the need for specialists. Seen through the notion of open expertise, professionals communicate, interpret and learn (Saaristo 2000: 155–156).

Experts still tend to cluster around a specific discipline, institution or sub-policy (Beck 1995), although in practice the role and position of experts change with the context (Kohl 2008). How this happens is affected very much by the roles of other experts and particularly by what information is constructed and how it is used. Herein also lies the challenge to sustainable development; to move from segregating expertise towards integrating expertise with room for both specialists and generalists. Cross-sectorality, cross-disciplinarity and networked education, where all aspects of sustainable development are emphasised equally, is not just a vision but a mission. Goals are attainable by acting. Expertise has developed from the legitimisation of information, through interpretation, to multiple mediations (Bauman 1987). Most recently, it has developed to the horizontal permeability of expertise (Kohl 2005).

The implementation of sustainable development is based on interactivity. Inter-sectoral communication and bottom-up participation can be key elements for implementing sustainability. Problems can be alleviated through participation. Conflicts are often the beginning of compromise. Interaction generally leads to the discovery of tools for communication and an understanding of how other people think, which is of prime importance in trying to find solutions. The non-measurable information gained through social interaction often brings one closer to the goal than the specification of norms and indicators.

One example of the integration of different areas of environmental expertise is anticipatory environmental impact assessment, which is used to assess the ecological, economic, social, cultural and technological impacts of projects, programmes and plans. For example, teachers, health centre doctors, social and youth workers are all aware of the circumstances and wishes of people in their area and the need for, location, and nature of public services (Kohl and Sairinen 2004; Päivänen et al. 2005). Such professionals can be consulted to ascertain the possible impacts of a planned project on their environment and living conditions.

Various methods are needed to make sustainability an integral part of education, permeating the various subjects instead of constituting a separate subject. These methods are closely linked to open expertise and knowledge:

- Knowledge must be seen as a process rather than an entity. Open discussion and an open topic allow for innovation. If the group has not learned how to discuss, a facilitator is needed to support the situation as a mediator, an interpreter, someone who knows the methods and keeps the discussion coherent, an activator and a conciliator.

- Different types of expertise are fundamentally equal and power is distributed equally, with everyone participating from and within their own particular framework.
- It is important to listen and hear what others are saying and to react directly to it instead of speaking in monologues.
- Laying oneself on the line: having the courage to look at things from other people's perspectives.
- The matter under discussion affects the participants personally; as people, not institutions, circumstances or scientific disciplines. It is important not to hide behind any façades.
- It is advisable to summarise things along the way so as not to forget what has been discussed.
- Feedback is one of the keys to the creation of openness and trust.
- Follow-up is important to gain an understanding of changes over time and to comprehend developments in expert opinion. Collectively created meanings may change considerably over time. (Kohl 2008.)

To summarise sustainability and its future challenges we can say that what is needed above all is more competence in linking aspects of sustainability. It is vital to bring different scientific methods, theories and the expertise of different sectors into dialogue more effectively and comprehensively on a horizontal plane. This calls for a dialogue between actors to ensure that the social, ecological, economic and cultural spheres meet each other. Cross-sectoral co-presence is not enough, we also need bottom-up thinking where all individuals have opportunities, rights and responsibilities. Everyone is an expert, as long as we define the context. Who defines the context depends on the problem, issue, needs and aims. Partnership and dialogue in planning is one aspect of sustainable development. One must be able to examine entire communities and societies from the level of the individual, to see the global from the local level. Environmental problems never touch just one sector and cannot be solved by only one type of expertise. They do not stop at national borders and cannot be solved by any nation acting alone.

Pluralism and diversity are part of sustainable development. Sustainability is incommensurate with either-or type of thinking. There are always alternatives, which should be considered critically while keeping the various dimensions of sustainable development in mind equally. Economic interests must not override soft values and silent groups. Social sustainability must be raised on par with the technological-economical dimension. It is vital for the future generations to learn to read the weak signals in education and examine them in different contexts. Regardless of one's discipline or education, one must be able to tackle the following challenges:

- Livelihoods and professions that will thrive or wilt in the future; the reduction of unemployment and possible rise in the importance of voluntary work;
- Migration to large cities and subsequent loss of regional diversity;
- Security;
- Co-operation between disciplines and organisations: innovation and competition.

This calls for at least the following: Openness, critical thinking, and a lack of prejudice. Social sustainability is not an obstacle but an opportunity.

1. Resources – how can sustainable development permeate all disciplines?
2. Values – what are the underlying values of sustainability?
3. Roles – which sectors should be involved in the region? What are the roles of the actors in the region?
4. Interaction – how to create a solid foundation?
5. Assessment and illustration of ideas of time – what is a short time for some can be long for others.
6. Creativity and innovation – structural flexibility.
7. Partnership – different networks.

The arena for sustainable development is open to all. Herewith I open the dialogue with the different participants of the seminar.

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FROM SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT TO GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

Monica Melén-Paaso

It Was in Stockholm in 1972 Where It All Began...

The launch for the process of sustainable development was given in 1972 at a UN environmental conference in Stockholm. The Club of Rome report *Limits to Growth*, also published in 1972, raised environmental protection to the fore in international political debate.

... Became an Agenda at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992...

In 1987 the World Commission on Environment and Development, led by Gro Harlem Brundtland, published its report *Our Common Future*, which gave impetus for a number of international follow-up actions and processes and brought the idea of sustainable development into public awareness. The report defined sustainable development as development "that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

The Brundtland Commission report provided the basis for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The Rio Conference adopted Agenda 21, a programme that gave internationally agreed objectives for the promotion of sustainable development. The Conference validated the aforementioned Brundtland Commission definition of sustainable development.

...The Johannesburg Earth Summit in 2002 Gave Agenda 21 an Action Plan

An Earth Summit held in Johannesburg in 2002 devised a common action plan in support of Agenda 21. This is how sustainable development was redefined 10 years after Rio. In Johannesburg, sustainable development was seen as an entity comprising ecological, economic and social-cultural dimensions, all of which are equally important and influence each other. At the turn of the millennium, the debate on the impact of globalisation on the world and the inequality brought about by globalisation gained momentum, stepping up the conceptual change from the protection of nature to sustainable development.

The definition of sustainable development was intentionally kept flexible in Johannesburg. This enables it to be concretised and applied in a way that serves regional, national and local needs and target groups.

The Johannesburg Earth Summit also set in motion an extensive project focusing on global education. In December 2002, the UN General Conference declared a Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD) 2005–2014. At the international level, this period is coordinated by UNESCO, which provides the framework for the Member States' action promoting education for sustainable development (ESD).

In Europe, it was deemed necessary to create a specific European DESD strategy. The strategy was devised by the United Nation's Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) and adopted in Vilnius in March 2005. This strategy was based on the section on education in the Agenda 21 for the Baltic Sea Region (known as Baltic 21). The aim of Baltic 21 is to develop the education systems in the Baltic Sea countries to include the sustainable development viewpoint as a natural and permanent element (see *Kestävän kehityksen edistäminen koulutuksessa - Baltic 21E -ohjelma (2002)*).

Towards More Sustainable Lifestyles by Educational Means

Ever since Agenda 21, it has been stressed that education for sustainable development is more than just passing on and diffusing information and knowledge. According to UNESCO, education and instruction provide the means for us to influence the future world by providing knowledge, skills, perspective and values to individuals and organisations, equipping them to live and work in a sustainable manner. In addition, the UNESCO definition of education for sustainable development underscores the quality of education as a precondition for achieving the aims of sustainable development.

In Finland, a committee submitted its report to the Ministry of Education in February 2006 proposing ways to promote sustainable development in education and to implement Baltic 21E, as well as putting forward a national DESD strategy. The strategy, which covers all levels of education, including liberal adult education, university education and research, contains measures spanning all these levels that are specific to given levels (*Keke-strategia 2006*).

The vision for 2014 in the strategy is that all individuals support sustainable development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The aim is motivated people who are committed to sustainable development who want to increase their knowledge and skills relating to sustainable development as an essential part of lifelong learning. This was the first national DESD strategy devised by a European country. At an Education Council meeting in spring 2006, the strategy, translated into English, was included in the documents of the European Council of Ministers (*ESD-strategy 2006*).

Besides national strategies and steering documents, the DESD strategy is informed by relevant UNESCO and UNECE documents and the Baltic 21E programme and rests on the commitment of Finland as a nation to the DESD aims.

Further, the national DESD strategy is informed, as applicable, by the so-called Copernicus Charter (1993), a Charter on education for sustainable development signed by over 320 higher education institutions from 38 countries.

The proposed implementation of the strategy and the policy lines are largely based on a Baltic 21E pilot carried out in the whole Finnish education system from 2002 to 2005.

Rooting Sustainable Development into the Education System and Public Debate

Sustainable development has been gaining more weight in Finnish education and science policy in recent years. The Government adopted it as one of the four themes in sectoral research. Its importance is stressed in the development plan *Education and Research 2007–2012*. In fact, sustainable development has been taken into account by educational establishments in both their curricula and everyday work throughout the education system.

The universities and polytechnics are the beacons of new knowledge in our society. This is why they should step up cooperation and networking for sustainable development. Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, the Åbo Akademi University is coordinating a national resource centre which promotes higher education for sustainable development and the Sydväst University of Applied Science (from 1.8.2008 Novia University of Applied Sciences) is coordinating a network for polytechnic education for sustainable development.

According to plans, these two projects will form the basis for a forum on higher education and R&D for sustainable development, to be established during 2008. It will also be open to higher education institutions in the Baltic Sea Region. The Forum will liaise with higher education institutions by means of a network of contact persons. The Finnish National Board of Education promotes sustainable development in its sector. The National Board's web site is a very helpful resource for teachers in particular.

Sustainable development will gain more and more importance in the working world. Global responsibility, climate change, issues of social inequality and the globalising economy, among others, are considerations that have to be taken seriously in future society. One task for education and research is to produce competencies which will take society and working life in a more sustainable direction. No self-respecting corporation can disregard the sustainable development viewpoint in its operations. One factor for this is the media.

Professor Michael Porter (Harvard Business School) has been studying corporate social responsibility and sustainable development within the framework of competitive strategy for years. According to him, it pays to tackle the dimensions of sustainable development from the standpoint of strategic competitive advantage. What is important is that the company does not aspire to a leading position in all its sectors but chooses the areas where it wishes to stand out among its competitors in the promotion of sustainable development. When individual companies understand the strategic advantage of corporate social re-

sponsibility, the cumulative outcome, according to Professor Porter, is that overall welfare in society grows and ecological sustainability is safeguarded (see Rohweder 2008).

Apart from attaining the aims of education and research for sustainable development, one major challenge is to consolidate the ethical and cultural underpinning of sustainable development. This is a difficult task. With slight exaggeration, we could say that we have long been living in the belief that the best measure for good life is one that gauges economic welfare. However, in Johannesburg in 2002 world leaders boldly spoke of human value, the fundamental interaction of humankind and nature, Western consumption patterns that debase humankind, and the need to find the right ethos for humankind. Could there be a more valuable challenge for higher education institutions in particular (cf. Melén-Paaso 2007)?

Does Development Policy Explain Sustainable Development Dimensions?

Sustainable development and development policy are the two faces of a coin. In our global world, sustainable development entails development policy action. Then again, development policy action aims at sustainable development.

According to the Finnish development policy programme (2007), our development policy contributes to the global effort to eradicate poverty through economically, socially and ecologically sustainable development. One of Finland's inputs into the worldwide debate was to initiate a North-South dialogue within the so-called Helsinki process. It is recorded in the Finnish development policy programme that this work will be carried out, above all, with a view to promoting sustainable development and peace processes.

The Johannesburg Earth Summit was particularly significant for the balanced promotion of sustainable development in that it highlighted social and cultural development. In earlier debates on sustainable development, the most weight had been given to the relationship between the environment and economic activities. After Johannesburg, political documents on sustainable development stress that sustainable development means balanced integration of economic, social-cultural and ecological sustainability.

At the turn of the millennium, there was growing debate on the economic and social impact of globalisation and on the inequality it causes. The debate increasingly brought up the theme of each individual's global responsibility, the hope being that active citizens would grow into active world citizens.

One reason for people's bad conscience and the desire to help arising from it was information and communications technology, which grew exponentially in the 1990s, making it possible to access information in real time from the ends of the world. The media increasingly reported on famine, abject poverty, exploitation, armed conflicts and terrorism. Security, well-being and the state of the environment began to interest ordinary consumers. They want to know the origin of the products they buy, the working condi-

tions in which they are produced, who makes these products, and how they affect the development of the societies concerned. There is growing global responsibility in nations.

It is perhaps against development policy and development cooperation that the most profound meaning of sustainable development becomes understood. In such comparisons it is possible to concretise the dimensions of sustainable development by means of practical examples of development cooperation.

The elimination of poverty and sustainable use of natural resources are the foremost aims of Finnish development cooperation as part of the implementation of the Millennium Goals jointly adopted within the UN.

An excellent example of development cooperation that promotes sustainable development is water. According to Finland's development policy programme 2007 (p. 19):

Ensuring access to clean water and appropriate treatment of sewage are a precondition for reducing poverty and promoting health in many developing countries. Competition for insufficient water resources often provokes conflicts within and between states. Water projects can eliminate poverty, promote economic development, protect the environment and avert conflicts.

From Development Policy and Sustainable Development Policy towards Shouldering Responsibility for the World Community

Globalisation is a process of change whereby the world is seen as a more and more holistic system. The effect its parts have on each other is seen ever more rapidly, whatever the geographical distance. Growing interdependence is a fundamental feature of globalisation and at the same time a basis for global cooperation. With globalisation our life has become easier, on the one hand, and more complicated, on the other. The Internet makes it possible for us to sit at the computer in our homes and have an extraordinary number of information sources at our fingertips. On the other hand, as the old saying goes, "add to knowledge - add to pain". By pain, I mean awareness of the fact that there are no simple, clear answers to questions concerning our world.

For instance, climate change and other issues relating to the sustainability of our society cannot be approached only from the perspective of one or two disciplines. We need a multidisciplinary knowledge base, an open mind, an ability to dissect information and an ethical approach in order to find answers to the riddles of our constantly transforming universe.

In spring 2007, the Ministry of Education initiated a project under the title Education for Global Responsibility. Its value basis comes from the values spanning the Programme of the Vanhanen II Government: balance between humankind and nature, responsibility and freedom, caring and encouragement, and education, culture and knowledge. Its key objective is to enhance the quality and impact of global education in Finland.

At a conference held in Maastricht in November 2002, a number of major international organisations issued a Global Education Declaration saying that global education is education and instruction which opens people's eyes and mind to world reality and awakens them to act for human rights, which belong to everyone, and for a more just and equal world. Global education is quite particularly action for development cooperation, sustainable development, peace and intercultural understanding, all of which are global dimensions of citizenship education (Figure 1).

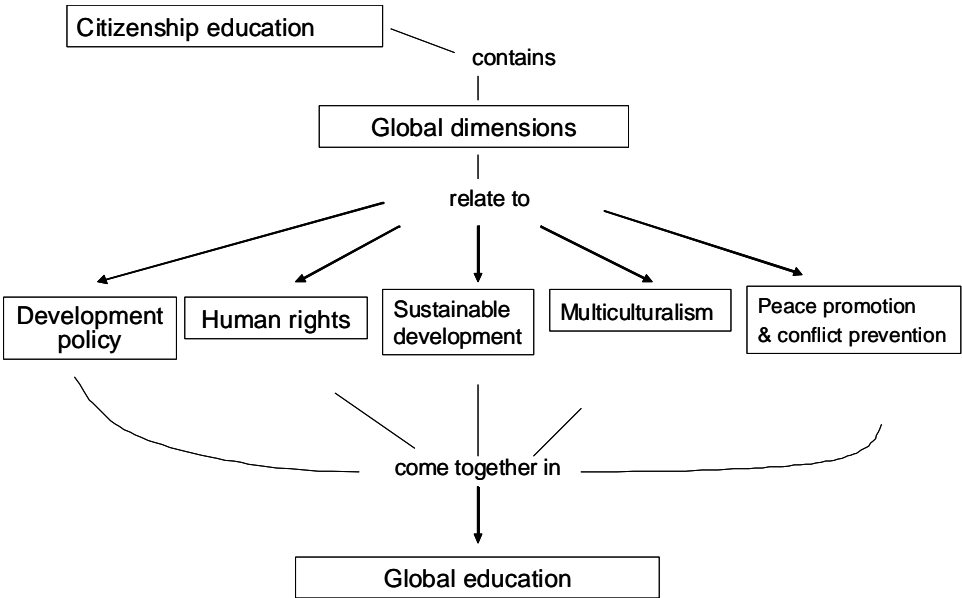


Figure 1. Main themes of the Maastricht Declaration as a concept chart

In January 2003, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe called upon the Member States to promote global education in order to consolidate public awareness of sustainable development. The Assembly stressed that global education is indispensable in order that all citizens have capacity for understanding our global society and participate in it as critically thinking empowered world citizens.

The Ministry of Education project Growth into Global Responsibility promotes global education in accordance with the definitions put forward by the Council of Europe (North-South Centre) in a review of Finnish global education.

The globalised world has brought different cultures and religions into our everyday life. All major religions and philosophies include the rule "Do unto others as you would like to have them do unto you" in one form or another. Hence, this rule could be regarded as a kind of basic precept in global ethic.

Global ethic can be seen as the underpinning of global education. Alternatively, respect for human rights and intercultural understanding are considered a precondition for global ethics (see Kaivola & Melén-Paaso 2007). Our attitude to cultural pluralism is influenced by values, standpoints and actions. The UN human rights give the principles against which we can assess our own values and the values of others.

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights is globally accepted and is as free as possible from subjective value judgements (see Toivanen 2007).

Broadly defined, peace can be seen as a concept describing development (Vesa 2007). All development policy action is geared to achieve sustainable development. Sustainability could thus be seen as a goal, and development, including promotion of peace and respect of human rights, could be seen as a process aiming at this goal, that is, sustainability.

When citizens take part in democratic processes at the local, national and international levels, they need to be capable of intercultural interaction in multicultural settings.

Creative use of the media is a prerequisite for coping with a global society. An ability to understand and read cultures is part of media literacy. Media literacy, in turn, is crucial in our society if we want to enhance democracy, make media use safer and safeguard the right for every individual to be heard. These two kinds of literacy can be regarded as subjects in lifelong learning (see Salo-Lee 2007).

In fact, Global Governance means developing a comprehensive global policy, a policy for the world community. Foundation for this policy is also created through national and international debate on global ethics, discussing for instance the relationship between Human Rights and Responsibilities (Finland's development policy programme 2007, p. 6).

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GLOBAL ETHIC – FROM BRUNDTLAND ONWARDS – REFLECTIONS ON IMMATERIAL CRITICAL RESOURCES

Reijo E. Heinonen

*...“They thought the market operates exclusively according its codes.
But this opinion belongs to the past. We see that ethic changes the market.”*

(Der Spiegel 11.6.07, 146-149 assessing the book of Nico Stehr,
Die Moralisierung der Märkte. Eine Gesellschaftstheorie 2007)

In his article in the Newspaper Helsingin Sanomat (30.4.2008) the Editor-in-Chief Paavo Rautio writes about the state of world economics:

“The ongoing year has revealed much more from the essence of world economics than many other previous years together. In August (2007), the credit balloon burst in the States and spread waves to the whole world. The credit crisis was followed by the food crisis...”

“The first consistency between these two phenomena is that they reveal how much the balance of world economics is based on such a vague issue as confidence.”

...“In the same time as the credit balloon burst, also the food crisis...now the banks do not trust affirmations about the contents of the balance of trade”. (Rautio 2008)

What does the concept of “confidence” mean in this context? Why is “confidence” labelled as a vague issue?

We are used to thinking about confidence as a vague concept because it is based on intangible factors but this is true only so far as the community is not committed to them. On the contrary, confidence can also be a very steady connection between individuals and groups if they commit themselves to the same foundational values. If this kind of confidence is present, it is not necessary to know all the details about the background of an agreement. In a community where honesty is highly valued, it is not a problem to leave your bicycle unlocked.

The balance of the world economics demands renewed confidence between partners. International actors cannot simply declare new confidence to people who do not commit themselves to the same values,

or at least have basic moral principles in common. The genesis of a new confidence needs global norms and principles, which allow for mutual trust in politics and trade. In this paper, we ask how global ethic has become an intangible but critical resource of the world community.

What is Global Ethic

It would be too simple to say we need global ethic and it will solve all the current problems on the international stage. An awareness of common combining ethical principles is only a precondition for confidence, which must be developed through processes of reflection and communication.

Alternatively, others do not see any possibility for the awakening of an awareness of ethical principles and norms. Corruption can be seen everywhere through immoral acts and wars, how is it possible to convince people about noble principles and values? Without trust in the human capacity for transformation such a task is impossible.

Fortunately, we have already achieved some milestones in developing an understanding of the necessity for global ethic. There are international organisations, even within the UN, which begin to address the concerns of sceptical observers.

A brief response to this question comes from the United Nations International Labour Organisation, ILO. It states that "an ethical frame of reference" (A Fair Globalisation: creating opportunities for all, 2004) is necessary because otherwise the negative impacts of globalisation will lead to a widening of the gap between rich and poor, resulting in further chaos.

This statement arises from the debate on global ethic during the 1990s. The term "global ethic/ethics" has been used primarily with three meanings. The globally recognised catholic theologian and scholar of inter-religious issues, Hans Küng, has contributed to an increased awareness of the concept through his book *Projekt Weltethos* (Küng 1990). In this book, he points out the necessity to counteract the negative effects of globalisation processes and combat the misuse of religions in political conflicts. One of his famous slogans is "No world peace without peace among religions" (Küng 1999).

Weltethos, global ethic, implies, first of all, a new moral awareness. This holistic approach does not mean a strict new moral system, but developing criteria for a new global moral awareness and a description of the process to achieve it (Küng 1997).

The 1993 Declaration, *Toward a Global Ethic*, adopted by the Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago (USA) is based on this concept (Küng & Kuschel eds. 1993). Hans Küng, together with an international working group, prepared the first draft for the Chicago declaration. Finland was represented in this working group and the draft was evaluated in Turku University in autumn 1992.

The formulation of the Declaration's wording "Toward a Global Ethic" is worth noting. The imprecise article points out that this text is only one step forward in interpreting the already existing basic moral values of humankind, *consensus gentium*.

Furthermore, the text is using the word *ethic* and not *ethics*. The difference is that *ethic* (corresponding to the German term *Ethos*) means moral attitude and mood and not a strict ethical system or academic discipline, which gives the second meaning for the concept. According to Küng, moral awareness is more important than legally understood moral codes or systems (Küng & Kuschel eds.).

The third proposed definition of global ethic appeared in the UNESCO project "Universal Ethics" in the year 1997 (Kim 1997). The basic sources for this Declaration can be found in current philosophical and religious traditions and discussion on moral issues. It notes the difference between minimalistic and maximalistic global ethics (UNESCO 2000). In the minimalistic approach, the aim is to reach a consensus concerning the minimum common moral values defined in current philosophical research. This approach was not successful because it was too difficult to combine the various philosophical traditions and their foundational values (UNESCO 2000).

The director of the UNESCO department of philosophy, Jersu Kim, stated that the maximalistic approach would offer a better opportunity to create a generally accepted global ethic because it is based on moral codes, which already exist in the religious and cultural tradition. It also allows for a better understanding of cultural diversity, which has been generated through centuries (UNESCO 2000).

The global ethic process, which has progressed in identifiable waves, finally shifted toward the maximalistic approach. The basic ethical principle in the Chicago Declaration was the golden rule. It is illustrative to state that it can be found through various formulations in every great religion. The golden rule points out the reciprocity of moral behaviour as is written in the Bible "Whatever you wish that others do to you, do so to them- this is the sum of (God's) law, and the teaching of the prophets". In Buddhism, this is formulated as follows: "Treat all creatures as you would like to be treated" (Küng & Kuschel 1993). The difference between Judeo-Christian religion and the pantheistic religions like Buddhism is evident in the way nature is assessed. In Buddhism, all of nature must be treated in the same ethical way as humans.

In Islam, there is a similar formulation: "No one of you is a believer, until you desire for your neighbour that which you desire for yourself" (Küng & Kuschel 1993).

The first wave of the global ethic process was the preparation and approval of the Chicago Declaration in 1993. In the second wave, from 1993–1995, an assessment of the Declaration took place. It was received positively and supported by political and religious intellectuals, but did not get much publicity in the media, especially in northern countries.

In the third wave, from 1995-1997, international organisations like the World Economic Forum, InterAction Council (IAC), UNESCO and others adopted the main ideas of the Declaration. In the fourth wave, from 1995-2000, the foundations for Global Ethic were established in Tübingen, Zürich, Amsterdam and Prague to support the intercultural dialogue (Heinonen 2004).

In the fifth wave, beginning in 2001, the UN began to highlight the necessity of global ethic for taming the negative effects of globalisation. The ILO emphasised the necessity of an "ethical frame of reference" (A Fair Globalisation creating opportunities for all 2004). The year 2001 was nominated as the year of "Dialogue among Civilizations", and the book "Crossing the Divide" was published. The book was initiated by Secretary General Kofi Annan with co-writers from various cultures representing every continent (Picco 2001).

This development towards the conviction that global ethic is necessary for the globalisation process has emerged without much resistance. It has happened as if the world audience has nodded in consensus and said "Yes, yes, it is quite right, but who will begin to apply these values to the actual global monetary system and mechanisms of crisis management?"

Now, we can fathom two main ways to solve the problem of a reluctance to commit to the aims of global ethic. Firstly, we can examine the current lack of confidence in global financial and propose that the global credit and food crises will lead to such a dilemma that new intangible solutions must be found. From my point of view, the fear of catastrophe is a very temporary solution long-term moral problems. It is likely that soon after the greatest disasters are over, the same selfish and suspicious political dealings will continue.

The former President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Havel, proposed a different solution to the problem. It begins with an unusual analysis of the state of the world. "The economic advances of Euro-American civilisation, based as they are on advances in scientific and technical knowledge, have gradually altered man's very value systems. Respect for the metaphysical horizons of his being is, to an increasing extent, pushed aside to make room for a new deity: the ideal of perpetual growth of production and consumption." (Havel 1994) Havel proposes a turn in the opposite direction and refers to his experiences under communist regimes.

"Many years of living under communism gave us certain experiences that the non-communist West (fortunately) did not have to go through. We came to understand (or to be precise some of us did) that only genuine values are those for which one is capable, if necessary, of sacrificing something."..."Naturally, all of us continue to pay lip service to democracy, human rights, the order of nature and responsibility for the world, but apparently only insofar as it does not require any sacrifice."..."I have in mind, rather, sacrifice in a less conspicuous but infinitely broader sense, that is, a willingness to sacrifice for the common interest something of one's own particular interests, including even the quest for larger and larger domestic production and consumption" (Havel 1994).

This means that the legitimacy of unlimited growth and consumption should be assessed critically from an ethical viewpoint. Why this has not been done on a larger scale in the international politics and economy? Next, we try to answer this question by examining the debate on sustainable development.

From Brundtland Onwards

The fundamental charge to the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) was to determine “whether development and environmental protection involved compatible values and goals and, if not, how the two could be reconciled” (Lipschutz 2004).

In its report ‘Our common future’ (1987), the Commission pointed out that the disagreement between industrialised countries and developing countries had remained since the Stockholm Conference on the ‘Human environment’ (1972) (Lipschutz 2004). The central problem was how the environment could be protected if development rests on growth in production and consumption. To put it simply, what does sustainable development mean?

The critical answer given by an American environmental philosopher Ronnie D. Lipschutz can be understood against the background of the report of the Club of Rome ‘The Limits to Growth’ (1972) (Meadows 1972). Lipschutz writes “For the Brundtland Commission, sustainable development was clearly sustained economic growth, and this does not seem a likely answer to global environmental damage to those who have given thought to the issue” Lipschutz 2004).

The warnings of the report ‘The Limits to Growth’ that “In the limited ecosystem no limitless growth is possible” have been overlooked. “Growth was not sustainable and no amount of rhetoric would make it so.” Lipschutz continues “There is little conceptual difference between sustainable development and sustainable growth” (Lipschutz 2004).

The positive contribution of the Brundtland Commission was the establishment of a platform for the debate on sustainable development, which also promoted the propagation of this concept. Also, in highlighting the need for a redistribution of wealth from rich to poor this discussion has increased critical assessment of material development.

However, Lipschutz’s evaluation of the impact of the Brundtland Commission is primarily critical, “The result is that, for the most part, sustainable development is merely a mantra, a phrase that bears repeating because it has a calming effect. It seems to imply that, given human ingenuity, we can find our way out of what appears to be an almost intractable dilemma, and we can do so on a global scale” (Lipschutz 2004). The 1992 Rio Conference on sustainable development organised by the UN tried to find a new solution to this dilemma.

Towards Ethical Sustainable Development

The program declaration of the Rio Summit, Agenda 21, established several activities viewed as important for the survival of the earth. The scientific debate started to yield data, which alerted the world to clear and present dangers. The political debate began to create a framework for global cooperation and

partnership in action (Brown 1994). The fruits of this endeavour could be seen at the World Summit in Johannesburg (2002) (The Johannesburg Declaration 2002).

The economic debate challenged governments to give \$600 billion for the restoration and care of the environment. Also, the social debate began by elevating the problems of poverty to the international agenda. All of these components, derived from Agenda 21, were more or less successful (Brown 1994).

The great disappointment for the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the Secretary General of the conference, Maurice F. Strong, came from the neglecting of the central claim of the conference, to begin the ethical debate on the moral values of humankind. In an interview, Strong pointed out that agreements for technological and economic cooperation do not lead to success if the ethical commitment is lacking. The purpose of the implementation of Agenda 21 was to “vitalise the moral, spiritual and ethical side of humans” (Rio was for Today and tomorrow 1992).

Noel J. Brown, director of UNEP, stated that “A commitment is a moral act, perhaps the missing element in the global equation” (Brown 1994). The interconnectedness of tangible and intangible critical resources is highlighted by Brown by his reflection of the future of Agenda 21.

“If the Rio Consensus is to have any meaning, it has to be morally grounded in the notion of human right and wrong in relation to the way the earth and its bounty are made to serve the interests of all. What is necessary now is a much clearer sense of the ethical and moral issues posed by Agenda 21” (Brown 1994).

Although the concept of sustainability was enlarged from an economic and environmental understanding to include social and even cultural perspectives, the demand for ethical debate posed by the Rio Summit did not lead to the intended results. Two years after the Rio Summit Brown laments, “Still to begin, however, is the ethical debate on the moral implications of Agenda 21” (Brown 1994). It was too easy to think that technologies and economics will solve all the problems of development and that a new art of responsibility in the realm of morals was not necessary.

The debate concerning “human solidarity” in the Johannesburg Summit (2002) showed the dilemma facing world leaders after the neglect of the Rio challenge to begin a debate on basic common values. This 17th paragraph was the final issue to be debated. It was so difficult to find a mutually accepted solution that it delayed the closing of the Summit by several hours (Ebtakar 2003).

That which was not possible on the government level was carried out by NGOs. The Secretary General of the Rio Summit, Maurice Strong, formulated a new Declaration, supported by Mikhail Gorbachev, two years before Johannesburg. It was given the name “Earth Charter” (2000).

“We stand at a critical moment in the Earth’s history, a time when humanity must choose its future. As the world becomes increasingly interdependent and fragile, the future at once holds great peril and promise... Towards this end, it is imperative that we, the peoples of Earth, declare our responsibility to one another, to the greater community of life, and to future generations” (The Earth Charter 2000).

Today, there are several movements advocating for global ethical awareness. However, the basic question remains: how can human being who is selfish by nature diminish this side of his personality and begin to take responsibility as result of a conscious moral decision? Without this awareness we have little hope for mutual confidence. The last twenty years of environmental policy show that, to a large extent, the problems are not so much about tangible material development but are on the intangible side. We can say that the global ethic has become a critical resource or the missing link of the world's equation.

The great choice that we are obliged to make must be made between two individual goals that have global consequences: the ethical aim to be more or material aim to have more (Savio 2008). Naturally, we think that we are able to combine these two aims in a sustainable way, but this can be a delusion. It is important that we are aware of the tension between these two aims and are ready to make a responsible choice.

Why it is usually the case that we try to increase our well being as humans through increasing our material resources? As we notice, this does not function and we are disappointed. It seems to me that we compensate values of loving and being by increasing the consumption of things, representing values of having. This leads to an endless search for material possessions without realising the thirst for satisfaction that is not a material resource. This is a momentous issue for those who struggle for survival in the regions experiencing famine and insufficient healthcare.

How could we grow up to face adequate responsibility as individuals? An important answer for the citizens of industrialised societies is given by Hans Jonas, who is known for his study "Das Prinzip Verantwortung" (Jonas 1984). He points out the necessity for a new ability to perceive (Seevermögen), to see what is going on in our world. The imaginative capacity of humans can reveal what we, as citizens of the western world, have become. Its richness can also promote the attitude of gratitude which makes it possible to give to others without great financial burden. However we should not mislead ourselves, a new capacity to perceive can also lead us to sacrifice in a way which touches our whole personality.

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OUR COMMON FAILURE: WHY UTILITARIAN ETHICS FAILS TO CREATE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Tarja Ketola

Abstract

We tend to justify our actions, such as bombing people and contributing to climate change, by utilitarian reasons of benefiting the majority while, in reality, only few will benefit and the majority will suffer. We have failed to create sustainable development because of this utilitarian ethics. Sustainable development has been abusively harnessed to produce luxury items and material welfare for people who have been reduced to consumers. Yet, sustainable development was first and foremost meant to meet the essential needs of the world's poor who continue to die and suffer because of this abuse. The poor exploit nature for their survival needs and the rich for the satisfaction of their cravings. Utilitarian ethics could be replaced by virtue ethics, which emphasizes justness, kindness, moderation, generosity, loyalty and reliability – but that would require psychosocial development among individuals, corporations and other organizations. It might still be possible to turn Our Common Failure into Our Common Future, if people realized that it is a question of Our Common Future.

Introduction: Our Deep-Rooted Failures



Hiroshima, 6 August 1945



Greensburg, Kansas, 6 May 2007

Picture 1. Hiroshima (6 August 1945) and Greensburg, Kansas (6 May 2007).

The USA tried to justify the nuclear bomb attacks on Hiroshima on 6 August 1945 and Nagasaki on 9 August 1945 by utilitarian goals: the US administration claimed that dropping atomic bombs would speed up the ending of World War II. More than 200,000 people died in Hiroshima and 100,000 in Nagasaki by 1950, half of them immediately, the other half slowly and painfully due to burns, leukaemia, other cancer and related disease. Still in 2007, there were some 250,000 surviving victims of the bombings, Hibakusha (explosion-affected people), suffering from the after-effects of these atomic bombings.

The ethics of the nuclear attacks have been widely debated ever since then (Walker, 2005). Many people do not believe that the USA was on a peace mission with the nuclear bombs, but egoistically retaliated thousand fold on Japan for the humiliation caused by the surprise Japanese attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in 1941. Many researchers characterize the atomic attacks as crimes against humanity (Edwards, 2005). Even now, more than 60 years later, the superpowers continue to discipline other people by torturing and killing them by the thousands. Human nature has remained unchanged.

Nuclear power has also been adopted for civil purposes to generate energy for continuously growing industrial production and consumption of goods and services. Energy-efficiency and eco-efficiency goals have not reduced energy needs, which are increasing exponentially, not only in rapidly developing countries, but also in the developed world where corporations are expanding their production, and consumers their consumption. There seem to be no limits to the demand for energy. Because of global warming, the carbon dioxide (CO₂)-free nuclear power energy is favoured in many countries as an easy option – and yearned for in some countries because of its military potential. Large corporations eagerly participate in joint ventures to build new nuclear power reactors since shares in such ventures will bring huge revenues from ever-rising energy prices and free, or low-priced, energy for themselves. Governments readily accept and finance new reactors in order to serve business interests and to be able to comply with more stringent international legislation on CO₂ emissions.

All major players determinedly close their eyes to the problems of nuclear power. The mere 5–7 year construction of a new nuclear power reactor results in enormous yearly CO₂ emissions. During its 30–40 year life-span the reactor needs vast amounts of uranium, the mining and transporting of which kill and cause cancer to thousands of employees and local people and irreparable damage to animals, plants and ecosystems. Operating a nuclear reactor is accident-prone; the more reactors and the longer their life spans, the more lax the employee behaviour, as examples from Sweden, Eastern Europe and the USA have revealed. The consequences of an accident may be much worse than in Chernobyl where, depending on the source, 9,000–90,000 people were killed, 10,000–1,000,000 people are still ill with cancer and 336,000 people were evacuated and resettled because of radioactive contamination of large areas after the disaster in 1986. No one counted the number of animals and plants killed or ecosystems destroyed. Everyday operations at nuclear power stations produce large quantities of radioactive waste, which must be safely treated, transported and stored. Transporting nuclear waste from (developed) country to (developing) country is dangerous and unethical. Geological storing of this waste, which remains hazardous for at least 100,000 years, poses grave risks because of both natural phenomena like flooding and earthquakes and human-related incidents like carelessness and terrorism. The whole pro-

duction chain of nuclear power is vulnerable to natural and human intervention. The increased availability of nuclear technology increases the chances of its development from civil to military purposes.

Despite these serious concerns at least the US, Canada, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Japan, South Korea, China, Russia, France, Finland, Bulgaria and the Baltic countries with Poland are currently building and/or planning to build more nuclear power reactors. Yet, investing similar sums or even much less money on solar, wind and wave energy development would produce as much or even more genuinely CO₂-free energy with hardly any dangers to humans and nature – and with long-term innovation and employment opportunities for large numbers of small and medium-sized local enterprises in developed and developing countries alike. For energy security, these small, decentralized, renewable power plants would be an outstanding alternative. However, corporations and governments prefer large-scale centralized unrenovable power plants based on old nuclear, oil, gas and coal technologies because, so far, they have been abundant cash-cows bringing big business and politicians great revenues.

A series of tornados hit the small town of Greensburg, Kansas, on 6 May 2007 killing 13 people, destroying 95 percent of the town, and severely damaging the other 5 per cent the scene looked like Hiroshima with nearly all buildings and structures wiped out. The incident was devastating for the town dwellers but was a relatively small event compared to about 2,500 deaths caused by the hurricane Katrina in New Orleans on 28 August 2004 – not to mention countless cyclones (e.g. Burma on 3 May 2008), floods and droughts killing hundreds of thousands of people in Asian and African countries. Tornados, hurricanes, storms, tsunamis, floods, droughts and other extreme weather conditions have become very common during the past few years. They existed earlier as rare phenomena, but climate change has increased their occurrence tenfold already. One of the greatest causes of climate change is the exponentially growing human-induced CO₂-emissions. The continued use of fossil fuels, such as oil, gas and coal, in production, transportation and consumption is the main reason for CO₂-emissions.

In addition to nuclear power, corporations and governments are suggesting CO₂ capture & storage underground or under the seabed from oil, gas and coal production sites to combat climate change, despite the fact that it is an end-of-pipe technology. It represents the old way of dumping hazardous waste: from these stores CO₂ gradually leaks to harm mammal and marine life, and may all burst out and instantly kill all the humans and other animals in the area (IPCC, 2005). The immediate deadly impact of CO₂ bursts is well known. For example, at Lake Nyos, a crater lake in Cameroon, West Africa, more than 1,800 people and 3,500 livestock were killed by a sudden release of carbon dioxide in August 1986. No one counted the number of wild animals killed by the burst. The gas killed all living things within a 25 km radius of the lake. Now that carbon dioxide is deliberately being stored in large quantities in certain locations, local people live in constant mortal danger, like those who live by nuclear power stations. The probability of an accident may be low (although increasing with more storage) but the consequences are fatal. Corporations and governments prioritize lethal, high-cost, large-scale fossil-based investments over safe, low-cost, small-scale renewables-based investments in their attempts to integrate huge revenues and superficial compliance with CO₂ legislation. All in the name of sustainable development...

The Abuse of Sustainable Development



The Tramp, 1915



Famine in Niger, 2005

Picture 2. *The Tramp (1915) and Famine in Niger (2005).*

The most widely quoted and accepted definition of sustainable development is an extract from Brundtland's Commission's report *Our Common Future*:

"...development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (WCED, 1987)

This extract gives individuals, companies and other organizations the right to satisfy any needs they may have, as long as future generations can meet their own needs (which the present individuals, companies and other organizations can define and estimate). Hence, an increasing number of individuals in developed countries have decided to need sports utility vehicles (SUVs), luxury cars, pleasure boats, powerboats, and even private planes and helicopters, particularly since a massively increasing number of individuals in developing countries have learnt from them to need ordinary private cars and motor boats. Companies are only too happy to sell them all they "need" and create more and more "needs" because these "needs" mean prosperous business for both car manufacturers and oil companies.

Consequently, wealthy individuals drive their big, fuel-hungry metal- and plastic-box SUVs in cities although streets in developed countries are seldom bumpy – unlike in many developing countries where a four-wheel drive may well be needed (e.g. the leading driving school in Mombasa, Kenya, is called Rocky Road Driving School) – even though parking space is usually limited. Poorer individuals drive Ladas in Eastern Europe and will drive Tata Nanos, the world's cheapest cars (\$2,500) in India – neither of which are in any way ecologically or socially sustainable in their production or use.

The desire to purchase private vehicles and other material commodities are not needs but cravings. They do not satisfy individuals' physiological needs but their psychological need for esteem: keeping up with the Joneses. Corporations willingly exploit human weaknesses and innovatively create ever more sophisticated and expensive cravings to feed our insatiable need for social status. No wonder the citation from Our Common Future report defining sustainable development is so widely accepted! But note: that extract is only the beginning of the definition. Individuals, companies and other organizations have (deliberately?) omitted the rest of the definition of sustainable development. The sentence continues to define what and whose the needs are and how they should be met.

"...development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given. In order for our environment to be protected, the economic conditions of the world's poor must be improved." (WCED 1987)

The essential needs of the poor are in stark contrast with the esteem needs of the rich and those aiming to become rich. The Brundtland Commission's sustainable development promises to meet the poor people's needs for clean water, clean air to breathe, nourishing food, basic hygiene, health care, shelter and education – all of which should really be human rights guaranteed for everyone.

Yet, Charles Chaplin's heartbreaking film, *The Tramp*, from 1915 is still topical: there are hundreds of millions of people living in the streets begging, stealing, starving, freezing and being abused. In the countryside, there are hundreds of millions of people trying to survive from the eroded land plagued by drought, floods and pests; washing in and drinking polluted water; and destroying the last forests to get firewood to keep warm and cook. Famine is constantly lurking for them. During the past few years, famine has killed and caused large-scale suffering in Niger, Chad, Djibouti, Ethiopia, South Sudan (Darfur), Somalia, Kenya and Zimbabwe. Water shortage and pollution kill and affect the health of many more millions of poor people in Africa, Asia and South America, and even in Europe and North America (see Woods, 2006). A child dies of hunger every fifth second, and of thirst every eighth second. Every year, at least 6.3 million children die because of our failure to meet their basic survival needs.

Sustainable development is meant to prioritize the meeting of the needs of poor people by empowering them to earn a living for their families in an economically, socio-culturally and ecologically sustainable way. Great examples of this kind of empowerment are the Green Belt Movement initiated by Wangari Maathai and the Grameen Bank established by Muhammad Yunus. The Green Belt Movement engages poor people all over Africa in planting trees, which prevents erosion, enables biodiversity and gives work to local women directly and indirectly. The Grameen Bank gives micro loans to millions of poor women in Bangladesh and other countries, so that they can employ themselves. Characteristic of our times, these major economic initiatives, which have changed the lives of millions of people, did not win Nobel Prizes in Economics, but in Peace (2004 and 2006). Well, enhancing peace in the turbulent societies of developing countries is a prerequisite for all business. However, these initiatives have gone much further: they are creating business and employment opportunities for the poor in a way that allows them to take not only economic but also socio-cultural and ecological responsibility for their actions. The Green

Belt Movement and Grameen Bank are achieving what multinational corporations and governments have not achieved: genuine holistic corporate sustainability.

All companies can achieve genuine holistic sustainability if they want to. A way to make the whole business sustainable, and to help others do it too, is to apply Fair Trade to all suppliers, Fair Production to all employees, contractors and other business partners, and Fair Sales to all customers (see table 1).

In Fair Trade, a company pays a fair price for the eco-friendly and socio-culturally sustainable products bought from the poor. In Fair Production, a company gives fair rewards for the eco-friendly and socio-culturally sustainable inputs of employees, contractors and other business partners (Ketola, 2009). In Fair Sales (BOP), a company sells affordable, eco-friendly and socio-culturally sustainable products and services to the poor. The acronym BOP is derived from a book Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid by C.K. Prahalad (2005), who has demonstrated that billions of poor people give companies huge markets and companies can solve socio-cultural and ecological problems in this way, while remaining economically viable.

Table 1. Some holistic responsibility scales leading to sustainability (adapted from Ketola, 2009).

Level of holistic responsibility	Fair Trade (supplier side)	Fair Production (employee, contractor and other business partner side)	Fair Sales (BOP) (customer side)
5 (very high)	100 % of purchases	100 % of production	100 % of net sales
4 (high)	75-99 % of purchases	75-99 % of production	75-99 % of net sales
3 (moderate)	50-74 % of purchases	50-74 % of production	50-74 % of net sales
2 (low)	25-49 % of purchases	25-49 % of production	25-49 % of net sales
1 (very low)	< 25 % of purchases	< 25 % of production	< 25 % of net sales

An American philosopher Martha Nussbaum and an Indian economist Amartya Sen, 1998 Nobel Laureate in Economics, built a "capabilities approach" for the UN World Institute for Development Economics Research as an alternative both to the economists' view that a country's Gross National Product (GNP) is the only reliable measure of social, economic and political progress, and to the relativist position that Westerners must refrain from judging foreign cultures (Nussbaum and Sen, 1993). The capabilities approach lists a universal set of values – e.g. the right to life from infant to old age; bodily health and integrity; the right to participate in political affairs; the right to hold property; and the right to engage in economic transactions – that can be used to judge the quality of life in any society. These capabilities are absolute, not relative. Capabilities are the cornerstone of sustainable development, and poverty is capa-

bility deprivation – in contrast to the prevailing view that sees development as mere economic growth and poverty only as income deprivation.

Yet, more than 20 years after the publication of *Our Common Future* and 15 years after the introduction of the capabilities approach, a billion people lack even the basic essentials for survival. Meanwhile, another billion people live in luxury while the rest live at different stages of economic growth.

If only cycling became fashionable among the wealthy! All others would be eager to follow their example. Cycling is healthy and intellectually stimulating as well as ecologically, socio-culturally and economically sustainable (Ketola, 2008a). A billion Chinese and a billion Indians could dig their old bikes out of their sheds and repair them for good use. Thousands of entrepreneurs in cities, towns and villages could start small shops building bicycles from recycled materials and parts or buying and selling second-hand bicycles and repairing them. Instead of wasting their money on private motor vehicles, even relatively poor people could afford to build or buy a recycled bicycle. Naturally, even in a bicycle world there would be class division from luxury-bike owners to scrap-bike owners, but the division would not be so steep economically or socio-culturally. The ecological impact, including carbon dioxide emissions, would be negligible compared to motor vehicles.

Car manufacturers, mining companies and oil corporations, with the help of politicians and governments are doing their utmost to prevent this kind of sustainable development. Bicycles need few raw materials and none of them need to be unrenovable metals or plastics made of oil. Bicycles do not need fuels made of oil or gas or any other energy than physical human energy. If people rode on bikes instead of driving cars, there would not be such great need for non-human energy, and economic growth would turn into decline. Since corporations and governments still insist that sustainable development means sustained economic growth, they loudly promote the right of the people in developing countries to have all the vehicles and other gadgets that people in developed countries have: "we have no right to deny the poor their right to meet their needs like we have met our needs". The corporations and governments can convince themselves and many others to believe that they are serving the interests of everyone. Benefiting "us" instead of just "me" means utilitarianism instead of egoism.

The Failure of Utilitarianism as a Value Basis

In principle, utilitarianism is a more ethical value basis than egoism. Its practical driving force in business is the stakeholder theory (see table 2), according to which a company is responsible also to other stakeholders than only its shareholders. The goals of business utilitarianism are long-term optimization of returns, growth, and safeguarding continuity. Like egoism, utilitarianism thrives on the market economy. In both egoism and utilitarianism, corporate sustainability efforts end at the point where the business benefits end.

Table 2. Comparing egoism and utilitarianism.

	EGOISM	UTILITARIANISM
Ethical principle:	My pleasure, interest & benefit	Our pleasure, interest & benefit
Driving force:	Agency theory: § company is responsible for its actions only to its shareholders § goal: maximization of the shareholder value (profit) § quartile economics § market economy	Stakeholder theory: § company is responsible also to other stakeholders than its shareholders § goal: long-term optimization of returns, growth and safeguarding continuity § market economy
Economic ideology:	Neoclassical economics	Austrian economics

Stakeholder theory has some weaknesses, and two of them water down the ethics of utilitarianism. The first of these weaknesses is that all stakeholders cannot be benefiting because they have conflicting needs and interests both between each other and among themselves. This makes companies prioritize and choose the most important stakeholders. Many consultants offer sophisticated methods to do this. Picking the most important stakeholders and focusing on meeting their needs leads to oligarchy. Strong stakeholders benefit: shareholders, executives, financiers, major clients, governments, political decision-makers and authorities. Weak stakeholders suffer: employees, suppliers, consumers, local people, NGOs and citizens. As a result, utilitarianism ends up with the same result as egoism: the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

The second weakness of the stakeholder theory is that it dilutes the ethics of utilitarianism in its anthropocentrism. Stakeholder theory talks about benefiting human stakeholders. The majority of stakeholders – other animals, plants, biosphere, atmosphere and geosphere – are completely ignored. Their needs may be considered only if the strong stakeholders demand it. Human stakeholders have many short-sighted needs that take priority over the needs of other species. Even environmental NGOs may let the environment down in order to be able to cooperate with some corporations. Green parties fail nature regularly in exchange for political agreements and favours. It is no wonder that other stakeholders, for whom the environment is a secondary issue in any case, emphasize their anthropocentric main issues at the expense of environmental considerations. Total indifference to nature's clear messages has led to the current situation: drastic global warming, destruction of biodiversity, pollution of air, land and water. The hopeful Our Common Future has become Our Common Failure. Yet there are other options for the ethical value basis than egoism and utilitarianism (see table 3).

Table 3. Value alternatives in corporate ethics.

TYPES OF VALUES:	Egoistic / utilitarian values	Duty / rights / justice ethical values	Virtue ethical values
ETHICAL PRINCIPAL:	My benefit / Our benefit	Do your duty / Do what is right / fair.	Act virtuously
RESPONSIBILITY CRITERIA:	Take responsibility if § cost cuts § added income § business opportunities § image benefits for the company / and closest stakeholders.	Everyone even in business has a duty to take responsibility for their actions / protect others' rights. Experts tell the duties/rights. / Act in a fair and just way towards everyone.	Business is a virtuous activity based on moderation and consideration, prioritizing the existence value of humans and nature over their use value.
ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY:	Neoclassical / Austrian economics	Institutional economics	Humanitarian economics
PHILOSOPHERS:	Epicurus 341-270 BC Jeremy Bentham 1789 John Stuart Mill 1861	I. Kant 1785 Alan Gewirth 1978 John Rawls 1971	Aristotle 348 BC B. de Spinoza 1677 F. Nietzsche 1866 G.H. von Wright 1963

Duty ethics commits everyone to take responsibility for their actions. Rights ethics encourages them to protect the rights of others as fiercely as their own. In both duty and rights ethics, experts give the criteria used as the basis of decisions. Justice ethics, on the other hand, expects everyone to decide themselves what the fair and just ways to act towards others are. Duty, rights and justice ethics lead to institutional economics, which emphasizes the role of man-made institutions in shaping economic behaviour.

Virtue ethics leads to humanitarian economics, which is taking shape from different components, such as conscience economics (Haapala & Aavameri, 2008), ecological economics (e.g. Daly & Farley, 2004), feminist economics (e.g. Barker & Kuiper, 2003) and developmental economics (e.g. Schumacher, 1973). Virtue ethics sees business (like any action) as a virtuous activity based on moderation and consideration, which prioritizes the existence value of humans and nature over their use value, i.e. ethical values over economic values. Egoism and utilitarianism prioritize the use value of humans and nature over their existence value, i.e. economic values over ethical values.

Use value		
(a) direct value (immediate use value)	}	economic values
(b) indirect value (use value of its functions)		
(c) option value (how much willing to pay for its conservation for future use)		
+ Existence value		
(a) human preference (willingness to pay for its mere existence)	}	ethical values
(b) intrinsic value (its value irrespective of human preferences)		
<hr/>		
= Total value		

The value of almost anything could be calculated by using this formula. For example, the value of a forest or a human being has been evaluated like this. The results of these calculations depend on the ethical value basis of the evaluator. Egoistic and utilitarian evaluators place great monetary value on the use values (direct, indirect and option values) of the object and little monetary value on the existence values (human preference and intrinsic value) of the object. Virtue ethical evaluators end up with huge monetary value on the existence values (and particularly on the intrinsic value) of the object and negligible monetary value on its use values. Virtue ethical people think that all beings are immeasurably valuable irrespective of what any humans think.

Virtue ethics has its roots in both Ancient Greece and Ancient China. This means that virtue ethics is universal, deriving both from Western and Eastern philosophy (see table 4). The core is the same but its manifestations differ. The main difference is that Westerners have always emphasized individualism and Easterners communality. That is why the practices of virtue ethics have developed in different directions: towards individual's responsibility and moral wisdom in the West, and towards generational respect and governmental morality in the East.

Table 4. *Virtue ethics: west and east.*

	WEST	EAST
ORIGINS	Plato (427–347 B.C.) Aristotle (384–322 B.C.)	Confucius (551–479 B.C.)
FOCUS	Individuals' inner character	Interpersonal relations
VIRTUES	§ prudence § justice § temperance § fortitude § wisdom	§ benevolence (ren) § filial conduct (xiao) § trustworthiness (xin) § loyalty (zhong) § righteousness (yi)
REASONS FOR COMEBACK	In Europe and USA: to correct the injustices of market economy	In China: to combat corruption

Virtues come naturally to all people – and so do the vices. Aristotle said that a virtue is an attitude that makes people good and helps them do their work well. A virtue is a middle road between two evils (Ketola, 2008b):

<u>The seven sins</u>	<u>=> Virtues: the middle road</u>	<u><= The other evil extreme</u>
arrogance	=> humble pride	<= cringing
envy	=> justness	<= extolling
greed	=> generosity	<= exuberance
hostility	=> kindness	<= fawning
gorging	=> moderation	<= anorexia
indulging	=> loyalty	<= puritanism
slackness	=> flexibility	<= rigidity and
and falsity	and reliability	home truth telling

In market economy, the seven sins represent the prevailing characteristics of powerful actors and the other evil extreme represents the prevailing characteristics of powerless actors. Yet, both parties would like to be seen to behave virtuously, and they have an inner drive towards this middle road. Good and evil are not separate entities, but are in continuous oscillation like yin and yang. For example, the local cradle of capitalism, Finnish Business and Policy Forum (EVA, 2003), tried hard to reconcile them in their publication *Virtue and Market Economy*. However, the corporations' way to virtue ethics is long and it does not succeed if they try to bend virtue ethics to fit the Wild West rules of market economy. Instead, the corporations need to develop their own psyche.

Potty-Training Corporations

Large corporations usually follow market economy rules to the letter, and most of them abide by the stock markets' demands for profit maximization every quarter. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), on the contrary, tend to be independent of external economic expectations. Most SMEs do not regard profit accumulation as their main goal, but as entrepreneurs, they may have many other, more important missions: employing family and local people for a long term; improving the wellbeing of the community; looking after the local environment; developing one's own and other people's skills; or self-actualisation. These missions are typically qualitative, unlike the quantitative missions of most large corporations. Consequently, SMEs seldom apply egoistic or utilitarian values, but either duty/rights/justice ethical or virtue ethical values. SMEs are, therefore, often inherently responsible if they are optimistic, or sometimes desperate if they are distressed about the fact that large corporations seldom try to be responsible. Large corporations are, all too often, two-faced: they pretend to be responsible but act irresponsibly either overtly (egoists) or covertly (utilitarians). Their words are inconsistent with their actions. Table 5 demonstrates the connection between corporate values basis and corporate personality type. It is the large corporations that need potty-training: help for psychosocial development.

Table 5. Corporate personality types and their value bases (extract from Ketola, 2008b: 75).

Corporate personality types in corporate responsibility:	Corporate value bases:
Two-faced corporations	Egoistic or utilitarian values
Desperate corporations	Duty, rights or justice ethical values
Responsible corporations	Virtue ethical values

Erik H. Erikson (1959) created a theory of psychosocial development for individuals. He listed eight stages of individual personality development, covering the entire lifespan. Each of Erikson's psychosocial developmental stages has two possible outcomes. Successful completion of each stage results in a healthy personality and flourishing interactions with others. Failure to successfully fulfil the developmental function at any stage results in a reduced ability to complete further stages, which leads to an unhealthier personality. These stages, however, can be resolved successfully at a later time. Favourable conclusions of each stage are – tellingly – known as virtues. We are born with this virtue potential but in order to be able to harness them for practical use, we need to go through these developmental stages. The two outcomes and one virtue of the eight developmental stages are presented in table 6.

Table 6. Erik H. Erikson's eight psychosocial developmental stages (Ketola, 2008c).

The possible outcomes of each developmental stage:	The virtue achievable from each developmental stage:
(1) Trust vs. mistrust	Hope
(2) Autonomy vs. shame & doubt	Will
(3) Initiative vs. guilt	Purpose
(4) Industry vs. inferiority	Competence
(5) Identity vs. role confusion	Fidelity
(6) Intimacy vs. isolation	Love
(7) Generativity vs. stagnation	Caring
(8) Ego integrity vs. despair	Wisdom

Erikson's theory can be adapted to corporations. Since corporations are made of groups of people, they have more versatile mental resources than individuals, and can, therefore, develop faster than individuals. In fact, corporations must develop much faster than individuals because, as juridical persons, they are legally fully responsible for their actions from the very moment they are born, i.e. established.

Another paper (Ketola, 2008c), shows how companies can be potty-trained to act clean by taking them through the eight stages of psychosocial development towards genuine responsibility. Many corporations do not have the motivation to develop further than stage 1 or 2. For those willing to develop, the path is rocky, but they can reach stages 3–6 with serious effort. Some corporations become mature enough to reach stages 7–8. The personality types and value bases of corporations reveal at which stage their psychosocial development has stopped (see table 7).

How to persuade companies to start their psychosocial development? Most companies tend to believe that they are well adjusted to society and the environment since they remain by and large unpunished for their irresponsible actions. Maybe corporate psychotherapy is required? It is quite possible for corporations to recruit a psychotherapist or psychologist to help the psychosocial development of their organizations. Some nuclear power companies already employ psychologists to prevent and mitigate accidents. Psychologists understand how a human mind works and how it is affected by group pressure and organizational variables. The psychosocial development of an organization would be an interesting challenge.

Table 7. *The psychosocial developmental stages of different corporate personality types (Ketola, 2008c).*

Corporate personality types:	Corporate value bases:	Corporate psycho-social developmental stages:
Two-faced corporations:	Egoistic values: Utilitarian values:	1. Trust vs. mistrust 2. Autonomy vs. shame & doubt
Desperate corporations:	Duty ethical values: Rights ethical values: Justice ethical values:	3. Initiative vs. guilt 4. Industry vs. inferiority 5. Identity vs. role confusion 6. Intimacy vs. isolation
Responsible corporations:	Virtue ethical values:	7. Generativity vs. stagnation 8. Ego integrity vs. despair

Some say that the root of the problem is the brutal psychology of the stock markets and their greedy shareholders who force corporations to act in an egoistical or utilitarian manner. The shareholders should be given psychotherapy (which they certainly could afford). While large institutional shareholders could change their behaviour after psychosocial development through psychotherapeutic interventions, individual shareholders are so scattered that they could not be directly influenced. However, since most individual shareholders just float with the tide, they easily adopt new – and even responsible – ways of thinking from the stock markets. This is a two-way street: if corporations did not succumb to stock market short-term pressures but demonstrate to the shareholders how long-term holistic sustainability is in the interests of everyone, the shareholders and, eventually, the stock markets and their analysts would change their values and behaviour as well.

Conclusions: From Our Common Failure to Our Common Future?

For over 20 years, the concept of sustainable development has been abused by egoistic and utilitarian corporations, governments, other organizations and individuals in order to meet their luxury needs, although sustainable development was meant to meet the essential needs of the world's poor who continue to die and suffer because of this abuse. Both the desperate poor with their survival needs and the abusive rich with their luxury needs have been exploiting nature so atrociously that the ecosystems we all depend on have started to collapse. Yet, nature is inherently abundant to those who live in harmony with it. Nature can bear some free-riders, too, but not many. There is enough for everyone's need, but not for everyone's greed.

People in Finland seem to think that none of the destruction of nature or ill-being of the world's poor has anything to do with them. Even climate change is forecasted to make Finland a warm Paradise. In this future garden of Eden, a huge variety of plants can be cultivated and biodiversity will flourish. What Finns forget is that they do not live in a vacuum. Even if the most optimistic forecasts materialize for

Finland, most other countries will be badly affected by climate change. Already now, floods, erosion and desertification in many parts of the world have made millions of hectares of land uninhabitable, large lakes have dried up, islands have disappeared and tens of millions of refugees are looking for a new homeland. So far, human migration in these longitudes has routed from one African country to another and across the Mediterranean to Southern Europe, but now that climate change is beginning to take its toll in Southern Europe, there will be migration from southern to northern parts of Spain, Italy and France, to Northern Europe and across the Baltic to Finland and other Nordic countries. Plants and animals have already started this migration from south to north. Humans are following behind.

There are 5 million Finns in an area that is larger than the United Kingdom with its 60 million inhabitants. And within the UK, only England is densely populated. Hence, there is easily room for another 50 million inhabitants in Finland. With 100 million inhabitants, Finland's population density would equal that of Japan. Are Finns prepared to take 50–100 million climate change refugees to live side by side with them? Hardly. But no one will ask them. The despair of the future's billion refugees worldwide will be so overwhelming that they will fight for their and their families' survival. The tiny Finnish army will not be able to prevent masses from entering the country. Neither the EU nor NATO will help because their member states will be faced by the same refugee crisis. Both the refugees and the native inhabitants will regress to egoism and family utilitarianism in their attempts to defend their human rights. Finns will be left with no other choice than to apply for minority status of indigenous people in their own country to secure their rights. The new majority will then decide whether the Finns will be treated well like Swedish-speaking Finns or badly like Native Americans or Australian Aboriginals. It may already be too late to prevent worldwide mass human migration because the effects of climate change are exacerbating, like a never-ending tsunami which humankind cannot stop anymore.

Finns and other well-off people have not taken responsibility for the ecological and human disasters and still continue to make them worse. They have not realized that this should be Our Common Future, not just Our Finnish Future. Consequently, they have gravely contributed to Our Common Failure. If they want to live happily ever after, they will have to start sharing to make Our Common Future possible.

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SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

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Introduction

Social sustainability refers most often to the normative idea that the development of a society should meet some specific criteria of social sustainability. In the policy perspective of facilitating such development, social sustainability is usually linked to other dimensions of development, such as sustainability of the economy (i.e. socio-economic sustainability), ecology and technology (Porter & Sheppard 1998, 94). Also, the cultural dimension has been understood for a long time as part of social development, even if until now culture has been exposed more frequently as a distinct aspect of human heritage and morality, not so inclusive to sustainable development. Consequently, the scholars who have taken the challenge to give a general definition to social and cultural sustainability (i.e. socio-cultural sustainability) have to deal with a variety of societal complexities that are not easily made explicit in the framework of a single social theory (see also Lee 200, 163). In a more practicable frame of reference social sustainability is in most cases reduced to some essential aspects. This obviously involves making priorities over a broad range of possible aspects of social sustainability.

The Brundtland Commissions report *Our Common Future* (1987) proposed a global policy program to enhance social sustainability in a very broad sense. Since then there has been worldwide policy discourse about the priorities of sustainable development. Though criticised by many scholars and influential actors for its numerous ambiguities, the concept of sustainable development still makes an essential point of reference in a worldwide attempt to create good governance over the use of natural and human resources (Elliott 1998, 179-191). Thus the policy discourse starting from the report 'Our Common Future' and leading most recently to the Plan of Implementation declared by the Summit at Johannesburg 2002, is an important historical landmark. It incites positions and actions not only by experts of environmental sciences and social sciences, but also mobilises a great multitude of social and political actors seeking to specify - in time and place - the criteria for social sustainability (e.g. Auclair & Vaillancourt 1992, 251). This article aims at discussing some definitions and priorities of social and cultural sustainability and at giving some basic arguments to these priorities with particular reference to the use of natural resources.

Social and Cultural Criteria in Developing Use of Natural Resources

The Western view of development has long roots in both Enlightenment and in a vision for economic growth. In processes of modernisation the pursuit of happiness has been understood to presuppose economic accumulation. Consequently, the moral rules of material acquisition and promoting individual

and private wealth have been an essential issue of political debate and of building institutional norms. Since the early days of Enlightenment this regulatory principle has been modified in many ways by the enlargement and growing complexities of the markets and, consequently, established in varying social formations across modern nation states. Thus, there is also a great variety of local histories in creating and implementing a general norm system on social behaviour concerning the extraction of natural resources and industrial activity.

The deepest roots of Western ideas in reconciling between Enlightenment and economic growth are found in Europe. In the 21st century the world was going through an intensive period of globalisation, not only in the economy but also in many other ways. In this process the influence of the European/Western tradition of establishing economic and cultural norms in all parts of world was growing rapidly (see Chartrand 1992, 127). Simultaneously, Europe was, however, losing its monopoly in setting norms according to the Western tradition since much of the industrial and political leadership was taken over by other nations, particularly the United States and Japan. These new path-breaking nations of modernisation were actually finding their own culture of industrialisation, including a policy concerning the use of natural resources.

Considering the historical background of extracting natural resources for human purposes it is not surprising that every global step to build an institutional framework for common sustainability criteria has been shadowed by controversy concerning rights and responsibilities of countries and populations holding different positions and unequal assets for promoting development in general. Not only are there differences across the industrialised nations in setting norms to the extraction of natural resources, but there is also a delicate global divide concerning colonial heritage, when the North took command over the natural resources in the South. The North exploited the resources in the South with less concern about the social and cultural consequences than they would have had in the countries of their European origin. Since the 1992 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Rio de Janeiro, the issue of uneven assets of nations for development has been brought to the fore more and more vividly, partly with reference to the colonial history. However, already at the Stockholm Conference in 1972 the importance of aid, technology and other assistance in overcoming underdevelopment was brought up as an important issue and an attempt to rectify the North-South development gap (Elliott 1998, 11–13).

In spite of the obvious difference between the North and the South in assets of researching even for sustainable development, serious attempts have been made on the global level to reach unanimity on the basic criteria for the sustainable use of natural resources. In global scale, this process has essentially been framed by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) process - namely the preparation of the Rio Summit and, since 1992, through a variety of programme specific political processes such as the Biodiversity Convent and the Climate Convent. An integrated blueprint on a worldwide implementation strategy was finally agreed upon in Johannesburg in 2002. Until now, most of these progressive steps to enhance sustainable development have been more effective in setting norms on the level of social values than on carrying out socio-political strategies of implementation.

The unanimity over the steps for implementation to be taken is even harder to be reached than over the basic values of sustainability. This is especially true when speaking across the North-South divide. Consequently, it seems that the norm-setting political bodies on the global forum are now more ready than before to write down separate agendas for the North and the South (e.g. Green Agenda and Brown Agenda). This observation tends to highlight in particular the importance of local solutions and best practices as means to promote sustainable development, thus, putting special emphasis on the Agenda 21 already issued at the Rio de Janeiro Summit. This is not only to politically recognise a 'World of Difference', as introduced e.g. by Philip W. Porter and Eric S. Sheppard (1998), but also a sign of an emerging understanding about the cultural dimension inherent to the basic idea of sustainable development. However, and what is critical for finding the right measures for implementation, the cultural aspect of sustainable development is sometimes understood solely as the cultural heritage of different values and practices mainly impeding development (cf. Lee 185–186). A more modern way of understanding culture would, however, accentuate its meaning in finding the right assets fit for a particular society to clear its own path to implement sustainable development. In this latter framework culture would be understood primarily in terms of particularised or local socio-cultural resources and assets, which may add a great deal to the potentialities of development.

Limits to Growth vs. Poverty Reduction

The first critics of Western modernisation focusing on the harmful impact of human industries on the Earth were mainly concerned about two problems – the sufficiency of natural resources, and environmental pollution. Sustainable development can be seen as an attempt to mitigate both of these malfunctions. Pollution has been understood as a malfunction to a great deal optional for command by immediate stakeholders and public policies. Meanwhile the diminishing of natural resources seems to be a more open question gaining more historical weight in the near future and increasingly causing experiences of cultural uncertainty about the future. Tackling both of these malfunctions set increasing challenges on technological development and innovation, but again the increasing scarcity of some key natural resources, such as oil, has been expected to create most problems for the economic growth in a globalising world. Consequently, the depletion of some key natural resources also tends to incite threats even for global political stability.

Looking back to the two last decades of the 20th century, it seems that there has been a kind of time-out regarding the political issue of the increasing scarcity of natural resources. One reason for this has certainly been that the first critical voices pointing to the exhausting of natural resources in a rather short period of time were proven wrong. This was partly due to the rapid technological development of extraction and, further, to the increasing eco-efficiency of using raw materials mainly in the industrial countries. Yet, the discovery of new sources and substituting raw materials was an important relief, as well. Moreover, modelling skills had not nearly reached the level of today and the outcomes of the scenarios on depletion of natural resources were not to be trusted either (e.g. Duplessy & Morel 1990, 288). Nevertheless, in a more longitudinal perspective, it is still obvious that the global dilemma of the depletion of

natural resources has not been solved. For example, even if there is no rapid cut in oil production or in demand of oil in the nearest future, there are reasons to expect that the socio-political controversies about and around the oil issue will increase and create even further political instability. What is more, some observers claim that this new period of political unrest and conflict has already began referring, in particular, to the controversies concerning the legitimacy of the Iraqi war in 2003.

In a globalising view, another essential aspect of sustainable development has been the aim of reducing poverty. Poverty and the degradation of environment have been understood to yield a vicious cycle of underdevelopment and marginalisation in relation to economic growth and social well-being. Moreover, it has been admitted that the result of the increasing scarcity of natural resources and/or pollution often lays the heaviest burden on populations with minimal assets to cope with these malfunctions. That is why sustainable development has been introduced much as a contemporary social policy program aiming at social reform on the global level. In this case, social policy programs for reducing poverty in the South, however, cannot copy, at least not directly, models from the Western/Northern industrialized societies. More than before, social policy strategies have to be adjusted to the man-environment (socio-ecological) system. Actually, a program of social policy aiming to enhance sustainable development in any part of the world can no longer be reduced to the redistribution of income nor to the provision of social services in a traditional meaning, but has to be designed with the aim of enhancing sustainable livelihood (see e.g. Singh & Wanmali 1998).

Referring to the idea of sustainable livelihood incites a particular and new understanding of human needs basis re-evaluating in particular basic needs starting from water security, sufficiency of elementary shelter and proper waste management. These are actually very important priorities introduced e.g. in the Brown Agenda and often promoted by the Southern nations in the world social policy forum. Consequently, taking seriously the social policy aspect of sustainable development is most likely to reconcile some of the controversies brought about by globalised economies and technological divide. This could happen particularly when some essential traditional aspects of social policy, such as education and health care, are integrated more emphatically to the agenda of sustainable development.

From the Western viewpoint it has been often emphasized that win-win situations - can be discovered and supported by further technological innovation. Thus, it is not needed to question the economic growth for the sake of sustainable use of environmental resources. The same logic tends to result in a claim that restricting economic growth would only subject the environment even to a more vulnerable position (see also Waaub 1991, 50–51). Hence, it has been widely concluded that economic growth is the best guarantee for a rational environmental policy and an essential prerequisite to the protection of natural resources. But how credible are these claims from the average citizens view point whether inhabiting a poor or a rich country? An expert of social sciences would be at least cautious with generalisations on these premises. Often enough we do not know exactly the social impacts of the increased economical efficiency – nor even of the growing eco-efficiency – on a wider community level. What actually is legitimate economic growth from a quality of life perspective is, thus, perpetually a perplexing issue to common citizens. In an increasingly competitive global economy the success may be preconditioned with an ever decreasing amount of direct human labour which has been made possible by the continuous

technical progress. Another question is where and in what time scale this can be perceived a win-win situation on the level of human experience (see also Porter & Sheppard 1998, 554–555).

When citizens perspective on sustainable development is at stake, firstly it is important for the people to earn a decent living, and only secondly, if possible, they want to earn it in a society that manages to organise this opportunity following a principle of sustainable livelihood. Obviously, the current trend of improvement in quality of life standards has been much labelled with an overwhelming success of the privileged to meet these standards. This dilemma of development has already been acknowledged by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) and, consequently, the Brundtland Report actually defines its social aims in terms of a future that would be more prosperous, just and secure (Our Common Future, 1987, see also Elliott 1998, 180) guaranteeing sustainable livelihoods for the majorities and not only to the privileged minorities.

For nations of the South the population growth put a enormous pressure on creating sufficient but sustainable livelihoods in both rural and urban environments. For the rural population raising sustainable livelihood is a matter of reorganising agriculture, fishing and forestry. Even greater challenge for the poverty reduction on sustainability principles is encountered at urban centres that multiply their populations rapidly. The megacities of the South, in particular, stand out as a hot spot for new experiments in both social policy and in learning to cope with very scarce and vulnerable natural resources. By traditional standards the environmental risk in these cities is clearly accumulating in access to safe water, in food security and in environmental health issues related to waste management. For the many cities on coast lines, in particular, there are further potential adverse with an eventual progress of global warming. Actually, the research community of the environmental social scientists has already started responding to the future threats by focusing on regional vulnerability studies in metropolitan areas of the coastal lowlands (e.g. Montreal 2003 IHDP Open Meeting).

A general provisional conclusion at this stage is the obvious necessity to revisit the issue of limits to growth in a present context where reduction of poverty is not at all a marginal problem of development, but clearly a global issue of sustainable development. Its challenge to the strategies of sustainable development does not concern only the relation and reconciliation of difference in assets between North and South, but relates to a complexity of societal concerns even in the most advanced high-tech countries. In Finland for example, finding suitable sustainability criteria for the forestry industries presents a major challenge.

The post-Rio period has brought about not only successful development projects but even many doubts about the legitimacy of the global sustainable development policy program. The critics claim that the program of sustainable development mainly reinforces the status quo in the world by its emphasis on economic growth or more particularly, through the priority of the export-led-growth in operational definitions subjecting the environment to further risks (Elliott 1998, 184–188).

Many of the key natural resources on the Earth are finite while the demands seem to be ever increasing (see e.g. Cahill 2002; Porter & Sheppard 1998, 554). Thus, growth as such is not an answer to the current issue of sustainable livelihoods. Even some of the most well-known speakers and agents of economic

growth, such as the World Bank admit that unrestrained economic growth brings harmful effects on nature and society (Huby 1998, 13–14). Simultaneously, the World Bank and many other institutionalised actors are, however, great believers in introducing efficient means to mitigate the harmful effects of economic growth (Porter - Sheppard 1998, 92–95). Social policy perspectives and principles are needed to reconcile the future scarcity of natural resources and to mitigate all important risks on the environment. Furthermore, it appears that even the tragedy of commons need to be solved more and more on the world level in order to accrue a reasonable burden on populations with different assets (see e.g. Sheppard & Porter 1998,142).

Equity

Upholding social equality is an essential part of the Western political history. It is also evident however, that endorsing social equality has remained over the centuries a delicate issue. In the 20th century, radical supporters of social equality raised revolutions with long-standing controversial consequences. On the other hand, even much of the today's socio-political heritage in Europe follows an evolutionary political strategy of socio-political reforms inspired by ideas of social equality. European welfare states, such as the one in Finland, are good examples of compromising between revolutionary and evolutionary strategies issued along the various historical phases of the 20th century.

Social equality, as understood in the North, is much linked to the historical processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation. Towards the end of the 19th century the working class movement even raised revolutionary demands on its program for social equality. However, the working class was not the only revolutionary force. Even peasant movements claimed radical changes e.g. on land ownership in many countries. Moreover the gender issue was tentatively taking shape in strong women's liberation claims. From today's perspective we see here a double, and partly problematic political heritage for the world facing quite new challenges as issued by the program of sustainable development. The recent history of industrialised countries shows that it would be imprudent to expect the political elites to run the world following a program of development – whether called sustainable or given any other qualification – without any considerations for socio-political issues, such as social equality. One the other hand, one has to admit that the emancipatory political heritage of the 20th century in particular, has been even too biased in favour of socio-political issues without sufficient concern for the environmental impact of industrialisation or depletion of natural resources.

Toward the end of the 20th century, experts of sciences, even of humanities and philosophy, started to raise the man-environment issue. This happened first without addressing the issue of social equality in particular, but simultaneously with the building of the sustainable development programme and the philosophical and social scientific literature started to be more concerned about the social impacts related to environmental pollution and risk. Since all this has happened very recently and during a period I called above the time-out for the concern on depletion of natural resources, the contribution of social and political sciences in understanding the depletion of natural resources has been until now rather limited.

Perhaps the concept of ecological modernisation (Mol 1996; Hajer 1996) can be cited as a first serious attempt to define an adequate paradigmatic solution in social sciences for recuperating from the lack of an integrated and timely emancipation theory which would meet challenges of both socio-economic and socio-cultural theory.

It is therefore difficult to introduce any immediate pragmatic solution either to clarify or to integrate the concept of social equality with concerns over sufficiency of natural resources. It seems evident that there will be a continued controversy over even the essential standards of social equality across and within nations. Nevertheless, even socio-political values tend to globalise in these times with the support of several parallel processes of negotiations. One result of these negotiations is to differentiate between the social value principle of equality and equity. Whereas equality implies equal slices of cake for every one, equity allows more to be given to those in greater need (Huby 1998, 10). Until now, the concept of equity has mostly been linked to the acknowledgement of the development gap between North and South and to program policies aiming to reduce this gap. For example, it has been considered fair enough in view of a globally agreed equity principle that developing countries are exempted from paying the carbon tax.

Even for Northern societies such as Finland, the integration of social policy into the basic ideas of sustainable development is still in its early phase. Considering the weight of social policy principles in understanding societal transformations in our countries, it is unlikely that neither social responsibilities towards a more eco-efficient use of natural resources nor performing prudence in relation to modern environmental risk could be established without a strong link to the local traditions of socio-political thinking. This implies that concerns of local communities over the man-environment impact will reflect in complex ways the institutional and civil society standpoints about social equality as part of sustainable development strategies. Historically speaking, social equality has not been an isolated demand in the North. It is connected to a broader set of principles over the rights and responsibilities of the citizens in a democratic country. In this context the responsibilities have been seen in the light of social solidarities acknowledging that society is not only about markets and that social behaviour cannot be understood only through market principles. Thus there is more to the morality in our societies. The social dimension is a necessary element not only in operating industries and building an economically solid society but also in societal reproduction and cohesion, in general.

Today we speak about social capital when detecting the relevant assets to promote and to carry on established patterns of social behaviour (e.g. Coleman 1988; Putnam 1995). This applies to the man - environment relationship as well. More responsibilities, i.e. solidarities, are needed to enhance sustainable development and the eco-efficient use of natural resources. More respect to the principle of social equality as well may be suggested, or perhaps even equity values are likely to be applied when and where polarization grows over the edges. It has been emphasized that in extreme cases the degradation of living environments leads to serious political conflict (Huby 1998, 145). Again not only the quality of conflicts differs across the societies but also the ways to deal with these conflicts. Formal social equality may lead to successful negotiation while in societies with less tradition of social equality and democracy, a conflict over environmental resources may first turn into increased political suppression. It may take a long time before distress by depletion of natural resources in the latter societies lead into changes towards sustain-

able development with at least some consideration for the equity principle. Even then this often seems to emerge only with helpful intervention by some external agency.

In a democratic society, however, social values are important assets in directing development on local premises. As much as the social values of sustainable development have been identified and justified they can be communicated through media and many institutionalized systems, such as governmental bodies and schools. Even if diversified in contents and by context, it is true that in most countries with at least some political stability, there is a tradition of established social values, including how to live with the environment and how to employ natural resources. According to the basic criteria of sustainable development, the human communities should not only feel their social responsibility as actors of the local and contemporary society but also recognise the need of solidarity towards future generations. This principle has been perhaps the one most repeated when defining the social dimension of sustainable development. Nevertheless, it also seems to be the aspect most neglected. There are many reasons for this failure, but one essential and perhaps the most essential reason, starts from the fact that this very principle is extremely demanding and easily conflicts with the market principle.

The market principle speaks about liberties which have always been a most tempting part of the social emancipation. Social responsibilities extended to future generations are not equally tempting to the modern man. Nevertheless, living in harmony with nature implies social practices adapted to this principle. More in particular, the eco-efficient use of scarce natural resources requires new understanding of this very principle we could call a principle of solidarity towards a distant other. In the socio-political program of sustainable development, the principle of equity has been addressed not only to discuss reconciliation over the North-South development gap but also to mitigate the generational gap referring to the accumulated environmental risks and scarcity of natural resources that the future generations will probably encounter.

Cultural Identity Revisited

The globalizing view on sustainable development and the limited natural resources tend to underestimate the relevance of the cultural dimension in the man-environment relationship. This becomes evident particularly when the focus is transferred to the chances of mitigating environmental risk in general and the depletion of natural resources in particular. People mostly perceive environmental threats from their local perspective even if globalization has some penetrating influence also in cultural patterns and concerns. And what seems to require even more attention is that any norms of sustainability – concerning sustainable development or social changes towards more sustainable livelihoods – have to be adopted locally and transformed into common rules of local behaviour (e.g. Cahill 2002, 31).

One way to ask how the local culture conforms to principles of sustainable development is to follow the historical transformations of the ways of life. A common basis of perceiving the impact of the local way of life is to assess the ecological footprint the communities or individuals are actually yielding. Referring back to the above discussion on equity, it is evident that on the average the footprint of populations liv-

ing in the South is much less than the one brought about through the ways of life of those in the North (Cahill 2002, 162). This factual situation, however, should be seen in a historical perspective. If the equity principle is followed without any other consideration, the number of people with a large footprint will simply increase rapidly with economic growth. Furthermore, while the subsidiarity principle respected by, for example, EU authorities tends to set increasingly social responsibilities on local populations, communities and even nation states, the global program introduces other norms such as the 'universal' principle of equity, which is obviously not easy to be reconciled with the subsidiarity principle. Also the market principle enforces, now more than ever, the competitiveness on global scale, thus giving further grounds for an accelerated use of natural resources and extending consumption of material goods for all those who can afford it.

Sustainable Livelihood vs. Conspicuous Consumption

The many competing principles of sustainable development are not easily integrated into a common socio-political program. Recently a new set of concepts has been introduced to focus on the controversial demands concerning the sustainability criteria of the local every day culture and the ways of life. Some social scientists, as already mentioned above, have introduced the concept of sustainable livelihood in order to make the program of sustainable development more conceivable to citizens and to help to perceive peoples behaviour in their community context. Sustainable livelihood can also be linked to the idea of reducing ecological footprints and thus, to the problem of eco-efficient use of resources in the everyday life. Hence, sustainable livelihood would mean reform on the socially embedded everyday practices built on the local history of these practices and on scenarios about their possible future.

In the history of environmental policy the sustainable use of natural resources has been seen more in the light of eco-efficient industrial production than a matter of cultural identity. In a globalizing economy with populations pursuing their local ways of life, it is obvious that the socio-economic aspect of eco-efficiency and the socio-cultural aspect of sustainable livelihood and ways of life may be distinguished at least in analytical terms. While the socio-economic aspect refers to industrial organisation, technological innovation and in restricted limits, to social reproduction, the socio-cultural aspect of sustainable development is framing social resources for protecting the environment, securing environmental justice and environmental heritage for the contemporary people and for next generations on the basis of historically reproducing a socio-cultural identity. In the North socio-cultural identity of people is today very much built on images of a consumer society and people identify their position in these societies in terms of haves and have-nots. In Europe, this peculiar perception of social and cultural identity is historically based on the development of the wage labour society that was first industrialised, then urbanised and then organised on a basis of mass production of consumer goods which are were assumed to be available for anybody who can afford it.

The first socio-political driving forces of 20th century modernisation on the value level were probably only attempts to provide for the basic needs for the majorities and to reduce poverty. Towards the end of

the 20th century, however, during the 'Golden Age, increasing consumption became a 'must for the majorities. This occurred both through the dynamics of a competitive economic system and through the ideological involvement of the common people, the citizens, into this new form of society providing luxuries not only to a few but to the masses. Whatever the cost of the development was or will be to the environment became a popular issue of debate as late as after the recovery from the World War II. The discourse on 'reflexive modernisation (e.g. Beck 1992, 153) started mainly as a debate among the few intellectuals concerned. The self-criticism or reflective attitude on consumption in large populations came about only in the 1980's and even then – as argued by Ulrich Beck – more through pollution and incidents of environmental disasters, such as Chernobyl, than directly through acknowledging the accumulating impact of the aggregated footprint set by the ways of life in a consumer society. Moreover, many of the intellectuals of the North seemed to be more concerned about the footprint growing 'denser through population growth in the South than about the Northern consumers footprint gaining both weight and width (see e.g. Duplessy & Morel 1990).

What does justify the new consumers way of life adopted so rapidly and imprudently? For the heavy consumers having their cultural identity built locally in the North, it seems it is the history that justifies the prevailing ways of life. In a culture characterized by conspicuous consumption for many, the people have earned or inherited the means at their disposal to consume more. Thus in the standards of this culture, the majority consider that it is quite legitimate to consume what people can afford. Paradoxically, this is actually an idea of legitimacy that has been more or less disembedded from some of the original ideas of European/Western modernisation that claim individual economizing and social equality, but hardly claim conspicuous consumption for the many (Tessier 1991). In fact, a somewhat Puritan spirit view concerning the norm basis of social policy and with reference to sustainable development now actually claims that consumption should be re-established on the basis of need instead of the tastes and life styles of those who feed excessively the idea of limitless individual consumption. Considering a future with diminishing natural resources this view should not be interpreted as a cultural element of nostalgia but maybe a more realistic outlook to requirements of decent or reasonable social behaviour in future.

Turning a normative look back towards history and to behaviour on needs principle is, nevertheless, hardly a decisive device to mitigate the escalating impact of increasing consumption on natural resources and the environment in the post-industrial high-tech societies. Since the 1950's the social theorists have presented theories about needs in a framework of hierarchies following the development of the socio-cultural options favourable for further consumption and well-being. It has been claimed – and most emphatically in consumer societies – that even the basic needs should be understood more widely. Thus basic needs would include not only physical needs for survival and a traditional element of social kinship but also an increasing variety of cultural needs. Consequently, the enlarged needs are seen to be normalized historically from one generation to the other in these societies (e.g. Maslow).

An illustrative example of the normalizing social dynamics can be found in the everyday life of a comprehensive school, for example, in Finland. While pupils may come from families with very different assets, the local norms of consumption in clothes, hobbies, etc., tend to grow uniform regardless of the family background. The schools may include in their program elements of reflective environmental edu-

cation, but for the every day choice a 'more consuming youth culture still dominates and perhaps, even tightens its grip. Obviously children and youth facing this social pressure make their individual choices. As a result, we can see critical youth subcultures, some of them forming even in extremes that altogether reject the consumers way of life. Yet the majority of the youth still adapt to the pressure of consuming 'more, and so do their parents. Hence from the perspective of the cultural majorities all programs calling for frugality in consumption tend to stand out today as a matter of cultural uneasiness or even nuisance. Why spoil the party for those who have the access?

Individual Choice and Every Day Life

The post industrial society, where post-modern consumption standards prevail, tends to organise itself around a mainstream of eco-efficiency in the individual market choice. This is done when aiming at increasingly sustainable practices. This represents at least some concern about scarcities of natural resources and environmental risk. It is thus normal to make individual choices that favour the most advanced products in terms of eco-efficiency and ecological impacts. This can be welcomed as a reasonable principle, yet in the process of everyday life it is not always easy to follow such a rule. Firstly, time pressure and other coping with daily necessities do not always allow individual best practices. For example, social research on transport behaviour reveals this in many ways. Secondly, it is not always clear to the consumer what the best choice would be and consequently the choice on taste principle becomes easily the first priority. Thirdly, we can refer to the prisoner's dilemma. People do not have enough information about what the others will do and, again, people wonder whether it is necessary at all to try to reach the best practice. All in all, it seems evident that in societies where ways of life of the majority of the population has been defined to great deal by consumers' interests, there is no immediate or easy way to establish cultural identities on a sustainable livelihood principle. It needs a great deal of individual reflection adapted usually only by minorities, to set priorities and to restrict consumption on grounds of moral principles of sustainable livelihood, such as solidarity toward a distant other.

Nevertheless, even for the majority of Northern people the cultural identity can be transformed into patterns more in harmony with sustainable development and sustainable livelihood. How effective this development may be depends, however, on community-based reform. There are already some clarifying examples of this in Finland. Perhaps among the most illustrative examples is the one concerning waste management, in particular, the sorting of waste in households. The more the community facilitates these practices, the more it becomes a social norm to sort the waste. As soon as the new, more sustainable daily practices grow into routines, people try to follow these routines even in circumstances where all the 'normal facilities for them are not present. Furthermore, it can be expected that through these practices, the consumers will learn the aim of pursuing frugality, at least with exaggerated packages.

Another convincing example of the efficiency of community input for sustainable livelihood is the choice of public transportation instead of private cars in daily commuting. The frequency of this choice seems to depend a great deal on the quality and quantity of the public transport service. We can confirm that

there are emerging normalized cultural identities as regards consumer practices even in majorities. We also see mass consumption according to the level of community facilities provided and emerging changes in the overall socio-cultural values more in favour of sustainable livelihood. All the choices building up more sustainable patterns of ways of life are not necessarily following the logics of reasonable market behaviour alone, but may be supported by market impulses if it pays off to be more eco-efficient as a consumer.

There is no doubt that market behaviour is a principal driving force in consumers societies, even if from the socio-cultural perspective it is certainly not the only one. Considering the impact of public policies to enhance sustainable livelihood, public service is obviously not the only means of encouraging eco-efficient behaviour in consumption. Taxing, for example, is another although often less popular, since its impact is usually not transparent enough for the people as regards the costs and benefits. Nevertheless, to some extent, taxing seems to be an efficient tool in making collective identities (e.g. Castells 1997, 7) favourable to sustainable development, and often in comparison to other countries with perhaps less concern on creating a culture of more sustainable livelihoods. For example many Finns do complain a great deal about the rate of the tax on fuel. Still, they may see it as tolerably legitimate when compared with some other countries, such as the US, that seem to perpetuate a more negligent consumer society in relation to the diminishing natural resources.

Altogether, taxing makes a complex issue concerning the externalities that is basic to environmental policy and sustainable development. "Negative environmental externalities arise when the costs of environmental damage resulting from a particular activity do not fall solely upon those carrying out the activity but on a broader sector of society" (Huby 1998, 147). This definition seems to focus its priority again on cases of local and contemporary pollution. However, we can generalise this causal impact even to a wider context of the historical process, where the concern is more on the impact across generations. With the depletion of natural resources, the accumulated effects of consumer societies tend to imply an increased externalities dilemma for both the contemporary society the future generations.

By way of conclusion, it is necessary to look into the deeper roots of socio-cultural behaviour to better understand what is at stake when new priorities of social behaviour to meet standards of sustainable development are launched. Even in highly technological societies that are seemingly well organised to strive for more sustainable livelihood, there are new but well-established socio-cultural patterns that tend to produce an increasing ecological foot-print for the majority. Moreover, these socio-cultural patterns of conspicuous consumption are also celebrated as 'only normal or even prerogative in a legitimate individual pursuit of a better future. It is much the question of the interplay between public authorities and citizens to find step by step measures to create patterns of more sustainable livelihood and recreation.

Participatory Aspects

The implementation plan launched by the Johannesburg Summit in 2002 brings forward the issue of participation. A great variety of stakeholders, including common citizens of all nations, are called to implement sustainable development. In the last chapter of this article I will focus mainly on the problem of how and why the citizens of the wealthy nations should agree on participating to the implementation plan. Of course, the challenge concerns not only citizens of a society but also many other actors and institutions, such as international corporations, nation states, environmental movements, etc. However, the very concept of participation seems to point out to the political tradition of today's wealthy nations and even to their political system historically guaranteeing at least some essential socio-political requisites for realization of the Johannesburg implementation plan. Moreover, many actors - including many citizens - of the wealthy nations themselves expect to find good governance and best practices in the use of natural resources in these countries. One reason for this is their relatively advantaged situation concerning the assets of implementation policy and the other is the historical burden of being the main exploiters of natural resources and having also admittedly the largest ecological footprint.

From a European environmental social scientists viewpoint it is not self-evident that the common citizens of the post industrial high-tech countries would be the exemplary agents of implementation of sustainable development. One may even argue that people who consume less, such as the majority living in the South, might find it easier to construct their ways of life to conform to the criteria of sustainable livelihood. For this article such a comparative discourse on cognitive perceptions, social attitudes and social action resources is far too challenging. That is why the following discourse on ways of life and participation is focusing only on research tackling the environmental agency problem and participation of citizens in highly industrialised countries, such as Finland. Further, considering the difference of socio-cultural background even in these countries, it is reasonable to restrict the discourse even more and to focus mainly on those EU countries often referred to as Western Europe.

All the societies in Western Europe do more or less follow the dynamics of the consumer society. Furthermore, all these countries have been sharing for some time some common rules of democratic society where citizen participation is basically a highly legitimate practice. In terms of political history, Finland may be considered a late-comer in this tradition, but recently she has been cited as exemplary in many of the strengths ideally characterising the wealthy nations, such as a high level of education and an efficient public education, low level of corruption in governmental bodies and economic life and, last but not least, highly competitive industrial activities with respect to the global economy. Yet from the sustainable development point of view Finland is far from being perfect. The rapid success in economic and political fields is followed by a remarkable ecological footprint. Consequently, it has also been questioned at what expense Finland is improving its relative situation amongst the wealthy nations.

What could then be called sustainable livelihood in wealthy nations considering in particular the use of natural resources? And how could the citizens participate in bringing up changes toward this standard? The answer to these questions cannot be given readily, but some perspectives and considerations can be recorded here. The discussion will be restricted to three dimensions. Firstly, environmental attitudes

and perceptions on environmental risk including depletion of natural resources in a consumers society; secondly, some considerations on the individual responsibility and interest in participating in the implementation of a political platform such as sustainable development; and thirdly, the challenge of good governance and best practices from the citizens point of view.

Environmental Attitudes and Perception of Environmental Risk

There is an ample body of literature recording the environmental concern of the citizens in the wealthy nation. Historically, the widening perception of environmental risk has mobilized thousands of people not only for protests against careless use of natural resources and polluting impacts of production but also for repairing damages and building local environments to better meet the standards of sustainable working and living environments. These actions have involved many political conflicts, which nevertheless have often enough been resolved through democratic processes. This reflects the strength of these societies in implementing new standards of sustainable development. However, the mobilisation until now has been more related to combat pollution and safeguarding immediate living environments than economizing the use of natural resources. This again points to the continuation of a 'time-out period on concerns about diminishing natural resources.

Nevertheless, there are important exceptions to this tendency. Forest policy and wood procurement, in particular, have become a concern and an issue raising political mobilisation in wealthy nations of the North, and even globally. Another important example has been the conflicts over fishing rights. Moreover, hunting rights, and more recently, the caging of animals for industrial purposes have certainly provoked conflicts that are culturally complex and do not easily fit to the framework of traditional environmental conservation.

Even if it is clear that there is an increasing amount of concern over the environment in wealthy nations, it is difficult to crystallize over time the focus of the major concern. Many social scientists agree, however, that both social and scientific uncertainties make a most relevant framework for understanding how people perceive environmental risk and priorities for mitigation (Huby 1998, 12). It is essential to differentiate between risk defined scientifically and risks that have been culturally constructed. In wealthy nations with high levels of education and abundant mass media, some elements of scientific assessment of risk always penetrate the public view. Nevertheless, popular perceptions are constructed on the basis of many cognitive and emotional elements and cannot be reduced solely to one-way rationalities. In societies where citizens are concerned about many uncertainties, news about disasters tend to dominate over the more long term risks such as the depletion of natural resources. Nevertheless, organised interest communities, such as environmental movements, may establish more consequential patterns of social behaviour that might lead to more institutional changes in the society. This shows how public initiatives by citizens may result in remarkable steps towards more sustainable practices.

Responsibility and Interest in Individual Behaviour

In a wealthy consumer society it is only logical that the main expectation of social change is focused on the individual behaviour. This is traditionally considered as a social right dedicated to a person to make his or her own decision. Yet considering the magnitude of the environmental threats and the width of the uncertainties, one can also ask whether the challenge is simply too much for the individual. Obviously the citizen is not alone and he/she is informed not only by media and the educational system, but even by many fellow citizens including members of the family. In fact, empirical research on the micro level of social agency is often linked to the household instead of the individual. Choosing the level of aggregation in studying cultural patterns is always a problem in consumer societies. Yet regardless of this particular choice we know that both individuals and families/households are overwhelmed with information and occasions to make choices and priorities in their daily lives.

Thus, it is evident that only the most concerned and well informed citizens are able to make their choices on a balanced, rational basis. Besides it has been for long an essential dimension of the consumer society to create new needs by circulating marketing information. In this sense the marketing tools are never socially neutral. Hence they may work to the advantage of an eco-efficient and responsible choice or, alternatively, further some other aspects such as spectacular or conspicuous choices. Moreover, other elements such as packing and transporting long distances may increase the use of natural resources a great deal and put more pressure on the individual consumer to make a feasible choice from the point of view of sustainable development.

For the citizens of a consumer society, even if flooded with marketing information, it is easiest to make at least seemingly rational choices in pursuing the maximal need satisfaction restricted only by economic assets. More morality is involved in conscious saving and frugality of consumer behaviour. Among the most prevalent forms of cultural radicalism of our times is actually refusing to consume beyond the very necessities. This form of radicalism has been performed particularly by young people as individual choice but also in blocks of particular subcultures. These subcultures include often solidarities towards the contemporary distant others referring most often to people in developing countries. Sometimes even animals can be considered such distant others. From the standpoint of this latter subculture it is immoral, for example, to wear fur-coats, but maybe not so immoral to set free animals from the fur-animal ranch. Nevertheless, some other environmentalists may have difficulties in including animal liberation into implementation of sustainable development at all.

Another radical practice often performed more individually and with less organization is the boycott of a product or brand considered to stand not in harmony with implementation of sustainable development and/or modern corporate responsibility. Even if initiated and practised individually, the boycott operations might grow into social movements that clearly put much more pressure on the producers concerned than the individual choices. These boycott campaigns incite emerging solidarities and they have proven to be very successful, particularly when extended world-wide.

Finally, it is important to recognise that refusing consumption is a historical issue that growing more radical almost daily because in the competitive situation of today's world market, the burden of keeping up economic growth has been increasingly laid on the shoulders of the consumers. Consequently, the two moralities – to consume more and to consume less – will eventually stand out even more like competitive strategies for directing the societal transformation called 'development. For those supporting the idea of consuming more and considering the environmental aspect at all, what is at stake is to make an increasing amount of choices that have less harmful impact on the environment and to make choices following a minimum stock of natural resources principle. Those choosing to consume less tend to reflect about the needs basis, and on what is actually needed for a 'good life. Is a good life mostly about consumption, or maybe something else is more important in their view – such as traditional or new solidarities.

Good Governance and Best Practices – Who Cares?

In political negotiations over the criteria of sustainable development, good governance has been an increasingly important issue when the focus has been towards the implementation plan. For Western Europe the readiness of the nation states has been amply tested already by building up 'normal governmental bodies dedicated, in particular, to implementing environmental policy. There are important differences across the European nations of course, but nevertheless the sector administration for environmental policy has been building up rapidly in most countries in the late 20th century. The EU policies have been encouraging in this respect even to the extent that in some cases (e.g. implementing Natura) the policy implementation has been considered overtly impeding by some group of citizens. A further test on these agencies of sustainable development has been the implementation experiments of Agenda 21 policies that have been followed up rather systematically by social scientists in Western Europe (see e.g. Lafferty 1999). Even if much has been done by the EU and in the EU countries to overcome the obvious lack of public environmental management, the situation is far from satisfactory.

At the latest, the preparation of the Implementation Plan of the Johannesburg 2002 Summit revealed that to some extent, sustainable development cannot be adequately enhanced by a sector policy enterprise but requires dialogue and harmonising over all sectors, particularly over some in trade, education and health. Secondly, in view of the participatory approach it is obvious that the implementation strategies need to be designed with at least some consideration of bottom up strategies. This seems to be utterly important because otherwise it is most improbable that they will be readily adopted by the civil society. The most challenging question not adequately formulated yet, is how to animate and integrate citizen activity to the policy platform already established globally. In a wealthy nation with long traditions of citizens initiatives, the people potentially interested in implementing sustainable development are quite sensitive and critical in regard to the initiation and leadership of policy processes and tend to resist top-down policies. Thirdly, the norms of good governance for the particular perspective of implementing sustainable development are not very clear. Until now many citizens' initiatives have been accompanied by rather heated debates and environmental conflicts. Thus in most countries there are not many experi-

ences about how an integrated attempt to solve man-environmental conflicts can be 'normalised into good public and private management practices. It is also worth to mention that in most countries Green parties are not major political players. Other parties do not usually make strong priorities for environment or for the conservation of natural resources when it comes to practical policies and value declarations.

All in all we may conclude that even if Western European nations are more trustworthy than many other nations in the implementation of sustainable development programs in the spirit of good governance, the concrete outcomes still depend very much on the governmental histories and on the allowance and integration of specific arrangements for implementing these policies. As the experiments on Local Agenda 21 already suggest, it is perhaps more worthwhile to be in search of local success stories suggesting some best practices in Western Europe than pointing out any single nation to take the lead or to serve as a single example of a good governance model. This is even more obvious when we go to the concrete level of managing natural resources in a sustainable way with the aim of simultaneously integrating a participatory element by the citizens.

In a globalizing world it is impossible to reduce all essential activities to the local level, since much of the relevant activities are in flux and involve flows of materials and norms across a wide social and physical space. Nevertheless, for establishing criteria and for making people more concerned and involved, it is necessary to follow strategies realistic to the particular socio-cultural context. In finding the right track for successful benchmarking, the experiences of implementing Local Agenda 21 are most valuable.

Conclusion

It is easy to be critical about the prospects of sustainable development. The concept itself may be perceived as too perplexing for accurate definition. The various dimensions inherent to the general idea of sustainability may call for values that contradict one another. Implementing sustainable development may seem only to add to top-down policies and, thus, not enhance any genuine good governance according to our Western standards. Nevertheless, the program of sustainable development has been launched on recognition of urgent needs to act on essential malfunctions of the man-environment system in the North and in the South. Many values of sustainability are highly justified and legitimate worldwide. It seems then, that the politics of sustainable development are here to stay. Like many other critical writers, Meadowcroft is concerned about the justification and legitimacy of the program. However, he concludes "whether or not one is individually enthused by the idiom of sustainable development, it appears clear that the issues with which it engages are not likely to go away" (Meadowcroft 1999, 37).

A simple phrase as the one above is most likely not enough to mobilize people having their own reasons for their particular behaviour. Nevertheless, it is both tempting and consolidating to follow Meadowcroft's conclusion one step further. He argues that sustainable development is best thought of as both a long-term social 'meta-objective and as an idealistic benchmark by which to assess current practices. He considers sustainable development as an open-ended program that calls for balancing environment,

economic activity and social equity. As such sustainable development can be a very viable guide for improving current social policies. It may point seriously to the need for risk management in facing the depletion of natural resources. It calls for more environmental prudence in human activity, but nevertheless, it also leaves options for creating particularized sustainability in social fields, such as socio-cultural spaces of any civil society or any industries and governmental bodies. Considering sustainable development from the viewpoint of sustainable livelihoods also opens the window for looking into the future with some hope in mind. Sustainable livelihoods also allows us to recognize that each new generation will find its own embodiment of values and practices for living with the dilemma concerning the scarcity of natural resources.

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REPRESENTATION OF WELFARE AND THE CHALLENGE OF COMPLEXITY

Risto Eräsaari

Interpretations of Organizational Expectations and Robust Knowledge²

The regulative idea presented summarily (without more detailed arguments) in this paper is that the variety of cognitive formats cannot 'commonize' cognition to an equal degree relating it to regimes of engagement, that due to specific qualitative complexity critical organizational capacities (enactments) have the decisive role in getting things going, and that discordance (or discordant concordance) is the source of relevant conceptual tools and robust knowledge.

The general presuppositions enabling the discussion on this idea are, first, the relevance of recognizing the modes of apprehension of reality, and, second, the orientation towards greater reflexivity.

Ad(1): The critical study of modes of apprehension is relevant not only because there are diverse observation angles and techniques but because the agent with his modes of apprehension is an integral part of the object. Beyond the opposition between implicit forms of knowledge and the formal knowledge required for scientific validity, new research fields have turned attention to the variety of formats in which the experienced environment as a reality is grasped, and especially, in which frameworks of (cognitive) transaction, (social) interaction and (decisional) coordination become defined.³

Ad(2): Greater reflexivity is present with respect to the models that are in use in different collectivities (subsystems, spheres). Reflection is not a cognitive device of late modern salvation against being wracked by ambivalence and guilt, but a means of questioning transversal relevance of measurements and categories. Indirectly, this will help to avoid the circularity of defining society through the canon of

² The paper draws on "Representations of Welfare and the Challenge of Complexity" presented to ESD-UniPID Seminar, Turku Business School, 7th May 2008, and on "Organizational enactments and resymbolizations of representation prepare the ground for paradoxical expert situations" presented to the Annual IAS-STs Conference "Critical Issues in Science and Technology Studies", Graz, 8th-9th May 2008.

³ Laurent Thévenot: The Plurality of Cognitive Formats and Engagements. Moving between the Familiar and the Public. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10(2007)3, 409–423.

social science vocabulary by bringing in a third term, namely political constructions, grammars, etc.⁴ It will also help to bring in empirical research with the questioning.⁵

Societal Differentiation

Vital infrastructures, national security requirements, global cultural management, ethical advisory boards in medicine and environmental expertise, and the role of art-science in contemporary interdisciplinarity⁶ appear to be exemplary fields that demonstrate cognitive complexities and visions of robust knowledge. This takes place in a context that is a dynamic place for reconciling the incommensurable, the inevitable difficulties that stem from the fact that subsystems may well survive in apparent 'plural cognitive ignorance', but still decisions have to be made at the intersection of different subsystems and action spheres (economy, law, politics, science, art, religion etc.) each following their own logic of rationality.⁷

The concept of societal differentiation offers a tool kit for understanding this development. It refers to the structural differentiation of society. Conceptualizations such as division of labour (Durkheim), differentiated value spheres (Weber), differentiated social circles (Simmel), forms of functional differentiation (Luhmann) and different fields of action (Bourdieu) as well as rational-theoretical differentiation figures of philosophy and economics are quite generally known. In one way or another, the question is in them in trying to conceptualize the assembling of societies in different action contexts.

The synchronic question is no more directly reduced figures of fatal indifference, of socio-moral implosion or modal compression. Instead of showing the drama of the elements, far more relevant is to bring in the principles that make or do not make the systems work. Each subsystem or action sphere has disparate criteria of relevance for the themes, such as action and interaction, for the regulation of forms of inclusion and exclusion, for confronting knowingness and communicability, and for defining time perspectives and expectations.

⁴ Laurent Thévenot: A Science of Life Together in the World. *European Journal of Social Theory* 10(2007)2, 233-244.

⁵ See Peter Wagner: *Modernity as Experience and Interpretation*. Cambridge: Polity Press 2008, Ch. 9.

⁶ Andrew Barry, Georgina Born and Gisa Wezkalnys: Logics of Interdisciplinarity. *Economy and Society* 37(2008)1, 20-49.

⁷ Risto Eräsaari, Antti Hyrkäs, Risto Kangas, Antti Silvast, Mikko Virtanen: "Lost in Translations. Organizational Enactments at the crossroads of the differentiated spheres of society: the cases of vital infrastructures, medicine, art galleries and property institutions (unpublished research plan, 2008). In the following I am drawing this.

Normative Collective Consciousness

'*Wealth*' was the general term that was used both by Adam Smith and by Sigmund Freud who discussed aspects of existing wealth, wealth itself and surroundings alongside wealth as singular and collective quality. '*Welfare*' can be understood as having subjective and objective, local and global, descriptive and analytic, political and ideological, human and non-human and as processual and container-type-of qualities. Statisticians, politicians and economists coordinate welfare, philosophers and sociologists define principles of welfare and priests and journalists try to scandalize pity and exclusion, but an individual's self-description of his welfare is rare. This is rather expressed through 'quality of life' or degree of 'well-being' that – unlike standard of living – is not a tangible concept and therefore cannot be measured directly. '*Worth*' is a concept introduced by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot to thematize legitimate worth involving broad specification of common good. '*Wellness*' is usually understood to mean a healthy balance resulting in an overall feeling of well-being, also carrying the meaning of progress towards an ever-higher potential of functioning and an active process of becoming aware of and making choices toward a more successful existence.

Debates and tension about the ways in which individual and collective well-being and welfare are understood reflects the degrees of responsibility, autonomy, legitimacy and functioning of institutions. The emergence and maintaining of collective normative concepts always depend on political constructions and their interpretations. Study on the rationales of welfare "reveals it to be an extraordinary complex political value".⁸ The emergence and development of the welfare state or welfare society has taken place with institutionalized welfare regimes consisting not only of the mundane scale of welfare growth but also of institutions of the modern world.⁹ Thus, in our context, the welfare state proves to be both explanandum and explanans, both that which have to explain and that which explains patterns of social change.

But beyond normative self-description, there are other modes of apprehension reflecting different angles, distances, scales and stabilization. We know that the welfare system is *not* an autonomous system. Politics of welfare is dependent upon a successfully operating economy and, at the same time, dependent on achieving its own results when enacting more and more resources of economic calculation, just to mention this most marked link. In order to adapt 'welfare' to the societal context, communication must be efficient. However, there are structural limits beyond which there is nothing. A society which is structured according to function systems does not have overall coordination or central agency, "it is a society without an apex or center".¹⁰ This means that representation of the system in the system is not possible. "Representation" has become "a hopeless, romantic category". When saying there is no 'center', the idea is to refer to societal ethics (Aristotle: friendship directed towards a center as paradigm of virtue) and

⁸ Norman Barry: *Welfare*. 2nd Edition.. Buckingham: Open University Press, 13.

⁹ Christopher Pierson: *Beyond the Welfare State. The New Political Economy of Welfare*. Cambridge: Polity Press 2006, 231, 242–243).

¹⁰ Niklas Luhmann: *Political Theory in the Welfare State*, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter 1990, 14, 31-32; Niklas Luhmann: *Risk. A Sociological Theory*. New Brunswick and London: Aldine Transactions 2005, 143.

when saying there is no 'top', the idea is to refer to order that is hierarchically structural and that consequently becomes vulnerable to structural decisions.

Societal Presences

A model or a system of representation of society can be constructed on the assembly of different contexts, thematic logics and time rhythms. Beside a form of communication, we ought to assume that the world is also a world of events (Mead) in which the locus of reality is presence, and in fact becomes a reality of presences.

The condition of presence – not to be confused with the ontological 'human condition' of living together in the world – appears as the practice of experience and interpretation, neither an open horizon of the future nor an unending progress towards a better condition brought about by unique institutional arrangement. On the contrary, it is a realm of unexpected repercussion in other systems of conditional arrangements of steering, frequent boomerang-effects of measures and decisions, and the primacy of cognition and coordination.

The security field offers a perspicuous picture of the presence of presences. Making security 'organisation' present is making security 'organization' explicit which, in turn, comes with the presumption that "information an organization obtains about itself is information to be acted on – knowledge about its achievements becomes constitutive of its aims and objectives".¹¹ In this specific case, knowledge is pressed into the service of enhancement of security and the present admonition to be explicit turns self-description into ground for further enhancement that is represented as grounds of improvement.

Security as an Example

Thus, a lack of security or exclusion from security, unexpected threats and dangers in other words, are no longer explained through beliefs in the ontological reasoning of security or in the causal mechanisms involved in the production of presentations about security. Insecurities become organized as risks, as concepts that reorganize, stabilize or harmonize expectations about threats. Thus, ontological insecurity becomes replaced by practical and activating 'security governance' or 'security management'. In more general terms, this is communication of (rationalized) expectations of (human) security, and communication of threats and dangers through introducing specific and politically generalized precautionary principles and the prudence of preparedness.

¹¹ Marilyn Strathern: Robust Knowledge and Fragile Futures, in: Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier (ed.): *Global Assemblages. Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*. Oxford: Blackwell 2005, 464-481, esp. 465.

Politicians, economists, local decision-makers, architects of national security systems dispute the ways in which 'local', 'social' and 'societal' security may be achieved. The relevance of 'securities' is reassured by how the development of 'general risk society' – the emergence of novel cognitive representations of security – is reflected and apprehended in the conceptual changes of security concepts and in the division of functions and responsibilities of security authorities. Even if security as such "is an empty concept" and only works as "a reflexion concept"¹² and even if it is not a tangible concept, it has become one of the most omnipresent key concepts that is both a source for techniques and practices and for innovations and cognitive transformations. Fragile futures chew with enhancement about secure, solid and sustainable – not about flawed, fragile or fragmented – conditions and principles. To be able to become a certified or calibrated security standard, which is the precondition to become effective, the construction of security needs to be understood in other conceptual systems as well as to be reconnected to other systems and vocabularies.

Representations

To be able to identify the people gathered around the issue and recognize the object of concern of those assembled around the matter, representations about the procedures and accounts are needed.¹³ But once we have a look at the synchronic question of causal mechanisms involved in the production of representations and face the question of how to define the human in terms of his most unique trait, the capacity for symbolic representation, and the question of how to see the capacity and relevance of the representative structure, we cannot do much else than to face the fact that the above mentioned is a school concept of representation and that a world concept of representation is a much debated critical issue.

Thus, the well known contemporary forms of "distributed representations"¹⁴ such as mediatized political communication, knowledge economy, advanced forms of representation politics (welfare, environment, economy, legitimacy etc.) that have become part of the process of coordination and decision making, should be called working representations. Often, the question is about changing balances and reworked stabilities between the autonomy of self-descriptions (self-determination and – responsibility, choices and decisions, empowerment, citizenship) and the power of outside descriptions. Things and qualities that do not become represented or are dynamically under-represented (quality of inclusion, context,

¹² Niklas Luhmann: *Soziologische Aufklärung 5. Konstruktivistische Perspektiven*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 134.

¹³ See Bruno Latour & Peter Weibel (ed.): *Making Things Public. Atmospheres of Democracy*. Karlsruhe: ZKM; Cambridge, Mass. & London: The MIT Press.

¹⁴ John Smith & Chris Jenks: *Qualitative Complexity. Ecology, cognitive process and the re-emergence of structures in post-humanist social theory*. London and New York: Routledge 2006, 11.

space, non-referential principles like identity, weak ties, emerging factors etc.) have been called non-representations.¹⁵

Despite a unified science programme, expansion of interdisciplinary approaches and cognitive mechanisms of meta-representations, the concept of representation of the world has come under heavy critique. In an intellectual context, it appears “as if the whole idea needed to be abandoned because there just is no way to verify the relation between the world and thoughts about the world other than again by the use of thought (even though not exclusively by thought)”, Peter Wagner writes. In other words, “certain knowledge of *adaequatio* is in principle unattainable”.¹⁶ Recent debates these doubts have been labelled as a crisis of representations.¹⁷ However, Wagner thinks “implicitly and misleadingly pretending novelty of these doubts” – the crisis has been, in many respects, the background to the ‘science wars’.

Revival of ‘Knowingness’

The question of cognitive formats that was mentioned in the beginning seems to be intensively shaken by the reviving epistemic problematique often appearing together with unexpected effects, emergent factors and other new qualifications. It is unwise to ignore or abandon it since with all their shortcomings it clarifies or illustrates the status of statements about the world. Wagner concludes that a war over this issue would be a very peculiar war: it cannot be won, not even by the attempt at annihilation of one of the belligerent parties since such annihilation is impossible”.¹⁸

What is lacking is not, and cannot be, ‘the real legitimation’ or ‘the accurate representation’ but a better insight into the experienced and interpreted particularity of the differentiated societal system. Accurate representations are representations of presences behind representations. The presence that accurate representations represent is, however, achievable through distributed working representations. It is no wonder that in the contemporary cognitive world one of the keywords is “the active representations of a performance of consultation” whereby “organizations are mobilized to perform *as organizations*” and whereby explicit organizations are dynamic organizations obtaining information about themselves – “information to be acted on”.¹⁹

In the discussion concerning “epistemic modernity”, we have to make a difference between knowledge forms involved in decision, description, regulation, coordination, anticipation etc. For example: “deliberation may be usefully understood as the communication about handling things in common and distin-

¹⁵ Nigel Thrift: *Non-Representational Theory*. Space, Politics, Affect. London: Routledge, 2007.

¹⁶ Peter Wagner: *Modernity as Experience and Interpretation*. Cambridge: Polity Press 2008, 151.

¹⁷ Wim Weymans: Understanding the present through the past? Quentin Skinner and Pierre Rosanvallon on the crisis of political representation. *Redescriptions*, Yearbook of Political Thought and Conceptual History Vol 11, 2007, 45–60.

¹⁸ Wagner, op.cit, 152.

¹⁹ See note 10.

guished from regulation as the (self-) acting upon society by means of rules and policies – thus avoiding the barren opposition between substanceless conception of the political, on the one hand, and an overly economically determined one, on the other”.²⁰

In cognitive economy, cognitive representation is seen as a means of replacing many with one, but the operation of political representation is seen to consist of a variety of representing modes. The relation “between the political and the cognitive is seen as more closer and more fundamental one than of political forces influencing the production of knowledge,” Thévenot writes criticizing sociologists for treating “this influence in terms of subjection of knowledge to interests and manipulation,” and thus, for a sort of idealism of making direct influences transparent to public debate. However, the understanding of the problem in these terms means that “we leave aside the more profound relationship between political and epistemological representation, a relation that cannot be reduced to manipulation strategies.”²¹

Thus, according to Thévenot, there are different scopes or scales of format: cognitive generalization is valid in seeking enactments for coordination that may potentially extend to humanity at large, whereas evaluation takes on the format of the common good. On the other hand, cognitive formats characterize the actor’s access to reality: these formats are an integral part of a human being’s engagements, while engagement emphasizes the grasping of environment by means of a certain cognitive format, and while engagement refers to a quest for the art of knowing that makes it possible to assess what is relevant to know. Thus, the format becomes defined as something that constitutes information. An engagement, on the other hand, lends itself to communication of varying scope depending on the format. This is just a beginning of contextual analysis of cognition, organization, knowledge and representation.

Conclusion

The insistence on knowing as intelligent problem-solving in a given action sphere or a given situation has to allow for different kinds of sub-systems and for different experiences of a sub-system. What comes to mind immediately is, for example, situations with broader or narrower degrees (scales) of experienced security. And, not just to allow for different experiences but also for different interpretations of such cases. This also makes it necessary to recognize solutions to problems that work by generalization and solutions that work by specification, small-scale vs. large-scale resolution knowledge. Thus, there are also varieties in the search for certainty, security and credibility.

²⁰ Wagner . op.cit, 272 n11.

²¹ See note 2, 414–415.

ASPECTS ON WELFARE AND GLOBALIZATION

Jan Otto Andersson

Welfare in a Full But Unequal World

The precise sense of “sustainable development” is by no means clear. It is most often seen as a combination of economic, social and ecological sustainability. However, as “sustainability” was transposed from its ecological domain to include the economic and social spheres it became encompassing and vague – and therefore, generally acceptable and toothless. What does the often used term “sustainable growth” really imply? Is social sustainability always a good thing, and if so, can it be treated as a synonym for social justice?

When trying to come to grips with the implications of sustainable development on a global level, we find it quite difficult to pursue all three goals simultaneously. We seem to be constrained to choose between three competing “progressive” alternatives, each of which combine two of the three dimensions, but ignores or downgrades the third one. I have called this “the global ethical trilemma” (Andersson 2005).

THE GLOBAL ETHICAL TRILEMMA

Pick two – ignore the third

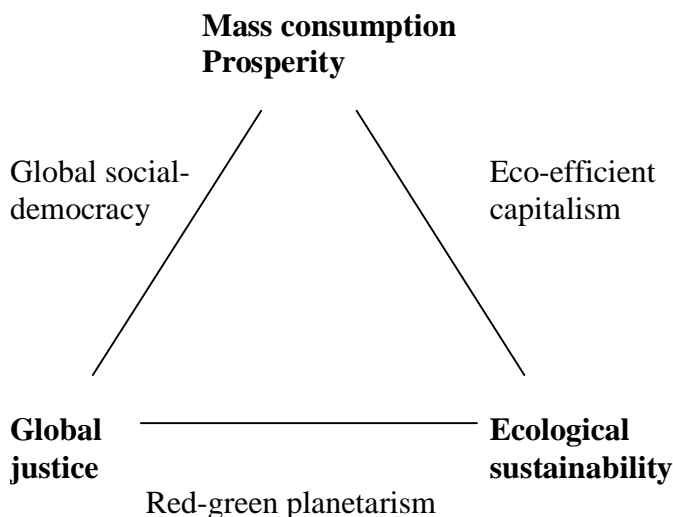


Figure 2. Pick two – ignore the third.

The three corners of the triangle represent the three dimensions of sustainable development. A “sustainable economy” (at the top of triangle) is a prosperous economy, with growing opportunities and incomes. It endorses the “Western” consumerist way of life that has been held up as a model for poor “underde-

veloped" countries, and also for not so poor, formerly "socialist", countries. Global justice or "social sustainability" (at the south-west corner) implies a dramatic equalization of the living conditions between, as well as within, different parts of the world.

Some say that we already live in a "flat" world, implying that globalization has levelled the field of opportunities. However, the gaps are tremendous, and the "flatter" the world the less acceptable these gaps become. If we are to live peacefully in a world that is integrated through money, internet and other means of communication, the richest fifth cannot earn 70 times more than the poorest quintile. In terms of the prevailing market exchange rates this is the situation today.

The income differences are considerably reduced when we take into consideration the lower costs of living in the poor countries. However, even when calculated in terms of exchange rates that are adjusted according to local purchasing power, the gaps are formidable. The richest quintile gets 15 times more than the poorest. Such income gaps would not be tolerable, and do not exist in any single country. The flatter the world becomes the more important will the market exchange rates be, especially for the wealthy. Those who afford it can buy whatever they like from wherever they want. You can enjoy exotic adventures, fascinating foods, exclusive services, lush environments and promising investments far away from your home country. If you are moneyless you cannot even have a cup of rice at sale next door.

Ecological sustainability (the south-east corner) implies that the natural capital is regenerated. Ecological economists insist that the natural capital should be fully sustained; they call it "strong sustainability". Environmental economists, who apply traditional economic methods to environmental problems, are less stringent and accept that natural capital can be consumed if there are man-made substitutes for it. For example, the concept of "genuine national savings" calculated by the World Bank considers a loss of natural wealth to be sustainable if it is matched by investments in physical or human capital. This the ecological economists call "weak sustainability", implying that in the long run the ecological limits must be respected, however much we build roads and factories, or however much we invest in education and health.

Practically all serious books and reports that treat the global situation today tend to fall into one of the three categories I have sketched out at the sides of the triangle. There are works that want to make globalization fair and that stress the justice and equity aspects in today's world economy, but that only marginally reflect on the ecological limits to a prosperous and just world. Good examples of this "global social-democratic" approach are the ILO report *A Fair Globalization* and the World Bank development report *Equity and Development*.

When our global ecological footprint exceeds the global biocapacity, indicating that we already consume too much of Earth's renewable resources (see figures 1 and 2 from Global Footprint Network 2008), any serious study of world poverty and development should take this growing ecological deficit into account. The global social democratic agenda, as expressed for instance in the UN millennium development goals, is seriously threatened due to the high prices for food and oil.

Demand vs. Biocapacity

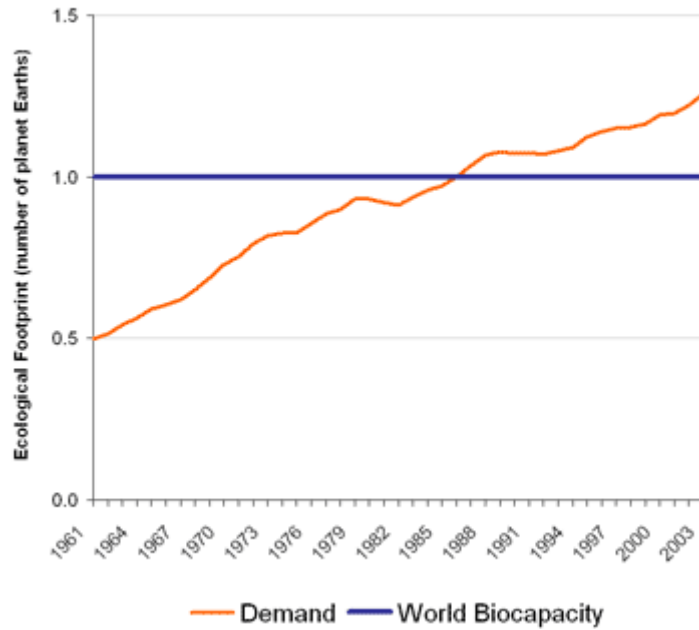


Figure 3. The figure shows the ratio between the world's demand and the world's biocapacity in each year, and how this ratio has changed over time. Expressed in terms of "number of planets," the biocapacity of the Earth is always 1 (represented by the horizontal blue line). This graph shows how humanity has moved from using, in net terms, about half the planet's biocapacity in 1961 to over 1.25 times the biocapacity of the Earth in 2003. The global ecological deficit of 0.25 Earths is equal to the globe's ecological overshoot.

Footprint and Biocapacity

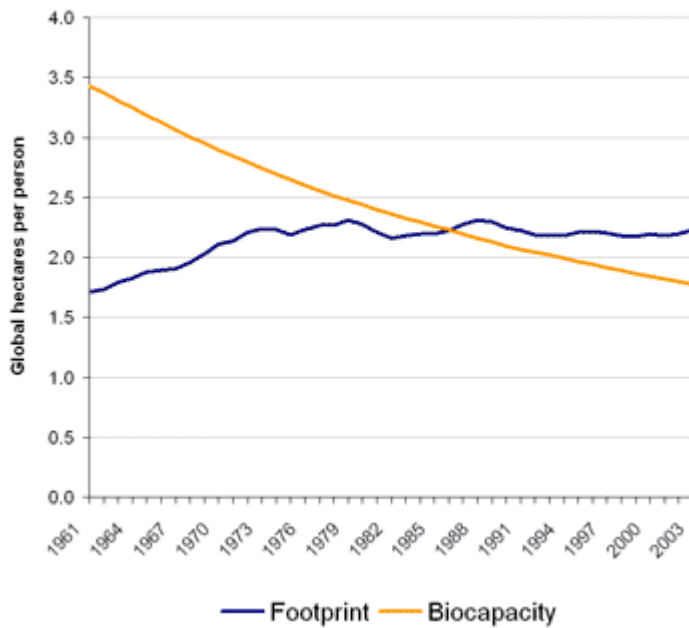


Figure 4. The figure tracks, in absolute terms, the world's average per person Ecological Footprint and per person biocapacity over a 40-year period.

Environmental economists stress the necessity to “internalize” the environmental costs; to put the “right price” on the environmental services (e.g. Arrow et al 2004). Therefore clear property or user rights should be assigned, taxes be imposed, and markets be constituted that make consumers and polluters pay for the environmental damages they cause. This approach – if rigorously pursued – could maintain, and even improve, existing prosperity without threatening ecological sustainability. However, it would not solve the problems of global justice. Even if there were to be an initial equal distribution of the rights to consume and pollute, the danger that the poor would have to sell their rights to those who are richer is obvious. Thus the efforts to create an eco-efficient capitalism are progressive in relation to the current situation, but they might even worsen the injustice associated with the huge income gaps as the prices for water, food, energy and other necessities rise to their “right” levels.

The practical and ethical problems related to the build up of functioning and fair markets are legion. Authors such as Robert Kuttner (1997) and Ackerman and Heinzerling (2004) have shown how limited our means are to create markets that take health, nature and coming generations into account. That a free market for food can lead to catastrophic famines when world production is affected by changing weather conditions, such as El Niño, is well documented (Davis 2001).

The third possibility – combining global justice and ecological sustainability – I have labelled red-green planetarism. The term planetarism I have borrowed from Ele Alenius, a modest but courageous former political leader on the left, who in his old days has written two books in Finnish on the topic. Alenius (2000, 2005) is looking for a new civilization that would encompass the whole humanity and that would organize society in accordance with solidaristic and ecological principles.

Alenius is not alone in this search. A stream of books and articles is enriching the red-green approach. This literature is overtly critical of conventional economic growth and consumerism, but sometimes of capitalism as a system guided by the logic of accumulation and expansion. According to Joel Kovel “capitalism and its by-products – imperialism, war, neoliberal globalization, racism, poverty, and the destruction of community – are all playing a part in the destruction of our ecosystem.” (Kovel 2007, back cover)

Another planetarist critic of existing capitalism is James Gustave Speth, a longstanding leader of the American environmental movement. He quotes Paul Raskin, an initiator of the Great Transition Initiative.

The emergence of a new suite of values is the foundation of the entire edifice of our planetary society. Consumerism, individualism, and domination of nature – the dominant values of yesteryear – have given way to a new triad: quality of life, human solidarity and ecological sensibility. (Speth 2008: 205)

I find this value-triad to be in line with the global ethical trilemma presented here. If we put “quality of life” at the top corner, “human solidarity” at the south-west and “ecological sensibility” at the south-east corner, the trilemma appears much less threatening – even solvable.

Speth outlines the contours of a “post-scarcity planetary civilization” in which fulfillment, not wealth, would become the primary measure of success and well-being. Sustainability would become a core part of the worldview. He sets a broad, almost revolutionary, agenda for the environmentalist movement.

[T]he environmental agenda should expand to embrace a profound challenge to consumerism and commercialism and the lifestyles they offer, a healthy skepticism of growthmania and a sharp focus on what society should actually be striving to grow, a challenge to corporate dominance and a redefinition of the corporation and its goals, a commitment to deep change in both the reach and the functioning of the market, and a commitment to building what Alperovitz calls “the democratization of wealth” and Barnes calls “capitalism 3.0.” (Speth 2008: 225)

Alenius, Kovel and Speth have interesting precursors. We can find religious founders such as Buddha, political leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, socialists such as William Morris, anarchists such as Pyotr Kropotkin, and philosophers such as Arne Naess. In a lecture called “The society of the future” delivered on the evening of the Bloody Sunday, November 13th 1887, William Morris expressed his views in an unswerving manner:

When our opponents say, as they sometimes do, How should we be able to procure the luxuries of life in a Socialist society? Answer boldly, We could not do so, and we don't care, for we don't want them and won't have them; and indeed, I feel sure that we cannot if we are all free men together.

So, then, my ideal is first unconstrained life, and next simple and natural life. First you must be free; and next you must learn to take pleasure in all the details of life: which indeed will be necessary for you, because, since others will be free, you will have to do your own work. (Morris1979: 194)

Of the three progressive alternatives outlined above – global social democracy, eco-efficient capitalism, and red-green planetarism, the last is the most honest alternative, since it takes the global ethical trilemma into account and openly asks for solutions that require deep changes in “Western” values and lifestyles.

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The national ESD-resource centre & the UniPID-network will organize a joint seminar on:

Dialogues on sustainable paths for the future: ethics, welfare and responsibility

Time: May 7-8, 2008

Place: Turku School of Economics / Turun kauppakorkeakoulu
Rehtorinpellonkatu 3, Turku, Finland

Organizers: The national ESD-resource centre, coordinated by Åbo Akademi University (www.bup.fi) and the UniPID-network, coordinated by the University of Jyväskylä (www.jyu.fi/hallinto/unipid/en)

Local organizers and responsible contact persons: Centre for Responsible Business, Turku School of Economics, Piia Nurmi piia.nurmi@tse.fi & Centre for Continuing Education, Åbo Akademi University, Ea Maria Blomqvist ea.blomqvist@abo.fi

Information in English on the seminar and the place to enroll:
<https://www.webropol.com/P.aspx?id=205287&cid=60151281>
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About the event

The topics for this seminar are: issues on global ethics (in terms of having, being and social values), how to promote decision making towards global sustainability, and on how to fit together sustainable development and liberal markets. The discussions will focus on ethical values, responsible business, welfare, social, economic and environmental sustainability, institutional capacity building and education for global responsibility.

Participation

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Registration fee: 50 € (25€ for students) including lunches, coffee/tea and the dinner.
Fee to be paid by 28 April 2008. You will receive information on how to pay it from Piia Nurmi by e-mail after registration.

Traveling and accommodation

Travel and hotel is to be booked and paid by the participants. Hotel suggestions:

- Centro Hotel, Yliopistonkatu 12 A, phone +358 2 469 0469, centro@centrohotel.com
- Scandic Julia, Eerikinkatu 4, phone: +358 2 336 000, julia@scandic-hotels.com
- Scandic Plaza, Yliopistonkatu 29, phone +358 2 33 200, plaza.turku@scandic-hotels.com

Seminar venue

Turku School of Economics, Rehtorinpellonkatu 3, 20500 Turku, Finland

Seminar dinner

To be informed to the participants later on.

Language & publication: The seminar language will be English and the outcomes from the seminar will be summarized in a publication.

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Professor Emeritus Reijo E. Heinonen's main research field in University of Tübingen (Germany) was current church history especially the German church struggle (1933–1945) concentrating on the problems of ideological indoctrination. The results of the study were used in creating new models of ecumenical and interreligious studies. In the beginning of 1990ies the global ethic model was developed in cooperation with Hans Küng. After Chicago Declaration of Global Ethic 1993 the ideas of global ethic have been applied to the global forest ethics, to the didactics of interreligious and intercultural dialogue and to the civil crises management in cooperation with Kuopio CMC (Crisis Management Center) and CMI (Crisis Management Initiative in Helsinki).

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Professor, Ph.D. Marja Järvelä is Head of Social and Public Policy Unit at the Department of Social Sciences, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. For several years she has studied issues of sustainable development both in urban and rural landscapes by leading several academic research projects. Methodologically, she has applied basic ideas of action research ethnography in her social scientific studies since 1970's focusing on both industrialized and non-industrialized communities. She has extensive experience of multidisciplinary academic work both in research and science administration. She is teaching regularly undergraduate students, graduate students and supervising 17 doctoral dissertations in Jyväskylä and in two national graduate schools (DEVESTU, YHTYMÄ). Currently she is leading the project Sustainable development and pioneering rural entrepreneurs addressing local food and renewable energy productions (Funded by Academy of Finland 2007-2009).

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Dr. Johanna Kohl works as a lecturer at the University of Jyväskylä. Earlier she has been working as a researcher and as Project Manager at Finland Futures Research Centre. She just got her Ph.D. in Social Sciences: "Agora – Towards a Normative Theory of Environmental Expert Interactions". Her educational background is both in social policy (Soc.Lic.Sc.) and ecology (B.Sc.) (Universities of Jyväskylä, Helsinki and Munich). Her speciality is in linking ecological and social aspects in e.g. urban planning. She has published articles, reports and books on expertise in different contexts (sustainability, biodiversity, social impact assessment, urban planning). Her theoretical background is in science studies and especially in interdisciplinarity. In the 90's she worked for Prof. Dr. Ulrich Beck at the University of Munich (1995), and in the Bavarian Ministry of Environment (1996).

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Anne Pylvänäinen has been involved in development cooperation activities both through Finnish NGOs and governmental institutions. She has long experience and expertise in various types of education programmes both in Finland and SubSaharan Africa after working over twenty years in the field. Pylvänäinen is familiar with NGOs, one of development cooperation channels, after working 5 years in Tanzania through the Finnish NGO, Fida International and one year with STAKES (IDC). The previous NGO project dealt with vocational education and training (VET) project and the latter one was the Finnish NGO Forum on Primary Health Care. Pylvänäinen has a long theoretical and practical experience on evaluation that she has studied and taught at various higher education institutions and NGOs not only in Finland (e.g. University of Tampere, University of Jyväskylä), but also in the sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. University of Dar es Salaam, University of Zambia, Daystar University, Kenya). In addition, Pylvänäinen is doing her doctoral thesis on evaluation at the University of Tampere focusing on impact and empowerment evaluation of the Finnish NGO's VET project in Tanzania.

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