



**GLOBAL**



The Top  
100 NGOs  
2013.

#15



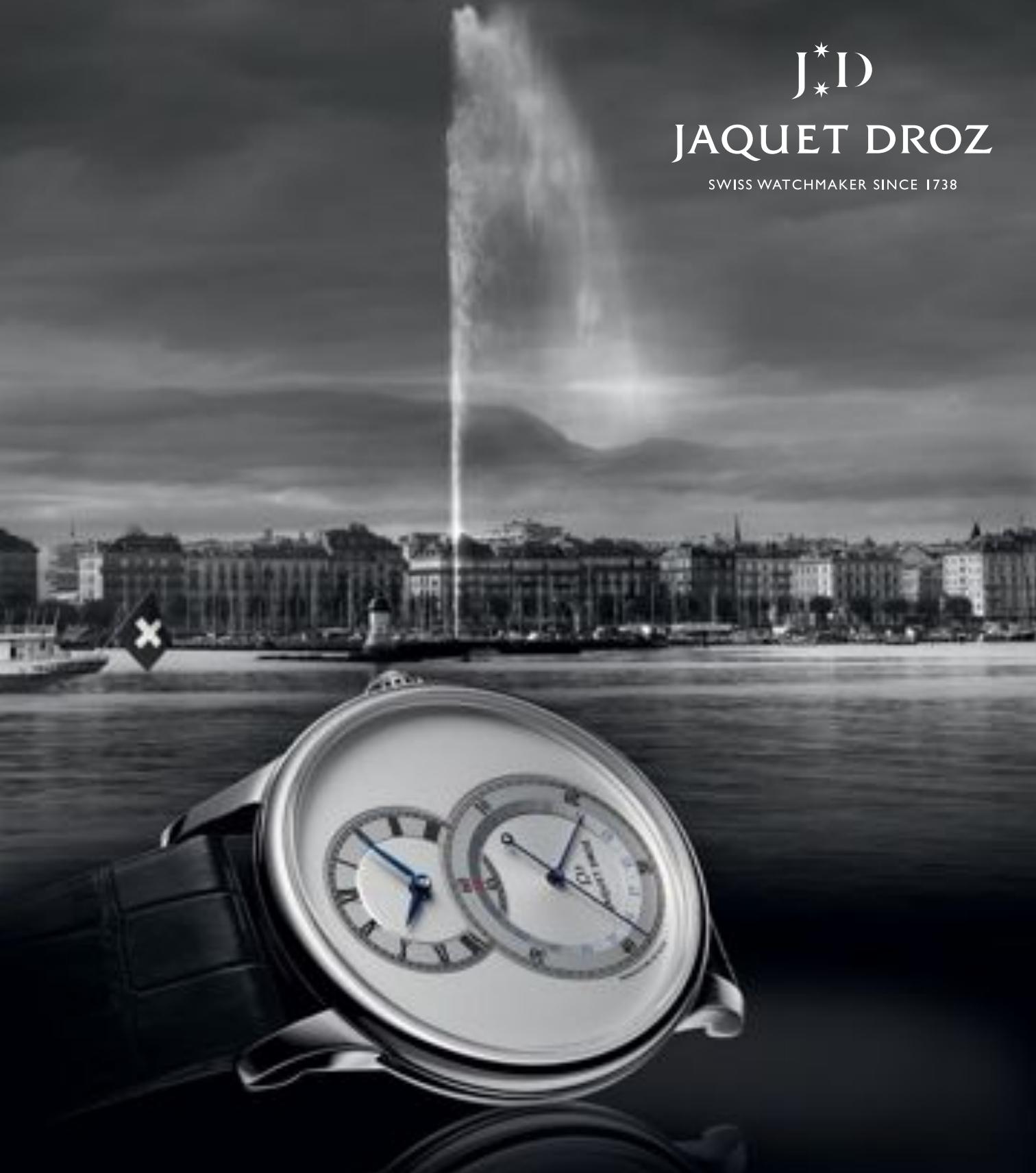
**SPECIAL  
EDITION**

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EDITORIAL



## Keeping Our Eyes Wide Open.

To see clearly is a difficult task. At night, or when there is too much light, when tired, or when too many people are around, where the rush of events is clouding our ability to discern what is essential. As journalists, we should ask ourselves constantly: do we see well?

Take the non-profit industry. The second edition of our Top 100 NGOs ranking is stronger, and we enjoy not only the fantastic outreach from the inaugural list, but the fact that NGOs themselves pushed us to look at their sector in an improved way. This year, we have focused on the three criteria we have used consistently since we began our media journey three years ago: innovation, impact and sustainability. Whether looking for projects with the potential to address critical global issues over the next five years – to create a successful GLOBAL+5 festival – tracing the development of stories on our website, or finding relevant features to share with our readers in more than 30 countries, these three criteria have been omnipresent.

For anyone concerned with the future, innovation, impact and sustainability provide a good compass. As we maintain our unwavering focus on the corporate world, governments, academia, social business, NGOs and simple citizens,

we will continue to keep these criteria in mind to better understand global politics. This year, our new leader in the Top 100 NGOs ranking is Bangladeshi development giant BRAC. More than the sum of its – substantial – parts, the organization has transcended its origins in the microfinance revolution of the 1970s to represent a model for how NGOs can continue to evolve and innovate while remaining true to their underlying social mission.

Speaking of wide-open eyes, historians seem to be back in business. If we believe that economists, occupying the forefront of the media scene for a decade now, deserve a say when it comes to our collective future, then why should historians, scientists, geographers, architects, philosophers, writers, poets, doctors and so many others not be granted a similar chance? There is a sense of fatigue with the dominance of the economic perspective in public life. Voices like those of David Armitage, at Harvard, or Mark Mazower at Columbia, dare to challenge mainstream views – the 25-word sound bites framing the world through numbers and fear. Economists are rarely joyful – their basic rhetoric is imbued with the detritus of doomed plans.

Let's change our perspective and open ourselves to the possibility of identifying new patterns and paths to govern the planet by looking back to the lessons of the past. Plutarch and his twin-portraits of leaders would certainly have liked the idea. In part, the innovation we require to advance is rooted right there. Still with wide-open eyes, read Thomas Davies on the long and turbulent history of NGOs, and Jonathan Katz's eyewitness account of how the world came to save Haiti and left a disaster.

Bearing in mind that a few great debates began or escalated in the past year, in the fields of health, Internet governance, climate change and energy policy, global politics is heading step by step toward a worldwide call to citizens. How do we make sure that the voice of the people is heard amidst ever more complex disputes? *The Global Journal* works on a simple premise – in an honest and independent fashion – that in-depth journalism remains a great asset when it comes to understanding the world we live in.

*Post-script:* to celebrate 2013, our fourth year in publishing, I hope you will enjoy the changes to our design thanks to Dimitri. I'm not sure where he sits at this very moment – whether in Australia, Mexico, the United States or elsewhere – he is a globe trotter and a fantastic global designer. Bénédicte, our French designer, is now putting her hand to our second publication, *Global Geneva*. Feel free to read it whenever you visit us.

Jean-Christophe Nothias  
*Editor in Chief*



## CONTENTS

**10** GLOBAL VOICES: *Mark Mazower*

**17** OPEN VOICES: *How To Do Good (Better): The Future Of Philanthropy*

**22** SHORT ESSAY: *The 'International Turn' In Intellectual History*

**29** FEATURE: *NGOs : A Long and Turbulent History*

**36** SPECIAL FEATURE: *Top 100 NGOs 2013*

**92** FEATURE: *How The World Came To Save Haiti and Left A Disaster*

**100** FEATURE: *A Dictatorship's Success Stories*

**110** PHOTO ESSAY: *Rediscovering Iran*

**122** THE GLOBAL REVIEW

**130** 5 QUESTIONS: *Isabelle Quéré*

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Thomas Davies is a Lecturer in International Politics at City University London, where he runs the Project on the Evolution of International Non-Governmental Organizations ([www.ingoevolution.org](http://www.ingoevolution.org)). He is also the author of two books on international civil society: *The Possibilities of Transnational Activism: The Campaign for Disarmament Between the Two World Wars* and *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society* (to be published by Hurst & Co in April 2013).

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**Thanks:** Raphael Briner, Lars Borg, Bernd Breckner Van Damme, Tatjana Darany, Valérie Fougierol, Erich Inciyan, Martine Lamunière, Pascale Lemoigne, Ernesto Morales, Axel Moulin, Jim Mouille, Valérie de Palma Vincienne, Richard Pottecher, Sophie Kalagas, Jo Guldí, André Schneider, Thierry Soussi, Philippe Vignon, Ernest & the Nothias Family Office

**Distribution (US & Canada):** CIRC ONE/WRS  
Thomas Smith, +1 917 226 9754

**Distribution (Rest of the World):** Export Press,  
Jean-Marie Eyquem, Alain Lecour, +33 140 291 451

**The Global Journal** is published by Société des Fondateurs de The Global Journal SA, Geneva, Switzerland.

Palais des Nations  
Avenue de la Paix 8-14  
1211 Geneva 10  
SWITZERLAND

**Phone:** +41 22 917 1297

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**Printer:** Fry Communications, Mechanicsburg, US

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## Dreaming The International Dream.

MARK MAZOWER  
CHAIR, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

BY ALEXIS KALAGAS

*Mark Mazower is an award-winning historian and writer, specializing in modern Greece, 20th century Europe and international history. His most recent book, *Governing the World*, tells the story of the rise of internationalism following the Napoleonic Wars, and how idealistic dreams of world government and global harmony embodied in nascent institutions like the League of Nations and United Nations (UN), met the reality of nationalist mobilization and power politics in an age of increasing cooperation, but enduring conflict.*

*Why did you decide to write a history of the idea of world government, rather than a more straightforward history of the UN?*

Coincidentally, one of my first teaching jobs was in an international relations department. Otherwise, I've been in history departments. But it means I have read quite widely in the literature, which is mostly post-1945, and mostly quite contemporary. I've found it, on the whole, overly theorized and overly obsessed with turning itself into a science. So, the question of how the historian would historicize the international system, and its path into the present, has interested me since then.

Another thing was being interested in the Balkans, and finding that in the 1990s everyone woke up to the importance of the region. One thing that struck me was that in the period of the Yugoslav Wars, organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch produced reports about human rights violations. I remember reading those and thinking it was a very bizarre way to analyze what was going on. They would systematically try to list individual violations. But it was a war, and ethnic cleansing was a strategy about minorities – individuals were targeted because of their membership of minority groups. We had lost the language of minority rights – or collective rights – even though that language had been so important in the 1920s. That got me thinking about the relationship with the language of individual human rights, and about how you might tell the story of the transition from the League of Nations rights regime to its UN successor. It seemed like a story in which something had been lost as well as something gained.

I began thinking about the UN slightly differently. And then there was 2003, and the war in Iraq. The following year I began teaching at Columbia and it was still very much in the air. Everybody was trying to work out, what do we think of the UN? Two things were clear. One, I had vaguely good intentions towards the UN, and thought it had vaguely good intentions towards me, but found it very hard to articulate much more than that. The other was the UN was no longer – if it ever had been – a

central actor in any drama. Finally, I wrote a book about the Nazi occupation of Europe, which I wanted to see not as a military or diplomatic episode, but as an episode in 'world-making' – where Nazi norms, Nazi values, were going to re-make the world. You could then see the 20th century as a kind of contest between competing world-making systems. The Nazis saw it that way – they were going to sweep away the world of the League – and their opponents saw it that way – they were going to sweep away the Nazis with the values of the UN. The question was: how could you think about doing an international history of how people have wanted to make the world? The UN would be part of that story. At a certain point, it would be quite a big part of that story. Most of the rest of the time, it would not be.

*One rarely hears talk of 'world government' now – rather, of global governance. What do you see as the difference between 'global government' and 'global governance'?*

I think the semantic shift betrays something very, very important, which is that we moved from a world where people had confidence in the idea of government – or at least some did – to a world that lost it. Having confidence in the idea of government, if you were what we might loosely call an internationalist in the 19th century could mean one of two things. It could mean you were in favor of a unitary world government of some kind (the HG Wells version) – and that was always a pretty small minority position. Much more common was what you might call the Mazzinian version (or Wilsonian version), which was that international government must work through and with national governments.

Internationalism was not a substitute for nationalism; it was not going to sweep it away. The nation as a basic political community was something to be welcomed, and nations would work together internationally. Nevertheless, whether you followed the Wells or Wilsonian version, each was confident in the capacity of governments to do things.

I think that confidence was lost in the 1970s and 80s. People stopped talking about the virtues of government, and started talking instead about the virtues

of governance. Initially, the term governance was not used for the global arena at all. There was a lag. It was used first of all for the corporate sector domestically, and then in domestic politics. Public-private partnerships became part of that. The language of stakeholders became part of that. A whole language – a lot of which I loathe because I think it is very euphemistic – became part of our daily vocabulary. Then it was introduced through a kind of 'New Labour' vision of the UN – if I can put it that way – that Kofi Annan came in wanting to push, focused on stakeholders and reaching out to the corporate sector and NGOs.

I suppose the good thing about the idea of governance is that it recognizes the fact we live in a world in which governments share power domestically and internationally with other forces. The bad thing is that it is vague. Most importantly, it connotes a deep kind of estrangement from the idea of the state and the efficiency of state action that I think has probably gone too far. Insofar as there are heroes in the book, it is the generation who were very active in setting up the UN. Not necessarily because I share all their values – quite the contrary – but because they were very impressive in the way they believed in the capacity of public institutions to achieve change. They believed it for a very good reason – they had seen it work in the toughest test of all, war. They transferred those lessons to the peace, and thought the UN would be the vehicle. It might have in another world – on the whole it was not in this world. But their confidence in public action is something we miss today.

*How do you view the rise of powerful non-state actors like the Gates Foundation, especially in comparison to earlier philanthropists like John D. Rockefeller who sought to bolster and work through established institutions?*

What I have written is essentially a work of synthesis – I would always look around when I had a question to see what other people had written. The literature on NGOs was not of much use, because it struck me that 'NGO' was a really inadequate and imprecise label for the world today.

I tried to get at this by drawing – a probably crude – contrast between an NGO like Amnesty International, which has a mass membership base, but rather weak ties to any particular government historically, and Human Rights Watch, whose emergence was inconceivable unless you know what the State Department was thinking, and – through the Ford Foundation – was doing. Certain NGOs really conform to the Vladimir Putin view of what an NGO is – state policy by other means. It is rife with ethical and real confusion. I think we need a much more nuanced view of what NGOs are – some are good, and some are not. They have very different kinds of relationships to political power. Yet, most of us, most of the time, see NGOs as expressions of a kind of civil society, and sometimes that is just not true.

On foundations, I have no doubt that some do great work. But, they have very limited accountability. I think they are the product of the mistrust of government and the public sector I identified as a problem in our time. I'm old fashioned in these matters. I wish we had a different tax regime so that the wealth of foundations disappeared and states and public agencies were able to use it themselves. I think we would have a more transparent and more accountable social policy as a result. I find it quite troubling to think that a billionaire can have a decisive impact on the public health regime of a country, or on the educational system of a country – that doesn't seem to me something that we should be particularly happy about. When you look at the Balkans and the Middle East in the late 19th and early 20th century, this was also an era of great philanthropy. There were no social services. There were just charities that depended on the money that would come from the very wealthy. Well, that was fine as far as it went, but I think things improved in the course of the 20th century, and to a certain extent are now going backwards. But that probably makes me a bit of a dinosaur.

*Do you regard this contemporary mistrust of government though – and election season in the US certainly brought the sentiment to the fore – as a worldwide phenomenon?*

No, emphatically not. One of the things I think is quite positive in some ways about the rebalancing of power globally is that many of the new powers, for their own historical reasons, have a much less negative view of what the state can do. Maybe you can already see that beginning to affect the behavior of international organizations. It's quite striking. Perhaps it was going to happen anyway. The IMF starts sounding a lot more Keynesian these days than it did ten years ago – it is a chastened organization. But it also represents a power shift. Of course, it helps that US policy is more Keynesian too. But I'm sure it also reflects the power shift towards the BRICS and other countries. So no, I do not think it is a global phenomenon. I think you are right. Globally, the position is much more nuanced.

*'I find it quite troubling to think that a billionaire can have a decisive impact on the public health regime of a country, or on the educational system of a country.'*

*In the final chapter of the book, you allude to how the rise of the BRICS has the potential to breathe new life into the UN. How do you envisage this will happen? And how could it impact other emergent forms of global governance?*

So firstly, a health warning. One always wants to know about the future, but in a funny way the book is a history of futures. There seems to be something about thinking about how the world is governed that makes it impossible not to wonder about what is going to happen next. After one has been through 200 years of people pontificating about that

topic, I find myself very reluctant to add to the list. I think you can say a few things, however, about an institution like the UN. It was set up not to be terribly effective, because as long as there was great power disagreement, it would not be able to do anything. But for that reason, it was set up in a way that would make participation always attractive for great powers. So I don't see any reason why an increasingly prosperous China, for instance, should do anything other than reinforce the UN, cement its role in the organization, and continue the policy that it has pursued at least since the 1970s, if not earlier. What the BRICS may bring to the UN and other agencies will be what you identified, a much less suspicious attitude towards the state.

Of course, be careful what you wish for. A less suspicious attitude towards the state may bring with it a whole host of new difficulties. It is all very well to be critical of human rights regimes, but do we want a UN in which the human rights regime is completely defanged, or people stop talking about human rights altogether? From one point of view, the Chinese version of development aid to Africa is much more acceptable to many African states than the Western IMF version. But it will turn out to have its own strings attached, so I do not think the Chinese ascendancy is going to usher in a world where there are no powerful states that do what they like, and weak states that feel much more constrained. That is going to remain.

*Interestingly, you also criticize a concept that has been seen by many as having the potential to bring new relevance to the UN in the realm of security – the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) – as evoking historic notions of a 'civilizing mission.'*

Well, the problem was the concept became militarized very quickly for many people. It became attractive to the leadership of the UN because they understood it was attractive to the Americans and British, but particularly the Americans. Really, the UN has only been effective historically when acting in sync with the world's largest power. I saw that as the Kofi Annan mission to move the UN out of this oppositional relationship, and if that meant R2P,

then that was good. It would make the UN more relevant. But as some US Senate isolationists said about the League of Nations in 1919, the fact the whole world might be calling for a policy does not necessarily make it a good one.

One of the potentially quite dangerous things about the UN is that there are few checks and balances. If leading states determine on a certain course of action where a particular smaller state is concerned, there is very little to stop them. Small states can do very little, because they know they would be worse off in a world without the UN. But from the perspective of a number of small states, I think R2P must have looked very much like the regime of the 19th century, where Western powers were constructing an international order that was premised on the idea that they were civilized, and were going to bring civilization to others. What was the key criterion of civilization? It was the capacity and behavior of a state. You could see that in the way they treated the Ottomans, you could see it in the way they treated the Chinese, and you could see it in the way they treated African peoples. If you did not have a state, woe betide you – people could do with you what they wanted. And if you did have a state, but it was deemed to be barbaric, then you would also very often find yourself being told what to do in the name of civilization.

That was the story of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. It is only in the last 20-30 years that historians have started to unpack that story. But once you do, you see that what started happening in the 1990s often looked rather similar. I do not say this as an outright opponent of intervention – I was somebody who believed there should have been intervention much earlier than there was in the Balkans. But what worried me in the way these concepts were used by Tony Blair and others was a kind of thoughtless universal moralizing, which was very reminiscent of the late 19th century. And there were two problems. One was that it would lead you into unforeseen situations. The second was that you took no account of how this sounded to people who had a much better memory of the 19th century than you did. How will we feel about it when

the Chinese start to talk about the Responsibility to Protect in Gaza? That will be the test.

*You note in the book how it is very rare for international organizations to die – they either evolve, or endure in an increasingly diminished form. Why do you think it is so hard to reform our international architecture?*

*'The desire to reform the UN is a kind of last vestige of the dream that so many people once had, of a single powerful organization that would incarnate humanity's wishes. I think too many people are beyond that dream now for it to really matter.'*

in existence. But even that kind of very definitive answer is not very often required.

The lack of power of international organizations might be part of the answer as to why it is so difficult to reform them. There is just not enough at stake for most people. At the point at which the League was reformed – and the UN is essentially a reformed League, not a new organization – it had virtually ceased to exist. It was a tiny rump shadow of what it had been, so you could start again. An organization like the UN is there – it's bigger than ever. There is this wonderful figure, Robert Jackson, who pops up now and again in the book. Somebody like Jackson in the late 1940s – had he been allowed – could have had an impact. But by the late 1960s, when he was asked to write a report on what it would take [to reform the UN], he basically threw up his hands in horror. I am not an expert on the UN, and better people than I have spent years of their lives writing reform agendas. All I know is that people have been talking about it for a long time – it is symbolically important, but not in practical terms. The desire to reform the UN is a kind of last vestige of the dream that so many people once had, of a single powerful organization that would incarnate humanity's wishes. I think too many people are beyond that dream now for it to really matter.

*■ Why do you think that is?*

Well, huge disillusionment exists about how the UN has worked. But how people think about the international is completely connected to how they think about the national. Concepts shift from one sphere to the other very easily – I don't think the two are detachable. On the whole, people's trust in politicians generally is very low. People's trust in government is very low. Actually, people's trust in organization is very, very low. We are in a kind of quasi-anarchistic age. Not necessarily a left anarchism, but a kind of extreme individualism that is reinforced by a lot of idolatry about the Internet – about forms of mobilization that require no organization. People are not very persuaded of the benefits of organization in general. They can see the value of states in their own lives. In countries like France, people just do not

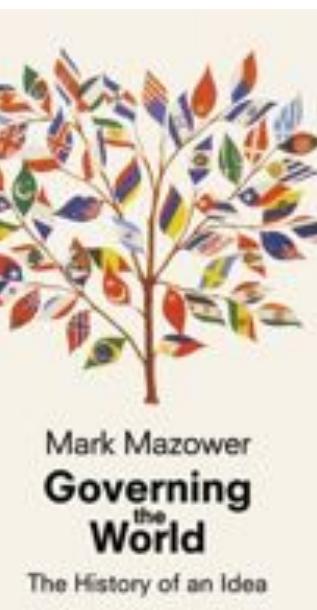
question the state at all. International organizations, that is much harder. And yet, my guess is that if you asked most people whether they would like a world without the UN, they would say no. It is just that they do not expect that much more from it than it is giving them.

The world was in a very different situation in the 1950s and 60s – that strikes me as such an interesting moment, where there was enormous interest in the UN. It was perhaps the last moment – perhaps the only moment – where you could say the UN really was the place to be. It featured in Hollywood films for goodness sake!

*Ultimately, your book is about ‘the history an idea’ – can you envisage new thinkers emerging to take up the dream of world government? Or have developments like the Internet, the rise of civil society and underwhelming or failed experiments with international governance put the idea to rest?*

I think we are at the end of these ideas that emerged in the 1820s and 30s. There is no question in my mind that was an incredibly fertile period – those ideas lasted well over a century and a half, and we are still playing them out. I feel we are entering a new kind of era, when a lot of these ideas lose their hold. When terms like democracy or government hide in themselves all kinds of assumptions and premises about how things work that do not seem to have much purchase in reality. We are going to need a new kind of political vocabulary that we do not presently possess. I don’t know where it will come from. I don’t see it in America. We will end up with a new vocabulary, but whether people have the confidence in ideas they had in the 1820s remains to be seen – that was an age of faith in the power of ideas. We live in much more disillusioned times. It is a very post-utopian age.

At the same time, it is very interesting how historians have suddenly become interested in the future as a topic – everyone is writing about ‘does the future have a future?’ What is the history of people’s imagining of the future? It is very clear that people were happy to dream long-term, maybe until the 1950s and 60s. Then lots of



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A DARFURI CHILD PUSHES A HIPPO WATER ROLLER THAT HAS THE SAME CAPACITY AS THE JERRY CANS CARRIED BY HER COMPANION – AN INNOVATION MADE POSSIBLE VIA TARGETED PHILANTHROPIC INVESTMENT.

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## How To Do Good (Better): The Future Of Philanthropy.

BY MARTINA CASTRO • PHILANTHROPIC CONSULTANT, LOMBARD ODIER & CIE

It used to be easier. You would come home, open the mailbox and find an anonymous looking envelope. Inside, you would find a card with despondent children, or cute tiger cubs, and a prefilled check. Alternatively, you could always count on your sister's crochet friend to ask you for money for the local group distributing meals to the homeless. And finally, you would leave a bequest in your will to a couple of charities, usually an animal shelter or some organization you had heard about throughout your life but had never had the chance to really investigate. For many, philanthropy would be just that. Although it would be wrong to suggest

this sort of giving is pointless, it does end up being relatively ineffective in achieving transformative impact.

But times are changing in the world of private philanthropy. Over the last few years, there has been much talk of 'philanthropy 2.0,' and buzzwords like 'venture philanthropy,' 'strategic philanthropy,' 'Silicon Valley philanthropy' and 'philanthro-capitalism' are becoming ever more common. Despite certain nuances, all refer to the same widespread phenomenon: even if you are not planning to give millions, philanthropy has become a considerably more

thorough, professional and transparent process, which does not end with having your name carved on a brass plate in a hallowed university courtyard, or on the hand-painted sign of a rural hospital in Ethiopia.

We are moving away from responsive, opportunistic charity, and increasingly towards a thought-out, engaged and proactive form of giving, which is aimed at accelerating the pace of social change. Donors tend to give at a younger age, to be personally involved in the causes they support, and often in conjunction with friends and family. They wish to understand, to learn and to see the

BILL GATES, CO-CHAIR OF THE BILL & MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION, HOLDS UP A VACCINE DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION IN GENEVA IN 2011.

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results of their giving. Finally, they are ready to experiment, to try out new approaches and to bring more than just their money to the table. Because of this shift, there are a number of changes that are starting to appear in the philanthropic ecosystem – all of which will become vital in the years ahead.

The first trend, which has actually been slowly taking off in the last decade or so, is a growing pressure on those at the receiving end of donor funds to become more professional, accountable, transparent, and ultimately, more efficient. Donors want to know how their money is being spent, and what impact it is having. Of course, there are certain downsides. Beneficiary organizations often complain about devoting too much time – and too many resources – to writing proposals, filing reports and auditing accounts. While it is true that answering the growing demands of donors means an additional investment, in a world of shrinking philanthropic capital, the adapt or die rule applies. This may be a hurtful process, but it is also an

inevitable evolution, which is ultimately more positive than negative. Sadly, however, standards of reporting remain too low – a fact just as true of larger, more established organizations as for smaller, volunteer-based groups.

As always, there is a balance to be struck: if you are giving \$200,000 to an organization, the sophistication of reporting you should expect as a donor is correspondingly more than for a one-off contribution of \$200. In either case, however, the donor is entitled to know how the money was used, and what the grant helped to achieve. On the other hand, donors – even enlightened ones – still fail to grasp the importance of funding the operational costs of their beneficiaries. Clearly, this conflicts with demands for professional standards of administration and governance.

Slowly but surely, donors will have to understand that in order for an organization to blossom, grow, professionalize and achieve its full potential, it will have to invest in qualified and talented staff, as well

as smart fundraising, marketing and capacity building. On average, organizations dedicate approximately 15 percent of their resources for such operational expenses. While this means a portion of donor funds do not always flow directly to a specific project, it ultimately helps to enhance the overall efficiency of the organization, thus allowing for even greater impact.

The second trend is an expansion of the methods through which donors can aim to foster change. As already emphasized, long gone are the days where writing a check to a charity was the only means to engage with a social issue. Donors today have a palette of options to choose from, and while simple grants do remain the most typical approach, more sophisticated philanthropists are now shyly dipping their toes in an alternative and fascinating realm of strategic giving. We are moving away from an era of rigid juxtapositions – where giving was seen in opposition to investment, charities in opposition to companies, and social impact in opposition to financial return.

Donors, as well as investors, are beginning to explore the spectrum of possibilities that exists between these worlds, and are finding innovative ways to build bridges between the corporate and non-profit sectors. Today, for instance, a foundation that supports medical research through grants can also engage in mission-related investment, by putting to work its capital in companies that are active in the same field. The impact of their investment, therefore, is aligned with that of their grants. Similarly, a donor interested in poverty alleviation in India can invest in a private-equity impact investment fund supporting social entrepreneurs who use market-based solutions to address issues like education, housing or water and sanitation.

The development of impact investment is still in a nascent phase, although early pioneers emerged in the 1970s and 80s in the sphere of microcredit. The sector has picked up markedly since – especially in the United States – championed by dot.com era entrepreneurs like Mitch Kapoor and Pierre Omidyar, as well as by established philanthropic actors such as the Rockefeller Foundation. Impact investment is estimated to represent \$50 billion worth of investment capital worldwide, of which approximately \$40 billion is held in microfinance funds. The sector is growing, however, and new investments have doubled between 2010 and 2011, with an overall market potential forecast to reach \$500 billion within the next five to ten years.

Boundaries are also blurring in the field. Public-private partnerships that see NGOs, public authorities and corporates working together are a much-welcomed trend. While cooperation between such different entities cannot be taken for granted, the complementarity of skillsets and resources these actors bring to the table can have tremendous repercussions in terms of impact. A good example is the ‘Medicines for Malaria Venture,’ a not-for-profit public-private partnership launched with modest seed funding of \$4 million from the Swiss, United Kingdom, and Dutch governments, the World Bank and the Rockefeller Foundation. The venture is focused on providing commercial incentives to spur

pharmaceutical companies to undertake research and development on neglected diseases, which the corporate sector would otherwise be unable or unwilling to pursue.

Lastly, there is a key feature of the philanthropic landscape that private donors and foundations must keep in mind. One of the largest private grant-making structures in the world today is the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, which controls total assets of over \$30 billion. This is only a drop in the ocean, however, compared to the size of equivalent public spending. Looking

***Much innovation is being driven not only by American and – to a certain extent – European donors, but also from actors in previously ‘unconventional’ regions like Asia.’***

only at the overseas development assistance budgets of the 23 largest economies in a single year (2009), the cumulative global spend was estimated at some \$120 billion. One should similarly consider, in turn, all the public money that goes into arts and culture, education, social support, and scientific and medical research.

Does that mean private giving is inconsequential? The answer: definitely not. Indeed, because resources are relatively modest in comparison to public budgets, this makes it even more important that the ‘little money’ available is used wisely. And by wisely, read anything other than conservatively. It is about finding a niche where an individual’s money could have effects much larger than its nominal value, where it could help leverage even greater funding, or help launch a risky – but potentially revolutionary – idea. In short, where it could assist

in the development of technologies, approaches, and ways of thinking that could significantly change the world for the better.

Certain donors – who today define themselves as venture philanthropists – have also realized that money is not always the most valuable asset they can give. In fact, in many cases these individuals can help organizations and projects grow by acting as a spearhead, by facilitating access, and by placing their time and skills, rather than dollars, at the disposal of their beneficiaries. A good example is the Shell Foundation, which in many ways acts like an angel investor towards its partners, helping them grow and improve with the ultimate aim of ensuring they become financially stable, if not self sustainable.

Private donors enjoy the great luxury of not having to respond to shareholders or voters when it comes to using their money. This does not mean they are unaccountable. But it does mean they can take risks and action in fields that governments or corporations cannot, or have no interest in.

Much innovation is being driven not only by American and – to a certain extent – European donors, but also from actors in previously ‘unconventional’ regions like Asia. Although proxies for measurement are scarce, it is interesting to note that within one year of its launch the Asian Venture Philanthropy network – based on the model of a similar European setup – already has over 110 members from 18 countries. Part of this change is due to the fact that the majority of contemporary donors, especially in emerging countries, have an entrepreneurial background rather than inheriting their wealth via ‘old money.’ Arguably, this contributes to their taste for more out-of-the-box and strategic philanthropy, as well as a desire to be cast as ‘change makers’ rather than ‘do-gooders.’

All things considered, this is an extremely interesting era in which to be involved in philanthropy. The sector is at a crossroads, and while many have already pioneered a new path, the great majority of donors are still to take the leap out of their comfort zones required to really begin questioning whether what they do is more than just good. 



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## The 'International Turn' In Intellectual History.

DAVID ARMITAGE  
CHAIR, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*In the first of a regular series inviting prominent members of academia to address key questions of global governance, international politics and the evolution of the international system, David Armitage – one of the world's leading historians of political thought – traces the genesis of the 'international turn' in intellectual history. Closely linked to parallel processes of empire and globalization, Armitage reflects upon how crucial developments during the last three centuries have shaped how we envision the 'international sphere' today.*

“**A**ll that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.” These words, taken from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’ *Communist Manifesto*, that prescient analysis of proto globalization, prophesied an end to boundaries that was driven to its extreme a century and a half later by Francis Fukuyama’s vision of markets and free-trade zones ending national and local identities for good. Capitalism, liberal democracy and globalization had won, once and for all. Or so it seemed in 1992.

No more. The dissolving boundaries of the Eurozone Crisis have called into question the promises of unlimited assimilation by capitalism. Around the world, a plague of economic fracturing has split globalized capital. The smoothly integrated globe predicted by Fukuyama has broken apart into Eurozone South and North, the Asian trading enclaves, and the socialist states of Latin America: what was supposed to be solid has dissolved into air.

*'The first historians who argued for transnational spaces were deeply invested in the Enlightenment conception of a mind free from its body.'*

A new age of geopolitical exclusion and boundary-making as rampant as the 19th century spread of national governments is upon us. Fractures between Europe’s old economic powerhouses and its new pauper states have compounded Turkey and Iceland’s exclusion from the European Union (EU). Fears about terrorism and the loss of traditional values fan old prejudices into fresh anti-immigrant sentiments in the United States (US), France and the Nordic countries. Unapologetic semi-fascists are gaining political ground in Greece and Hungary. A new age of nationalisms threatens billions with exclusion from democracy, capitalism, credit, the Internet and human rights law. Can this age of proliferating boundaries be reversed?

One hopeful story might be told about the fate of another set of boundaries – those associated with nationalism – during the course of the 20th century. By the 1950s, Western intellectuals were confronted with growing evidence about the negative role of nationalism in generating the massacres of the World Wars. Boundaries were amassing a nasty record of genocide, and someone had to reckon with facts.

That reckoning amounted, for many learned people, to an overturning of cherished commitments. For much of the modern era, in most parts of the world, historians have been committed to nationalism. Like the majority of social scientists, they have assumed that history revolves around nations – large groups living in the same location who share a common ancestry, language, history or culture, and who organize themselves politically into states. Accordingly, historians’ main tasks have been to narrate how nation-states emerged, how they developed, and how they interacted with one another.

Even those historians whose work deliberately crossed the borders of national histories operated along similar lines. For example, diplomatic historians used national archives to reconstruct relations among states. Historians of immigration tracked the arrival and assimilation of new peoples into existing states. And imperial historians studied empires as the extensions of national histories, even though they generally maintained a strict separation between the histories of metropolitan states (mostly in Europe) and their colonies (mostly outside Europe). In all these fields, the matter of history concerned stability, not mobility – what was fixed, not what was mixed.

\* \* \* \*

**S**cholars in many fields have more recently been moving towards studies they describe variously as international, transnational, comparative and global. The scope, subject matter and motivation of their efforts has not been identical – nor is there any consensus on how these non-national approaches to history should be distinguished from each other.

The first historians who argued for transnational spaces were deeply invested in the Enlightenment conception of a mind free from its body. They were historians of ideas. Early forms of the history of ideas were characteristic of the Republic of Letters, a 17th and 18th century intellectual community in Europe and the US that was self-consciously transnational. As one of its citizens, the French scholar and litterateur Bonaventure d’Argonne, wrote in 1699, the *Respublica Literarum* “embraces the whole world and is composed of all nationalities, all social classes, all ages, and both sexes. All languages, ancient as well as modern, are spoken.” Within a global community that extended from China to Peru, “ideas were colorless, ageless, raceless, genderless.” They were placeless and stateless, too.

Just like those global scholars and intellectuals who made up the Republic of Letters, we must think of categories beyond the national boundary. Most of the world’s population, for most of recorded history, lived not in nation-states but in empires – those far-flung, stratified polities that projected various kinds of universalism in order to suspend differences

among populations without striving for uniformity between them. For a relatively brief period, between the early 16th and early 20th centuries, some of those empires were the outgrowths of confidently national cultures, particularly in Europe and Asia. But most were pre-national or supranational in composition. Oceanic spaces connected elements of these empires in the modern period, but maritime arenas such as the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic and the Pacific also segmented sovereignties and became cockpits of inter-imperial rivalry.

*'In light of the long history of empire, the eternal world of states posited by modern ideas about international relations seems fleeting, even marginal.'*

In light of the long history of empire, the eternal world of states posited by modern ideas about international relations seems fleeting, even marginal. Indeed, if by some estimates a world of true nation-states, detached from empire, emerged only with the zenith of decolonization, soon to be swept away by the wave of transnationalism that erupted after the end of the Cold War, then the heyday of the state lasted less than a generation, from about 1975–1989. All history, before and after, was either pre-national or post-national history.

By simultaneously uniting and dividing, empires spurred a contest between ideas and facilitated their circulation amongst diasporic peoples and across commercial routes. From such collisions and transmissions emerged universalizing forces that were in competition – empire, religion and political economy, for instance – as well as the expansive ideologies that countered or subsumed them: pan-Islamism, pan-Africanism, nationalism, anti-colonialism, and other forms of ‘colored cosmopolitanism’. Most of these movements were invisible as long as history was viewed through nation-shaped spectacles. They returned to view only when older experiences of space – more extensive, more fluid and less confined by territorial boundaries – again framed questions about the past.

The field is rife with spatial metaphors – of ideas as “migratory” and of books escaping the bounds of nations; of “horizons” of understanding and the public sphere; of “localism” and “provincialism” as adjectives for ideas; and of conceptions of “containment” and critical “movement” in the reading and interpretation of texts. Yet such figures of speech do not necessarily indicate any substantive engagement with questions of space and place. Instead, they are a shorthand

indication that ideas lack material locations – that they need to be placed into contexts construed almost entirely as temporal and linguistic, not physical or spatial. Michel Foucault might have been speaking for intellectual historians specifically (rather than all historians more broadly) when he declared, “space was that which was dead, fixed, non dialectical, immobile. On the other hand, time was rich, fertile, vibrant, dialectical.”

Space can be understood intensively as well as extensively. In this regard, historians of science may have much to teach both international relations scholars and intellectual historians. A ‘spatial turn’ in the history of science put in doubt the universality of truth and insisted upon local knowledge: there could be no view from nowhere when every view sprang from somewhere. Ideas emerged from tightly defined spaces – from picturesque beaches as well as laboratory benches, and from public drinking-houses as well as royal academies.

*'We need to understand how ideas travel, who transports them, what baggage they carry on their journeys, and how they become domesticated and naturalized on arrival.'*

When viewed microscopically in this way, the seamless web of abstract knowledge turned out to be a brittle mosaic of contingent concerns. If one aim of this literature was to debunk the presumed universality of scientific reason, another was to show just how fragments of knowledge were accumulated and collected, and how their credibility was secured. We need to understand how ideas travel, who transports them, what baggage they carry on their journeys, and how they become domesticated and naturalized on arrival.

This approach revealed the intricate mechanisms of information gathering that made scientific knowledge both possible and plausible. Even the most physically isolated of thinkers – like the land-locked Isaac Newton, who never saw the sea in his life – could become a global center of calculation by commanding a worldwide web of correspondents from the Gulf of Tonkin to the Strait of Magellan. Corporate bodies such as the Society of Jesus and the English and Dutch East India Companies facilitated big science, in the sense of the long-distance production of knowledge. And later ‘webs of empire’ dissolved distinctions between centers and

peripheries as each alleged periphery earned a central place in accumulating imperial archives, testing hypotheses, and generating ideologies through inter-colonial exchanges.

As a result, extensively elaborated connections linked intensively cultivated locations to create new maps of knowledge and transnational canons through the transmission of ideas and information across continents and oceans.

These studies in what Pierre Bourdieu calls the “science of international relations with regard to culture” offer models for intellectual history that are more generally replicable. When conceptions of space expand, webs of significance ramify and networks of exchange proliferate to create novel contexts and unanticipated connections among them. Shifting patterns of sociability and correspondence, of the distribution of books and the spatial organization of knowledge – in rooms and buildings, streets and squares, cities and regions, countries and continents, empires and oceans – forced thinkers to rethink the nature of their audiences, the potential impact of their arguments, and the extent of their spheres of action.

In light of such considerations, the questions posed by intellectual historians have shifted. They once asked what Enlightenment was. To answer that query, intellectual historians attuned to space must now ask where Enlightenment was. This is only fully answerable in a global context across what historians call the *longue durée* – a view of history that focuses on unchanging or very slow-changing phenomena over the gradual march of centuries, rather than years or decades.

*'Changing conceptions of space expanded the contexts for ideas and, with them, the very possibilities for thought.'*

Changing conceptions of space expanded the contexts for ideas and, with them, the very possibilities for thought. The most familiar example for European intellectual historians might be the broader contexts that transoceanic exploration and colonization generated for thinkers in early modern Europe. Intercultural encounters and the proliferation of empires around the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic world, and, later, the Pacific, tested conceptions of nature, civilization, political community, property, religious diversity and toleration. John Locke – a voracious reader of travel literature – confronted instances of diversity in belief and practice drawn from accounts of five continents; Thomas Hobbes, a more modest consumer of Americana, shaped his

understanding of international relations by reference to ethnographic descriptions of the state of nature; and David Hume’s political economy owed much to his Atlantic connections.

*'As the 'Great Map of Mankind' was unrolled, in Edmund Burke's resonant phrase, truly global possibilities for thought opened up for the generations of thinkers writing after the mid-18th century.'*

As the “Great Map of Mankind” was unrolled, in Edmund Burke’s resonant phrase, truly global possibilities for thought opened up for the generations of thinkers writing after the mid-18th century – among them Denis Diderot, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, Adam Smith, Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottfried Herder, Jeremy Bentham and Burke himself. This had consequences for their constructions of universalism and cosmopolitanism, as well as for their conceptions of culture and difference.

Moving into the later 19th century, the compression of space by technology – above all the steamship, the railway and the telegraph – made new forms of political community imaginable over the expanses of empire and across the world. With due respect to Foucault, space was dynamic, not static. The contexts for thinking expanded to encompass the entire globe. Accordingly, modern intellectual historians have to track ideas on ever-larger scales: continental, inter-regional, transoceanic, and ultimately, planetary. As Martin Heidegger, Carl Schmitt, and Hannah Arendt were among the first to note in the mid-20th century, *outer space* may truly be the final frontier for intellectual history.

\* \* \* \*

**W**hile these thinkers explored the changing shapes of empire, nation and people, another, more ancient variety of international utopianism, was being revived. The first practitioners of the history of ideas – from Thomas Stanley in mid-17th century England, to Victor Cousin in post Napoleonic France – produced works that were strikingly cosmopolitan in character and content. Intellectual history was born international, and it remained so long after the rise of nationalism within and beyond the



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## *'The term 'international thought' was originally an invention of British publicists and litterateurs sympathetic to the League of Nations and nascent international institutions in the inter-war period.'*

historical profession. The logic of territorial statehood marked intellectual history much less than other areas of historical inquiry, and it became an article of faith amongst historians of ideas that their objects of attention escaped national boundaries. As Frederick Jackson Turner noted in 1891, "ideas, commodities even, refuse the bounds of a nation... this is true especially of our modern world with its complex commerce and means of intellectual connection."

As international thought reckoned with the shape of empires and nations after the close of the World Wars, historians of ideas like Arthur O Lovejoy were often methodologically cosmopolitan and politically internationalist in outlook, prophesying a moment when the exchange of ideas would meld the peoples of the world into one. Historically-minded students of international relations such as Arendt, Raymond Aron, Herbert Butterfield, Hans Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr, Schmitt, Kenneth Waltz and Martin Wight dealt openly in ideas rather than abstract models or positivist methods.

That blithe optimism about the power of ideas to unify peoples did not last. During the course of the 20th century, intellectual historians and international historians drew further apart. The separation between the domestic and the international sharpened. With the triumph of behavioralist social science in the US, ideas and ethics moved from the center to the margins of the study of politics and international relations. In the era that followed, a war erupted between historians – who were newly convinced of bodiless transnational Enlightenment – and international relations scholars, which was seemingly invented to protect nationalism's respectable face. Disciplinary boundaries hardened and were more fiercely defended.

The term 'international thought' was originally an invention of British publicists and litterateurs sympathetic to the League of Nations and nascent international institutions in the inter-war period. Its original purpose had been to denote a usable past rather than to create a critical history. It received support from equally committed internationalists across the Atlantic, notably the American international lawyer James Brown Scott, who created the earliest historical canon of works of international thought – from Balthazar Ayala to Richard Zouche – in the series sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Classics of International Law* (1911–50).

Meanwhile, intellectual historians moved further and further away from scholars in the emergent field of international relations, as a resurgent social history pressed both disciplines to the margins of the historical profession, especially in the US. What one clerk said to another clerk was as unfashionable as what one philosopher wrote about another philosopher. As Robert Darnton observed gloomily in a 1980 collection published on behalf of the American Historical Association, "[a] malaise is spreading among intellectual historians... after

## *'Idealistic international lawyers, wielding the naïve constructs of international studies, conspired with imperial enterprises from the Belgian Congo to the Bay of Pigs.'*

a realignment of research during the last two decades, she now sits below the salt." In the same volume, Charles Maier offered a similarly downbeat assessment of international history: "the history of international relations... [has] little sense of collective enterprise, of being at the cutting edge of historical scholarship." International scholars and historians of ideas had little to say to each other.

The skepticism of the late 20th century produced a climate of pessimism, where historians of ideas regarded international governance and the spread of ideas as feckless utopian visions of a bygone age, while international scholars increasingly ignored history altogether. Idealistic international lawyers, wielding the naïve constructs of international studies, conspired with imperial enterprises from the Belgian Congo to the Bay of Pigs. Buoying their advice were artificial, semi-historical concepts promising "modernization" and "political stability" as timeless truths, easily manufactured by following distilled rules of international engagement.

This kind of thinking amounted to poor policy as well as poor history. No date was more foundational for the field of international relations than 1648 and the Peace of Westphalia. The demolition of the 'myth of 1648' as the origins of a world of mutually recognizing, non interfering sovereign states was a relatively straightforward process. It relied on a reading of the treaties of Munster and Westphalia, the recognition that empires, federations and other kinds of layered or divided sovereignty were more characteristic of political authority than any alleged 'Westphalian' sovereignty, and attention to the world beyond northern Europe, to see how little respect was paid to the putative sovereignty of many of the world's peoples under the sway of empire.

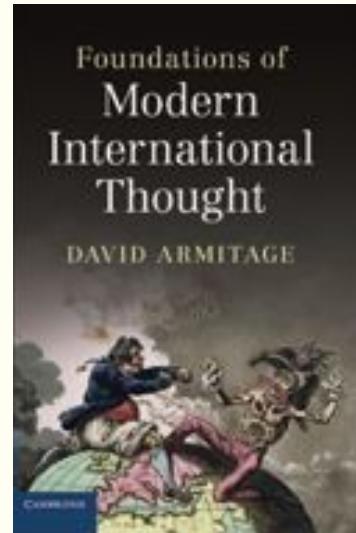
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**B**ut for every intellectual action there is a reaction. Nationalist history has been broken down, and many conceptions linked to international studies have been utterly debunked. As so often, intimations of obsolescence have proven to be spurs to innovation. International relations scholars are becoming more interested in culture, ideology

and institutions – "champions of the international turn as well as vigorous proponents of intellectual and cultural history." At the same time, intellectual historians are beginning to treat norms and interactions between peoples, states and other corporate bodies historically, placing their new studies under the rubric of the history of international thought. The stories created by this fusion are helping us think about the possibilities for internationalism in a new light.

Proponents of the new international history have urged their colleagues to 'internationalize international history' – and challenge nationalist histories – by studying non-state actors in the international realm: corporations, non-governmental organizations, transnational social movements, and bodies such as the World Health Organization or the United Nations. If we were to tell a story of the 20th century that emphasized these types of institutions, we would end up with a very different 20th century.

We might, for example, begin to imagine a world in which the road to the EU's mandate to include Greece was paved by the international precedents of the Institut de Droit International, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the League of Nations. We would also start to tell a new history of human rights – a field now in its second wave, as it has moved from its phase of telling just-so stories into a more critical period alert to context and discontinuity. Such a story would leave us with a very different picture of the world we live in, as well as its opportunities for change. ©



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# NGOs: A Long And Turbulent History.

BY THOMAS DAVIES

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY  
CONVENTION, 1840. BENJAMIN  
ROBERT HAYDON (1841).

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PUHUY, A PATAOX INDIAN AND HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL INDIGENOUS COMMISSION, IS INTERVIEWED AT THE NGO GLOBAL FORUM HELD IN RIO DE JANEIRO PARALLEL TO THE 1992 EARTH SUMMIT.

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*Like economic globalization, transnational civil society is often seen as a recent phenomenon. From the worldwide protests of the Occupy Movement, to environmental advocacy campaigns ahead of RIO+20, and multi-faceted development programs implemented on a global scale, it is tempting to assume we live in an entirely new era of NGO activity. Yet in contrast to conventional wisdom, international NGOs have a long and turbulent history, which has often placed these actors at the center of key transformations shaping international society over the last two centuries.*

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The diversity and reach of the more than 20,000 international NGOs operating today is difficult to overestimate. It encompasses the human rights activism of Amnesty International in 150 countries, the development work of the 120,000 staff of BRAC touching the lives of 126 million, and the participation of approximately one billion people in the member organizations of the International Co-operative Alliance. The breadth of activities stretches from the settlement by the Court of Arbitration of the International Chamber of Commerce of more disputes than the International Court of Justice, to the alternative globalization envisaged by the World Social Forums and pan-Islamic activism of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Yet, international NGOs have far deeper roots than is commonly assumed. The term itself – ‘non-governmental organizations’ – entered common usage via the United Nations (UN) Charter at the end of World War II. But even before the onset of the modern era, religious orders, missionary groups, merchant hanes and scientific societies engaged in activities crossing continents. Many of these bodies – including Roman Catholic monastic orders and Sufi tariqahs – survive to the present day. It was in the context of the Enlightenment idealism, revolutionary upheavals and East-West contacts of the late 18th century, however, that the sphere of international NGOs was to be truly transformed.

Indeed, the wave of protests in 2011 – from the Arab uprisings, to Indian anti-corruption demonstrations and Occupy Wall Street – are evocative of the much earlier wave of revolutions in the Atlantic world, encompassing the American, French and Haitian revolutions. Activists such as Tom Paine, and international networks of masonic and secret societies, helped promote revolution from one country to another. A Universal Confederation of the Friends of Truth was established in revolutionary Paris in 1790, with affiliates not only in France, but also in London, Philadelphia, Hamburg, Geneva, Genoa and Utrecht. The confederation was one of many groups at the time to describe its goals as “universal.” European revolutionaries were inspired not only by Enlightenment ideals of liberty and equality, but also by reports of uprisings in Muslim territories – amongst the texts of the French revolution was a ‘Republican Koran.’

In contrast, nascent humanitarian organizations of the period built upon Chinese experience. Since the 13th century at least, humanitarian associations were active along Chinese rivers. Following the establishment of a Society for the Recovery of the Drowned in Amsterdam in 1767, ‘Humane Societies’ specializing in the rescue and resuscitation of victims of drowning and shipwreck had been founded in every continent by the onset of the 19th century. Whereas the ‘Humane Societies’ aimed to

disseminate new techniques of resuscitation, another humanitarian NGO, the Royal Jennerian Society, was established in 1803 to ensure that “Small-pox may be speedily exterminated... ultimately from the whole earth,” by promoting newly-discovered methods of vaccination. Within two decades, the society had attracted an impressive array of patrons, including 14 European monarchs, the Ottoman Sultan, the Mughal of India, the Pacha of Baghdad, the American President and the Pope. It was claimed at the time that “by its efforts... nearly all parts of the world” had received vaccinations.

Amongst the most influential NGOs of the late 18th and early 19th centuries were the many anti-slavery groups established in the Atlantic world in the decades following the formation of the Pennsylvania Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage in 1775. These organizations influenced not only national legislation such as the *British Slave Trade Act* of 1807, but also international negotiations. Abolitionist lobbying contributed, for instance, to the issuing of international declarations on the slave trade in the peace congresses following the Napoleonic wars. Another group, the Quakers, had been critical to the development of the abolitionist movement, and were also central to the formation of some of the earliest peace societies that developed in Great Britain and the United States (US) from 1815.



DISUSED OXFAM WATER TANKS IN THE DESERTED MUGUNGA CAMP IN GOMA BEING DISMANTLED FOR USE ELSEWHERE IN 1996.

© UN PHOTO/UNHCR/HJ DAVIES

The peace movement has the distinction of being responsible for the earliest recorded organization to actually describe itself as international. The International Association created in Scotland in 1834 claimed to consist "of those who desire to find just grounds for mutual esteem and respect, – who cherish peace, – and will act upon the grand principle of collecting and disseminating such information as tends to meliorate the individual and social condition of their fellow creatures." In the same year, Italian republican Giuseppe Mazzini established Young Europe for the promotion of nationalism, and communist revolutionaries united in their first international organization – the League of the Just – based in Paris.

In the context of the proliferating associations of the 1830s, a young Frenchman introducing himself as "the Count of Liancourt," Caliste-Auguste Godde, decided to set up an 'International Shipwreck Society' in 1835, modeled on the earlier Humane Societies and established "with a view to

uniting the benevolent of all countries." It proved hugely successful in collecting large subscriptions from members, and was run from Place Vendôme 16, next door to what is now the Paris Ritz. The society potentially contributed to the spread of more than 150 lifesaving societies across every continent, and published a journal, *The International*, marketed as "the intelligent organ of all civilized people." Its activities were not to last long, however: in 1842 it was revealed that Godde – who turned out not to be a count, but in fact a provincial doctor from the village of Liancourt – had been using the society to line his own pockets.

Whereas most of the international associations of the 1830s were to prove short-lived, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society established in 1839 has survived to the present day as the oldest international human rights organization, now Anti-Slavery International. Its significance extends beyond this achievement. British anti-slavery sentiment was one factor underpinning Whitehall's failure to

recognize the Confederacy in the 1860s, playing a part in the abolition of slavery in the US. Similarly, the organization's international Anti Slavery Convention held in London in 1840 was to spark a wave of private international congresses leading to the establishment of NGOs in many fields in subsequent decades. The barring of women from the event also spurred two of the excluded delegates – Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott – to convene a women's rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848, a key moment in the development of the international movement for women's suffrage.

Few individuals were to play a more critical role in the development of international NGOs, however, than Swiss philanthropist Henri Dunant. In 1855, he spearheaded the creation of the World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, notable for its pioneering structure as an international federation of national NGOs. More famously, after witnessing the carnage of the Battle of Solferino in 1859, Dunant went on in 1863 to found the

Red Cross movement for the provision of neutral assistance to the wounded in conflict.

In the period from the 1870s to World War I, there was a massive expansion in the number and variety of international NGOs parallel to the second industrial revolution. Among the more than 400 bodies established at this time were organizations as diverse as the Universal Scientific Alliance, the World League for Protection of Animals, the International Council of Women, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the International Cooperative Alliance, the International Olympic Committee, Rotary International and the International Socialist Bureau.

The achievements of international NGOs in the decades preceding the war included successful campaigns for new treaties, such as by the International Literary and Artistic Association in respect of international copyright, and by the International Abolitionist Federation in relation to sex trafficking. In addition, women's groups were crucial in the dissemination of suffrage activism around the world. New Zealand, for instance, was the first country to grant women the right to vote in 1893. There, the suffrage movement was stimulated by the American traveling envoy of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mary Leavitt.

The late 19th century was an era in which the pan-nationalist ideas that were to have considerable influence on international politics in the 20th century began to be promoted by new NGOs such as the Pan-German League, the Pan-African Association, the Asia Association, the Pan Islamic Society and the World Zionist Organization. Widespread belief that national self-determination could lead to a more peaceful world was reflected in the creation in 1911 of a 'Central Office of Nationalities,' which aimed to promote "universal and perpetual peace" through its work on behalf of nationalist groups. More ominous was the development of organizations like the International Society for Racial Hygiene in 1905, and International Eugenics Committee in 1912, revealing the growing popularity of racist and eugenics theories.

With hindsight, the years immediately preceding the onset of World War I represented a period where internationalist idealism reached a denouement. Mass campaigns were launched around The Hague peace conferences of 1899 and 1907, with a global petition circulated by women's organizations in 1899 amassing one million signatures. This sentiment was also reflected in the proliferation of associations dedicated to the promotion of international languages such as Esperanto, whose inventor, Lejzer Ludwik Zamenhof, referred to himself as 'Dr Hopeful.' By 1911, numerous international NGOs had been created for Esperantists of different backgrounds, ranging from police employees to teachers,

*'With hindsight, the years immediately preceding the onset of World War I represented a period where internationalist idealism reached a denouement'*

bankers, postal workers, and even an International Union of Esperantist Vegetarians, which, remarkably, has managed to survive to the present day.

Of all the international NGOs to be established before the war, none was more ambitious than the Union of International Associations founded in 1910, which described its goals as no less than "the representation of all... international associations in a federated body." Its leaders laid ambitious plans for an "international palace" based in Brussels, "worthy of the importance of the organizations that created it." Although its objective of uniting all international NGOs in a single global federation was to be cut short by mass conflict in Europe, the union succeeded in building its 'international

palace' (now a car exhibition space), and survives to the present day as the principal data repository on international civil society organizations, publishing the annual Yearbook of International Organizations.

Many groups failed to survive the devastating effects of World War I. At the same time, the vast destruction wrought by the conflict also spurred the formation of myriad new organizations to address its humanitarian consequences. The Save the Children Fund, for example, was established in 1919 to provide relief for children in danger of starvation as a result of war-induced food shortages. In the same year, the organization now known as the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies emerged as another critical actor in the provision of post-war famine relief.

Although most NGOs found it impossible to hold international conferences during the war, an important exception was to be found in the convening in 1915 of an international congress of more than 1,000 women at The Hague, who were later to form the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Peace activists also played a key role in promoting the idea of a League of Nations, the establishment of which in 1919 was to transform NGOs' activities. Despite its well-known ineffectiveness as a security institution, the League worked in conjunction with NGOs on a huge array of international issues in the 1920s and 30s, including refugees, sex trafficking, children's rights, and economic reconstruction. This collaboration was to provide an important precedent for the contemporary role of NGOs within the UN system.

Strikingly, twice as many international NGOs were founded in the 1920s as in the entire 19th century. Although few issues at the time could unite new groups as diverse as the Muslim Brotherhood and the Labour and Socialist International, one that came close was the promotion of international disarmament in the hope of avoiding another bloody world war. Large coalitions of women's, peace, Christian, ex-servicemen's, labor, students' and other international

NGOs were formed around this goal, with some estimates of their combined membership as high as 50 percent of the entire global population. The world's largest international petition was circulated in support of disarmament by women's NGOs in the early 1930s. The campaign was to achieve little, however, and was even considered by Winston Churchill to have contributed to the unpreparedness of Western Europe in the face of the Fascist challenge later in the decade.

World War II had a similar impact upon the development of international NGOs, its destructive consequences spurring the establishment of many of today's best-known relief NGOs, such as Oxfam, Catholic Relief Services and CARE International. NGOs were also influential in shaping aspects of the post-war settlement, especially the insertion of human rights references in the UN Charter, which took place after consultants to the US delegation to the San Francisco conference in 1945 announced "it would come as a grievous shock if the constitutional framework of the Organization would fail to make adequate provision for the ultimate achievement of human rights and fundamental freedoms." Three years later, the drafting of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* took place with the assistance of NGOs.

Although the number of international NGOs was to increase exponentially in the post-war era, their activities were constrained by the hardening Cold War environment. The international trade union movement, for instance, divided along partisan lines, with the secession of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions from the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1949. The establishment of numerous 'front organizations' was a key feature of this period, such as the pro-communist World Federation of Democratic Youth formed in 1945, which found itself in competition with the pro-Western World Assembly of Youth created three years later.

With the waves of decolonization in Asia and Africa from the 1950s, international NGOs became increasingly divided along North-South as well as East-West lines. This was reflected in the creation of regionally

oriented organizations such as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization in 1958. It could also be seen in the transformed self-awareness of European based groups, which had previously considered their role in global terms. European broadcasters, for instance, replaced the 'International Broadcasting Union' with the 'European Broadcasting Union.'

Created in 1961 to "mobilize public opinion in defense of those men and women who are imprisoned because their ideas are unacceptable to their governments," Amnesty International was an early leader in pioneering a novel method for bridging the East-West and North South divides. The organization

*'Although the number of international NGOs was to increase exponentially in the post-war era, their activities were constrained by the hardening Cold War environment'*

developed the 'threes network' by which Amnesty groups would work in support of prisoners from each of the first, second and third worlds, thereby emphasizing their impartiality. Amnesty International was one of many new international NGOs established amidst the 1960s proliferation of 'new social movements,' such as for women's rights and the protection of the natural environment.

In the 1970s, NGOs birthed by these societal shifts were to play an important part in the development of even larger transnational networks, especially following related UN gatherings such as the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, and the

World Conference on Women held in Mexico City in 1975. Groups like the International Feminist Network and the International Women's Tribune Center were marked by more horizontal, networked forms of organization, compared with the hierarchical structures of their predecessors.

The emergence of new development NGOs in the 1970s and 80s – including Africare in 1971, BRAC in 1972 and Islamic Relief Worldwide in 1984 – also reflected the growing diversity of the non-government sector in the final two decades of the Cold War. In the 1980s, for instance, the Consumers Association of Penang played a vital role in the development of multiple South based networks, such as the Pesticide Action Network in 1982 and the Third World Network in 1984. Other groups formed in this period, such as the International Baby Food Action Network established in 1979 in the context of the Nestlé boycott, pointed to the growing importance of transnational corporations rather than governments as the objects of attention for campaigning NGOs.

Nevertheless, government-focused organizations remained influential during this period – in fact, they arguably contributed to some degree towards the ending of the Cold War. While the campaigns of anti-nuclear groups such as International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War shaped, in part, the negotiating environment of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty in 1987, the work of organizations such as Helsinki Watch (now Human Rights Watch) to expose the human rights abuses of Soviet bloc governments was credited by Vaclav Havel as significant in the 1989 revolutions toppling communist rule in central and eastern Europe.

As superpower tensions eased, international NGOs multiplied at an exceptional rate, numbering approximately 18,000 by the turn of the millennium. Aside from changing geopolitics, the undermining of government capabilities in the face of accelerating economic globalization appeared to open up considerable opportunities for civil society actors during the 1990s. The UN's Rio Earth Summit and Vienna World Conference

UN SECRETARY-GENERAL BAN KI-MOON MEETS WITH KENNETH ROTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF INFLUENTIAL ADVOCACY NGO HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH IN 2011.

© UN PHOTO/MARK GARTEN



on Human Rights were the focus of significant NGO lobbying early in the decade, while in subsequent years the apparent influence of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines on deliberations leading to the Ottawa Landmines Convention of 1997 prompted claims that NGOs had become a new "superpower." The growing economic power of the sector in the post-Cold War era was plainly evident in the increased scale of non-governmental development assistance, which expanded five-fold after 1990.

Indeed, some of the largest international NGOs now operate with greater aid budgets than many developed countries. In 2008, for instance, it was reported that the funds at World Vision's disposal exceeded the total overseas development assistance of Italy and Australia, while Save the Children's exceeded that of Austria. At the same time, the communications revolution of the last two decades has in part been the work of international NGOs such

as the Internet Society, and in turn made possible the activities of some of the most influential international NGOs of the contemporary era, such as the Wikimedia Foundation and campaigning network Avaaz.

The creation of large umbrella bodies of NGOs such as CIVICUS in recent years may be evocative of the ambitious efforts towards global coordination attempted by the Union of International Associations shortly before the First World War, and by the disarmament movement before the Second. However, there are important differences. Now, unlike the past, there is considerable emphasis upon the development of horizontal organization, rather than the top-down structures common to earlier NGOs. And now, unlike in the past, international NGOs are increasingly aware of their limitations, and bringing forward initiatives to address these limitations, such as the International NGO Accountability Charter.

From the promotion of revolutionary ideals in the late 18th century, through addressing the humanitarian consequences of two World Wars and the East-West and North-South divides of the Cold War era, international NGOs have both shaped and been shaped by the principal historical developments of the last three centuries. The history of international NGOs has not been a simple story of expansion from a single part of the world outwards, but instead must be understood as the result of interactions amongst all continents that have intensified since the Industrial Revolution. Periods of crisis have been both a challenge and opportunity: whereas some organizations failed to survive, others have emerged or taken on new roles to address entrenched or unforeseen issues. Indeed, confronted with the challenges of economic crisis and fragmented authority in the contemporary era, international NGOs are adapting again with new approaches and forms of organization. ©

**Special Feature:**  
**The Top 100 NGOs**  
**2013 Edition.**





© IDE

**O**n the pages that follow, we are pleased to present the second edition of *The Global Journal's* Top 100 NGOs ranking. In introducing the inaugural list, we began by asking: just what is a non-government organization? On this, our definition remains the same – an operational- or advocacy-focused non-profit organization active at the local, national or international level.

This time around, however, in a climate of financial crisis, reduced aid budgets and economy-wide fiscal austerity, it is probably more appropriate to ask a more fundamental question: in the broader

global scheme of things, why do NGOs matter?

To come up with an answer, we need look no further than our top-ranked NGO for this year, the Bangladeshi giant BRAC. While undoubtedly a deserved winner, the sheer size and influence of the organization gives one pause for thought. This is an entity that reaches 138 million people directly through its programs, that provides health care to 92 million people, that employs a growing staff of 122,000, and that has lent \$5 billion in micro-loans to over six million borrowers. Yet, for all its benevolence and clear social value,

BRAC is ultimately accountable only to its donors – and in that regard, due to an astute foray into social business ventures, will only find this a less and less onerous burden to bear.

Turning to the sector as a whole, the numbers continue to speak for themselves. A Johns Hopkins University study from a decade ago revealed that the global non-profit sector was estimated to be worth \$1.3 trillion in the five largest economies alone – equivalent to the total GDP of the United Kingdom (or the combined GDP of the 50 low-income countries at the time). One can only imagine it has

expanded even further in the period since. Some may bristle at any mention of an 'NGO industry,' but what cannot be disputed is the critical role that NGOs play in the context of numerous national economies around the world. Profit margins may be non-existent, but the influence of the financial flows involved is undeniable.

And, of course, this does not even account for the fact the sector is in the midst of a fundamental transition – a transition catalyzed, arguably, by the earlier microfinance revolution of the 1970s. BRAC was part of the vanguard then, and remains at the forefront of

new developments today. As the lines between NGO, social enterprise and social business blur, the questions of what an NGO should be, which interests it should serve and how it should be regulated by the state, will become more and more relevant.

But back to this year's ranking. As you will see, there have been changes afoot. We have continued to refine our evaluation methodology, which this time around focused on what we believe are the three key criteria relevant to the activities of any NGO – impact, innovation and sustainability. For some organizations, these changes

have resulted in a climb up the ranking. For others, a no doubt unwelcome slide. In either case though, we return to the same point as last year: despite our best efforts to ensure the ranking is based on concrete information fed through a rigorous, objective process, there is no science in the measuring.

We invite you to read the feature that follows for what it is – a fascinating global snapshot of an often-overlooked sector. Like last year, we hope this list will inform, stimulate debate, inspire and shine a light on one hundred organizations worthy of your time. ©



© BRAC



© BRAC

1

# BRAC

THE AGILE GIANT OF THE DEVELOPMENT WORLD

**A**fter landing at a more than respectable fourth place in our inaugural Top 100 NGOs ranking, BRAC (formerly the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) – the largest non government development organization on the planet – has claimed this year's top spot. A member of the era-defining 1970s wave of Bangladeshi microcredit and microfinance pioneers alongside the Grameen Bank and ASA, BRAC has since gone on to outpace its old counterparts and assume an unparalleled position in the crowded field of international development.

From the perspective of our ranking criteria – impact, innovation and sustainability – BRAC ticks every box. While still involved in the microfinance space – to the tune of approximately \$5 billion – the organization has carefully,



HQ LOCATION: BANGLADESH

but steadily, diversified into a wide suite of activities, from agriculture and food security to education, legal aid, climate change risk reduction, livelihoods support and maternal and child health. Rather than spreading BRAC's resources too thin, this strategy has instead remained faithful to founder Sir Fazle Hasan Abed's vision of a holistic, sustainable approach to poverty reduction. Indeed, BRAC is in a unique position to use its microfinance base as a social platform to deliver innovative scaled up services aligned to a principled, rights-based philosophy. As we noted last year, BRAC is in many ways a microcosm of the entire international development sector in one organization, albeit gaining in independence from donor influence each year as it covers almost 80 percent of its \$572 million operating budget through a burgeoning portfolio of

catalytic social enterprises – a clear trend positioning the organization in an enviable position of financial and programmatic sustainability.

Yet rather than taking this as a cue to rest on its laurels, BRAC has at the same time used its considerable resources and in-house human capital to build an expansive and dedicated monitoring and evaluation apparatus, with positive flow on effects for the entire sector.

Ultimately, BRAC has evolved into a giant of an NGO in a way that some could see as problematic – a non-public entity that touches the lives of more than 110 million people. Reassuringly, however, while size is not often an indication of quality, BRAC represents a welcome outlier and a continuing force for good at the global level.



© BRAC



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2

## Wikimedia Foundation

CROWD-SOURCING KNOWLEDGE WORLDWIDE

In 11 short years, Wikimedia Foundation's flagship initiative – ubiquitous online encyclopaedia Wikipedia – has revolutionized the way knowledge is collected and shared. By now, most are familiar with the Wikipedia model, which is based around open access for all Internet users, a commitment to multilingualism, and constant edits and updates carried out by an army of approximately 100,000 eager volunteers. Most striking, however, in an age of multi-billion dollar Facebook IPOs, is the organization's bedrock belief in the notion that information should never represent a profit-driven commodity.

In practical terms, Wikimedia Foundation – which topped our inaugural ranking – exists as perhaps the most influential non-government actor in the field of education today. Operating with a shoestring staff of 142, the organization is responsible for managing the platform facilitating the largest collection of shared knowledge in human history – currently 23 million articles and counting. To date, Wikipedia is available in 285 languages, and is visited by more than 470 million people per month. Central to Wikimedia Foundation's future strategy is the continued expansion of Wikipedia in the languages of the developing world, where access to information is seen to represent not only a personal

asset, but also an essential dimension in building an engaged citizenry at the societal level. Ultimately, the Wikimedia Foundation represents a path-breaking example of what an NGO can achieve in the Internet era. Working with relatively meagre resources and committed to a funding model based on mass private donations as opposed to large institutional grants, the organization continues, through an innovative application of new technologies, to have a deep and abiding impact on the lives of millions around the world.



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



© ACUMEN FUND

3

## Acumen Fund

THE ALTRUISTIC FACE OF VENTURE CAPITALISM

In 2011, New York-based Acumen Fund celebrated a decade long experiment in 21st century charitable giving. Conceived with seed capital from the Rockefeller Foundation, Cisco Systems Foundation and three individual philanthropists, the organization was – at last count – responsible for a diverse portfolio of over \$81 million worth of approved investments in 72 countries worldwide. Firmly committed to a belief that social enterprises, emerging leaders and breakthrough ideas hold the key to successfully tackling the challenge of global poverty, Acumen Fund focuses on transformative loan or equity-based investments, recycling returns to feed a growing pool of 'patient' capital.

Partnering in projects estimated to have benefited over 86 million people to date, the key to Acumen Fund's pioneering philosophy is its application of venture capital principles in the pursuit of social value, albeit with a higher tolerance for risk and longer time horizons than its for profit brethren. The result is an innovative – and successful – market-based challenge to traditional modes of grant-driven development and philanthropy.

To complement its angel investor role, the organization has also continued to expand its Global Fellows Program, building a networked "corps of leaders with financial skills, operational know-how, and moral imagination."



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



© DANISH REFUGEE COUNCIL

4

## Danish Refugee Council

SETTING THE STANDARD IN COMPLEX EMERGENCIES

**F**ormed after the devastation of World War II and the European refugee crises triggered by the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, the Danish Refugee Council has been a constant, trusted presence in the humanitarian sphere for over 50 years. Serving a dual role, the organization's activities revolve around the protection of refugees and internally displaced persons from immediate persecution in acute emergency situations, as well as the promotion of lasting solutions for conflict-affected populations (including via targeted international advocacy).

Currently operating in over 35 countries in service of more than 1.5 million people, the Danish Refugee

Council has developed an enviable reputation for itself as a leading actor in insecure environments, including through the respected conflict zone work of the Danish Demining Group, the organization's dedicated humanitarian mine action unit. At the same time, consistent with the trend toward increasing diversification of activities amongst major humanitarian groups, the Danish Refugee Council also works across a number of 'non traditional' recovery-focused sectors, including: housing and small scale infrastructure, income generation, food security, displacement-related law and information, social rehabilitation and NGO networking and capacity development.



5 ↑

HQ LOCATION: DENMARK



© SUSAN SAYERS, PARTNERS IN HEALTH

5

## Partners In Health

MEDICINE THROUGH A MORAL LENS

**O**ften linked in the public mind with the critical voice of high-profile co-founder Paul Farmer, Partners In Health has, since its beginnings as a community-based health project in the mountainous Central Plateau of Haiti, come to be recognized as perhaps the pre-eminent public health NGO globally. The organization is guided by the same passion that drove those young adults responsible for its conception – namely an overwhelming sense of solidarity, rather than charity, when dealing with the world's poorest and most underserved populations. In practice, this vision is manifest in Partners in Health's holistic model of patient care, which emphasizes the need to alleviate

the economic and social burdens of poverty that exacerbate diseases like HIV/AIDS and multidrug-resistant tuberculosis.

The game-changing Partners in Health approach encompasses five key elements focused on addressing intractable and neglected conditions: universal access to primary health care, ensuring health and education services are free to the poor, hiring and training community health workers, improving access to food, shelter, clean water, sanitation, education and economic opportunities and partnering with local and national governments to guarantee the system-wide scale-up and adoption of new approaches to treating infectious

disease. All fuelled by a simple credo: "whatever it takes."

The results, in collaboration with longstanding partners Harvard Medical School and Brigham and Women's Hospital, are impressive in scope. At the beginning of 2012, Partners in Health was providing direct medical care to 2.4 million people in 12 countries, the bulk through local community health workers. Meanwhile, the dream of transformational change embodied in the post-earthquake Stand With Haiti plan was realized with the opening of a state of the art teaching hospital in Mirebalais, with long-term implications for the capacity of Haiti's public health system and future medical personnel.



© CERES

6

## Ceres

SHAPING THE FUTURE OF SUSTAINABLE CAPITALISM

Judging by the direction of contemporary debate, it can appear at times that the environment and sustainability have fallen off the edge of the map as salient issues of public policy. All the more impressive then to see how since 1989 Boston-based NGO Ceres has managed to lead a parallel normative shift in the corporate world when it comes to climate change, clean energy, water scarcity and supply chain sustainability.

Through an innovative and effective approach based on leveraging the undeniable power of business and capital markets, the organization has succeeded in influencing corporate governance practices to value the

competitive advantage promised by sustainable strategies.

Key to Ceres' deep impact is the group's unique position at the nexus of the business, investment and advocacy communities. The Ceres Coalition, which comprises more than 130 institutions, public interest groups and investors, the Company Network, which connects over 80 leading corporations, and the Investor Network on Climate Risk (INCR), which includes in excess of 100 investors collectively managing more than \$11 trillion in cumulative assets, together allow Ceres to engage in a robust dialogue with powerful decision-makers in order to mobilize meaningful corporate commitments.

Just some of Ceres' achievements to date include the wide uptake of its Global Reporting Initiative – a de-facto international standard used by more than 4,000 companies for triple bottom line reporting – successful advocacy campaigns requiring companies and insurers to provide climate risk disclosure in financial filings and the use of the Company Network as an incubator for new best practices in corporate sustainability.

Ultimately, Ceres stands alone in the non-profit world as an environmental NGO able to work collaboratively in partnership with the private sector to spur significant and lasting reforms.



20 ↑

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



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7

## CARE International

LEADING THE FIGHT AGAINST GLOBAL POVERTY



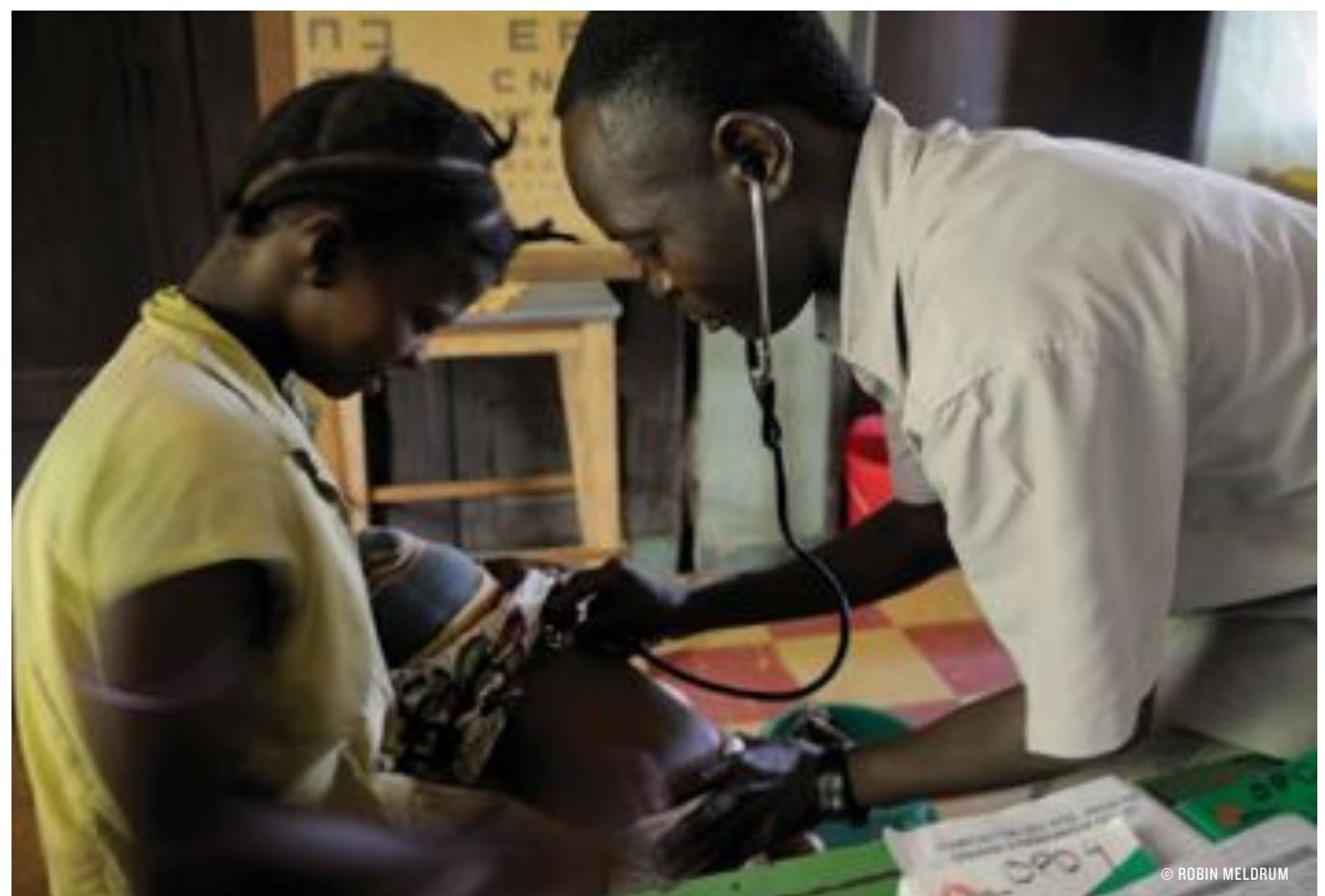
HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND

In the world of emergency relief and international development, there are a handful of organizations that have transcended their inter-war or post-war roots and built a global reputation for effectiveness despite a broadening mandate. Without doubt, CARE International fits within this category. Originally formed in 1945 as a symbol of American empathy for the exhausted populations of war-torn Europe (hence, 'care packages'), the organization has grown into a diverse confederation of 12 national members working in 84 countries to the benefit of 122 million people. Still a first responder in the event of natural disasters or conflict, CARE International has also shifted its mission to embody a holistic

approach to fighting global poverty and enhancing human dignity, with a special focus on female empowerment.

In part, CARE International is able to deliver large-scale impact based purely on its size and reach. To see this as the full story, however, would be to discount the true scope of the organization's activities. With a long-term presence in many of the world's most vulnerable countries, CARE International is well-placed to implement a comprehensive approach, involving pre-emergency resilience and preparedness projects, immediate relief operations and longer-term recovery and community rehabilitation. The organization has also been a sectoral leader in

its commitment to international standards of accountability and institutional learning. Looking to the future, CARE International is likely to become an increasingly vocal presence in high-level international debates around strategies to address enduring challenges like maternal health, hunger, gender equality and climate change mitigation and adaptation. This change-focused advocacy represents an important complement to the on-the-ground work of the organization, particularly in a global environment where financial crisis has exacerbated flagging interest in the Millennium Development Goals.



© ROBIN MELDRUM

8

## Médecins Sans Frontières

FIERCELY INDEPENDENT EMERGENCY CARE

**L**aunchpad for the now inescapable ‘without borders’ movement, Médecins Sans Frontières has developed, over the course of its 41-year history, an enviable – or infamous, depending on one’s viewpoint – reputation for combining unparalleled medical assistance in the most fearsome conditions with an outspoken commitment to principled activism in the face of perceived rights violations, dereliction of duty by the international community or threats to the neutrality of humanitarian space due to the merging of civil-military missions.

Founded in 1971 by 13 doctors – including former French Foreign Minister, Bernard Kouchner – the

organization is presently active in 68 countries, with operations encompassing close to 32,000 staff.

A key factor in the ability of Médecins Sans Frontières to “bear witness” and take sometimes controversial ethical stands against governments and other actors is its funding model, which unlike most major humanitarian NGOs is predominantly based around private donations rather than institutional grants (the former representing 89 percent of total income in 2011). This independence, which often extends to a tendency to avoid collaboration in the context of its strategic interventions, has at times led to criticism of a pervasive ‘lone crusader’ attitude.



HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND



© CURE VIOLENCE

9

## Cure Violence

TREATING THE CONTAGION OF VIOLENCE

Nonetheless, never in question is the impact of the organization’s operations, which range from addressing the ravages of armed conflict, to emergency action to stem the spread of epidemics in situations of state incapacity.

Médecins Sans Frontières has also been innovative in its approach to dealing with operational challenges, establishing the ‘Access Campaign’ to reduce prices for medicines, diagnostics and vaccines and stimulate the development of improved treatments, setting up affiliated organization, Epicentre, to conduct epidemiological research and assessments, and partnering in the Drugs for Neglected Diseases initiative.

**W**hile the tragic school shooting in Connecticut has added further fuel to the gun control debate in the United States and beyond, it has also diverted attention from an even greater tragedy – the enduring cost of ‘everyday’ interpersonal violence globally. Aligned with fellow peacebuilding NGOs in spirit, if not in practice, groundbreaking Chicago-based organization Cure Violence (formerly CeaseFire) is focused on addressing this challenge through an innovative model developed by its founder, epidemiologist Gary Slutkin.

Key to Cure Violence’s success – and scalability – is the notion that the trajectory of both violence and

infectious diseases share similar patterns of contagion. By this logic, it becomes possible to apply a common public health strategy: stopping transmission at the source and altering norms and behavior so fewer people become ‘infected’ in the first place. In practical terms, Cure Violence achieves this goal by identifying those most at risk and treating this core group via a staff of highly-trained ‘violence interrupters’ – former perpetrators employed to disrupt conflicts before they erupt and educate the community about the consequences of violent behavior.

By reframing the fundamental problem – and applying traditional mediation



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



10

## Mercy Corps

THE BRIDGE BETWEEN RELIEF AND RECOVERY

**"S**ometimes you see too much in this business, resulting in horror fatigue," says Mercy Corps co-founder Dan O'Neill. "But you use the nightmare for fuel." The organization he first established as the Save the Refugees Fund in response to the atrocities of Pol Pot's Cambodian killing fields has certainly matched that ethos, growing into one of the pre-eminent international development NGOs in the world today.

Based in Portland but active in over 41 countries, Mercy Corps' pioneering commitment to using relief and recovery programs to strengthen civil society for the long-term has seen the diversification of its high-impact, cost

effective activities across a range of program areas and locations.

What sets the organization apart is its leadership in using social innovation as an engine for sustainable development – and unlike other actors focusing on entrepreneurial strategies in 'stable' operating environments, Mercy Corps works in this way with affected communities as a means to accelerate the process of post-disaster or post-collapse recovery. From helping restore local economies in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake via a mobile banking solution, to fighting malnutrition in Indonesian slums through a micro-franchise system of vendor-managed food carts, the NGO consistently looks

to foster indigenous entrepreneurship, re-building social capital and stimulating markets.

Convinced of the value of taking 'responsible risks' – backed by rigorous monitoring and evaluation – Mercy Corps focuses especially on engaging partner communities to identify solutions proven to work in specific contexts and bring these to scale. As such, the organization's greatest impact is arguably linked to its ability to strengthen the resilience of communities with a view to future shocks, beyond the millions of lives touched through immediate relief efforts.



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



# It's your world. It's your domain.

Coming in 2014, two new domain name extensions will make their worldwide debut: .NGO and .ONG (the romance language equivalent of NGO).

These extensions will be available exclusively to non-governmental organizations.

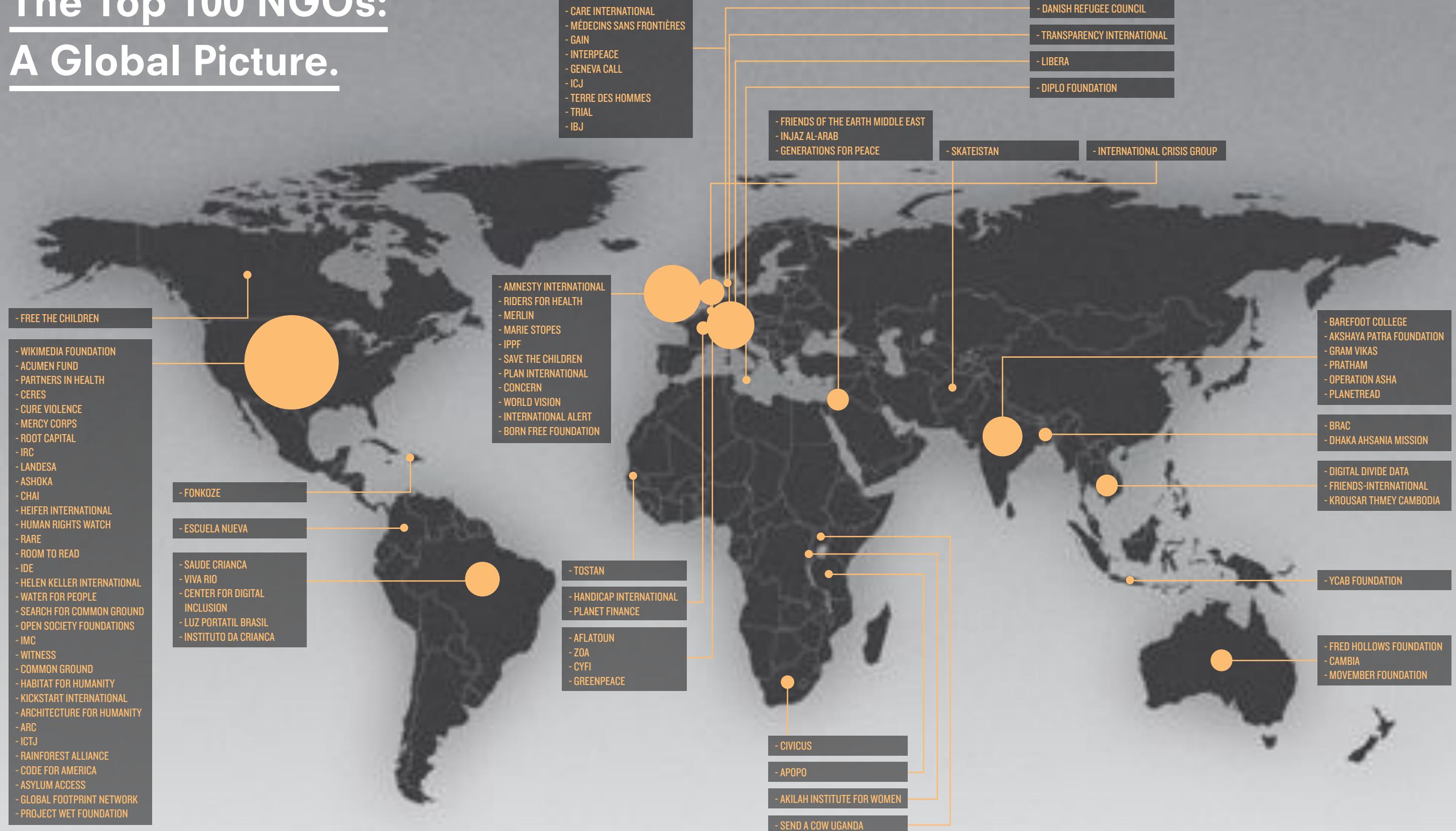
Learn more about this initiative by visiting [www.ngotld.org](http://www.ngotld.org)

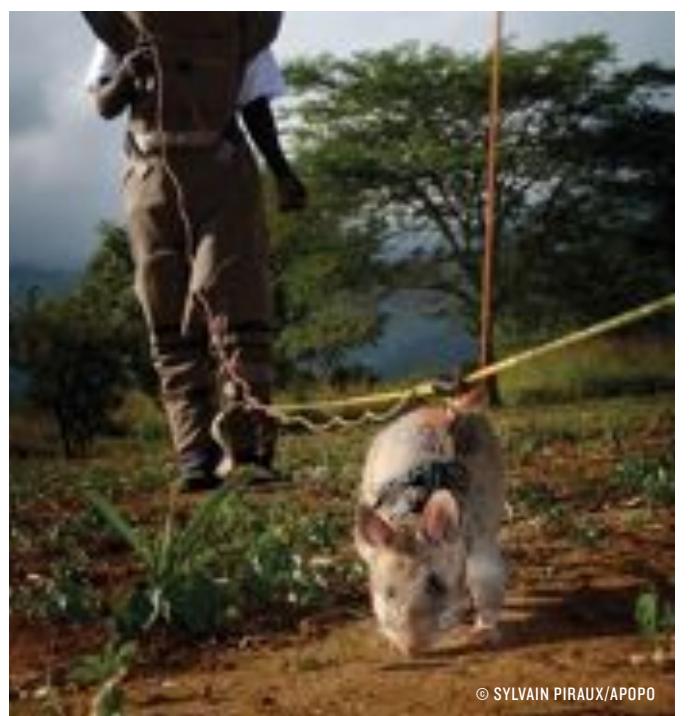
# .NGO<sup>SM</sup>

a Public Interest Registry initiative

# The Top 100 NGOs:

## A Global Picture.





© SYLVAIN PIRAU/APOPO



© ROOT CAPITAL

11

**APOPO**

TRAINING RATS TO SAVE LIVES



15 ↑

HQ LOCATION: TANZANIA

In the popular imagination, the link between rats and human well-being is a negative one, shaped by fears of disease. In the hands of APOPO, however, the equation has been reversed. Based in Morogoro, the humanitarian organization has spent the last 15 years honing its unique approach to training rats as mine detectors, and exported this ‘technology,’ despite initial skepticism, to four countries in Africa and South East Asia. Cheaper, quicker and lighter than conventional de-mining methods, APOPO’s African Giant Pouched Rats – endemic to sub-Saharan Africa – have helped return more than 6 million square meters of suspected minefields to local populations in Mozambique alone.

The organization has also continued to innovate, diversifying into the field of public health by training the same ‘HeroRATs’ to detect tuberculosis in human sputum samples – a faster, more accurate diagnostic method capable of screening thousands of patients every month.

By the beginning of 2012, the organization had disbursed over \$460 million in loans to sustainable enterprises in Africa and Latin America, reaching 2.6 million people in poor, environmentally vulnerable rural communities. Beyond managing two innovative investment portfolios, Root Capital has also multiplied its impact by delivering targeted financial advisory services and catalyzing a wider market in rural financing.



12 ↑

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

12

**Root Capital**

INVESTING IN THE ‘MISSING MIDDLE’



© WILLIAM DANIELS/HANDICAP INTERNATIONAL

13

**Handicap International**

PROTECTING THE DIGNITY AND RIGHTS OF THE DISABLED



HQ LOCATION: FRANCE

While the global ‘credit crunch’ has shifted the playing field in recent years, there was a time when it seemed the world was awash in easy capital. As William Foote realized during travels in Mexico, however, small and medium-sized rural businesses in the developing world were often caught in a quandary – considered too small and risky for mainstream banks, and too large for the burgeoning microfinance movement. Returning to Boston, Foote went on to launch Root Capital in 1999 as a non-profit social investment fund targeting grassroots businesses in the “missing middle.”

Comprising a network of eight national associations active in over 60 countries, the organization has been rightly lauded for its deep impact on the lives of a previously underserved constituency – from relief to demining, rehabilitation to social inclusion and anti discrimination – as well as its tireless and transformative advocacy work, including as a co-founder of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines.



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14

**IRC**

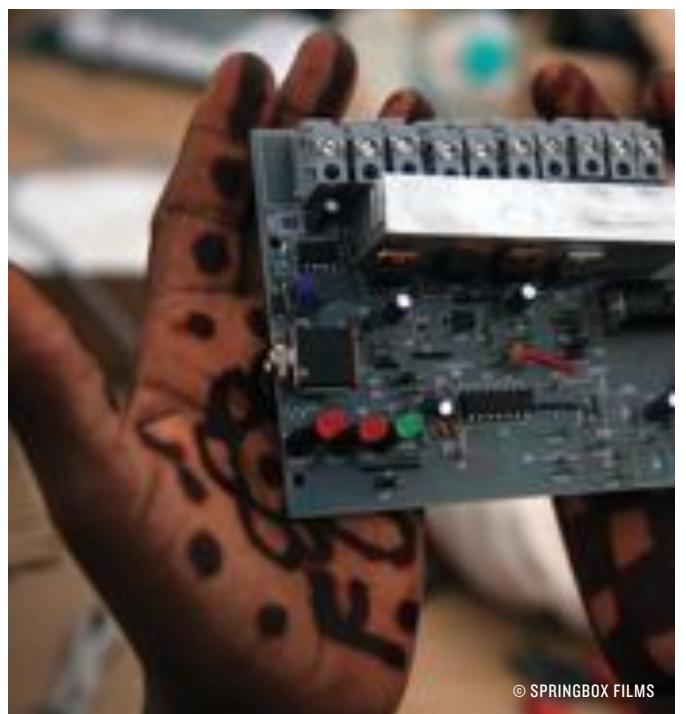
LIFESAVING ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

Founded in 1933 at the request of none other than Albert Einstein, the New York-based International Rescue Committee offers lifesaving care and life-changing assistance to refugees forced to flee from war or disaster. Evolving into one of the world’s leading humanitarian agencies providing emergency relief, rehabilitation, protection, resettlement services and advocacy, the organization works in over 40 countries worldwide, as well as managing the Surge Protection Project in collaboration with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Though highly respected for its rapid and reliable response to crisis situations, the International Rescue Committee is also committed to laying the groundwork for lasting peace and economic development. For instance, the organization has been working with Japanese fishermen in the wake of the devastation left behind by the 2011 tsunami, as well as helping undercapitalized local farmers in Zimbabwe access global markets through the ‘Tabasco’ initiative in partnership with the McIlhenny Company.



15

## Barefoot College

SOLAR MAMAS AND BAREFOOT PROFESSIONALS



HQ LOCATION: INDIA

In the recent documentary Solar Mamas, a 32-year-old, tent-dwelling Jordanian mother with only five years of primary education travels to India for six months of hands-on training, culminating in a return to her desert community armed with the skills to fabricate, install and maintain solar power technology – a journey that would seem scarcely believable, save for the fact it has been replicated by others time and time again. Founded by Bunker Roy in 1972 to provide basic services and solutions to problems in rural communities in his native India, Barefoot College has since nurtured a form of grassroots social entrepreneurship that has won plaudits for its success in helping participants forge their own path out of poverty.

Open only to individuals without a formal education, the organization's innovative – and powerful – model employs peer-to-peer learning, grounded in practical knowledge, to demystify and decentralize sophisticated technology, in the process training an army of 'barefoot professionals': teachers, doctors, midwives, mechanics and architects in the millions.



16

## Landesa

TRANSFORMING RURAL LIVES THROUGH LAND RIGHTS



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**A**n outlier amongst the NGOs making up this ranking, the Seattle-based Landesa works to secure land rights for the world's poorest people – those 2.47 billion chiefly rural individuals who live on less than two dollars a day. Of this group, more than a billion lack legal rights over the land they use to survive, causing entrenched poverty cycles to persist over generations. For more than 40 years, the organization has worked to advance durable land rights to achieve transformational change on a large scale.

More precisely, Landesa works with governments and other local organizations to create tailored approaches to expanding land rights to the rural poor. In all, the NGO has helped bring security of tenure to more than 105 million families, representing a beneficiary pool of over 400 million people. This has included the innovative use of a scalable 'micro-plot' – tennis-court-sized pockets of land – strategy in India, which despite their small size, have been proven to boost family income, enhance nutrition and provide physical security.



17

## Ashoka

THE SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP EVANGELISTS



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**W**hen wading through a sea of non-profit annual reports and press material, it can appear 'social entrepreneurship' is the term on everybody's lips. How easy it is to forget, then, that back in 1981 when a 20 year-old Bill Drayton launched Ashoka as an organization dedicated to supporting the dreams of social innovators worldwide, he was walking a solitary path. Thirty years later, and Ashoka has evolved into an association of over 3,000 fellows in more than 70 countries.

Fundamental to the Ashoka model is a tripartite approach identifying and investing in leading social entrepreneurs, engaging communities of entrepreneurs to develop patterns of effective collaboration, and working to deliver necessary infrastructure, such as access to social financing, bridges to business and academia, and the frameworks for effective cross sector partnerships. While the organization's global reach is incalculable, evaluation has shown that over 80 percent of alumni are driving systemic change at a national level within ten years, while 96 percent of their ideas have been replicated by independent groups.



18

## One Acre Fund

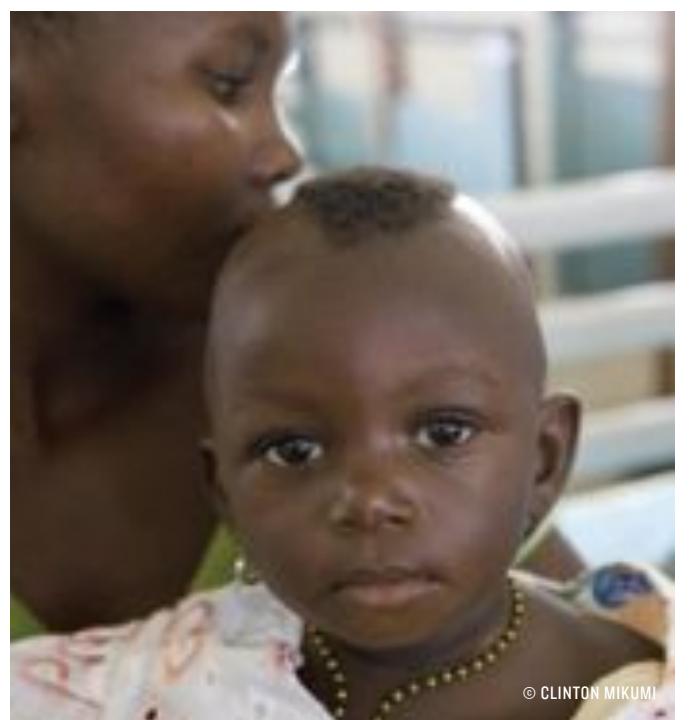
SOWING THE SEEDS OF IMPROVED FOOD SECURITY



HQ LOCATION: KENYA

**A**fter having served as a strategic consultant to Fortune 500 companies, Andrew Youn decided to spend the summer before his second year of MBA studies as an intern in Kenya learning about the root causes of rural poverty and chronic hunger. The experience proved to be transformative. A year later, in 2006, he founded One Acre Fund as a means to improve livelihoods amongst subsistence farmers using market-based methods as an alternative to traditional food aid. From this innovative idea, the organization has expanded to serve over 130,000 farming families in Kenya, Rwanda and Burundi.

At the core of the One Acre Fund program is a 'market bundle' of services – including seed and fertilizer, financing, education and market facilitation – that enables farmers to double their income per planted acre in one year. Committed to data-driven program development and donor accountability, the organization has also pioneered a rigorous system of internal and external performance monitoring used to ensure increased scale is not pursued at the cost of quality or impact and sustainability.



19

**CHAI**

CATALYZING SYSTEMIC HEALTH CHANGE



35 ↑

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



ENDING HUNGER ONE COW AT A TIME

8 ↓

**B**eyond local communities, the key challenge in the sphere of public health has long been to address systemic barriers to (sustainable) progress. In 2002, President Bill Clinton launched the 'Clinton HIV/AIDS Initiative' under the auspices of his Clinton Foundation to not only bring care and treatment to people living with the disease, but also strengthen health infrastructures in resource-poor countries. Ten years later, the renamed Clinton Health Access Initiative has carved a considerable niche for itself as a willing partner to governments committed to improving in-country health systems, and as an active player in the movement to develop the market for medicines and the efficiency of health resource allocation at the global level.

Preferring to focus on organizational and managerial factors – rather than scientific or medical – the organization pursues catalytic, 'game-changing' opportunities for action. Its headline achievement to date was a successful negotiation with companies to secure lower prices for essential HIV/AIDS retroviral drugs, resulting in more than \$1 billion in cost savings shared by over 4 million people.

**M**oved by the plight of the orphans he attended to during the Spanish Civil War, Dan West realized these individuals needed "a cow, not a cup" – the difference between temporary aid and a long-term investment in overcoming poverty and hunger. Returning to the United States, he founded Heifer International on this principle. The organization provides families with a 'living loan' – a donation of livestock, accompanied with training in animal husbandry, care and sustainable grazing methods. The receiving family must "pass on the gift" by transferring their knowledge and donating one or more of their animal's offspring to another family. This practice ensures project sustainability, develops community and enhances self-esteem by allowing project partners to become donors.

A highly-participatory model, Heifer International works with communities to decide what types of animals and production systems they want, and who should receive animals. Since its inception, the organization has helped 15.5 million families in more than 125 countries move toward greater self-reliance, with third-party evaluations confirming a substantive impact on household incomes, assets and family nutrition.



20

**Heifer International**

ENDING HUNGER ONE COW AT A TIME

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**Top NGOs By Sector.****EDUCATION**

1. WIKIMEDIA FOUNDATION
2. BAREFOOT COLLEGE
3. ROOM TO READ

**PEACEBUILDING**

1. CURE VIOLENCE
2. APOPO
3. SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND

**TECHNOLOGY**

1. FRONTLINESMS
2. CAMBIA
3. CODE FOR AMERICA

**DEVELOPMENT**

1. BRAC
2. ACUMEN FUND
3. MERCY CORPS

**HUMAN RIGHTS**

1. LANDESA
2. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH
3. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

**HUMANITARIAN**

1. DANISH REFUGEE COUNCIL
2. CARE INTERNATIONAL
3. MÉDECINS SANS FRONTIÈRES

**ENVIRONMENT**

1. CERES
2. RARE
3. WATER FOR PEOPLE

**HEALTH**

1. PARTNERS IN HEALTH
2. CHAI
3. AMREF

**CHILDREN AND YOUTH**

1. AKSHAYA PATRA FOUNDATION
2. AFLATOUN
3. SAVE THE CHILDREN

**SHELTER**

1. COMMON GROUND
2. HABITAT FOR HUMANITY
3. ARCHITECTURE FOR HUMANITY

**LAW AND JUSTICE**

1. TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL
2. INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE
3. INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS



© MOISES SAMAN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH



© RARE



© AKSHAYA PATRA

**21**

DEMANDING JUSTICE ON A GLOBAL SCALE

## **Human Rights Watch**



7



34 ↑

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

HQ LOCATION: INDIA

**A**fter the watershed events of 2011, human rights did not quite enjoy the same global exposure in the year just gone. If anything, however, this only served to further highlight the crucial role played by the New York-based Human Rights Watch. With Cold War roots stretching back to 1978, the organization has a long track record of 'muscular' advocacy to achieve sustained, positive behavioral change by governments, law-makers, judicial systems, corporations and rebel groups. Unafraid of courting controversy, unlike mass membership movements Human Rights Watch focuses on targeted advocacy, insider access and deft utilization of media headlines to raise pressure on those in positions of influence.

**A**ccording to Rare, conservation ultimately comes down to people – their behavior toward nature, their belief about its value and their ability to protect it without sacrificing basic community livelihoods. Based on this principle, the organization has developed an innovative model in which it partners with local conservationists around the world to implement behavior-changing social marketing campaigns aimed at protecting biodiversity while providing new avenues for sustainable development. Since 1988, Rare has trained more than 200 local conservation leaders from across the globe in its signature method – the 'Pride' campaign – with subsequent campaigns reaching nearly 10 million people living in 57 of the world's biodiversity hotspots.



© GRAM VIKAS



© DIGITAL DIVIDE DATA



© ROOM TO READ

**22**

CONSERVATION THROUGH SOCIAL MARKETING

## **Rare**



7



34 ↑

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**23**

## **Akshaya Patra Foundation**



NEW

HQ LOCATION: INDIA

**24**

THE UNTAPPED POWER OF SANITATION

## **Gram Vikas**



27 ↑

HQ LOCATION: INDIA

**25**

## **Digital Divide Data**



3

HQ LOCATION: CAMBODIA

**26**

## **Room To Read**



40 ↑

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**A**s Joe Madiath is fond of reminding people, "shit" is not a glamorous issue. At the same time, the organization he founded in 1979 has had a marked impact in delivering and scaling a holistic village development model that uses entry point concerns over clean water and sanitation as a tool to unite and empower communities. Requiring 100 percent 'buy-in' as a precondition for commencing new projects, Gram Vikas' participatory and sustainable 'MANTRA' approach has achieved impressive results – eliminating 85 percent of water-borne diseases in participating villages, and boosting school attendance from ten to 90 percent. From its origins in remote rural India, the model has been replicated in Tanzania and Gambia.

**E**very day, over 139 million children are denied the right to go to primary school, a figure that increases significantly during adolescence. Founded in 1999 by former Microsoft senior executive John Wood, Room to Read operates in ten countries in Africa and Asia based on the conviction that investing in childhood literacy represents the best vehicle to facilitate learning and ensure participation in today's global society. The organization partners with communities and local governments to promote literacy and gender equality in education by establishing libraries, constructing classrooms, publishing local-language children's books, training educators and supporting girls' education. To date, over six million children have benefited from Room to Read's innovative approach.



© PANITHAN KITSAKUL/AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL



© AMREF



© PRATHAM USA

27

THE SOUL OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

**Amnesty International**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM



HQ LOCATION: KENYA



HQ LOCATION: INDIA

**B**y now, Amnesty International needs no introduction. Established by lawyer Peter Benenson in 1961, the organization has amassed more than three million supporters, members and activists in over 150 countries. The popular touchstone of the global human rights movement, Amnesty International engages with governments, armed political groups, companies and other non-state actors, seeking to disclose human rights abuses and mobilize public pressure to address both individual cases and normative change. Though less innovative in its methods as they have become organizationally entrenched over time, Amnesty International remains an important independent voice in the international arena, speaking fearlessly to power and pursuing a new focus on overlooked economic, social and cultural rights.

**A** seeming rarity in today's crowded public health field, AMREF is an African-led NGO focused on developing indigenous solutions to African health challenges. Founded in 1956 as part of a plan to provide mobile medical assistance to remote regions in the east of the continent, the organization has evolved into a multifaceted institutional actor working on a diverse range of health issues with over 100 poor and marginalized rural and urban slum communities – from HIV/AIDS and malaria, to water and sanitation, surgical outreach and practitioner training. Committed strongly to building the capacity of local health systems, AMREF has emerged as a pioneer in community-based health care, as well as a regional leader in maternal and child health.

**N**ow the largest educational NGO in India, Pratham was founded in 1994 to address teaching gaps in the slums of Mumbai. From those humble beginnings, the organization has expanded in scope and geographical coverage, teaching English and computer literacy, establishing libraries, publishing books and offering comprehensive learning support. Since its inception in 2007, Pratham's flagship program, 'Read India' – which aims to catalyze existing resources at the village level to train teachers and harness domestic volunteers – is active in 38,000 villages, reaching over two million children in 2011 alone. Similarly, the organization's 'Annual Status of Education Report' has become a crucial influence on evidence-based state policy planning.



© IDE



© RIDERS FOR HEALTH



© SAM PHELPS

28

LASTING HEALTH CHANGE IN AFRICA

**AMREF**

HQ LOCATION: KENYA



HQ LOCATION: INDIA

29

LOW COST EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTIONS

**Pratham**

HQ LOCATION: INDIA

30

HARNESSING IRRIGATION TECHNOLOGY FOR GOOD

**iDE**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

31

THE 'LAST MILE' OF HEALTH CARE DELIVERY

**Riders for Health**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

32

HEALTH WORKERS ON THE FRONTLINE

**MERLIN**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

# An Eye On The Sector.



© ZIYODA KURBANOVA FOR THE GLOBAL JOURNAL

## What is your interest in NGOs?

I have worked with civil society for the last 15 years. In the past I collaborated with the Avina Foundation in Latin America in the field of social entrepreneurship, and supported the Schwab Foundation while at the World Economic Forum. Today, I am the co-founder of a leading boutique philanthropy consultancy. We advise a range of clients in fulfilling their philanthropic aspirations. I am also Vice President of Sustainable Finance Geneva and a board member of several foundations. Many paths lead me to NGOs as you can see.

## What do you see as the biggest trend in the sector over the last 1-2 years?

There are more long-term underlying trends that remain key, such as accountability and related issues of transparency. However, another interesting trend is the fact that social innovations in transition countries – or so-called ‘poor’ countries – have begun to be replicated in developed economies. Let me give two examples. One of your Top 100 NGOs of last year, Friends International, has been asked to test a model – developed originally in South East Asia –

ETIENNE EICHENBERGER  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WISE PHILANTHROPY ADVISERS

in the United States. Their approach to working with disadvantaged youth is seen as standard-setting. Another example is the ‘Fight for Peace’ model developed in Brazil being exported to prisons in the United Kingdom.

### *Have you observed any challenges for NGOs linked to the financial crisis?*

NGOs have grown more professional due to numerous factors, though the influence of limited financial resources is certainly one key element. This has been caused by the diminished performance of foundations, and the financial constraints imposed on public funding. At the same time, the financial crisis has also brought new ideas and talent into the sector. In a certain way, the crisis has provided an opportunity to rethink our status quo.

### *What is the most innovative NGO you have worked with?*

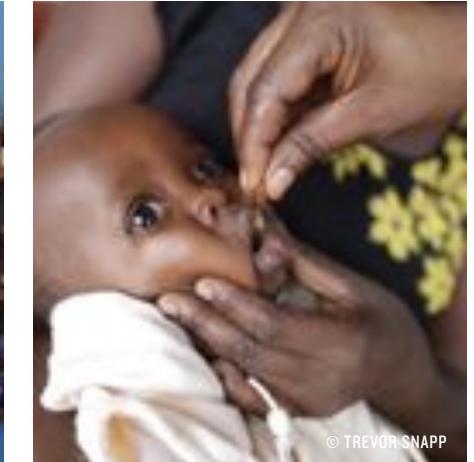
I often think we fool ourselves by equating social innovation with technical innovation. At the last European Venture Philanthropy Association meeting in Dublin, a speaker suggested “social innovation is not what is new, but what works better.” I like this quote because it helps us to move beyond the paradigm that only new is better. I think, however, that Arc en-Ciel in Lebanon is a very innovative model in its context – it is very interesting to see how an organization can create great value in a tense environment. Arc-en-Ciel began operations after the civil war with wheel chairs, but today pursues six development streams, including medical waste management and eco-agriculture. Its founders have seen a weak state as an opportunity to create social value.

### *What do you think is the NGO model of the future?*

NGOs, like businesses, are all about diversity – from small and medium size enterprises to global corporations. Their respective challenges are hardly the same, and neither are their models. Future models will depend on numerous factors, driven by an NGO’s mission. For instance, an advocacy NGO will need to further strengthen its independence, an NGO focused on service delivery will need to continue to innovate with regard to generating revenues. But both small and large NGOs will need to be more accountable in terms of impact and the quality of their delivery. The time when NGOs had a blank check to “do the right thing” is gone. ©



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© TREVOR SNAPP



© WATER FOR PEOPLE

33

## AN ALTERNATIVE BANK FOR THE RURAL POOR

### Fonkoze



NEW

34

## ERADICATING PREVENTABLE BLINDNESS

### Helen Keller International



NEW

35

## CREATIVE AND SUSTAINABLE WATER SOLUTIONS

### Water for People



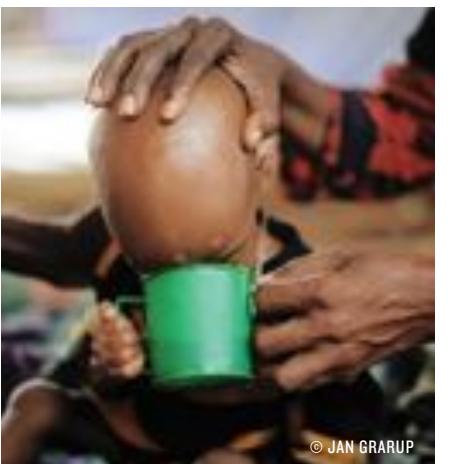
18 ↓

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**W**hen asked why he created a microfinance institution focused on women, the founder of Fonkoze, Father Joseph Philippe, was clear: “women are the backbone of the Haitian economy and the doorway into the family unit.” The largest organization of its kind in Haiti, serving more than 56,000 women borrowers – most of whom live and work in the countryside – and over 250,000 savers, Fonkoze is committed to offering its clients a range of services that not only recognize the different points at which individuals can start their climb out of poverty, but also acknowledges that progress is not always linear. Much more than a bank, the organization also delivers critical programs in education, health, insurance and client protection.

**F**or much of the 20th century, the name Helen Keller was synonymous with courage in the face of overwhelming odds. Left blind and deaf as a baby, she went on not only to become a leading advocate for the blind, but also to found Helen Keller International in 1915 as a premier organization dedicated to preventing blindness and reducing malnutrition. Today, Helen Keller International’s cost-effective and sustainable programs span 22 countries, focusing on basic eye care, vision correction, vitamin supplementation, food fortification, infant and young child feeding and community malnutrition surveillance. Committed to productive partnerships, the organization is also active in conducting and sharing research through a vibrant network of leading international institutions.

**E**very day, nearly 6,000 people die from water-related illnesses, the vast majority children lacking access to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation facilities. Recognizing that part of the problem is the prevalence of good-hearted but unsustainable interventions, Water For People has developed an innovative model based on close collaboration with local communities and full coverage across entire districts and regions, rather than ad hoc projects at the household and village level. Local groups must be willing to not only contribute in-kind labor and funding to an entire project, but also participate in planning, implementation, operations, maintenance and repair. Across ten countries, Water For People is transforming the lives of over 300,000 people – for the long-term.



36

37

38

39

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41

THE DOLLARS AND CENTS OF FINANCIAL LITERACY

MOBILE TECHNOLOGY FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

FAMILY PLANNING ON A GLOBAL SCALE

**Aflatoun****FrontlineSMS****Marie Stopes International**

HQ LOCATION: NETHERLANDS



HQ LOCATION: KENYA



HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

**IPPF**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

**Save the Children International**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

**PLAN International**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

Inspiring disadvantaged children to know their rights, practice saving and launch enterprises, Aflatoun began in 1991 in Mumbai as an action research project affiliated with the Tata School of Social Studies. By leveraging a large network of implementing partners – ranging from local community groups to large international NGOs – Aflatoun has since provided social and financial skills to over 1.3 million children and youth in more than 90 countries via an innovative, activity-based program. The organization has also worked effectively in an advocacy context, with an Aflatoun module being included in UNICEF's Child Friendly Schools curriculum, and its annual 'Children & Change' publication serving as an authoritative source of data and research for the broader child finance movement.

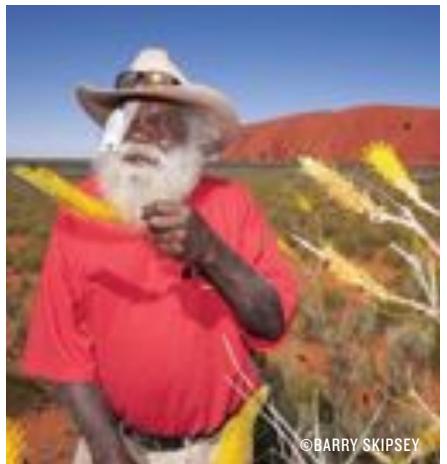
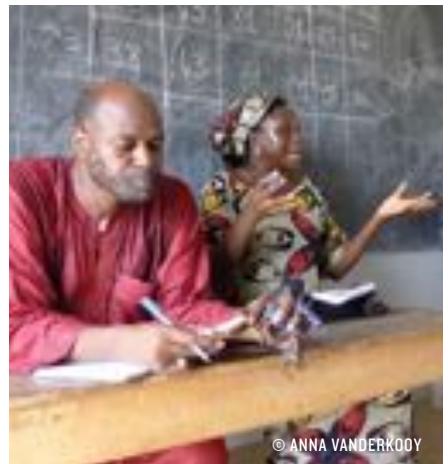
Launched in 2004, FrontlineSMS is the brainchild of Ken Banks. During his work at Kruger National Park, Banks noticed that instead of the Internet, outlying communities used mobile phones for all communication needs. Following six weeks of "recoding on the kitchen table," the FrontlineSMS interface was born. With a diverse range of functions – including FrontlineSMS:Credit, which allows users to send and receive mobile payments, as well as FrontlineSMS:Radio, enabling two-way dialogue between broadcasting companies and listeners in marginalized communities – FrontlineSMS is able to constantly evolve to match the development of mobile technology. Validating the organization's commitment to a free, open-source platform, users downloaded the software 20,000 times in 2011 alone.

Founded in 1976 on the basis of a vision to make family planning available to women and men around the world, Marie Stopes International is active in 42 countries, delivering reproductive health care and maternal health services to some of the world's poorest and most vulnerable people. Though the organization operates over 600 service centers, the bulk of its work is carried out in remote, inaccessible and underserved communities via a pioneering system of clinical outreach teams. Marie Stopes International has also been an innovator in using a social franchise network – clinics, midwives and pharmacies – to scale up access, assure quality and leverage economies of scale to achieve pricing savings for clients.

International Planned Parenthood Federation promotes sexual and reproductive health as well as an individual's right to make their own choices regarding family planning. Founded in 1952 in Mumbai, it has since expanded to over 180 countries, and exerted an important influence on global reproductive policy. Striving to stay aware of unfolding trends, the organization maintains a youth presence on its executive board, while new initiatives like 'Girls Decide' focus on empowering women and girls to take control of their own sexual health. Similarly, International Planned Parenthood Federation's research partnerships ensure that patients, especially those living with HIV/AIDS, receive the care they deserve. In 2011 alone, the organization's 65,000 global facilities reached over 89 million people.

One of the original international NGOs, Save the Children International was founded in 1919 to assist 'children of the enemy' following World War I. Comprising an alliance of 30 national organizations, it is now a global movement active in 120 countries and reaching 125 million people. In pursuit of its simple mission – saving children's lives and protecting their rights – Save the Children International engages in diverse and effective programming, from emergency relief (co-leading the education cluster under the auspices of the United Nations) to nutrition, education, protection, poverty alleviation and spirited global advocacy. A highly respected and visible organization, Save the Children International has only recently completed a sustained period of internal transition and consolidation.

Celebrating 75 years of working for children's rights, PLAN International was established when John Langdon-Davies and Eric Muggeridge sought to provide food, accommodation and education to children whose lives had been disrupted by the Spanish Civil War. Today, the organization has reached more than 56 million children in 50 developing countries, with the majority of its operating income derived from its pioneering child sponsorship scheme. Framed by the principle of child-centered community development – a model that emphasizes inclusion, gender equality and youth empowerment – PLAN International has most recently launched the 'Because I am a Girl' campaign to tackle cultural barriers like child marriage and gender-based violence that prevent females from completing a quality education.



42

COMMUNITY-LED SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

**Tostan**

HQ LOCATION: SENEGAL



HQ LOCATION: AUSTRALIA



HQ LOCATION: GERMANY

© ANNA VANDERKOY

© BARRY SKIPSEY

© TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL

43

**Fred Hollows Foundation**

HQ LOCATION: SENEGAL

© JENNIFER WOODSIDE

© ESCUELA NUEVA

© JOERN STEINZ/PANOS PICTURES

44

**Transparency International**

HQ LOCATION: BRAZIL

© BARRY SKIPSEY

© TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL

45

**Saúde Criança**

HQ LOCATION: BRAZIL

© JENNIFER WOODSIDE

46

**Escuela Nueva**

HQ LOCATION: COLOMBIA

© ESCUELA NUEVA

© JOERN STEINZ/PANOS PICTURES

47

**Open Society Foundations**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

© BARRY SKIPSEY

**O**n 20 December – the same day the United Nations adopted a resolution calling for a global ban on female genital mutilation – 40 communities in Guinea-Bissau, where Tostan delivers a number of educational projects, declared they would abandon harmful practices like female genital cutting and promote human rights. Although ending cutting was never one of Tostan's original goals, the Dakar-based organization has been a major driver of change in many African villages. Rather than blaming or criticizing, Tostan – Wolof for 'breakthrough' – promotes community dialogue on a wide range of topics through its 30-month 'Community Empowerment Program,' based on the conviction that genuine democracy and development must always be rooted in and emerge from existing cultural practices and local knowledge.

In Australia, ophthalmologist Fred Hollows was lauded for his commitment to restoring sight to thousands living with avoidable blindness in remote indigenous communities and abroad. Established just before his death in 1993, the Fred Hollows Foundation is expanding this activity. Rather than 'fly-in, fly-out' surgery, the organization works to build local skills and in the past five years has trained over 38,000 eye surgeons and clinical support staff. By building intraocular lens factories in Eritrea and Nepal to lower the global price of lenses (required in cataract operations) it has contributed to the production of over five million lenses, reducing the cost of surgery to as little as \$25 and helping to restore the sight of more than one million people.

**C**orruption can happen anywhere, silently exacerbating poverty, inequality and social instability. According to the latest Corruption Perceptions Index, not one country is free from corruption, with the majority scoring below 50 out of 100. There is a serious plague that must be cured. For the past 18 years, Transparency International has strived to place, and keep, corruption high on the political and business agenda. By measuring and reporting on this deleterious activity, the international movement – which includes more than 100 independent national chapters and partners around the world – has both raised awareness of its devastating effects, as well as worked with governments, business leaders, local communities and other civil society organizations to fight for its eradication.

**W**orking as a pediatrician in a public hospital in Rio de Janeiro in 1991, Vera Cordeiro was shocked by the number of children successfully treated for an infectious disease who then returned after being re-infected at home. Creating Saúde Criança to provide low-income children and families with effective long-term health care, the organization offers a holistic response to address both diseases and the socioeconomic factors that serve to aggravate their symptoms. Saúde Criança has developed an innovative two-year 'Family Action Plan' that targets specific areas of family wellness necessary to achieve sustainable good health, such as education, housing and income. Testament to its success, the model has been replicated across Brazil, reaching 40,000 people per month.

**D**riving upon her educational experiences in the region, Vicky Colbert returned to Colombia in the mid-1970s to introduce Escuela Nueva – 'new school' – a unique pedagogical model aimed at addressing the dysfunctional approach of the conventional school system, especially in rural and low-income areas. The organization's cost-effective and scalable strategy includes a focus on active learning centered on student participation, a revamped role for teachers as facilitators of cooperative learning, more interactive materials allowing for self-instruction, and a curriculum that combines life skills with academic subjects. Ultimately adopted formally at the national level in Colombia, the innovative Escuela Nueva model has since been replicated in 16 countries, reaching over five million children.

**W**hen multi-billionaire hedge-fund manager George Soros decided in 1979 to invest his money in philanthropic activities, he was probably inspired by Henri Louise Bergson – the first to describe "open societies" based on universal principles seeking the good of all mankind. Encompassing a network active in over 80 countries, Open Society Foundations operates as both a grant-making and implementing entity supporting a variety of projects – from governance to justice reform, minority rights, education and public health. A key recent initiative has focused on eliminating discrimination and prejudice against Europe's Muslims. The 'At Home in Europe Projects' documents daily experiences to identify issues that residents in Europe's urban spaces share as common concerns.



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© INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CORPS



© GAIN/OLIVER WILKINS

48

49

50

MOBILIZING COMMUNITIES TO ELIMINATE TB

**Operation ASHA**

**F**ounded in 2005, Operation ASHA has the ambitious goal of achieving a tuberculosis-free India. Motivated by the inability of her patients to receive proper care, Shelly Batra partnered with Sandeep Ahuja to develop a cost-effective treatment now delivered by 240 clinics. Having recently expanded to Cambodia, Operation ASHA continues to grow at an impressive rate. The organization dedicates significant energy to finding efficient medication delivery methods. The most successful strategy has been the 'DOTS' (Directly Observed Therapy Short Course) program, which increases accessibility for poor patients. More innovative is Operation ASHA's rigorous patient tracking model, eCompliance. A partnership with Microsoft, the software represents a key breakthrough replicable by other organizations dealing with antibiotic resistant diseases.

**International Medical Corps**

HQ LOCATION: INDIA

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**GAIN**

HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND

**I**nspired by the Soviet-Afghan war, Robert Simon sought to find a way to provide children with basic health care amidst conflict. Yet he realized quickly that small clinics were insufficient – the real problem was “how to reconstruct [an] entire medical system.” This experience shaped the mission of International Medical Corps, which focuses on the path from ‘relief’ to self-reliance via sustainable health interventions. The organization’s pillars of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and operational independence mean it is able to reach emergency zones rapidly – it was one of the first NGOs to enter Haiti just 22 hours after the earthquake hit. With 96 percent of field-based staff and health professionals drawn from local communities, the organization is committed to ensuring skills and knowledge are passed on.

**F**ounded in 2002, the Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) is driven by a simple goal: to end malnutrition. In the decade since, GAIN has partnered with governments and international agencies in 30 countries, sponsoring projects involving more than 600 companies and civil society organizations. Using population-based programs to deliver basic foods fortified with vitamins and minerals, GAIN relies on a simple strategy to reach the maximum amount of people possible. The organization’s market-based approach also includes fostering local initiative: In Côte D’Ivoire, for instance, GAIN actively sponsors Protein Kisè-La, an organization that provides affordable and fortified cereal products for infants and nursing mothers. Ultimately, GAIN’s scope is its strongest point, reaching over 610 million people.

**Top NGOs By Criteria.****IMPACT**

1. BRAC
2. WIKIMEDIA FOUNDATION
3. DANISH REFUGEE COUNCIL
4. MÉDECINS SANS FRONTIÈRES
5. ACUMEN FUND
6. PARTNERS IN HEALTH
7. CARE INTERNATIONAL
8. INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE
9. SAVE THE CHILDREN INTERNATIONAL
10. HANDICAP INTERNATIONAL

**INNOVATION**

1. WIKIMEDIA FOUNDATION
2. ACUMEN FUND
3. APOPO
4. BRAC
5. CURE VIOLENCE
6. CERES
7. RIDERS FOR HEALTH
8. WATER FOR PEOPLE
9. PARTNERS IN HEALTH
10. BAREFOOT COLLEGE

**SUSTAINABILITY**

1. BRAC
2. PARTNERS IN HEALTH
3. RARE
4. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
5. DANISH REFUGEE COUNCIL
6. HANDICAP INTERNATIONAL
7. INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE
8. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH
9. OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS
10. WIKIMEDIA FOUNDATION

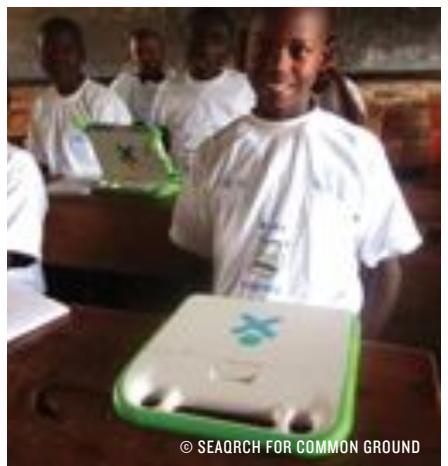


It's 18:49, the project is due today and a few ideas have come up. How can he get feedback to make the right decisions? With his company's social network.

## HyperWeek

Groups going further

Try HyperWeek for free and discover how the **new mobile version** can help your employees connect, share information, and work in brand new ways. [www.hw.io](http://www.hw.io)



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**51**

BUILDING FOUNDATIONS FOR PEACE

## Search For Common Ground



1



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**52**

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON VIDEO



31



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**53**

## Friends of the Earth Middle East



NEW

HQ LOCATION: JORDAN

**54**

OPEN-ACCESS INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

## Cambia



32



HQ LOCATION: AUSTRALIA

**55**

A JOINED-UP APPROACH TO HOMELESSNESS

## Common Ground



17



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**56**

REDUCING VIOLENCE THROUGH SOCIAL INCLUSION

## Viva Rio



8



HQ LOCATION: BRAZIL

**O**ne of the original peacebuilding NGOs of the contemporary era, Search For Common Ground works to transform the way the world deals with conflict – away from adversarial approaches and towards collaborative problem solving. Rather than focus on key individuals to achieve short-term gains, the organization draws upon a diverse ‘toolbox’ aimed at deep societal change – from media production to mediation and facilitation, training, community organizing, sports, theater and music. Presently active in 26 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East, Search For Common Ground is also committed to improving methods for measuring effectiveness in the peacebuilding sector, establishing a specialized Institutional Learning and Research Division to develop new research methodologies.

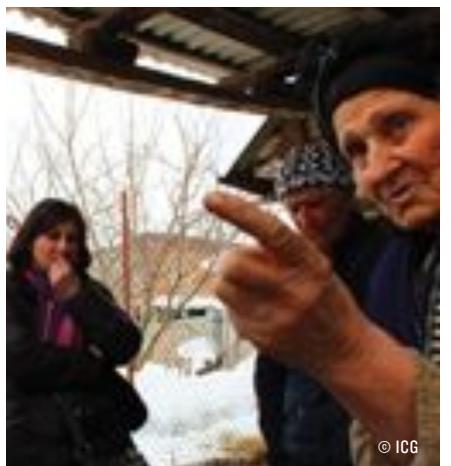
**T**he impetus for the founding of WITNESS as a pioneering advocacy organization in 1992, Peter Gabriel’s vision of video as a tool for the advancement of human rights has now become a reality. WITNESS’ role is more relevant than ever – from partnering with Central African NGOs to combat the use of rape as a tool of war, to empowering poor families being forcibly evicted from their homes ahead of the World Cup in Brazil. Committed to supporting victims in order to transform their personal stories of abuse into effective tools for justice, the organization works with grassroots groups to bring the power of video into their existing campaigns, trains activists and shapes the safe and ethical use of video online and offline.

**O**riginally founded as ‘EcoPeace’ in 1994, Friends of the Earth Middle East is a unique organization bringing together Jordanian, Palestinian and Israeli environmentalists. Convinced of the need to join forces to promote the integration of environmental considerations into the regional development agenda, the organization is simultaneously committed to creating the necessary foundations for lasting peace. Functioning as a innovative grass-roots actor reaching 500,000 people as well as a dynamic policy advocate, Friends of the Earth Middle East’s ‘Good Water Neighbors’ project has grown from 11 to 28 communities, while the ‘Jordan River Rehabilitation’ project has been so successful in shifting political attitudes the Israeli government has agreed for the first time in 60 years to return fresh water to Jordan.

**F**ounded by molecular biologist Richard Jefferson, since 1992 Cambia has sought to develop and disseminate new technologies and collaborative instruments while fostering transparency and innovation in the life sciences. Increasingly, this has meant the organization has had a significant target in its sights – the complex and closed world of international intellectual property regimes. Across a handful of key projects, Cambia is energetically and ambitiously working to democratize scientific innovation, most notably through the ‘Patent Lens’ – an open access, Gates Foundation-backed online facility dedicated to mapping global patent landscapes. While that may not seem exciting, the organic and viral nature of the initiative has the potential to redefine the role of IP in the social use of scientific research.

**O**perating in New York since 1990, Common Ground aims to address the needs of the city’s population experiencing recurrent housing instability by creating high quality and affordable housing options. The organization’s strategic framework recognizes that the chronically homeless, especially those with special needs – such as severe and persistent mental illness – require more than one-time interventions, but rather sustained support to enable them to maintain housing over the long-term, lead more normalized lives, and decrease their use of expensive resources such as in-patient psychiatric or medical care. Salvaging historic buildings, renovating them through creative financing and partnering with other organizations to develop an integrated social program model, the Common Ground approach has been replicated nationwide.

**A** city no stranger to violence, even Rio de Janeiro residents were left shaken after the bloody Candelaria and Vigário Geral massacres in 1993. Viva Rio was founded as a reaction to these and other events, drawing together representatives from various sectors of civil society. The organization is committed to promoting peace and social inclusion through research, innovative on-the-ground projects – encompassing human security, health, education and environment programs – and the design of effective public policies, including in collaboration with law enforcement officials. Following an invitation from the United Nations in 2004, Viva Rio has also exported its expertise to Haiti. What began as a peacekeeping consultancy role expanded into a multi-faceted development operation in the country’s most impoverished slums.



57

A GLOBAL NETWORK OF CONFLICT PREVENTION

## International Crisis Group



HQ LOCATION: BELGIUM



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**F**ounded in 1995, the International Crisis Group was created with the express purpose of being wholly independent from governments or international agencies. Since then, the Brussels-based organization has helped the international community to mitigate and prevent large-scale deadly conflict. The International Crisis Group employs a three-tiered approach of field-based analysis, policy prescription, and, finally, aggressive advocacy. Yet, it is the sheer scope of the organization's operations that makes it stand out from the crowd, with programs across more than 70 regions. This unique expertise has been used time and time again in especially sensitive contexts, including crisis alerts in Ethiopia-Eritrea, Darfur, Somalia and Pakistan, as well as behind the scenes support for peace negotiations in Sudan, Burundi and Northern Uganda.



58

AFFORDABLE HOUSING FOR FAMILIES IN NEED

## Habitat For Humanity



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



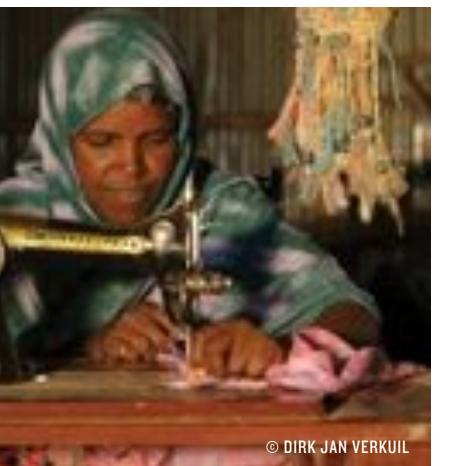
59

SELF-SUSTAINING POVERTY ALLEVIATION

## KickStart International



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



60

FINDING THE HOPE AMIDST DISASTER

## ZOA



HQ LOCATION: NETHERLANDS



61

SECURING THE FUTURES OF MARGINALIZED YOUTH

## Friends-International



HQ LOCATION: CAMBODIA



62

THE SUSTAINABLE FUTURE OF DESIGN

## Architecture For Humanity



HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**K**ickStart International began with the basic premise that "a poor person's top need is a way to make more money." In response, its founders developed a cheap and sustainable irrigation pump – the 'MoneyMaker' – to support African farmers in a move from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture. Reflecting the massive effect of a simple idea, the organization estimates that it has sold over 200,000 pumps in Kenya, Tanzania and Mali, lifting almost 700,000 people out of poverty. Beyond this innovative low-cost technology, KickStart International is also demonstrating a strong commitment to refining and improving its model. The organization is partnering with the International Food Policy Research Institute on a three-year study to measure the impact of the pump on family health, nutrition, income, education and farming.

**H**eadquartered in Apeldoorn, but active throughout the world, ZOA (formerly 'ZOA Refugee Care') began as a student initiative in 1973 offering assistance to Southeast Asian refugees. The organization now operates in 15 countries providing relief to people affected by conflict or natural disasters, and working with affected communities to recover their livelihoods and boost future resilience. ZOA's three specific fields of expertise encompass livelihoods and food security, basic education, and water, sanitation and hygiene. Where possible the organization encourages collaborative work with NGO partners, and acts as the lead agency of the Dutch Consortium for Rehabilitation focusing on addressing fragility in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Uganda, Sudan and South Sudan.

**W**ith exhibitions at MOMA in New York and dedicated glossy monographs, community-focused 'social' design is everywhere. San Francisco-based services firm Architecture For Humanity, however, has been leveraging the power of design for good since 1999, and presently comprises 52 chapters in 13 countries worldwide, directly serving 100,000 people annually. Based on a credo of inclusive design that spurs lasting change, the organization focuses on poverty alleviation, disaster mitigation and reconstruction, post-conflict community building and spaces meeting the needs of at-risk populations. It has also developed the groundbreaking 'Open Architecture Network' – the first open-source repository of architectural plans and drawings aimed at fostering knowledge sharing.



63

TARGETING EXTREME POVERTY

**Concern**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

**E**stablished in response to charity appeals from missionaries working in war-torn Biafra in 1968, Belfast-based Concern has gone on to work in over 50 countries, responding to major emergencies as well as implementing long-term development programs. Today the organization is present in 25 of the world's poorest nations, with a major operational focus on health and nutrition, education, HIV/AIDS and community livelihoods. Over time, Concern has invested in early warning systems for slow onset crises, allowing it to act fast before situations deteriorate and help communities build their resilience. In this vein, the organization has played a leading role in the 'Scaling-Up Nutrition' (SUN) initiative, which promotes improved nutrition during the first 1,000 days of a child's life.



64

EXTENDING DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY TO THE POOR

**Center For Digital Inclusion**

HQ LOCATION: BRAZIL



65

A PATHWAY TO SECURITY AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY

**American Refugee Committee**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**F**ounded in Rio de Janeiro in 1995 by 'digital inclusion' pioneer Rodrigo Baggio, the Center For Digital Inclusion aims to use technology as a powerful medium to fight poverty, stimulate entrepreneurship and develop a new generation of change-makers. The organization's innovative model revolves around a decentralized network of 'CDI Community Centers' established with local partners in the most impoverished communities in the region. Three principle objectives guide the activities undertaken at these sites: self management, sustainability and a commitment to implementing the Center For Digital Inclusion's unique pedagogy, which encourages students to use technology as the main tool in completing a 'social advocacy project' in their local community. To date, the model has impacted almost 1.5 million lives across 12 countries.

# Most Promising New NGOs.

*In the process of producing this year's ranking, four young NGOs stood out for their out-of-the-box thinking and willingness to dream big despite modest beginnings. While it is still too early to gauge the true impact these organizations will ultimately have, each impressed us with their innovation and long-term view. Though markedly different in the thematic space they occupy, Code For America, Child & Youth Finance International, Skateistan and the Akilah Institute For Women are all NGOs with a bright future.*



AKILAH INSTITUTE FOR WOMEN - P89



CODE FOR AMERICA - P81



SKATEISTAN - P86



CHILD &amp; YOUTH FINANCE INTERNATIONAL - P82



66

A HEALING INFLUENCE ON TROUBLED SOCIETIES

**ICTJ**

16 ↑

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

**D**edicated to restoring civic trust in fractured state institutions, the International Center for Transitional Justice helps heal and rebuild societies devastated by past atrocities. The organization believes sustainable peace can only be achieved via a three-tiered approach: reformation of key institutions, engagement with civil society organizations and careful analysis of recent developments in transitional justice. Yet despite this holistic approach, it is the International Center for Transitional Justice's commitment to civil society organizations that remains the most innovative aspect of its work. Active partnerships with grassroots groups have resulted in an array of solutions, including the creation of an Apartheid Museum in South Africa, and the development of a legal framework for gender based violence in Argentina.



67

RE-STITCHING THE SOCIAL FABRIC

**Interpeace**

11 ↑

HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND



68

SUCCESSFULLY ENGAGING ARMED GROUPS

**Geneva Call**

26 ↑

HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND



69

PEOPLE-CENTERED CONSERVATION

**Rainforest Alliance**

2 ↓

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



70

PROMOTING FEMALE EDUCATION IN AFRICA

**FAWE**

21 ↓

HQ LOCATION: KENYA



71

A PEACE CORPS FOR GEEKS

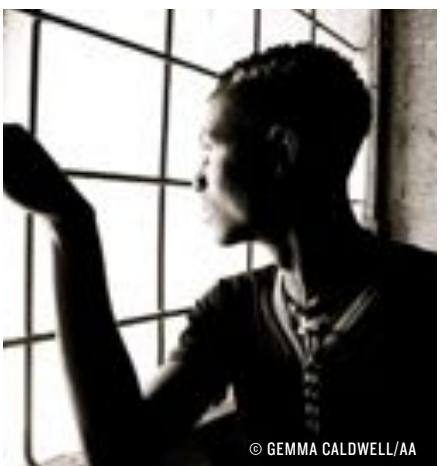
**Code For America**

NEW

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



© CHILD AND YOUTH FINANCE



© GEMMA CALDWELL/AA



© YCAB FOUNDATION

72

ACHIEVING FINANCIAL INCLUSION FOR THE YOUNG

**Child & Youth Finance**

HQ LOCATION: NETHERLANDS

Ninety percent of young people worldwide lack access to basic financial services. Yet, financial inclusion and access is critical in developing financial literacy and building positive financial behavior over time. Established by the founder of Aflatoun, Child & Youth Finance International is pursuing an ambitious ‘spider in the web’ model by bringing together a global movement of international stakeholders – from financial regulators, to banks, child rights groups and academia – dedicated to increasing the financial empowerment and security of children and youth. Simply by aligning the efforts of existing partners, it has already succeeded in reaching out to 18 million additional children – it is expected that this approach will build a global consensus on child friendly banking services and financial education.

73

TRAINING REFUGEES TO REBUILD THEIR LIVES

**Asylum Access**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES

74

EMPOWERING AT-RISK YOUTH

**YCAB Foundation**

HQ LOCATION: INDONESIA

75

THE POP CULTURE LITERACY PROGRAM

**PlanetRead**

HQ LOCATION: INDIA



© PLANETREAD



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© SOPHIE JORDI/ICJ

76

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL POVERTY ALLEVIATION

**Dhaka Ahsania Mission**

HQ LOCATION: BANGLADESH

77

A SEMINAL ACTOR IN HUMAN RIGHTS

**ICJ**

HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND

Fearing persecution or fleeing a crisis, refugees usually land first in a country near their own. There, they often experience further hardships and marginalization. Providing legal assistance and helping refugees assert their rights in their first country of refuge, Asylum Access transforms the traditional approach of endless humanitarian handouts into a sustainable, empowering solution. Refugees find grassroots assistance to navigate the legal process. Asylum Access also trains refugees as translators and community legal advisors for other refugees, delivering lasting change. To further scale its work, the organization is developing a Refugee Rights Toolkit to help advocates customize the Asylum Access model to local contexts and launch their refugee legal aid project anywhere in the world.

Concerned with the increasing incidence of drug abuse and street crime amongst Indonesia's youth, together with increasing high school dropout rates, Veronica Colondam established YCAB Foundation in 1999 to address issues of youth development. An abbreviation of an Indonesian expression translating to “loving the nation’s children,” the organization’s program consists of three connected activities: the primary prevention of risky behavior, including drug abuse and HIV/AIDS, through education and the adoption of a positive lifestyle; digital inclusion, English literacy and vocational centers; and seed capital for youth entrepreneurship, including micro loans and a job center for graduates. From reaching out to 2,000 youth per year in 1999, YCAB Foundation now benefits over 400,000 and has expanded its model internationally.

Illiteracy rates in rural India are amongst the world’s highest, and the lack of effective educational infrastructure makes it difficult to address such a persistent challenge. Hundreds of millions of people are either illiterate, or ‘neo-literates’ – possessing only rudimentary skills despite several years of primary school. Realizing the situation demanded out-of-the-box thinking, Brij Kothari devised a very simple, yet cost effective (and scalable) solution using ‘Same Language Subtitling’ (SLS) – the practice of subtitling television programs, music videos and other audiovisual content drawn from popular culture in the same language as the audio track. This ‘karaoke’ approach to literacy provides crucial regular reading practice to over 200 million neo-literates, and has prompted another 270 million to begin reading.

Founded in 1958 by educationist, social reformer and spiritual leader Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah, Dhaka Ahsania Mission has since established itself as one of the largest NGOs in Bangladesh, implementing a range of diverse programs in the areas of health, education, agriculture, technology, human rights and climate change and disaster management focused on improving the quality of life and social inclusion of the urban poor. A key feature of the Dhaka Ahsania Mission approach is its network of ‘Community Learning Centers,’ which seek to instill a participatory dynamic and partnership with those benefiting from the organization’s initiatives, and have also been used as a platform to deliver piggy-backed ‘one stop service’ points in target communities.

Comprised of an evolving standing group of 60 prominent judges and lawyers, the International Commission of Jurists focuses on promoting the rule of law worldwide. Originally funded by the CIA and established as a counter-point to the Soviet International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the organization has since discarded its ideological ties, instead focused on advocacy, policy work and technical assistance. Throughout a 60-year history, the International Commission of Jurists has remained at the forefront of human rights standards, including a key role in the creation of the International Criminal Court. From ensuring women’s access to justice in Botswana to highlighting violations of due process in Sri Lanka, it also works assiduously at the grassroots to build local capacity in the justice sector.



©DANA PALADE/WORLD VISION



© MOVEMBER FOUNDATION



© PLANET FINANCE

**78**

RELIEF AND DEVELOPMENT ON A GRAND SCALE

## **World Vision International**



HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

**79**

THE POWER OF THE MOUSTACHE

## **Movember Foundation**



HQ LOCATION: AUSTRALIA

**80**

SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE FINANCIAL SERVICES

## **PlaNet Finance**

**NEW**

HQ LOCATION: FRANCE

**W**orld Vision International is one of the largest relief, development and advocacy organizations in the world today. Established in 1950 to care for orphans in Asia, it has grown to embrace the broader issues of community development and policy change, working at the community level to help individuals overcome poverty and injustice. Strongly informed by its Christian values, World Vision International has attracted criticism at times for its child sponsorship model, its 'gifts-in-kind' approach and perceived conflicts stemming from its religious orientation. Ultimately, however, the organization's sheer scale and scope to experiment – for instance with a new LMMS accountability technology during the recent crisis in the Sahel – reflects a level of impact still beyond the realm of most counterparts.

**M**ovember Foundation's no-shave November, as well as its contingent of sponsored 'Mo Bros,' have become a well-known cultural phenomenon in recent years – Facebook is littered with budding facial hair growth. More than a gimmick, however, or mere fundraising campaign – though \$124 million raised in 2011 alone is testament to the movement's reach – the Movember Foundation's mission goes some way to addressing the societal gap regarding men's health by raising awareness of issues like prostate and testicular cancer, and depression. Similarly, the organization's global action plan involves both an annual collaborative research project, as well as 'Promoveo,' a prostate cancer knowledge exchange program. Both initiatives seek to encourage partnerships between men's health experts to inspire solutions to common diseases.



© FREE THE CHILDREN

**81**

CHILDREN HELPING CHILDREN

## **Free The Children**



8

HQ LOCATION: CANADA



© TRIAL

**83**

ENDING IMPUNITY FOR INTERNATIONAL CRIMES

## **TRIAL**



10

HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND



© MOISES SAMAN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

**82**

WORKING FOR THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN

## **Terre Des Hommes**

### **International**

**NEW**

HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND



© MICHELLE FERNG

**84**

PROTECTING ESSENTIAL LEGAL RIGHTS

## **International Bridges To Justice**



1

HQ LOCATION: SWITZERLAND



85

SKATEBOARDING AS EMPOWERMENT

**Skateistan**

HQ LOCATION: AFGHANISTAN



87

COMBATING ORGANIZED CRIME THROUGH CULTURE

**Libera**

HQ LOCATION: ITALY

© SKATEISTAN



86

REDUCING CONFLICT RISK

**International Alert**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED KINGDOM

© CAROL ALLEN STOREY FOR INTERNATIONAL ALERT



88

A 'NEW FAMILY' FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

**Krousar Thmey****Cambodia**

HQ LOCATION: CAMBODIA

© LIBERA



89

HEADLINE-GRABBING ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION

**Greenpeace International**

HQ LOCATION: NETHERLANDS

© ALEX HOFFORD/GREENPEACE



90

ENDING ECOLOGICAL 'OVERSHOOT'

**Global Footprint Network**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



91

LIGHTING UP THE AMAZON

**Luz Portátil Brasil**

HQ LOCATION: BRAZIL

© LUZ PORTATIL BRASIL

92

INSPIRING A CULTURE OF ENTREPRENEURIALISM

**INJAZ Al-Arab**

HQ LOCATION: JORDAN



93

THE MEETING PLACE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

**CIVICUS**

HQ LOCATION: SOUTH AFRICA



© AGGREY NSHEKANABO/SEND A COW UGANDA

95

TRANSFORMING LIVES THROUGH LIVESTOCK

**Send A Cow  
Uganda**

HQ LOCATION: UGANDA



© PROJECT WET FOUNDATION

96

WORLDWIDE WATER EDUCATION

**Project WET  
Foundation**

HQ LOCATION: UNITED STATES



© GENERATIONS FOR PEACE

94

A SPORTING CHANCE AT CONFLICT RESOLUTION

**Generations For  
Peace**

HQ LOCATION: JORDAN



© INSTITUTO DA CRIANÇA

97

INCUBATING INNOVATIVE SOCIAL INITIATIVES

**Instituto Da  
Criança**

HQ LOCATION: BRAZIL



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98

TOWARDS A MORE EFFECTIVE DIPLOMACY

**Diplo Foundation**

HQ LOCATION: MALTA



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**Born Free  
Foundation**

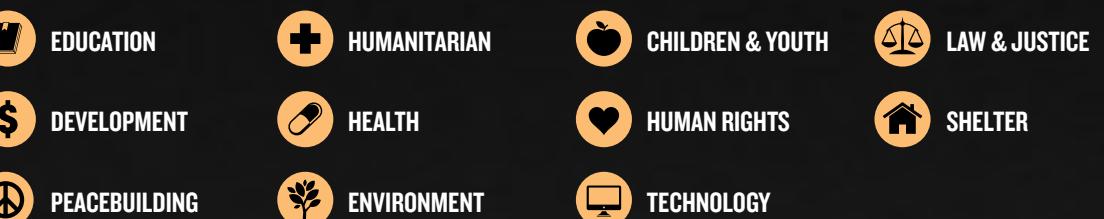
PROTECTING ANIMALS IN THE WILD

**Akilah Institute  
For Women**

HQ LOCATION: RWANDA

# The Top 100 NGOs:

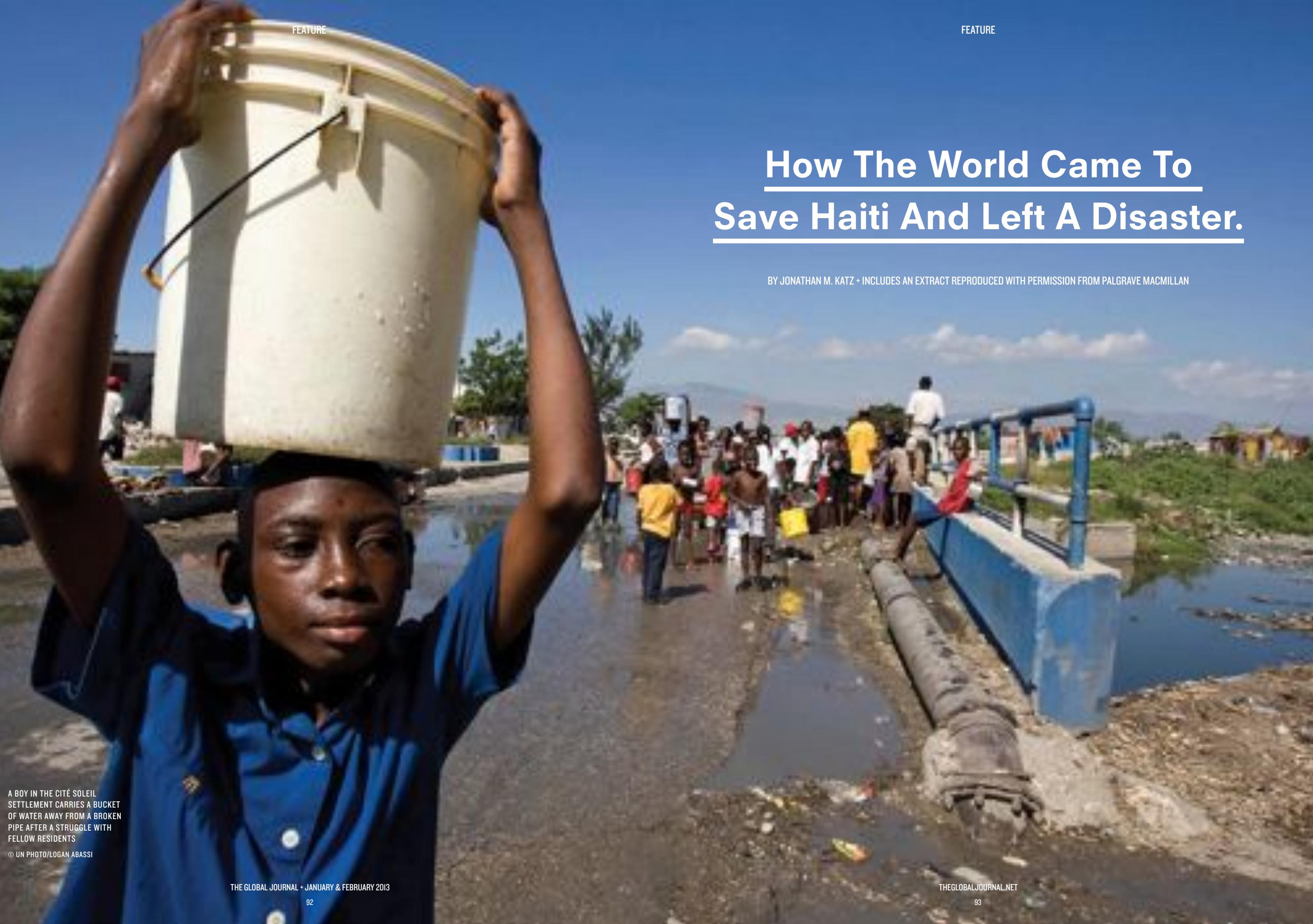
## A Complete List



1. BRAC	26. ROOM TO READ	51. SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND	76. DHAKA AHSANIA MISSION
2. WIKIMEDIA FOUNDATION	27. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL	52. WITNESS	77. INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS
3. ACUMEN FUND	28. AMREF	53. FRIENDS OF THE EARTH MIDDLE EAST	78. WORLD VISION
4. DANISH REFUGEE COUNCIL	29. PRATHAM	54. CAMBIA	79. MOVEMBER FOUNDATION
5. PARTNERS IN HEALTH	30. IDE	55. COMMON GROUND	80. PLANET FINANCE
6. CERES	31. RIDERS FOR HEALTH	56. VIVA RIO	81. FREE THE CHILDREN
7. CARE INTERNATIONAL	32. MERLIN	57. INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP	82. TERRE DES HOMMES INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION
8. MÉDECINS SANS FRONTIÈRES	33. FONKOZE	58. HABITAT FOR HUMANITY	83. TRIAL
9. CURE VIOLENCE	34. HELEN KELLER INTERNATIONAL	59. KICKSTART INTERNATIONAL	84. INTERNATIONAL BRIDGES TO JUSTICE
10. MERCY CORPS	35. WATER FOR PEOPLE	60. ZOA	85. SKATEISTAN
11. APOPO	36. AFLATOUN	61. FRIENDS-INTERNATIONAL	86. INTERNATIONAL ALERT
12. ROOT CAPITAL	37. FRONTLINESMS	62. ARCHITECTURE FOR HUMANITY	87. LIBERA
13. HANDICAP INTERNATIONAL	38. MARIE STOPES INTERNATIONAL	63. CONCERN	88. KROUSAR THMEY CAMBODIA
14. INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE	39. INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION	64. CENTER FOR DIGITAL INCLUSION	89. GREENPEACE
15. BAREFOOT COLLEGE	40. SAVE THE CHILDREN INTERNATIONAL	65. AMERICAN REFUGEE COMMITTEE	90. GLOBAL FOOTPRINT NETWORK
16. LANDESA	41. PLAN INTERNATIONAL	66. INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE	91. LUZ PORTATIL BRASIL
17. ASHOKA	42. TOSTAN	67. INTERPEACE	92. INJAZ AL-ARAB
18. ONE ACRE FUND	43. FRED HOLLOWES FOUNDATION	68. GENEVA CALL	93. CIVICUS
19. CLINTON HEALTH ACCESS INITIATIVE	44. TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL	69. RAINFOREST ALLIANCE	94. GENERATIONS FOR PEACE
20. HEIFER INTERNATIONAL	45. SAUDE CRIANCA	70. FAWE	95. SEND A COW UGANDA
21. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH	46. ESCUELA NUEVA	71. CODE FOR AMERICA	96. PROJECT WET FOUNDATION
22. RARE	47. OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS	72. CHILD & YOUTH FINANCE INTERNATIONAL	97. INSTITUTO DA CRIANCA
23. DIGITAL DIVIDE DATA	48. OPERATION ASHA	73. ASYLUM ACCESS	98. DIPLO FOUNDATION
24. AKSHAYA PATRA FOUNDATION	49. INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CORPS	74. YCAB FOUNDATION	99. BORN FREE FOUNDATION
25. GRAM VIKAS	50. GAIN	75. PLANETREAD	100. AKILAH INSTITUTE FOR WOMEN

# How The World Came To Save Haiti And Left A Disaster.

BY JONATHAN M. KATZ + INCLUDES AN EXTRACT REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION FROM PALGRAVE MACMILLAN



A BOY IN THE CITÉ SOLEIL SETTLEMENT CARRIES A BUCKET OF WATER AWAY FROM A BROKEN PIPE AFTER A STRUGGLE WITH FELLOW RESIDENTS

© UN PHOTO/LOGAN ABASSI

A WOMAN WALKS BY A FIRE IN THE RUBBLE-FILLED STREETS OF PORT-AU-PRINCE  
© UN PHOTO/LOGAN ABASSI



A MAN SETS UP A TEMPORARY SHELTER IN THE IMPOVERISHED CITÉ SOLEIL SETTLEMENT  
© UN PHOTO/LOGAN ABASSI



*On 12 January 2010, the deadliest earthquake in the history of the Western Hemisphere struck Haiti. In a country already struggling with huge developmental challenges, the disaster killed more than 300,000 people and left over one million homeless. Yet, despite an unprecedented outpouring of global generosity, the relief – and later reconstruction – effort has floundered. In this ‘Republic of NGO’s, good intentions have often gone wrong, and those driven by a humanitarian impulse have inadvertently contributed to an international response that will be remembered most for promises unfulfilled.*

Long before January 2010, when the sky above Port-au-Prince swarmed with foreign aircraft and aid caravans proliferated in the rubble dust, Haiti had been known for one of the world’s thickest concentrations of aid groups. The country’s ever-worsening poverty and proximity to the United States (US) and Europe’s island holdings, combined with an absence of major conflict, had for decades made it a place where aid workers felt needed and free to work. A persistent lack of local governance meanwhile meant that managers could experiment as they

pleased. Many of the most successful projects, by their own criteria, had long since become essential providers of public services, further supplanting and weakening the state.

This weakening of sovereignty was a bitter pill for the second-oldest independent republic in the Western Hemisphere. Snide references to the Caribbean nation being governed as a de facto ‘Republic of NGOs’ date back to at least the 1990s. Moreover, experienced aid workers themselves knew that the cycle of dependency and

despondency undermined their own goals. A persistent lack of coordination among NGOs ranging from offices of the world’s pre-eminent international actors to one-man shows seemingly improvised on the spot made an effective aid regime impossible. When in mid-2009, less than a year before the earthquake, former US President Bill Clinton was appointed the United Nations (UN) Special Envoy for Haiti, one of his primary missions was to improve NGO coordination, eliminate redundancies, and see to it that

WORKERS FROM THE UN STABILIZATION MISSION IN HAITI (MINUSTAH) AND JENKINS AND PENN HAITIAN RELIEF ORGANIZATION REMOVE STREET RUBBLE IN PORT-AU-PRINCE  
©UN PHOTO/MARCO DORMINO



coverage gaps were filled. His attempts ended in exasperation.

When the earthquake struck, longtime Haiti hands and clear-eyed aid leaders thus faced a paradox. They knew that outmoded, uncoordinated assistance had not only failed to help in the past, but also helped create the fragility exposed by the disaster. On the other hand, there was now an unspeakably dire emergency, to be followed by long-term, resource-exhausting reconstruction. To add final fuel to the fire, even more NGOs – many with no experience in Haiti whatsoever – were rushing into the disaster zone, lured both by a genuine desire to help and a bonanza of donations pouring in from shocked observers around the world. In the US alone, private donations reached \$1.4 billion by year's end – equating to approximately \$6 per American adult. Ultimately, more than \$3 billion would be donated to international NGOs after the quake, part of a gargantuan pledged total of \$16.3 billion in all. Coordination would be more crucial, yet harder to achieve, than ever.

The approach chosen after the catastrophe was to coordinate aid actors through a system of humanitarian ‘clusters’, in which efforts would be organized by subject area, such as housing or sanitation. Representatives from aid groups of all sizes and provenances – from Médecins Sans Frontières to the newest aid-group leader of all, the movie star Sean Penn – gathered for regular meetings to share data, discuss results, and agree on new strategies. The system’s top-level coordinators were in turn to liaise with deployed military and other government agencies in hopes of achieving a consistent response. Variations on this basic strategy had been employed after the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and elsewhere, including at a smaller scale in Haiti after a series of deadly tropical storms in 2008.

As I trace in my new book, *The Big Truck That Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster*, the system failed. A critical moment came at the beginning of February 2010, toward the end of the first month after the quake. At that point, most people in the quake zone had moved out of the acute crisis stage.



A MAKESHIFT TENT CITY AMID THE RUINS IN PORT-AU-PRINCE AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE  
©UN PHOTO/LOGAN ABASSI

There were no longer bodies to be found in the rubble. Medical teams still working had moved on to treating car-crash victims and malaria. To most people in the streets – where nearly every quake survivor, including me, was sleeping – it was time to try and restart businesses, and cobble together some form of adequate if temporary housing. In humanitarian workers' parlance, Haitians were moving from 'relief' to 'recovery'.

At this crucial juncture, the underpinnings of the reconstruction that was to follow were being laid. The places where Haitians were settling would be their homes for months at least. The way in which post-quake land use quickly evolved would become the new normal for years. But the UN system, foreign militaries and NGOs were largely oblivious to this reality, still stuck in the relief phase.

Outside Haiti, images of the first terrible hours after the quake remained in high rotation on television and in other media. Fundraising and the gathering of immediate relief supplies continued unabated. Donors preferred organizations such as the American Red Cross – whose \$486 million in funds raised far exceeded what an organization that, in the words of its spokeswoman Jana Sweeny, did not

"do development," could spend. "There's only so much money that can be forced through the emergency phase," she added.

The main problem, however, was a continuing lack of communication. As I recount in the book:

*Though concerns about security had proved unwarranted, most cluster meetings were held inside the security perimeter at the UN Logistics Base on the airport road. That meant few Haitians could attend. And since nearly all the meetings were held in English, few Haitians could have understood anyway. (This was explained via an International Federation of the Red Cross report with a tautology: "The language of the national cluster remained English because only English speakers attended the early meetings.")*

*The cluster participants rarely ventured into the city, to say nothing of the countryside, themselves. An early exception was Mike Godfrey, an aid worker with decades of experience who had spent the previous year and a half overseeing a USAID agriculture and watershed management program in the Haitian countryside. Both Godfrey and his rented apartment in Pétionville survived the earthquake, and unlike*

*most participants, he continued to live outside the security perimeter, making the four-hour round trip each day. At first he wasn't quite sure what role he could play. "I've been here," he remembered thinking. "I know what's going on."*

*What was going on – at the meetings and in the streets – disturbed him. The 'LogBase' [UN logistics base in Port-au-Prince] bull sessions were dominated by bureaucratic procedure. With aid workers constantly rotating in and out, many staying for only a few weeks, nearly every meeting had to burn time getting newcomers up to speed. The meetings about shelter issues rarely addressed the estimated 600,000 people who had spontaneously decongested the capital by moving to their ancestral homes in the countryside. Thousands more had moved to the relatively open land between the capital and the Dominican border.*

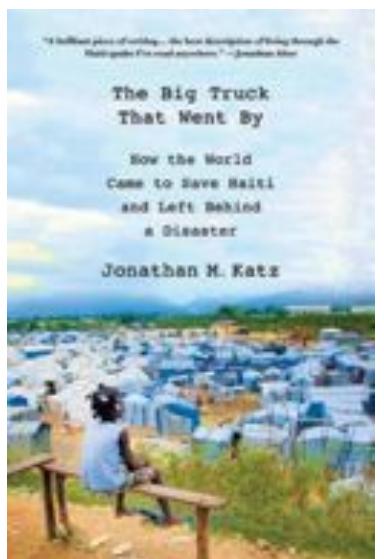
*Godfrey had overseen CARE USA's operations after the 1998–1999 war in Kosovo, when at least 1.2 million refugees were driven from their homes. Responders in the Balkans made a point of delivering aid to individual families instead of squatter camps, for fear of encouraging people to stay in them, he recalled, and followed refugees' lead when they returned to their homes on their own. If the aid effort in Haiti could*



A TENT CITY INSTALLED NEAR THE AIRPORT OF PORT-AU-PRINCE  
©UN PHOTO/MARCO DORMINO

mistakes were made at the beginning. And the result of that early failure will be felt for years to come. Make no mistake: that Haiti was let down after the earthquake is not in dispute among those who live there. While, as always, there are some NGOs that can point to successful individual projects, the overall effort has not fulfilled its lofty promise. Poverty is as dire as ever. Hunger is worsening. At the three-year mark, post-quake homelessness remains a crisis, and new housing options are not addressing the critical need for future resilience and disaster preparedness. Cholera, a disease never before confirmed in Haiti, has claimed 7,500 lives since being introduced by foreigners – with all evidence pointing to a contingent of UN peacekeepers stationed beside a rural tributary.

The good news is that Haiti's story isn't over. The earthquake proved that a mere increase in attention and even a surge of new funds is not enough. But if there are real changes in attitude and action – if responders can find ways to not only truly work with Haitians themselves, but follow the public's lead – the cycle can be broken. The real project of allowing Haiti to stand up on its own can succeed, and the NGOs can finally go home. ☉



THE BIG TRUCK THAT WENT BY  
JONATHAN M. KATZ  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN  
£17.99

# A Dictatorship's Success Stories.

BY LAURENT VINATIER + PHOTOGRAPHY COURTESY OF ALEXANDER VASUKOVICH



A MIRROR OF DISINTEREST -  
PASSERS-BY IGNORE A POLL-  
RELATED PERFORMANCE THE DAY  
BEFORE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS  
IN THE BELARUSIAN CAPITAL, MINSK.

A FISHERMAN PROUDLY DISPLAYS HIS WARES AT A CENTRAL FOOD MARKET IN MINSK.



THE AUTHOR ENJOYING LOCAL HOSPITALITY IN THE VILLAGE OF SABALI, HOMETOWN OF YURI CHIZH.



*Aleksandr Lukashenko is resilient. The President of Belarus has stood firm against the European Union (EU) and its renewed political and economic sanctions in response to his increasingly autocratic rule. In six months, he has freed two political prisoners while a dozen remain in custody. On September 23, nationwide parliamentary elections ran smoothly in an atmosphere of total indifference from the great majority of the population. Russia, for its part, supports Belarus with financial subsidies, ready to buy out everything possible at discounted prices.*

The village was still part of the Soviet Union when Yuri Chizh – today one of Belarus’ richest businessmen, with close links to President Aleksandr Lukashenko – preferred to run around in the neighboring forest rather than attend school. To get up to childhood mischief, he had to carefully avoid his family’s bright yellow home, which stood only a few meters between the school and the kolkhoz. At that time, it seems, the two intersecting streets of Sabali

in Biarozovsky district, 250 kilometres south of Minsk, were full of life. Forty years later, while the petrified Soviet Brezhnev era has disappeared into history, the village has plunged into a kind of hibernation. The school has been dismantled, and families with children have fled to the cities. Most of the wooden houses lie empty – indeed, only 70 pensioners remain. The kolkhoz holds on unconvincingly, with two or three old tractors languishing in a yard. The endless

wet and flat countryside, dotted with familiar birch trees, has become noticeably sadder. The yellow house is slightly less colorful. Chizh had to leave for Minsk relatively early, in order to commence studies in electronics at the Belarusian Polytechnical Institute. From then on, everything moved quickly. He had a chance to exercise his entrepreneurial skills during perestroika, and now heads a business empire based on the Triple holding, which reprocesses



and exports oil products bought from Russia at discounted prices. Chizh has also diversified into civil engineering, construction, manufacturing, restaurants, food production and a network of hypermarkets – the Prostore chain. He has been especially prominent in media headlines in recent times for building the first luxury Kempinski hotel in central Minsk, just behind the Circus and near the unchanged Soviet-era Gorki Park. Although associated with the Slovenian Riko Group in the context of that project, Chizh has failed, however, to escape the EU's sanction list.

Blacklisted since March, Chizh is undoubtedly paying for his close links with Lukashenko, and, by implication, for his impressive success. Yet in compensation for the European punishment, his boss has just granted Chizh a 99-year concession over his native Sabali village. Essentially, this means that every single square inch of the land where he grew up ultimately belongs to him. After years of fruitful wanderings in the capital, the oligarch has returned home. He has brought with him an immense sponsorship project focused on building a large complex boasting a hotel, restaurant, ethno-museum and a host of other infrastructure. In theory, Sabali will benefit as a revitalized rural center. At the very least, the faded paintwork of the wooden houses will be refreshed.

Belarus is not devoid of successful private companies. Chizh's Triple ranks among the leaders, but many others follow close behind. Alexander Moshensky's Santa Impex for food – particularly seafood – processing, Pavel Topuzidis' Tabak Invest, Alexander Shakutin's Amkodor for road-building machinery, or Anatoly Ternavsky's Univest-M group – with activities ranging from petrochemical exports to banking, restaurants and construction – have no reason to be ashamed. Among these business leaders, only Ternavsky has been the subject of EU sanctions. Notably, the other three have significant investments in neighboring European countries. The old Belarusian economic clichés of arms traders linked to rogue states (such as fellow oligarch Vladimir Peftiev – blacklisted) and manufacturers of heavy machinery have faded away. Now engaged in more conventional

enterprises, most 'normal' Belarusian businesses owe their success to efficient and skilled CEOs, whose first talent is to maintain close, loyal and 'friendly' relations with their unique common business boss: Lukashenko. Ironically, in the few remaining post-Soviet dictatorships, the Marxist economic model has been reversed. Political superstructures today prevail over the base.

The new bourgeois class of Belarus, owners of the means of production, have been reduced to acting as presidential 'wallet persons,' or koshelki as they are nicknamed in Russian. They

*'The two Baltic ports profit so heavily from acting as the transit point for goods imported by Belarus that it would have been commercially self-destructive to participate actively in stemming the flow.'*

cannot even pretend to stand alone as independent partners or shareholders in the national wealth. Lukashenko usually considers these individuals as simple business managers tasked with implementing his instructions. Their dependence is as prodigious as their efforts to maintain the President's confidence. Ternavsky, for instance, has been obliged to employ Lukashenko's daughter-in-law, Anna. He also sponsors the Presidential Sport's Club, headed by Dmitri Lukashenko, Alexander's son and Anna's husband. Meanwhile, Chizh seems to prefer playing ice hockey on the same team as the President. He cannot refuse to sponsor the cultural resuscitation of Belarus' birch-dotted countryside in

the south, and when, for mysterious reasons, several of his top managers were arrested, he remained silent. The new Christian cross presented recently to Sabali by a Polish historical society, commemorating the Polish-Belarusian insurrection against Tsarist Russia in 1863 – and which will hardly be a tourist attraction in the middle of the kolkhoz – has a poignant political meaning.

In Belarus, Lukashenko decides almost all matters. The 58-year old former state farm manager assumed power in 1994, and recently described himself in a widely publicized interview as "the last and only dictator in Europe." Though most infamous internationally as a result of accusations of torture and other human rights abuses – often focused on opposition figures – his political choices also determine business strategies. Chizh may have willingly agreed to allocate some money to his childhood village so long as he could also run his business according to his own interests and economic rationale. Now on the EU sanctions list, he has fallen as collateral damage in the President's acrimonious relations with Europe, entrapped within Belarusian diplomatic strategies.

For Chizh, as for most of his colleagues, there are obvious advantages in developing overseas trade relationships and increasing their presence in European markets. Yet, they are increasingly prevented from doing so. Chizh is officially stigmatized, along with other not-yet-blacklisted businessmen, and seen as guilty by association. Coping with the growing gap between attractive trading opportunities in Europe and necessary political loyalty to the boss in Minsk has proven especially delicate. No leading business figures can speak out against their President – at least not yet – since they are kept divided by astute pressures from the political and security services. Consequently, some have already opted to resettle in Russia, where inflation is under tighter control and local authorities can guarantee more sustainable economic and political conditions. But those Belarusian firms in Russia also operate within a larger market, faced with – usually – stronger competitors. As a result, they are vulnerable to becoming easy targets for



YURI CHIZH'S CHILDHOOD HOME IN SABALI, WHERE HIS MOTHER STILL LIVES.

acquisition by more powerful rivals. Ultimately, Belarusian business needs Europe.

The EU's reaction to the deteriorating political situation following dubious presidential elections in 2010 has been direct and demonstrative. To date, more than 200 people – mainly security and judicial officials – have been banned from traveling to Europe, and have seen their bank accounts blocked. Last March, 12 more individuals and 29 companies were added to the list, and their foreign assets frozen. Some EU member states, however, appear reluctant to enforce these restrictions wholeheartedly.

The vanguard of Lithuania, Latvia and Slovenia, for instance, intervened to reduce the scope of the second round of sanctions. The two Baltic ports profit so heavily from acting as the transit point for goods imported by Belarus that it would have been commercially self-destructive to participate actively in stemming the flow. Moshanski's food products and a handful of Chizh's assets related to his Prostore supermarket

chain, amongst others, have thus been shielded from the European list. More discreetly, the governments of the Netherlands, Germany and Austria have also done little behind the scenes

*'As long as Russia agrees to subsidize its small neighbor, Lukashenko and his entourage will be able to resist any European pressure or public demonstrations of discontent.'*

to oppose the determined Baltic negotiating stance. The Dutch are one of the main European importers of reprocessed Belarusian oil products,

while the latter two countries have deep business ties in Minsk and beyond, involving some significant national actors such as banks and chemical and machinery companies. The EU cannot completely shut the door on Belarus.

The sanctions policy has had limited impact, however, at least so far as the business sector is concerned. It seems that banning (for differing reasons) Peftiev, Chizh and Ternavsky, and freezing their assets, is merely the minimum action the EU felt obliged to undertake in the current circumstances. Peftiev, believed to be Belarus' richest business figure, was already within the orbit of American investigators for his troubled relations with non-recommended states. Chizh and Ternavsky, leading very similar holding companies, mainly work and prosper within Belarusian boundaries. Sergei Satsuk, Director of Ezhednevnik Zhurnal, and probably the most reputable business observer in Minsk, confirms that "Chizh's interests in Europe represent only 3 percent of his whole empire." It is likely that Ternavsky has even fewer business



APPROACHING SABALI, THE FLAT COUNTRYSIDE WILL SOON MAKE WAY FOR A HOTEL, RESTAURANT AND MUSEUM AS PART OF CHIZH'S REVITALIZATION PLAN.

interests outside Belarus. As a result, the EU sanctions have hardly harmed them.

The EU could, however, have a significant impact on other European-Belarus businesses. Moshensky, Shakutin and Topuzidis all have EU-based holdings, as do many other individuals who prefer to invest in Belarus from a safe external vantage point – a practice that is spreading within the domestic community as it helps to substantially lower dependence on Lukashenko. Consequently, through an ironic political twist, reinforcing sanctions on Belarusian businesses mainly hurts those – such as the promising young Aleksei Zhukov heading the Alyuteh Company – who are trying to escape the reaches of the President's control. The resultant impact when it comes to foreign investor confidence means that developing interests in the EU has become increasingly difficult for such enterprises. Potential local partners in external markets have no guarantee that, sooner or later, these good willed and more or less independent figures will not be hit adversely by further European restrictions.

At the same time, alternative policies are difficult to identify. Betting on strengthening the political opposition and democratic breakthroughs is not a realistic option from a European perspective. Liberal and opposition movements are deeply divided between several leaders, none of whom stand out as obvious challengers to Lukashenko. Too ideological and radicalized, most also act, in part, from outside the country – predominantly, from Poland. This split geographical base is likely to lead to a kind of muted competition between externally based groups – especially media actors – and domestic activists. Because the latter take most of the risks in a climate of strong repression, they typically also claim the most legitimacy. Meanwhile, the external groups, with greater control over communications, try to exert some influence by favoring one faction over another. Moreover, when the wives or sisters of former presidential candidates speak as if they were representing a particular group, further confusion is added to an already blurred picture.

So far, none of these movements has been able to propose a clear, effective and realistic strategy. Arguably, it is because it would be futile to call for regime change in the current Belarusian context. As long as Russia agrees to subsidize its small neighbor, Lukashenko and his entourage will be able to resist any European pressure or public demonstrations of discontent. Minsk currently receives several billion dollars from Moscow each year to buy social peace, as well as to provide minimal economic stability. The President is therefore under no pressure to sit at a negotiating table

*'The groups aligned against Lukashenko cannot count their forces, assess their audience or set achievable targets, so instead are condemned to agitate in almost empty spaces.'*

with what he and others would suggest are barely legitimate opposition leaders. Wishful thinking and lobbying for strengthened actions based on promoting European values can lead nowhere, at least in the immediate future. Even more so as the EU has never previously shown an inclination to enforce such a moral policy elsewhere. Although the new European Dialogue for Modernization, launched last April, includes a number of very pragmatic goals, it has not, to date, proven to be well managed or coordinated. Perhaps inevitably, it has also failed to deliver any firm results.

Oddly, the demands of the Belarusian opposition do not match economic and political reality. This apparent incongruity constitutes one of Lukashenko's major achievements. Clearly, deprived of any public platform

to convey their message – whether via the media, or in an open and free political or parliamentary context – the opposition cannot be held totally responsible for its failure to appear relevant, credible and legitimate. Without the means to organize and communicate, any opposition movement would find it difficult to unify potential members and exercise a political role. The groups aligned against Lukashenko cannot count their forces, assess their audience or set achievable targets, so instead are condemned to agitate in almost empty spaces. Recent parliamentary electoral campaigns in Belarus illustrate this point. The major opposition groups – dismissed as "nobodies" by Lukashenko – boycotted last September's elections to protest the detention of political prisoners and alleged opportunities for electoral fraud. Focused on the boycott issue, those opposition parties that did participate said nothing about economic issues, and hardly mentioned the traumatic currency crisis of 2011, much less propose any solutions. Unless Russia performs a U-turn, provoking a serious financial crash in Belarus, Lukashenko has ensured his political position for the next three years, while the opposition remains frozen. Well-informed independent experts in Minsk confirm that, "there is nothing more to do now than to wait for the next presidential election in 2015."

In Sabali, meanwhile, people tend to think that even if there were no more elections, life would not change. With a pension of around \$200 dollars per month, the elderly can meet all their basic needs and live quite well. Well, that is, if one discounts traveling beyond the village or eating out at nearby restaurants. Ivan, who supervises Sabali's first small ethno-museum set up by his son in an old house nearby, was in no hurry to vote. When the ballot box arrived he inserted his ballot paper in front of the two mandated officials, whom he knew very well. Voting itself meant nothing. He and his wife will be happy either way, watching their son help local boy made good Chizh to accomplish his dream of turning Sabali into a large tourist-cultural-ethnographic complex. If nothing else, their house will be repainted. ☺



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## Rediscovering Iran.

PHOTOGRAPHY COURTESY OF DANIEL BLAUFUKS FOR MACK

*A country increasingly defined outside its own borders by a single issue – the will they, won't they to and fro of the nuclear question – Iran and its people are too often reduced, despite a rich history, to ominous caricature. Another Iran existed, however, in the mind of Portuguese photographer Daniel Blaufuks, whose childhood fascination with ancient and ‘exotic’ Persia came face to face with the unvarnished reality of everyday life on a journey marked by scenic beauty and the visual fragments where culture and memory meet.*











PICTURES FROM IRAN  
DANIEL BLAUFUKS  
MACK  
MARCH 2013

**THE BOUNDARIES OF LIFE****ON BORDERS**

OSTKREUZ AGENCY PHOTOGRAPHERS  
HATJE CANTZ  
€38.00

They offer protection, lead to war, limit freedom or enable it; they have always been there and will continue to exist: borders. Hardly anything else is as socially ambivalent, as timeless and as relevant. The Ostkreuz Agency was founded when what was probably the most important border in the history of Germany – the Berlin Wall – disappeared. Two decades later, its photographers set out on a search for today's frontiers. Their pictures portray groups of indigenous peoples battling for their land in Canada, homosexuals in Palestine seeking exile in the enemy country of Israel, and the discovery of state identity in South Sudan. The focus is always on people: how do boundaries influence their everyday lives?

*On Borders* covers many borders dissecting the planet, but there are some that seem less recognized: European borders. Many European Union (EU) citizens have experienced a changing and expanding border as EU territory is extended. Most who enter the EU illegally still elect to take the route from Turkey to Greece, which leads across the Evros River or along a country road. But the days when countries tried to halt these migrants with barbed wire, police and guard dogs are over. Ever since the advent of the Frontex Agency, a kind of common EU border patrol, technology is being upgraded along the edges of Europe.

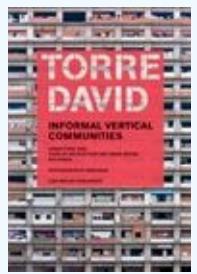
Using infrared cameras, motion detectors and electric fences –

alarmingly resembling human traps – more and more immigrants are being turned away. But still more are taking their chances. In 2011, according to Frontex's report, the number of individuals arrested rose by 35 percent from 104,000 in 2010 to 141,000 in 2011. In the future, the organization plans to use robots and drones. Walking in Athens today, one can see an increasing number of illegal immigrants wandering the streets, looking for any opportunity to eat and make a living.

*On Borders* is made by exceptional journalists using their cameras to inspire us to observe and reflect. We need more books like this.

- JCN



**TIPPING THE URBAN FABRIC**

**TORRE DAVID: INFORMAL VERTICAL COMMUNITIES**  
URBAN-THINK TANK  
LARS MÜLLER PUBLISHERS  
D45.00

The third tallest building in Venezuela stands proudly in the heart of Caracas' former central business district, Libertador. Originally conceived as a landmark commercial development, construction was abandoned in the wake of a national banking crisis in 1994, and the postmodern skyscraper – now known as 'Torre David' – became a magnet for squatters. A building in a constant state of resident-generated flux, at last count it served as home to more than 750 families living in a self-organized "vertical slum."

In *Torre David*, Zurich-based interdisciplinary design firm, Urban-Think Tank, in collaboration with noted architectural photographer Iwan Baan, have produced a vividly

illustrated paean to a fascinating – and ongoing – informal urban experiment. The book's austere opening images presage an improvised community built amidst soaring concrete and industrial residue – perched precariously above a sea of urban sprawl beating back the vegetation cascading down from surrounding valleys.

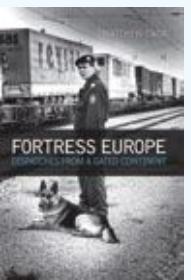
Progress further into the book, however, and one is drawn instead to what is not immediately evident from a perspective framed by external structures and architectural cross sections – the remarkable social life at the heart of an evolving occupancy. In claiming Torre David as their own, its residents have transformed the building's sense of possibility. Despite an absence of

elevators, electrical infrastructure, running water and windows, shops, services and sporting facilities have emerged alongside work-in-progress living spaces through an organic process of bottom-up urbanism.

Most evocative are a series of *in situ* family portraits, capturing the myriad ways in which those seeking refuge from the chaotic forces shaping the city beyond have sought to transform their corner of a skeletal commercial ruin into a space fit to host the richness of everyday life. In the proud faces of those living amidst even the most rudimentary conditions, one finds a common sense of humanity.

- AK



**MANNING THE GATES**

**FORTRESS EUROPE:  
DISPATCHES FROM A GATED  
CONTINENT**  
MATTHEW CARR  
HURST & CO  
£20.00

"On 28 May 1999, a Sudanese asylum seeker named Aamir Ageed died during a deportation flight from Frankfurt to Cairo, after police forced his helmeted head between his knees to restrain him." "In March 2005, a Russian couple and their son jumped to their deaths from a Glasgow housing estate because they faced deportation."

These two examples, outlined in Matthew Carr's straightforward prose, demonstrate the contradictory nature of the 1995 *Schengen Agreement* – an agreement that has opened the gates for millions of Europeans, whilst simultaneously slamming them in the face of the rest of the world. Indeed, Carr's exposé is littered with accounts of eternal detention centers, rogue coastguards, humiliating beatings and, finally, "positional asphyxia." His personal interviews with migrants themselves provide a voice to a people that have previously been ignored in the European discourse on immigration and refugees. Besides filling the reader with a sense of hopelessness and despair, Carr's work leads to the irresistible conclusion that the West must be held accountable for numerous human rights violations, as well as compelling us to question the logic of border restrictions in the first place.

Nevertheless, the book, although extremely powerful, provides little room for alternative interpretation. In fact, two glaring gaps in the narrative lead one to doubt the complete validity of Carr's account. First and foremost, he does not explore the European Union's (EU) current approach to immigration,

and the reader is left with an impression of a powerful and uncaring hegemony. His research on Greece, for instance, uncovers thousands of violations of the *Geneva Conventions* – including refusing to process asylum requests as well as abandonment of refugees at sea. What he does not mention, however, is that Greece is no longer considered part of the 'Dublin System' – meaning the EU allows refugees to process their claims in other Schengen states. Secondly, Carr does not explicitly link the current anti migrant attitude to contemporary economic realities. It is hard to imagine Greece or Spain reconsidering their border policies given the current rate of unemployment.

Yet despite these omissions, Carr's work provides invaluable information on the true goings-on within the European refugee system. His interviews with intergovernmental, international and national organizations provide a comprehensive account of the attitudes of officialdom – while his one-on-one conversations with migrants themselves give the story a much-needed human face.

- CH

**THE ROAD TO RUIN**

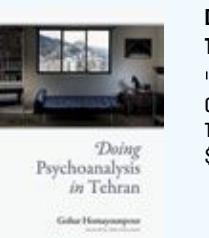
**SYRIA: THE FALL OF THE  
HOUSE OF ASSAD**  
DAVID W LESCH  
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
\$28.00

David W Lesch, a historian specializing in the Middle East, is among the handful of Westerners to have gained exclusive, private access to one of the world's most elusive and despised leaders: Bashar al-Assad. An informative and personal account, *Syria* tracks the early rise of the young ophthalmologist – once nicknamed "The Hope" – before a deluded decline, culminating in one of the bloodiest repressions in recent history.

An easy read, the book showcases the sympathy brought about by the author's former proximity to Assad, though he remains clear and carefully nuanced when charting the internal transformation and foreign power-play that accompanied the decline of the regime. Lesch is particularly successful in his description of the violent turn that has commanded international attention over the last year and a half, documenting the behind-the-scenes activities of a man who did not so much change the system as be himself changed by it.

Unsurprisingly, Lesch's outlook for Syria is as dire as his disappointment: a failed state with extremist elements situated on Middle East fault lines. Ultimately, the book offers an insightful look into a nation caught in a tragically inevitable downwards spiral. "When a domestic threat appears, there is a push-button response of quick and ruthless repression," Lesch writes. "The real story... would have been if Bashar had not pressed that button."

- CT

**IRANIANS ON THE COUCH**

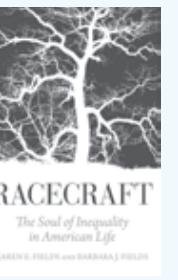
**DOING PSYCHOANALYSIS IN  
TEHRAN**  
GOHAR HOMAYOUNPOUR  
THE MIT PRESS  
\$19.95

*Doing Psychoanalysis in Tehran* is not about human rights violations, democracy or freedom of speech. Gohar Homayounpour challenges Western preconceptions of a stigmatized society by weaving a graceful narrative between biographical segments and the stories of ordinary people. Although psychoanalysis was a European discovery, through the anxieties of her patients the author shows how pain is everywhere, with the science finding fertile ground even on 'foreign' shores.

When Homayounpour lands in Tehran after a 20-year absence, she is startled initially by feelings of disillusionment, pain and ambivalence. To heal this malaise, the author looks to her master Kundera for inspiration in an attempt to shed light on the darkness of human souls. Her patients themselves become narrators, telling stories that serve to disguise unspoken realities. From the first session with Mrs N – a famous painter – we understand that psychoanalysis is a dynamic game between the analyst and patient, each coming face to face with a stranger that is not the Other, but within themselves.

Ultimately, *Doing Psychoanalysis in Tehran* draws an illuminating cross-section of Iranian society that demonstrates to the reader the common humanity shared by a New Yorker and her Iranian patients, despite perceived political and cultural differences – the "radiographic picture of the human condition" so evocatively described by filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami in his introduction to the book.

- NZ

**POST-RACIAL MYTH-BUSTING?**

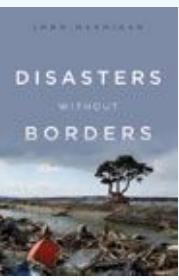
**RACECRAFT: THE SOUL OF  
INEQUALITY IN AMERICAN  
LIFE**  
KAREN E FIELDS & BARBARA  
J FIELDS  
VERSO BOOKS  
£20.00

Tackling the Obama-era idea of the post-racial society head on, sociologist Karen E Fields and historian Barbara J Fields argue in their new book, *Racecraft*, that race does not produce racism, but rather, the other way around. Indeed, they drive their point home more deeply by linking race – and its emphasis on physical difference – with witchcraft. These two concepts have been repeatedly used as 'evidence' for racial divides, despite, of course, their obvious fallacy. Race, like witchcraft, is a delusion.

In other words, the American practice of race categorization enforces racial division within society. With examples ranging from the profound to the absurd – including, for instance, an imaginary interview with W E B Dubois and Emile Durkheim, as well as personal porch chats with the authors' grandmother – the Fields delve into "racecraft's" profound effect on American political, social and economic life.

The authors' account illustrates that race categorization does not simply affect a small subset of the population, but instead engenders inequality throughout society. Their analysis of the *antebellum* South, for example, highlights the fact the plantation system not only enslaved Africans, but also enforced an unequal caste system amongst the white population. Such anecdotes prompt the reader to realize that America – to truly tackle the problem of racism – must contemplate an entirely new language to describe race.

- CH

**WHEN POLITICS AND DISASTER COLLIDE**

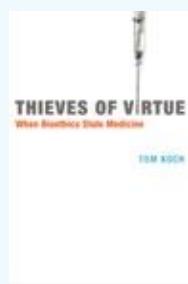
**DISASTERS WITHOUT  
BORDERS**  
JOHN HANNIGAN  
POLITY PRESS  
£19.95

As international attention on natural disasters increases, John Hannigan examines the latest trend in international politics to resolve "borderless" issues. Conceived as a textbook reviewing contemporary debates, *Disasters Without Borders* presents a comprehensive account of the failures of diplomacy in the realm of disaster management. The book views the field through an intense politico-sociological lens, from the emergence of Disaster Risk Reduction in the 1980s, to the recent integration of climate change debates into humanitarian relief strategies.

*Disasters Without Borders* provides a critical look at the political discourse of disasters as a thinly veiled disguise for hegemonic agendas. Hannigan's text culminates with a presentation of two competing theoretical approaches that explain the diffusion of norms and ideas by non-state actors beyond a Realist perspective. In a rather anti-climactic fashion, however, he finds that both fall short, but does not present an alternative, leaving readers empty-handed.

The book concludes with the "SCPQ Configuration" (Securitization, Catastrophe Scenario Building and Modeling, Privatization, and Quantification) embodying the current state of disaster institutions. Overall, *Disasters Without Borders* is an enjoyable, easily accessible read, but lacks new insight into tackling the dismal failures of environmental cooperation.

- KC

**WHO KILLED THE HIPPOCRATIC OATH?**

**THIEVES OF VIRTUE: WHEN BIOETHICS STOLE MEDICINE**  
TOM KOCH  
THE MIT PRESS  
£20.95

Born in the 1960s, bioethics was to bring “a specific kind of analytic, moral philosophy to questions of medical care and healthcare delivery.” In this well-researched book, Tom Koch explains why contemporary bioethics fails to fulfill its role – to the detriment of patients, research subjects and citizens.

Under the old Hippocratic Code, medical practitioners were caregivers of the individual as well as society at large. The code was idealistic and simplistic: some acts were encouraged and others – such as abortion or euthanasia – prohibited. But the clinical, environmental and social elements of the Hippocratic vision also provided a guide as to how health could be promoted. It was left for societies to find the balance between economic constraint and human necessity.

In the late 19th century, however, the focus shifted from patient care and communal responsibility to individual autonomy and economic efficiency. Practitioners were elevated to authoritative positions as medical judges, including the power to decide whether to give, withhold, withdraw or continue care. The new goal of medicine through fundamental research became “the definition of the acceptable person within a population whose composition could be controlled to the advantage of the state and its economies.”

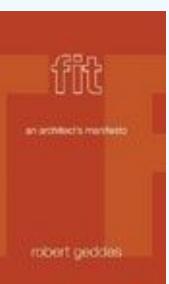
Borrowing from Confucius, Koch warns us against “thieves of virtue” – bioethicists who promote as universal a perception of medical ethics whose

end is moral action. They teach, write, advise hospitals and review boards, and generally serve as “surrogates of the general public” when ethical issues arise in practice and research. While bioethicists present the scarcity of medical services as natural, Koch argues that scarcity is the predictable result of “economic choices and political decisions made with full knowledge of the dire consequences.” Scarcity disappears when the US Congress votes to fund dialysis as a national entitlement, or when local health boards argue for urban sanitation and preventive measures against epidemics.

As political actors and social participants, bioethicists shape health policy. Their assumptions define life, health and normalcy; the care or non-care of persons depends on their perspective on the human condition. Through various case studies, Koch explains that bioethicists can – and do – regularly deny care for those with limiting cognitive, physical or sensory attributes, advocating the right to die as an individual choice rather than the right to live with dignity despite difference.

Koch’s critique is an appeal for a transformed medical ethics that is humanist, responsible, and defensible. A fundamental question to be revisited is whether we understand society as an economic enterprise in which patients are consumers, or a “social covenant in which all are able to participate... irrespective of their physical abilities.”

- AK

**FITTING IN**

**FIT: AN ARCHITECT'S MANIFESTO**  
ROBERT GEDDES  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS  
\$19.95

Early in *Fit*, Robert Geddes – dean emeritus at the Princeton School of Architecture and distinguished urbanist – notes that “what we build is a result of what we are.” Subtitled “an architect’s manifesto,” this slim but elegant volume sets out to assert in clear terms that buildings, landscapes and cities should, therefore, be designed to “fit” – fit the purpose, fit the place, and fit for “future possibilities.”

As such, *Fit* is a riposte to notions of ‘exclusive’ architecture or “architecture for its own sake.” Geddes seeks to challenge both the enduring legacy of modernist dogma – form follows function – and its diametric opposite, an architecture judged largely on aesthetics rather than its engagement with prevailing social and environmental conditions. In order to ground his arguments, the author steps the reader through a series of succinct chapters focused on the experiential role of nature, the functional and expressive qualities of design, and the legacy of architectural form.

Evidently targeting a generalist audience, *Fit*, though measured in its narrative, and peppered with literary and other references, also suffers as a result of its self-imposed simplicity. Geddes raises countless truths that help to illuminate a subject often impenetrable to ‘outsiders.’ At the same time, however, one is left with a sense of why architecture matters, but not the new beginning the book promises.

- AK

**THE CHATTERING CLASSES**

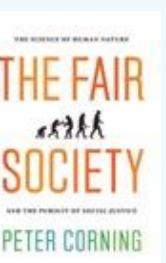
**TWITTER: SOCIAL COMMUNICATION IN THE TWITTER AGE**  
DHIRAJ MURTHY  
POLITY PRESS  
£50.00

What impact can 140-character messages have in our everyday lives and on influential social movements? These are the questions Dhiraj Murthy, a sociology professor, seeks to address in his engaging new book *Twitter*. Although one of the most used social media globally, Murthy’s study is the first that deals critically with the effects of Twitter on the “real world,” and how it has shaped our contemporary communication style.

To this end, Murthy places Twitter in historical perspective, drawing links with earlier technologies like the telegraph and radio. He then proceeds through a series of case studies encompassing a variety of sectors – from global health, to disaster coordination and, of course, political activism.

What Murthy demonstrates successfully is that though Twitter is only a young communications device, it has the potential to be very potent. At the same time, he presents this argument in a balanced way, exposing the myth that Twitter is all-powerful. Instead, Murthy emphasizes that it remains a tool, albeit one that can be used for great purposes by its (human) users. Similarly, his reflections on our “update culture” and ambient news are remarkable. The 200,000 million tweets sent each day have been deserving of serious scholarly attention. Murthy addresses this gap in a pioneering book.

- JM

**A NEW BIOSOCIAL CONTRACT**

**THE FAIR SOCIETY: THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN NATURE AND PURSUIT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE**  
PETER CORNING  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
\$17.00

At the outset of *The Fair Society*, Peter Corning, Director of the Institute for the Study of Complex Systems, asks some fundamental questions about human development and social justice. Most crucially, if we perceive life as unfair, do we have the power to change society for the better?

In this provocative new book, Corning suggests that selfishness is in fact not a natural human trait, and is instead grounded in biological, anthropological, sociological and organizational evolution.

As the basis for affirming ‘yes, we do care,’ he points to the two dominant aspects of our nature: survival and reproduction. With a moral definition of justice and fairness inspired by the works of Plato and Aristotle, Corning emphasizes the centrality of the “collective survival enterprise” to humankind, arguing this compels us to focus on meeting our “shared survival and reproductive needs.” According to the author, these needs are not only primarily physical – such as nutrition – but also mental; for instance, the desire for social security and talent development.

Ultimately, in using cutting edge research in the behavioral and biological sciences to paint a more sympathetic and hopeful picture of human nature, *The Fair Society* is an appeal for a new collective focus on equality, equity and reciprocity to heal an increasingly fragmented political and social life.

- AH

**THE RETURN OF THE VEIL**

**A QUIET REVOLUTION: THE VEIL'S RESURGENCE, FROM THE MIDDLE EAST TO AMERICA**  
LEILA AHMED  
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
\$30.00

The *hijab* is back – on an increasing number of women’s heads, and as a subject of public debate. This discussion is often premised on contentious and stereotypical images of veiled women as a reflection of Islamic oppression. To what extent is the veil’s resurgence a reaction to these perceptions? Are there different meanings to the *hijab*? What do Muslim women – veiled and unveiled – have to say about their choices? These are just some of the questions that Harvard professor Leila Ahmed poses in *A Quiet Revolution*.

Ahmed provides an interesting historical analysis of the issues surrounding the *hijab* since the beginning of the 20th century, before exploring in detail the “unveiling movement” in Egypt. She then reflects upon the revival of Islam in the United States, and the different forms of activism that have emerged as a result. A key theme throughout is the connection between the reappearance of the *hijab* in the East and West. Ahmed argues that understanding the situation in Egypt – a non-Islamist society that went from unveiled to predominantly veiled in less than 30 years – will help shed light on contemporary dynamics in the West.

Most importantly, she demonstrates how religious movements are not static. They can transform across frontiers and generations “and take root in environments where new social and political conditions open up new possibilities of belief, practice and interpretation.”

- ZK

# Five Questions.



© LUC VALIGNY

*Since 2004, former French model Isabelle Quéhé has been working to showcase the talents of ethical fashion designers and labels worldwide. President of the Universal Love Association and founder of the Ethical Fashion Show, she celebrated in September the eighth edition of the showcase event, which took place at the Carrousel du Louvre in Paris (alongside a spin-off in Berlin). More than just a spectacle, the Ethical Fashion Show has also developed into a diverse trade fair providing sales opportunities to brands focused on fostering local development via the textile industry.*

## **What exactly is the Ethical Fashion Show?**

Ethical fashion is a way of creating stylish fashion while caring about the environment and traditional craftsmanship. Ethical fashion is a mix of different choices, and involves various production techniques – it focuses on the protection of human rights, fair working conditions, environmental responsibility, and the preservation of unique skills and cultural legacies passed down from generation to generation.

## **How did you first come up with the idea?**

I love fashion. I had been working as a model a long time ago, when I met Oumou Sy from Senegal and Bibi Russel from Bangladesh. Both are socially conscious and eco-friendly designers, as well as two strong figures in the domain that would later be called ethical fashion. Both explained to me how individuals working in the fashion industry could care about people, the environment and preserving traditional skills. This made me think about how we could improve the current state of the fashion world and spread these ‘ethics’ more widely. From this was

born the idea of launching a show dedicated solely to designers and brands involved in fashion in an ethical way.

## **What are the criteria to be an ethical designer according to the Ethical Fashion Show?**

Actually, it is quite tricky to dictate which brand or designer is ethical and which is not! We try to understand the designers and brands applying for the show in their social and economic context. A participating designer living in Asia does not work and think in the same way, nor is subject to the same conditions, as his or her colleague based in Scandinavia or elsewhere. We are more into flexible criteria. We do ask applicants to fill in a questionnaire in which they can describe the materials they use, the production process, how eco-friendly they are, their social and cultural input. This information allows us to make a decision about whether or not they will be selected for the show.

## **What is the market for ethical design and fashion products?**

The market, quite similarly to the traditional fashion market, is expanding – mainly in relation to middle to high-end and very high-end designs,

with some niche products also, such as jewelry or luxury accessories.

## **What do you see as the biggest impact of the Ethical Fashion Show on haute couture and mainstream fashion and design since the first event took place?**

The situation and thinking are moving forward. I believe the Ethical Fashion Show gave an impulse and visibility to committed designers and brands internationally. We have succeeded in raising awareness about how you can be fashionable and socially conscious, while supporting and buying the products of highly innovative and creative designers. Lately, one can see that from High Street to top-end fashion, all brands are introducing either an ethical or ‘green’ element to their philosophies, and are developing either a capsule or regular green/ethical collection. The Ethical Fashion Show pioneered this trend and remains an important platform. Whether freshly-graduated students, buyers, designers, major players, weavers or institutions, the whole fashion industry comes to the show to know what is going on in this still evolving field. The bottom-line: the Ethical Fashion Show is inspirational! ☺

BY JULIE MANDOYAN

**JAQUET DROZ**  
SWISS WATCHMAKER SINCE 1738

**ETERNITY - THE ULTIMATE LUXURY**

In the 18th century, Pierre Jaquet Droz was the first watchmaker to import timepieces into China, where the Emperor Qing collected these masterpieces deep inside the Forbidden City. Which is why Beijing is part of the eternal legend that is Jaquet Droz. The Eclipse, ref. J012633202 - MAJESTIC \* BEIJING Collection

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Daniel Craig and OMEGA support ORBIS International and its Flying Eye Hospital which leads the fight against preventable blindness. The OMEGA Hour Vision Blue wristwatch honours this remarkable organization which delivers eye care to some of the world's most remote and developing regions.

Ω  
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