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News | Notes | Insights from the Asia-Pacific Region

Corporate Social Responsibility in Vietnam
Integration or Mere Adaptation?

China's Mineral and Metals Industry
towards Sustainable Development?

Reflections on Climate Change
by Artists in Papua New Guinea

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

The recently released UN Asia-Pacific Human Development Report 2012 re-emphasises the need for countries in the Asia-Pacific region to sustain growth, lift people out of poverty – and reduce greenhouse gas emissions at the same time. Despite these seemingly contradictory goals, the priorities are clearly stated: "growing first and cleaning up afterwards is not an option any more".

Indeed, questions of sustainable development in the Pacific and in Pacific-rim countries have been on the agenda of a wide range of researchers for a long time now. Whilst natural-scientific or technical topics such as Jost Wübbeke's assessment of sustainable development in China's mineral and metals industries are increasingly well understood (but by no means solved!), issues of social and cultural sustainability remain under-researched. The current issue addresses some topics in that latter context. First, Michael Fink's exploration of implications of the traditional Fijian fish drive and its contemporary adaptations discusses a traditional practice as a potential means for community development. Marion Struck-Garbe presents the work of contemporary artists in Papua New Guinea that depict the artists' reflections on the effects of climate change on their respective communities. Related topics on social aspects of sustainable development are raised by Brigitte Hamm who discusses corporate social responsibility in Vietnam and by Tess Guiney in her examination of 'orphanage tourism' in Cambodia.

If you would like to contribute to our magazine yourself – please do not hesitate to let us know.

We wish you a pleasant and informative read.

Dr. Michael Waibel and Dr Julia N. Albrecht

Pacific News

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In order to uphold scientific standards, the PN is implementing a peer-review process. Articles marked as „scientific papers" have been peer-reviewed by two external reviewers. Articles marked as „research notes" have been peer-reviewed by one external reviewer and a member of the editorial board. All other articles have been reviewed by the editorial board.
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COVER PICTURE
Labour Migrants in Binh Duong Province, Vietnam

This picture is showing labour migrants living at so-called boarding houses in close proximity to an industrial zone in Binh Duong Province, which is located within the metropolitan region of Ho Chi Minh City. In the extensive peri-urban industrial belt around HCMC, more than 500,000 workers are employed in industrial zones alone. Most of them are from 15 to 29 years old and predominantly female.

Corporate Social Responsibility in Vietnam
Integration or Mere Adaptation?

Brigitte Hamm

Abstract: Initially, corporate social responsibility (CSR) had been a movement of businesses emphasising the willingness to behave ethically and simultaneously drawing a profit from this. Increasingly however, the topic became integrated into the broader concern of how to govern the global economy. In this article, CSR is understood as an institution of transnational governance. CSR has been exported by Western actors to production countries of the Global South. Against this background one of the questions raised revolves around the relevance of the domestic embeddedness of CSR. In Vietnam transnational corporations, development agencies of Western donor countries and international organisations have been drivers of CSR. The concept is taken up in a pragmatic way using the term in regard to varying issues, thereby emphasising the competitive advantage for the country. Until today, a public CSR policy is lacking in Vietnam, and also the responsibility within the government needs to be further clarified.

Keywords: Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR); Vietnam, Private Governance; Global Governance; Globalisation

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In the past decades, the production of goods, especially in labour-intensive sectors such as the textile, garment and electronics industries, was outsourced by major brand firms to countries with cheap labor and weak enforcement of labor rights. Often these are located in Asia, with prominent examples being China and India, but also Bangladesh, Cambodia and Vietnam. To many observers, Myanmar/ Burma will be the country that offers even cheaper labor force in the near future. In competition among each other, governments of such countries wish to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) and other foreign business activities by rendering favorable conditions of production often at the cost of weak regulatory standards. However, Western brands not only ask for cheap production conditions, but under the pressure of civil society actors in consumer countries, they increasingly request the respect of suppliers for social and environmental standards, for example through compliance with codes of conduct. Thus, in their attempt to increase their integration into the global economy, governments of production countries also enhance activities to strengthen corporate social responsibility (CSR), as required by Western companies. Today, we encounter debates and policies on CSR in all parts of the world.

Source: Brigitte Hamm

Garment Factory in Hanoi, supplier to a German member of the Fair Wear Foundation

Parallel to the process of economic globalisation, these debates have emerged since the 1980s. Companies have supported this trend, inter alia because the focus of CSR on voluntariness corresponds well to the neoliberal course of the globalisation with the emphasis on flexibilisation, deregulation and privatisation (Utting, 2005). At the same time, a strong transnationally organised anti-globalisation movement that has boosted since the early 1990s took up the topic, linking CSR with demands for corporate accountability and corporate responsibility for human rights.

This article will direct the attention to CSR in Vietnam. Questions covered relate to the emergence of the CSR debate in that country. Who are the actors involved? How is CSR becoming embedded in Vietnam?

The research partly rests upon interviews which were carried out in the context of two projects during several research trips to Vietnam since 2010[1]. These were designed as structured face-to-face interviews. Interviewees were CSR representatives of transnational corporations (TNCs) in Vietnam, suppliers and representatives of national business associations. Further interview partners represented other stakeholder groups such as international organisations, German organisations active in Vietnam, civil society organisations and unions as well as ministries and further stakeholders close to the government.

CSR and Private Governance

Today, the term CSR may be taken as a catch-all phrase for discussing the responsibility of businesses in the global economy. However, in spite of the popularity of the term, a lack of conceptual clarity remains, which is expressed by varying understandings of what CSR should entail. The vagueness of the concept is extensively discussed in the Oxford Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility (Crane et al., 2008). In 2011, the European Commission presented its second communication on CSR, defining it as "the responsibility of enterprises for their impacts on society" (European Commission, 2011, 6). This most recent definition abandons the focus on voluntariness and instead underlines due diligence and accountability as comments of the Commission reveal: "To fully meet their corporate social responsibility, enterprises should have in place a process to integrate social, environmental, ethical, human rights and consumer concerns into their business operations and core strategy in close collaboration with their stakeholders, with the aim of 1) maximising the creation of shared value for their owners/shareholders and for their other stakeholders and society at large and 2) of identifying, preventing and mitigating their possible adverse impacts." (ibid.)

The shift to due diligence and accountability reflects the impact of the debate on 'Business and Human Rights' on the topic of CSR. This debate has especially emerged with the nomination of John Ruggie as United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary General for Business and Human Rights in 2005. Ruggie sees a need for adequately closing so-called governance gaps created by globalisation (United Nations, 2008, 5). This particularly refers to measures of self- and co-regulation as demanded in the context of due diligence. In June 2011, the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Guiding Principles) were launched, which are based on Ruggie's UN "Protect, Respect and Remedy" Framework. This Framework is built on three pillars, namely the state duty to protect, the corporate responsibility to respect, and access to remedy. As a consequence, the governance contributions and interaction of the state and of private actors gained further attention, and human rights were included in key policy documents on the topic of corporate social responsibility.

More or less parallel to this political development and reflecting it, CSR and private governance have increasingly become linked in the academic literature (e. g. Brammer et al., 2012; Fransen, 2012). This linkage means that normative discussions on CSR are complemented with the reflection of the role of business in society. The focus lies on the question of how corporations manage their operations globally, placing CSR within the wider field of "[…] economic governance characterised by different modes, including the market, state regulation and beyond." (Brammer et al., 2012, 7)

Characteristic for new modes of CSR governance is the inclusion of non-state actors – above all business and civil society. Decision-making takes place along vertical and horizontal levels, through formal and informal coordination and varying mechanisms of enforcement and control. In addition to state regulation and international regimes, other types of formal and informal agreements emerge with soft law instruments such as the abovementioned Guiding Principles or corporate codes of conduct. Private control mechanisms such as labelling, auditing, and certification are increasingly becoming important. Thus, state regulation is complemented and sometimes substituted by activities of private actors on multiple levels. Especially economic activities with transnational outreach are governed by a mix of state/ international regulation, market-based self-regulation and various systems of co-regulation, most often in the form of multi-stakeholder initiatives.

Brammer et al. (2012) propose understanding CSR as comprising a set of institutions in the sense of formal and informal rules, regulations and norms that enable or constrain behaviour of private governance at the transnational level. Accordingly, they perceive CSR as a means of transnational governance with influence and impact at all levels. Thereby, they distinguish between three areas. First, they point to transnational and global institutions with private, semi-private and public regulations, standards or self-commitments: Examples are the Global Compact or ISO26000. "These standards seek to institutionalize particular elements of CSR. […] This new 'public domain' […] with 'global public policy networks' […] is […] one of the most powerful sources of isomorphic pressure to institutionalize CSR in business" (Brammer et al., 2012, 15f). Also, institutionalisation of CSR takes place as corporate governance within the transnational organizational structure of TNCs, for example with the implementation of codes of conduct. Moreover, new modes of international and transnational governance emerge with Western norms being spread leading to institutional changes in countries of the Global South.

These transnational CSR endeavors encounter varying institutional settings at the national and local levels. The variations of CSR policies following different traditions and cultures have been discussed extensively (e. g., Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2007; Visser

& Tolhurst, 2010). One of the questions raised revolves around the linkage between CSR as a globally travelling concept and its domestic embeddedness. Thereby, reference is made to the rootedness of business ethics in religions such as Christianity and Confucianism. All over the world, the most often encountered traditional forms of corporate responsibility are expressions of philanthropy.

CSR in Vietnam

Especially since the early 2000s, Asia has become a prominent focus of CSR research (see Chapple & Moon, 2007). The topic is also considered as being of importance by ASEAN of which Vietnam is a member.

In spite of regional initiatives, the main proponents for spreading CSR in Asia still are Western TNCs (Debroux, 2006, 17) and up to now, the major CSR topic in Asian countries has been environmental standards (Chapple & Moon, 2007, 185; Debroux, 2008, 25). This is also the case in Vietnam with a regularly cited scandal of corporate misbehaviour that had been made public here in 2008. It refers to the violation of environmental standards by the Taiwanese food manufacturer Vedan who was accused of illegally dumping waste in the Thi Vai River from its Monosodium Glutamate (MSG) plant for about 14 years (Nguyen & Pham, 2011).

The proposal of Brammer et al. (2012) to perceive of CSR as an institution of transnational governance perfectly applies to the situation in Vietnam, because CSR is predominantly pushed by international and transnational actors. At the same time, the topic has been taken up as an important concern in the transition process from a planned to a so-called socialist market economy. Thereby, the Doi Moi renovation of 1986 with the admittance and encouragement of privately-owned enterprises besides state-owned enterprises was the initial spark for a dynamic economic development with the aim for a better integration into the global economy. The entrance of Vietnam to the WTO in 2007 was a further step in this direction. The topic of CSR is understood to fit well into this overall policy goal of further developing the Vietnamese economy to an export-orientated market economy.

Following the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce (VCCI), CSR was first introduced by TNCs who asked their suppliers to implement codes of conduct (Nguyen, 2007). In 2003, the topic was brought to the Vietnamese government through the World Bank. The country was a part of the World Bank's program *Strengthening developing country governments' engagement with Corporate Social Responsibility* which "was set up to explore the potential roles of the public sector within developing countries to encourage and strengthen […] CSR" (Twose & Rao, 2003, 1). The research focused on the footwear and garment industry which is the second largest export sector of the country after crude oil. The results revealed governance challenges caused by contradictions between internal parameters, such as national laws and codes of conduct of TNCs. Furthermore, the report highlighted that the labor inspectorate needed to become more familiar with CSR demands. Opportunities were seen in an increase of competitiveness of the involved enterprises. Also, a positive relation between CSR implementation and law enforcement at the enterprise level was emphasized. The report concluded with six recommendations to the Government of Vietnam, with the Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA) being addressed explicitly. They were directed towards enhancing CSR in Vietnam, giving guidance to buyers and harmonising international demands with national and local conditions. However, it seems that in the following years MOLISA did not take over an active role in this respect, and up to now one major characteristic of CSR in Vietnam is the lack of a coherent public CSR policy. Challenges may be the lack of a respective legal foundation, weak law enforcement and also corruption may be hindering the development of such a policy. Today, there are attempts by the government to enhance CSR through laws such as the labor code and the reform of the union law. It also seems that TNCs and their associations such as the European and American Chambers of Commerce more and more address the Vietnamese government not only to establish a business-friendly surrounding for doing business in the country, but also raise social issues such as decent wages as a means against the increasing number of wild cat strikes.

At present, the major public actor with respect to CSR seems to be the VCCI. However, also the VCCI appears as a weak actor for entrenching CSR, partly because of a lack of external funding and also corruption may be an issue. Nevertheless, the VCCI is active in many topic-related international initiatives.

The Global Compact Network Vietnam (GCNV), for example, was launched in 2007 as the cooperation of the United Nations (UN) and the VCCI. This endeavor was supported by the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECI) and Unilever Vietnam. According to the official website the GCNV has the goal "to be the national corporate social responsibility centre of excellence". Also, according to the website, the GCNV had "over 95 active members, consisting of national and international companies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), academic, United Nations (UN) and government agencies" in 2011. While the network was growing until 2010, it seems to be stagnating since then. Moreover, the UNDP recently withdrew its support. It seems that up to now the GCVN cannot take over the role of facilitator of CSR activities in Vietnam.

An important international initiative to spread the idea of CSR among Vietnamese enterprises is the project of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) *Helping Vietnamese SMEs Adapt and Adopt CSR for Improved Linkages with Global Supply Chains in Sustainable Production*. It is financed by the European Union and one important counterpart from the Vietnamese side again is the VCCI. The aim of the project is to raise awareness and entrench CSR standards in small and medium enterprises in Vietnam, thus enhancing their competitiveness towards global buyers. In order to reach this aim, UNIDO is cooperating with universities, ministries, civil society organisations and local networks.

Also other development agencies of Western donor countries and international organisations have initiated projects to enhance CSR in Vietnam, and often VCCI is an important partner. A very recent initiative that is financed by the US State Department is of the Fair Labor Association (FLA), a multi-stakeholder initiative in the USA with transnational outreach. FLA and VCCI agreed to a project to enhance

Source: Michael Waibel 2008

In Vietnam, labour migrants are often suffering from precarious employment- and housing conditions

social standards in 50 garment factories, who are suppliers of big Western brand firms. Beside these factories and the buyers also MOLISA and the Vietnam General Confederation of Labour (VGCL) are partners in the project.

Similar to the VCCI the VGCL is more or less a government body. While some deplore that VGCL is not acting as a trade union standing up for workers' rights, others also see a positive development because VGCL branches are increasingly cooperating with unions from Western countries thereby taking up the topic of CSR in order to strengthen labour rights. Moreover, the government seems to be willing to grant the unions more autonomy via the reform of trade union law, which may strengthen their role as stakeholder for workers' interests (Chan & Wang, 2003).

According to the Bertelsmann Stiftung (2007, 182) the incorporation of further external nonstate actors into agenda-setting, such as NGOs, is also important for the enhancement of CSR in the country. In addition to transnational NGOs such as OXFAM, national NGOs play an increasing role in the institutionalisation of CSR. Mostly, they are networking with Western transnational NGOs. An example is the Center for Development and Integration (CDI) which is also an active promoter of the 'Business and Human Rights' discourse to Vietnam.

While these various transnational activities are meant to strengthen CSR as a mode of governing the Vietnamese economy for the purpose of global market integration, we find many expressions of philanthropy as more traditional commitments of business to the communities and the overall society. It seems that these two types of CSR more or less coexist. However, the tradition of philanthropy may be a fertile soil for the reception of CSR in the Vietnamese society in the future.

Conclusion

Up to now there scarcely existed empirical research on CSR governance in Vietnam. This article intended to make a very first step in this direction by looking at the various actors involved and focusing on the transnational dimension of CSR governance. Further empirical research of how CSR governance in Vietnam functions is needed. Looking at Vietnam, we encounter increasing activities of and for enhancing CSR. Predominantly, this has been driven by Western actors – TNCs, development agencies and transnational NGOs. The proposal of Brammer et al. (2012) to understand CSR as an institution of transnational governance fits well to understand the approach to CSR in Vietnam. We encounter international projects and initiatives, which are partly set up in the form of multi-stakeholder initiatives. At the same time the open question for further empirical research refers to the Vietnamese ownership of these initiatives.

It seems there is a rather pragmatic reception of Corporate Social Responsibility in Vietnam because Western buyers ask for it, funding is being provided to enhance the topic at the political level and as a research focus, and furthermore an overall competitive advantage in the global economy is expected. Up to now however, there is no clear responsibility for CSR within the government. More or less parallel and scarcely linked is a traditional focus on philanthropy or community investment. Following Visser (2010, XXV) this is typical for developing countries and often goes hand in hand with a mere superficial adaptation of Corporate Social Responsibility as a marketing strategy.

Participants at the CSR-UNIDO-Workshop in Hanoi, December 2011 (Source: Florian Beranek)

Endnotes

[1] From 2010 to 2011, the author was head of the research project "Social Market Economy: Potential for Poverty Reduction and the Development of Labour Rights in Vietnam. A Vietnamese-German Research Cooperation". It was financed by Misereor, the German Catholic Bishops' Organisation for Development Cooperation. In the course of this project, a research cooperation with the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences (VASS) on the topic of CSR has been established. The author has continued her work on labor conditions in the garment industry in Vietnam as head of her current research project "Human Rights, Corporate Responsibility and Sustainable Development".

[2] See http://www.csr-weltweit.de/en/laenderprofile/profil/vietnam/index.nc.html (30th April, 2012).

[3] According to the Financial Times the number of wildcat strikes doubled in 2011. http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/67380b5c-427e-11e1-97b1-00144feab49a.html (24th January, 2012).

[4] See http://globalcompactcritics.blogspot.com/2007/09/un-global-compact-network-launched-in.html (18th April, 2012).

[5] See http://www.globalcompactvietnam.org/ (18th April, 2012).

[6] See http://www.fairlabor.org/our-work/special-projects/project/promoting-sustainable-corporate-social-responsibility-vietnam (04th May, 2012).

[7] Examples are Tencati et al. (2008), ILSSA (2004) and UNIDO (2010).

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‘Orphanage Tourism’ in Cambodia
When Residential Care Centres Become Tourist Attractions

Tess Guiney

Abstract: Cambodia’s recent history of instability has garnered it international notoriety as a place of genocide, corruption and insecurity. Currently, this perception of Cambodia has resulted in an influx of tourists seeking to volunteer at and visit orphanages throughout the country hoping to combat the perceived poverty and suffering. With only 21 state-run orphanages in Cambodia the remaining 248 (although it is potentially even more) rely significantly on overseas donations with many advertising and heavily encouraging ‘orphanage tourism’. Although touted as an altruistic, beneficial experience, awareness of the darker side of ‘orphanage tourism’ has recently grown and the negative impacts that such practices can have on a vulnerable section of society have become evident. Orphan numbers in Cambodia are at their lowest point in decades, whilst orphanage numbers have undergone a 76 per cent increase in the last five years, coinciding with a 76 per cent increase in tourist numbers. This research investigates the forms that ‘orphanage tourism’ takes in Cambodia and the impacts of this popular phenomenon on those who are purported to benefit: orphanages and orphans.

Key Words: Orphanage tourism; ‘voluntourism’; Cambodia; orphans

[Submitted as Scientific Paper: 12 March 2012, Acceptance of the revised reviewed manuscript: 2 May 2012]

‘Orphanage tourism’ (visiting, volunteering and performances at orphanages for tourists) has become a burgeoning tourism form in countries throughout the world, however, it is yet to undergo rigorous examination in existing literature. This research focuses on the interaction between tourists and orphanages in Cambodia which, with its history of instability, has become an important site for voluntourism and poverty tourism, of which orphanage tourism is a dominant form. This article seeks to illustrate the pervasiveness of orphanage tourism in Cambodia and the significant impact it is having on those centres participating. Firstly, the methodology of this research will be explained before moving on to examine the existing literature and the gaps that this research seeks to fill. A brief outline of tourism in Cambodia is then given before moving on to examine the form that orphanage tourism in Cambodia takes. Finally, the impacts (both positive and negative) of orphanage tourism will be examined to illustrate the significance of such a phenomenon in a nation such as Cambodia.

School class close to Siem Reap © Reinhold Waibel 2010.

Methodology

The research methodology for this project was qualitative in nature. The constructivist component of qualitative methodology is particularly relevant to my research topic, as a significant portion of my data collection will focus on personal opinion and perception about volunteer tourism and Cambodia as a destination. These are not objective accounts, but rather the impressions and interpretations of specific people (see Sarantakos, 2005). The orphanages interviewed differ greatly from each other making quantitative data collection impossible as not all parameters are the same. Semi-structured interviews as well as focus groups were conducted due to their usefulness in determining opinions and information about various orphanages and about volunteer experiences. They also allowed flexibility as not all questions were applicable in all situations. Complete anonymity of both representatives and orphanages will be maintained throughout this article as it is not my objective to give a roadmap of unscrupulous organisations in Cambodia; also I was concerned that without complete anonymity many issues would not be freely discussed.

Interviews and focus groups with 42 key informants were conducted from March until May 2011. These key informants included representative from fifteen different orphanages (22 orphanage representatives, sixteen volunteers), a spokesperson for Friends International (who work with marginalised urban children and youth), and three representatives for a responsible tourism organisation in Siem Reap. Several internet searches identified the majority of orphanage key informants, although several were identified through snowball sampling, as was the responsible tourism organisation in Siem Reap. Volunteers were identified when visiting different orphanages and interviewing volunteers present during those visits. Due to the web-based method used to identify orphanages there could be a particular bias as it does not include those which do not have a website, and therefore potentially favours those which have larger tourism programmes, however, due to the difficulties in locating orphanages this was unavoidable. The bulk of the orphanages visited were in the main tourist areas of Siem Reap, Phnom Penh, and one from Battambang. Nevertheless, one was from Takeo and another from the surrounding Takeo area which are more removed from the main tourist trail. However, it is intended that this will be extended in 2012 during a second research trip to include a wider range of orphanages, including more in rural areas.

Existing literature

Tourism since the 1980s has diversified greatly and there has been an increased interest in alternative tourism options (Callanan & Thomas, 2005). Niche tourism approaches are often seen as more sustainable, less environmentally or socially damaging and more responsive to tourist and host needs (Robinson & Novelli, 2005; Wearing, 2004). Callanan and Thomas (2005, 183) depict the late 1990s and early 2000s as experiencing the 'volunteer tourism rush' and this has led to tourist activity in previously unknown areas, as has poverty tourism which has taken tourism's reach into previously avoided areas. 'Orphanage tourism', encompassing both volunteer tourism and poverty tourism, is by no means unique to Cambodia; it is occurring throughout nations in Africa, Latin America and Asia (Birrell, 2011; Richter & Norman, 2010; Kelto, 2010). However, it is an under-researched area within the existing literature. Although a vast amount of literature focuses on volunteer tourism (see Wearing, 2001; Guttentag, 2009; Tomazos & Butler 2009, 2010; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Lyons & Wearing, 2008 to name but a few) there has been a failure to examine orphanage tourism to a significant extent.

The most substantial study on orphanage tourism comes from Richter and Norman (2010) in their examination of 'AIDS orphan tourism' in sub-Saharan Africa. They note that the global perception of an AIDS orphan crisis has created a recent explosion of tourist attention and predominantly western desire to travel and help care for these children. The main concerns raised by Richter and Norman (2010) relate to the impact that institutional care and western visitors has on the social and psychological development of the children. This is a rigorous examination of orphanage tourism and adds significantly to literature on volunteer tourism, however, it appears to be the only existing academic examination specifically focusing specifically on orphanage tourism. This gap fails to reflect that community welfare programmes, including orphanage volunteering, is the most popular form of volunteer tourism (Callanan & Thomas, 2005).

Other literature does examine orphanage tourism in some form. Lacey et al (2012) examine the potential for understanding the 'other' that can be gained while volunteering at an orphanage. Tomazos and Butler (2008) also use an orphanage volunteering project as their case study, though it is not to specifically examine orphanage volunteering but rather the motivation to volunteer. Barbieri et al (2011) similarly use a case study of volunteering at an orphanage to illustrate the need for greater managerial actions and transparency; however, it is limited in its actual examination of the orphanage and the orphans themselves. Also, although volunteering is an integral part of orphanage tourism, my study seeks to go further than this to also examine orphanage visits and cultural performances which have transformed many orphanages from homes into tourist attractions and are reflective of poverty tourism in many countries. In addition, no data currently exists about orphanage tourism in Cambodia specifically.

My research seeks to examine four key questions:

1. What are the primary forms of tourism interaction with orphanages?
2. How are tourist interactions with orphanages regulated and are there standards in place?
3. How is Cambodia, as a tourist destination, perceived and framed and what contribution do orphanages make to this?
4. What are the benefits and problems associated with tourist interactions with orphanages?

I feel that these research questions produce a well-rounded basis for an examination of orphanage tourism in Cambodia. It considers both the rationale of people participating in such tourism as well as the form it takes and the benefits and consequences it causes.

'Orphanage Tourism' in Cambodia

The tourism industry is Cambodia's second largest economic contributor,

amounting to 16 per cent of GDP in 2006; with over two million arrivals per year since 2007 this is on the increase (Chheang, 2008). "The Greater Mekong Subregion has been identified as the fastest growing tourism destination in the world [...] after receiving over 1 million arrivals in 2004 Cambodia's market is expected to continue to grow by 20-30 per cent growth for the coming years". Cambodia is perceived as an exciting and exotic destination, and as an alternative to traditional destinations such as Europe (Hitchcock et al., 2009). With the stagnation of Cambodia's traditional industries, such as textiles, tourisms' influence continues to increase (Hitchcock et al., 2009).

Source: Tess Guiney

Daily cultural performance at a Siem Reap orphanage

Cambodian orphanages are regulated under the Ministry of Social Affairs, Veteran and Youth Rehabilitation (MOSVY). Currently, orphanages must be registered with MOSVY and therefore follow minimum standards, created in 2008, to continue operation. The minimum standards required of orphanages relate to the provision of medical and dental care along with three meals a day, clean drinking water, regular clothing and other necessities such as sleeping materials and hygiene materials such as tooth brushes and first aid kits. There are also requirements that children are given the opportunity to participate in community, recreation, leisure and sporting opportunities, to practice religion etcetera. Children are to be allowed contact and visits from their families and be able to access counselling if they have come from traumatic backgrounds. Children must also be provided with at least nine years of schooling. There are also requirements for the buildings of orphanages as well as criteria for the management and the caregivers of such centres (MOSVY, 2008). However, from key informant interviews in 2011 it appeared that some orphanages were not visited regularly or that standards were checked thoroughly. One orphanage director even commented that orphanages that were not registered with MOSVY did not have to follow their standards and were not under their jurisdiction, meaning that they could not be closed down by MOSVY.

Although officially registration requires minimum standards of care the situation in different orphanages differs significantly due to the amount of funding that different orphanages receive. There is no government support for orphanages in Cambodia; therefore, orphanages are heavily reliant on oversees donations/charities for funding, leading the way for orphanage tourism. Currently, there is no overarching government policy relating to orphanage tourism in Cambodia. Therefore, different orphanages have their own policies regulating tourists. However, this is set to change with a draft law being created to regulate orphanage tourism.

Visitors were accepted at all but one of the fifteen orphanages interviewed and volunteers were encouraged at all but two. The number of visitors and volunteers varies significantly between the fifteen orphanages interviewed, some receiving hundreds of visitors a month and some receiving very few or none. Many orphanages actively encourage visitors and volunteers by advertising in local hotels, guesthouses or shops, or through distributing pamphlets, some even sending orphans to busy tourist areas, especially in Siem Reap, to encourage donations and visits. Others are even mentioned in Lonely Planet Cambodia, on www.tripadvisor.co.uk or similar travel guides. All the orphanages visited have a website, although this could be a reflection of my research methodology and its limitations, several also have a Facebook or other social media pages.

Volunteers are generally short term, a few days to a few weeks, although some do stay long term. Volunteers' roles differ between orphanages, primarily teaching English or other skills, they take activities or play with the children. Other orphanages use volunteers to increase staff capacity rather than to educate the children or for specific needs such as one which sought a volunteer for survival swim coaching and another for piano lessons. For visitors, some have visiting hours that are more about education than interaction with children and some do not allow photography. Others I spoke to said they continued orphanage tourism out of necessity and would prefer to stop if they had alternative funding.

Some orphanages host cultural performances, some every night, or for visitors giving donations. Increasingly, big hotels also ask orphanages to perform for their guests as they recognise its appeal to tourists. Some orphanages receive several hundred visitors per month, the busiest appear to be those which host performances, others had received only five in 2010, and another enforced a policy of absolutely no visitors at their orphanage. The majority of centres take a relaxed approach to visitors, allowing 'walk-ins' at any time of day. However, a few take a more structured approach, with visiting hours or organised visits. Similarly, volunteer numbers vary greatly. Two of the orphanages visited have a strict no volunteers policy, three others only allow longer-term volunteers, those willing to stay a minimum of either three or six months. However, the remaining ten orphanages visited allowed volunteers for any length of time, often with no arrangements made prior to arrival. The orphanage of key informant 7, possibly the most popular orphanage in Cambodia for volunteers, received 600 volunteers in the two years prior to my interview. However, others sta-

ted that they had received three the previous year and none so far that year (interviewed in May 2011).

'Orphanage Tourism' impacts

Orphanage volunteering is often described both by sending organisations and orphanages as a meaningful, worthwhile experience which helps those who are disadvantaged in 'developing' nations. However, recent newspaper articles, documentaries and campaigns now indicate that the negative impacts of 'orphanage tourism' can be devastating. This section will outline the main positives and negatives of orphanage tourism in Cambodia.

The most frequently stated benefit of 'orphanage tourism' was the financial benefit from volunteers and visitors; many orphanages stated that without 'orphanage tourism' they would be unable to continue their work. Key Informant 1, an orphanage director, stated simply that

"If no tourists, no donation to this orphanage there will be no staff and no children, no food, no everything here."

Visitors and volunteers donate both at the time of their visit and in the future, some even raising money from friends, family and fundraisers in their own countries. Many volunteers and visitors went on to sponsor large building projects, to provide equipment or to sponsor children. Therefore, it is clear that 'orphanage tourism' is a significant form of revenue in a nation often defined by its poverty. With significant leakage of money overseas being a common occurrence of tourism in the 'developing world' (see Scheyvens, 2011) it could be argued that 'orphanage tourism' is a more responsive and responsible form of tourism because the money is going to local organisations rather than to international actors. Indeed the majority of orphanages interviewed stated that they avoided large international gap year or volunteer sending organisations because the money did not go to the orphanage projects, but rather to the sending organisation.

There was also recognition that the educational opportunities provided by the volunteers were vital, not only for the children but also for increasing staff capacity. In a country such as Cambodia where the education system is described as inadequate, corrupt or costly for poor families, education is seen as a vital tool to overcome poverty but one that many struggle to achieve (Brinkley, 2011). The opportunity for children to learn English was the primary educational benefit noted, with English seen as the route for employment opportunities. The ability to acquire free, native English speakers is seen as invaluable: Key Informant 3, an orphanage spokesperson, stated

"I think you can't beat having native speakers to practice with."

and this was repeated by multiple key informants. Several key informants also said that volunteers were able to role model different career options for the children and provided knowledge of the world and other cultures that Cambodian orphans would otherwise be unable to witness. Similarly, some stated that 'orphanage tourism' helps to raise awareness and understanding of the Cambodian culture, with many volunteers interviewed stating that they felt they were able to experience the 'real Cambodia' and gain more insight than conventional tourists. Simpson (2004, 688), conversely, is pessimistic of the knowledge gained by volunteering, concluding that

"The limited critical engagement within gap year projects means that students are able to confirm, rather than challenge, that which they already know."

This appears to perhaps ring true in Cambodia, with many stereotypical descriptions repeated by key informants, such as the oft-repeated 'poor

but happy' cliché often associated with Cambodia. It is clear that many support and encourage 'orphanage tourism' and that it could be providing an important service for the children in Cambodia.

Nevertheless, increasingly awareness has risen about the negative impacts that 'orphanage tourism' can have on the vulnerable children in these centres. The most often repeated concern from key informants was the child protection issues that having tourists in orphanages raised, specifically paedophiles which are a major concern in Cambodia. In 2005 Coates stated that up to 22 per cent of all tourists to Cambodia came for sex, and this statistic, or similar, was reiterated throughout interviews with orphanage directors. Key Informant 2, an orphanage director, stated that he has been approached by a Westerner passing his orphanage asking if it allowed sex with the children, clearly illustrating that indeed this is an issue in Cambodia, and one that is unlikely dealt with in such an upfront manner on most occasions.

Similarly, questions are being asked about whether some forms of orphanage tourism were actually exploiting those children it professes to help. Such concerns generally related to the exploitation of children by the centres themselves. One concern which UNICEF and Friends International have become increasingly concerned about is some orphanage actors as ""unscrupulous people"...engaging in a charity business and using children to make money" (Carmichael, 2011a). Key informants reported cases of children kept in states of poverty to engender continued donations from tourists whilst directors were receiving significant donations for the children (Key Informant 19).

From key informant interviews cultural performances were identified as a particularly problematic practice. Some stated performances were similar to monkeys having to dance for their food, or dolphins performing in shows. One orphanage director stated that one child within their orphanage had been moved by her family to his orphanage because she was so unhappy having to dance every night (Key Informant 35). Another key concern was the practice of orphanages sending children around Pub Street to encourage donations or visits to their orphanage with Key Informant 3, an orphanage spokesperson, stating:

"If you're taking children off the streets...and they're no longer having to beg, what are the ethics of having kids out there at 10 o'clock at night dancing and inviting you to come and visit their orphanage? How is that any different to them being out there at 10 o'clock at night asking for a dollar from a tourist? And how is it any safer?"

Another serious potential problem identified is that 'orphanage tourism' can actually separate children from their parents with allegations that some orphanages seek out poor families, in some cases even offering money, if they send their children to orphanages. Coates (2005, 8) writes

How do I explain that some orphans have parents, some kids are stolen, some children are sold for a small sum? Sometimes a broker from Phnom Penh will appear in a village and tell a young mother:

"Give me the kid. I'll pay you $50, and you'll get pictures of the child's happy new life overseas."

And the broker will go away, with the kid in her arms, and the mother will think it's all for the best. But she starts to wonder when the letter's don't come – they never arrive – and she never hears another word of her child

Although writing primarily about the trade in children for international adoptions, similar practices have arisen due to the high demand for orphans as a tourist attraction. The Indepen-

Dance at Siem Reap orphanage

Source: Tess Guiney

dent article by Carmichael (2011b) states that the UNICEF representative in Cambodia "Mr Bridle said even those tourists and volunteers who visited with good intentions were sustaining a system that was separating children from their families." The article notes that many aid organisations in Cambodia "suspect that those running homes for children are enticing more parents to give up their children with promises of food, shelter and, crucially in Cambodia, education" (Carmichael, 2011b). In addition, orphanages are seen as 'sexy' for donors and tourists but can actually divert resources and attention from community development projects which keep children in homes and can be seen as taking jobs from locals, increasing poverty. One tourist I spoke with had recently visited an orphanage and stated that he was concerned with some of their projects as the orphanage stated that it was helping some of the children's families by giving them donation or animals, however, he feared that potentially it could have been in exchange for letting their children live at the orphanage.

There can also be numerous psychological issues due to lack of privacy with children taking on the persona of a performing animal as they may internalise the perception of difference which orphanage tourism encourages (Key Informant 8, Friends International Representative). Literature and interviews with key informants suggest that attachment issues are created due to the inconsistency of the bonds created which is in keeping with Richter and Norman's (2010) findings. Multiple key informants, both orphanage directors and volunteers, raised concerns about the potential loss that children feel when volunteers leave and the possibility that they will then be unable to form healthy relationships later in life.

Conclusion

Founded on perceptions of poverty and of aiding 'others' in 'developing' countries 'orphanage tourism' has become a significant tourist form in Cambodia, alongside many other 'developing' nations. This research clearly illustrates the prevalence of orphanage tourism in Cambodia. Many orphanages rely heavily on tourists for both revenue and teachers and claim that it is of great benefit for the children within their centres. Others, however, claim that although primarily founded on the best of intentions there can be many negative impacts from orphanage tourism, especially if there are no regulations in place. The possibility of creating lasting attachment issues, the internalisation of notions of difference, separating children from their families and contributing to corruption in some centres can have significant and long lasting effects. However, although orphanage tourism has been increasingly labelled as problematic it is unclear what could happen to the children in these centres if orphanage tourism ceased and centres were unable to operate which makes this an extremely complicated issue.

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The Beijing 798 Art Zone: A Maturing Creative Cluster?

Michael Waibel & Philipp Zielke

The Beijing 798 Art Zone (北京798艺术区) is certainly the most famous cultural district within China. It is located on a spacious factory site of a former military-industrial project from the 1950s. At that time, it was realized with the support of architects from East Germany, who were responsible for designing many buildings in Bauhaus style.
Already during the late 1990s, avant-garde Chinese artists and designers started to move into the mostly derelict area. The site soon became the blossoming epicenter of contemporary art in China. It was finally saved from bulldozing before the Beijing Olympic Games and has turned into a popular urban leisure area not only for the emerging bourgeois bohemians (Bobos), but also for an increasing amount of international tourists. As a pioneering art zone it became a role model for the development and management of many other creative spaces in China.

Entry Gate of Beijing 798 Art Zone

Source of all pictures: Michael Waibel 2012

In 2012, China displaced the U.S. as the leading market for fine arts by sales value. Just one decade ago, many of the now internationally renowned Chinese artists moved into an abandoned factory complex in the northern suburbs of Beijing. The site had formerly served as a military factory, constructed and developed by China's socialist brother countries East-Germany and the Soviet Union. The pioneers rented cheap workshops and were only tolerated by the local government at that time.

During the following years, revalorisation of the industrial buildings began on a bigger scale. Already in 2003, six galleries had been established, subsequently the district witnessed a phase of consolidation. Global media coverage promoted public attention of the "798" area, which soon gained an unique reputation as *the* hotspot for modern Chinese arts. Nonetheless, speculation of property developer companies and state fear of potentially critical artists threatened the district in its very existence – indeed, many art villages around Beijing had already been demolished before.

More photos of
798 Art Zone at flickr

http://www.flickr.com/photos/23925432@N07/sets/72157630009840696/

International attention even increased when Beijing prepared for the Olympic Games: As a consequence, the municipal government officially recognized the 798 district as a creative and cultural cluster in 2006. This led to a booming development. A Belgian couple opened the biggest non-profit place for contemporary Chinese arts, the UCCA gallery. In 2008, already 150 galleries could be found within the area. But this also put pressure on individual artists, who were not able to afford the rising rents anymore. Consequently, many of them were forced to move out. In spring 2012, gallery managers complained to the authors that the number of people interested in buying original art has dramatically decreased during the past years. In contrast, the number of people just wanting to experience the site as leisure area has surged. Also, the district has become a popular spot for shooting wedding photos. Recently, 798 served as a fancy stage for big commercial events such as the China Fashion Week or an Armani fashion show.

Meanwhile, the local government of Beijing has embraced the 798 Art Zone as integral part of its city branding. It is a vivid symbol of the success of the so-called "Second Transition", the overall strive to restructure the economy from the "factory of the world" towards more value-added production and services based on domestic innovation. In that way, "Made in China" is meant to become "Created in China". It shall represent creativity and is standing for the presumably vast reservoir of talents, in a wider sense also for tolerance. However, the latter has apparently strict limits as the ongoing controversy around Ai Weiwei is showing.

Nowadays, the 798 Art Zone can be labeled as maturing creative cluster. The initial phase of bottom-up development has been succeeded by a phase of consolidation. Its maturing character can be traced back to its complete passage of a gentrification cycle. This went along with a massive commercialization of the whole area into a hotspot for urban entertainment. Individual artists have increasingly been displaced by galleries, presenting Chinese fine arts to the global arts scene.

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China's Mineral and Metals Industry:
On the Path towards Sustainable Development?

Jost Wübbeke

Abstract: China's enormous demand for natural resources is vividly discussed among researchers and politicians. The investments of state companies in foreign oil and gas fields and mines, the government's resource diplomacy, and increasing prices are mostly associated with the Chinese policy. A concern which received much less attention is the exploration and exploitation of resources within China. This research note presents the empirical basis of a PhD-project on sustainability in China's mining and metals industry. It examines the recent development path and challenges of sustainability in this industry. The Chinese resource culture has been traditionally struggling with inefficient extraction and wastage of resources, severe environmental impacts, high resource-intensity and illegal mining. The question is whether it is heading towards a more sustainable path and which factors determine this possible transformation. It will be concluded that in spite of some progress and political efforts in resource and environmental protection, China so far did not realize a sustainable mining and metals industry. The production is planned to further increase with demand, inefficiency and environmental pollution remain a problem, and environmental policies face series of challenges.

Keywords: China; Mining and metals industry; rare earth; steel industry; sustainable development

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China's economic development is driving up demand for natural resources, in particular minerals. The construction and manufacturing sectors have an insatiable hunger for steel and cement. Steel production in turn requires more coking coal, iron ore and other alloy metals. Geologists searched the national territory in the quest for mineral deposits. Today, China is the world's largest producer and consumer of dozens of minerals and exports many of them. Others, such as iron, copper, and nickel have to be imported in masses. The tremendous mobilization of minerals is paid at a high price for the environment and also the economy. The mining and metals industry is haunted with low efficiency, wastage of resources, high energy intensity and concentration on low-value products. Moreover, the economy is very resource intensive. To what extent has China been able to uncouple from this "unhealthy" resource culture? To what extend did China successfully increase efficiency and produce more high-value products? Is the mining and metals industry on track of the official goal of a sustainable economy? The answers to these questions serve as an empirical basis for a dissertation project on sustainability in China's mining and metals industry. Preliminary results show that China did not leave the resource-intensive path and the industry is still struggling with old problems. However, a general trend towards more efficiency is visible and the government launched some promising policies but also meets several challenges.

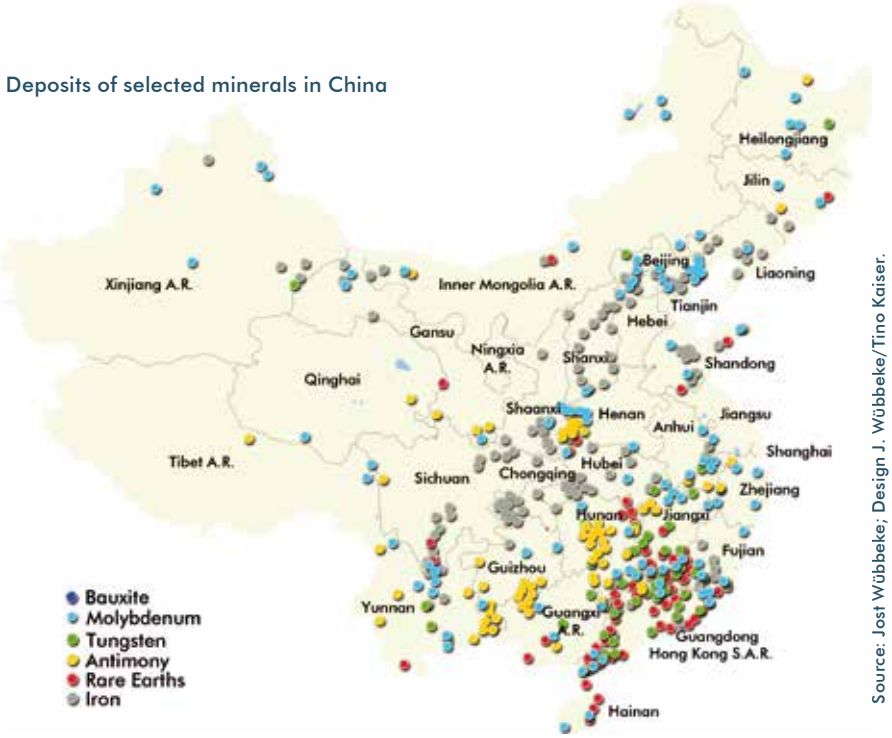
Baiyun'ebo Mine © Bert van Dijk 2011

Rise of a resource giant

The resource culture of early Qing Dynasty (1644-ca.1750) was quite different from today. The mining industry was in a difficult position: The authorities forbid mining in many cases because they considered it to harm local fengshui, the harmony of man with his environment, and the "dragon life lines," which ran throughout the country. But at the end of the dynasty, reformers believed that the insufficient use of minerals has contributed to China's backwardness (Wu & Shen, 2001). China stepped up its efforts to explore the country's geological richness in the 1930s. The largest deposits have been discovered until the late 1970s, such as the iron mine of Bayan Obo in Inner Mongolei, the copper mine of Dexing in Jiangxi, the iron mine of Panzhihua in Sichuan, and the lead-zinc deposits of Lanping in Yunnan (Zhu, 2006). That China today holds the largest reserves of many minerals is due to the geological mobilization around that time (Xibu Ziyuan, 2011). However, China remained a dwarf in production, with the exception of tungsten (also known as wolfram) and antimony. This changed in the reform era, when domestic demand revitalized the mining and metals industry, especially since the 1990s. Economic reforms allowed state-owned enterprises (SOE) more leverage and town-and-village enterprises (TVE) became an important pillar of the resource economy. Regarding steel and coal, around half of production was provided by TVEs and local SOEs in the mid-90s. As of 2007, the mining and metals industry accounted for 5.5% of GDP (Lin et al., 2011). Chinese think that their country has "a large total amount of minerals, but little per capita, and a poor natural endowment" (总量大、人均少、禀赋差). Although China is rich of natural resources, the amount is small regarding the huge population. The low ore grade of Chinese minerals makes extraction more difficult, more expensive, and more resource-intensive (Lin et al., 2011).

China is today the greatest producer of magnesium (54% of world production), fluorite (54%), baryte (57%), silicon (65%), germanium (67%), graphite (73%), tungsten (85%), antimony (91%), rare earths elements (95%), and other minerals. Many of these have important application in industry. Rare earths are relevant to the wind-power sector, electronics (e.g. mobile phones), electric vehicles and other appliances of highly efficient generators. Tungsten is primarily used in cemented carbides in construction, metalworking, mining and the oil industry (USGS, 2012). Most of produced minerals are consumed domestically, but China also became a major exporter. The share of exports in total production is decreasing, however. 27% of antimony metal output was exported in 1995, but today it is only 2.7%. A similar tendency can be observed for tin, zinc, and other metals. But as of 2009, China was the largest supplier of many resources for the European Union, including rare earths, antimony, indium, tungsten and tin (Raw Materials Supply Group, 2010).

Deposits of selected minerals in China



Source: Jost Wübbeke; Design J. Wübbeke/Tino Kaiser.

Resource use at high costs

The extraction of domestic resources puts particular strain on national reserves. China's production-to-reserve ratio is generally lower than the global average. Current reserves of antimony could be used up within eight years, zinc in ten years, baryte in 13 years, and manganese in 18 years. Although these reserves are going to increase due to economic demand and technological change, this points to an appalling overuse of national deposits. Whereas the investments in geological exploration are growing, discovery of new reserves is declining (Gu & Cheng, 2010).

The wastage and inefficient production of resources is a persistent problem. Compared to foreign mines, the percentage of recovered minerals in China is much lower. Associated ores have an average benefication recovery rate of 50 to 60%, which is 20% lower than the average in industrialized countries. Many associated minerals are often not processed and end up unused in the tailing dams (Xu et al., 2010). Although Bayan Obo is China's largest niobium deposit and contains large reserves of thorium, these two associated minerals are not recovered. In the last four decades, rare earths at Bayan Obo had only an average recovery rate of 10% (Xu & Shi, 2005). Moreover, the use of scrap for the production of metals is much lower in China than in industrialized countries, although it is increasing (Xu et al., 2010).

Mining and refining is a very resource-intensive industry. The steel industry is the largest industrial energy consumer, currently accounting for about 20% of national energy consumption. Energy intensity of the industry has been decreasing fivefold since 1994 but is still high compared to international levels and has not yet reached the level Germany had already achieved in the 1960s (Li & Qin, 2011; Stahlinstitut VDEh, 2010). Until now, the consumption of coking coal for the steel industry is still two to three times higher than in the US and Japan. This is due to the significantly lower share of scrap steel used for production. Moreover, the steel companies work inefficiently in terms of output per employee. The ten largest Chinese steelmakers produce 350 tons per employee, but the leading international companies produce about 2,550 tons per employee (Yu & Yang, 2010).

Environmental impacts of mining and refining are severe in China. Because many mining companies use old technologies and have inappropriate environmental equipment, their mines and factories emit untreated waste waters, waste airs and solid waste. They often

do not meet national emission standards. In early 2012, a spill of huge amounts of cadmium at a local mining company polluted the Longjiang River in Guangxi causing threat to human health and the local eco-system (Xinhua, 2012). Tailing dams contain hazardous chemicals or even radioactive substances in some cases and are prone to collapse. If the dams are not appropriately secured, waste is scattered in the surroundings by wind and rain and trickles down through the soil.

The mining and metals industry struggles with a range of other problems which have not been solved yet. Producers still concentrate on low-value products. The steel industry mainly produces long products (bars, wires, tubes and sections) which are used in the construction sector and for home-appliances and less high-value flat products (steel strips and sheets) for the manufacturing sector. However, the share of the latter is increasing (Halloway et al., 2010). Moreover, mining disasters are a frequent occurrence, mostly resulting from gas explosions and intrusion of water. Because most coal deposits are located in deeper layers, Chinese coal has to be mined underground. This more dangerous method leads to the high number of mining deaths in China. In recent years, this number is decreasing, though: Whereas in 1980, eight people died per 1 million tons of coal produced, it was only three in 2005 (compared to 0.3 in the U.S.) (Lin et al., 2011; Wright, 2012). The growth of the Chinese economy is still very resource-intensive. The consumption of minerals is growing at a faster rate than the GDP. China consumes about 40% of global cement, one third of global iron ore, steel and tin, one fourth of aluminum, and one fifth of copper. The immense demand is rising further and a change of this pattern is not really in sight (Yao, 2006; Li & Liu, 2011). One exception might be the recent slowing down of steel consumption growth. Commonly, iron consumption is believed to peak at a per capita income of US$ 14,000. Thus, the recent trend might also be only a short-term phenomenon due to the global economic downturn. Aluminum and copper are likely to peak at higher incomes due to their different use in basic appliances (Lin et al., 2011).

Government policies

This short overview demonstrates that the Chinese resource culture is still awaiting the transformation towards a more efficient and environmentally friendly pattern. But still, China has become active in various fields to tackle the notorious problems of the mining and metals industry. The greatest concern of the Chinese government is to satisfy increasing future demand. The government predicts that resource demand will grow for at least another decade. Thus, while pursuing resource and environmental protection, the government is continuing to increase the exploitation of minerals. According to the National Minerals Plan promulgated in 2007, China strives to extend the geological exploration of the national territory. Until now, only one third of the resource potential has been fully explored, in particular the Western provinces Tibet and Xinjiang have many blank spots. The plan foresees to raise production of iron ore (by 17%), tin (7%), tungsten (4%), and other minerals and to reduce reliance on imports (MLR, 2007).

At the same time, resource protection is a major concern of the government. The government policy aims at avoiding overproduction beyond production plans and oversupply beyond demand. The main goal is the conservation of scarce resources. Measures are manifold, including production quotas (for rare earths, tungsten and antimonium), national stockpiles (for rare coal types, copper, chromium, manganese, tungsten and rare earths), export restrictions, resource taxes and other measures (MLR, 2007). The government tries to control oversupply in order to prevent falling prices. Oversupply has become a particular problem since the financial and economic crisis when foreign demand went down. These policies are only partly successful. Production quotas are often surpassed and illegal mining and smuggling are hard to control (Lian et al., 2011). Moreover, Chinese export restrictions on raw materials were subject to two WTO dispute settlement cases. China lost the first case on nine raw materials. After the Chinese Ministry of Commerce decided to decrease the export quota for rare earths by 40% in 2010, a major row erupted between China and major buyers. China still restricts exports through quotas, taxes (between 15 and 25%), licensing and minimum export prices. In March 2012, Japan, EU, and U.S. filed a new WTO case against China's export policy on rare earths.

The Ministry of Industry and Information Technology, responsible for the mining industry, promotes the consolidation of many mining and metals industries. The goal is to reduce the number of miners and refiners and to build few national champions. This is due to the fact that the government identified the fragmentation of the industry as a major cause for high pollution and inefficiency as well as low prices. For example, some 7,000 companies are operating in the steel industry alone. Although China is the world's largest steel producer by far, only some companies are among the world's largest producers (KPMG, 2011). The "12th Steel Industry Development Plan" published in November 2011 plans to increase the market share of the 10 largest producers from 34.7% (2005) to 60% (2015) (MIIT, 2011). However, the policy meets with much resistance from local authorities which try to protect their own local champions.

Minimizing the environmental impacts of mining and processing is an important goal of the government. In the rare earth industry, the Ministry of Environmental Protection decided on much stricter emission standards in 2011. But these take effect for existing market participants only from 2014 on (MEP, 2011). In the steel industry, small blast furnaces (less than 400 cubic meters), converters, and electric arc furnaces (less than 30 tons) are going to be eliminated until 2015 (MIIT, 2011). The recovery rate and the use of associated minerals as well as the reuse of by-products and tailings is to be increased under the label of the circular economy. In 2009, the government created the "Circular Economy Promotion Law" with the purpose to incite reuse and recycling. About 50% of raw materials could be supplied from the use of tailings, comprehensive utilization and recycling by 2020 (Xu et al., 2010; Wang, 2011).

Because domestic supply cannot satisfy demand, about half of iron ore consumption has to be supplied by foreign sources, 93% of chrome, and 75% of copper ores (Gu & Cheng, 2010). Endowed with huge foreign currency reserves, investment in foreign mines and mining companies is becoming more important. In 2009, about 16% of Chinese foreign direct investment were directed into the mining industry (mainly oil and gas) compared to 40% in 2009. The Chinese "going out" policy has not only spurred much criticism from the West, but has shown limited success. Only 25% of imported iron ore comes from Chinese-owned mines, whereas Japan imports 60% from own mines (Gu & Cheng, 2010). Chinese mining companies failed to increase their share in Australia's Rio Tinto and to overtake other miners. Within China, the Ministry of Land Resources strives

Small mine near Weizigou © Tahgoat 2004, Flickr.

to increase international participation in exploration projects in order to improve the technological level.

The whole bunch of policy measures meets with several other challenges. Laws are often not detailed and precise enough. The "Mineral Resources Law" is very vague about environmental protection and does not provide operational provisions in this regard. Its revision is in discussion, but no decision has been made yet (Li, 2007). More generally, bureaucratic power struggles inhibit policy effectiveness. The large number of involved ministries makes coordination difficult. Moreover, implementation remains weak. Although the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology is currently conducting a campaign against illegal rare earth mining and violations of environmental regulations, those measures are often not effective in the long run.

Methodology & further steps

The sustainable transformation of the Chinese resource culture might still take some more time to become more apparent. Regarding industry efficiency, comprehensive use of minerals, recovery rate, and environmental protection some progress is visible. But compared to international levels, these are still poor records and the mining and metals industry is still facing notorious problems. Based on the insights gained here, the dissertation strives to understand the growing but difficult role of sustainability in the mining and metals industry and relevant policies. It examines the challenges and opportunities which sustainable practices face in more detail. The conceptual foundation is Actor-Network Theory which helps to track the interaction of humans and materiality in the process of constituting the network of sustainability and changing its relationships. The task is to inquire into the network of actors that shapes the resource culture and the factors that inhibit or promote the transformation towards sustainability. Data is produced through expert interviews with bureaucrats, industry represents, non-governmental organizations and industry analysts as well as a documentary analysis of official documents, academic articles, and industry publications.

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Yavirau: A traditional Fijian Fish Drive as an Example of Culturally Embedded Community Development

Michael Fink

Abstract: A yavirau (traditional Fijian fish drive) is an ancient Fijian custom which has been adapted to today's needs. Implemented and organised by a village community without external assistance, this highly this culturally specific custom is an example of development on a local level. According to theorists and practitioners working on development issues, such a strategy for Community Development (CD) is promising because it seizes current approaches as it fosters local, decentralised, cultural specific development and aims at a high level of local participation. This research note analyses a yavirau as an example of CD, showing its advantages as well as its limitations.

Key Words: Fiji; Community Development; participation; culture; neo-traditionalism

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The Fijian islanders, together with other populations of Small Island Developing States (SIDS), are exposed to various kinds of social and ecological threats. SIDS are characterised by a geographically isolated location and small absolute numbers of residents; two factors that account for barely diversified, weak economies. Because of their limited surface, the density of population on some islands is high, whereas marine and land resources are scarce. Yet, Fijian coastal villagers highly depend on them as they live on semi-subsistence fishing and agriculture. However, these resources are likely to be overexploited and polluted. Climate change and sea level rise are further stressors and are likely to intensify hazards like tropical cyclones and coastal erosion. Moreover, with political instability and a military dictatorship in charge, Fiji has a democratic deficit – like other insular states in the South Pacific. All in all, SIDS have no voice in international discourses but are strongly affected by the impacts of global change (Baldacchino, 2009; Chand & Walsh 2009; Kaly et al., 2002; Mataki et al., 2008).

Source: Eberhard Weber

Globalisation shapes the world economy and affects social structures and spatial organisation. It is characterised by the simultaneity of including and excluding processes that tend to fragment societies (Dittrich, 2011). The Fiji Islands are subject to this global phenomenon. The Fijians are confronted with capitalistic economic interactions. Furthermore, the influence of neoliberal, individual sets of values changes their livelihoods. Many Fijians are afraid their cultural individuality might dissolve, causing a loss of cultural identity (Abramson, 2004), which would harm the quality of their lives.

Having all these challenges in mind, the Fijians have urgent needs to foster their development. Fortunately, many Fijian communities provide over a broad range of strategies to handle these challenges. Community Development (CD) is considered to be an auspicious approach to strengthen the capabilities and the resilience of local community members (Kay, 2005; Veitayaki, 2006).

This research notes examines the promotion of a traditional fish drive and its contribution to mitigating the impacts of globalisation, climate and environmental change. It thus provides a practical example of successful CD. After a short introduction on theoretical concepts and the methodology used by the author, the *yavirau* will be described, highlighting the specific challenges the fish drive addresses. Furthermore, its limitations will be presented, followed by a conclusion on the efficiency of the *yavirau* to improve development.

Development in theory

Human development is defined as a process of enhancing people's freedoms and capabilities, improving the quality of people's lives (Sen, 1999; UNDP, 2000). At least three conditions of development must be fulfilled to make this process an entirely positive one. First, development must target vulnerable people. Processes of improving quality of life which exclude the most suffering groups within society do not lead to development. Second, development must be sustainable. The development of the present generation should not decrease the capabilities, assets and livelihood opportunities of the following generations, so human and natural resources are not to be exploited (Chambers & Convey, 1992). Third, human dignity must not be harmed. In this way, development means the protection from violence, the ensuring of basic needs, and the freedom to take action on one's own behalf, in accordance with the concept of human security (CHS, 2003). Besides the enhancement of international human rights, local cultural values need to be considered as well, as the quality of people's lives should be measured by their own value systems. CD substantiates the important role that culture plays in development. Using a decentralised approach, it focuses on specific local and cultural desires of vulnerable people and pleads for changes from within cultures. CD emphasises types of participation in which local people control the process as this enhances empowerment (Ensor & Berger, 2009; Kay, 2005; Kumar, 2002). Therefore, CD has the potential to improve sustainability and the quality of life.

Of course, values are never static, but change over time. Likewise culture is not fixed or homogenous. People have multiple identities and build complex societies. Some values and identities are shared by almost all members of a society, while on others they disagree. Due to globalisation and colonisation, native Fijians have been exposed to different value systems. Even before the colonial era, a huge variety of values and customs existed (Ravuvu, 1987). Tradition is understood as a prolonged process of integrating changes, omissions and additions of customs into one culture without degrading cultural identity (Toren, 1988). Therefore, though not a homogenous people, Fijians share a system of values, beliefs and customs which can still be described as a unique Fijian culture, and which has been idealised as the "Fijian Way of Life" (Ravuvu, 1983; 1987). Development must handle contradicting values, beliefs and customs within this system.

Location Map of Gau Island

Pacific News Cartography: © Claus Carstens 2012

Participatory research methods

The investigated *yavirau* was organised by the villagers of Malawai, Gau Island. In order to understand their needs, values and challenges, a highly participatory set of methods was chosen. The author lived in the village for five weeks and gathered information through participant observation, informal conversations and various methods from the "PRA-toolbox" (participatory rural appraisal), including transects, scorings, Venn-diagrams of social institutions as well as trend-analyses of social and ecological problems (Kumar, 2002). Each PRA-method was facilitated several times with different focal groups regarding to age, sex, clan-membership and confession to identify possible social vulnerabilities. Community participation not only provided the researcher with information, it also tried to place empowerment of communities to articulate, protect, maintain and enhance their ideas of a good life.

Traditional fish drive

The decision to undertake a *yavirau* is made within a traditional community meeting. It is scheduled on Christmas Eve. At this time of the year, which is the local summer vacation, non-residents join the fishing most easily. The interviewed villagers say that the *yavirau* sometimes is the major reason why people in the urban areas spend their Christmas break in the village.

First of all, to implement a *yavirau*, the graveyards must be cleaned, which has enormous ritualistic importance as it links the present generation to their forefathers and -mothers. All men of the village engage in this enjoyable activity, while women prepare a feast in the community hall. The people celebrate and drink *yaqona*, so that the *yavirau* will receive the blessing of their ancestors.

Preparations for the fish drive start with the collection of vines, which are tied together. The villagers then obtain coconut fronds that are wrapped around the liana ropes. Prepared lianas have to be whipped with the branches and leaves of the blinding tree to ward off bad luck like unsuccessful catches, accidents or drowning. Pregnant women are not allowed to take part in the *yavirau* as it is believed that they bring bad luck, especially if they have kept their pregnancy secret. In this case, even the leaves of the blinding tree are powerless to prevent misfortune.

Once the ropes are prepared, they are rolled up and loaded into motorised fibreglass boats. At high tide they are taken out towards the reef. Once the ropes are released to the sea, they are tied together, forming a horseshoe shape whose opening faces the shore. The rope, which is about four kilometres long, frames the fishing site. A marine protected area (MPA) installed several years before to sustain the fishing ground is a no-go area; an exception is made for the yavirau. The people are positioned along the rope to keep it in place. Depending on their number each clan is in charge of a part of the loop. Visitors are free to choose their position. As a rule – like pregnant women – children and latecomers are not allowed to join. This is to minimise the risks of drowning and distraction, though nowadays exceptions are made for latecomers. Usually, the commander of the *yavirau* is the chief's herald or the chief himself. He is the only one who is allowed to talk and give orders. In the past disobedience entailed corporal punishment. Nowadays people are talking, laughing and playing during the whole process. The commander stands in the boat, constantly moving from one end of the rope to the other. When he is satisfied with the deployment of his people, the hauling of the rope begins. The prepared vines are noisily drawn through the sea to chase the fish. The rope is pulled towards one end, where the lianas are piled up on the shore. At the commander's order the process is repeatedly reversed and the rope is pulled to the other end. In this way, the enclosure slowly narrows. Simultaneously the piled up vines are used as a second or third row to strengthen the rope so no fish can escape.

Towards the end of the drive at low tide, the fish are driven to a small pool close to the shore in shallow water. Everyone has to sit down so the fish are neither upset nor provoked. A kind of human wall is built to minimise breakaways. Yet, people stand up to get out of the cold water, so that relatives of the chief's herald consider it their duty to constantly remind them of the order given by the commander. Once the commander gives permission, everybody catches the fish using spears, machetes, nets or their bare hands.

Later the capture is distributed on the lawn of the village centre. Every village member gets his or her own share. Some species are reserved to specific clans. The reason for this goes back to ancient beliefs on how certain living beings are associated with the traditional functions of each clan. Furthermore, the chief, the priest, the visitors, the owners of the boats and the hosts from whose land the vines and coconut leaves have been taken get an extra amount. This distribution is perceived as fair because it compensates for the responsibility these people bear and the expenses they have incurred. In a second step, the families individually share parts of their stock with friends and relatives in neighbouring villages.

Challenges for development

The process of change in society has accelerated and is getting more complex and dynamic due to globalisation. Accordingly, the Fijians fear that new habits cannot be integrated properly anymore and traditions and cultural identities weaken (Abramson, 2004). This harms development because the quality of life depends on culturally specific components. Social transformation induced by globalisation erodes social safety networks as well because these networks are built on trust which correlates with cultural identity. So, especially the weakest groups, who depend most on such safety networks, become more vulnerable. As development aims at the most vulnerable people, social transformation likely contradicts development (Tröger, 2003).

The inhabitants of Fijian villages in the periphery have insufficient means to earn a living. Apart from working as teachers they hardly find jobs to earn regular wages. Due to high transportation costs and weak accesses to the nearest market, the villagers can hardly sell anything except *yaqona* – a plant that takes three to seven years to grow – and hand-woven mats. Therefore the villagers rely on remittances coming from family members, who live in Fijian cities or overseas. Thus, they are vulnerable and dependent on safety networks.

Most Fijians who participated in the PRA-methods praised communal life. The performance of the *yavirau* requires sound social relationships and simultaneously re-strengthens these networks. The benefits are impressive as the *yavirau* not only enhances relationships within the local village community, but also those with the friends and relatives joining from urban areas and neighbouring villages. Even people who did not partake themselves were given a share of the fish as it is meant to support socialising during Christmas time.

The *yavirau* focuses on peripheral villages. It targets vulnerable people. Furthermore, each villager decides in how far he or she participates in the decision making process, the preparation and the execution of the *yavirau*. Thereby, knowledge is passed on over generations. This unique custom fosters cultural identity, strengthens social ties, enhances human security and therefore improves the the quality of peoples' lives.

However, the *yavirau* has been subject to changes. Corporal punishments to sanction misbehaviour do no longer exist, as a consequence the custom still appeals to the younger, more modern generation. Additionally, it is adaptive to other strategies of development, for example, because it does not violate

the borders of MPA. As for Malawai village, the *yavirau* can be considered as a powerful activity to develop, as it is culturally embedded, yet open to changes to face today's challenges. Therefore, it supports the "Fijian Way of Life" and gains widespread acceptance among the participants.

Limitations to development

The *yavirau* needs a specific environment. Minimum requirements are a suitable reef, resources to produce the rope, expertise to carry out the *yavirau* and a supporting community. Thus, only few Fijian villages perform the drive. As the villagers themselves can only implement a *yavirau*, options for external support are rare and there are few chances for other village communities to copy this specific CD strategy.

There are negative impacts on the environment to be mentioned. The amount of fish caught at once threatens the future of the fishing ground, especially as the villagers catch juvenile and small fish. Moving around the coral reef for hours in large groups is destructive to the sensitive corals. Yet, an intact coral reef can be expected to cope with most disturbances, as there is only one *yavirau* per year, followed by a fishing ban of several days. On the other hand, due to general tendencies of overfishing and impacts of climate change and pollution, one must assume that the quality of the reef is already degrading, which means that the *yavirau* cannot be called sustainable.

Neo-traditional movements aim at re-establishing ancient customs in order to strengthen cultural identity and consider development. The prefix "neo" highlights that traditional customs are not acted out for their intrinsic values only, instead neo-traditionalism actively tries to reinforce such values. The *yavirau* can be described as a neo-traditional activity because the villagers are aware that they carry out the fish drive as a development strategy. They do not only want to take part in the *yavirau* because of its intrinsic attractiveness and to use the cooperation of the village to catch fish for Christmas, but also to reinforce cultural norms and values in general – to uphold the "Fijian Way of Life". Yet, neo-traditionalism often denies innovations. There is a potential risk that the *yavirau* will not keep its adaptive capacities, if useful future changes are forbidden.

Furthermore, among political nationalists the neo-traditional slogan of the "Fijian Way of Life" is popular for manipulation. On the national level, Fiji is a multi-ethnic state with an Indo-Fijian minority that currently makes up about 37 per cent of the whole population (FIBOS, 2010). Demands to reinforce ethno-Fijian traditions can be understood as directed against minorities. Since 1987 several coups d'état consolidated ethno-Fijian rights, referring to the "Fijian Way of Life". Instead of integrating foreign influences into the Fijian culture, political rhetoric can misuse neo-traditionalism to demand ethno-national privileges and to stir up racial tensions. In the last 25 years many Indo-Fijians left the country creating a brain drain and shrinking economies (FIBOS, 2010; Lal, 2003; Lawson, 2004). Though the *yavirau* itself does not create any racial tensions, there is a risk that on the national level the example of the *yavirau* can be abused as a means of dividing the nation.

All things considered, the *yavirau* is an outstanding example of local CD. This note tried to highlight two characteristics of advantageous CD, the cultural embeddedness, which ensures great acceptance and the openness to changes to meet new challenges. Yet, the *yavirau* itself is such a specific adaptive strategy that it cannot be extrapolated widely.

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Reflections on Climate Change by Contemporary Artists in Papua New Guinea

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Abstract: The consequences of climate change are already felt in Papua New Guinea, especially on the atoll islands. Between 3,500 and 6,000 dwellers will need to resettle due to increasing land loss, salt-water inundation and growing food insecurity. Once resettled as 'climate refugees' at nearby Bougainville Island, they face losing their self-sufficiency as well as their cultural identity. Contemporary art has been a focus of local artists since the 1970s. Usually, themes and motives are dealing with changes in society, depicting scenes of traditional and cultural events or body art, and decorated dancers. More recently, some artists started focusing explicitly on environmental issues. Losing home and culture due to the consequences of climate change, losing the forest due to logging by multinational companies, or staying hungry because of fish shortage due to over-fishing have become their concern. By presenting and commenting on the motives I want to show how this fear of loss is reflected in their artwork.

Keywords: Art; Papua New Guinea; climate change; resettlement; loss

This paper shifts the discussion on climate change from a mere scientific or policy discourse to an artistic and cultural perspective on the issue. It aims to draw attention to Pacific culture as seen through the eyes of contemporary artists.
Artistic explorations are not restricted to illustrate scientific discoveries but represent how people in the Pacific think and feel about the threat of climate change. Papua New Guinea artists are conscious of local issues; and through their contribution they are documenting major social and environmental concerns of their people. Art can challenge perceptions of and the relationship with climate change and environmental modifications by deconstructing common views and revealing alternative perceptions.

Climate change in PNG

Papua New Guinea is highly exposed to the effects of climate change and has often experienced extreme weather conditions. Some of the 600 islands of the Pacific Island Nation experience flooding and severe cyclones more often than in previous years. In the long run, rising sea levels will lead to significant land loss. Flooding, landslides and droughts have adverse effects on people's lives in the coastal and low land areas, but also in the highlands.

Another climate change issue is deforestation, which is rarely mentioned in connection with the Pacific Islands. The forest's importance for carbon storage was realised fairly recently. Rainforests play a key role in regulating local and global climates. Massive degradation and destruction result in a loss of natural carbon storing and leads to an increase of greenhouse gas emissions.

Image 1: A. Mebri: Refugees of the sinking Islands, No III, 2008, Acryl on Canvas

Papua New Guinea is still hosting some of the world's largest and remaining intact forest landscapes. The forests have always provided a livelihood but due to continued legal and illegal destructive logging and the conversion of forest areas into plantations, the forests and living environment of the people are now under threat.

Sinking islands

It was widely reported in November 2005 that the low-lying Carteret Islands of Papua New Guinea have progressively become uninhabitable, with an estimate of their total submersion by 2015. The islands gained dubious fame as the inhabitants had become the world's first climate refugees.

The islanders have fought a more than twenty years battle building a seawall and planting mangroves. However, storm

surges and high tides continue to wash away homes, destroy vegetable gardens and contaminate fresh water supplies.

Due to the loss of land and inundation, the islanders are no longer able to grow crops (bananas and taro) to feed themselves. Families survive on mainly fish and coconuts; they are battling the swamp mosquitoes that have brought malaria.

60 % of the land area of their islands disappeared already and in a few years they are likely to be completely submerged. Being small in area and low-lying, inhabitants will have nowhere to retreat to as the seas inundate their coastlines.

Carteret Islanders now have to move permanently to another place and find a new home. In July 2009, nearly 3,000 islanders began what will eventually become a big evacuation to Bougainville, the next major island about 80 kilometres away from their ancestral grounds. Relocation will continue over the next 10 years. As the national and local government's relocation plans are slow, the islanders have set up a relocation team. They founded the NGO Tulele Peisa (sailing on our own) that raises money and campaigns for social justice on behalf of the islanders and has begun a series of urgent tasks to move families closer to security (Struck-Garbe, 2009a, 21-23).

Image 2: J. Mota: Homeless Refugees, 2009, Mixed media on paper

The painting from *Alexander Mebri* shows a disturbed crowd. Men, women and children are rushing away from their island. They carry their bilum (net bags) with their belongings or an infant inside. They have only a small amount of space at their disposal. The blue sky merging with the blue ocean evokes a feeling of being lost in a vast environment and escaping into the void. At the same time the painting emphasizes the declining space showing people crowded together.

Alexander Mebri wrote about his canvas:

"This painting depicts the experiences of the people of the Carteret Islands in Papua New Guinea, whose islands are disappearing through rising sea levels. Their struggle to survive, as their gardens are covered by sea water, has finally resulted in their resettlement on higher land, giving hope to the islanders."

Climate change is provoking the people to migrate further inland and is causing a social security threat due to enhanced population pressure. The tensions intrinsic in migration of people can easily become open conflict as people compete over scarce resources. Access to land for gardening or housing and access to fresh water could gear up further conflicts among the islanders. If villagers start to mark borders, forbidding others to come and fetch water from their community wells the existing order might shift (Böge, 2009).

In her terms *Ursula Rakova* spokeswomen from Tulele Peisa endorses the picture:

"For you it (climate change) is a matter of lifestyle, but for us it is a matter of life and death. If we do not move we are going to be drowned."

Displacement seems to be unavoidable. Rising sea levels are not only eating away the land of the tiny atolls of the Carteret Islands, but also their inhabitants' way of life.

Displacement & resettlement

Fear of the resettlement environment and possible tensions with the host communities are strong feelings among the families. They want more safety and security in their new communities. For instance, the ten Carteret Islanders who had been transferred from the islands to the mainland Bougainville in 2009 could not get the legal rights to the land they needed. Landowner issues and the feeling of insecurity towards the new environment drove them back to their home island.

The collage from *Julie Mota* pictures a couple. The woman is holding a baby in her arms. They are in distress, moving, fleeing and leaving their hearts behind. People are faced with looming crises or in other words:

"we have a feeling of anxiety, a feeling of uncertainty because we know that we will be losing our homes. It is

Image 3: A. Mebri: Where has my fish gone, No. II, 2008, Acryl on Canvas

our identity. It is our whole culture at stake." (*Ursula Rakova)*

Loss of the land is a disaster. Living on other peoples' land is not an easy way of life. Land is a very high-ranking issue not only in Papua New Guinea but in the Pacific as a whole. Pacific identity is closely connected with land: the land is part of me and I am part of the land. Furthermore, land has spiritual quality and connects people with the past, present and future. It is life and nurture and it gives the inhabitants a sense of being and belonging. They bury the umbilical cord and want to be buried there when they die. The inhabitants are the guardians of the land and want to stay where they belong, maintaining the key link with the land. In short: land holds life together and holds meaning, land equals identity.

This attitude becomes apparent in the remark of a tribal chief of the Carteret Islands, when asked by a journalist: You are not afraid to stay on the island? He answered:

"I am not frightened. If the island is lost, I'm lost too. I'll get lost with the island." (Marshall, 2007, 10, 23-10, 27)

If the land is already inundated by salt-water gardening, food supply is becoming a major problem. This adds to the workload of women. They have to find another piece of land to start again to grow a productive food garden. The new garden might be further away from home and the journey to and from will take a longer time. If there is a shortage of land, women's concern increases. They are at the heart of climate change vulnerability (Boncour, 2009, 11; Struck-Garbe, 2009b).

Even though women have the roles of care giver, agriculture worker and water provider they are mostly marginalised from information about and participation in climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies.

While women often have the knowledge, for instance ancestral knowledge about water supplies, that will be useful in planning and implementing community level adaptation strategies, they are not always given the opportunity to voice their ideas. When it comes to politics and decision-making women are mostly excluded despite them being central figures in everyday life. This also holds true for resettlement issues.

Coral bleach and overfishing

The small islands of Papua New Guinea are reef-dependent. Pressures on the reef systems represent significant threats to livelihoods and well-being. Strong reefs play a vital role as natural breakwaters minimising wave impacts during storms and cyclones and as food provider supplying fish (and protein) and sea-food for daily consumption.

Sea temperatures in the tropics have increased by one degree Celsius over the last ten years and are still increasing currently. Reef building corals become stressed by higher temperatures, they bleach and finally they die in great numbers. Less corals mean less protection and less food for the islander in times when they are experiencing stronger and heavier storms at the same time (Hoegh-Guldberg, 1999).

This work of *Alexander Mebri* illustrates people walking on the reef looking for fish and shellfish. They seem to be in panic because they cannot find any seafood. He gives the following statement to his painting:

"Marine life in the Pacific is slowly being destroyed, as uncontrolled fishing is being carried out by more developed countries, with bigger ships and sophisticated machinery. The simple coastal villager now struggles to catch fish for his daily family's meal."

His comment points to an additional problem: Having fished out their own waters, countries like Japan, European Union member states, Taiwan, Korea,

the United States and China are now sending their industrial fishing fleets to the Pacific to exploit the region's stocks. Overfishing is seriously depleting tuna stocks and destructive fishing practices are killing other valuable marine life. Pacific Island countries are being exploited for their resources. For them the ocean is no longer the provider of food. This is a terrifying situation and such a threat to the sustainability of the entire social-eco-system of the islands that it forces the islanders to act desperately.

Deforestation

The importance of the forest and the necessity to reducing emissions from deforestation was recognized by Papua New Guineas then Prime Minister Michael Somare. He said at UNFCCC COP 13/CMP3 meeting in Bali in December 2007:

"If we lose the world's forest we lose the fight against climate change. Rainforests are our earth's greatest utility – our planets lungs, thermostat, and air-conditioning system."

Despite this comprehension the Somare government continued to facilitate the expansion of large-scale industrial and destructive logging.

In this painting, *Julia Mota* shows again a folded person surrounded by trees and plants. The person is sad and concerned about forest loss.

Although much of this area is still untouched, policies and practices point to PNG is loosing the struggle against forest degradation. Poor governance and a high level of corruption have led to illegal logging. Forest management is poor. The people have seen no benefit from logging, just destruction. At some stage they thought they give away forest for development: According to a former missionary and landowner Brother *Jim Coucher* from Vanimo:

"At first they welcome the loggers because they think it might mean money, but in fact they get very little out of it. The loggers don't do any replanting or clearing up at all … and they give no benefits to the people. They use bulldozers to drag the logs which create all sorts of problems with erosion."

Forest protection on the one hand and small-scale eco-forestry on the other could be a way to stop the speed of destruction and to solve the problem of forest loss.

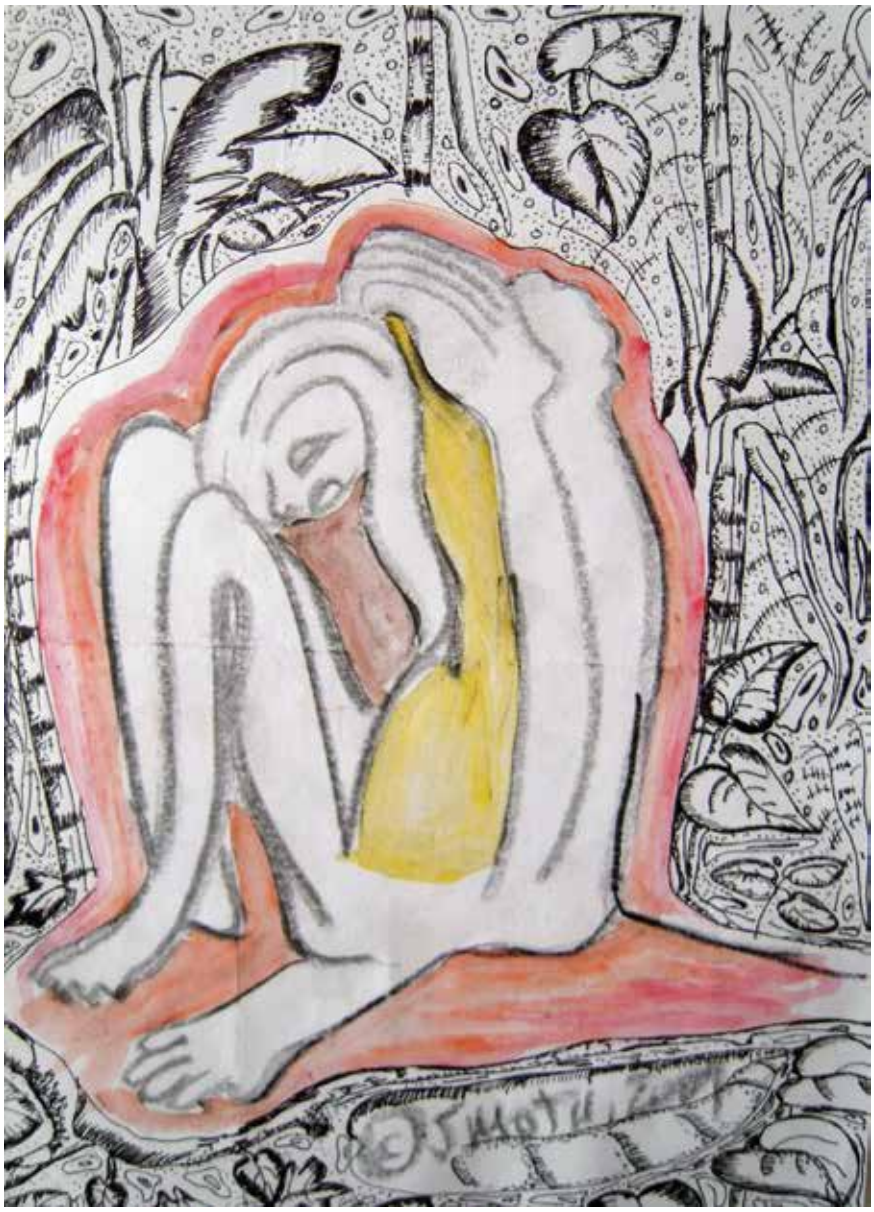

Image 4: J. Mota: Forest Concern, 2009, Pen illustration, charcoal and watercolor on paper

Alexander Mebri depicts a couple who is involved in inflaming a bush fire. In the background there are other people standing closer to the origin of the fire. In the flames appear the eyes of the ancestors watching and crying black tears. The eyes are also symbolising the soul of the forest. The artist comments his works as followed:

"Bush fires, one cause of climate change in the world today, are caused by uncontrolled burning of forests to make more gardens as population increases."

A significant threat to Papua New Guinea's forests is agricultural expansion. The country's high population growth rate means increasing amounts of land are converted for subsistence agriculture. Typically fire is used for land-clearing and at times - especially during dry el Niño years - agricultural fires can burn out of control. During the 1997-1998 el Niño events, fires burned thousands of hectares of dried-out forest while hundreds of people died from food shortages and famine in the central highlands.

One aspect of *Alexander Mebri*s statement is based on the assumption, that less forest means less carbon dioxide (CO_2) is absorbed by trees, which accumulates in the atmosphere as a result of pollution. Deforestation is one of the main causes of climate change, accounting for almost a fifth of all greenhouse gas emissions. At the same time, there will be an increased presence of CO_2 if trees are being burnt

Image 5: Alexander Mebri: Bush Fire, 2008, Acryl on Canvas

or being logged (Greenpeace, 2008).

The greatest hazard for the ecology of the rainforest in Papua New Guinea derives from industrial logging. Officially 'selected logging' takes place. However, at present, and for the past two decades, forest harvesting has occurred in a destructive and in an ecologically unsustainable fashion. Phil Shearman's report shows nearly one quarter of the rainforests was damaged or destroyed between 1972 and 2002 .The numbers indicate that Papua New Guinea can not and does not regulate forest operations (Shearman et al., 2009).

The impacts of climate change are being felt hardest by some of the world's poorest and remote communities with little opportunity or support for adaptation to these impact. In 2008, Kiribati's President *Anote Tong* told at an environment conference in New Zealand:

"The climate change is an issue of human survival for sinking islands not economic development".

But nothing has changed. The emissions in the atmosphere will carry on contributing to climate change, so in time the small low lying islands will be submerged according to the worst case scenarios within this century.

Ursula Rakova is riled at this perspective:

"We are angry. Some of our people do not understand the science, but they know they are losing their homes and they are angry they are having to pay for what other people in industrialised nations have done".

John Danger illustrates this comment by means of image 6. In his painting he depicts the human influence on climate changes. Industrial activities in the developed countries produce carbon dioxide and increase the greenhouse gases concentration while the island village is drowned due to sea level rise. Despite the fact that Pacific Island countries are low emitters of climate changing gases, they are in fact among the most vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change. They are the first victims of climate change, which hampers their development. Living in a contemporary society that is culturally diverse, rapidly changing and threatened by environmental disasters and damages means it is important that the arts of this society embrace and reflect these changes. Art is a sensor of society; and it challenges perceptions of climate change by visualising the feelings of threat and danger that comes along with climate change.

Endnotes

[1] Rising flood waters at the coastlines and in the river areas are also attributed to consequences of climate change. For instance, in December 2008 a severe flooding at the Northwest Coast affected 38,000 people or in 2010 between March and May this year many communities along the Sepik River experienced the worst flood in 40 years. An estimated 20,000 people of the East Sepik Province had been affected. But residents have been able to sustain themselves. There are inter-community supply chains thanks to traditional coping mechanism. So that people had enough food and shelter (see also Kempf, 2010).

[2] Pacific Small Islands Developing States, United Nations Members, 2009, Views on Possible Security Implications of Climate Change to be included in the report of the Secretary-General to 64th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, p. 11; http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/resources/res_pdfs/ga-64/cc-inputs/PSIDS_CCIS.pdf

[3] All statements from *Alexander Mebri* were written in an email to me.

Image 6: John Danger: Climate Change, 2009, Acryl on Material

[4] Morton, Adam (28th July, 2009): First climate refugees start move to new island home; http://www.theage.com.au/national/first-climate-refugees-start-move-to-new-island-home-20090728-e06x.html

[5] Personal communication in Tinputz, Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, (March, 2011)

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[10] United Nations Environment Programme (6th June 2008): The Environment in the News. World Environment Day Coverage, p. 12

[11] Personal communication, Hamburg, Germany, (14th April 2011)

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Burmese teenagers with ‚thanaka' makeup in Salay town near Bagan