

UTRIKES PERSPEKTIV

The Student Magazine on Foreign Affairs

Nr. 3 2014

32 page special:
HUMANS AS GOODS

PÅ FLYKT
med en dröm om Sverige

SCOTTISH REFERENDUM
WHAT NOW?

INTERVIEW:
**David
Grossman**

LGBT VISIBILITY IN

UKRAINE



LEADER

» NEARLY 30 MILLION PEOPLE ARE TRAPPED IN SLAVE LIKE CONDITIONS

THIS NOVEMBER, one year has come to pass since the first convulsions of social unrest, which would debouch into what we now know as the Euromaidan Revolution (or the Revolution of Dignity), spread through the Ukrainian society. Much has happened since then: The President Yanukovych fled the country, Russia occupied the Crimean Peninsula and clashes between governmental forces and pro-Russian separatists broke out in the eastern parts of Ukraine. In this issue of Utrikesperspektiv, we will headlight a group of people whose voices during the Euromaidan Revolution, for numerous reasons, resounded quieter than others, but whose presence has played an ambiguous part in the tensions between Ukraine, Russia and the European Union: The Ukrainian LGBT-Movement.

THE THEME OF the third issue of Utrikesperspektiv of 2014 is 'Modern Slavery'. It is estimated that, in the world of today, nearly 30 million people are trapped in slave-like conditions – immigrant workers exploited by heartlessly designed labour systems in countries such as United Arab Emirate (depicted in our piece on the Kafala System on page 24), young girls trapped in the international sex-trade business (on page 41, you can find our interview with Malin Ahlin regarding the European traffic industry) and the Indian Dalits, who you can read about on page 34. To just name a few, incriminating, examples.

WE ARE LINNEA Sandell and Marcus Bornlid, and the magazine in front of you, dear reader, is our first as editors-in-chief. We wish you a pleasant read and we are looking forward towards a year in charge of Utrikesperspektiv. Until next time:



Yours sincerely
Linnea Sandell & Marcus Bornlid
Editors-in-Chief



**ASSOCIATION OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

LUND • EST. 1935

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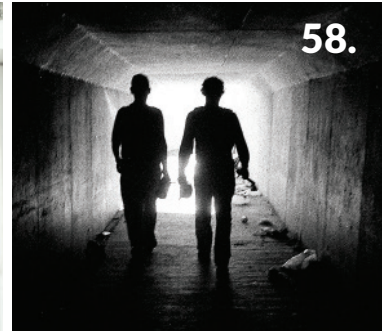
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UTRIKES
PERSPEKTIV



UTRIKES PERSPEKTIV

Utrikesperspektiv is the bilingual member magazine of the Association of Foreign Affairs, published four times per year. The magazine has no affiliations with a political party. Opinions presented are the writers' own.

Front Page:
Photo: Katerina Gabak

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PRESIDENTS' MESSAGE

The new semester has begun and we would like to take this opportunity to officially welcome all the old members back from the Summer Break and all new members to the Association of Foreign Affairs (UPF).

The goal of UPF is to promote debate and discussions regarding Foreign Politics and Global Issues. The Association has been a part of the student life in Lund since 1935. During all that time, everything we have done has been made possible thanks to our active members, working through one of our many committees.

Even though the Association is just catching up after its Summer Break there is already a lot going on. We are organising more lectures than ever, with several notable names such as the Human Rights defender and UN Special Rapporteur Margaret Sekaggya, the Swedish diplomat Carl-Magnus Nesser, President and CEO of Freethem Maria Ahlin and Afghanistan-expert Thomas Ruttig.

Next spring the association celebrates its 80-year anniversary which we will commemorate with a grand celebration, organised by our Project Group. We hope to see many of you during these fun and interesting days.

During the Fall the Association will be organising lectures and publishing media under the theme "Human Security: Modern Slavery". The Magazine in your hands is one such publication. Stay updated on our latest broadcasts, lectures and media through our website www.upflund.se and social media.

Regardless of what you like, UPF has something for you. We look forward to meeting you at one of our lectures, pub nights or sittings. Once again, welcome to UPF!



On behalf of the board,

Emelie Muñoz & Rikard Brodda
President & Vice President

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UTRIKESPERSPEKTIV.SE

The association's webzine have launched a new website. At utrikesperspektiv.se, there is something for all tastes: the large editorial group will each week upload at least two articles on interesting subjects ranging from the War on Terror and IS to issues such as the quality on food in China, just to mention a few, current examples.

TUNE IN ON RADIO UPF

Don't miss Radio UPF every Wednesday at 5 p.m! Tune in on www.radioaf.se to hear interviews, debates and discussions on current issues in foreign affairs.

To hear previous shows, go to: bit.ly/upf-pod

Check out our new Audioboom page (bit.ly/RadioUPF) to hear single segments, such as this discussion on slavery: (bit.ly/upf-slavery)



THE MENTORSHIP PROGRAM

The Mentorship Program will for the upcoming year link participating students with a mentor. The mentor will provide guidance based on their professional expertise. The mentors are former students from Lund University who currently work among others within the European Union, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and United Nations. The program provides the participating students a chance to obtain a better understanding of what it takes to work with specific international or political issues as well as how various organizations work in practice.

Deadline: 16 November 2014.

For more information: <http://upflund.se/event/upf-mentorship-program-2015/>



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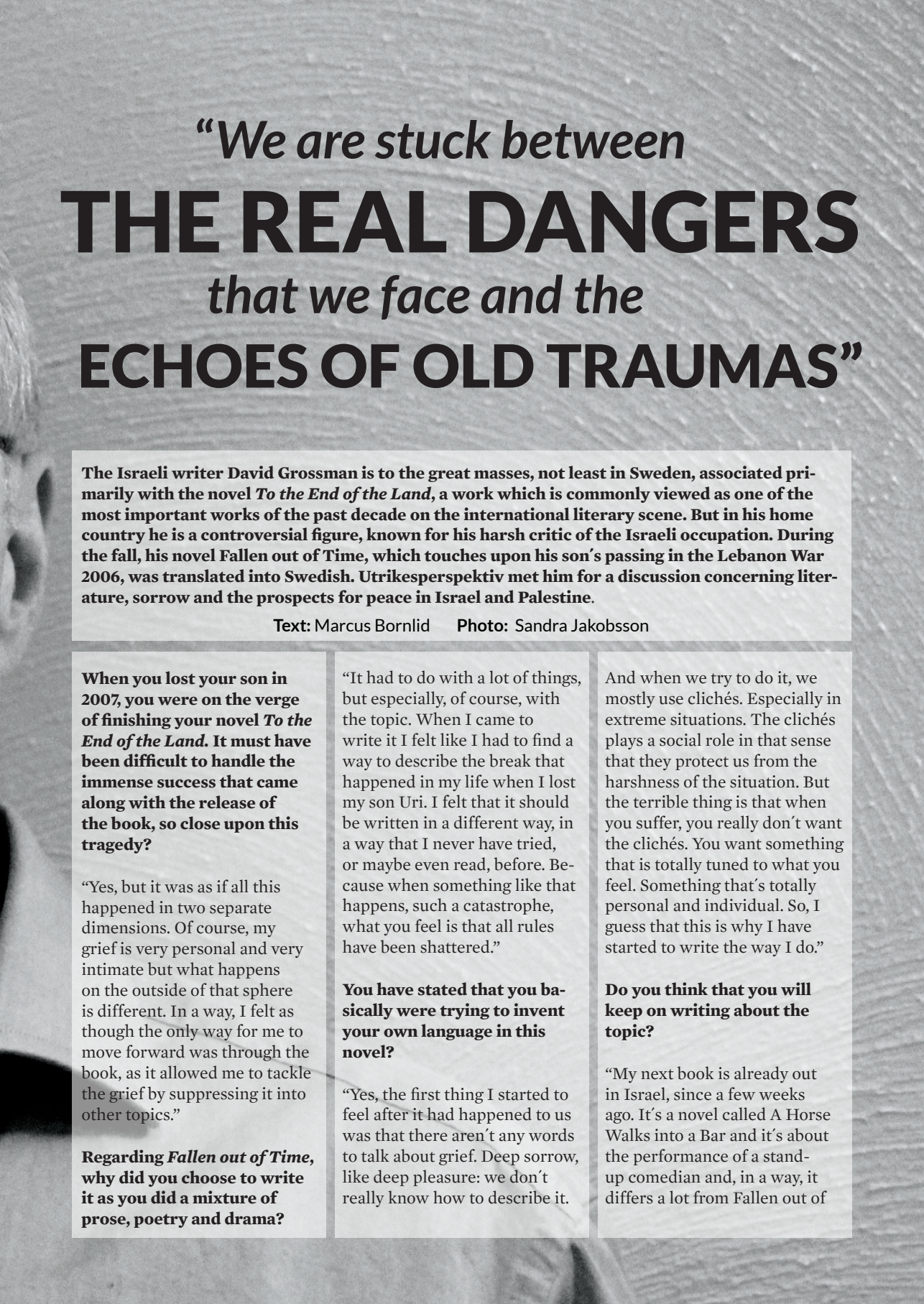
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INTERVIEW:
DAVID GROSSMAN





“We are stuck between THE REAL DANGERS *that we face and the* ECHOES OF OLD TRAUMAS”

The Israeli writer David Grossman is to the great masses, not least in Sweden, associated primarily with the novel *To the End of the Land*, a work which is commonly viewed as one of the most important works of the past decade on the international literary scene. But in his home country he is a controversial figure, known for his harsh critic of the Israeli occupation. During the fall, his novel *Fallen out of Time*, which touches upon his son's passing in the Lebanon War 2006, was translated into Swedish. Utrikesperspektiv met him for a discussion concerning literature, sorrow and the prospects for peace in Israel and Palestine.

Text: Marcus Bornlid Photo: Sandra Jakobsson

When you lost your son in 2007, you were on the verge of finishing your novel *To the End of the Land*. It must have been difficult to handle the immense success that came along with the release of the book, so close upon this tragedy?

“Yes, but it was as if all this happened in two separate dimensions. Of course, my grief is very personal and very intimate but what happens on the outside of that sphere is different. In a way, I felt as though the only way for me to move forward was through the book, as it allowed me to tackle the grief by suppressing it into other topics.”

Regarding *Fallen out of Time*, why did you choose to write it as you did a mixture of prose, poetry and drama?

“It had to do with a lot of things, but especially, of course, with the topic. When I came to write it I felt like I had to find a way to describe the break that happened in my life when I lost my son Uri. I felt that it should be written in a different way, in a way that I never have tried, or maybe even read, before. Because when something like that happens, such a catastrophe, what you feel is that all rules have been shattered.”

You have stated that you basically were trying to invent your own language in this novel?

“Yes, the first thing I started to feel after it had happened to us was that there aren't any words to talk about grief. Deep sorrow, like deep pleasure: we don't really know how to describe it.

And when we try to do it, we mostly use clichés. Especially in extreme situations. The clichés plays a social role in that sense that they protect us from the harshness of the situation. But the terrible thing is that when you suffer, you really don't want the clichés. You want something that is totally tuned to what you feel. Something that's totally personal and individual. So, I guess that this is why I have started to write the way I do.”

Do you think that you will keep on writing about the topic?

“My next book is already out in Israel, since a few weeks ago. It's a novel called *A Horse Walks into a Bar* and it's about the performance of a stand-up comedian and, in a way, it differs a lot from *Fallen out of*

Time. But still, there are themes that are reoccurring in my works; for instance, how death functions as a kind of a voice box for life. In my books, I try to get as close as possible to the places where life touches death. Because I think that all serious piece of art, regardless if it's something we read or something we watch on the movies, have to do with this elusive point where life and death are brought together."

Speaking about the role of the artist: Can you as a writer play a part in improving the Israel-Palestine conflict?

"Well, generally speaking, I think that writers can insist on the accuracy of words; to not allow the government or the army or our fears to manipulate the language with which we describe our reality. It's very important that we keep an accuracy and responsibility to the words we use, and not to demonize "the other" or to idealize ourselves. When we are speaking about Israelis and Palestinians, we are speaking about two miserable groups of people which are caught in a situation they don't have the energy or the power to redeem themselves from. What writers can contribute is the ability to see the situation from different points of view. And I insist, when I talk about the conflict, to try to understand how the Palestinians are experiencing the events. This is not because that they are more "right" than the Israelis – to be frank, I think that both sides by their stupidity have contributed to the injustices. The conflict has been going on for much too long for us

to be able to say which side that is "most guilty". And, anyhow, I'm not interested anymore in asking that types of questions – I'm only interested in the question on how we are going to get out of the situation."

As an advocate for a two-state solution, what were your feelings during the turmoil in Israel this summer?

"It was a terrible summer. Partly because I think so many of us, even those who would try to deny it, suddenly were able to see the machinery of repetition, the machinery of violence. How we are trapped in a vicious circle of violence and counter-violence and that we live within a bubble in which a distorted logic of hatred. Inside this bubble, both sides believe they have reasons to behave like they do, to attack each other. But the question is how we have been stuck in this bubble for more than a century? How can't these two peoples redeem themselves from this trap?"

And what do you think is the answer to that question?

"One major factor is fear. Israel, for instance, is a terrified community and the history of the Israelis is one of the most tragic histories of any people in the history. Since we gained Israel in 1948, we have experienced around ten wars, and we are so terrified that we don't have the ability to take any risks. Therefore, we always chose violent reactions. We are something 8 million people who are surrounded by 2 or 3 million persons who have declared that they don't want us there.

But they don't understand the strong bonds that the Jewish people have to the land of Israel. We originated from Israel for 4 thousand years ago, as a people and as a culture and as a religion, but they think that we are there just by chance. That we are an extension of the imperialism. If they don't understand that, it's very hard for them to accept us there or to understand our right to be there. And this makes it all so much harder for us Israelites, because we are stuck between the real dangers that we face and the echoes of past traumas. Even when we are very strong, even when we are the superpower of the region, we are unable to take the steps for us to enable peace with our neighbours. And right now in the Middle East, with the situation being what it is, Israel has all the reasons to remain very strong. But military strength in itself cannot be the answer to the situation. We have to develop peace with the Palestinians and we need to end the occupation and this terrible situation in which another people have been suffering for almost fifty years. As long as they aren't free, we aren't free."

David Grossman

- David Grossman is, with his friend Amos Oz, one of the most prominent cultural proponents of a two-state solution in Israel.

-He worked as a news anchor in the Israeli broadcasting service during the 80's, but was fired after refusing to bury the news that the Palestinian leadership had declared its own state.



LUND UNIVERSITY
Center for Middle Eastern Studies

As flowers begin to blossom in Sweden, revolutions and social movements continue to bloom across the Middle East and North Africa. The uprising will change the region forever but will also impact life and business in Sweden.

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Photo: CMES, Finngatan 16, Lund

INTERVIEW: THOMAS FAZI

Photo: Jean-Etienne Minh-Duy Poirrier



IN PURELY IDEOLOGICAL TERMS, EUROPE IS REALLY ONE OF THE MOST REACTIONARY REGIONS OF THE WORLD

Thomas Fazi is an Italian writer, journalist, documentary filmmaker, and political activist involved with the European Progressive Economists Network (Euro-pen) as well as the Italian civil society network Sbilanciamoci. After recently publishing his book *The Battle for Europe: How the Elite Hijacked a Continent on the historical importance of the Euro-zone crisis*, Thomas Fazi delivered a UPF lecture on 'The Euro-Crisis: myths and reality'. Here's his message, from a tête-à-tête after his cogent lecture.

By: Malin Elise Rosengren

SINCE YOU JUST RELEASED YOUR BOOK IN FEBRUARY THIS YEAR, WHAT ARE YOU CURRENTLY WORKING ON?

"As a result of the book I am doing a lot of campaigning on these issues, both nationally and at the European level with my organization. We have organized a lot of public events to try to educate people about these issues and we also have a

website where we publish a lot of articles about economic alternatives and different ways that things could be done.

We also try to do lobbying at both the national and the European level. For example, in Italy whenever the government presents its annual budget we present a counter budget to all the MPs showing them that there is a different way - that you don't

necessarily have to cut back on social services. Even if we agree that we have to cut back spending, there are other ways that you can do it and other places that you can take the money out. We produce policy papers and send them out to MPs and MEPs to try and present them with an alternative world view, so that when they go and vote on these issues they hopefully get the full picture."

In your lecture you emphasized the role of ideology and mass media, do you focus on public advocacy as well or just lobbying?

“We do both. Part of our work is educating the public which I think is fundamental. One of the reasons I think people are finding it hard to react to these policies is because they don’t have a clear understanding of what these policies are, what their consequences will be, who they benefit and why they have been implemented. I think its crucial to go out and explain to people that these policies are not inevitable – they are politically and ideologically motivated and there is an alternative. You see that in the most affected countries, the most Southern countries, that there is a lot of disillusionment, if not outright desperation and the idea that there is absolutely nothing that can be done to stop this tide.

Thomas Fazi’s recently published book “The Battle for Europe”.



We try to tell them that that is not the case; this is not a natural development of history, but a result of a set of decisions.

We also feel the need to do more traditional advocacy towards politicians. I think that in a lot of cases politicians have a hard time, especially national parliamentarians, and really are simply quite ignorant of the issues. The problem is that if you don’t understand the issues, if that you are not able to counterattack them theoretically and propose alternatives, then you are very weak politically. So we try to go to politicians that we think are sympathetic to our position, that we know are slightly more or less critical of austerity, and we try to help them and show them how they could try to challenge these policies, even at the political level.”

How do you think ideology plays into the nature of the Eurozone Crisis?

“I think that ideology shows exactly how much the center has slid to the right; where even simply to propose what would have been considered mainstream policies up to thirty years ago is considered an extremely radical and almost fringe position in Europe at the moment. In purely ideological terms Europe is really one (in economics) of the most reactionary regions in the world at the moment. It really shows how powerful neoliberalism has been - it has really seeped into every area of society. One of the ways that it has done that is by getting into universities. What we have now is a situation where even six years after

the crisis students, when they follow an economics course, still receive classic free-market neoliberal theory. I can only speak for Italy, but I know in Italy they have some economics courses where Keynes is hardly taught. All they hear is sort of neoclassical economics.

And of course, this is all meant to say that yes, of course politicians are all victims. Even the ones on the left; victims of this ideology, of this paradigm. I think you have a situation where even if they wanted to get out of a situation, they don’t have the theoretical and intellectual means to do that. The fact of the matter is that even if we agree that it is growth that is needed, they don’t know how it can be achieved because they cannot think outside the box, outside that paradigm.”

In the long-term, how do you see political change taking effect?

“The change will not come from Brussels that is clear, so all of this focus on the European elections was a bit of a joke. I think that change will only come at the national level, and that is what we should be focusing on. The struggle is the same as it has always been, you have to get a party in power that is ready to work in your interest and not in the interest of the fat-cat.”

By: Marcus Bornlid
and Linnea Sandell



Photo: Helgi Haldorsson

1. THE LAST LAUGH OF THE MAJOR

After four years in office, the Icelandic comedian Jón Gnarr, who became the Mayor of Reykjavik in June 2010, has decided to leave the world of politics, after his party's defeat in the local elections this summer. The party in question, named The Best Party, was formed by Gnarr in 2009, and raised to success in the wake of Iceland's financial crises, boosted by the then current backlash

against the country's established parties.

The Best Party's program consisted, among other things, on

calls for an establish-

ment of Disneyland in Reykjavik ("Because

the country was awash

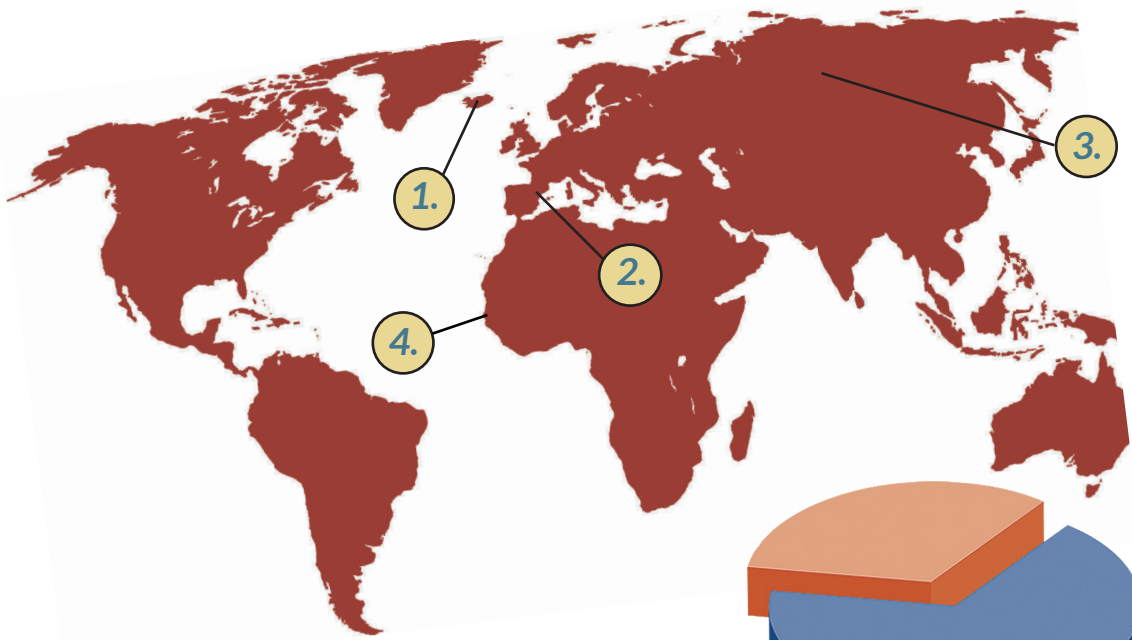
with people who'd be willing to get into Disney costumes and sell cheap tickets for a few kronur") and a "drug-free" parliament by 2020. 2010, The Best Party won the local election in Reykjavik and Gnarr, who had formed the mentioned party as a joke, took his place in the Mayor's office, roughed with lipstick and painted nails. However, in 2014 the citizens of Reykjavik seemed to have grown tired of the Joke Party, and after having lost the latest elections, it was dissolved.

Source: *New Statesman*

2. LONG LIVE CATALONIA

The established truth in Catalonia is that the region is being economically "strangled" by the rest of Spain, which has been hardly hit by the European economic crisis. An election for independence was supposed to take place in November, but when it was revealed that it wouldn't be compatible with the Spanish constitution, the election plans were called off. However, just one day after the "call off", the regional President Artur Mas announced that the election was still to be arranged. He declared that the election would include "urns" and "ballots", but that the result wouldn't be the final say in the matter.

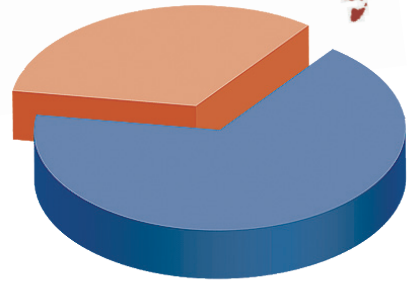
Source: *The Guardian*



3. THE GENEROSITY OF PUTIN

In 2008, the Polish parliamentary speaker, Radoslaw Sikorski, was approached with a rather straight-forward proposal by one of the more prominent public figures in Russia's political life. Who? Well, Vladimir Putin of course. According to Sikorski, the Russian President suggested that Poland should participate in the "partition of Ukraine" and that Poland and Russia should divide the country between themselves. In an interview with the U.S. website Politico, Radoslaw Sikorski, who has served as Poland's Foreign Minister, stated that the Russian President had referred to Ukraine as an "artificial country", and that the Ukrainian city Lwow is "a Polish city" and that the two countries should just "sort it out together". However, Sikorski has claimed that his reply to this invitation was dismissive: "we made it very, very clear to them – we wanted nothing to do with this", he has been quoted saying. Observers have stated that the interview in question could "further aggravate tensions" between Russia and Poland, two countries already at odds with each other over the Ukrainian crisis.

Source: Reuters



2050

UN report predicts that two-thirds of the world's population will live in cities by 2050.

4. WRESTLING DREAMS

Thousands of young boys in Senegal are dropping out of school to pursue a wrestling career. The pots of prize money sometimes adds up to as much as \$300 000 and may serve as a quick way out of poverty.

Source: Al Jazeera



Photo: Pierre-Yves Beaudouin



MÖTEN

på andra sidan

MEDELHAVET

Text och foto: Gustav Wirtén

På ett ödsligt kafé i Jordanien rullas en berättelse om rasismen mot syrier i Mellanöstern upp. Om ett folk utan någonstans att ta vägen, som tvingas ut på Medelhavet i trasiga båtar. Och drömmer om Sverige.

Varifrån kommer du?
Frågan kommer från min bordsgranne. Han och jag är de enda gästerna på kaféet i norra Amman.

Det är Eid al-Adha, en av islams viktigaste högtider. Den vanligtvis bullriga och rökiga lokalen är helt stilla. I det ena hörnet hänger en uttråkad servitör över bardisken och zappar fram och tillbaka på en ljudlös TV.

- Sverige, svarar jag. Han skiner upp.
- Är det sant? Min syster bor där. Hon säger att det är det enda stället där syrier behandlas som människor. Han sträcker fram handen och presenterar sig som Muhd. Muhd är i 35-årsåldern, har en begynnande kulmage och två något insjunkna och smaragdgröna ögon.

- Är du från Syrien?, frågar jag.

- Ja, svarar han. Jag lämnade Syrien på grund av kriget. Nu jobbar jag i Saudiarabien, men jag drömmer om att komma till Europa. I Saudiarabien behandlas jag inte som en människa, bara ett problem. Vi syrier ses som en belastning var vi än är. Så är det överallt, här i Jordanien också.

EN STUND SENARE kommer en vän till Muhd, Mamdouh, och slår sig ner vid bordet. Mamdouh är lång, har ett välvårdat skägg och är oklanderligt klädd i en ljusblå skjorta och svarta jeans. Han bär med sig en lugn utstrålning som inte går att ta miste på. Muhd och Mamdouh berättar att de växte upp tillsammans i Damaskus. De bodde i samma område, gick i samma skolor och på samma universitet.

- Vi protesterade för frihet i början av revolutionen, men regimen var fruktansvärt våldsam, de sköt rakt i i demonstrationerna. Jag har sett många

människor dö, säger Muhd och ser mig djupt i ögonen.

- Jag åker aldrig tillbaka, fortsätter han. Jag vet inte vad som skulle hända om jag åkte tillbaka. Förmodligen skulle jag bli gripen vid gränsen och bortförd. Kanske skulle de tortera mig till döds, jag vet faktiskt inte. Det är samma sak för alla syrier, vi kan inte åka tillbaka och vi kan inte gå vidare i våra liv. Vi sitter fast.

»HERREGUD, FOLK BEGÅR I PRINCIP SJÄLVMORD PÅ HAVET

HISTORISKT HAR GRÄNSEN mellan Syrien och Jordanien alltid varit öppen. Folk har gift sig och flyttat fram och tillbaka över den. Många familjer och klaner i södra Syrien sträcker sig över gränsen till Jordanien och tvärtom. När inbördeskriget i Syrien bröt ut 2011 flydde många syrier från södra Syrien till sina förlängda familjer i Jordanien och uppfattade sig inte som flyktingar. De kunde snabbt komma på plats i det jordanska samhället. Men i takt med att konflikten trappades upp och blev

blodigare började folk från hela Syrien fly till Jordanien. Hals över huvud. Idag beräknas att minst 600 000 syrisk flyktingar finns i Jordanien, ett land med 5,9 miljoner invånare. De öppna armar som mötte de första syriska flyktingarna har bytts mot misstänksamhet och arbetsförbud. Syrier anklagas för att ta jobb från vanliga jordanier och sänka lönerna för alla genom att jobba för vilken lön som helst. Undersökningar visar att 73 procent av jordanierna vill att Jordanien slutar ta emot syriska flyktingar.

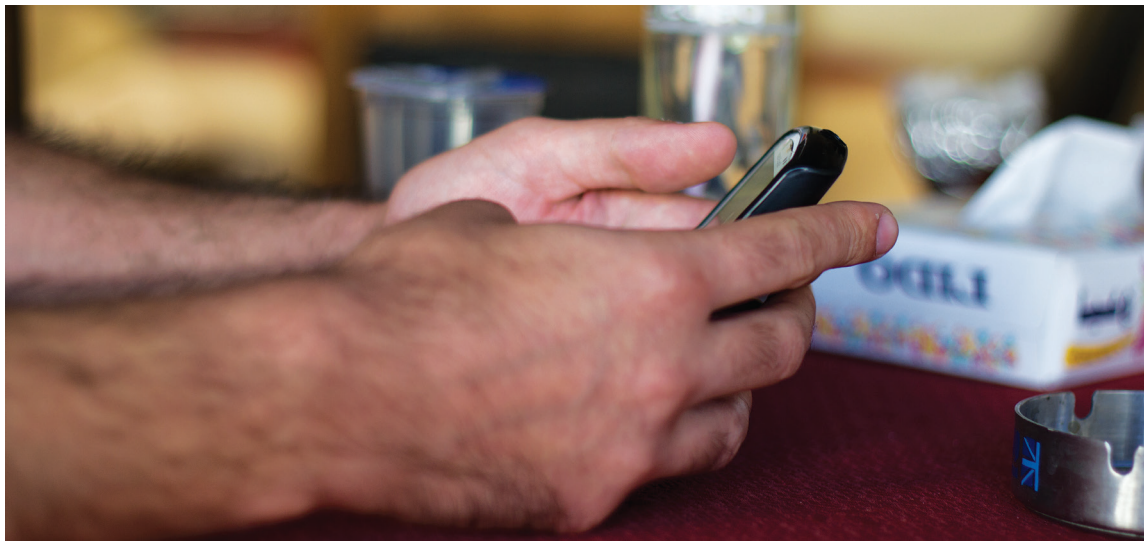
MAMDOUH BERÄTTAR ATT han har ett extrajobb på ett designföretag i Irbid i norra Jordanien. Ibland stormar polisen in och ber alla visa papper. De letar efter syrier. När han inte kan visa upp något arbetstillstånd, syrier får i regel inte sådana, grips han och häktas på polisstationen. Där tvingas han sitta ett par timmar för att sedan skriva under ett kontrakt där han lovar att aldrig mer jobba i Jordanien. Sen åker han tillbaka till jobbet.

- Vad ska jag göra?, suckar han. Jag måste ju överleva.

ÄR DET MÅNGA syrier som drömmer om att komma till Sverige, undrar jag. Muhd börjar skratta, pekar mot trottoaren utanför och säger:

- Min vän, fråga vilken syrier som helst på gatan här om han eller hon vill till

Trots att den farliga resan skrämmer honom bestämde sig Mamdouh för att fly till Europa för en månad sedan.



Sverige. ALLA kommer svara ja. Vi kan inte vara kvar i Syrien, då blir vi dödade. Men i Jordanien, Libanon, Saudiarabien, Egypten och alla andra arabländer ses vi inte som människor. Vi får inte jobba och beskylls för alla tänkbara problem i samhället. Alla vill till Europa.

UNDER VÅRT SAMTAL kommer servitören på kaféet fram för att byta ut kolbitarna högst upp på Muhds vattenpipa. Han pekar på mig och frågar Muhd:

- Varifrån kommer han?

- Från Sverige.

- Va? Kan du inte be honom att ta med min bror dit?, frågar han och ler. Det visar sig att också han är från Syrien. Hans bror har deserterat från armén, men eftersom passet blir in-draget under militärtjänstgöringen har han inget sådant längre. Han kommer alltså inte ut ur Syrien. Vad som händer om myndigheterna får tag på honom förstår nog de flesta.

DE LAGLIGA VÄGARNA till Europa är i praktiken stängda. 2013 tog EU:s 27 medlemsstater tillsammans emot 5,120 kvotflyktingar, att jämföra med världens totalt 50 miljoner flyktingar. Resten utlämnas till smugglare och rangliga fiskebåtar. Detta gäller också Sverige. Syriska flyktingar får inte visum för att flyga till Sverige och söka asyl. De permanenta uppehållstillstånd som idag per automatik tilldelas syrier delas bara ut om dessa syrier (som av en händelse) dyker upp på något av Migrationsverkets kontor i Sverige. Det går en rät linje mellan denna praxis och döden på Medelhavet. Återhållsamma beräkningar visar att att 22,000 människor har sjunkit mot sin sista vila längst smuggelrutterna på Medelhavet sedan år 2000. En massdöd i det tysta.

JAG FRÅGAR OM de känner någon som planerar att fly till Europa över Medelhavet.

- Han!, säger Muhd och pekar på sin vän rakt över bordet. Mamdouh nickar

och berättar att han bestämde sig för ungefär en månad sedan, han ska försöka ta sig till Europa.

- Från början hade jag tänkt stanna i Jordanien så länge kriget höll på och sen åka tillbaka så fort jag kunde. Men nu ser det ut att aldrig ta slut och situationen här är usel. Så just nu letar jag efter en rutt med så få risker som möjligt över havet. Antingen åker jag till Turkiet och sedan över till Grekland eller så tar jag mig till Libyen eller Algeriet och tar mig med båt över till Italien, men det är mycket farligt. - Jag har också registrerat mig som flykting hos FN så att jag har möjlighet att få utvandra som kvotflykting. Det vore så klart det bästa alternativet, då slipper jag riskera livet på havet. Men det är väldigt svårt. Är du inte rädd att dö på havet, undrar jag.

- Varför tror du att jag har varit kvar i Jordanien så länge? Det är klart att jag är rädd. Men det känns inte som att jag har något val längre.

MUHD SÄTTER HANDFLATAN mot bordskanten, lutar sig mot mig med en allvarlig blick och säger:

- Det kanske finns människor i Europa som säger "de där flyktingarna är galna, de kommer förstöra vårt land". Jag vill säga till dem: Vi har inget val. Vi åker över havet i rostiga båtar, trasiga båtar. Herregud, folk begår i princip självmord på havet. Bara för att få ett vanligt liv.

JAG STÄNGER AV bandspelaren och tackar Muhd och Mamdouh. Innan jag går ger jag mina kontaktuppgifter till Mamdouh, säger att han ska kontakta mig om han kommer till Sverige så att jag kan hjälpa honom att komma på plats. Han ger mig en vänlig blick och säger:

- Det blir bra. Vi ses i Sverige. Om Gud vill. ●

Kvot-flyktingar

När FN:s flyktingorgan UNHCR bedömer att alla andra möjligheter, som återvändande till hemlandet eller bosättning i flyktlandet, är uttömda kan de föreslå enskilda flyktingar som kvotflyktingar. Denna status möjliggör för dessa flyktingar att utvandra på laglig väg och undvika de farliga smuggelrutterna. Riksdagen tilldelar varje år Migrationsverket resurser för att ta emot 1900 kvotflyktingar. En dryg tredjedel av hela EU:s flyktingkvot.

UKRAINE

ABOVE EVERYTHING

Recent protests in Ukraine provided an important platform for Ukrainians to voice their demands for urgent change. However, some voices were louder than others.

By: Olena Dudko and Gabriel R Plessis



Photo: Katerina Gabak

The 2013-2014 unrests—collectively known as “Maidan” (square) or “Euromaidan”—galvanised a country at breaking point. Discontent grew amidst a nation marred by a discredited President Viktor Yanukovych, the self-enrichment of the political elite, corruption, and widespread societal and police violence. During the winter of 2013, old and young, rich and poor, women and men, leftist and conservatives, all converged at Maidan in Kyiv—united by a collective demand for change. Yet, ideas about the exact nature of such change remained precarious and uncertain.

DIFFERENT AGENDAS of individuals, groups, and organisations present at Maidan have been, at times, poles apart. In addition, various agendas hung in the balance, depending on the outcome of the protest. Despite various obstacles, women have arguably made some of the more noticeable gains. Through the creation of the self-titled organisation, ‘Women’s Squad’, lectures with a particularly feminist perspective were organised during the protest and held at Maidan. This provided female activists with a vital means to address their specific agenda. It also, crucially, provided activists with the means to reach and unite women from various social, religious, and economic backgrounds. Additionally, Women’s Squad also managed to receive noticeable media coverage in Ukraine since the protests—using their newfound platform to address gender-based violence and discrimination in Ukraine.

FAR-RIGHT GROUPS have also managed to make relatively similar gains. Right-wing parties and organizations managed to become one of the more prominent actors of the revolution, with the media dedicating an estimated 25% of its coverage to their activities

at the protests. Maidan also stimulated several right-wing organizations to unite in an umbrella organization aptly titled the ‘Right Sector’ which became a prominent and visible presence at the protest—especially during violent events. For some, the group presented a necessary alternative. The ‘Right Sector’ was thus able to quickly mobilize supporters and have, since its formation, managed to register as a political party. LGBT (Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender) organisations, however, were confronted with a particularly challenging dilemma and were, in several ways, not as fortunate as the aforementioned groups.

UNLIKE MOST GROUPS, the LGBT community had to negotiate their agenda in a noticeably sensitive geopolitical context. Ukraine was perceived as being at a critical geopolitical crossroads. Ukraine could either join Putin’s Eurasian Union or cooperate with the European Union vis-à-vis the signing of the European Association agreement. The latter was perceived as potentially bolstering economic ties with the European Union, whilst also sending an important message that its future lies with Europe and not with Russia. For LGBT groups, the EU Association Agreement presented an important step forward in regards to LGBT rights as the signing of the EU association agreement would have also included the adoption of an anti-discrimination law in regards to sexual minorities.

FOR PRO-RUSSIAN SUPPORTERS, the LGBT question, however, became a crucial means of legitimizing and strengthening a pro-Russian position. Pro-Russian narratives were dominated by the notion of a decadent and immoral Europe by contrasting popular homophobic and Anti-Maidan tropes such as ‘Gayrope’ or ‘EuroSodom’ with notions of Slavic, Orthodox, and Russian purity. One of the more bizarre examples of the utilisation of this popular trope

Left: In the beginning of December 2013, more than 100 000 Ukrainian citizens gathered in Independence Square in Kyiv to protest Viktor Yanukovych’s decision not to sign the Association Agreement with the EU.

was a series of reported fake LGBT meetings in which homeless men and women were collected of the streets of Kyiv and given rainbow flags to march throughout the city. It was aptly, albeit deceptively, titled 'For a European Ukraine'. This proved to be a potent means to perpetuate and only further enforce the notion of a degenerate and morally bankrupt Europe.

THE GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION consequently gave LGBT groups two options: They could, similar to LGBT activist at the Gezi protests in Turkey, remain visible and make their specific agenda known during the protests. Doing so, however, would potentially divide Ukrainian society and, as a consequence, affect the crucially important solidarity between Maidan protesters. Recent social polls suggests that almost 80% of Ukrainians holds negative attitudes towards homosexuality. There were thus serious social and political implications in regards to the visibility of LGBT groups at Maidan. The other option required LGBT groups to remain largely invisible, in so doing promoting a common goal whilst consciously remaining silent about LGBT related issues. On the 17th of December 2013, after much deliberation, 21 LGBT organisations made their position known in an official statement: "We are not fighting today for specific rights for LGBT persons. We are standing under the flag of our country and EU flag as citizens of Ukraine fighting for a better life for all". The decision, whilst commendable, came, arguably, at far too great a cost.

ON THE 27TH of June 2014, after several complications, the EU Association Agreement was signed. Four of the eleven demands of the EU Association Agreement that Ukraine was required to implement, however, were removed by the EU. One of these rejected laws—to the chagrin of LGBT groups—included the legal protection of sexual

minorities. The decision was partly motivated by a desire to circumvent the challenges that the law presented.

WHILST LGBT GROUPS remained invisible during the protest, a decision was now made to, once again, demand equal rights and recognition in Ukraine. One such strategy was a March of Equality, planned to be held in the country's capital in July 2014. The Mayor of Kyiv, Vitali Klitschko, however, made a statement soon after the announcement of the planned event. In no uncertain terms, Klitschko stated that, "at this exact moment when there is war and people are dying every day, it is not relevant to organise events such as these". However, in light of the unsympathetic environment that Ukraine seems to find itself, it seems unlikely that there will ever be an appropriate time for LGBT issues to be addressed, either by politicians or pro-Ukrainian protesters. This is problematic inasmuch as whilst pro-LGBT organisations remained invisible during the protests and their agenda now made irrelevant, pro-Russian and Anti-Maidan protesters are increasingly presenting LGBT persons in a negative light.

» 80 PERCENT OF UKRAINIANS HOLD NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALITY

IN OCCUPIED CRIMEA, for example, the region's de facto leader, Sergei Aksyonov, said of homosexuality that, should the LGBT community try to hold public gatherings, "our police and self-defence forces will react immediately and in three minutes will explain to them

The Revolution

- The series of violent clashes between protestors and the Ukrainian police, which culminated in February 2014 with the flight and impeachment of the former President Viktor Yanukovich, are commonly referred to as the Ukrainian or the Euromaidan Revolution



Photo: Tetyana Bunyak

Above: During the clashes between the police and the demonstrators, people on both camps/sides lost their life.

what kind of sexual orientation they should stick to.” Statements such as these remain a salient reminder of the importance of addressing LGBT issues in Ukraine and its occupied areas.

WHILST THE MUCH-AWAITED parliamentary elections will happen on the 26th of October, it seems unlikely that any significant changes will be made in regards to LGBT issues. According the latest polls, it is expected that the five parties that are likely to be elected for the new parliament will, whilst neither explicitly discriminating against homosexuality, also not address homosexuality at all.

THE DECISION TO remain silent was a commendable and, perhaps, necessary sacrifice. It came, however, at a great a cost. The European Union removed demands for the law that would have provided legal protection for sexual minorities. Recent statements from officials in Kyiv have shown that LGBT issues are irrelevant in light of the country’s current situation. In addition, it seems likely that politicians will remain silent in regards to the rights of its LGBT citizens. It is argued, ad nauseam, that it is simply not the right time to address questions related to LGBT issues. If the current trend is to continue, however, it seems unlikely that there will ever be a right time to address LGBT issues. ●



Photo: Kevin Utting



theme:
HUMANS
as
GOODS

In every corner of the world people are leaving family and friends behind in search of a better life, only to be met by slave like working conditions. Although slavery is not legal anywhere it happens everywhere.

We have put the phenomena of modern slavery under the microscope.

THE KAFALA SYSTEM

foundations of a modern slave trade



Photo: Michael Coglan

After being promised high wages and a better life and arriving at Dubai International Airport, Mahmoud Jamal from Bangladesh is shuttled off to a labor camp on the outskirts of the city, before beginning a life of working 12 hours a day, six days a week. Mahmoud's story, which was told to Al Jazeera is just one of many within Dubai and the wider region.

Syed Khaled, another Bangladeshi who also spoke to Al Jazeera, described the living conditions and stated that he shares a room with five other men, and a bathroom with between 40 and 50. In a BBC Panorama report in 2009, the reporter exclaimed that he could not find a single example of good or ethical practice. Every worker that he had spoken to paid a recruitment fee; deemed illegal but still practiced. Many of them discussed the confiscation of their passport; rendering them helpless and trapped. No worker was paid more than \$220 a month, and all of the workers said that they felt much worse off than they had been back home.

THIS SYSTEMATIC TREATMENT of labor migrant workers within the UAE and the wider Middle East is well known. It is also widespread throughout different industries of low level work and legitimised within state institutions within the mentioned regions. According to the Emirates Center for Human Rights (ECHR), it is a consequence and result of the Kafala System.

THE KAFALA SYSTEM, or sponsorship system, although varying between each state, can generally be described as a system in which nationals of a country sponsor foreign workers in order for them to be allowed entry, work permits, and exit visa's within said country. As a core migration policy for the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries - whose national population generally form a minority in the states - and Jordan and Lebanon that emerged within the 1950's, the economic objectives include being able to provide temporary labor that could be bought in rapidly at times of growth, and expelled easily at times of low demand. Those involved within the system can be dissected into three groups; The Sponsor (Kafeel), The Agent or Employer, and the Worker.

KAFALA كفالة

meaning: to guarantee, take care of



THE SPONSOR, OR Kafeel, is the national of the country whom sponsors the worker, providing an invitation into the country. However, the Kafeel in many cases, and especially regarding migrant labor workers, is not always active in the process. The Kafeel is usually a partner within the company, as within the rentier system of many of the Gulf States, all companies must be sponsored by a national. In the example of labor workers, it is in fact the agent/recruitment/construction agency that is in a position of power.

VARYING IN EACH case, but focusing on migrant workers, the agency that recruited the laborers, or the construction company in which they work for are the ones who dictate the conditions of the workers. In the case of the migrant workers, it is also these people who hold a position of control, dictating entry/exit permission through withholding passports, monitoring movement within the country and, in many cases, withholding the wages of the workers. It is also through the

The Kafala System

- The Kafala System is a system in which individuals "sponsor" foreign workers in order for the worker in question to be allowed entry and work permits in their sponsors' countries.

- The wages of the "sponsored" workers are often withheld and they are not allowed to form unions

Next page: In Dubai construction workers are able to take a break during the hottest hours of the day since 2013.

This page: Most migrant workers arrive from the Asian Subcontinent, Nepal and the Philippines.



Photo: Harald Groven

agency/company that the Kafeel gets its profit from. Recruitment agencies, although illegal in the UAE, still operate within the UAE and the home countries of these workers, charging approximately \$2,000 - \$3,000 to arrange work placements, contracts and purchase air travel. It is usually these agencies, or local loan sharks, that lend the money to these workers, who usually originate from impoverished rural communities, according to The Human Rights Watch.

LOW LEVEL WORKERS who migrate to the UAE and other GCC countries often come from the poorest and most vulnerable circles of society within

their home country. Most arrive from the Asian Subcontinent, Nepal and the Philippines and ends up in the construction industry. In fact, in the Dubai alone, 71% of the emirate's population are from Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and The Philippines), and many working in the construction workforce. As mentioned previously, they are promised higher wages and satisfactory living conditions only to be met by bonded and forced labor, and unsanitary living conditions. Furthermore, they are not able to form unions and risk being deported if they strike; a reality that many were met with in Abu Dhabi in 2009.

» THEY ARE FORCED TO WORK WITH NO OTHER POSSIBILITY

THIS EXPERIENCE OF bonded labor is shared by many migrant labor workers in the UAE and beyond. According to The Human Rights Watch report on labor workers in Dubai, worker's wages (which are usually between \$175-\$220 a month, according to the European Court of Human Rights) are routinely withheld, especially for the first few months, meaning that charges start to



Photo: Paul Keller



Photo: Sam Nabi

build up, seeing them immediately fall into arrears. In addition to this, they are also subjected to forced labor, due to the confiscation of passports. Furthermore, in many of these countries, it is illegal to change employees without consent, and thus they are forced to work in order to pay back the debt, at a minimal rate with no other possibility.

AS SUCH, THESE workers are trafficked to the region under false pretences and put into conditions many define as a modern system of slavery, a thought shared by Bahrain's foreign minister who declared that Bahrain would abolish the system due to it being 'like a modern form of slavery' in 2009. However, five years on, abuses are still being documented.



Photo: Paul Keller

FURTHER CRITICISM is due to the systems ability to tie the workers to their employers and the job itself, making it illegal for workers to resign and look for new work without the sponsor's approval. The debt bondage described previously falls within the UN 1956 supplementary convention definition of slavery, which identifies "debt bondage, serfdom, forced marriage and delivery of child for the exploitation of that child [as] all slave-like practices and require criminalisation and abolishment". There have even been occasions, such as an article written by the New York Times, where workers even identify to their employers as the 'Owners'.

WHILE THE TOPIC has been covered by the media throughout the past decade, and most notably regarding Qatar, some improvements have developed. In the Dubai for instance, since 2013, construction workers are able to take a break during the hottest hours of the day, as temperatures regularly exceed 100 degrees Fahrenheit. Furthermore, all wages must be paid into the employer's bank account, and the withholding of passports is now illegal.

However, questions whether these laws are being enforced depict little change and reports of abuse are still frequent, especially regarding the false conditions workers are told of before coming to the region.

WITH THE KAFALA system being condemned by the International Labor Organisation as creating unequal dynamics of power relations, the profitability and need for low level workers at times of economic boom is a reason enough for the UAE and the GCC to continue to allow such a system. Furthermore, while countries such as the Philippines have condemned and threatened to ban natives from working within these countries until conditions improve in the past, the high amounts of remittance sent home every year is seen as a lifeline for some of these developing states. For instance, according to the Hindu Business Times, in 2013, the foreign remittance sent to India topped \$71 Billion dollars, where 20% were from Keralites, those from the Southern State of Kerala. Furthermore, approximately 90% of that was from

» MANY OF THEM DISCUSSED THE CONFISCATION OF THEIR PASSPORT; RENDERING THEM HELPLESS AND TRAPPED”

Keralites in the Gulf; many of whom work in construction. While labor workers in the UAE have protested on numerous occasions including in 2009 and 2011, it seems that as with all trades of slavery, the economic benefits ring far louder than the calls for help, and are continually reinforced by the Kafala system within the UAE and beyond. ●

By: Reece Waldron

The majority of the migrant workers work within the construction industry.



Geir, 37 Thea, 12 Getting married

A while back I came across a wedding blog on Facebook. It was an ordinary wedding blog with posts about the wedding dress, the groom, and thoughts about the future. There was just one problem, the blog was written by a 12-year old girl.

Her name is Thea and she is a typical Norwegian girl who likes horses, One Direction and having fun with her friends. Her aim is to become a veterinarian in order for her to work with horses and other animals. According to her blog, she is going to be married off to a man twice her age, named Geir. At first, she thinks it will be fun to wear a wedding dress, eat cake and be around Geir's cute dog, but after a while she realizes she has to give up her friends, her family and going to school.

"GEIR HAS JUST left!!! It was quite a weird visit actually. He is very nice, but he has got a BEARD and is very grown-up. I actually know that he is 37 YEARS OLD, because I finally asked him myself even though it was incredibly embarrassing. I sort of talk to him like I would talk to my uncle Rolf or my teacher or some other adult..." ("Thea" from the blog)

IT TOOK A few weeks and a lot of concerned calls to the police and child services, before "Plan Norway" announced they were behind the fictional blog. It was a part of a campaign against child marriages. In a matter of twelve hours, the blog became the country's most read. Medias from all over the world have covered the story. Among these

Thea and Geir at the altar. The wedding was, however, stopped.

» A WEDDING, NORMALLY ASSOCIATED WITH LOVE AND HAPPINESS, IS PLACED IN A SAD CONTEXT

are BBC, Huffington Post, La Republica and BuzzFeed. Celebrities from around the world have also shown interest in this very unorthodox campaign; among these celebrities is Ashton Kutcher, who recently became a father.

Thea is actually a 12 year old girl named Maja Bergström. The wedding was widely debated under the hashtag: #stoppbryllupet



Photo: Plan Norway

Latifa, 14 years old and lives in Tanzania. She is married to a man 20 years older than her. You can read her story at: Latifa.blogg.no



Photo: Plan Norway

Child marriages

- An estimated 39000 girls under the age of 18 are married off each day.

- Pregnancy-related complications are the most common cause of death for young girls in development countries.

- One out of seven girls are married off in development countries before having reached the age of fifteen.

"**WE WANT** to show how incredibly wrong a child marriage is, by placing a tragic custom into a context we normally associate with love, happiness and hopes for the future. For most girls, their wedding day is the most beautiful and happy day of her life, but for 39.000 girls, married off at as child brides, it is the worst day," explained Olaf Thommesen from Plan Norway.

OCTOBER 11TH: HUNDREDS of people have shown up in Jakob Church in Oslo to witness what is supposed to be the first official child marriage in Norway's history. This wedding is what the blog has led up to all along. Among them are

various Norwegian celebrities, reporters and ordinary people. Outside is a mob screaming: "Stop the wedding" and "Thea; say no". It is not just for any reason the wedding is set to this date, October 11th is "The International Day of the Girl Child".

IT WAS AN absurd situation watching a child walking down the aisle to marry a grown man. This staged wedding was of course stopped, but the sad truth is that 39000 girls under the age of 18 are married off every day. Thea (who is really Maja (12) from Stockholm, Sweden) did not have to marry a man twice her age. She did not have to leave her dreams of becoming a veterinarian and going to school behind but sadly a lot of young girls in third world countries do.

CHILD MARRIAGES DO not just affect the young girls who are married off, but also entire societies. Girls who marry at an early age rarely get an education, they have a lower income and a hard time participating in the society. Young brides tend to get children while they are still children themselves. A pregnancy at such an early age carries with it a high risk, and complications during/ after a pregnancy at that age is in fact the most common cause of death among girls (age 15- 19), in third world countries. One out of seven girls in third world countries are married off before they have turned 15 years old. Some of these girls have to live in slave-like conditions for their older husbands and are often abused and raped.

So, HOW CAN a blonde Scandinavian girl and a fake wedding blog help save the young girls forced into child marriages all over the world? "The aim was to provoke, and make people realize the absurdity of a 12-year-old girl getting married," said Olaf Thommesen, Plan. The blog also shows how rapidly information is moved around, and thanks to sharing via Facebook and other social medias, knowledge about child marriages has expanded. ●

Text: Kari S Helle

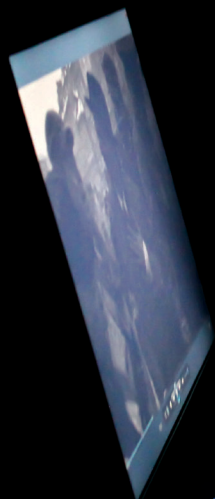


Photo: Gabriel Saldana

SLAVES of our own DEVICES

By: Elaine Zheng

Have you ever experienced the scenario in which you are sitting in a cafe with your friends - staring at their phones, smiling towards their screens and not at you? The only interaction occurring between you is when you are showing one another your respective Facebook-activities? If you never have had such an experience, congratulations! You are one of the lucky few.

In the 21st century, thanks to the rapid development of high technology, it is convenient for people to reach easy access to updated information, to connect with friends around the world and to get wide range of entertainment via the smart devices in their hands. Electronic devices, such as tabs, pads, boards, are so smart that not only can they tell people how to solve mathematical problems and where to find the recipe for a special dinner, but also how to deal with the parents and how

to make more money from the capital markets. Moreover, they are providing an easy and quick platform for people to connect with others without stepping out of their doors.

RECEIVING INCREASING attention from people, especially young people, such high-tech products are now taking a more important role in our life. The devices have started to act more like our master than just our devices. They have successfully, though unintentionally, drawn our attention from real life

to cyber life. The released statistics show that the average time people spend on their smart devices is about 180 minutes everyday. This means that except for time spent sleeping, working and studying, people are devoting almost one-third of their spare time, which was earlier spent with their friends and families, actually staring at a “screen”. This magic screen is becoming the dearest friend or a close family member, to which people are more willing to devote their continuing care. According to the figures, people check their devices around 110 times a day. In contrast, how many times do they visit their friends and family? Once a week, a month or a year?

SMART DEVICES CANNOT talk. They do not request attention or time from people. It is the people themselves, who willingly contribute their free time and intensive care to this little intelligent

machine. Civilized people are now building up and living in an illusionary slave society, reducing themselves to be a “slave” of their own devices and, in the mean time, enjoying it. They are spending time staring at that magic screen instead of in the eyes of real people; they are sharing the moments via the device and becoming happy when someone “likes” their statuses; they are followed by hundreds of people on social medias, but when being around real people, they feel lonely and shy.

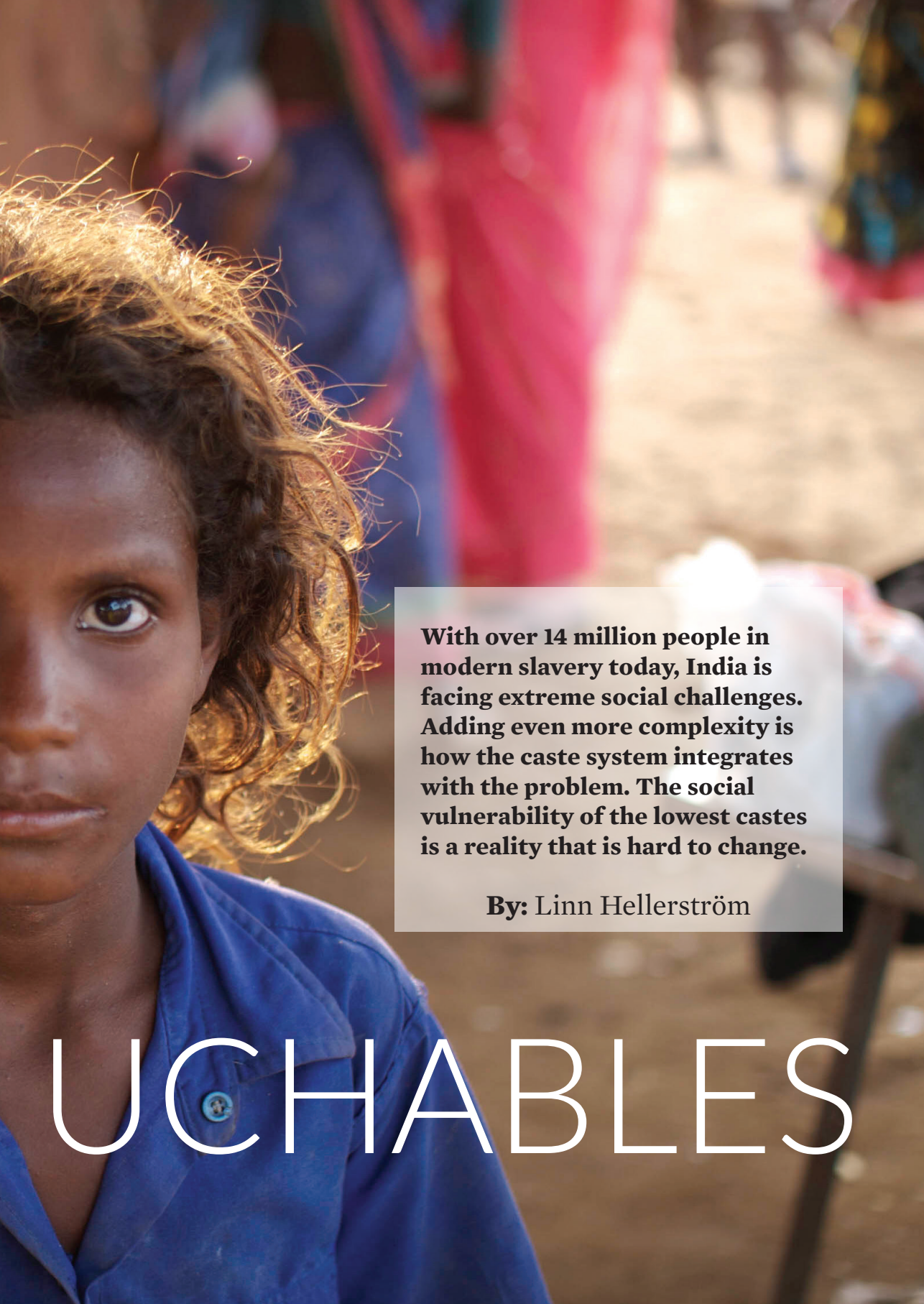
IF THE SITUATION KEEPS going on like this, in less than 10 years, we would be entering a new slavery age. So look up; turn down the devices; leave them behind the back. Stop entertaining children with ipads, showing them your love and care. Get out of cyber life and come back to the reality. ●

“According to the figures, people check their devices around 110 times a day.”



Photo: Tessaly de la Force

THE UNTO



With over 14 million people in modern slavery today, India is facing extreme social challenges. Adding even more complexity is how the caste system integrates with the problem. The social vulnerability of the lowest castes is a reality that is hard to change.

By: Linn Hellerström

UNCHABLES

Every sixth person in the world is Indian. With over 1.2 billion people, India is expected to take over China in terms of population by 2025. The rapid economic growth in India today is getting a fair share of the world's attention. Unfortunately it often fails to highlight the deeply rooted humanitarian problems lying under the surface. Approximately 30 million people in the world today is considered to live in slave like conditions. A near half of this amount can be found in India, making it the highest number worldwide.

RANGING FROM BONDED labour to sexual exploitation, the country exhibits a full spectrum of modern slavery. This is affecting all levels of society, but one group is especially exposed - the untouchables. Officially called Dalits, this group of people stands for a vast majority of modern slaves in India. The name is covering numerous of social groups from all over India, having in common that they do not belong to any of the castes. The caste system is therefore placing more than 160 million Dalits on the very bottom of society. Untouchability is the name of an old traditional practise in India. Simplified it means that caste Hindus shall not touch anything that has come in physical contact with Dalits.

FACING SEVERE SOCIAL discrimination, they are often forced to take on the most degrading and dirtiest jobs. Dalit women being employed as manual scavengers of human waste exemplifies how they are forced to perform tasks considered too unclean for higher caste citizens. Many are comparing untouchability with a hidden apartheid system. Years of constitutional protection and state support have not yet managed to solve the segregation still being practised between the castes in India. The discrimination against Dalits takes many different forms. No access to land, lack of educational and

health rights and physical abuse is only mentioning a few.

THE HARDSHIPS FOR Dalits are not being ignored though. Numerous of non-governmental organisations worldwide are advocating for Dalit rights and shedding light on their situation. One of those are Svalorna, a non-profit based in Lund. They are promoting Dalit rights through partnering with grass-roots organisations in India providing legal support and resource centres.

SVALORNA'S MANAGING DIRECTOR Monica Erwér has a lot of experience and insights in the area. Leading the collaboration with partner organizations in India, she tells us that a focus on Dalit rights is mainstreamed throughout all the different projects they participate in. One of the organisations Svalorna supports is Evidence. A big part of their work is to provide legal help but also to be a voice for the many stories that Dalits has to share.

- THE SITUATION LOOKS quite different depending on where in India you are, Monica Erwér says. The southern part of the country inhabits more Dalits, leading to a greater organization here since the oppression historically has been more severe. The marginalization goes through all levels of society – economically, culturally and politically. A big problem for Dalits is the denied access to their own land. On top of this the practice of untouchability is still persistent today, creating a huge stigmatization. In an average teashop different sets of mugs are usually used, depending if you're caste Hindu or Dalit.

MONICA ERWÉR CONTINUES to explain that the government's interventions aimed to improve the situation have had varying results. The constitution is protecting Dalits equal rights and quotas for government jobs and universities have been implemented. But the quotas has not been uncontroversial

Slavery in India

- Of the estimated 30 million people living in slave-like conditions, half of them can be found in India.

- The Dalits, or the Untouchables, does not "belong" to any of the Indian castes, and according to old costum, Hindus shall not touch anything that has come in contact with the Dalits.

- The Dalits are facing serve social discrimination are usally forced to perform the worst jobs available.



Photo: Dalit Network

A Dalit indulged in manual scavenging. Not belonging to any of the castes, Dalits are often forced to take on the most degrading jobs.

and the market, still holding the majority of jobs, are still creating barriers for equal participation.

- THE INTERNAL DALIT movement has grown strong recently, which is positive. I truly believe that the road to change in India will have to go through social movements and raising awareness. A much important issue within the movement is the situation for Dalit women. Being both a woman and Dalit means carrying a double burden and that's why the intersectional perspective in this debate is so vital. Life for these women is particularly difficult. Holding the biggest responsibility for the family combined with a constant threat of sexual abuse creates vulnerability, says Erwén.

THE VIEW OF caste Hindus having the "right" to rape Dalit women according to their caste is common and problematic. Erwén claims that this is a big part of the explanation as to why Dalits are often trapped in the sex trade business in India. Often lacking a social protection network makes Dalits an easy target for exploitation.

With this domestic structure of discrimination putting millions of Dalits in modern slavery, is change possible?

- AGAIN, CHANGE NEEDS first and foremost to come from a domestic social movement. What I also see as a positive side of globalisation is how this issue can be highlighted internationally. But the state still plays an important role. The constitution protecting Dalit rights has to be followed and put into system. It is really hard to change people's attitudes in a deeply rooted way of viewing the caste system. How basic it might sound, I think spreading information and raise awareness between the castes is good way towards respect and acceptance, Monica Erwén explains.

CHANGING STRUCTURES IS complex and a lengthy process. With several layers of marginalization, it's not easy living as a Dalit in India today. With many forms of modern slavery still being prevalent in the world's second largest populated country, its time to shift focus away from the growing economy and blossoming technology scene. It is clear that the modernisation process in India does not profit all. ●



KERALA: A DEVELOPMENT ANOMALY



Notable for claiming the highest living standards in India despite relatively low per capita income, Kerala's social developmental achievements have been raising eyebrows since the 1970s. Now, many have come to question the long-term implications of Kerala's success.

THE 'KERALA MODEL' of development gained international recognition by representing an alternative to traditional development thinking, which was rooted in an understanding of development as a top-down process of modernization and economic growth premised on the manifestation of a trickle-down effect. Challenging this Western perspective, the case of Kerala demonstrated that economic growth is not essential to achieve social developments and improvements in physical quality of life, and thereby provided evidence to the fallacious nature of the classic idea that rapid industrialization was a "necessary evil" to obtain development.

THE KERALA MODEL of development is renowned for its exemplary achievements in social indicators of development at a time of low economic growth, in light of its relatively poor economic situation and weak industrial base. Through a strategy emphasizing mass education, health and redistribution through land reforms, Kerala has achieved the highest human development index in India owing to its: near universal literacy, highest life expectancy, lowest infant mortality rate and lowest school drop-out rate.

THE WELFARE-BASED approach has also engendered the highest quality health services within India as well as a population growth that is on par with the low rates of Northern industrialized nations. Another particularity endemic to Kerala's social development is its high degree of gender equality in relation to other developing regions, due to its matrilineal heritage of the Marrumakkathavam system. This is evinced in the gender ratio of Kerala (where women outnumber men), the higher literacy rate of women than men and in the fact that women have a longer life expectancy than men, a demographic trend characteristic to developed regions.

ALTHOUGH KERALA IS lauded for its prodigious social development absent of economic growth, there is a burgeoning price being paid for this continued disparity. While social advancements empowered citizens to mobilize themselves to form a strong trade union movement to improve labor conditions and wage rates, the economy did not experience simultaneous growth to accommodate growing demands. With a weak industrial base characterized by low-productivity traditional industries and a stagnating agricultural sector, the increasing demands only added to the distention of the economy by increasing regulations that effectively hindered private investments, increased unemployment and added to the low labor absorption rate.

THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN Kerala's social and economic development has

resulted in a sort of paradox; where Kerala's high literacy rate and mass education now act as a disadvantage to the population in the absence of a labor market to accommodate them. The Economic Review for 2013 shows the current daily status unemployment rate for those aged from 15 and 59 was 16.5 per cent in Kerala compared to the national average of 5.8 per cent.

ANNA LINDBERG, an erudite scholar on Kerala, confesses her own striking account to illustrate the high unemployment among the educated in Kerala. While on riverboat to Allepey, Anna happened to speak to a young man of the lower staff on the boat, who gave her some advice on which universities to visit. When she communicated the man's tips to her students and suggested to follow his recommendations, one Masters student responded with: "Why should we listen to him? What would he know?". As it turns out, the laborer actually had a Ph.D. in economics.

ANNA LINDBERG'S ACCOUNT illustrates the dramatic unbalance between the social and economic structures in Kerala, and she describes how few of these politically empowered and highly educated Keralites want to settle for the limited manual labor opportunities available to them. Instead, many choose to take an egress from the state markets and migrate to better opportunities. And this trend isn't limited to the highly educated: a large proportion of the less educated citizens also migrate-out in search of higher wages, typically to the oil-rich Gulf region. The extreme irony, as Anna Lindberg points out, is that for the last two decades Kerala has also experienced a large in-migration to feed its manual labor force; where currently around one-third is made up of migrants from Northern India or Nepal.

THIS PATTERN OF circular migration has a visible effect on the economy of Kera-

la and has come to create a high dependency on the remittances being sent back to Kerala. According to World Bank data remittances in the state reached \$2.3 billion dollars in 2013, making it the regional economy's most productive industry. This source of external finance has acted as a crutch for the economy to palliate the absence of economic growth in the state for the last three decades and is said to have contributed to poverty alleviation and reduction of unemployment more than any other factor.

HOWEVER, THE ENDURING role of remittances in Kerala has not been seen to stimulate economic growth in the state. These flows are primarily used for private consumption and have bred a nascent consumer society in Kerala, which now indicates the highest consumption expenditures of rural areas within all of India. The issue here is that remittances have not been seen to change investment patterns or induce employment creation, they merely subsidize families in the wake of the weak industrial-base of the state. In other words, it obviates the pressure for economic growth without making any structural changes to expand the productive base of Kerala and thereby forestalls much of the potential for future development within the region.

THE QUESTION NOW lies in the long-term implications that this will have on the state of development in Kerala: has the focus on mass education backfired without a labor market to support it? Will its asymmetrical model of development remain apposite in Kerala's nascent consumer society or does the changing nature of demands augur the exigent need for future economic growth? ●

By: Malin Elise Rosengren





“Ingen efterfrågan, ingen prostitution; ingen prostitution, ingen människohandel”

Trettiotusen fall av trafficking skall ha förekommit i EU mellan 2010-2012. Och då uppskattar man ändå att det råder ett enormt mörkertal bakom dessa siffror. Människorättsgruppen Freethem har sedan 2008 arbetat för att upplysa allmänheten om problemet. Den 20:e oktober gästade dess grundare Maria Ahlin UPF för en föreläsning om denna vår samtids moderna slaveri.

Intervju: Sandra Jakobsson

Foto: Sara Muñoz

Vad är trafficking och hur ser situationen ut i Sverige idag?

“Trafficking eller människohandel är benämningen för ett olagligt frihetsberövande av människor där syftet är exploatering av något slag. Syftet kan vara både för ”sexuella” och ”andra ändamål”, som prostitution eller arbetskraftsexploatering. De primära orsakerna till människohandel är arbetslöshet, fattigdom samt en efterfrågan på sexuella tjänster. Rikspolisstyrelsen uppskattar att det årligen kommer mellan fyra- till sexhundra kvinnor och barn till Sverige. Den 17 oktober i år släppte EU kommissionen en ny rapport som redovisar att det förekom omkring trettiotusen registrerade fall i EU, varav trehundra i Sverige mellan 2010-2012. Det förekommer dock ett enormt mörkertal, där omkring minst 50 % av fallen avstår från att vittna på grund av hot om våld.”

Du talar ofta om porrindustrin och om dess inverkan på sexhandel och prostitution. Skulle minskad porrkonsumtion motverka sexhandeln? På vilket sätt hänger de två frågorna ihop?

“Om jag vågar ge mig på att svara ifall en minskad porrkonsumtion skulle leda till en minskad sextrafficking, blir mitt svar: ja. Man ser, utifrån forskning, att en överkonsumtion av porr kan leda till en ökad efterfrågan på sexuella tjänster. Konsumenten köper sex för att få samma kick igen, det fungerar likt vilken drog som helst egentligen. Här ser man kopplingen mellan efterfrågan och dess bidragande effekt till varför vi har prostitution i världen. Så ingen efterfrågan, ingen prostitution; ingen prostitution, ingen människohandel. Och vad är det som driver efterfrågan? Jo, det är bland annat porr.”

Hur ser du på Sveriges arbete kring dessa frågor på det politiska planet? Vilket ställningstagande vill du att svenska politiker skall ta?

“Politiskt sett har vi en bit kvar. Det finns dem som gör ett fantastiskt arbete, men det handlar om frågan skall vara prioriterad. Löfvens uttal om sexköpslagen 2.0 är ett framsteg, men vi måste också börja få fällande domar i Sverige. Ett ställningstagande Sverige kan göra är att ta bort böter som alternativ vid sexköp, speciellt vid köp av barn. Vi behöver även öka våra resurser, såsom att ha minst två poliser inom varje län. Många tror att detta är ett storstadsproblem, men på grund av internet förekommer det numera över hela Sverige. För att råda bot mot detta måste vi satsa på ungdomen, de är framtidens sexköpare eller icke-sexköpare. Det är där man sätta in stöten.” ●

theme facts:
**MODERN
SLAVERY**

26%
OF SLAVES
TODAY ARE
CHILDREN
UNDER AGE 18

21-30 MILLION PEOPLE ARE TRAPPED
IN SLAVERY AROUND
THE WORLD TODAY



MAURITANIA HAS
THE HIGHEST
PERCENTAGE OF
ITS POPULATION
IN SLAVERY:

4%

INDIA HAS THE
LARGEST NUMBER OF
PEOPLE IN SLAVERY:

14 MILLION



78%

**OF SLAVERY VICTIMS
TODAY ARE IN
LABOR SLAVERY**

22%

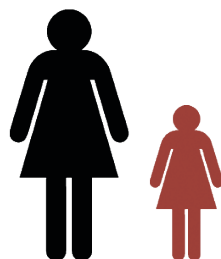
**OF SLAVERY
VICTIMS
TODAY ARE IN
SEX SLAVERY**



**SLAVERY GENERATES
\$150 BILLION
FOR TRAFFICKERS EACH YEAR**



26%



**OF SLAVES TODAY
ARE CHILDREN UN-
DER THE AGE 18**

**MANY EVERYDAY
PRODUCTS ARE MADE BY
SLAVES, OR WITH
SLAVERY-TAINTED PARTS
OR RAW MATERIALS**

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SLAVERY

Slavery is also known as the black page of the European history. It is part of our history that the Europeans conquered America and colonized Africa. We all know about Columbus and we learn the facts of the (sometimes) cruel past. While learning these facts the question can be raised why it was Europe who conquered America and colonized Africa. Why was it not the other way around?

Western imperialism can be traced back in history to the 15th century. In this era the Europeans started to explore the world by sea to establish military, commercial and religious domination. This era is featured by successes but also by losses. Although Columbus discovered America already in 1492, it lasted until

the 19th century before the European expansion over America considerably increased [from approximately 35 per cent in 1800 up to 85 per cent in 1914]. This fast expansion illustrated Europe's domination over the world. A comprehensive understanding of the history of Europe's imperialism in the 19th century can be learned from how the power relations between America, Africa and Europe were shaped.

BY PLACING THE different events into a timeline, a link between the expansion of England and the start of the Industrial Revolution in 1815 can be made. This is not simply a coincidence as the Industrial Revolution gave Europe new tools for conquest. Their access to steamboats, medical technologies and firearms are main factors that made Western expansion possible. However, it is not enough to understand the situation fully.

Robert Mugabe has been the President of Zimbabwe since its independence 1980.



Photo: USAF

Columbus discovered America

1492

European expansion over America

1815

Start Industrial Revolution

1914

Technological and medical development

1951

Libya declares independence from Italy

Zimbabwe is the last African colony to become independent

1980

» ACCESS TO STEAM-BOATS, MEDICAL TECHNOLOGIES AND FIREARMS MADE WESTERN EXPANSION POSSIBLE

AN IMPORTANT INCENTIVE for Europe to colonize America was because of their increased need for products and raw materials to facilitate the Industrial Revolution. Of course, this meant they needed more land. Thus the Europeans made big plantations in America to foresee in their growing need for commodities. But to sustain the plantations, labour was needed as well; why did the Europeans use African labourers and not the Native Americans? This can be explained by the importance of the role of diseases in shaping the history as we know it today.

DISEASES PLAY A big role in Europe's conquest over the world. Europeans spread diseases like typhoid and smallpox, to which they already had resistance, with them to America. In contrast to the Europeans, the Native Americans were much more vulnerable to these diseases and many of them died from the resulting epidemics. This difference in resistance between Europeans and Native Americans led to a situation of a slowly growing white population and a declining Native American population. This facilitated the access to America for Europeans and was therefore a lot easier to conquer. As a lot of the local Native Americans died from diseases, the Europeans had access to the land, but now they also needed labourers to work on the land and this is where the Africans enter the story. As we know,

these labourers came from Africa. Diseases also play a central role in the explanation of why the Europeans had particularly now the potential to slaves from Africa. To understand this, the link between the improvement of medicines and healthcare in 19th century Europe should be made. The new medicines opened Europe's access to the African inner lands. Before, this expansion was restrained through diseases like malaria and yellow fever. With new insights in medicines and diseases, the Europeans found a way to treat these diseases and now had access to Africa as well.

NEW TECHNIQUES TO conquer Africa and America, together with the new medical developments, are the foundation of the existence of the "triangular trade route". In this trade route commodities such as cotton and sugar from America were transported to Europe; in Europe cotton cloths were made to trade for African slaves, who, in return, were shipped and sold in the American colonies as plantation workers.

EUROPE'S ACCESS TO technology and the Industrial Revolution are the main features that determined the relationship between Europeans on one side and Africans and Native Americans on the other. The Industrial Revolution gave the possibility to develop new technological advances, which gave Europe power over Africa and America. However, this is only one part of the story. Maybe it is even more important to understand the geopolitics behind it and why Europe had new incentives for expansion; namely their need for more land, to which they had access in America. The understanding of the role of diseases is important to explain why Europeans needed slaves. To make the triangle relation complete, Europe's access to healthcare and the development of medicines explains why the Europeans could get slaves from Africa in the end. ●

By: Petra van der Kooij



Photo: Joel Gill

Slavery has always been a hot political issue, from the American Civil War in the 1800's to the previous Swedish government's labor market program. However, the torments of the African slave workers of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries to which we usually associate the term "slavery", are a far cry from current Swedish labor market policies. It surely raises the question: How are we to define the term slavery today? And who has the right to define it? Looking at the current political discourse, it seems like slavery has become an ideological term – creating division rather than consensus.

Above: "Slavery has evolved - it's called unpaid internships." Is the definition of "slavery" undermined?

First of all, we need to clarify the original meaning of the term slavery: The juridical meaning of the term is a situation in which individuals can be considered someone's property and thus treated as commodities. A slave thus lack legal capacity, meaning not having any legal rights on its own, other than through its owner. In that very sense, slaves are not considered

human beings but simply property in a legal perspective. A legal system which endorses the notion that some people are not human beings, but instead can be sold and acquired just like any other good, is a legal system where slavery is legal.

HOWEVER, SINCE SLAVERY (in this legal sense) now has been abolished in every nation on earth (Mauritania was last to

do so in 2007), you can no longer legally own another person anywhere. That does however not mean that criminal organizations and corrupt government officials act as if they do anyway. Human trafficking is a horrifying example of this, as many refugees and child laborers are put under the legal radar and illegally treated as commodities – or slaves.

BUT SINCE THE victims of trafficking can not be considered slaves in the legal sense, the term “modern slavery” has instead been created in order to adapt the term slavery into these modern conditions. However, establishing a new term is always a tricky business – especially when it can be used in political propaganda. A new term always faces the risk of being applied incorrectly and even conversely, as political actors exploit its relative novelty and following unfamiliarity among people. For many politicians of a certain ideology, modern slavery has now gone from signifying severe criminal activities such as human trafficking, to include any labor situation that they do not approve of. One example of this is the Swedish “Laval-case”, where a Latvian construction company (associated with the Swedish company Laval) was hired by Vaxholm municipality to renovate a local school. As the Latvian company was bound by a Latvian collective wage agreement, the Swedish unions immediately started a campaign to stop the Latvian company and force them to sign a Swedish collective wage agreement. In the campaign, many politicians and union representatives used modern slavery to describe the Latvian labor situation – despite the fact that there was nothing illegal in the contract – a contract that even the Latvian workers union supported. The case was later moved to the European Union’s court of justice, where the court ruled in favor of the Latvian company.

HOWEVER, THE DEBATE about “social dumping” (i.e. hiring labor from other EU-countries where wage rates are lower) has by many political debaters been included into the term modern slavery – even though this activity is not in any way illegal. In fact, it is an integral part of the EU’s free movement of services notion. However, since international competition threatens the interests of the domestic workers union, modern slavery is now widely used as a rhetorical weapon to attack liberal agendas, the EU and the industry. In short, “modern slavery” has become an ideological term, used by certain politicians to propagate their own policies – and obstruct any other interests. But while many of their supporters believe that this is helpful and righteous, they are actually monopolising a term that needs a political consensus to be dealt with.

BY ESTABLISHING A specific ideological definition as the hegemonic definition, they are effectively locking out any political opponent from using the term. This, despite the fact that for example liberalism initially was formed as a means to stop slavery, and liberal politicians devote their lives to fight the modern slavery.

THERE ARE HUGE labor crimes around the world at the moment, as guest workers are stripped off their papers and their rights in Russia and Qatar, and young children are sent across the world as forced prostitutes. These are real issues in need of a strong term like “modern slavery”.

HOWEVER, AS LONG as you can win voters’ support by calling your political opponents slave owners, and referring to their labor market policies as modern slavery – someone will. So when you hear someone use the term modern slavery next time, think about the sender’s intentions. ●

Text: Adrian Taleny



Photo: Rex P.

ABUSE AND POSSESSION

Transnational Exploitation Of Domestic Workers



Photo: KC Wong

Top: Migrant domestic workers getting together in Hong Kong on their day off.

Bottom: Calling home. Hong Kong is the home of some 250 000 migrant workers. Most of them are coming from Indonesia and the Philippines.

“The wife abused me on a regular basis. She forcibly cut my hair with the pretext that my hair had fallen in their food but that was absurd because I didn’t cook for them. Once she ordered her two dogs to bite me. I had about ten bites on my body, which broke the skin and bled. When one of the dogs vomited, she forced my face down to the vomit ordering me to eat it, but I refused. When I asked her why she kept abusing me in this way, she told me that it was because she was bored so this is how she passed time.”

This passage is from an interview conducted by Amnesty International with an Indonesian domestic worker working in Hong Kong. It is one of the extreme examples of abuse that migrant domestic workers in our modern day world are exposed to, a phenomenon that most of us don’t know enough about. Although in many cases domestic workers are satisfied employees who are happy with the household they work in, a considerable volume of studies reveals very shocking facts about the abuse of women working as domestic workers. In the last few years, a range of reports by human rights organizations have emerged that raise the issue mainly in Hong Kong and the Gulf States. Recently, there has also been considerable attention towards the problem in Europe, where domestic workers often enter together with their employers from Gulf countries.

MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS are generally women from periphery countries: the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Ethiopia and Somalia, to name a few. They are often well-educated women, with little prospects of employment in their own field of work. These women leave their own children in the hands of family or local domestic workers, to take care of the household and children of a family in a “rich” country.

THE WOMEN USUALLY sign a contract with a local recruitment agency and these agencies act as intermediaries between domestic workers and employers. After charging the women with exorbitant fees for training and equipment, these companies arrange to take the women to the country of destination and ensure an employer. After arrival in the new country it often turns out that the contract set up before departure does not correspond to the contract presented to them now. Their salaries are considerably lower, their working hours much longer or their duties broader than agreed upon. Furthermore, before departure the recruitment agencies confiscate personal documents (such as diplomas, family documents and ID’s) in order to ensure that the domestic worker stays faithful to the agency. Also, passports are taken from the women on arrival to the new country, thus they are virtually left without the opportunity to leave. They are left at the mercy of their employers and the corrupt recruitment agencies who often give little to no response to complaints, corroborate in the exploitation and don’t take any of the necessary measures to protect the women. To give us a rough idea of the size of this problem in some of the main countries: 84.164 women are employed in Qatar as domestic workers; 319.325 in Hong Kong and in England 15.000 domestic workers enter the country with their employers every year.

MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS are a very vulnerable group and they are prone to a range of forms of abuse. In an unfamiliar country, far away from everyone they know, bereft of their passports and hidden in the confines of a private home, they can hardly reach out for help. Reports on abuse of domestic workers in Hong Kong, the Gulf and Europe all find similar types of abuse: sexual, physical and verbal abuse; inhumane working hours; under- or even no payment at all and restriction of movement and

contact with the outside world. Many abusive employers consider their employees as their possession and thus permit themselves to withhold their employees of any of their legal rights as a human being. A second Amnesty report on domestic workers in Qatar reads the following words from a phone call with a recruitment agency: “She will work full time and stay in your house, it is up to you how many hours she works though. The contract would say eight hours, but you know, she is staying in your house. There is no need to give a day off, but it is up to you”. The report states that the average amount of working hours for domestic workers in Qatar is 60 hours per week, this (already very high number) is only on average and some women described working from 04:00 to 23:00 without any days off.

WHAT IS THE role of the involved governments in this issue? How can they allow for modern day slavery to take place within their own borders? Where in the Gulf countries the kafala system supports and aids the abuse of workers (see the article on the Kafala System in this issue) the English law is also not very proactive on the protection of workers. This spring the United Kingdom passed the Modern Slavery Bill, a law aimed to protect people who fall victim to slavery. This law should be protective of domestic workers; however, it does not reach its aim due to the “tied visa system”. This system holds that domestic workers’ visas are tied to their employers - if the worker leaves her employer she becomes an illegal immigrant. Although everyone is entitled to a minimum wage and limited working hours, the enforcement on this with domestic workers is not monitored. Due to the tied visa system domestic workers are often afraid to leave their employers when not treated correctly.

IN THE COUNTRIES of origin it also seems to be difficult to protect the women, as the women who work as migrant domestic workers come from weak states that do not have the resources for the needed policies. The policies should be aimed at making strict rules for recruitment agencies, following up on whether these rules are actually followed and monitoring the safety of their citizens both at home as well as abroad. An example of how hard it is to actually solve this problem is the ban on domestic workers in Ethiopia that was enforced in October 2013, where inadequate government regulation in fact led to a huge growth of illegal agencies and actually led to increased problems.

»MANY ABUSIVE EMPLOYERS CONSIDER THEIR EMPLOYEES AS THEIR POSSESSION

THE ONLY WAY out for migrant domestic workers up to date is through social networks and with the help of human rights organizations, who put a lot of effort into helping these women getting away from abuse. To really abolish this criminal network of modern slavery facilitated mainly by corrupt recruitment agencies, would be through close government monitoring and collaboration between both the countries where the women come from as well as the countries where they work. Unfortunately such action is still a far cry from happening and many women continue to be enslaved by this system. ●

Text: Esther Schoorel

Right: Demonstration against the abuse of migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong.



Photo: Tom Grundy



Photo: Tom Grundy



Photo: Tom Grundy



Photo: Claire Solery

THE COMFORT WOMEN

They are called 'comfort women'. It is a euphemism of women who were made into sexual slaves during World War II by the Japanese Military. During the war, almost 20,000 women of multiple nationalities - South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, Myanmar as well as the Netherlands - disappeared from their own countries. Korean women were the major source of recruitment in terms of geographic location and colonial status.

BUT WHERE DID they go? On the way to Japan, they were guaranteed a more fruitful life by getting more dignified jobs where they would help their poor families. However, as soon as they set their feet in Japan, they became exposed to indiscriminate sexual labor every day. Their grievance increased as time went by and seemingly, there was no way to make the situation better.

THE DEBATE ON the distortion of history between Japan and South Korea, including the territorial rights of the small island 'Dokdo', which is located in eastern Pacific. The name of this sea

is also a controversial issue as Japan refers to it as Sea of Japan while Korea marks it as East Sea. This has been contested since the early 1990s. The starting point was when the Korean woman, Hak Sun Kim, who was one of the women to serve the Japanese Military at the time, publicized one scene of her painful life. She testified her stories in public in 1991. This was her first testimony. Taking this opportunity, the government of South Korea started to make an effort to give a helping hand to the women like Kim in the same boat mentioning this issue on international stage. The government of Japan also realized the severity of the conflict of this historical issues resulting from the pressure of international society. Then they undertook an investigation into ESS following Kim's testimony. Consequently, Asian Women's Fund (AWF) was established in 1995 for the sake of the continuous reparation for women who have suffered physically and psychologically from ESS.

SINCE THEN, MORE than 20 years have passed. Nevertheless, the situation has not improved, it has rather reversed.

So called comfort women rally in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, August 2011.

Wartime Sexual Violence

- Over the last 20 years, 14 percent of the conflicts were characterized by reports of massive sexual violence.

- State militaries are more likely to be reported as perpetrators of sexual violence than either rebel groups or pro-government militias.

- Rape need not be directly ordered to occur on a massive scale.

- Sexual violence by armed groups can continue to be reported into the "post-conflict" period, sometimes at very high levels.

Source: the Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict dataset

What makes this dispute unresolved persistently? What are the indispensable points of this debate needed to be mentioned to reach an reconciliation between South Korea and Japan? Who should take action first to relieve these women's resentment?

ONE OF THE major issues is whether the mobilization of women was coercive or not. In fact, that coercion was used to supplement the population of ESS for the military soldiers is very obvious in consideration to several women victims' testimonies and existing historical documents. According to the records, authorities and private brokers lured women with deceptive promises of well-paid and attractive work, misleading them with expressed intent to recruit them into comfort stations. However, as the Japanese military had expanded, the demand of women within the community rapidly increased. Prostitution on the voluntary basis was no longer sufficient. Finally, the soldiers utilized the force to attract women to the military stations under the necessity. Why did the Japanese military need women who were not related to their war-time situation at all?

HOWEVER, THE PROBLEM does not simply arise from coercion. How many women would choose to be sexual slaves? Well, it is incredibly unlikely. The real cause of the problem is about the response toward coercion. At the beginning of this debate, the government of Japan insisted that the involvement of the state in the ESS system was not true and therefore, they were not responsible for compensation and apologies. This made South Korea furious and the statement played a role as a catalyst in attracting attentions from a variety of international communities, especially the gendered group supporting women rights. Another controversy coming from the side of South Korean comfort women is ASF, a Non-Governmental

Organization. The compensation of the ASF is from the donation of Japanese citizens and so their is still no real recognition from the government of Japan. Therefore, for comfort women in South Korea, it seems hard to see material compensation through a NGO as Japan's acceptance of the history.

DESPITE SEVERAL TRIALS to console comfort women, comfort women in South Korea still ask Japan for an official apology and reparation. Their continuous discontent can be explained in some ways. The trend of Anti-Japanese sentiment has been prevalent in Korean society as a reason for the history, culture and politics. According to the recent research, 74 percent of Korean have the negative feeling when they talk about Japan. This customary phenomenon occasionally make Korean people respond to Japan in an offensive way. In addition, more fundamentally, the discord between the Japanese government and South Korean comfort women arose from the lack of understanding of each other. ESS committed by the Japanese Military should be understood in the historical context with the proper analysis considering the comprehensive factors. Therefore, it is required for Korean citizens and Korean government to cope with this debate in the objective manner.

NEVERTHELESS, IT IS undeniable that comfort women from multiple countries including South Korea suffered the violation of their rights during the time. In her recent article, Sonya Kuki describes ESS as the burden of history of the Japanese government. The number of comfort women in South Korea has decreased from 234 to 58 over time. Before their last hope disappears, both governments should determine the appropriate action to take, not unconditionally criticize their counterparts. By doing this, the women would receive recognition for their traumatic past at last. ●

Text: Hyeon-Soo Jeon



Photo: Ulf Melin

GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

The Scottish Independence Referendum

The modern United Kingdom has existed since 1707, when Scotland and England were joined together in the Act of the Union. Even as part of Great Britain the Scottish national spirit was not extinguished, and has been empowered by disagreement with Westminster policies. The referendum for Scottish independence was held last September, but even though it has passed, the political conversation it kindled has only begun.

The people of Scotland have spoken. It is a clear result. They have kept our country of four nations together. Like millions of other people, I am delighted," said Prime Minister David Cameron when opening his speech on Downing Street the day after the Scottish independence referendum. The final results were counted at 44.7% for independence and 55.3% for remaining

in the UK. The result is astoundingly close. The Yes-campaign had only 25% support when the referendum was announced in 2012 and the idea of a referendum was hardly feasible until recently. In 1998, Westminster approved the founding of the Scottish parliament in Edinburgh's Holyrood. While the Holyrood government was given power to pass legislation for the region, Westminster retained a veto right over all decisions.

AT THE TURN of the millennium, Scottish nationalism and independence was gaining more support; consequently an institutional supporter arose in the Scottish National Party (SNP) with Alex Salmond's leadership. The SNP began to campaign on the platform of holding an independence referendum in Scotland. After winning an absolute majority in the 2011 Scottish Parliamentary Elections, Salmond set to negotiate with Cameron on the terms of the referendum. It was finally

RESULTS

NO
55.3%

YES
44.7%

VOTER TURNOUT
84.6%

Results by council area. Saturation of colour indicates strength of vote.

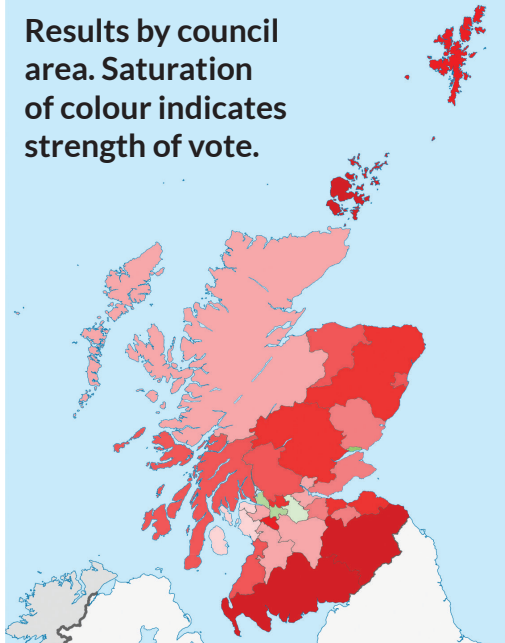


Illustration: Wikipedia Commons

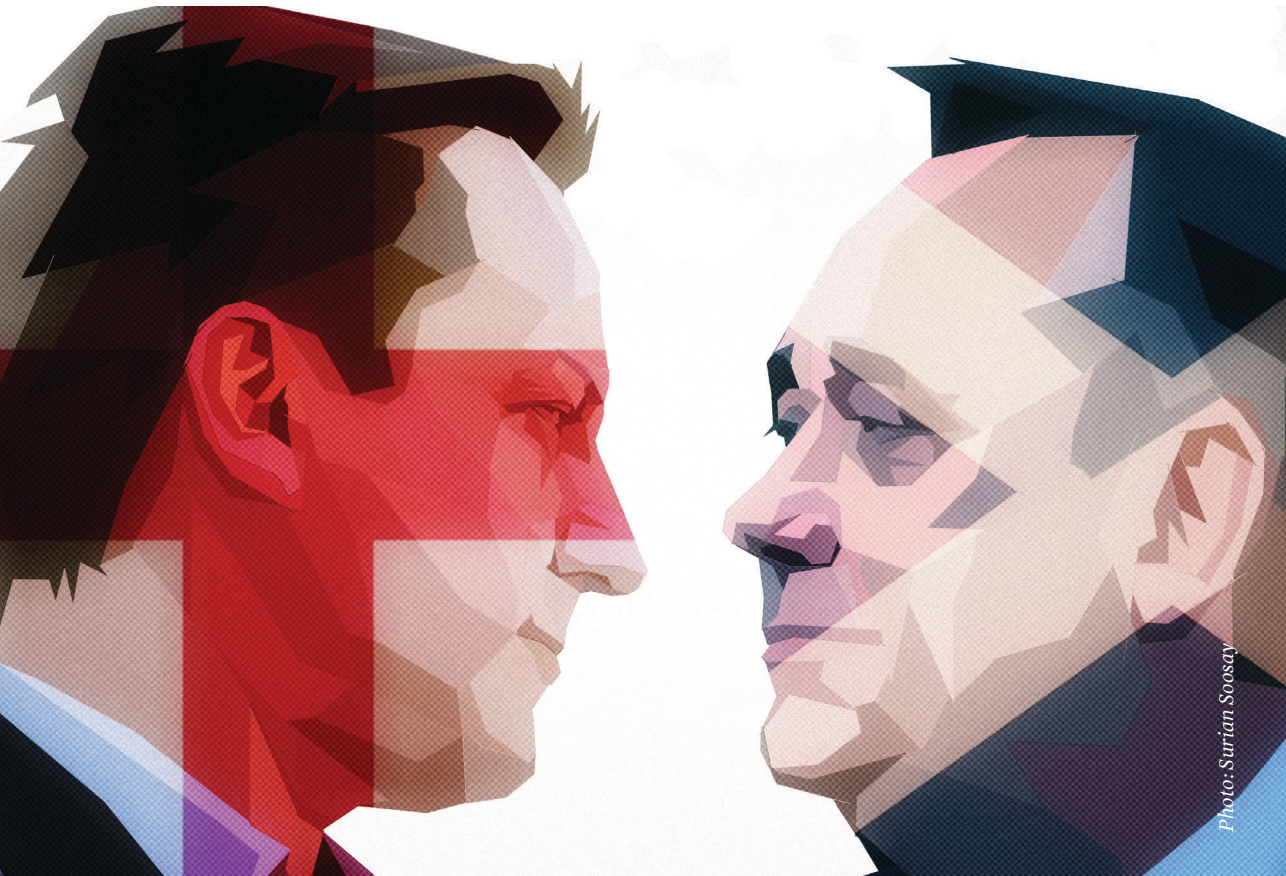


Photo: Surian Soosay

announced for the 18th of September 2014. Since then, the Scottish political landscape has been defined by the question of whether to vote yes or no.

THE CENTRAL PLAYERS for the two sides of the campaign became the “Yes Campaign” and the “Better Together Campaign”. The SNP, Scottish Greens and Scottish Socialist Party declared for the Yes-camp while the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats announced support for the No vote. With their supporters being rallied in Scotland, a notable feature of the No-campaign was that their English figureheads failed to appear in Scotland before an opinion poll showed the Yes-vote ahead by a few percent. Former Prime Minister Gordon Brown himself made his major public appearances in the last weeks of the campaign. His speech on the 17th of September, a day before the vote at a No-campaign rally is said to have resurrected his political career. “Have confidence tomorrow and have confidence enough to say with all our friends: we’ve had no answers. They do not know what they are doing, they are leading us into a trap,” Brown summed up in the final minute of his speech.

The Yes-campaign only had 25 per-cent support when the referendum was announced.

What Brown was referring to were the pressing economic questions that would have to be answered if Scotland were to break away from the Union.

BOTH SIDES OF the debate often raised the issue of whether or not Scotland could afford to be independent. Alex Salmond’s position was ever optimistic and backed by significant figures. “Scotland has been declared the world’s top travel destination... Foreign investment is at a 15 year high... [Renewable] energy can make Scotland the green powerhouse of Europe...” he listed as the greatest economic reasons for the Yes vote at the 2013 SNP conference. Furthermore, he assured his party that Scottish oil production can be increased, and even without it Scotland’s tax revenues are the highest in the Union. However, criticism of relying on the oil industry because of dwindling reserves and the need for cleaner energy still continue to muddy the waters.

THE INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM for many was also a stand against the austerity measures introduced by the Conservatives in Westminster. The increased university tuition fees and



Photo: Global Panorama

the threat of privatizing the National Health Service (NHS) became key issues at many debates. “With the powers of the [Scottish] Parliament we can guarantee that the NHS will be in public hands, universal, free at the point of need, as long and as ever as the people of Scotland want it,” Brown lamented in his No-rally speech. Campaigners for the Yes-vote argued the only way to guarantee continued social welfare in Scotland was to leave the union. They argued for Scotland’s right to decide for itself as the goals of Westminster are perceived to differ radically from the goals of Holyrood. The No-campaign did not try to deny Scotland its right to decide for itself. Rather, their issue was with what could be lost in the event of a Yes-victory. “The real risks to the NHS does not come from us. It comes from the SNP!” he declared after addressing issues of rising mortgages, decreased pensions, and other potential failures of the welfare state in an independent Scotland.

THE UNCERTAINTY OF these factors were probably the biggest reason for many people to vote no. Gordon Brown held to questioning the SNP’s promises and call on more people to critically assess Scotland’s chances to do better without the Union. “We are increasing the powers of [the Scottish] Parliament – faster, safer, better, friendlier change than ever the Nationalists could propose.” This promise was extended even further, as Cameron promised to devolve further power to the Scottish government if the No-vote won. These promises founded in trusting the established system won the vote in the early hours of Friday the 19th of September.

THE VOTER TURNOUT was 85%; the highest turnout in any democratic vote during the history of universal suffrage. Even David Cameron praised the process in the aftermath of the vote. “It was right that we respected the SNP’s majority in Holyrood and gave

the Scottish people their right to have their say.” Then again, it is hard for the winning side to be unhappy about the result. The Yes-campaigners on the other hand are not ready to quit.

» THE REFERENDUM WAS ALSO A STAND AGAINST THE AUSTERITY MEASURES INTRODUCED BY THE CONSERVATIVES

THE PROMISE TO devolve more power to the Scottish parliament still hangs in the air. The action plan was not delivered on the 19th of September as promised, Labour leader Ed Miliband publicly announced that there are more important things on the agenda, and UKIP’s Nigel Farage even suggested that Scottish MPs should “immediately give up their right to debate on devolved English issues in Westminster”. The tension on the 19th was palpable. Protests turned to riots in Glasgow where property was destroyed, flags were burned and people stabbed. Where the debate will go from here is unclear. What is certain though, is that the Scottish public’s political awareness was truly activated. More people are now aware of the issues concerning Scotland and the UK and they are demanding more from their leaders. On the referendum day, the SNP had 25,000 members. In the beginning of October, the number was past 75,000. Although the Yes-campaign did not accomplish what they set out to do, they have managed to start a social movement with incredible potential. ●

By: Arttu Närhu

UNDER YTAN

på syndernas stad



Hemlöshet i Las Vegas

- 14 000 människor beräknas vara hemlösa i Las Vegas.

- Nevada är den delstat i USA med störst proportion hemlösa.

- 14 procent av de hemlösa är krigsveteraner. Nationellt ligger siffran på 12 procent.

Källa: Nevada Interagency Council on Homelessness

Las Vegas är en av världens mest kända turistmål med spel, berusning och sex som främsta lockbete. Staden marknadsförs som en plats där ingen behöver hantera morgondagen, men under ytan finns de som ingen talar om: förlorarna. De har gått under jorden, bokstavligt talat.

MITT I ÖKNEN under den brännande solen i Nevada ligger den osannolika storstaden Las Vegas. Staden, med ett namn som betyder "ängarna", har sedan hasardspel legaliserades på 30-talet utvecklats från en dal med fruktsam jord till en oas av ett helt annat slag. Turisterna trängs på stadens största turistattraktion, the Las Vegas Strip, som likt en väldig manifestation av konsumtionssamhället låter dollar spelas och spenderas bort i takt med att neonljusen blinkar. Detta är syndernas stad, nöjenas stad, men bara de starkaste överlever.

FÖR LITE MER än 10 år sedan gick en mördare lös i staden. Polisen hittade honom i tunnarna under Las Vegas som skyddar staden från översvämningsarna som skyfallen i regionen för med sig. Matthew O'Brien, som vid den tidpunkten arbetade som redaktör för en lokaltidning, fick nys om historien och begav sig ner i tunnarna för att göra research om fallet och vandra i mördarens spår.

– JAG LETADE LÄNGE utan att hitta någonting, men efter att ha utforskat flera olika tunnlar stötte jag på grupper av hemlösa människor. Vissa av dem hade varit där i ett par veckor, andra hade bott där i femton eller tjugo år. Det var förbluffande, invånarna i Las Vegas visste inte ens om att det bodde folk där nere, säger han.

LAS VEGAS HEMLÖSA befolkning är fjärde störst i USA. 12 000 personer saknar bostad och de härbärgen som finns är ökända för att kasta ut de som övernattnar innan det första gryningsljuset. Den hjälp som finns att tillgå är så bristfällig att människor flyr under jorden för att överleva. Tunnlarna som vindlar under staden är totalt nära 50 mil långa och skyddar från den värsta hettan under sommarmånaderna. På väggarna finns graffitimålningar och de som varit bosatta där under en längre tid har skapat egna hem.

DE SOM MATTHEW O'Brien har träffat har varit allt från tonåringar med drogproblem till pensionärer som inte fått sin pension att räcka till. Han har även sett leksaker och nallar, men aldrig träffat någon med barn. De allra flesta är medelålders män, en stor del av dem krigsveteraner som tagit till alkoholen för att hantera sina trauman.

– DET ÄR SVÅRT att räkna på hur många som bor nere i tunnarna. Det varierar

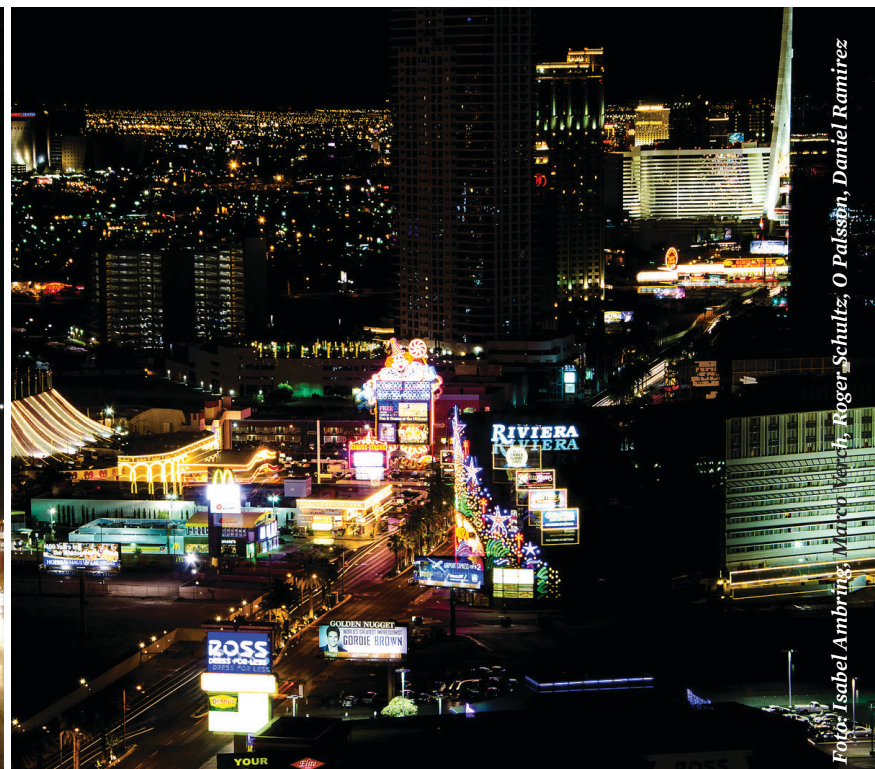
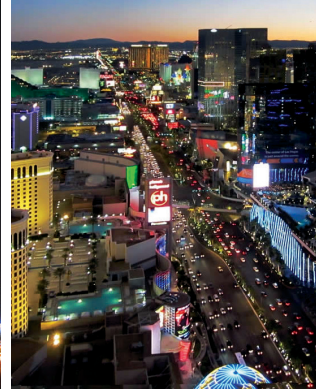


Foto: Isabel Ambrings, Martin Vach, Roger Schultz, O Palsson, Daniel Ramirez

Överst: Livet i tunnarna är en stark kontrast mot den glittrande Las Vegas strip som syns i horisonten.

Mitten: Många av Las Vegas hemlösa har skapat egna hem i de becksvarta tunnelgångarna.

Nederst: Matthew O'Brien har spenderat många år åt att niansera omvärldens bild av Las Vegas.



Foto till höger samt överst: Danny Mollohan



Foto: Isabel Ambring

med vädret och hur många socialarbetare som är engagerade, eftersom Las Vegas som stad inte anställer några socialarbetare utan är beroende av de organisationer de anlitar. Vid vissa tillfällen har antalet därefter beräknats vara nästan 1000 personer, men just nu är det ett par hundra, berättar han.

O'BRIEN HAR ÄGNAT flera år av sitt liv åt att skriva en bok om de hemlösa situation i tunnelnarna. Boken heter *Beneath the Neon* och är en berättelse om människornas liv och syn på staden Las Vegas. Boken blev en bästsäljare i USA och har omnämnts i programmet Dr. Phil. Till följd av publiciteten har O'Brien genom sin välgörenhetsorganisation "Shine a Light" hjälpt omkring 100 av de hemlösa ut ur tunnelnarna, men många som lämnat har återvänt. För människor med beroende hjälper det inte att bara få en lägenhet eller en anställning. Det som krävs är kontinuerligt, allsidigt stöd och hjälp att sköta vardagslivet.

– **JAG SKULLE SÄGA** att 90 procent av dem jag pratat med är beroende av någonting. Det kan handla om alkohol, droger eller spel, ofta i kombination. I Las Vegas är det lätt att upprätthålla ett beroende. Sitter du och spelar i något av kasinona kommer du att bli bjuden på drinkar under hela kvällen. Vi som bor här brukar säga att "om du har en svaghet kommer den här staden att hitta den". Det är så sant, jag har sett det många gånger, berättar O'Brien.

BILDEN AV LAS Vegas som en stor lekpark för vuxna är problematisk. Samtidigt som några av världens största hotell byggdes under 80-90-talet saknades helt skydd för dem som var i behov av socialhjälp. Trots att prostitution inte är lagligt är Las Vegas centrum för en miljardindustri av prostitution och trafficking, enligt de motståndsanslagningar som verkar på området. Stadens överlägset största inkomstkälla är turism och mindre än

2 procent av de som bor i Las Vegas är faktiskt födda där, vilket innebär att människor varken har en familj eller ett socialt nätverk att falla tillbaka på om någonting skulle gå snett.

» I LAS VEGAS ÄR DET LÄTT ATT UPPRÄTTHÅLLA ETT BEROENDE

– **TUSENTALS MÄNNISKOR KOMMER** hit för att skapa sin egen amerikanska dröm. Lika ofta som de lyckas skaffa ett jobb händer det att de inte hittar ett arbete och hamnar på gatorna utanför de kasinon som lockade hit dem från allra första början, förklarar Matthew O'Brien och fortsätter: Vi är på toppen av alla dåliga listor och på botten av alla bra. Vi har mest självmord och minst utbildning. Det finns kanske en viss förbättring, men det ser inte bra ut.

LAS VEGAS STÅR inför stora utmaningar. Staden har låtit de svagaste falla mellan stolarna och nu krävs det långtgående insatser för att hinna ifatt med social infrastruktur i stället för att bara fokusera på turisterna med de stora pengarna.

– **HISTORIA SKRIVS AV** vinnare. Hotellägarna och de som vunnit jackpott är de som skapar vår uppfattning om Las Vegas. Det är inte lika ofta vi hör från förlorarna, men det är med deras pengar hotellen har byggts, berättar O'Brien. ●

Text: Linnea Sandell

review:

NAOMI KLEIN THIS CHANGES EVERYTHING

This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. Climate

Author: Naomi Klein

Earlier work: *No Logo* (2000), *Fences and windows* (2002) and *The Shock Doctrine* (2007)



Photo: Mariusz Kubik

The political activist and author, Naomi Klein, is not known for shying away from controversy. Klein's perspicuous analysis of the relentless exploitation of workers by multinationals in *No Logo*, the environmental and social devastation caused by neoliberal policies in *Shock Therapy*, and the effects of globalisation in *Fences and Windows*, has earned her a well-deserved reputation as an important and formidable critic of the global economic system. Klein's new book, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. The Climate*, only further confirms her reputation as a force to be reckoned with.

The suggestion that the world's political and economic institutions have managed to disable potential change in regards to global warming is certainly not new. Yet, no author has managed to articulate the vital nexus between climate change and economic and political systems as succinctly as Klein. In an unapologetic, yet remarkably sensitive new analysis, Klein places an urgent spotlight on a reality we simply cannot afford to ignore: if we choose to live on a habitable planet in the near future, large-scale changes must be implemented. Such large-scale change must begin, however, with a drastic and complete overhaul of the global economic system.

AT THE HEART if Klein's polemic is an exploration of this contentious issue. Klein first addresses the intersections of politics, corporate money, and the rise of climate disasters. This is followed by an analysis of the false solutions that have, thus far, been presented in response to climate change. Klein concludes by addressing the role and importance of activism, paying particular attention to divestment and indigenous rights.

A NOTEWORTHY ADDITION to the discourse of global warming is Klein's critique of a mindset aptly referred to as 'extractivism', i.e. an approach to persons and the environment guided by the idea that "I'm going to take from you and get whatever I can out of you." Our world is understood in hierarchized terms. The world is divided between people and places that matter and people and places who supposedly do not. This both produces and legitimizes an ethos

marked by the belief that there are people and places that can be exploited for profit. If any concrete change is to happen, it is important to first address the reigning ideology of deregulated capitalism which creates, enforces and perpetuates this mindset.

ONE COULD ARGUE that Klein's emphasis on large-scale change vis-à-vis policy making is somewhat idealistic and, at times, simplistic. Klein, however, remains aware of the plethora of challenges throughout most of her analysis. "In virtually every country," argues Klein, "the political class accepts the premise that it is not the place of government to tell large corporations what they can and cannot do, even when public health and welfare The guiding ethos of light-touch regulation, and more often active deregulation, has taken an enormous toll in every sector.... It has also blocked commonsense responses to the climate crisis at every turn." It is time, argues Klein, that governments and corporations are held responsible. Whilst this too, has the potential to be mere idealistic rhetoric, one only needs to be reminded of the fact that BP could potentially be fined up to \$18-billion for the Deepwater Horizon oil spill of 2010. A salient example of the onus being put on large corporations. Time, however, is running out. The International Energy Agency warns that, should we not get our emissions at a safe and

responsible level by 2017, extremely dangerous warming is inevitable.

» OUR WORLD IS UNDERSTOOD IN HIERARCHIZED TERMS

AS A WHOLE, however, Klein provides an honest, yet surprisingly hopeful analysis. She rejects the common narratives that either suggest that there is no such thing as global warming, or that global warming is undeniably changing our world, but that we are doomed either way. There are solutions. Moreover, they are attainable. First, however, we must address economic and political structures that has, until now, disabled any concrete change. There is still hope. In the end, despite Klein's hopeful outlook, her book remains, first and foremost, an urgent polemic. Time has become a luxury we simply cannot afford. If we are to make any real change, it will have to happen now. ●

By: Gabriel R Plessis

Picture from UN's climate conference in Copenhagen. The time has come for governments to be held responsible, argues Klein in her latest book.



Photo: The Official White House Photostream

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